The First Annual International Graduate Research Conference on Social Sciences & Humanities

Theme: Harmony in Diversity

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Forward

A research is the movement and pathfinder of new knowledge; however, it needs to be known to become a valuable knowledge. Then, to provide the space in presenting research will be the pathway in promoting the access to knowledge for people in general and it will also offer an opportunity to the researchers in improving their presentation’s skill and developing the quality of their researches.

The first Annual International Graduate Research Conference on Social Sciences and Humanities is initiated by the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities in collaboration with faculties and institutes of Mahidol University which has known for the mastery in the field of Social Sciences and Humanities including Faculty of Arts, Institute of Language and Culture for Rural Development, and Institute for Population and Social Research, Mahidol University and Keio University. This conference will serve as a stage for building network and collaboration among academics in field of Social Sciences and Humanities which will lead to the development of body of knowledge for national and international society. The conference have also sought an appropriate forum for graduate students, faculties, and researchers in the fields of social sciences and humanities to share research methodology as well as new knowledge concerning social theories, methodologies, and concepts and come up with high quality research of their own. This year conference them is “Harmony in Diversity” and areas of research papers presented in the conference sessions include wide range of Social Science and Humanities disciplines namely: Criminology, Environmental Studies, Health Social Sciences, Community Health Development and Management, Demography/Population Studies, Cultural and Gender Studies, Sustainable Development, Communication, Public Administration, Human Rights and Peace Studies, Education’s Studies, Applied Linguistics, Religious Studies, Language and Literature.
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Finally, for the original artwork, and the layout we wish to thank Kitsanee Senakao from the Center for Health Policy Studies, the faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Mahidol University.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Wariya Chinwanno, Ph.D.
Chairperson, 1st Annual International Graduate Research Conference on Social Sciences and Humanities Organizing Committee
Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities
Day 1

Time: 13.00-14.30
Track 1:

Health Social Sciences: Sexual Health
Negotiating Safer Sex Practices by Female Sex Workers infected with STIs/HIV in Haiphong City, Vietnam

Vu Thi Du¹
Pimpawan Boonmongkon²

Introduction

There is a long history of sex work in Vietnam. Nguyen Ba Dam indicated 4000 prostitutions in 1935 and Bui Van Du indicated 11,888 professional prostitutes working in 45 brothels and 55 cabaret houses in 1954 Ha Noi (Hong, 1998: 44). In 1994, MOLISA (Ministry of Labor, Invalids and Social Affairs) reported more than 30,000 prostitutes were treated for sexual transmitted diseases in Vietnam (Vietnamese News Service, 1/2000 cited in Elmer, 2001:29). Different characteristics of sex workers were illustrated in different published materials. MOLISA reported that 70% female of sex workers in Viet Nam are indirect sex workers and are usually illiterate. (Elmer, 2001: 3-29). Khuat Thu Hong et al., emphasized a trend of younger age in female sex worker (H. T. Anh, Phuong, Huong, & Tu, 2002: 22). Tran, Detels, Long, Phung, & Lan, (2005: 581) found that drug use is a solution from releasing their stress from working. Haiphong is considered as one of seven “hot-spots” cities in term of high prevalence of female sex workers and injecting drug users in a total of 64 provinces in Vietnam (UNGASS, 2008: 92-95).

Current research found health problem among female sex workers. The HIV/STI Integrated Biological and Behavioral Surveillance (IBBS 2005-2006 showed over 10% of female sex workers were HIV-infected in five out of seven provinces researched including Haiphong city. There was a prevalence rate of 2.2% for STI and 3.2% for Syphilis. However, only 50 to 57 percent of HIV-positive FSW knew their HIV status (Hien et al., 2006: 2 – 21). Sexual health problems and HIV/STI infections link closely to safe sex. Negotiating safer sex is problematic for many women, but when a woman is a sex worker the problems are exacerbated (Warr & M.Pyett, 1999: 291). The proportions of female sex workers who always use condoms (100% usage) with irregular, regular clients, and love mates (husbands/boyfriends) in the previous month were lower: 63, 41, and 4.8%, respectively. Inconsistent condom use with clients among Haiphong female sex workers (including both one-time and regular clients) is 38-42 % (Tran et al., 2005: 584). Unprotected sex among people diagnosed with HIV might result in re-infection with more virulent or more drug resistant forms of HIV as well as other sexually transmitted infections. On the other hand, research showed female sex workers infected with STI/HIV raise public morality when the negotiate for condom use because it will protect society from infection.

Current research has found that masculinity influences condom use. Sexual capacity was a key factor in determining masculinity; therefore, men refused to use condoms or are willing to have unprotected sex (FHI, 2007: 3). Most men’s notion of using condoms represents a substantial loss in physical pleasure and symbolic meaning in their sex lives. Masculinity is what men experience themselves in their bodies as well as in terms of social representation (Robertson, 2006 cited in Ridgea et al., 2007: 15). Men hold masculinity, sex workers are suffering variety of form of abuse direct, indirectly with clients and gate keepers

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Women cannot request, or insist on using condoms alone. They may get abuse, or suspicion of infidelity from their partners while requesting condom use or refusing sex without using condoms (WHO, 2000).

“for Foucauldians, if you want to understand human behavior in a particular place and time, find out the discourse that dominate there” (Jones, 2004). Foucault understands sex work in the forms of discourse, sexuality of masculinity and femininity. Discourse has constructed and reconstructed people’s sexuality in many different forms throughout history and across cultures. He indicated concepts of power that have a close relationship with knowledge, pleasure and desire. However, Foucault emphasized that resistance is not formed by power totally, but it is much influenced by power with subjectivities and localized context. Having ‘no choice’ constitutes a resistance to moral adjustments and a justification for their employment (Law, 2000: 15-59). The socially dominant discourse conflicts with the individualized discourse of female sex workers who are suffering in dangerous working environment and dream of a marriage proposal. The need for money, and an image of a potentially better life can fuel their unhealthy decision (Wojcicki & Malala, 2001: 116).

Gender in Vietnam is socially constructed and a conceptual device or organizing tool used by the state for political, economic, and ideological reasons. The Vietnamese history of sexuality includes Vietnam’s feudal period of hundreds years along with Buddhism and Confucianism that has contributed significantly to the formation of gender in Vietnam. In that form, women are constructed with silent voice in daily life and sex is taboo (Hong, 1998: 17-22.). The war in Vietnam ended in 1975 after 80 years of colonialism. Doi moi policy (political and economic reform) in 1990s did not improve gender equality, while men took important roles as leaders of national economic development, women still have less job opportunities (Huong, 2002: 130-131). In addition, since prostitution is considered as a consequence of American imperialism and French colonialism, Governmental policies in 1995 strongly emphasized an important mission to “eliminate social evils” including prostitution, drug addition, and gambling. Prostitution receives the most serious attention. Several interventions such as mandatory testing for HIV and STDs, pushing female sex worker into rehabilitation camps were implemented to eradicate sex work and diseases associated with it (Huong, 2002: 128-150). In addition, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) with peer education models and focusing on prostitutes as a high risk group implicate female sex workers as a source of disease (Law, 2000: 109-119). Both government and NGO’s interventions create stigma toward female sex workers.

“Negotiation is a concept in social interactionist theory that people are not passively shaped by society and instead have agency, the ability to change their circumstance through negotiation…The sociologist Anthony Giddens uses the word “structuration” to describe the constant process of a person “reinventing” one’s identity in the way he or she faces people and society” (The Southeast Asian Consortium on Gender, 2005). Safer sex is the undertaking of sexual practices which remove or limit unsafe sex (Eadie, 2004). Symbolic meaning of inconsistent condom use is derived from love/pleasure, trust, prospective wives, power relations, intimacy relationships (developing relationship or preventing from losing partners) turning the relationship from client to boyfriend, to find more social support, network for a safer life (Guest et al., 2007). Cusick & Rhodes (2000: 6) showed that sexual, the negotiation of safe sex between HIV positive people and their sexual partner required a specialized body of skills and knowledge. This is because the negotiation of sex is essentially a complex social interaction where individual as well as partner dynamics need to be taken into account, along with the specifics of circumstance. A research among HIV positive people in UK found that gender relations were clearly important. Not having the power (i.e. the confidence, knowledge, skills and the right social circumstances) to negotiate safe sex was a problem noted by women in particular (Ridgea et al., 2007: 8)
Objectives

The paper analyzes how sexual discourses of sex work and female sex workers are produced by state/social institutions and NGOs and how these discourses create an impact on safer sex practices by female sex worker infected with STI/HIV.

Methodology

This research is a postmodern feminist qualitative ethnographic study lasting four months in Haiphong city, Vietnam. The research site locates in an urban district of Haiphong city. The site was chosen based on the diversity of sexual service including service based and freelance sex work. The diversity is concentrated in a small area and is, therefore, appropriate for an ethnographic approach. The data were collected through non-participant observation, focus group discussions, in-depth interviews and narrative interviews with ten female sex workers infected with STI/HIV and secondary data collection.

Table 10.1 indicates the basis information of narrative interviewed female sex workers infected with STI/HIV. To choose informants, I used my peer educator network who introduced me to sexual service owners and female sex workers. I visited them several times and during our conversation I raised issue of STI/HIV. I shared with them about my experience working with female sex workers, injecting drug users and HIV positive people, and an integration network of health care service in Haiphong. By this interaction, some told me about their STI/HIV. Some cases I knew their STI/HIV through their peers or service owners. I met and told to them, the conversations finally touched their specific demands related STI/HIV (They want to know do their STI affect their reproduction for example). This concern leads them to share me their STI/HIV. For those who had STI, some only remembered the medicine they used for the treatment and its symptom. I consulted with STI doctor for which disease is treated with such medicine and related with such symptoms. After their disclosure of their STI/HIV, I finally asked them for their willingness to participate in the research. The cases with STI infection within the previous three months was chose to ensure their recalled memory. The narrative interviews of infected STI/HIV female sex workers were implemented at a convenient time and place for the interviewees to ensure their privacies and comfort when sharing about their sexual life.

Two focus group discussions with STI/HIV infected and non infected female sex worker were conducted to constitute the criteria to choose the female sex workers to be interviewed and key informants. These provided the opportunity to explore general meanings, concepts, opinions on sexual context of sex work and the way gender-self, sexual subjectivities and agency of female sex workers infected HIV/STI is influenced. The discussions also guided me on the further elaboration of the sexual practices of the research informants. Fifteen key informants were interviewed. These include peer educators, owners of sexual service establishments, male clients, counselor at voluntary counseling testing (VCT) services, doctors and nurses at STI clinics, local police officers, male monks at a pagoda, and state officer at a rehabilitation center for female sex workers. Key informant interviews provided special knowledge to make sense of the social context of female sex workers and illustrate dominant discourses toward them.

Non-participant observation were undertaken to understand the social interaction between female sex workers and their sexual partners as well as other related person in their daily work. The observation also guides me to understand the embedded meanings from sex work that required deeper exploration of narrative interview. My documentary research focused on collecting and reviewing historical and contemporary documents on metaphor, Buddhist doctrine, literature, state policies and its regulation and implementation, and information education communication material with regards to sex work interventions as well as training manuals for female sex worker in rehabilitation centers. The document includes
verbal transmissions, literature, published papers, or online publications. The collected secondary data claims different levels of discourse such as national level – state, NGO, social institution, community, family and individuals.

Reliability of the data: The research touches the sensitive topic of sexual relations and sex work that is considered as a problem of human dignity and morality. In order to get reliability of the data, First, I built trust and rapport with research informants. I showed them the meaning of their helpfulness, their valued contribution and being respected. Hn, a massage girl shared with me “I want to talk with you because you listen to me”. I shared with them that how the research can help them in general and for them in person.. I proved to them that I would not cause harm to their sex work. Second, I used reflexivity and tried to overcome the fluidity of my identities as NGO worker, outsider, “non-sex worker”/good woman and researcher. I got close with them by the way I talked, that I ate with them, and the clothes I wore looked similar to them. I held my identity as their friend and medical doctor, and counselor that created a sympathetic image for my informant as well providing an opportunity to give them psychological support and medical advice whenever they needed them. Third, intersubjectivities required me to understand them and share with them what I think, and when feel like them. The narrative interviews helped to empower them “Today, I have a chance to share with you that I have to suffer a long time from my business”. Bh, FSW at garden coffee.

Findings

8.1. Discourse on Sex Work and Female Sex Worker

Discourse is constructed by three main elements: 1. ‘social identities’ and subject’s position’; 2. social relationships between people and 3. systems of knowledge and beliefs. The three-dimensional concept of discourse includes texts, discursive practices and social practices. Text can be analyzed for discourses and being consumed differently in different contexts. Discursive practice includes processes of text production, distribution, and consumption. Social practice determines the macro-processes of discursive practice and micro-processes that shape the texts” (Fairclough, 1992:64-86)

Discourse on Sex Work as a social evil

“...Để bảo vệ truyền thống văn hóa tốt đẹp của dân tộc, danh dự, nhân phẩm của con người, hạnh phúc gia đình, giữ gìn trật tự, an toàn xã hội, bảo vệ sức khỏe nhân dân, xây dựng và phát triển con người Việt Nam...”

(Pháp lệnh phòng chống mại dâm, trang 4, Chủ tịch Quốc hội Nguyễn Văn An ký ngày 17/3/2003)

...In order to protect good national cultural traditions, honor, the dignity of human beings, family happiness, maintain social order and social security, protect the health of people, and to build and develop Vietnamese...

(Ordinance on prostitution prevention and control, page 4 signed by Nguyen Van An - National Assembly Chairman on March 17, 2003)

The Government ordinance spreads the knowledge of sex work as a social evil that is breaking good national cultural traditions honor, the dignity of human beings, the family and social order, social security, and damage the health of people. This affects the national development. The discourse produces public perception about female sex workers as those who are damaging social happiness and national honor.
Discourse on Sex Work as Social Deviance, Immorality and Damaged Human Dignity – Discourse of Center of Social Education and Labor

The center is managed by the Ministry of Labor, War Invalids and Social Welfare. In Haiphong, the center is called “School for Thanh Xuân (youthful) Education and Labor” while in other provinces its name is “Center of Social Education and Labor”. The name of the center in Haiphong “Thành Xuan” (youthful) suggests that the center saves female sex workers from their faults and brings back their youth. “Social Education and Labor” means that female sex workers need to be arrested, cured, re-educated, and oriented for an occupation. Before 1990, the center was named “Center of Human Dignity Rehabilitation” and belonged to the Ministry of Public Security. The meaning of “Dignity Rehabilitation” is that those who sell sex have no dignity. This name carried the meaning of the damaged morality of sex workers. No matter the change of the name in 1994-1995, the old name still exists in the subconscious of community members and female sex workers since “Human Dignity Rehabilitation” has a long historical context and is embedded in society’s perception. Both female sex worker and community member, whenever they think about the center for female sex workers, turned to the image of re-education to rehabilitate human dignity

III Tác hại của tệ nạn mại dâm

2. Vế mất xã hội
   - Làm xói mòn đạo đức, thuan phong mỹ tục và huy hoại truyền thống tốt đẹp của dân tộc (sống trong sang, giản dị, thiêng chung)
   - Tạo loạn sống ốc kỷ, sống gấp, ăn chơi truy lục và mất phẩm giá, nhận cách con người
   (Bài 1: Tệ nạn mại dâm- tác hại và những chủ trường giải pháp của Đảng, nhà nước, trang 4, 5; Tài liệu giảng dạy tại Trung tâm Giáo dục và Lao động Xã hội)

III Harmful Effects of Sex Work Evil

2. Social issue
   - Erodes morality, habits and customs of the nation, and spoils the traditions of Vietnamese women such as pure, simple and faithful
   - Creates a selfish and depraved life style, destroys human dignity
   (Lesson 1: Sex Work Evil - Harmful Effects and Policies, Solutions of Party and Government page 4, 5; Training curriculum for FSW at Center of Social Education and Labor)

For two years at the Center the trainees receive training in eight subjects. These include principles of the center, health and the negative impact of sex work, behavior and dignity, morality, law, worker’s safety and hygiene, history of Vietnamese women and community re-integration. The topic concerning morality deals with twelve values; politeness, honesty, simplicity, tolerance, self-respect, gratefulness, regret, self control, and a sense of justice, bravery, diligence and discipline. Lesson 1 produces discourses on FSW as those who have no dignity, no pride; damage national economy; spoil good tradition; and are the of source of disease

Culture, Belief and Religious Discourse on Gender, Sex Work and Female Sex Worker

Vietnam was influenced strongly by Confucianism and Buddhism throughout national historical development. Jamieson (1995) emphasized that Buddhism is important for the spirituality of Vietnamese people. Confucian teachings formed people ideology that focuses
on proper social relationships and accepted the principles of social hierarchy and cared passionately about face and relative status. Khong Tu, a Chinese Confucian who contributed significantly to Confucianism in Southeast Asia created *tam cường, ngũ thương, tam tòng, tự đức* (three relationship, five requirements, three requirements, and four characteristics) to standardize life, security, politic of society. *Tam cường, ngũ thương* are principles for men, *tam tòng, tự đức* are defined for women. *Tam tòng* includes *tài gia tôn phụ, xuất gia tôn phụ, phụ tự tôn tử* (unmarried woman obeys her father, married woman obeys her husband, widow follows her first son). *Tự đức* are four good characteristic of women as *công, dung, ngôn, hành* (skillful, beauty, gentle speech, morality) (vi.wikipedia.org/w/index.php)

Discourses on sex work as immorality is produced by different social institution and people in society. Each one carries their own perspectives to see female sex worker. Buddhism produces discourse on female sex worker as immoral people. Buddhism considers people’s lifestyle as a cause of their suffering. The cause and result theory explains the suffering of people in society. Within Buddhism, sex outside marriage is sinful and shameful

“People said that doing bad things will get bad karma. The current consequence is caused by doing badly in previous life. FSW break the third precept among five; adultery, that is sex outside marriage” (Male monk). Cultural norms produces discourse the of virginity pledge. Virginity is considered as a sign of faithfulness of a girl, and being a moral female according to one standard among four female virtues “I keep my virginity for my future husband to avoid being said that I am bad girl, not obedient girl”(NGO health educator). Sex work is interpreted as a laziness and an eroticization because doing nothings but always make the body available for male penetration “A female sex worker is person who *ăn sẵn, nắm giữ* (do nothing, eating available food, knows only eating and feminine sexual activity)” (Dg, Thai massage girl). The eroticization of female sex worker is also suggested by an STI doctor

“They have sex with too many, continuously from this man to other ones, from this client to others.”

**NGO Discourse on Female Sex Worker as Source of Disease**

Just as the Government creates discourses, so do NGO interventions on HIV/AIDS create discourses linking female sex workers to being a source of disease.

- Do you know what risk you exist if you have sex with female sex workers and casual girl friends?
- Do you know sex with female sex workers and casual girl friends is the highest STI/AIDS transmission method in Vietnam?

(A set of booklet for direct communication produced by Save The Children in booklet No 5)

**Cultural Belief Discourse on Legitimated Male Sexual Desire**

Modernists or essentialists who believe in biological determinism uses reproduction to link gender and sexuality to explain the “naturalness” of women’s subordination within male dominance. In the context of the research site, the male dominance ise illustrated in legitimating male sexual penetration

My father told me that men (penis) is considered as stick of beggar, can puncture (penetrate) any place…A woman can forgive for their husbands if she discovered that her husband has sex with other woman. However, it is difficult for man to forgive for his wife if she is discovered to have sex with other man. Every thing will be damaged if man recognizes his wife with extra sex (sex outside married)

(male client 25 years old)
8.2. Gender Practice /Gendered – Self: A Construction of Gender Discourse

Female sex workers find their different ways to perform their gender-self. First, entering sex work means that female sex workers choose to earn money by their own labor and be independent in their life. Hn, a female sex worker at a coffee shop does not want to live by her mother’s support and even though she has inherited two houses, she does sex work to earn by her own labor. Second, discourse of female virtues influence the way women perform who they are. Skillfulness of female virtue asks women to pay attention for carrying her family well “I look at my son then my husband, because life demand, there is not enough for daily need, I have to do this work” (a female sex worker in the second focus group discussion). Women are expected to good girls, good women and good wives. Good girls needs embedded virginity. The bad girl’s loss of virginity may lead her to sex work “I thought I lose a lot because I lose my virginity, as female sex worker I do not lose more than that” (Hn). Women are supposed to be moral and virtuous and as such should take care of others and protect them. Dg disclosed her syphilis to her boyfriend and asked him to take STI test since she wants him to be aware of the risk and he will supports for their condom use. Her action implies her responsibility for his safety even he may drop her. Research informants show moral reason when they already have STI but try hard to convince clients to use condoms. “If clients do not agree to use condom, we have to persuade them to use it” HgH.

Third, female sex workers produce their individualized discourse to negotiate sexual discourse of sex work, and female sex workers. They construct their self, identities. They identify that sex works real work, and not bad work, and not immoral job because it is a hard/difficult work and they have to spend much energy doing it “I have to spend sweat and teas, not do nothing to earn money not steal or kill somebody, I earn on own effort/energy” (Ty, a female sex worker at hair dressing shop). They imply that sex work is a physical need and means being excluded from morality. They perceive that sex work is to respond to social and human needs. Base on that concept, they conceptualized that sex work contributes to a development of society. Such explanation leads them to continue with sex work.

People think massage is complicated. They think massage include a relation – mean sex. People think relation is bad. I think simply, people have many needs. The need of eating, need of having a sex. There are many needs, the need of desire, and desire of buying or building a big house. All of them create the life. I think simply that, the need of eating, psychological, biological needs. (Dg)

3.8. Sexual Subjectivities

In the context of a very negative view of sex work female sex workers express their own sexual desires as human being as well as responding to the needs of their clients. Within sexual relation with clients, sexual subjectivities of service based female sex workers, are a wide range from having desire to disguising, while sexual subjectivities of freelance sex workers are just from an acceptance to disgusting. However, because sexual discourse see sex is for procreation only, not for pleasure and desire, therefore, sexual subjectivities of both service based and freelance female sex workers have to negotiate the neglected sexual discourse to fulfill their sexual desire and pleasure in their intimate sex

I felt good with him. It seemed to like each other … kissed each other …and it’s raising … then he penetrated for a while then I felt something wrong and recognized that …oh dear, did not use condom yet. It is difficult to say when failing into a climax moment. (Th)
8.4 An Unsupported Working Environment for Sex Work and Exploited Female Sex workers

Sexual discourses on sex work and female sex workers constitute many obstacles for sex work. Female sex workers within their social interactions face many difficulties. First, client practices diverse forms of sexual violence such as using their bodies, requiring different sexual positions. The violence can be seen as discursive practices of masculinity and the practices of the legitimate discourse of male sexual desire toward disregarded female sex workers “I can not consider them as me, I do not think they are in the same my class” (client 44 year old). Second, Public security, the institution assigned for keeping a “clean” society tries to eradicate sex work. Meanwhile policemen seek their own benefit from both ‘under the table money’ and as exploitive clients “One of my colleague had to take off work in a week after having a night with a policeman” (Hn, female sex worker at coffee shop). Third, female sex workers face pressure from their service owners and gate keepers. Service owners who hold concept “female sex workers lose nothing, lose only some vaginal discharge” use female sex workers for their safety from police’s arrest and getting much benefit from sex work. Female sex workers involved in forced love with gate keepers. These pressures result from social hierarchy toward female sex workers. All the above challenges combine to create a non-supportive working environment for powerless female sex workers that affects their ability to negotiate safe sex.

8.5. Sexual Practices of Female Sex Worker

8.5.1 Safe Sex – A Successful Negotiation of Agency

The interviewed female sex workers are totally committed to using condoms “I never meet a girl without an initiative condom use” (client 26 year old). Condom use is considered as a scheduled phase in the working process of their business “Making orgasm, touching penis for priapism, inserting condom and di (go – penetrating)” (a female sex worker at second focus group discussion). Female sex workers use their agencies to analysis the certain situation and make their own choices. They recognized benefits from condom use

I want to use condom with many reasons. First, we work places on the yard, we have no water to clean vagina. Second, for example, simply to say about SIDA (HIV/AIDS), it is not important due to my drug addition. But regarding to STI such as bệnh nỏ called Kim na (Gonorrhea), in case to be infected I have no money for its treatment. Third, for example an unexpected pregnancy, I do not like … thus these, I prefer to use condom. Condom has multi-usefulness for female sex workers who work like us

(Dc)

Female sex worker’s agency built their own strategy to convince client for condom use with different steps. First, they clarify client’s confusion that even withdrawal can transmit STI, and convince them that condom use helps both being free from worry of disease. Second, they approach a perspective of protection toward their clients “you may be infected in case I have STI, it not good. I do not want it. This affects both you and me” (Lp, female sex worker at karaoke service). Third, they threaten client by their possible infection “I may be infected STI possibly from previous client with leakage condom, I am not sure whether I had an infection since I did not take STI test yet”. For clients who mention meaning of trust without condom use, female sex workers drew a hypothesis that they may also trust previous sexual partners therefore both of them may already be infected with STI. Fourth, they apply top-down approach “I do not waiting for his agreement of condom use, but vừa nói vừa làm
(convincing and inserting condom at the same time)” (Th, female sex worker at coffee shop). Fifth, They ask client’ agreement with condom use because his problem “I asked him use condom for oral sex because his dirty penis” (Dc, freelance sex worker). The final step is refusing offered money with message “no condom – no sex”

In addition, being a companion is a special form of safe sex negotiation. Clients visit them without requirement for penetrative or oral sex. In this form, communication skill is use as crucial technique and female sex workers take position as a good listener or counselor to hear from their clients and give some advices. The fair communication skill is constructed by gentle speech characteristic of female virtue. The characteristic defines women’s soft voice and kind heart during their social relation “When I talk with my client, I talk friendly, I do not consider them as customer but my friends. When I talk with them, I do not concern about our economic situation – rich or poor. There is no concern about social position in our communication” (Dg, Thai massage girl)

8.5.2. Unsafe sex - Client’s Dominance, Resistance and Service Owner’s Pressure

Female sex workers with all efforts cannot meet their expectations about condom use. Client who hold a concept of dominance in sexuality do whatever they want. Female sex workers at the second focus group discussion estimated 50 percentage of clients requested that they not use condoms; “clients disagree condom use even though they may want use two condoms for their penetrative sexes” (HgH). A complex question for female sex workers (why did clients do not practice safe sex?) brings a simply answer (they dislike to use condom) “I dislike using condom, but I have to use it.. I do not use condom with my girlfriend. I dislike using it. It is an obligation. I use it compulsorily” (client 25 years old). Client’s dislike is the main reason for their resistances, and attitudes toward condom use and non condom use.. In addition, service owners hold a benefit perspective and the concept of client is “God”. They do not have to take responsibility for health of society. Therefore, it does not matter for them whether people have safe sex or not. They are willing to offer clients what they want and offer police officers what they need for safety

Unsafe Oral Sex – A Consequence of Marginalized Sex Work and An Unsupported Condition

There is much confusion as the causes of unsafe oral sex as an intention of female sex workers. First, both female sex workers and their clients perceive oral sex as unreal sex, i.e. not sex “I do not know that it (oral sex) is sex, no one tell me” (Th, female sex worker at coffee shop), “This is that I really do not know” (client 44 years old). Second, female sex workers learn how to perform sex act from porn movie mostly. In this material, performers some time use condom with penetrative sex but do not use condom with oral sex. Third, there is a confusion of both female sex workers and their clients on awareness of STI/HIV transmission “I am not sure how oral sex transmits a STI” (a female sex worker at the second focus group discussion). Both female sex workers and their clients could not learn actively such knowledge since sex work is illegal and public communication for sexual act are even not accepted. Four, Thai massage service, a luxury service carries the image of a “clean” service without sex. Even though a massage girl is aware of possible infection from unsafe oral sex, she will not be able to use a condom because they would not be available at a “clean” massage service

Unsafe Sex of Freelance Female Sex Worker - No Choice for Freelance Female Sex Worker, Being Forced of Non Condom Use

In fact, many freelance female sex workers are HIV positive and injecting drug users. Their urgent needs are money for drugs. Their negotiation of condom use is mostly not to
protect themselves. However, they expressed their strong commitments for condom use because they perceive a benefit of using them “condom use keeps me clean since we have no water to wash our vagina and I need condom lubricant while serve few clients in short times” (Dc, freelance female sex worker). In addition, they want to use condom with their moral reason “ I know I have disease (HIV). I do not want other has it” (HgH, freelance female sex worker). The fact is totally different with their expectation. With all of their efforts to persuade their clients to use condoms, clients finally insist on not using them. The situation pushed them to two options: no condom or no client.

If I force the client to use condom he will refuse sex, I work for money need. I have to wait too long to find a client. If he doesn’t like to use condom and I force him to use it, I will loose him. In addition, If he does not do sex with me, he can do the same thing with another girl

(HgH)

“But clients do not agree ( sex with condom), and we will die soon if we have no money”

(Dc)

Unsafe Intimate Sex

Sexual subjectivities of female sex workers negotiate the neglected sexual discourse to fulfill their sexual desire and pleasure in sexual relation with boyfriends The fulfillment also helps them to release tense from fierce working environment, gain energy for continuous work. For sex with husband, non safe sex with husband is practice of gender role that requires woman’ scarify to care her husband. Therefore, female sex workers practice non safe sex within their intimate sex

I use no condom, possibly due to love, I love him too much. Now I also like non condom use. He likes it before me but I could stand to use condom. I feel more pleasure with non condom use. It feels much happier, loving with condom seems a fake love. The real love with condom that causing un-pleasure. I have to accept it, because now I have to use no condom with two men, him and my husband. It is not compulsory but being my willing. In case I’m infected, it means these men transmit it to me

(Hg)

Discussion

In this discussion I will compare and contrast the finding with existing literature. . Both similarity and differentiation are found. For the similarity, Wojcicki and Malala (2001: 116) emphasized that socially dominant discourse conflicts with the individualized discourse of female sex workers who are suffering in a dangerous working environment and dream of a marriage proposal. This research also found a similar finding. State discourse on sex workers implies a bad/ unacceptable job. Female sex workers have a gloomy future without a “good” husband. In contrast, female sex workers use their individualized discourse to see themselves in a good manner and find solution for their own cases “I wish I meet one or two regularly fair clients, who can support me to have a capital, to pay my family debt then I will find another job” (Hg). Another has a dream to find good husband within sex work “I may find a fair client, it he agrees to marry me than I will leave the work” (a female sex worker at second focus group discussion)
Turning to differences, previous research found answers for a question why there is inconsistent condom use in sex work. The answers touched different related reasons. However, they did not find ability of agency negotiation of female sex workers. In this research, although female sex workers practice unsafe sex, it is a choice of agencies after they negotiate hard with clients. First, WHO (2000) found that there is an acceptance of non-condom use among female sex workers to prevent getting abuse, and suspicion of infidelity from their partners. In this research, female sex workers were strongly committed to using condom with message “no condom – no sex”. Female sex workers accept loosing client with an optimistic view “If I lose that client and I think to next client one” (a female sex worker at second focus group discussion). They hold agency to protect themselves “I am not person who is forced easily” (Bh). Their agencies have an economic perspective of non-condom use “I can earn less (possible tip) but lose much (STI/HIV) infection” (a female sex worker in second focus group discussion). Second, Tran et al (2005: 581-585) showed that female sex workers who use drugs are likely to practice unsafe sex because of their powerlessness and poor understanding of their own (what?). In this research, Th and Hn use drugs, both of them are very smart to analyze the situation “there is not him, I have another client”. For Hn, drug seems do not affect her negotiation ability for condom use. She is completely conscious to control well the safe sex negotiation during sex. Furthermore, HgH and Dc are freelance female sex workers and using drugs. Drugs do not create their powerlessness but they understand well that they need money for drugs. They may practice unsafe sex but it is their choice from no choice. The unsafe sex is the result after hard negotiation and insistence on non-condom use from their clients. The circumstance creates the no choice “but client disagreed, I will die if I have no money” (Dc). HgH was smart to understand situation “If I refuse him (non-condom use), he can do the same with other girl”. Third, this research finds a different explanation for the same result. Guest et al. (2007) indicated that symbolic meaning of inconsistent condom use is derived from love/pleasure, trust, prospective wives, power relations, intimacy relationships (developing relationship or preventing from losing partners) turning the relationship from client to boyfriend, to find more social support, network for a safer life. In this research, female sex workers may practice non-condom use within intimate sex to fulfill their desire of their sexual subjectivities. The research finds an explanation for the negotiation from neglecting discourse. Dominant discourse forms sex act with a procreation perspective. Sex is not for desire and pleasure. The discourse neglects the human sexual desire of female sex workers. They use their agencies to negotiate neglecting discourse of sexual desire for unsafe intimate sex.

**Recommendation**

First, research suggests that there is a need of a normalized sex work for policy development. Sex work should be considered as a job then female sex workers have enough power to protect their sexual health and negotiate for safe sex. Legal sex work will create a supporting condition for female sex workers to make sure that they are free of risk. Such condition is convenient for them to learn necessary knowledge, being aware of their rights and implement it as needed. In order to establish such condition, a social movement will facilitate a social change toward cultural believe and normalized sexuality. The enabling condition will facilitate an open communication about sexual issue and update knowledge for sexual partners. Second, research suggests that there is a need of new approach in safe sex intervention programs among sex workers. The current programs for safe sex among sex workers is integrated in HIV/STI programs and targeted to female sex workers. It is interpreted that female sex workers are the source of STI/HIV. The intervention should have a positive view of safe sex negotiation among sex work that needs a gender based and cultural sensitiveness. Gender equality is fundamental for safe sex negotiation. The cultural influence
decides the success of safe sex negotiation. Clients should take their responsibilities for safe sex. Female sex workers are committed to using condoms. They need agreement and support from client for safe sex practice. Clients should shift their obligation of condom use to their willingness to using them. Clients must recognize their responsibilities for safe sex then they can find solution for safe sex and resolve their obstacles to condom use. They will change their dislike of condom use to prefer using it. In addition, public network of female sex workers with public dialogue for female sex workers will enhance their ability to protect themselves and create a change for them to contribute to success of safe sex intervention program.

Table 10.1 Personal information and safer sex negotiation among interviewed FSWs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Type of sexual establishment</th>
<th>STIs/HIV status</th>
<th>Marital status</th>
<th>Commit condom use</th>
<th>Service based FSW</th>
<th>Intimate sex</th>
<th>Freelance FSW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Safe penetrative sex</td>
<td>Unsafe oral sex</td>
<td>Safe sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Dg</td>
<td>Thai massage</td>
<td>Syphilis</td>
<td>Single, no children</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lp</td>
<td>Karaoke</td>
<td>Wart</td>
<td>Single, no children</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Hg</td>
<td>Coffee shop</td>
<td>Gonorrhea</td>
<td>Married, 3 year old son</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ty</td>
<td>Hair cleaning</td>
<td>Trichomoniasis</td>
<td>Divorced, 3 year old son</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bh</td>
<td>Garden coffee</td>
<td>Candida</td>
<td>Separated husband, 7 month old son</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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Understanding Sexuality, Sexual and Reproductive Health of Young Females Engaging in Indirect Sex Work in Vientiane, Laos

Phonexay Sithirajvongsana
Penchan Sherer

Rationale

Sex work, both internationally and locally, is considered an activity that is strongly related to the transmission of STD and HIV. The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that a high proportion of new HIV infections in Asia are contracted during paid sex, and a relatively high HIV prevalence has been found among sex workers in many countries (WHO, 2006). In neighboring countries of Laos such as Vietnam, HIV prevalence among female sex workers increased rapidly throughout the 1990s, from 0.06% in 1994 to 6% in 2002 (WHO, 2006). It is clearly understood that problems of sex work are directly related to many HIV/AIDS problems. Sex workers have little power to negotiate for safer sex with their clients, so this is a crucial reason why HIV transmission continually spreads (WHO, 2001). In Laos, where HIV prevalence is only 0.1%, there is evidence of an expanding epidemic among the most vulnerable groups including sex workers and their clients (NCCA, UNGASS, 2007). Two behavioral surveillance surveys (BSS) in 2001 and 2004 found that in Vientiane capital HIV prevalence among female sex worker (FSW) increased from 0.9% in 2000 to 1.1% in 2001 and in 2004 increased to 2.2% (Sychareun, et al 2006).

Like other countries, the number of sex workers is increasing in Laos due to rapid development, industrialization and trade. This is associated with social inequality between males and females. Women tend to get lower skilled job than men in the production and service sectors. Enrollments into these bring them to be exploited, through hard work for low pay and bad working conditions. Some women seek such income in the sex industry to supplement their low pay or are forced to seek alternative employment when their jobs are no longer available to them (GRIDC, 2006). A related study in Laos found that young females faced many issues such as broken homes, absent parents, divorce or abandonment by husbands, a lack of financial support and poverty. These factors influence females to find job opportunities to make a better life when they have low education and are without work skills. They have little chance to get a good job when living in the city, so many of them turn to work in the high-risk work of commercial sex. Engaging in sex work for young females is to satisfy needs and wants (Songbandith, 2007).

The number of young women engaging in both direct and indirect sex work is increasing. The Vientiane Capital Health Office (VCHO) estimated that the number of female sex workers in Vientiane Capital is 1,500 or 1,588 based on the CHAS in 2005 (Sychareun et al, 2006). These numbers are likely to underestimate the phenomenon, as sex work is illegal and so it is hard to establish exact numbers. Moreover, females may engage in sex work in different ways or settings including brothel based and non-brothel based.

There is a growing body of research on sex workers and sexual health in others societies, but little research studies have been performed in Laos and this is even truer for research on indirect sex workers in Laos. The studies related to sex work are usually

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conducted with quantitative methods which are not able to provide a deep understanding of an individual’s sexuality and sexual and reproductive health through particular social contexts and daily life activities of research subjects.

Additionally, talking about sexuality is still a sensitive topic especially between young unmarried women and men in many societies. This includes Laos. It is a taboo influenced by gender discourses of hierarchal social structures such as religion, culture and institutions. Discussions, that take place, mostly focus on promoting abstinence or safer sex for HIV prevention among sex workers and their clients. Women as sex workers tend to be a target of preventive program. However, sexuality and sexual health are discussed infrequently and there are still a lot of barriers to promoting an understanding of sexuality and sexual health especially among young and unmarried women. Religion, cultural norms, traditional beliefs, gender discourses and discourse on sex work are barriers and influences concerning the sexual issues of young women. However, sexual and reproductive health matters are regularly mentioned in works on female sex workers; they have risks and their behavior makes them vulnerable to HIV transmission, physical and psychological violence, and sexual and reproductive health problems.

This study affecting sexuality and the sexual and reproductive health of young females engaging in indirect sex work will widen the understanding of these issues. Understanding the target group (young females engaging in indirect sex work) will help in effective planning and implementation of programs to promote sexual and reproductive health including STI and HIV/AIDS prevention.

Objective
To explore gender discourse affecting young women, discourse on sex work, agency and negotiation within the social context and daily life activities of young females engaging in indirect sex work and the effects on their sexual and reproductive health.

Methodology
This qualitative study applied the ideas of postmodern feminism as a lens during the data collection in the field analysis, analyzed and writing the final report. Postmodern feminism acknowledges diversity and focuses on multiple truths and realities. The target group and the research topic are sensitive issues, as the target group is young female indirect sex workers who are regarded as invisible because they do not work in brothels. They are different from other kinds of sex workers in Vientiane, such as hotel bar service women, and small beer shop girls who are easily defined as sex workers by the places they work. This study used the snowball sampling technique, in-depth interviews and non-participant observation.

In total, twelve informants participated in the in-depth interviews. Snow ball sampling technique was used with three informants who were initially contacted from different settings and groups through peer project volunteers who work to promote sexual and reproductive health information and service among sex workers. The in-depth interviews were held in private places chosen by the informants such as outdoor restaurants, rented rooms and the informants’ rented houses. The places were convenient, private and comfortable for the informants to share their information and experience from indirect sex work. Tape recording was done during each time of in-depth interview after receiving permission from each informant.

Non-participant observations were used to make the data more valid, and were conducted in places where the informants go for their daily activities, such as night clubs, beer gardens and outdoor restaurants. This method helped understand the research subjects’ lives and their activities such as where the informants find their clients. All tape recorded
interviews were transcribed as written document and field notes were expanded. All data were transcribed and computerized into document format and then imported to ATLAS.ti for coding and analyzing.

**Findings;**

**Short profile of the informants**

The research subjects are young females engaging in indirect sex work in Vientiane, Laos. In this study, they were twelve young females aged between 18 and 25 years old. They have similar socio-economic backgrounds in terms of education, family economic situation and marital status. With regard to their education background, ten stopped studying when they finished grade eleven while some quit studying at grade six or seven. Only two, while engaging in indirect sex work, are studying in upper secondary school. Among these two informants, one is studying in grade ten and another one is studying grade eleven.

The study found that the reasons to stop studying are peer pressure and family circumstances. Many informants said that they stopped studying because they wanted to follow their friends to work in the city. Panoi, a 25 year old and beautician, did not finish Mat tha nhon ton (lower secondary school). She stopped studying at grade seven (lower secondary school) and after that she followed her friends to work in a garment factory in Vientiane. It was similar in other cases, Taen, for example, was influenced by friends to leave school and she influenced other friends to escape classes. They liked to “hang out” and join with friends to drink beer and go to nightclubs. Many of the informants had worked in a garment factory for a period of time after they stopped school then they decided to engage in indirect sex work. Taen is a friend of Pae’s friends; they both like to go together. She left school at Mat tha nhom ton (lower secondary school) in grade 1 because she always followed friends who did not like to study. She said that

> I am very lazy to study so I stop at year 1 of secondary school, because I was friend addicted as I always followed them to escape from the class to go out and drink beer in beer garden or in nightclub.

(Taen, 20 years old and unemployed)

However, in some cases like Nu, after her father died she faced financial difficulties to study. She decided to move to Vientiane and engage in “this work” (“This work” refers to sex work and all informants use the term when they refer to sex work) to earn money to study. Then she met her “love like sister” who introduced her to occasionally do indirect sex work by helping her to contact clients.

**Becoming indirect sex workers**

The findings show that various underlying factors influenced young females to engage in indirect sex work. There were not only factors inside themselves but also external factors. External factors include gender, economic, and environment; peer pressure, social changes and consumer cultures. The findings showed that the informants made their own choices and decisions based on various reasons and internal and external influences to engage in indirect sex work. Many of them said that nobody forced them, but they thought and decided by themselves to engage in sex work. The common reason is to earn money easily. At the beginning of engaging in sex work, they wanted to earn money for themselves only. Then they changed. When they had some money, they wanted to give money to their parents and support their siblings’ education. This practice may mean they wanted to show that they are good and loyal daughters. Many of them perceived that sex work is an unacceptable way to
earn money. However, providing support or giving money to parents and siblings could be a way for them to get back respect and acceptance from family and society.

No longer being a virgin was the main point commonly expressed by all informants decided them to engage in “this work”. Many of informants said that since they are no longer virgins, they felt worthless, low self-esteem and lacked confidence. Therefore, doing sex work would not make them to lose anything else because they had nothing to lose anymore. All of the informants stressed that they lost their virginity because of pressure from a boyfriend who had later abandoned them.

Nong, 18 years old and a student, said that she would not start to sex work if she had still been a virgin because a man wants a young virgin.

> Before I decided to do this work I think that a woman when Siatua (lose virgin) to boyfriend means nothing else to lose again and do no have any thing back but sleeping with a client (Normnam kheak) can get money and get better feeling because some are very kind and use a condom...

(Mai 24 years old and unemployed)

Peer pressure was found to be the cause of many young females in this study engaging in indirect sex work. Several informants reported that they had decided to do “this work” because they wanted to be and have things like their friends. Nong told a long story about her decision to do this work that because she wanted to have and be like her friend who had many things she wanted. So it made her to decide to do sex work. But she only met clients at the hotel when the hotel staff contacted her. She did not go out to find clients elsewhere because she is a student therefore she was afraid of disclosure and discrimination by friends and relatives because she is a sex worker.

**Being in indirect sex work**

Engaging in indirect sex work has some different and similar meanings for informants because they had different experiences, subjectivities and characteristics. Several of them perceived themselves to be in a better position than small beer shop girls in terms of freedom and choice to accept or refuse clients. They said that their sex work is not controlled or forced by pimps, bar owners or mama san so if they had many clients they can get more money. Mai, an informants, said that their clients were high class people; foreigners, local business men and tourists. The informants perceived that they are a higher class of sex workers when compare to small beer shop girls who are low class and receive little pay for their sex work because their shop owners or mamma san managed and controlled their sex work. Many of the twelve informants met their clients at nice or and luxurious places; big hotels, nice attractive guesthouses and restaurants. Additionally, the informants said that no one knew that they were doing sex work or they were sex workers but the small beer shop girls were easily known as sex workers because of their work places. Further more, the clients of the small beer shop girls were local men; construction workers and Tuk Tuk (motor tricycle) drivers. So people would know the small beer shop girls as sex workers. In general, the informants think and act as young females in general such as going to entertainment places, shopping and staying in rented room with their friends or with parents. However, emotionally, they identified and perceived themselves to be different somehow from young females in general. For example, Tuea said;

> Clients always call me Sao, or Sao Bor Li Kan (girl service woman). I think that the place where I work or meet client is different from the small beer shop girls because I can earn more money. I think that working in a big hotel and
restaurant, I have more dignity, degree and value than small beer shop girls as they can get less money. They have to stay in the small beer shop. It is so different from the place where I have client. I have freedom to refuse to go or not go out with any client because it is my own decision.

(Tuea, 24 years old and unemployed)

**Gender Discourses on Young Women: Gender Roles in Engaging in Indirect Sex Work**

There are many scripts, in Lao culture, for teaching boy/man and girl/woman. But women have more teaching scripts than men. Gender scripts for young women to create a Lao woman teach that she must have (*Huean Sarm Nam Shi*) “three houses and four waters”. The three houses for a Lao woman are; first house is the hair dressing house, second house is the sleeping house and the third house is the kitchen. The waters for a woman are mind (*Nam chai*), drinking water, using water and bathing water. A slogan of the Lao Women’s Union used by its members is *Sarm Dee Shong Nar Thee* meaning “three Goods and two Duties”. However these gender scripts for women and men are not recognized among the informants of this study but they remember hearing them when they were very young. Many of them said that their parents, older people and elder siblings always taught and reminded them to be a good girl and woman for the family and society.

The informants said that when they were young, their parents taught them to become good girls and good daughters. Their parents assigned more responsibilities, expectations and housework for them, and rules for them to conform. Roles of sons and daughters were mostly seen in house work division. The daughters or women did long-hour housework at home. The sons or men do hard work that used labor at farm or out sides home such working in the rice field and help fathers with hard work. However, in case if a family has no son, daughter has to do many jobs. Ko told a long story about how her relatives expected her as a girl to behave when she was a young girl;

*My parents do not want children to go out at night and come back home late evening but usually my friends invited me to go with them... Parents want me to talk politely, but when speaking, I never speak softly it was really different from what they expected me to be. They want me to be polite girl; do not walk loudly. When a woman should walk politely, and do not wear jeans or pants especially short pants but wear Sin (Lao skirt). But because of my habit is quite different from other sisters, as I like to speak loudly and aggressively (*Vuao Hao Hao*) and dirty word or speaking likes a man does...My aunt saw my walking style she said to me that “if you walk like this you will be poor until your death” (*Ee nee tuk hord mue tai tha mueng nhang baeb nee... laugh*). Then I asked her why getting poor until death, she said that “I only see your walking styles I can predict and know your future what you will be”. Because when I got drunk and wore sandals, I usually walked by leaving the sandals slowly moved on the floor and making a noise (*kak kak kek kek*), so elder people do not want children to walk like that.*

(Ko, 25 and grilled duck seller).

**Gender identity of young females in engaging indirect sex work**

Sex work is a bad and immoral work and destroys the dignity of the family is a perception expressed by all the informants. However, they prefer to take the identity of a good daughter because they support their family. Being capable of supporting themselves and responsible is a part of the identity of every young female indirect sex worker. They want to be financially independent from parents. On the other hand, they want to be supportive and
loyal to their families by providing financial support to parents, siblings and some relatives. Engaging in indirect sex work, they form themselves with a binary identity. They are both bad women because they engage in indirect sex work and good daughters because they can support themselves and their families. Tuea said that

*I know that doing sex work is a bad woman in our society but I do not care whatever people will say about me. I already decided to do this work. No one forces me to do. I think that I will earn money to support my family and when we have money, people will know us…I know myself on what my purpose and reason that I do this work... For me, I am proud to myself of being at this point that I have supported my family and my siblings.*

(Tuea, 24 years old, unemployed)

The young female indirect sex workers’ identities are changeable based on their status in a particular society. They are good daughters and women because they support and are loyal to their birth parents and siblings. Doing sex work make them bad girls in Lao society. However, sometimes their identities change based on power relations with people, for example they support their families, and friends. Some conflicting influences come from different dominant discourses on gender and sex work in the Lao culture and these create young female workers with various identities.

**The agency and negotiation of young females in indirect sex work**

Starting and continuing to engage in indirect sex work, the study show, depend on different strategies and tactics used by the group of informants. All the informants explained that they decided by themselves to do this work. On this point, agency and negotiation of young females in indirect sex work is clearly portrayed, especially their capacity in sexual negotiation with their sexual encounters; clients and boyfriends, and with their relatives; parents and cousins. The main issue is about their capacity to negotiate with sexual partners for safe sex, protected sex and willing sex. Another aspect is that the young females use their agency and negotiation to deal with the issue of gender relationship with their parents and relatives or boyfriends and the dominant discourses on being daughters or women associated with indirect sex work in society.

Though at the beginning they can accept or refuse or go with clients their choices in sexual acts and practices were limited during sexual activities with clients in places such as hotels, and guesthouses. The sexual acts and practices are roles and demands of clients and the women used their sexual bodies as sexual goods to exchange for clients’ satisfaction and their money. Many said that some clients took off condoms or refused to pay the agreed amount in full.

**Disclosure of their indirect sex work status**

Sex work is immoral and generally unacceptable in society. The informants said that even though some friends encouraged them to do sex work, many people; parents, relatives, boyfriends or same-aged boyfriends, really disapproved of them to doing this work. The young female informants often lied about doing sex work or having sexual relation with clients and other activities related to sex work such as going out at night to meet or find client. Several of them noted that their parents had the main role in the family to take care, support, monitor and also provide guidance for all their children from the time they were young until they became adults and even until they married.

Some informants said, their parents had discovered their secret about engaging in indirect sex work. Some informants said that their mothers discovered about their activities
associated with sex work, but did not give their mothers detailed information. When parents know about their daughters’ sex work they do not dare to ask them directly because they are afraid that their daughters will be disappointed and if the parents asked directly they may tell a lie such as they work at restaurants as waitresses.

Ko left her family and moved to live in a rented room with a friend. Her parents are unclear about her real work because she did not tell them and she just tries to hide her status.

Jack, another informant

*When I have some money from this work I will not show to other to know that I have a lot of money but I will still ask money from my mother I pretend as I do not have money and I just meet with friend normally*

(Jack, 20 years old, hair dresser)

Disclosure that the informants are sex workers produces different reactions depending on the situation. Some said that at the beginning their parents felt angry, guilty and could not accept them. As the time passed, however, the situation became better even though what they were doing was not accepted it was ignored and not mentioned again. Providing support to their parents and relatives can lead to disclosure of the informants’ doing sex work. Many have done this work for a long time and they can send earnings to support their family. On the other hand their sex work is not open like that of sex workers in small beer shops where the sex workers have to stay and work every day. But the informants live and join in activities just like other young females. Therefore, they have more freedom to make decisions in their indirect sex work and suffer less stigma and discriminated by society.

Telling a lie is one of the common methods used by young females in indirect sex work, especially when negotiation with the clients occurs on the telephone. Many informants who stay with parents explained that they tell their parents or their boyfriends that they sleep overnight in a friend’s house. But informants who stay alone or with friends in rented room do not have to lie to parents when they go out to meet their clients. Friends are very important and help and support them in their sex work as well as they contact clients for them through their mobile phone network or peer network and help them to lie to clients and their parents. Many informants expected that marriage can cover their sex work status. They said that after getting married they will stop doing “this work” so no one can know their history of engaging in sex work. In Lao society, women are expected to get married and have family. It is one of their expectations for their future life to have someone who loves them because they perceive that after they get married their parents will not discover sex work status.

Gone said *...Next three month I will stop this work as I plan to marry to my boyfriend soon. He also love me I think that if I have got married my parents or relatives may reduced about my problems because no one will dig up my previous experience.*

(Gone, 24 years old and unemployed)

Several of them expect to save money from “this work” and then they will use saving to open and run a small business in their village or in the city. When they have their own business, they think that people will forget or not know about their history of being an indirect sex worker. Running their own small business such as a clothes shop, goods shop, renting equipment for wedding parties, beauty parlor and getting married are repeatedly mentioned by informants.
When I have money I will run small shop and earn money so when my parents know I already stop and have normal business like other so they will not dig up my previous story ... I think to open small shop selling dry goods.

(Ko, 25 years old and grilled duck seller)

**Price negotiation with clients in indirect sex work**

Price for young females in indirect sex work is very important because all of them said that they do this work because they want money and not to have sex with clients. Many of them have learned sexual skills from friends, senior sex workers and from their interaction with their sexual encounters. Some can get higher pay from their clients because they have good technique to talk with clients, many of them will leave the mobile phone numbers with staff of the hotel to contact and discuses price with client for them so this way they can get a higher income.

The guesthouse staff will sometimes negotiate the price with client first then contact me and when I get money I had to give him some. For example, if I get 1,200 baht I will give guesthouse staff 200 Baht but if my friend contacted a client for me I will not give them, but we will help to contact and find client for each other if many clients needed girls at the same time we will contact to each other to serve them.

(Gone, 24 years old and unemployed)

Many informants explained that they do not talk about money in advance but they will ask money from clients after finish their sexual activities with clients because they think that they can get higher pay from clients.

Tuea said

*I usually did not negotiate with client about money in advanced, I always depended on clients but if they gave small money I will asked them for more money.*

(Tue, 24 years old and unemployed)

The clients always paid after I slept with them( Khuen khaek) about 1,500-2,000 baht per one off stand but some regular partners sometimes gave me 1,000 baht or more than and sometimes when they did not have money they did not gave me and I did not take their money especially these group of people I call regular partners.

(Tean 20 years old and unemployed)

**Negotiation with clients on uncomfortable sex**

Young females in indirect sex work have multiple sexual partners to earn money and their different sexual partners have various sexual preferences such as oral sex, anal sex, and group sex with two or more sex workers. Several young females have faced and experienced uncomfortable and unwanted sex with different clients. Therefore sexual negotiation among them and their clients always happens. Many of them have learned and practice strategies how to convince their clients while others applied different methods to avoid uncomfortable sexual practices. Refusing, price negotiating and telling lies are common practices among young females.
Mai said

*It is always normal sex, only some clients wanted me to do this and that sexual style with them. Some I can do I will do with them but some styles I don’t feel comfortable to do I would tell them that “I cannot do with you”. Sometimes I want to satisfy client when have sex with them I prefer to do style that make me feel comfortable.*

(Mai, 24 years old and unemployed)

*Sometimes the client paid money to have sex with two girls at the same time with one client. I will go to take a bath waiting him finished sex with one girl first then I could have sex with him but usually I will refuse to do by telling them to call other girl to replace.*

(Tuae, 25 years old and unemployed)

**Refuse unwanted clients**

The findings show that at first the informants perceived that they do not have much experience to negotiate with clients to use a condom, and they can learn from experiences what to do when faced with different clients. Sharing and learning from peers and senior peers about negotiation for condom use and sexual practices with clients is a common and good technique used by all of them.

Nong said;

*At first when I came to find clients here my love like sister told me many thing about going out with client she said if any clients dislike to use a condom, we have to try to motivate them to use one by saying sweetly or talking about the consequence of unprotect sex but if they still refuse to use one just tell them that you cannot do and ask them to find new girls.*

(Nong, 18 years old and student)

Pea said

*No... never, if a client talk or like violate women I will not go with him any more, I like a man who talk sweetly and gently with women sometimes I get angry with them when they talk some thing not good then I like to tell them on phone that ok stop now I do not won’t disturb you then I turned of my mobile phone.*

(Pea, 20 years old and unemployed)

**Sexual and reproductive health problems of young females doing indirect sex work**

The findings give an understanding of the experiences sexual and reproductive health problems of young females in indirect sex work. Their problems are mostly associated with gender relations, sexual relationships and sexual acts/practices that affect their sexual and reproductive health before and or during their engaging in indirect sex work. Several of them said that their first sexual intercourse with boyfriends were unwanted and scary sex. Because they were afraid their parents would discover what they had done or they were afraid to get pregnant. Traditionally, young females are expected to be virgins until marriage. Many informants perceived that the first sex was important for them because it influenced their future lives because it was an issue of virginity, dignity of being a woman and also family. The informants, when they are no longer virgins because of their sexual relations with
boyfriends, feel that they are valueless and have low self esteem especially when the boyfriends denied or rejected them.

Additionally, some informants said that engaging in “this work” they encountered some clients who like to use violence because they think that because they pay money they can do anythings to the woman’s.

I met many times that my clients put some class balls around their penis. they practice this kind of sex. I met, usually among Chinese and Japanese clients, they like to put class balls in the skin of penis and some clients put some things at the top of their penis skin. But I do not know what it is. I just notice their top of penis look very big while the body of penis is smaller... laugh...

(Tean 20 years old and unemployed)

Problems related to Sexual health

Most informants reported sexual abuse by boyfriends in their prior relationships before engaging in indirect sex work. Many of them experienced various forms of sexual problems resulting from having multiple partners and sexual relations with boyfriends and clients. The forms of their sexual problems include unwanted sex, unsafe sex, and unprotected sex, sexual violence from clients such as having sex with clients who have glass balls inserted into the skin of the penis or drugs to stimulate sex, and being bitten. These actions produce general mental and physical health problems and not only these related to sexual health.

Six informants explained that their boyfriends persuaded them to have sex even when they were not willing or ready to do so. The young women have relationship with boyfriends only to be accepted by peers and because they want intimacy with boyfriends but not for sex. They felt very sad and disappointed and blamed themselves for being weak-hearted women (Phu Nhing chai Ngay) to allow boyfriends to have sex while they were not married to each other. Additionally, many of them were abandoned by boyfriends. Having first sex means they lost their virginity, so they feel guilty and angry with themselves. They thought that they are valueless and they punished themselves by following and “hanging out” with friends then end up engaging in sex work. Sai, 20 years old and unemployed, had such as experience of being abandoned by her boyfriend after a long sexual relationship and her boyfriend promising to marry to her. She said that her boyfriend liked to come and visit her at home and talked to her parents and they did not prohibit her relationship because her parents trusted her boyfriend.

Unwanted sex or sex only for money

All informants said that they do not want to have sex with “one off” (One time sex with a client) or “one night stand” (An over night sex with a client) clients, or any at all for that matter but they do this work because they need money. But sex with a boyfriend for love is what they need but not all the time. Several of them have experiences of sexual relationship with boyfriend before they started sex work and many said that their boyfriends only wanted to have sex with them but they wanted intimacy with each other.

Ko said

I felt I do not like young client whose ages younger than me. I do not have other reason why, but only my personality, I do not like man who is younger than me but I always like clients who are elder than me.

(Ko, 25 years old and grilled duck seller)

Many young women said that normal sex, vaginal sex or penetration sex is acceptable in indirect sex work but the sexual preferences of clients differ. In the case of Tean, she has
various sexual partners both Lao and foreign; Chinese, Japanese, Thai and others. Some of them like to have hard sex, and/or aggressive sex. She has had sex with a client who used sexual stimulants and encouraged her to use them while having sex.

I remembered one of my clients he contacted me for one night stand sex, he was a terrible man. He used sexual stimulating drug when sleep with me. He was really promiscuity (Tan ha shung), he had sex with me at 11 pm to 5.00 am in the morning. I did not know where he got energy. That morning I was very pain my leg and nearly cannot ride my motorbike. First I thought that I will refuse him but I need his money because he offered me $ 100.

(Tean, 20 years old and unemployed)

Unsafe sex

This study shows that young females have unsafe sex practices. Once they have multiple sexual partners it makes them more at risk to being infected with STI and HIV, and unwanted pregnancy because their sexual partners do not often use contraceptives, especially condoms. Many of them said some clients or boyfriends do not like to use condom or use but not very often, so sometimes, they become infected with STIs, and have unwanted pregnancies. Sometimes their clients refuse to use or take off a condom when having sex with them especially drunk clients.

Mai said;

I experienced with a client took of condom while having sex with me when I know I suddenly rush to toilet to wash and clean and I make unhappy face for him to show him that I do not accept his behavior...

(Mai, 24 years old and unemployed)

Nu said;

Uh...condom is not often used because sometimes drunk clients did not like to use condom with me even I encouraged them to use and they offered much money and...
Sometimes first they just pretended to wear a condom, then they liked to take out off after a while of having sex. And I sometimes was willing not to wear condom when have sex with my boyfriends. And sometimes some clients especially foreigner clients looked clean and if they do not use condom I think it is ok ...

(Nu, 18 years old and student)

Sex and alcohol always come together. All informants said that they always drink beer and wine with friends. When they have free time or special events, they like to arrange a meal and drink among their friends or with regular partners. Some informants said they like to hang out and drink beer with friends and boyfriends till late at nights. When they become drunk, condoms were not used in their sexual intercourses with boyfriends or regular partners. So it makes them at rink to STI, unwanted pregnancy including HIV infection. Tean said that

When I get drunk I from the nightclub with our friends we like to go and sit somewhere or sleep in friend’s house and continue drinking usually when we drink there are some male friend or regular clients join us .... Sometimes when I get drunk I liked to call my regular partners...

(Tean 20 years old and unemployed)
Experiences of violence in indirect sex work

Engaging in indirect sex work makes young females face problems related to various forms of violence. Some have faced violence from boyfriend, clients and many have faced violence on the street when they had to travel back home after going out with “one off” clients or activities with friends.

Many informants said that they had experience of being abused or forced to have sex with their boyfriends. They said their boyfriends will use many strategies to encourage them to have sex. They will come and meet them at home and at school. They even come to talk and meet with the women’s partners to show that they are boyfriends, or lovers of the women. After they have had sex they will try to separate or stop contacting the women. In Sai’s case as boyfriend separated from her after a long sexual relationship and the expectation he would marry her. Finally he stopped the relationship with her and met another girl. From that event she became broken hearted. So just went to “hang out” with friends then she finally decided to engage in sex work.

In Nu’s case, she was abused by her ex-boyfriend so from that event she did not want to stay in the same village with him and she decided to move in with friends in Vientiane before she engaged in sex work. She started work in a small beer shop then she left the small beer shop and started indirect sex work by herself through using a mobile phone, her peer network and by herself. Some young females said that street gangsters robbed and snatched their money on their way back home from clients. Doing indirect sex work they have to go out late and come back home late at night, especially with “one off” clients. Therefore some of them dislike meeting “one off” clients at night in guesthouses or hotels far from their residences.

Experience of unwanted pregnancy and abortion

Unwanted pregnancy and unsafe abortion are as severe problems of sexual and reproductive health. The problems are caused directly from the informants’ sexuality in indirect sex work; unsafe and unprotected sexual practices, multiple sexual partners and so on. Condoms are not used regularly in these sexual relations. When informants think they are pregnant, the first person they consult with is a friend or they test by themselves. Many of them said that they will buy Neaw kuad nam nhueow thue pha (pregnant urine test devices) at the clinic to test and if the test is negative that month they are happy. If the test result is positive they will end the pregnancy by taking Chinese abortion pills. Then blood will come like normal blood of Pa cham duean (menstruation blood) and it will last for four to five days or sometimes a little more.

Gone sad that

_Umm... I used to get Thue pha (unwanted pregnancy) for more than a month with my boyfriend. I ended my pregnancy by doing abortion in a private clinic. When I visited New House, they also told me that next time if you face problem of unwanted pregnancy you can go to Mother and Child hospital, there they would consult and help finding best solution._

(Gone 24 years old and unemployed)

According to Mai she has twice had an unwanted pregnancy and every time she ended her pregnancy by taking Chinese abortion pills. Similarly Tuea, she also took Chinese abortion pills to end her unwanted pregnancy but recently she goes to get an induced abortion at the clinic instead because she thinks that it is safer than taking Yachin (Chinese abortion pills)
Experience of STI (Por Tor Phor) and HIV/AIDS

White discharge (Long khao) is frequently occurs among the informants. They perceived that engaging in this work puts them at risk of getting STI and HIV/AIDS. This is because they have high risk sexual behavior; multiple sexual partners, and irregular condom use. Being in a lower position in gender and sexual relations make young females in indirect sex work become a weaker in terms of sexual relations during their sexual activities with clients and sexual partners. Of the twelve only one did not have experienced of STI because she is new to this kind of this work. According to her, she has only received only three foreign clients and all of them were well protected as they all used condom when they slept with her. Eleven informants have had some experiences with STI and some health problems due to biting or being bitten by clients or genital pain when they received many clients in a week like in Tuac’s case, she said:

I remembered two times that I got Long khao (white discharge) so I went to meet a doctor at Soon huean Mai (the New House Centre) every time on the working day when medical doctor come and provided health check up at the Centre for Sao sao (service girls)... I know what normal white discharge is. It always happens before visiting of monthly menstruation. For me information about health is very little known ... (laugh). I am normal now I do not get any infection. but I usually feel pain at lower part of abdomen (thong noi) especially when I Het Lay (have many sexual intercourses) with clients in a week ...

(Tua 24 years old and unemployed)

Self-treatment of STI

Buying medication at the drug store for self treatment of STI is a common practice among informants because they like to share information with each other especially with close friends. Mai also has experience of STI treatment she said that:

...it was long time already that I got STI. Usually I bought some medicines from drug store to take then it got recovered after three to five days. Oh if it was serious it took about one to two weeks to get treatment...

(Mai 24 years old and unemployed)

It is similar to Nee’s case, she also used to buy medicine at the drug store to cure her disease she said that:

Uh...I had Long Khao (white discharge) two times and every time I bought medicines at drug store to take by myself then it disappeared within 4 to 5 days and many of my friends did... but now we always go to New House Centre.

(Nu 18 years old and unemployed)

Some of informants perceived that they are vulnerable to HIV infection and they decided to get consultation and took HIV VCT.

Conclusion

Experiences of severe reproductive health conditions of indirect sex workers

Sexuality consists of sexual partner, sexual meaning, sexual desire and sexual practice in the context of culture and society. The way society constructs values and socializes aspects of power, gender and modernization is essential. Because it helps not only to understand the dynamic of sex work, but also to find effective ways to control the spread of STI and HIV.
among sex workers and their clients. This study focused on indirect sex workers. The findings show clearly that indirect sex workers are at very vulnerable to sexual and reproductive health conditions. Those include unwanted pregnancy, unsafe abortion, STI, violence and other health problems. Sexual transmitted infections are found commonly among young females in indirect sex work. Nearly all informants had experienced sexually transmitted infections (STI); genital pain or burning, white discharge and itching. Moreover, several informants reported that they had experienced unwanted pregnancies and consequently had induced abortions. Some of them have had more than four self-abortions. Self-medication of reproductive health problems is commonly practiced among the informants. As abortion is illegal in Laos, drugs for abortion are only available on the black market and they may have problem with side effects. Self-medication with improper counseling and knowledge could be problematic.

According to the findings, there is a great variation of experiences of being indirect sex workers especially the perspective of working conditions, motivations, attitudes, agency and options for behavior change. Increasing the insights into indirect sex work and its dynamics would help to find appropriate ways to tackle the problems. Using an idea of postmodern feminism perspective with qualitative methods can widen the understanding of the sexuality of young females in indirect sex work. Additionally, society needs to take a positive view of the “others” (women who sale sex) as they are the ones who are excluded, rejected, unwanted, dislocated and marginalized by the society. I found that for these females engaging in indirect sex work, the economic factor is a partial influencing factor but the major factor is the belief about virginity based on gender stereotypes.

Gender is a crucial role that influences the young women entering into indirect sex work. The informants felt low self-esteem or worthless when they lost their virginity. Their virginity reflects the young females’ concept of being good girls and eventually good wives and good mothers. However, premarital sexual relationships create a double standard for women because premarital sexual intercourse exists in society. Peer pressure is an important component in the social lives of the young women that influences the young women to enter indirect sex work. Having peers with experience working in indirect sex service may facilitate easily engage in indirect sex services. This study found that their peers asked, persuaded and suggested that then do sex work because they gave only the positive sides of doing sex work. Moreover the positive aspects of doing indirect sex work is reinforced by seeing their peer, who do this work, have nice clothes, nice mobile phone and a lot of money so they want to be the same as their friends.

Diverse sexuality of indirect sex workers: contesting between agency and gender role

Nowadays young females in indirect sex work use mobile phones to contact and find their clients because they don not want to be controlled by pimps, “mama san” or bar owners. The findings in this study closely support a study in Thailand where women used internet as a tool to find clients. Privacy was a key factor why they used internet and so their sex work would remain a secret. The women made a conscious decision to enter the sexual service industry, choosing it as the best and least exploitive opportunity to earn an income. The informants want to be free from the control and exploitation of pimps and bar owners (Veena 2007). The informants can choose clients. Continuing or stopping sex work is their decision. The characteristics, appearances and social activities of the young females in indirect sex work are similar to young women in general. But the sexuality, sexual and reproductive health problems of the young females in indirect sex work are severe smelling shown from many studies on sex workers. They have multiple sexual partners and condoms are mostly used with the clients and rarely used with their regular partners and boyfriends. The clients use many forms of violence, both mental and emotional, against indirect sex workers. The informants
are vulnerable to sexual and reproductive health issues; STI and HIV/AIDS, unwanted pregnancy and unsafe abortions.

The young females in indirect sex work have agency to learn from real life experience and peers. They have agency to deal with the difficult situations in different ways and levels with clients, boyfriends and parents. They try to deconstruct traditional norms and discourses on women. As they are bad women and immoral women because they do sex work in turn they want to be good daughters by supporting their families with their earnings and ignoring the discrimination and stigma their sex work. They change the role of financial dependence on parents to financial independence and freedom.

Not only are they financially independent but they also give the earning to help family and support their siblings’ education fees. It can be said that, the findings support the idea of the postmodernism perspective that “choice” comes naturally to the postmodern person and choice of life style is central to radical sexual politics; choice to realize our sexual desire, choice in the pattern of sexual relationships, and choice in our general ways of life. Increasingly the sexual world is made up of different ways of life, some cohabiting more or less equably, others in often violent conflicts, a kaleidoscope of many colored forms of living, each expressing and sustaining different personal and cultural identities. Diversity appears to be the only truth about postmodern sexuality (Weeks 1995)

Agency and negotiation for safer sex is dynamic based on the situation. Though informants have choices they occur only in the choice of clients but not during working. Power between clients and sex workers exists and mostly the clients have more power in terms of sexual relations. In engaging in indirect sex work, several aspects of agency and negotiation are found in different ways and forms among informant and within their peer networks. Forming peer network and contacting through hotel staff or guesthouse to find clients for and supporting each other are strategies used to reduce and avoid violence.

Socio-economic change, consumerism and development in the country has caused an explosion in the sex trade among young females who are targeted by consumerism, consequently, women are still vulnerable as they are victim of social change and development. Though it is shown that young females’ engaging in indirect sex work do so by their own choice but it ca not be avoided that social and cultural factors influence and underlying of their decision to do sex work, Modernization may brings new understandings and ideas to justify how life can be lived differently from traditional ways but these can facilitate sexual experimentation and breaking of traditional sexual rules including the increasing phenomenon of indirect sex work.

**Recommendation**

The short terms plan is important and practicable. Therefore this issue is needed to be addressed in proper ways and using effective methods and the activities must relate to the social context of the target group (young females sex workers). The followings are some practical recommendations;

Promoting programmes of gender sensitive and sexual and reproductive health among youth is needed. Outreach and peer education programmes are suggested not only to promote condom use but also to provide health education through peer educator and outreach staff. The programmes need to build on close knowledge of, and respect for the indirect sex workers themselves.

Additionally, promoting female empowerment, known as the clinical element for HIV prevention internationally, is mostly urgent with young females engaging in sex work as social discriminated work and sex workers are marginalized population. So teaching young females, in and out of schools, about their rights, and providing them with a mechanism for
social support and solidarity maybe more effective than providing them information about only health issue in increasing condom use.

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Talking about Sexuality between Parent and Youth in Rural Northern Thailand

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Background:
Youth is the critical stage which an individual goes through physical, social and psychological transitions (Chamratrithirong, 2007). They engage in different activities and some activities bring them into risk. Sexual and reproductive health risk is one of the greatest concerns of people in this period (p.79).

Studies in Thailand show that the age at first sexual intercourse is declining and HIV/AIDS is increasing among Thai adolescents (Kanchanachitra et al., 2006). In 2005, 18,000 Thais had HIV/AIDS. Most of them were teenage students aged between 15-24 years old. At present, more than 30,000 Thai teenagers are HIV-positive. Of these, 84% contracted HIV through sexual intercourse. The study also reported child abandonment and unintended pregnancies. This is worrying, since sexual intercourse between adolescent students is becoming more common but condom use among them is still unusual.

In order to solve the problem, “Sexuality Education” is often cited as a tool for HIV/AIDS prevention among adolescents (Laphimon et al., 2008). As well as researchers so often assume that parent-child communication about sex is desirable (Albert, 1998; K.Jones, 2006). Unfortunately Previous reviews of literature concluded that most-parent-child communication about sexuality is limited. This situation is attributed as much to lack of factual knowledge as to embarrassment (Jaccard, J.Dittus, & V.Gordon, 2000; Vuttanont, Greenhalgh, Grffin, & Boynton, 2006).

In Thailand, parents do not traditionally discuss sex with their children (Vuttanont et al., 2006). Discussing sexuality and reproductive health in the family and in public is a taboo and has not been a norm in the Thai family (Chamratrithirong, 2007). A study conducted in a western country shows that both parents and young people report dissatisfaction with the quality and quantity of parent-child communication (Warren, 1995).

Michel Foucault, a French philosopher identified parents in which the state and other agencies monitor them in an attempt to manage and govern populations (Lupton & Barclay, 1997). I agree with Foucault’s point that something doesn’t become a problem, or have a problematic status, until it enters into a discourse (Danaher et al., 2000). Discourse of “parents and child relationship” locates parents in positions of power with responsibility for their children from birth to the late teenage years. However the data from parents indicated a high degree of confusion and ignorance about sexuality and sexual health issues. This can lead to conflict because of the different views and experiences of parents and children. This conflict is heightened among families living in rural areas because many parents have less formal education than their children. The media is increasingly shaping the development of youth cultures along with rapid socio-economic changes. Their expectations, values are significantly different from their parent. However, there is an absence of articles that directly address this

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kind of parent-youth communication pattern in rural communities, especially a study to
explore the discourse embedded in the conversation related to sexuality topics between them.

**Objective:**
1. To identify the existing dominant and alternative gender and sexual discourses
which produce and reproduce the existing youth sexual and reproductive health
problems which happen during sexuality education provided by parents.
2. To explore the sexuality education provided by parent to their young children in
terms of the content and style.
3. To identify youth sexual subjectivities in the context of “Talking About Sexuality
between Parents and Youth”
4. To examine how youth as receivers, negotiate or resist with dominant and
alternative gender and sexual discourses conveyed by their parents.

**Methodology:**
This qualitative study employs Foucauldian perspective by living in the small
community in a rural part of Lamphun province in northern Thailand during July-October
2008. Multi-method was used including participant observation, ethnographic interviewing
with 5 fathers, and 10 mothers from 12 Families. Other people in the community were also
included. They are village leader assistant, 2 older peoples, 2 local health care staffs in village
health care center, 1 DJ. from local radio program, 2 teachers in the school and 2 monks. In
addition, 2 focus group interviews (FGIs) with 12 young male and young female. Most of
them studying in grad 11 (มัธยม 5) in a secondary school within my research site.

Participant observation were utilized throughout the entire data collection, to make
sense of the wider context within which people act (Harden et al., 1994) While in the field, I
was involved in many activities with my informants. I went to farm with them, I jointed
temple activities with them, ate and drank with them, observed their daily life and chatted
with them on many topics not only about my research topic. Ethnographic interviews were
carried out in letting villager narrate their answers for the shameful topic in Thai society.
Secondary data were gathered from sources such as newspaper stories, musical lyrics,
commemorative books (a book often produced when an abbot dies), I listened to the radio
program on the same channel as the villagers, watched television more frequently, took many
picture of advertisement boards along the streets, in people’s house, in the temple, in the
public place and in the school setting. Those materials contain gender and sexuality
discourses at my research site.

Focus group interview was conducted followed a question
guideline to see youth sexual subjectivity after they gained massage about sexuality related
topics from their parents.

The term “thick description” places an emphasis on providing details of my field note
writing. My thick description consisted of photographs, tape recordings, observations,
conversations, and interpretations. My writing style was similar to a diary, with concrete,
descriptive, and contextual information such as dates, places, names of people and general
information about my research site. Any additional notes, including my experience, additional
question rising out of my fieldwork, and even mistakes. Such theses information helped me to
improve my work.

Qualitative data were then analyzed thematically by using ATLAS.ti program and
discourse analysis by looking at both text and context. I interpreted Key events in the
community, patterns of their routine conversation, place, time and cultural meaning beliefs,
practices, values, and symbols.

Several techniques were used to assure the reliability and validity of this project
includes trust building, reflexivity of researcher’s identity and researcher’s social position and
intersubjectivity. Lastly, privacy and confidentiality were concern by using a pseudonym with each participant and used in all written records of the study including interview transcripts of my field work and my field notes. Only the researcher, thesis advisor and Mahidol University Institutional Review Board (MU-IRB) can access the list which associates pseudonyms with informants’ real names. Informants were asked to sign the paper after they informed about the contents including the objective and process of the study.

Findings:

1. Context:
   1.1 Sexuality topic in Ta-Mai village
   Ta-Mai village like other rural area in the north of Thailand, where the topic of sexuality is shameful. People will avoid discussions about sex since sex is seen as dirty and disrespectful. In northern Thailand, sexual contact between single men and single women is prohibited. The ancestral spirit called “Phi pu ya” (ผีปูยา) provides a beliefs and practices to control female sexuality. Believe in ancestral spirits has been declined in Ta-Mai so this kind of ritual does not work with the present generation at all. The age of formal marriage is increasing but the age of informal marriage is declining as today’s generation moves to study in the city and live together in the dormitory without informing their parent.

   Do we still have spirit at this moment? Adolescent nowadays want to do whatever they want to do and want to go wherever they want to go.
   (Mukda, a mother of 14 year old daughter)

   Parents clearly express how important it is to talk about sexuality as well as they saw sex is a shameful and dirty topic. The cases of Sin show that their perception about sexuality is shameful.

   I felt difficult to start in talking it I afraid that if I talk about it she will think why I raise the issue up I do not dare to talk about it I don’t want to look lewd in her eyes.
   (Sin, a mother of 20 year old daughter)

   1.2 State discourses on young people sexuality; through school and media
   Discourse refers to language both speech systems and written language. Discourse can be non verbal such as practices in which male open doors for females (Purvis & Hunt, 1993: 485). I found discourses related with gender and sexuality reproduced throughout school (educational institution, media, religion, public health, and family. Those social institutions developed and exercises gender and sexuality discourses control over individual sexuality. What Foucault pointed out, he thought that sexuality had become a crucial part of the way modern societies control their citizens (Seidman, 2003: 32).

   1.2.1 Being asexual youth is being a good person: a moral discourse for young people’s sexuality
   Good student and discipline student mean student who can follow the rule. When I teach sexuality subject, rude student (student who use to have sex) would dare to talk about it but other student who never would shy about the topics.
   (Female teacher)

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The teacher used the word rude student to express her opinion about students who have sex. While young people and students are expected to refrain from sex; they should not talk about sex and be obedient to their teacher and family. In contrast, young people who do the opposite or if they have boyfriend/girlfriend will be blamed as “a bad boy/girl”. Young female who don’t keep their virginity are considered to be loose or sexually permissive (เด็กใจแตก).

I talked with the DJ from the local radio station. He used the word “white” to represent a notion of “good”. Since sex is for reproduction. Therefore love and lust are the emotion in which considered lead to sex for pleasure and enjoyment. The DJ from this channel told me about the meaning embedded in this word that;

The name of this channel is “White Channel” because I hope that all messages conveyed through this channel will clean listener heart… I play only create song and avoid playing love and lust song.

(DJ.)

1.2.2 Gender discourse for young female: discourse on female chastity

Girls are warned to take extreme caution in maintaining their chastity in order to maintain the notion of being a good girl. In school, girls are told to keep their chastity (รักนวลสงวนตัว) but not boys. The message is “Khun ka kong sa-tree yuu tii rak nuan sa-nhuan tua” (คุณค่าของสตรีอยู่ที่รักนวลสงวนตัว) which means the value of women is her chastity. It is a gender discourse for female that is firmly grounded in Thai society and means to protect female virginity and avoid premarital sexual relation.

1.2.3 “Young people as asexual and monogamous person”: moral discourse as religious discourse

According to the third Buddhist precept, if you can’t control your sexual arousal, disease and bad things will come to you…you can have sex, but only with your partner. Do not think about adultery.

(Monk)

The monk raised the third Buddhist precept which is to refrain from sexual misconduct. The contents he told are link with sexual transmitted disease and reproductive health discourses. STIs were represented as bad disease and bad behavior on adultery. On one hand, religion discourses often bring up the consequences of sex to govern young people. The reproductive health problems such as unwanted pregnancy and abortion are the most topics represented of these discourses in order to prevent adolescents from having sex at an earlier age.

If young people stay together…if they got pregnant and got an abortion, immediately the problem will occur…in terms of morality wrong and illegal.

(Monk)

1.2.4 Public health discourse on young people: “young people is the high risk group for HIV infection”

Within the community, Fear arousal is used in order to govern young people to refrain from sex. The message such as “naughty and promiscuous teens have to beware of AIDS” were represented aimed to reduce the number of new HIV infections among young people.
The words naughty and promiscuous sexual practices used to describe or refer to the practice in which consider as high risk for HIV infection. Young people were considered as a high risk group people as well as men who have sex with men. These two words are being represented from time to time to govern young people in the hope that they will reduce their high risk.

2. Styles of talking about sex-related topics

I found five styles of talking about sexuality between parent and youth in Ta-Mai community: 1. parent (father-mother) initiated communication, 2. opportunistic communication, 3. child initiated communication, 4. disciplining and prohibited with reason and 5. indirect communication. The major characteristics of these five styles are described in detail below;

2.1 Parent (father-mother) initiated communication

The characteristic of this group were that the father or mother initiated discussions about sexuality related issues with their young children. They did not wait for their child to initiated discussions with them in the belief that when the child was ready to discuss sex-related topics they would do so. The word they used in their styles varies with our conversation such as “asking”, “teaching”, “telling”, “communicating” or even their gestures.

I think it a time to talk, it’s appropriate for their age; this kind of things is not ashamed.

(Nipon, a father of 17 year old daughter)

2.2 Opportunistic communication

The opportunistic category was identified although it occurred infrequently but some mother sought out occasions and events to initiated sex-related discussion. Settings such as in the car or super market were often conductive to these discussions.

When we go to the supermarket together…when we walked pass the sanitary napkin storage I will stop and talk about it.

(Wandee, a mother of 23 year old daughter)

2.3 Child initiated communication

I found parent who shared an experience but they did not initiate the conversation about sexually related issues. In contrast to the group of Parent (father-mother) initiated communication, their children initiated the conversations.

I was about 11 years old. I felt pain in my breast and I asked my mother and she said I start getting into an adulthood period. Soon I got menstruation.

(Jeab, 17 year old female)

2.4 Disciplining and prohibiting with reason

This category was the largest classification of parents. This style of control over their young children always occurred in the contemporary context. They were told to refrain from sex. On one hand, most of my adolescent informants reported the same way. They were prohibited from having relationships by their parent, given strict warning, had their behavior investigated or had their personal mobile phones seized.
I was told my son not to... Do not pay attention to sexual relationship If hang out just girlfriend you can but do not destroy each other by having sexual intercourse. I always emphasized about this.

(Chai, a father of 20 year old son)

2.5 Indirect communication
Lastly, there were some parents classified into this group because their styles were to not come up with the topic directly. Their style can be teasing, making a joke, start with other topic, and so on.

If I want to know something, I will not ask directly like others do. Some times, I asked my relative to raise the question.

(Lin, a mother of 20 year old son)

It is noticeable that there is no mutual interactive communication between parents and youth.

3. Contents
Parent reported discussing diverse topics. The principle contents were parent prohibit their young child to refrain from sex. In this study I categorized the content in which I gain from my informants as following;

3.1 Contents related to human development concept
I found mothers focused largely on the topic of menstruation with their daughters. However mothers have a limit knowledge and skill to talk about this issue. Therefore, the contents contained myths, personal believes and it is considered were vague. In the case of Noi, the only thing she told her daughter is that menstruation period is equal to reproductive period without mentioned to any necessary information such as how to manage in both physical and emotional consequence that may occur during the time of menstruation. While many of young people, they learn about this issue from outside the family sphere such as school or with their peer.

I have taught her about menstruation. I told her that if we have sex with male, we can get pregnant because we have menstruation already then my daughter seems to acknowledgement about what I just said to her.

(Noi, a mother of 17 year old daughter)

In the case of Khamla, what she talked with her daughter she related traditional believes she gained from her mother. She told her daughter that;

At first she walks to me and then said “mom why I feel stomachache?” at that time I know that she has the first menstruation. I immediately told her to walk under the step because older people have been said that if we go under the step 3 steps, we will have menstruation for only 3 days per month.

(Khamla, a mother of 24 year old daughter)

Another topic related to the way adolescents dress, especially the mothers will keep their eyes on the style of their daughter’s dress. Mothers expressed that they do not like their daughter wearing short pants or short skirts. They always warn their daughter about their
dress and prohibit them wearing shorts. In this study, I found no discussion of topics such as wet dream, male and female genitalia, and emotions during the transition to adulthood.

3.2 Contents related to the concept of human relationships
In the subconcepts about the relationships with opposite sex, the relationship with friends and couple life arose. Adolescent were told to hang out with good friends, some parents may allow their daughters to have boyfriend but their relationship should be “proper”.

I just told that do not hang out with bad friend. If they are not good, just go far away from them.

(Yupa, a mother of 16 year old son)

3.3 Contents related to the concept of personal skills
This topic occurred very rarely. However the topics such as male responsibly to their relationship arose. For young female, there is no case mentioned about this topic. Dew told me that;

My mother told me that if I have sex, I have to take responsibility to my action and she told me to think carefully before I do anything.

(Dew, 20 year old male)

3.4 Contents related to sexual practice
Both young male and young female were governed by their parent word to pay a great attention on their studies, getting a better job and refraining from sex. However the degree of strictness may be different between male adolescents and female adolescents.

Mostly, I asked about his relationship with girls (การคบผู้หญิง) and I asked him whether he have an intimate relationship with his partner or not, but he did not told me the truth. Later on intimacy relationship occurred and now he stays together…by the way, I still keep warning him to pay attention to his study.

(Tai, a mother of 23 year old son)

3.5 Contents related to sexual reproductive health
This is considerable influence from HIV/AIDS, adolescent reproductive problems and public health discourses. Thus, the contents of condom use, child pregnancy HIV/AIDS and contraceptive use were offered. In this instance contents offered by the parents coincidentally appeared to favor the public health approach due to high HIV infection rate among adolescents in Thailand. In this instance in particular, negative aspect of sexuality’ are reinforced and delivered to adolescents. It is noticeable that only the topics of HIV/AIDS were represented whereas other STIs or other reproductive problem were ignored.

3.6 Key concept on gender role and identity
In the field I heard a male villager say to his small son when he cried that “Do you want to be transgender” in order to make him stop crying. In this term I can interpret that they saw female as the weaker sex that are fragile and cry easily. Thus the meaning embedded in the father’s words is to construct his son’s maleness, that is be strong and behave in a masculine way.
I found the topic largely concerned females more than males and it is inevitably overlapped with the last five concepts I mentioned before.

The gender constructions of female sexuality are conveyed to female adolescents from time to time. Their parents are influenced by the gender and sexual discourses offered from generation to generation, from advertisement in TV, and strong ideology about “good woman”. Females should be polite, gentle and well mannered in every way. They use the term “to be proper” (เรียบร้อย) and female should dress properly.

4. Gender and sexuality discourses provided by parents

Above contents I found several discourses being produce and reproduced embedded in the message conveyed by parents. In theses cases, discourses constructed ways of parent thinking and talking about sexuality with their young children. Parent claimed to be speaking the truth because discourse is a form of talk or practice in which related to power and defined as the “truth” (Layder, 2006: 303).

**HIV/AIDS discourse: promiscuous and muddled sexual practices fused with HIV/AIDS**

The words muddled relationship were used to describe or refer to the practice in which consider as high risk for HIV infection. Parents often seen that HIV infection risk are depends on what “behavior” one is, What “status” one has, what is one’s “career” or what is his/her profession. The behaviors such as promiscuous muddle or naughty always reproduce in order to reduce their HIV risk. They lack considering a real risk factor, which is unsafe sexual relation behavior;

On that time it was an epidemic of HIV. I warn my son to avoid from muddled relationship. I am afraid that he would get infected. Mostly I did, I always talk about this to my son.

(Hom, a mother of 22 year old son)

**Gender discourse for female adolescents: Discourse on female chastity**

In the case of Nipon, he spoke about gender discourse for female adolescents using a Thai proverbs “To taste forbidden fruit or jump the gun” which refers to those who have had or who are interested in premarital sexual encounters. The proverb simply significant for girl and being use with girls more than boys.

The term of “Yha shing sukk gon ham” (อย่าชิงสุกก่อนham) in which refers to the caution on premarital sexual encounter and “Cai teek” (ใจแตก) mean “to fall in with a bad crowd” and are frequently used with female adolescents.

I told my daughter “Yha shing sukk gon ham” (อย่าชิงสุกก่อนham) because she is still studying. I let her view the case who did not finish school. They have to do temporary and heavy job.

(Nipon, a father of 17 year old daughter)

**Discourse on HIV high risk group: a public health discourse on GLBT young people**

The content on homosexuality and transgender people showed that transgender people were fused with HIV in the minds of parents. The case of Ball, his mother viewed all transgender people as HIV positive. This is because most Thai consider HIV is a disease of transgender people and Ball’s father does like him to be transgender. For him, being
transgender is unacceptable to his father. His father would beat him if he saw him act like a woman in front of them. Ball told me that;

My mom told me not to be Katouey (male transgender) she afraid that I will get HIV. She also told me not to act like women when I go to meet my father because my father will blame me.

(Ball, 16 year old male)

5. Young people’s sexual subjectivity

Subjectivity is the term to describe and explain identity, or the self. Our identity is the product of our conscious. Presents individual identity as the product of discourse, ideologies and institutional practices (Danaher et al., 2000: 9). In this study, focus group interviews with young people informants allowed me to learn their sexual subjectivity in which composed of their sexual identity and sexual orientation.

**Being asexual**

In the case of sexuality, parents assert the “truth” to their young children to pay concentrate in their study in order to get a better job and a better life. Young people have to pay respect and listen to their parents. Some of my adolescent informants express their concern about their parent feeling

The case of Pi, gave a clear picture of what I mentioned above;

…How they (parent) will feel… they always keep telling us about refrain from sex. I don want them feeling sad about that.

(Pi, 16 year old female)

Even parent gave strict warning and giving a high expect that their young children would refrain from sex, but in the period in which an individual goes through physical and psychological transitions, one of my young male informant expressed his sexual subjectivity in which consider youth sexual active were exist;

My mother prohibits me to have a girlfriend. At the beginning, I may listen but later on I saw how all of my friend have girlfriends so I want to have one.

(Natee, 16 year old male)

**Being monogamous**

Moral and public health discourses for over a decade have linked together people behavior on monogamous practices and HIV/AIDS. By the way, believe in which “promiscuity fused with HIV” still exist in Thai society. It is conveyed from generation to generation and from time to time. One of my young female informant told that if she got infected the first thing she would do is to investigate whether her boyfriend was promiscuous or not. I saw the case of Sam, he said that he’s monogamous and is never promiscuous;

My mom would not talk much. She would say do not get women pregnant. I am not stupid to do that. I am similar with other young people to enjoy having sex, but I love only one... when I love that person, I will love that person very much…

(Sam, 24 year old male)
Being a virgin girl
Gender construction of male and female and the degree of female gender discourse play a significant role to claim truths to young female. I asked my informants whether the notion on the value of female virginity (rak nuan sa-nhuan tua) influences their subjectivity or not. The responses I got show that these discourse still plays a crucial role in the contemporary context and constructs my young female informant’s subjectivity;

I think it’s old fashioned word, but it is good to have it, nowadays women will think about it or not.

(Por, 17 year old female)

Being a heterosexual
For transgender youth, I found it is difficult for them to open their sexual identity in public since Thai society see homosexuals as deviant people. Discourse on discourse on HIV high risk group from public health discourse for GLBT young people produce a myth about homosexuals spread HIV/AIDS. My informant has to pretend to be man in front of their parent;

When I stay home I have to pretend to be man. I will not speak much and practice like a normal man…I think my family don’t know about this.

(Oat, 16 year old male)

5. Young people agency: negotiation and resistance
Human agency is the degree to which individuals are capable of changing the circumstances in which they find themselves and of responding creatively to social constraints (Layder, 2006: 181). My conversation with Namwan shows clearly in how human agency exists;

What I have been told by my parent let me see whether I will follow there word or not.

(Namwan, 16 year old female)

It is correlated in what Foucault considers the way in which people are active in “crafting” or negotiating their identity (Danaher et al., 2000: 117). In this study I found the strategy in which young people use in negotiating, resisting and endorsing sexual and gender discourses depended on the circumstances they are under.

Negotiation in having boyfriend/girlfriend: Redefine “boyfriend” term
In the content where their parents prohibit them not to have boyfriend/girlfriend adolescent may negotiate to their parent word, for example in the case of Kul, show how they negotiate with their own subjectivity toward their parent’s words by redefine “boyfriend” term as the following;

The method I use, I use the word “close friend” instead of boyfriend because I don’t want to offend my parent’s feeling.

(Kul, 16 year old female)

Negotiation to dress short and go out: pretend to obey
Young female often portrayed by a strong ideology about “good woman”. Females should be polite, gentle and well mannered in every way. They use the term “to be proper” (เรียบรอย) and female should dress properly. My young female informants were told to dress
proper, prohibited in wearing shorts and should not go out. By the way, their agency tries to negotiate by trying to pretend to obey and behaves follow their parent word but she practices differently outside the family territory;

When I go out, I will wear a short pant inside and wear a long pant outside. I told them I wear it already, but when I was out I will take it off and I wear only short fashionable pant.

(Por, 16 year old female)

**Resistance: stubborn child**

McNay mentions in his book on “Foucault A Critical Introduction” that “wherever domination is imposed resistance will inevitably arise and there are no relation of power without resistance because they are formed at the point where relations of power are exercised” (McNay, 1994: 101). Oshi and Ae my young male informants practice resistance to their parent word because he were told to not hanging out with friends;

My mother did not allow me to go out but plan already so I just went I did not listen to them even they shout many bad word following me.

(Oshi, 16 year old male)

**Conclusion:**

“Discourse appears to be in the anthropological air we breathe these days” (Harwood, 1988: 99). “Talking about Sexuality between Parents and Youth” is a product of discourse. In this study, I found that moral discourse play a crucial role as well as gender discourse on female in shaping their subjectivity within rural context. During parent and youth communication about sexuality, mostly dominant discourses on young people sexuality are produce and reproduce. This study also confirms that a barrier on talking about sexuality related topics is not because sexuality is taboo or parents having inadequate knowledge about sexuality but its content is contained within a discourse which is contains myths, personal believes and is vague. In this study the parent is located to exercise power. Power here is knowledge and is intimately related with gender and sexuality discourses conveyed by parents and society. As Foucault points out power is every where and it come from everywhere (Foucault, 1978:93). This also confirms Foucault’s point that something doesn’t become a problem, or have a problematic status, until it enters into a discourse (Danaher et al., 2000: 39).

Structural factors (ie, economic resources, policy support, social norms, faith communities, mass media, education curriculum and health care systems) play a crucial role on forming a barrier when parents have to talk about sexuality with their adolescents. This study shows several challenges in delivering contents on sexuality related topics as follow;

First, sexuality is taboo topic, supported by observation that sexuality related topics rarely occur in day to day conversations. Parent found it difficult to talk about these topics with their children because it is an embarrassment to talk about it. Second, even when parents talk with their adolescents they do not allow it to be more than the parents trying to control the behavior of their children. Third, I found parent have inadequate knowledge about sexuality related topics, therefore the contents they conveyed are limited. I found gaps in knowledge about life skills among parents. Fourth, I found most parents expect their children to refrain from sex by ignoring the reality that their children are in reproductive periods in which a relationship with the same sex or opposite sexual relationship may occur. These can create a gap as well as resistance between parents and adolescent if they don’t understand each other.
**Recommendation:**

Comprehensive sexuality education should be promoted in school and family context especially in rural community. For sexuality related issue, youth felt ashamed to talk about it. Sometimes they were afraid their parents would blame them. Many of them resolve the problems related to sexuality and find the information by themselves. For this reason, I would recommend that parental dialogue should be offering to parent, to let them learn to listen to their children in order to reduce the gap between parent and young people and lastly, create a positive gender and sexuality discourse as well as choice for parent and young people. Institutions in society especially media institution from both main stream media and alternative media should play an important role to not reproduce those discourses in which considered problematic. Instead media should help to promote facts and new positive discourses toward youth sexuality and cover wider dimensions not only sex or sexual intercourse.

**References:**


Online Medicines: Technology for Sexual Construction in Thai Society

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Background: The popularity of sexual medicines on cyberspace

Nowadays the communication is expanded worldwide by using information technology, as known computer network. People can receive information from anywhere at anytime like being released from original space and time. Interacting to unknown people, information technology makes it possible via internet, online-chat, website, electronic mail etc. Internet reflects a new age of liberty, so untold stories can be found in cyberspace especially on sexual issues.

In most society including Thailand, many sexual medicines, aphrodisiacs, sedatives, hypnotics and hormones are freely advertized for sale on internet by establishing web boards and websites as the area for exchanging sexual knowledge and practice. On cyberspace advertized sexual medicine are in many forms such as modern medicines, traditional medicines, herbs, tea, coffee or other types of drink. By eating, drink, applying, inhaling or injecting most of them respond people enjoying their sexual intercourse especially between male and female while alternative groups as male to female transgender (MFT) set their specific websites up for exchanging their information and experience on sexual medicines usage.

By development of cyber technology, being hard for state or medical institute to regulate sexual medical advertisements on cyberspace that cause the growth of this kinds of medical advertisement and usage. Sexual medical advertisements on cyberspace is not only the area for Thai people enjoying their sexual practices and/or constructing and reconstructing their sexual and gender identities but the advertisement also affecting social knowledge, beliefs, meanings, values and practices on gender, sexuality and finally sexual health among the Thai people. These special and complex phenomena require a new way of thinking to understand that causing this study.

Objectives

The study aims to firstly analyse the discursive practices which produced knowledge, beliefs, meanings and values on sexuality and gender through types and contents of sexual medicine advertisements in Thai websites and web boards. Secondly, the study also analyze sexual agency of the sexual medicine users not only the ways that they interpret and reinterpret the sexual discourses produced by sexual medicines advertisement in the websites and web board but also the ways that they negotiate/resistant to dominant sexual discourses of heteronormativity and phallic centered sexuality. This analysis can help us understand sexual health in global network context which are more complex and rapidly changing.

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Methodology

By using postmodern and postmodern feminist concept, this study is the qualitative research utilizing discourse analysis on the text which related with sexual medicine advertisements via web boards and websites in Thailand during the year 2007. Moreover purposive sampling is used to select the rich informants who have experiences of using sexual medicines. 29 selected informants are divided in 8 groups as MFT who are office workers (2 groups), MFT who are sexual worker (2 groups), MFT who are undergraduate students (2 groups), male (1 groups) and female (1 person). Fist 7 groups are collected information by focus group discussion while in-depth interview is used for female. Their texts, context, words, acting, ways of thinking and sexual medicine usage experiences are analysed to disclose discourses that regulating them or being used to resist/negotiate the dominance.

Findings

1. Cyberspace as fluidity area

Different from original society, cyberspace is a new type of community. New style of time and space are produced by information technology causing social network or people interaction any where at any time even if they have not seen each other before. Cyberspace produces cultural transformation in unbounded society importantly affecting the state power in original world.

State tries to regulate these kinds of space but by progressive technology it is not possible. Cyberspace becomes freely society which people interacting on the way they cannot do in original society especially in sexual phenomena. Anyway although cyberspace is released form physical power of state but it cannot escape form the power of discourses which remain regulate people both in original word and cyberspace. On cyberspace although medical discourses which define human gender and sexuality by biological sexual organ remain dominate sexual knowledge and sexual values in cyberspace but this freely area also give a chance for others sets of knowledge and values for resisting or negotiating to the dominant.

2. The technology for constructing their masculinity

As mostly society, Thai men consider their masculinity by focusing on their penis as the center of their sexual identities. Perfect men not should have big and long erected penis but importantly their perfection also depends on their sexual ability. Erected penis has to be able to have frequent and long time sexual intercourse as well. Thus sexual medicines on cyberspace are advertized for using as instruments for constructing their masculine sexual identities which based on big and long erected penis as Viagra or responding their sexual pleasure as aphrodisiac, anesthetic cream and aphrodisiac spay.

From our finding, there is the existing of medical discursive formation which reduces masculine sexual identities into only phallic-centered masculine as well as sexuality is reduced to bio-mechanical process related only men and women.

The way men use to negotiate

More than phallus

Although largely Thai men show their masculinity by concentrating their penis size anyways some refuse using sexual medicines to alter their body or their pennies. For them masculine sexual identities remain involve with heterosexuality but it is more than penis size. Posture and style of sexual act dominating by men bring sexual pleasure even if their penis are not perfect.
For other men, not I

On cyberspace, many sexual medicines advertized to use as the tools for female sexual exploitation such as aphrodisiacs, sedatives or hypnotics. In society, anyone who uses this kind of sexual medicines is criminal or bad person so few men accept that they took or seduced women to take drugs. In their view sexual medicines are only for some lower status group who lacking their charms as laborer, taxi drivers, low education men or mental disorder men although these kinds of sexual medicine are presented on cyberspace which these groups cannot approach.

3. The technology for female sexual exploitation

While sexual medicines for men are advertized as tools for making them enjoy their sexual pleasure but for women they seem to be the technology for women’s sexual exploitation. In the web boards and websites, the discursive practices arising from the dialogues in the cyberspace portrayed common practices of men who seduce women to take the medicines such as aphrodisiacs, sedatives or hypnotics through women cannot know themselves that they are taken these drugs by dropping or dissolving in food or drink, applying women skin or blowing into the air. These aims to make men enjoying their sexual intercourse meanwhile women cannot protect or control their own bodies and sexuality. Moreover on cyberspace abortive drugs both oral and vaginal suppository dosage forms are presented to women to respond to unwanted pregnant.

These produce/reproduce unequal sexual power relation between men and women. By using sexual medicines men can completely regulate women sexuality as place, time and form. Without women’s negotiation leading to violation of women’s sexual right as well as sexual health problems.

The way women use to resist

Cyberspace open area for women to resist the sexual exploitation. By claiming law and morality, the dialogues are posted via web boards and websites advertizing sexual medicines to reduce or damage the legitimacy of sexual medicine usage. Furthermore cyberspace is used as the communicative tools for warning among women to avoid being victim.

4. The technology for renew sexual identities in male to female transgender

Gender and sexuality in cyberspace are dominated by dualism concept so it is the area for men, women and heterosexuality however cyberspace opens the area for alternative group as well such as male to female transgender. They set their cyber society by establishing special web boards and web sites for communication and exchanging their opinions or life experiences including sexual medicine usage for renewing their sexual identities.

MFT sexual identities are dominated by gender and sexual discourses on ideal female body among MFT are body with big-sized breast, soft skin, long and beautiful hair and vagina. These kinds of perfect body can be possible by using sexual medicines like types of hormones and antiandrogenic drugs. Their sexual body always depend on sexual medicines otherwise it become to the original body in addition they have to explore new types of sexual medicines continually for making their body more and more perfect.

For MFT sexual medicines like the basic need of their life and they cannot live without them. Thus their body construction seems to be the unfinished project which they have to invest both money and poor health. By money they keep spending for sexual medicine for constructing their female sexual identities while they risk to adverse drug reaction in short-term and health problems such as cancer when take sexual medicines for a long time.
The way male to female transgender use to resist/negotiate

Sexual medicines: power for controlling body
Negotiation to medical discourses, by using sexual medicines MFT have their agency to freely construct their body divided into many parts and selected to construct in some parts not the whole body depend on their physical capital. Moreover they can adjust the constructing time rely on utilizing their body. These are possible by modifying type and dose of sexual medicines themselves.

When adverse drug reaction occurred they reduce the effects by stopping for a while, adjusting dose or changing for a new kind of sexual medicines. For long term usage they always protect themselves from risk by using other kinds of medicine such as antioxidants, vitamins or minerals. In addition some of them negotiate by the way of thinking that MFT have very hard living so they should concern this time more than future.

Sexual medicine usage among MFT is determined by several sets of knowledge. Although medical knowledge remains dominate society but it is interpreted/reinterpreted by their belief, culture or experiences. More over mostly MTF learn to take sexual medicines by their intimate especially their MFT friends therefore used sexual medicine meaning are different from medical understand.

Renew sexual identities: the way to struggle for social space
Thai society is dominated by gender discourses equating biological sex to gender so hardly for the queer to living in dualism society. Like other kinds of marginal group MFT confront everyday life violence both direct and indirect way, for avoiding this trouble they have to take side by constructing their women identities. By using hormones and medicines the construction of perfect women body can be possible and making MFT more acceptable.

Conclusion
Popular media as cyberspace is used in multipurpose not only for communication but under uncontrolled by state and medical profession it also a space for constructing gender and sexual identities and expressing their sexualities. Sexual medicines that are presented in the advertisement and as issues being dialogues in the web boards among the users or potential users in cyberspace can empower people to make their own decision and choice with rich information. Sexual medicine advertized in the internet can enhance opportunity for the Thais to fulfill their sexual fantasy and other type’s sexual subjectivities. On the other hand, the lack of complete and suitable information, and the neglect of sexual rights reflected in the discourses related with the seductive drugs advertisement can affect on poor sexual health. Cyberspace advertisement on sexual medicines can become the tools for female sexual exploitation.

Recommendation
Presently cyberspace is seen as the area causing health and social problems. State and social institutes take the role as controller or manager to regulate people accessing cyberspace even though in fact they cannot. As the study shown cyberspace also has positive side especially in promoting sexual health.

Different form the original space, cyber area opens a new chance for people enjoying their sexuality not only for reproduction but also for their pleasure. Moreover MFT use cyberspace as their community for constructing their sexual identities by exchanging their sexual medicine experiences as they can be what they want to be. These are new kinds of sexual health.

New kinds of sexual health cannot be supported by official health care system thus instant of obstructing cyber access state should promote on the advantage and try to reduce the defect by supporting the rich, complete and suitable information. In addition official health care system should be redesigned by thinking over the variety and diversity of gender and sexuality.

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Sexuality and Sexual Discourses of Katheoy Living with HIV/AIDS in I-Saan

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Background

Sexuality is as diverse as humanity. There is diversity of gender role in society. Male to Female (MtF) transgender people are called “Katheoy” in Thailand. There is another category which is Men who have Sex with Men (MSM). They are the target of HIV/AIDS prevention programs in Thailand and worldwide. They are a high risk group because of their sexual activity and HIV/AIDS infection. The results of high risk sexual activity are multiple sexual partners and include lack or inconsistent use of protection with partners (Winnigham and Seal, 2003). Additionally, their sexual identity is related to the health care service because health care providers do not have a positive idea about transgender people (Ayutthaya, 2007). In this regard, transgender people face discrimination from health care providers. Furthermore, transgender people may face double stigmatization if they have HIV and are transgender because stigma and discrimination exist against people with HIV infection (Paiva et al., 2003). Moreover, there are a few studies about the sexuality of Katheoy in Thai society.

During the 1980s, AIDS became the global concern but people lacked an understanding of sexuality. In Thailand the first case of AIDS reported was a young gay Thai male student who had returned from the United States. At that time, Thailand focused on male homosexuality as a dominant vector of transmission. In the next few years the targets of HIV/AIDS spread to other groups of people. The epidemiological narrative was about successive “waves of infection”. From the waves of infection, it could be shown how HIV/AIDS spread. A first wave started among gay men then to intravenous drug users (second wave), women in sex industry (third wave), heterosexual men in rural Thailand (fourth wave), their family sexual partners (fifth wave), and most recently in the 2000s urban (gay and straight) Thai youth (sixth wave) (Erni, 2006). The effect of focusing on HIV/AIDS among homosexual groups in the first wave defined AIDS as a “gay disease” and produced within Thai culture HIV/AIDS stigma and discrimination towards homosexual (Jackson, 1995).

Thai society perceives Katheoy as the third sex and as abnormal and these may affect their way of living such as attitudes towards health care services including general health care services and not only those related to HIV/AIDS. The public health officers tend to look at homosexuals as the carriers and transmitter of HIV infection as well as the object of HIV prevention programs. At the same time, HIV re-infection could have serious health implications, due to re-infection with drug-resistant strains of virus, leading to viral escape and higher viral loads (Shapiro & Ray, 2007). HIV/AIDS and ARV medication are likely to recommend and encourage people living with HIV/AIDS to avoid infection or re-infection. Therefore, AIDS and ARV medication affects the sexuality of HIV positive Katheoy so understanding the sexuality of Katheoy with HIV/AIDS would be helpful to encourage them to reduce their unsafe sex practices

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There are plenty of studies on HIV prevention but few studies about men-to-female (MTF) transgender people or Kathoey in the context of low socio economic status. Actually, this can mean Kathoey at the grassroots in I-Saan society. Therefore, this is a study of Kathoey living with HIV/AIDS in the I-Saan context. I explain about Kathoey living with HIV/AIDS in the I-Saan context by using AIDS, ARV medication and gender discourse to understand their sexuality and their agency to have safe sex.

This study to understand the sexuality, sexual identity and sexual discourse of Kathoey living with HIV/AIDS in I-Saan will be help health care providers to know more about them so as to improve sensitive-friendly services for Kathoey. Also, it will allow Kathoey to increase their access to health care service.

**Objective**

The main objective is to explore the discourse on gender and study about the sexuality of Kathoey living with HIV/AIDS in I-Saan.

**Methodology**

This study is based on qualitative research. The main source of data collection was in-depth interviews, and participant observation to get comprehensive information about the life of Kathoey living with HIV/AIDS in I-Saan including their sexuality.

The informants are eight Kathoey living in I-Saan. This study used the following selection criteria; they defined themselves as Kathoey, and they are living with HIV/AIDS, they were living in I-Saan during the period of this research study, and they have disclosed their HIV status to PLWHA leaders and health care providers. All of them have experience of working outside their home province and returning home when they got sick from opportunistic infections (OI). They have had better health after they decided to stay at their home town. They also decide to use the health services from the hospital near their home and they disclosed their HIV status with the PLWHA leader, health care providers and NGO staff who are working on AIDS issues in their areas.

The key informants include health care providers (counselors), NGO staff, PLWHA leaders, their sexual partner, and family members. The key informants have an influence on the sexuality of Kathoey living with HIV/AIDS. The way of asking the questions allowed the researcher to check the validity of the data.

**Sampling**

The sampling of informants used the snowball technique to reach the informants because snowball sampling is a technique often used with hidden populations which are difficult for researchers to access. Therefore, the researcher started to know other Kathoey living with HIV/AIDS with the help of a Kathoey PLWHA leader and SHARE organization (an NGO working on AIDS). By using the snowball technique this study found informants that filled the selection criteria of the sample study.

**Recruitment method**

Firstly, a Kathoey PLWHA leader, GO and NGOs were contacted to know the number of Kathoey with HIV and to ask them to introduce the study to other Kathoey living with HIV/AIDS in the province and build up friendship. Secondly, information about the study including: objectives, data collection methods, and ethical considerations were explained to the informants. Thirdly, the process of building relationships with informants and key informants started by joined their activities until they felt comfortable to talk with the research and tell their stories.
Findings

Background
The informants are eight Kathoey living with HIV/AIDS. They live in rural villages in I-Saan (the Northeast of Thailand) during the period of the study. The Kathoey who participate in this study were approximately 28 to 47 years old. They use the local language [Lao I-Saan] to communication. They believe in Buddhism, and distinctive cultural beliefs and folkways. They live in extended families. They are friendly and generous people.

Education level: four of them had graduated from Primary school, one of them had graduated form high school and the other two had finished the higher vocational certificate and one has finished high school. The educational level depends on the family’s affluence. The two who attended vocational college are from families who work as civil servant and have a regular income. The other families are farmers and have less awareness about education.

Start of Using ARV Medication
This can be arranged in four groups; group 1 started 2000, group 2 started in 2005, group 3 started in 2007, and group 4 started in 2008.

The Identity Presenting by the Informants
The informant’s sexual is fluid. It is adjusts to the existing social, cultural and economic situation. In order to study sexual identity of the informants, the eight informants were divided into three groups based on their appearance and style of dress during the time the study was conducted. The characteristics of each group are; dress as a man, dress as a woman, and occasionally dress as a woman.

Social Life Style of Local Kathoey in I-saan
Overall, I-Saan community is a good humored community. Agriculture is the main job for I-Saan people. When they finish crops growing crops they will arrange merit ceremonies and festivals which are related to their spiritual and social beliefs. For example, village festivals, temple fairs, rocket festivals, boat racing festivals, and Phaveth [Buddhism] festival. Then, “Mar Lam” performance will be performed in these festivals. It is a good opportunity for Kathoey to show their identity. “Mar Lam” performance is a stage for gathering of Kathoey in I-Saan context, so it is quite common to see Kathoey get together when there is a “Mar Lam” performance.

“Mar Lam” is a traditional music performance. It is a local performance which has a fun rhythm. The “Mor Lam” stage can be used as a meeting point of Kathoey in this context. Kathoey pay attention to get together when there is a “Mar Lam” performance since they consider that it is a good chance for them to show their identity. Therefore, on this special occasion, those who dress as a woman will dress nicely to compete with their friends in terms of beauty and to attract a man. Those who dress as a man will make their body clean by taking shower, using powder, and perfume in order to make them “Doo Dee” and “Maan” [have more opportunity to get male sexual partners]. They believe that they will find their sexual partner at a “Mar Lam” performance. As Hong, a 47 year-old informant said,

“In the city Kathoey went to discotheques, but in rural Kathoey went to see “Mor Lam”, and we tried to find [a man] around the bushes. When I worked in Pattaya I went to gay bars and discotheques. Then, when I came back to my hometown I thought I have to find [a man] at “Mar Lam” performance; at the virtue ceremony we have to find [a man] among those who were [alcohol]
drinking. Sometimes, I bought a can of beer and danced in front of “Han Mor Lam” I did like I danced in discotheque in Bangkok. Then, I could get close to a man slowly and tried to make friend with him by asking about his work or where he lives. I could not rush to approach him, but in case that it lasted too long I asked him to drink beer with me or bought a can of beer for him. After drinking beer he went to toilet. I followed him to toilet and caught him to me. It’s easy to catch when the man is drunk. Also, when a man pees it [penis] will be straight up. I saw and pretended to laugh at him, and touch his it [his penis]. I will move forward if he did not refuse me.”

*Kathoey* are likely to have sex when there is a “Mor Lam” performance. The main purpose of going to see “Mar Lam” performance is not only to show their beautiful body or enjoy Mor Lum performance but in order for them to see “Phu bao” [young man], or go to “Gin Phu bao” [have sex with young man] from other villages. Some men who are interested in *Kathoey* will get close and respond to them. Such as, hitting their buttock, or touch their breast. They feel good since they think that it is just kidding. As a key informant said “I was not angry at them that they were kidding me”. However, in terms of meeting other men or finding a sexual partner, Phone said that “We needed to know how to evaluate the situation and know who is or is not playing with us.” It means that they will not get close to the men who dislike *Kathoey*.

Consuming alcohol is a common activity at the “Mar Lam” performance. Alcohol drinking is a very good factor to encourage people to have sex. As Mr. Porn stated,

“When there is a “Mau lam” performance, *Kathoey* like drinking “Lao Khao” [rice whisky]. Then, everyone was drunk and followed by dancing, hugging, and “Jok kan” [sexual harassment]. It seems that we were unconscious, and the sexual desire was increased. When we have sex after alcohol drinking our sexual intercourse will be more vigorous than usual. Although we used condom we were not sure that it is safe because it seem hard sex when we drank then condom can be broken.”

In addition, buying drinks for men is a technique to get close to other men. It usually exists with the consent between *Kathoey* and their male sexual partners. However, there were some men who tried to approach *Kathoey* in order to get some drinks without payment. Phone said, “The men like asking us to buy them some drinks. We just pay in the amount that we can pay. It is regarded as sympathy.” Sunami perceived that *Kathoey* buying drinks for men is common, she said, “The men will not pay attention to us; they will not love us if we do not buy them some drinks. Sometimes we bought them some drinks, but we did not get them ‘Mai Dai Lia Ko Sai Ta Koa Mode’ [Never get them is disgraceful].”

The I-Saan village context is not the place for *Kathoey* to show their identity therefore “Han [stage] Mar Lam” becomes a meeting place of *Kathoey* where they can disclose their sexual identity. When *Kathoey* and their male sexual partner like each other they will move forward to having sex, and there is alcohol drinking which facilitates them to have sexual intercourse.

The findings demonstrate that *Kathoey* are taken advantage of by other men while they were searching for love and social acceptance. *Kathoey* need to bear this situation since they are oppressed by the men’s masculinity.
Discourse on Kathoey

In I-Saan Culture, the life of the indigenous people has been influenced by customs, culture, beliefs and social norms. Discourse on Kathoey in this study area was through feedback by Kathoey who perceived this discourse.

The Words Related to Sexual Identity

*Female identity and the beauty image*

Kathoey Hua Pok [Short hair female Kathoey], Kathoey Noy [semi-female Kathoey], Kathoey Sao [young-female Kathoey], Kathoey Thao [the Old Kathoey], and Kathoey-Khway [Bull Kathoey]

The word “Kathoey Khway” is used for those with male structured bodies who may dress up like a female but are not very adorable. Over a half of Kathoey will be moody when being called “Kathoey-Khway”. Overall, there are separation of Kathoey by type which focuses on oneness, female identity and beauty.

*Social class of the Kathoey*

Kathoey Nai Muang [Kathoey live in the province, they are fashionable Kathoey], Kathoey-Chon-Na-Bot, and Kathoey-Bank-Nok, [Rural Kathoey or countryside Kathoey, the word related to unfashionable Kathoey]

Among Kathoey the classification is not only about female appearance and beauty but about social class. The former groups are looked down upon because of their low-class style of dress and out-of dated technology. Their images is stuck with local villagers ways of life, such as driving the tractor, do farming that totally differ from the fashionable Kathoey living in the city.

*Abnormal*

The word ‘Kathoey’ in Thai society describes according to the sex/gender system. It can be used as a term of “the otherness” from society and it made sense of “abnormal” from the heterosexual pattern. They are neither female nor male. They sense being separated by people treating them like strangers as the following three informants said:

“My mom blamed of being Kathoey is “Puak-gert bor soot chaat” [born with uncompleted body or uncompleted life]. Even if I have all like female – plastic genital organ or the breast, you still are Kathoey. It is the abnormal gender”

Madkla 25 years old, key informant

“I feel moody when someone called me “Kathoey” because it is my inferiority complex. They acted like me an alien or wild animal that could bite or kill them. They make me feel being disgusted, depressed, and hurt. I want to let them know I am normal human like they are”

Farung 38 years old, informant

“Long time ago people did not know what gay king, gay queen, and Kathoey are. All were expected to be Kathoey. I dislike when people call me tootsie. I realize who I am, so no need to call me like that”

Sunami 40 years old, informant
Sometimes *Kathoey* has meant the otherness from society, such as the metaphor used to compare *Kathoey* as the person who brings bad luck as in the following examples:

“There’s a word keeping in my mind. Wherever I’ve been to I’ll either called ‘Mai Lang’ [unlucky person and the person cause of drought]. They call whatever they want to. Always, my image in their mind is never positive”.

Porn 40 years old, informant

“‘Because of you it is so drought’ I heard the word said by my neighbor when she saw me worn a short pants. It does not make sense. How could I make the weather hot, cold or wet?”

Sophia 16 years old, key informant

To be *Kathoey* is to be considered as the stranger, a dangerous wild animal and the disgusting or being abnormal and different as in the case study. These words and actions of people towards the *Kathoey* indicate they are not avertable. Therefore, all these labels make them feel de-valued.

**Out of the Social Norms**

Other discourse on *Kathoey* is the behaviors out of social norms, which the urban society said ‘noisy Kathoey’, ‘Kathoey like Jok Phu Chy [abusing guy]’, *Gin Dek, Gin Phu Buwn, Gin Phua Chuaw Bann* [Gin can interpreted that is having sex, *Phu Buwn* mean young guys, and *Phua Chuaw Bann* mean villagers’ husbands]. Initially, village people thought that *Kathoey* like sex with young adolescent, but it can happen with every age of people: boys, teenagers, and just-married men. These actions are unacceptable in Thai society because it break the role of social norms; firstly, men should have sex with women; secondly, young people should not have sex; thirdly, husbands should not be unfaithful their wives (monogamy form). Therefore, *Kathoey* are break Thai social norms.

Some discourses have been created to describe the behavior of *Kathoey* in a negative way. Such as, *Kathoey* is always *Kathoey*, *Kathoey* is “*wid wai*” [screaming], and *Kathoey* “*chorp johk*” [likes to harass].

So *Kathoey* try to make other people have a good perception of them by trying to behave politely. They try not to be aggressive. Some even wanted to be a woman. For instance, they try to make themselves beautiful, they try to be polite and respectable, they want to have a sex change operation, and they want to have big breasts and a vagina in order to be perceived as a complete woman. So Angel tried to have good characteristics at his workplace, he behaved neatly and did not pay attention to the men. It made him to find a sexual partner. Angel said, “My partner told me that I did not look like *Kathoey* so he likes me.”

On the one hand, *Kathoey* try to adjust themselves to mainstream society but on the other hand, they would like to respond to their own needs. As Hong who preferred to dress as a man said “When I went somewhere with a man, he felt comfortable since other people did not look at us. Then, we can tell other people that we are close friend or relative.”

It demonstrates that the discourses on *Kathoey* have impacts on their subjectivity or identity. The discourses on *Kathoey* in this context mostly illustrated that *Kathoey* were considered as inferior. In reality, *Kathoey* are humans who need love, social acceptance, and space to reveal their identity.
**Harsh Sex**

*Kathoey* means sexual actions connected to *phet ying* [female identity]. They want to be beautiful like women. Having sex with men is the one sexual behavior that can show their female identity. Being desired by the opposite sex gives a feeling of accomplishment and acceptability to their wish for a female identity. Therefore, the catch phrases and metaphors using among *Kathoey* are; getting a guy is to be acceptable and gives the feeling of accomplishment. So, the concerned words used with guys are:

- *Ha Gin and Lah-Phu-Chay* [Man hunter or find partner]
- *Tham Taem and Lan Mai* [making score of having sex], these are actions of oral and masturbation until climax. For example, I got three *Mai* last night mean had sex with three people last night.

I-Saan language has other words to talk about the number of sexual partners among the *Kathoey* group in the study site;

- *Aud Yak* use of nobody or difficult to get man
- *Dai Gin Dai yak* use of sex with 1-2 people
- *Dai Laab and Dai Kang* use of sex with 3-5 people
- *Maan* use of a lot people

However, the number of sexual partners for the eight respondents depended on the frequency of festivals. Totally, they estimated approximately two to five people per night with a maximum of 7 people per night.

**Extra Sex Skill**

Oral sex is one discourse on *Kathoey* because if you are *Kathoey* you should good skill in oral sex. *Kathoeys* are appreciated for oral sex. If people admire them for such action, it means admiration of their ability e.g.

“When oral sex was on process my partner said it is so smooth as if without teeth”

Porn 40 years old, informant

“The good point of Kathoey is mouth ‘good suck and lick’ whoever try once they would yearn for more”

Hong 47 years old, informant

*Kathoeys* like to present their sexual identity “as having sex better than women”. For instance, Sunami’s slogan is “*Hua-Pok Rai-Nom A-Rom Ken-Ying* [‘Hua-Pok Rai-Nom’ is a type of Kathoey; short hairs, no breast and ‘A-Rom Ken-Ying’ higher sexual pressure than women]”. *Kathoey* are pleased with their sex skills. The villager men said “if you want fun and happy sex, go and get it from Kathoey”. In other hand, the words mentioned above have much affected *Kathoey* mentality as follows:

“a guy heading to us aims at releasing. Then, it is spread widely among the guy visiting the Mom Lam festival ‘she’s Dood Dee [good at licking in the meaning of oral sex] so let got to have sex with Kathoey’ were what I always hear from them. Sometimes, they directly ask me ‘*Si naai krap Kathoey*’[ask for having sex], even such way is so rude and I am treated as their personal whore. However, as long as *Kathoey* like to have sex with guy and a guy likes free sex and sometime get free drinking ’no pregnancy, no problem’ there is no reason to skip over”.

28 years old Chofa, informant
As mentioned above such words should not be used, as it is indicates that Kathoey are only their sexual object with no attention to their mental condition; however the Kathoey are used to such behavior. To encourage themselves they translate such actions by thinking in a positive way.

**Kathoey is a Disease**

AIDS is associated with gay and Kathoey are associated with disease. The study found that there was some mistake about Kathoey in the study areas such as Kathoey identity can transfer to children and Kathoey means HIV/AIDS disease.

“All Kathoey is acceptable in family, but Kathoey was still being blamed by society. It was hard for me when they said ‘Get out! Kathoey, Kathoey disease will transmitted to my son, keeps away from us’. It made me hurt and pain until now”

_Cake 24 year old, key informant_

Kathoey are affected by discrimination about AIDS. The society was stereotyped Kathoey equal with AIDS disease. The views of Farung and Ky towards this matter are:

“All Kathoey cause death by AIDS so did my friends. Many people said not to associate with Kathoey if not you would be infected by HIV. But, I don’t care if they do not mention name directly. ”

_Farung 38 years old, Informant_

“Whatever concerned or not to Kathoey like car accident was assumed to be AIDS”

_40 years old KY, Key informant_

_The Kathoey discourse, mostly made them feel that they are inferior and different from others. Such as, Kathoey is “Mae laeng” [cause of drought], “tua suay” [cause of bad luck], Kathoey is a tiger that is looking forward to eating men, Kathoey is “gert bor soot chaat” [flawed people], Kathoey is cause of problem, Kathoey is a sinner. This seemed that Kathoey are viewed in the society as the otherness because they are “abnormal” and a “disease”. As a result people treat them differently, and force them to be the sub-human. Therefore, Kathoey face double discrimination and stigmatization from society. However, they have negotiated with themselves and society to have their own space. The sexuality of Kathoey is the one production that they represent to the society.

Kathoey attempt to deal with their subordinate status in many different ways including creating their own culture and defence against the mainstream society. For example, some preferred to acquiesce in order to avoid being in conflict with other people, some behaved sarcastically, and some tried to adjust themselves to the mainstream society in order to live harmoniously. There are three responses found in this study; acquiescence, conflict and adjustment.

**Sexuality**

Sexuality consists of many components such as, sexual meaning, beliefs, values, sentiments, desires, identity, preferences, sexual partner and judgment. Sexuality of each respondent is shaped by similar social, cultural, political, economic, and historical contexts. This paper will explain some components that influence sexuality.
Sexual identity

The findings show that the term “Doo Dee” [good looking] has a great influence on the respondents. It points out that “Doo Dee” is much more meaningful to the informants than showing sexual identity or attractiveness to men. The informants consider the term “Doo Dee” as the identity building within the stigma and discrimination against PLWHA in society. As Sunami said, “When I was sick I always had a mirror with me. I looked at myself in the mirror, and I tried to make myself “Doo Dee” all the time. My mouth, teeth, and clothes must look clean to make people who come to visit me not to dislike me.” Another informant, Kai said, “When I began to recognize that I get HIV infection I thought that I will not be able to live longer. Then, I spent a lot of money to buy these things (clothes). When I get sick I will have nice clothes to wear, and so people will not look down on me.”

In general, a Kathoey who is not an HIV infected person considers that “Doo Dee” cans “Dueng Dood” [attractiveness] that is used to attract a man. Nevertheless, for a Kathoey who is an HIV infected person “Doo Dee” is not only attractiveness but it is also the way to gain social acceptance, social respect, and live harmoniously with other people in society.

In I-Saan context, people who are “Doo Dee Mee Tha Na” [have good condition] will be accepted and respected by other people in the society. Kai told about an HIV infected person in his village, he was not taken care of by his relatives because he was poor. There was almost nobody to hold a cremation for him when he died. So, Kai wants to be “looking good and looking in a good condition all the time”.

In short, the sexual identity of Kathoey who has HIV is concentrated on “Doo Dee” [good looking]. Incidentally, “Doo Dee” has two meanings. First, it is defined as attractiveness (try to have a good looking in order to attract other men). Second, it is the tool to diminish social stigma and gain social acceptance.

Sexual Meaning

The group study gave the sexual meaning that follows the social system so that men have more power than women (patriarchy) and there is no equality of the power. As they are Kathoey and sociality give the meaning to them that they are not yet men and not yet women. This makes Kathoey feel less value than other people in society. Therefore, the study found they give the meaning of men, love and trust as follow.

A Man who dates Kathoey is Superb.

Being a Kathoey, the informants were oppressed by the social expectation and exclusion. It was demonstrated through sexual relationship between Kathoey and their sexual partners. Kathoey respected and honored their sexual partners, but they were perceived as a sexual object by their sexual partners. For instance, some men expressed that they are disgusted by Kathoey. They did not want Kathoey to get close to them because they believed that sexual relationship must exist between a man and a woman only. So being the husband of a Kathoey is against social norms. Therefore, men who have sexual relations with Kathoey are regarded as “Phu chai tee prasert [superb man]”. Kathoey regularly took good care of their sexual partners. Mr.Porn said “Having a man as soul mate is considered lucky. It’s great that they associate, understand, and not care how other people think about us. Although it’s a short period of being together but I would take that person as a superb man.”

Lazy Man

Any man is considered lazy if they are supported by a Kathoey. Chofa said “If the men taking care of you mean they love you. If a man let Kathoey support them means they are lazy. If I did not pay him then he has not love me. I am please to support a man as it relieves
my loneliness. I would not be happy if the man I am supporting has other relationship with either male or female.”

**Love**

*Kathoey* think of love as something significant. They would devote for someone they love both love and care. There is not real love for *Kathoey*. (They don’t believe that *Kathoey* will find a true love). All the group study members believed it is not possible to find real love. For instance, Kai said “Love for *Kathoey* doesn’t last long because we cannot have children to bind us together. The longest time for a relationship would be about one to two years” Moreover, Chofa said “We are not together 24 hours a day. I suppose they approach to us for other thing rather than love like money. Therefore, no one totally sincere with us”

**Having Sex**

Having sex has the meaning at different levels; the individual and the societal level. There means *Kathoey* fulfill their sexual desire and are acceptable among their own self and their group in society.

At the individual level, having sex is for fulfill the sexual desire such as Hong “even I was a sex worker when I finished my job at night I was continues having sex with men I like. As the present day, I still having sex with the newcomer just for fun and it nothing related us. In other hand, having sex with men was meaning the role of women that display for men happiness. Also, it was the role of good wife in the couple partner.

In their own group, those who can have sex mean that they were beautiful, charming, and attractive *Katheoy*. Therefore, they are challenged to have more sex such as Farung mention “even first sex I bought for having sex, after I known that how to make love then I feel confident with myself .I can do. Then, I did not pay anymore I use my beautiful image to find men”. Similarly, Sunami said “when I younger I was a beautiful lady, a lot of men come to my choice. Only one festival I got ten men but now I am older there was difficult to get a man”

**Honesty and Trust, have two difference meaning**

First definition is having one husband and one wife. In this kind of relationship people would be very honest with each other. Farung and Chofa talked about married life. “I would not cheat if I find one. I want to be like one husband and one wife. I have never cheated with my boyfriend which has been living together for about two years. I prefer to have good family and long-lasting relations. Nevertheless, I am *Kathoey* and not the same as other girls but I will try my best. The second definition means allowing their partners to have another relationship. They have each other but do not control their partners. They can have relationship with both male of female but have to tell the truth. To recapitulate, the sexual meaning of the *Kathoey* is related with social construction and *Kathoey* identity.

**Sexual Drive**

The motivation is to be accepted in society. Farung said that “Why *Kathoey* hunt or look for men? A man would not come to us if we just stay home and therefore we have to do something like showing them our beauty”. This means that they do not want to live alone, as well as having sexual needs that push them to do that. Thus, they start to do something just to be recognized. Furthermore, they have a feeling of accomplishment by having sex with men. Their happiness lies on the partner’s pleasure. Sunami said “I did more oral sex. If men pleased then I am happy, joyful to do for him.” Also these can be bragged about it with friends.
The attitude about sex after becoming infected with HIV/AIDS is slightly changed. Everyone still has desires for sex but is not confident. For example Kai is not confident to have sex with a man she has met at the sauna room in Bangkok. She said “Having HIV/AIDS drill into my memory and unhappy for what had happened.

Health problems can affect sexual drive such as not having sexual desires. After recovering from illness, it is possible to have less sex desires or unchanged feeling toward sex. Birth control pills can also be one of the causes like with Farung. She got sick from TB and living together without sex but turned to have sex again after recovering from TB. All of them want to have safe sex so they made choice for their sexual partner but if it too difficult they accept to have sex without condom. However, their decisions depend on their sexual desire at that time.

People living with HIV/AIDS still have sexual drive. For a short time they worried about having sex when they were HIV positive. Health and illness are the key concern around having sex. Sexual drive can be managed.

Sexual Act; most of the respondents in this study are receivers when they have sex with men. There are only two people who have had sexual relationship with women. They have different reasons for doing it. Hong has done it because it is her job as a sex worker and Nuntarika tried to follow the social norms while he was young. Nevertheless, they can have sexual relationship with both sexes but prefers it with men. However, in most sexual relations of the Kathoey are the receivers. They believe female sexual roles are to be receiver.

Sexuality Tastes; Different people have different tastes. For example, Hong prefers to give oral sex and can be satisfied without having sexual relations. Mr.Porn prefers only the oral sex. However, most the eight respondents like oral and anal sex.

Sexual Partners
There are three types of sexual partners in this study; casual sexual partner, permanent sexual partner and single. First, the casual sexual partner, I found four cases who have sex without condition and likely with unknown people. The ways to get a casual sexual partner depended on each one such as the personal context, money and sexual taste. Second, permanent sexual partner, they are living together and their relationship considered regularly as husband and wife. This study found 3 couples: unknown HIV, HIV-infected, and un-infected HIV couples. Lastly, there are two cases stay single and they have no sex after they knew their HIV status). One the lack of opportunity to meet someone right however in the future she is uncertain and she might find the right one and one person relieves herself through porn movies. Whenever Kathoey dates someone their family is anxious that men will cheat them for money.

Frequency of Changing Partners
The amount of sexual relations before and after they were infected with HIV/AIDS was uncertain, decreased or increased. Some of them said as they are getting older it is difficult to find dates unlike when they were teenagers. For example Sunami reports sexual experiences with more than 3,000 men. It easily reached that numbers because she could find 10 men per one festival (ngarn-boon). She sometimes even went out with them without knowing their names. Therefore, multiple sexual partners are the highlight of sexual practice among the Kathoey group.
Multiple Partners

Multiple sexual partners are the one identity shows up consistently among the Kathoey group (see the context of multiple sexual partners in the Social lifestyle of local Kathoey in I-Saan). The meaning of having sexual partners portrays ability and the challenges of sexual intimacy. The internal social network among Kathoey encourages them to have multiple partners as it is acceptable and symbolizes achievement. Having multiple sexual partners is a technique to create their own space and show their real identity in the society. They derive a sense of importance and value if they are able to attract a large number of sexual partners who are young and masculine looking. When they have many sexual partners they thought that their effeminate characteristic is accepted by men. Also, they gained acceptance from their friends. Moreover, they believe that having multiple sexual partners show that they are beautiful and have high capacity to have sex with men.

As a result, “tam taem [to score]” or “laen mai [looking for a man]” is a challenge among Kathoey. As they confirm that,

“When I was young and beautiful, I got many “mai” [male sexual partners] in each night.” Sunami said.

“After I knew how to have sex, I was confident and used my beauty and freshness to get the men. I did not need to pay them. I had sex almost every night.” Chofa said.

“Even though I get older I still “dai mai” [can get sexual partners]… [Having sex] is never-ending for Kathoey” Hong said.

In addition, some men like having sex with Kathoey since Kathoey “mai tong mai taeng” [cannot be pregnant and there is no abortion], and there is no problem when they have sex with Kathoey. Sometimes, Kathoey face sexual harassment by men. However, Kathoey consider that it is the way to show that they are accepted by men. They are happy and feel proud that they got such kind of response. For instance, at a traditional music concert, a group of men approached and touched the breast of a Kathoey. Then, Kathoey said “[I am] happy that the men were kidding me.”

Even, multiple sexual partners were found among Kathoey group however this study also found that two of eight respondents are monogamous at the time of the study. In short, the amount of sexual relations is influenced by many factors like time and space: life matters, sexual needs of partners, association periods (how long they have been living together) and health condition of informants.

Conclusion

In conclusion, feminization and sexuality heighten the level of sexual exploitation and sexual transmission of HIV among Kathoey living with HIV. Kathoey are human beings, and so they have needs in terms of physical and mental care. Social services are also need the same as other people do. However, in line with social standards, only male and female are recognized in society. Other groups of people are considered as the other. The characteristic of man and woman are influenced by the notion of masculinity and femininity. A man who has effeminate characteristic is not accepted in society. Consequently, being a Kathoey is perceived by society as abnormal. It leads Kathoey to be excluded from the mainstream society. In addition, the existing social exclusion influenced Kathoey to have self discrimination and de-values.

Recommendation

This research lays the groundwork for future HIV prevention research and intervention strategies on Kathoey PLWHA. Internal social network strategy should be involved with Kathoey PLWHA to be leaders among PLWHA groups to help them achieve sexual health and sexual rights.
In term of sexual health care service in the district level, there are a limited number of health care providers so there is no service for the sexual health of Kathoey. However, following the system of AIDS and ARVs treatment, individual counseling will provide to all PLWHA. Therefore, the characteristic and the attitude of counselor are important for Kathoey because they have long term relationship during ARV therapy. Counselor is also needed to reconstruct their values of sexual identity. Through the understanding of the sexual identity of Kathoey, the reality problem will be known and this is needed to solve the problem at the individual level.

HIV prevention programs should address the sexuality of Kathoey that are fluid and unique. They are a group in the community and they need to be acceptable to society. Their empowerment is possible by enhancing self-esteem, sexual health care information and services which it is suggested will increase their power to negotiate for safer sex.

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Track 2:

Education
Well-Being Futures: A Scenario for Thailand, Researched by a Post-Career (Retiree) Student.

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Buapun Promphakping²

Rationale:

The research that is reported in this paper was undertaken as part of the intellectual recreation (note 1) of a retired engineer. The paper is authored by him and the External Examiner for his MA (who is now his supervisor for his PhD study of Wellbeing Futures in Isaan). Reflecting the usual interest of old students in what may be to come (note 2), the research activity was an exploration of futures scenarios for feasibility (Allinson 2007a, b). After noting that some Isaan ‘village daughters’ who are living in the West are intending to return to their girlhood villages for their Western husbands’ retirement years, the researcher started to consider what effects these women may have in those villages of their girlhood. But they will not return to the villages as the villages are now. They will return to the villages as the villages will be in the next decade (the 2010s), as they will be in the following decade (the 2020s) and the subsequent decade (the 2030s). So those different scenarios of the changing villages had also to be formulated.

Formulation of scenarios of possible futures, and the checking of them for feasibility goes far beyond the traditional mainstream academic activities called ‘research’. The name ‘presearch’ is proposed for such work in the formulation, examination and refinement of images of futures. Having formulated the scenarios, the ‘presearch’ into futures (note 3) had to be checked by ‘research’ into the stage of development of the villages up to the present day... To understand what that research revealed, the evolution of the present out of the past required ‘search’. However, from ‘presearch’ to ‘research’ to ‘search’ is not a one-off linear process, it is a circular one that was traversed many times and sometimes with one stage bypassed.

Therefore the study is best reported as a chronological narrative---the story of how it progressed to its conclusions. First, a feasible scenario---one possible future---is that the Isaan villages will demonstrate sustainable sufficiency in both its economic and cultural aspects, and that returnee village daughters and their Western husbands will make a significant contribution. Second, is that there is also a feasible scenario that a strengthened rural Thailand, with the appropriate ‘servicing’ from a reduced urban Thailand, could lead the World in demonstrating a sufficient and sustainable society for the age of post-globalisation. Returning village daughters with supportive husbands could play a significant part in that service to mankind. They are but scenarios. Whether they come to pass, or other conditions prevail, remains to be seen.

We will live in interesting times.
And the historians of the future, when they look back at the early twenty first century, may have a special regard for rural Northeastern Thailand.

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Objectives:

For the MA in Social Development, the original objective was to study the phenomenon of the forthcoming retirement of that small proportion of ‘Western-living village daughters’ who have indicated, often by building houses in their girlhood villages, that they intend to come back to the village for their retirement years.

It was soon found that all these ‘village daughters’ are still in the West, and some are still many years from the date of their husband’s retirement, so it was necessary to add another objective of considering the villages that they will retire to as those villages will then be.

After completing the MA, and whilst waiting to start a PhD, the main author has ‘sat in’ on some of the classes of the 2007/2008 Master in Rural Development Course. This is an international course for mid-career practitioners in development planning and practice. It has caused the author to reflect on how the geopolitical event of the ‘peaking’ of industrialism and the simultaneous crisis of capitalism that is now being experienced may be expected to have repercussions on the provincial universities of Thailand.

Methodology, Procedure and ‘Literature Search’:

Extensive enquiry failed to reveal that any previous academic attention had been paid to the subject of the retirement planning of Thai women who had spent a number of ‘career years’ in the West. So there was no directly-relevant academic literature to be found. Some work (for example: Bunmattaya 2005, Phromphakping 2006, Wongthanavasu 2006) has been done on the subject of ‘cross-cultural’ Thai-Western marriages, but none of it looked ahead to the later years of the marriages. The appropriate activities to help in navigating these uncharted waters of “Anticipatory Anthropology” (i.e. attempts to answer the question “How will this group of people arrange their lifestyles?”) were wide reading of all that might have bearing on the subject and a review of the general methods developed by the practitioners of ‘Futures Studies’.

The ‘Futures Studies’ essay scenario Whilst doing an Internet search, to update his layman acquaintanceship with Futures Studies, it was noticed the University of Hawai‘i has a 3-credit undergraduate course POLSC171 ‘Introduction to Futures Studies’ that is undertaken by the students entirely on-line. (Note 4.) Since it appeared practical, provided that the University of Hawai‘i regulations permitted it, the researcher enquired whether he could take the course from his home in NE Thailand. It was negotiated that the course could be taken on a ‘non-resident, not-for-grade or credit’ basis. So the researcher took the Hawai‘i course in parallel with the preparation of the Proposal Document for the MA with Khon Kaen University. The first module of that course required submission to Hawai‘i of an assignment that was a 500-word essay on the subject of ‘My community in 30 years time’. In that essay, which is printed below, the researcher described an imagined scenario. The MA study at Khon Kaen then became, very largely, a matter of examining that scenario for feasibility; that is, to look for evidence that indicated that the scenario could possibly (though not necessarily will) come about; and to look for evidence that cast doubt on whether it could come about, or even suggested that it was an impossibility. The scenario said:

What my community will look like in 30 years.
My community lives in a small, compact village of about 200 houses in rural Northeastern Thailand. Through the lens of a camera it will look much the same as it does now in 2006, or would have done, a century ago, in 1906. But ‘seen’ from the point of view of the social scientist, it will ‘look’, demographically, quite different from now, as much as it now looks different from 1906. As a result of economic happenings far away, its demography in 2006 is significantly different from 1906, and will change again before 2036. My community, (and,
literally, thousands of these Thai villages that are spaced about two miles apart), as it lived in 1906, was well described by Prince Damrong:

“Since entering monthon Udon, I have visited many villages along the way. Some places have large villages established for a long time over many generations. I went down to ask about the social customs of these villagers.

From the villagers’ replies, I found one surprising fact. Each village household has a house with enough space for living and a granary to store enough rice for one year. In the yard of the house they plant chili, eggplant, galangal, and lemongrass for making curry. Outside the house they have a garden for fruits such as banana, sugarcane, betel and coconut. And between the garden and the paddy field, there is a place to plant mulberry for raising silkworms. Each household has enough paddy fields and cattle to grow enough rice for the whole household. In the rice-growing season, everyone helps—man and woman, child and adult. After the season, men travel to find things to sell. Women stay at home, raise silk and weave cloth. Leftover food is used to raise chicken and pigs for sale. Villagers around here make all their own food and scarcely have to buy a single thing. The things they have to buy are metal articles like hoes, spades and knives; and crockery. Sometimes they buy yarn for weaving, or cloth and other attractive things brought by traders. They have just enough cash for these purchases because their cattle have surplus young, and they raise extra pigs and chickens with surplus food from each meal. These animals can be sold for cash to buy what they want. Each family is independent. Nobody is slave and nobody master. Family members are under the guardianship of the head of their family, and in addition there is a phuyaiban (village headman) and kamnan (sub-district head) to oversee. They administer themselves easily. But in the whole tambon (sub-district) it is impossible to find one rich man with 200 baht or more stored away. Yet you cannot find a single person who is poor to the point of being another’s servant. They must have been like this for a hundred years.

Because the villagers can farm to feed themselves without resorting to cash, the feeling that they need cash is not strong. Money does not have the same power as in the city which is called ‘civilized’. So nobody accumulates but you cannot call them poor because they feed themselves happily and contentedly.” (That quotation is taken from: Chattip Nartsupha ‘The Thai Village Economy in the Past’ (Translation (with added Afterword) by Chris Baker and Pasuk Phongphaichit of original {in Thai, 1984}). Silkworm Books, Chiang Mai 1999)

Now imagine three photographs, each one of a group of some 100 villagers assembled in a house and witnessing a wedding in 1906 and 2006 and 2036. At first glance, all the three photographs would look much the same. The clothes, the sitting on the floor on the mats, the food in the many dishes being served, and the construction of the big and airy, but sparsely furnished, house would all look the same. However, anybody might distinguish the 2006 one from the 1906 one, by the electric ceiling fans that followed the arrival of rural electrification twenty years ago, and the satellite-tv decoder that came in 2000, and the DVD player that came in 2003. But, even without those clues, the demographer would spot which was the 2006 one. S/he would point to the high numbers of the grandparent generation, and the appropriately high numbers of children, and to the relatively very, very low numbers of the parent (middle) generation. S/he would say:

“This was typical of the early years of the twenty-first century. Most of the middle generation of the villagers had migrated to jobs hundreds of miles away, from where they sent money to the grandparents to bring up the children. A little of it was spent for food and drinks which supplemented the home-grown rice, but most of it was spent on the education of the children as pupils and on the youths as students.

Thailand’s workforce was, then, 60% engaged in agriculture, 30% in industry and commerce, and 10% in tourist-related work. And the majority of the lower-paid workers in
that 30% and 10% were drawn from the North and North East to work in Central Thailand in the Greater Bangkok Metropolitan Area, or on the Eastern Seaboard Industrial Estates, or in the southern seaside resort towns. The photograph with the missing generation is the 2006 one. Most of the missing were working away; but some were dead from that scourge of migrant male workers, AIDS. That is the population of villagers (grandparents and grandchildren) who worked hard to grow enough rice for their consumption, and had low-labour crops like sugarcane and starch-roots, which brought in a little more cash, on the rest of their land.” I predict that a 2036 photograph would show a return to balanced numbers of the three generations again, when the present parents had returned to the villages and become the grandparents, and the present children had never gone as migrant workers, but had stayed in the village to become parents and had replaced the low-labour crops with labour-intensive rice. It would also show a number of retiree Thai women with their ‘baby-boomer’ Western husbands. And, in the background, there would be sophisticated equipment for on-line operation by the new peasantry, who would be farming like their predecessors but also have the intellectual pursuits born in their school, college and university student days.

I predict this ‘return of the parents’ (and ‘the return of some of the village’s prodigal daughters’ with their Western husbands in tow) by extrapolation from the state of the world economy, now, in 2006. The bubble is bound to burst. America cannot finance US$800,000,000,000 ($800 billion) trade deficits by borrowing the savings of the Chinese (and some other nationalities) indefinitely. The dollar will tumble. In the resulting recession, many Western workers-with-the-hand-and-brain will become unemployed with the collapse in demand. Since they will start the recession in credit - card and mortgage debt, the recession will become a Depression (psychological, as well as economic). The tumbling dollar will trip up the euro and the pound. Hopefully the globalised world’s edifices of fiat currency will be only shaken, not stirred to the extent of collapse.

**Thailand will be fortunate, in that, when its factories shut for lack of orders, the workers can come home to their villages.**

There is enough land that even many city families can move to rural areas and re-start the peasantry of their great-grandparents. So self-sufficiency, with some rice for export, can come again. And Prince Damrong’s words, of 1906, will again describe my community, in 2036. But it will then be a village of educated peasantry, conscious of its need to maintain its sustainability. And it will provide a blueprint for others to emulate, on the international scene.

As a prediction, the situation envisaged in the above essay is optimistic to the extent of being nearly utopian. The reason is that (as was observed in one of the Talmudic documents written in Ancient Hebrew): “We don’t see things as they are. We see things as we are.” Changing the tense, we get: “We don’t see things as they will be. We see things as we hope, or fear, they will be.”

However, written by an optimistic great grandfather though it was, it could still serve as a scenario that could be examined for feasibility. If evidence was found that there were impediments that made an impossibility of that scenario, it could still lead to construction of a different scenario that was feasible. In the event, though, no intrinsic impossibility came to be noticed; so it stands as a hoped-for possibility.

**The wide reading** This took two forms. There was the reading of what has been written and published on paper in books and articles and, concurrently, there was the reading of what is being written and published on the forums of two Internet websites (TV 2006/7 and T-UK 2006/7). These are forums to which contributions are made by some of those Western husbands who are becoming, or who plan to become, a part of the future of an Isaan village.

To understand the past, present and possible future of Isaan village life, the author perused the literature written by the scholars of Isaan. Among these literary works, **A Child**
of the Northeast, which is a historical novel (and a Thailand classic), written by Boontawee (1976), describes village life in the 1930s. Khru Ban Nork (English version titled 'The Teachers of Mad Dog Swamp'), which is another historical novel and another Thailand classic, describes village life in the 1970s (Khonkhai, 1978). Thailand: A Short History, which is considered to be the definitive authority (in English) of the development of Siam and Thailand, also provides a picture of the more recent past (Wyatt, 2004). Rural Development: Putting the Last First contends that researchers, scientists, administrators and fieldworkers rarely appreciate the richness and validity of rural people’s knowledge. (Chambers, 1983) An article entitled State Identity Creation, State Building and Civil Society 1939-1989 traces the interplay of the dominant values, and their proponents, during the attempted change of character of Thailand towards being a modern capitalistic society in an era of increasing globalization. It explains the on-going national identity crisis of a country whose monetary-economic players operate in Bangkok, whilst the majority of the voters live in semi-self-sufficient yeomanry-peasantry in rural areas such as the Northeast (Samudavanija, 1989). In The Thai Village Economy in the Past, Nartsupha (1999) shows how the villages existed before the State, and before capitalism, and remained with their subsistence economy largely intact for much longer than was commonly thought. It explains much that is seen still in the villages, with Buddhism co-existing with much older local beliefs, and only superficially affected by urban influences.

In an edited collection of his past papers, The Thai Rural Community Reconsidered, Professor Kitahara (1996) discusses the partial introduction of aspirations towards techno-economic achievements over the past thirty years (which is approximately one generation). He also discusses the interplay of Governmental, NGO and Community Member efforts towards village development. More recently, in Thailand’s Boom and Bust, Phongpaichit (1998) cast light on the conditions that resulted in able-bodied adults being drawn from the villages to work in urban areas, their enforced return after the 1997 currency crisis, and the ability of the villages to cushion major changes in employability in urban areas. The observation: “The villages are the Social Security system of Thailand” has much truth in it. The functional relationship between villages and urban areas was explored and explained by McVey (2000) in Money & Power in Provincial Thailand. Its overall flavour is encapsulated in the title of its Introduction: “Of Greed and Violence and Other Signs of Progress.”

In addition there is also a close connection between social and political affairs. Thus, there is a need for the growth of a diversified, actively-committed civil society. In Thai Images: The Culture of the Public World, Mulder (1997) examined how Thai children and adults have Thailand’s national identity presented to them by curriculum, newspapers and contemporary fiction. The impending world oil shortage in the next decade and henceforth, as detailed in Hubbert’s Peak, will undoubtedly have a paramount effect on Thailand and its villages (Deffeyes, 2001). This conjecture is supported by the report of the group commissioned by the US Government that put facts and figures to the outlook for the fuel supplies which has underpinned the capitalist structure of all developed nations. (Hirsch et al, 2005). Following from the interpretation of Hutton (2006) in his article entitled Hope for the Best, Prepare for the Worst, Thailand should therefore prepare for the effects of global economic volatility and recession. For Thailand, this may not be as gloomy an outlook as it may be for longer-industrialised countries.

Internet ‘virtual’ interviews A secondary tactic was to follow up some of those Internet contributions either by contributing to a discussion that was underway on the forum or by sending a Personal Message (PM) to a contributor.

Face-to-face interviews A tertiary (opportunistic) tactic was to interview face-to-face any such couple who happened to be met and who were willing to be interviewed.
Findings

First, it had to be ascertained that there were indeed a significant number of such couples intending to retire to the wife’s girlhood village. Second, it was necessary to consider the villages as they will be when these couples retire from the West. That is, to consider the societal (economic, cultural and political) condition of the villages as they are today and what changes can be expected. Third, it was necessary to consider the village daughters and western husbands presently living in the West from the viewpoint of what individual attributes of social, monetary, human and moral capital they may possess as potential contributions to the village when they return for retirement. Fourth, it was necessary to consider how the couples were preparing themselves to settle in to village life.

Over two thousand internet postings were perused with some twenty personal message enquiries being made about points raised in the ‘open’ discussions, and several face-to-face discussion-interviews occurred.

The topic “Thai wives retirement destination?” was posted by the author of this study on the appropriate forum on the Thailand-UK Community website (T-UK 2006/7). This website is ‘frequented’ by Thai-Western couples who are living in Britain. In summary, 38 couples voted, with 11 (29%) intending to retire to a Thailand village and of these 7 (18%) were intending to retire to a village in Isaan.

The topic “Farang houses in the Villages, are they for retirees to come?” was posted on the Isaan forum of the ThaiVisa website (TV 2006/7). This website is ‘frequented’ by a much larger number of readers and contributors than the Thailand-UK website, as it is a long-established site that gets contributions from all categories of Western men who are interested in life in Thailand. In the four days that the topic was active, there were 17 comments posted. 7 of these indicated that the contributor and his Thai wife were living in the West and had built a house in the wife’s girlhood village, to which they were planning to retire. The flavor of the contributions can be tasted from comment #15 by ‘radar’:

“Yes, Martin. We built our home in the wife’s village about six years ago. We both live and work in Australia, but we go home a couple of times a year, and for what it cost to build, it is well worth the money to be able to stay and do what you want in your own home. One day in the future we will retire to Thailand and it is a bonus that we are already set up for this move. The wife’s father gave us the land to build on, and the house cost about 1 million baht, six years ago. But if you were to build the same house today, it would be much, much more than that, so it is a long term investment as well.”

Although this method of gathering information only reveals ‘straws in the wind’, and no quantitative conclusions can be drawn, it was sufficient to confirm that a significant number of villages do have daughters intending to return after life in the West.

The villages as they were a century ago, and their different societal condition as they are now, degraded by urban drift, are described in the essay above. During the study, and after the submission of the Proposal, a review of how Thailand’s industrialization has impacted on the Isaan villages was found (Myers, 2005). It is entitled: The Isan Saga: The inhabitants of rural northeastern Thailand and their struggle for identity, equality and acceptance (1964-2004). The abstract says:

“The village-dwelling Isaan people of rural northeast Thailand are in an ongoing struggle for personal identity, prosperity, and equality, as well as a desire for respect and acceptance by their fellow countrymen. Presently over twenty-one million in population (as of 2004), the Isan people have taken the
initiative over the last several decades to seize various opportunities and are currently emerging from their poverty-stricken agrarian roots and lowly social position to becoming the formally-recognized labor class of Thailand.

This ongoing process is occurring despite long-standing economic exploitation and neglect, as well as hindrances placed in their way by their more urbane, status-conscious Central Thai cousins, who have customarily dismissed the Isan dwellers as being simpleminded and ignorant. Notwithstanding, their progress is now clearly evidenced by an increasing acceptance by the Thai, together with enjoying a greater significance on a national scale in socio-cultural, economic and political terms.”

As Myers says, Isaan people have been instrumental in Thailand’s successful foray into industrial development, and have received some benefit thereby. However, this has come at the price of the loss to the villages of the presence of many who would have been above-average contributors to the social capital of their village. Just as companies which lack monetary and/or human capital for development have only (at best) the ability to ‘hold their own’, so the villages of Isaan have ‘continued, but not progressed’, whilst urban Thailand has been moving onward. If, as the scenario presented in the essay suggests, manufacture-for-export collapses, the villages may benefit. This will be a societal benefit, economically, politically, and culturally, from the injection into the villages of human capital, due to reversal of the flow of ‘workers with the hand and brain’ from rural-to-urban migration to urban-to-rural migration.

The monetary and other assets that Thai-Western couples retiring from the West to the villages are expecting to bring with them were revealed in topics on the Internet forums and from the literature review. It was seen that of crucial importance will be the fact that the returning daughters spent their early formative years in the villages when the villages still had the immensely-cohesive social capital described by Boontawee in “A Child of the Northeast.” Considering the poor-quality land, insufficient rainfall, and periodic droughts, (i.e. a paucity of material capital), it is a tribute to the social capital of the villages that the villagers survived at all. The villages have had an unfortunate forty years, but their social capital situation can recover and be improved simply by the return of those who were lost to urban drift. (That is in contrast to the countries of Europe and North America, which industrialized more than a generation ago, and will have immense difficulty in re-inventing their sufficiency.) This ‘stored’ social capital and other attributes that the couples may bring with them in retirement were obliquely touched on in internet discussions and, in two cases, in face-to-face interviews. A typical example from an Internet discussion is part of a Personal Message in which ‘john b’ tells of the extent to which his wife and he are contributing to the strength of one part of a village in advance of their planned retirement there in 2010: “So, what has this westerner brought to the village? Well, we built a house there in November/December 2005. Right next door to aunty's house, where everyone had slept until then. Now, whilst we are earning money in Europe, Mam's daughter, her two brothers and one sister sleep in the new house...taking care of it...tend the garden, look after the cows we bought etc. Mam's daughter has a bank account now and has a monthly allowance to cover all her school expenses, clothing etc. We pay one of Mam's sisters a little bit to do the washing, keep the house clean etc. We go there for a couple of months every summer, well Mam does, I can only get away for one month. We built a small house for her father across the road last year and added a hong nam recently. Daughter and brother in law will need to move to senior school in the next two years. We will pay for whatever that involves. We provided uncle with a motorbike, later Mam's 16 year old brother with one too. Our part of the village has, in
short, been transformed, not only in terms of its structures and current disposable income, but also in terms of its future prospects. Mam and I will return there to live when I retire. My pension is not great but it will do for us there and will help the family too. I realised long ago that I married not just a Thai woman but also her family. Mam left school at 13, went to BKK to work in a clothing factory etc etc. Her daughter and younger brothers will have the opportunity, as a result of her marrying a farang, of continuing in school to 18 and maybe even to university. They, please god, will not have to work in sweatshops, building sites or bars. We recently bought 6 rai of land adjoining the village. Mam's father will clean it up and hopefully dig ponds to start fish farming, giving him an alternative to thai whiskey. We are transforming the village and I am just a humble teacher, by no means a wealthy man by European standards.”

Planning of the monetary side of their retirement is a feature of the middle-class section of the ‘baby boomers’ and it is not being neglected by the couples with whom this study was concerned. For instance, on the Thailand-UK Community website, there was a discussion entitled: “Would £200,000 be enough?” The replies indicated that other couples were, as of 2007, planning to have capital of £300,000 (i.e. 20 million baht) at least, and income in excess of 40,000 baht per month. That correlates with remarks made by many men who ‘post’ on the ThaiVisa forums.

From their conversations and communications, the couples who plan to retire, or have already retired, to live in the wife’s girlhood village seem to have four characteristics in common. The wives are members of prominent, well-established families in the village, and their husbands describe their wives as having above-average acumen and ability to benefit from experiential learning. The husbands are men who have plenty of intellectual and practical interests to occupy their time during active retirement, and they are appreciators of the village environment and lifestyle.

Conclusions

It is feasible to expect that the Isaan villages will be strengthened in size of population and in societal capital---human, social and monetary---despite a general downturn in the GDP of Thailand. The ‘negative growth’ (or ‘positive contraction’) of capitalized-industrial development may have significant benefits to Thailand, despite the great changes and painful realignments of lifestyles that it will entail. The ‘well-beings’ of individuals, households, communities, regions and nations entail compendiums of health, wealth, self-esteeems, relationships and activities. Individual and group ‘images of futures’ that contained an expectation that ‘business as usual’ would, more or less, continue as it has been for the past few decades are not going to become realities. More easily for the residents of Thailand than for many partly or largely industrialized countries, it is feasible to postulate that new ‘images of satisfactory futures of adequate, sustainable economical, socio-political, and environmental well-being’ can be developed, refined and adapted.

Recommendation (1):

Today’s students, at all levels, should be encouraged to consider and refine their images of their futures.

In particular, young members of universities’ faculties should look to preparing themselves to work in the universities as universities will then be (federations of village colleges?).

To quote Professor Jim Dator: “The study of the images of the future which an individual, or a social class, or a group of elites, or a culture holds is practically important because people often act in the present on the basis of what they think the consequences of their actions will be. People use their ideas about the future to direct their actions in the
Typically, people have not had the opportunity consciously to examine that loop, or even to examine the images they have of the future. Thus they have not learned how to clarify their images, and how to improve their decisions. This alone is ample justification for futures studies at a societal as well as an individual level. Societies, as well as individuals, should strive to improve their images of the future and their decisions in the present which so largely determine the future. But studying your own, and others, images of the future is enlightening. It is humanizing and rehumanizing. It is frightening and unsettling. It is liberating. It is fun. It is very, very difficult. It is--or should be--a core element in every person's liberal education.” (Note 5.)

Three quotations from another paper (Allinson 2008) summarise a scenario of universities to come: “Provincial universities, like their capital-city brethren, have functioned with the ‘business model’ that they took in young, able people from rural and urban areas and trained and ‘certificated’ them for progression to specialized professional roles in industrialised, urbanised societies. In particular, the universities had in their libraries material for study that was unavailable elsewhere. They have evolved curricula, and their faculty members have developed specialized expertise, which reflect those ‘career destinations’ of their students. The provincial universities have been instruments of rural-to-urban migration, in which young people from rural areas largely ‘left their parents’ indigenous knowledge behind them’ as they acquired the appropriate employment and social skills for their urban futures. However, in a scenario in which decreasing availability of exosomatic energy is causing contraction of industrialism and urban-employment opportunities, the provincial universities will have to change to a different ‘business model’. The ‘career destinations’ of the majority of their graduates will be the villages and district townships of the rural areas, where the graduates will have wider and less-specialised roles. The curriculum needs of the students, particularly those from the urban areas who are in the process of migration to rural occupations, will be quite different from anything hitherto provided by universities.”

“The rural population will find it to be unaffordable to travel to universities in the cities and will require that university faculty members help them with their learning whilst they stay and work in their villages and district townships.”

“It is possible to envisage Universities that are ‘federations of village colleges’, employing a relatively low number on their present city campuses and with most of their academic staff resident in the villages, where each acts as the mentor and facilitator to students on a wider range of courses than present-day specialist academics are concentrated on. A medium-sized village might have three university staff members, dealing respectively with Technology, Sciences, Humanities and Commerce. These village tutors, with the demands of such wide remits, would be senior members of their University’s Faculties. They would maintain close liaison with their Faculty contacts, at other villages and at the central campus, by communications much developed from those of today. Bigger villages might have more than three tutors in residence, and in smaller villages the academic staff might have dual appointments to the university and to the village secondary school.”

Recommendation (2):

As in the USA, some universities should pursue the provision of post-career intellectual recreation to retirees. Those are provincial universities, such as KKU and CMU, which can offer pleasant accommodation in a resident intergenerational community and close to a high-level hospital. This could partly compensate for the inevitable decline in the quantities of their present work.
Industrial contraction due to contraction of supplies of energy will reduce the number of urban jobs that are available. Since many, many young people only take on the expense of university education in order to qualify for an urban job, there will be far fewer students from rural areas presenting themselves to universities for ‘higher education’. Thus the present work of the provincial universities will contract. But the advance in the general interest of older people in intellectual self-development resulting from the ‘information age’ gives universities an opportunity to provide appropriate services, provided that provision fits in with the other ‘well-being’ needs of older people. Essential elements of well-being are health, wealth, self-esteem, relationships and activities. For those who have a modicum of wealth, provincial universities (especially those with a ‘teaching hospital’ attached) are well placed to attract retirees and to support their other needs.

Notes:
(1) The needs of retired people for ‘intellectual recreation’ are receiving attention where considerable numbers of healthy, somewhat wealthy, retirees are coming forth. Following from an Economic Anthropological view of universities as “institutions for the certification, creation, and recreation of the middle class”, it is appropriate that universities pay heed. This, possibly somewhat provocative, description of universities is to be found in “Chayanov and Theory in Economic Anthropology” by E. Paul Durrenberger and Nicola Tannenbaum, Chapter 7 of Theory in Economic Anthropology, edited by Jean Ensminger, 2002, AltaMira Press, Maryland, USA.
(2) It is the futures that their grandchildren may have which interests older students, as indicated by the Dean of UCLA’s Extension Program who says: “Older students want to learn more about the world as it will evolve over the next fifty years”. (Quoted in Jackson 2006)
(3) The term ‘pre-search’ is in use in the USA to describe preparatory work ahead of a ‘search’ or a ‘research’ study. However, here in this paper, ‘presearch’ is used to mean looking ahead to what may happen in the future. It is particularly apposite to post-career work as shown in the following table from the author’s PhD Proposal: The post-career degree raises a need to invent terminology. A table of comparison would appear as:

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(4) A description of the course is given at: http://www.hawaii.edu/polsc171/00-1stUsr/PS-syllabus.html which also gives an exhaustive explanation and listing of the Course Objectives.
(5) This quotation is taken from www.futures.hawaii.edu/syllabi/171Fall03.pdf which Professor Jim Dator prepared for his 2003 class in POLSC 171.

References:


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Thai Pre-service Science Teachers’ Conceptions of the Nature of Science

Khajornsak Buaraphan
Sunun Sung-ong

Introduction

Science is an important subject for all levels of education. However, numerous studies have shown that many students, and even teachers, possess an inadequate understanding of science and its nature. This situation might be harmful, ‘particularly in societies where citizens have a voice in science funding decisions, evaluating policy matters and weighting scientific evidence provided in legal proceeding. At the foundation of many illogical decisions and unreasonable positions are misunderstandings of the character of science’ (McComas, Almazroa, & Clough, 1998, p. 511). An understanding of the nature of science (NOS) is established as one of the desirable characteristics of a scientifically literate person, who, in general, ‘should develop an understanding of the concepts, principles, theories, and processes of science, and an awareness of the complex relationships between science, technology, and society ...(and) more important(ly) …an understanding of the nature of science’ (Abd-El-Khalick & BouJaoude, 1997, p. 673).

Therefore, many science curricula now aim to help learners attain an adequate understanding of the NOS or an understanding of ‘science as a way of knowing’ (American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1989). Driver, Leach, Miller, and Scott (1996) have advocated many advantages of the NOS as a goal of science instruction, i.e., the NOS enhances learning of science content, understanding of science, interest in science, decision making in science-related issues, and science instructional delivery.

The proclamation of the National Education Act B.E. 2542 (1999), being revised in B.E. 2545 (Office of the Education Council, 2002), in Thailand brings all stakeholders together in joint continuing efforts toward education reform. Science is emphasised and situated in section 23 of the 2002 National Education Act. To support the reform, the Ministry of Education had launched a new curriculum, the Basic Education Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2001), which consists of eight Learning Strands. In the Science Learning Strand, the NOS is explicitly emphasised in Learning Sub-strand 8: Nature of Science and Technology, which consists of one standard (Standard Sc 8.1):

The student should be able to use the scientific process and scientific mind in investigation, solve problems, know that most natural phenomena have definite the period of investigation, (and) understand that science, technology and environment are interrelated (Institute for the Promotion of Teaching Science and Technology, 2002, p. 7).

Teachers must acquire an adequate understanding of the NOS in order to effectively address the NOS in the classroom (Abd-El-Khalick & Lederman, 2000) and model appropriate science-related behaviours and attitudes (Murcia & Schibeci, 1999). Science teachers’ actions in classrooms strongly influence their students’ view of the NOS (Palmquist & Finley, 1997). As Lederman (1992) pointed out, ‘the most important variables that influence students’ beliefs about the NOS are those specific instructional behaviours,

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2 Assoc. Prof., Faculty of Education, Kasetsart University
activities, and decisions implemented within the context of a lesson’ (p. 351). In the case of language, for example, the way teachers verbally present scientific enterprise has an impact on the way students formulate their views about science (Munby, 1967; Zeidler & Lederman, 1989). Therefore, promoting teachers’ understanding of the NOS is clearly a prerequisite for effective science teaching (McComas, Clough, & Almazroa, 1998).

The Nature of Science

Although the NOS is neither universal nor stable, it is generally agreed that the NOS encompasses various fields, especially epistemology, which involves how scientific knowledge is generated and the character of science (Lederman, 1992). McComas, Clough, and Almazroa (1998) provide a good overall description of the NOS:

The nature of science is a fertile hybrid arena, which blends aspects of various social studies of science including the history, sociology, and philosophy of science combined with research from the cognitive sciences such as psychology into a rich description of what science is, how it works, how scientists operate as a social group and how society itself both directs and reacts to scientific endeavours (p. 4).

In addition, from an analysis of eight international science standard documents, those authors summarised a consensus view of the NOS. Some aspects of the NOS include: Scientific knowledge is tentative; Scientific knowledge relies heavily, but not entirely, on observation, experimental evidence, rational arguments, and scepticism; There is no universal step-by-step scientific method; Laws and theories serve different roles in science; Observations are theory-laden; Scientists are creative; Science and technology impact each other; and Scientific ideas are affected by their social and historical milieu (McComas et al., 1998, pp. 6-7).

Pre-service Science Teachers’ Conceptions of the Nature of Science

Most pre-service science teachers hold mixed views about the NOS. The studies related to pre-service science teachers’ conceptions of the NOS can be categorised in four major groups: scientific knowledge, scientific method, scientists’ work, and scientific enterprise.

Scientific knowledge: Hypotheses, theories, and laws

Regarding the relationship between hypotheses and theories, nearly half of the pre-service teachers surveyed in Thye and Kwen (2003) believed that ‘scientific theory is a hypothesis that has not been proven yet’ (p. 6). After being empirically tested, nearly all pre-service teachers stated that a hypothesis becomes a theory (Haidar, 1999). Laws are statements or descriptions of discernible patterns developed to account for observable phenomena, while theories are inferred explanations for those phenomena. These two types of knowledge play different roles in science. However, many pre-service science teachers cannot distinguish their roles. The most popular uninformed view about theories and laws for most of them is the ‘laws-are-mature-theories-fable’ (Thye & Kwen, 2003), i.e., when enough supporting evidence is accumulated, theories become laws (Abd-El-Khalick, Bell, & Lederman, 1998). The common subsequent effect of the ‘laws-are-mature-theories-fable’ is the misbelief that laws are less tentative than theories (Bell, Lederman, & Abd-El-Khalick, 2000).

Some prospective science teachers strongly believe a simplistic hierarchical relationship between hypotheses, theories, and laws. For example, 73.1% of pre-service science teachers in Rubba and Harknes (1993) had naïve conceptions that ‘a hypothesis is tested by experiments. If it proves to be correct, it becomes a theory. After the theory has been proven many times by different people and has been around a long time, it becomes a law’ (p.
It also leads to the favourite assertion about the credibility of hypotheses, theories, and laws, i.e., ‘theories are general propositions which are more credible than hypotheses but less credible than laws’ (Ogunniyi, 1982, p. 28).

Scientific knowledge: Tentativeness of science

Regarding the status of scientific knowledge, we can categorise pre-service science teachers into two groups using a static-dynamic split. The pre-service teachers in the first group view science as stable or having static status (Craven, Hand, & Prain, 2002; Murcia & Schibeci, 1999; Tairab, 2001), while those in the second group view science as tentative or having a dynamic status (Bell et al., 2000; Mellado, 1997; Palmquist & Finley, 1997). In the static-science group, student teachers claimed that science is a collection of facts or a body of knowledge that explains the world with little or no elaboration. The purpose of scientific research, therefore, is to collect as much data as possible (Craven et al., 2002; Tairab, 2001). The student teachers belonging to this group appeared to have minimal awareness of the tentative nature of scientific knowledge (Murcia & Schibeci, 1999). In the dynamic-science group, the student teachers generally raised subjectivity and creativity as the important factors contributing to the tentative nature of science (Abd-El-Khalick et al., 1998).

Scientific knowledge: Cumulative knowledge

The belief of scientific knowledge as cumulative knowledge is commonly held by pre-service teachers. In Haidar’s (1999) study, 48% of pre-service science teachers believed that scientific knowledge is cumulative and its advancement strongly depends on increasing observation.

Scientific knowledge: Scientific model

Many pre-service science teachers, especially those who hold the constructivist view, can articulate the role of scientific models as representations, rather than exact replicas, of experienced phenomena (Bell et al., 2000). A scientific model, for them, is seen not as a copy of reality, but as scientists’ best ideas or educated guesses to represent reality (Haidar, 1999). However, the appearance of scientific models in various public media, especially science textbooks, persuades most prospective science teachers to think about a scientific model as a copy of reality. For example, in Thye and Kwen (2003), 42% of pre-service teachers were not aware of the limitations of the scientific model. They asserted that ‘since they [scientists] can provide the structure of atom universally in textbooks and reference books, I think that they must be very certain of it. Maybe they look at a microscopic view’ (p. 6). In addition, 70% of prospective teachers in Ogunniyi’s study (1982) believed that molecules, atoms, and electrons are empirical concepts. The example of the atomic model is frequently raised to support the conception of the scientific model as a copy of reality.

Scientific method: Universal, step-wise method

The scientific method is commonly perceived by pre-service science teachers as ‘a universally applicable, lock-step procedure’ (Craven et al., 2002, p. 791). The percentage of pre-service science teachers who believe in a universal, step-wise scientific method varies from study to study, for example 23.5% (Murcia & Schibeci, 1999), 33% (Craven et al., 2002), 60% (Palmquist & Finley, 1997), 65% (Haidar, 1999), and even 100% (Mellado, 1997) of respondents. The main argument supporting a universal, step-wise scientific method is that its ordered, rigid stages lead to objectivity of scientific work and, finally, valid scientific claims (Mellado, 1997; Palmquist & Finley, 1997). Accordingly, a good scientist is defined as a person who follows the steps of the scientific method (Haidar, 1999). Some pre-service teachers disagreed with a universal step-wise scientific method (Mellado, 1997). They
did not believe that ‘there are fixed steps that scientists always follow to lead them without fail to scientific knowledge’ (Murcia & Schibeci, 1999, p. 1134).

**Scientific method: Experiment**

Some pre-service teachers raised experimentation as a necessary means to claim the validity of scientific knowledge. Thye and Kwen (2003) found that 79% of pre-service teachers expressed an uninformed view about scientific knowledge as experimental knowledge. They argued that ‘experiments are necessary to confirm truth and validity of scientific theory and inquiry. Without experimental validity, there is no scientific knowledge. There is only blind faith’ (p. 5).

**Scientists’ work: Theory-laden observation and subjectivity**

Some of the most common bipolar views of the NOS are subjectivity VS objectivity or theory-laden VS theory-free. For most student teachers, subjectivity plays a major role in the development of scientific ideas (Palmquist & Finley, 1997). The individuality of scientists (e.g., their personalities, background, motivations, beliefs, paradigms etc.) can affect scientists in selecting, interpreting, recording, and reporting evidence (Abd-El-Khalick et al., 1998; Murcia & Schibeci, 1999) and, finally, generating conclusions or theories (Abd-El-Khalick et al., 1998; Thye & Kwen, 2003). For example, 46% of pre-service teachers in Thye and Kwen (2003) believed that ‘the same piece of evidence or the same set of data can be subject to multiple interpretations’ (p. 7). However, many pre-service teachers strongly believed in objectivity in science, which is firmly based upon theory-free observation. For example, 40% of pre-service elementary teachers claimed that the validity of scientific knowledge originates from objective and value-free observation (Murcia & Schibeci, 1999). Scientists must accordingly be objective in their work (Palmquist & Finley, 1997) and observation should not be influenced by the theories they hold (Haidar, 1999). Objectivity is consequently proposed as one of the desirable characteristics of scientists.

**Scientists’ work: Creativity and imagination in science**

The role of creativity and imagination in the construction of scientific ideas is acknowledged by most pre-service science teachers (Abd-El-Khalick et al., 1998; Bell et al., 2000). Creativity and imagination are thought to be mainly involved in designing research or experimental procedures, generating new ideas, and developing technology (Murcia & Schibeci, 1999). Creativity-related science leads most student teachers to ‘dismiss the view of science as a completely objective and rational activity’ (Bell et al., 2000, p. 570). However, some pre-service teachers deny the role of creativity and imagination in science. In Murcia and Schibeci (1999), nearly 10% of pre-service teachers expressed the belief that ‘science was fact or truth and creativity did not have a place’ (p. 1132). In Thye and Kwen (2003), 33% of pre-service teachers did not seem to think that creativity and imagination were required at all steps of scientific investigation. A few of them adamantly stated that ‘there must not be any interpretation of the facts, they should speak for themselves’ (p. 7).

**Scientific enterprise: Social and cultural influences on science**

The social and cultural influences on the scientific enterprise are explicitly recognised by most pre-service science teachers (Haidar, 1999; Mellado, 1997; Murcia & Schibeci, 1999; Rubba & Harkness, 1993; Tairab, 2001). The literature revealed two types of cultural influences. The first comes from the larger society, while the other comes from the culture of science itself, including the influences of professional organisations, funding sources, and peer review (Bell et al., 2000, p. 570). In one study, 75.5% of pre-service elementary teachers believed that ‘the bodies [government departments] that supply the money for research
influence the direction of science’ (Murcia & Schibeci, 1999, p. 1135). However, the influences of social and cultural factors on scientific practice are sometimes overlooked by pre-service teachers (Abd-El-Khalick et al., 1998). Many of them neglected science as a social enterprise or a form of human cultural activity (Tairab, 2001).

Scientific Enterprise: Interaction between science and technology

It is, maybe, an easy task for pre-service teachers to recognise the interaction between science and technology, such as the ideas that science is the knowledge base for technology and technology influences scientific advancement (Rubba & Harkness, 1993). However, distinguishing between science and technology is probably a very difficult task for them (Rubba & Harkness, 1993). The commonplace naïve conception about science and technology is that technology is applied science (Tairab, 2001).

Thai Pre-service Science Teachers’ Conceptions of the Nature of Science

Most of the NOS studies in Thailand are unpublished Master’s theses, which were extensively conducted during the 1997-2001 period in Northeast. Of the 26 Master’s theses examining teachers’ conceptions of the NOS, there were only three studies related to pre-service teachers’ conceptions of the NOS, i.e., Wansudol (2000), Jongchidklang (2000), and Phiankaew (1999). Surprisingly, all of them strongly emphasised a quantitative approach by using the same questionnaire consisting of 94 items corresponding to the four Scales of the NOS: Assumptions of the nature scale (12 items); Scientific knowledge scale (24 items); Scientific method scale (24 items), and Interaction between science-society-technology scale (34 items). These studies reported respondents’ conceptions of the NOS according to those scales as rated on five-point Likert scales. They, in general, reported that pre-service teachers showed a high level of understanding of the four Scales of the NOS (Jongchidklang, 2000; Phiankaew, 1999; Wansudol, 2000), and statistical interactions between the variables of gender and learning programme on their understanding of the NOS were not found to be significant (Wansudol, 2000).

Objective

The current study aimed to explore Thai pre-service science teachers’ conceptions of the NOS by using a more qualitative approach. The research question was: What are pre-service science teachers’ conceptions of the NOS, particularly scientific knowledge, scientific method, scientists’ work, and scientific enterprise? The findings of this study may contribute to the relatively limited qualitative literature on pre-service science teachers’ conceptions of the NOS and initially inform involved stakeholders of the current state of their understanding of the NOS and, subsequently, help them to plan for programmes and curricula to promote understanding of the NOS at the pre-service level.

Methodology

Instrument

To explore pre-service science teachers’ conceptions of the NOS, the authors of this study utilised a newly developed instrument entitled the Myths of Science Questionnaire (MOSQ). The MOSQ consists of 14 items and addresses four aspects of the NOS: (1) Scientific knowledge (Items 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9); (2) Scientific method (Items 5, 6, 7); (3) Scientists’ work (Items 10, 11); and (4) Scientific enterprise (Items 12, 13, 14). The creation of the MOSQ items was largely inspired by McComas’s (1998) article entitled ‘The Principal Elements of the Nature of Science: Dispelling the Myths’. All of the MOSQ items are presented as Figure 1 in the Appendix. MOSQ respondents are required to select which of three responses, i.e., agree, uncertain, or disagree, best fits their opinion of the item statement and to provide an additional written response to support their selection. The MOSQ was first
validated by five science educators. They were asked to examine the items in terms of their relevance to the dimensions of the NOS and their clarity and suitability to the respondents. A second version, which had been revised according to the experts’ comments, was then pilot tested with 21 pre-service science teachers at one university in the central region of Thailand in order to determine whether they understood the items and to assess how much time they would spend completing the MOSQ. Any ambiguities found during this trial were clarified for the respondents and recorded for further revision of the MOSQ. The completion of the questionnaire took approximately 45 minutes.

Data collection
The data were collected during the first semester of the 2008 academic year. The respondents were 113 pre-service science teachers in a five-year science teacher preparation programme at one university in the central region of Thailand. The researchers administered the MOSQ and collected it back from all of the respondents. A majority of the respondents (83.2%) were female. There were 24.8%, 15.0%, 21.2%, 17.7%, and 21.2% of pre-service science teachers in the first, second, third, fourth, and fifth years of study, respectively. The major fields of study of the participants were biology (33.3%), chemistry (30.7%), general science (20.0%), and physics (16.0%).

Data analysis
The frequency of each response (i.e., agree, uncertain, and disagree) was first counted and, subsequently, calculated for its percentage. The agree, uncertain, and disagree responses were respectively interpreted as informed, uncertain, and uninformed conceptions of the NOS. However, ‘one’s view of the NOS is a complex web of ideas that loses meaning when reduced to simple numbers’ (Palmquist & Finley, 1997, p. 601). The written arguments supporting each response were also categorised and their frequencies calculated for each category.

Findings
Pre-service science teachers’ conceptions of the NOS: Scientific knowledge
The pre-service science teachers’ conceptions of the NOS regarding scientific knowledge are shown in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>1st year</th>
<th>2nd year</th>
<th>3rd year</th>
<th>4th year</th>
<th>5th year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Disagree</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Uncertain</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agree</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A majority of pre-service science teachers (55.4%) held the informed conception of hypotheses and theories. They disagreed with the statement ‘hypotheses are developed to become theories only’. Of written responses, 44.2% argued that hypotheses are potentially developed to become laws, and 13% of written responses additionally argued that hypotheses may be proven to be false. However, one-third of pre-service science teachers were uncertain about hypotheses and theories, while only three of them explicitly expressed an informed conception. Interestingly, the fifth year pre-service science teachers held markedly more informed conceptions of hypotheses and theories than the others. Nearly one third of pre-service science teachers (30.36%) were uncertain about theories and laws. In addition, 43.8% of respondents expressed the traditional view that scientific theories are less secure than laws. A major explanation supporting the uninformed view (29.2%) was that ‘theories are less credible than laws because theories can be changed, but laws are fixed, they cannot be changed’. Only five student teachers explicitly demonstrated informed conception by stating that ‘theories and laws are equally credible’.

A very high proportion of pre-service science teachers (80.4%) believed in ‘laws-are-mature-theories-fables’. A majority of the written responses provided to support their view (70%) stated that ‘when the theories have been proved, they can be developed to become laws’. All pre-service science teachers, except one who was uncertain, expressed the contemporary view about the tentativeness of science. Nearly all of the written responses (94.4%) raised the discovery of new or more credible evidence as a reason why scientific knowledge can be changed. However, one teacher believed that ‘theories can be developed to become law, thus scientific knowledge is tentative’. This response demonstrates the conjunction of two beliefs—the first one is incorrect, but accidentally leads to another correct one.

The majority of respondents (81.1%) possessed the naïve conception that ‘accumulation of evidence makes scientific knowledge more stable’. They all believed in what we called ‘Baconian induction’ (McComas, 1998, p. 58). The majority of written responses (59.5%) supporting this naïve view indicated that ‘the accumulation of evidence increases the credibility of scientific knowledge’. In addition, the scientific model item revealed a good split of answers among naïve, informed, and uncertain views. We found that 33.3% of pre-service science teachers agreed with the statement ‘a scientific model expresses a copy of reality’, while 36.0% disagreed, and 30.6% were uncertain. A major pattern of reasoning (33.8%) supporting the disagree response was ‘the scientific model does not express a copy of reality because it is created from scientists’ imaginations’. Notably, the first year pre-service science teachers were highly uncertain and held an uninformed conception of scientific models.

Pre-service science teachers’ conceptions of the NOS: Scientific method

The pre-service science teachers’ conceptions of the NOS with respect to scientific method are depicted in Table 2.

Table 2 Pre-service science teachers’ conceptions of the NOS: Scientific method

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>1st year</th>
<th>2nd year</th>
<th>3rd year</th>
<th>4th year</th>
<th>5th year</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Disagree</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</table>

88
An uninformed conception of the scientific method was reported by 43.8% of pre-service science teachers. They believed that scientists must follow a fixed step-by-step method to obtain scientific knowledge. Interestingly, nearly one third of respondents (30.4%) were uncertain about whether the stages of the scientific method could be reordered or if any could be removed. Remarkably, the third year pre-service science teachers held informed conceptions of the scientific method. More than one third (39.1%) of pre-service teachers were uncertain about whether ‘science and scientific method can answer all questions’, and more than one third (36.4%) of them disagreed with the statement. Of 90 written responses, 60 of them (66.7%) raised issues (e.g., ghosts, spirits, the devil, black magic, the supernatural, fortune-tellers, etc.) that science cannot explain. Interestingly, three responses raised the issue of time, i.e., eventually scientists will come up with explanations of such things. Notably, the fourth year pre-service science teachers were highly uncertain, and all of them had uninformed conceptions regarding this item. In addition, the contemporary view that ‘scientific knowledge is not originated from experiments only’ was expressed by 60.4% of respondents. Thirty of 87 written statements (34.5%) supported their response by stating that scientific knowledge can be obtained from observation. Furthermore, 20 of 87 written responses (23.0%) indicated that more than one method can be used to seek scientific knowledge. Again, the fourth year pre-service science teachers were highly uncertain, and all of them held naïve views with respect to this item.

**Pre-service science teachers’ conceptions of the NOS: Scientists’ work**

The pre-service science teachers’ conceptions of the NOS with respect to scientists’ work are depicted in Table 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>1st year</th>
<th>2nd year</th>
<th>3rd year</th>
<th>4th year</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>Disagree</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Nearly all pre-service science teachers (91.0%) believed that ‘scientists use creativity and imagination in developing scientific knowledge’. The two frequently raised examples were the creativity and imagination involved in creating scientific models (18.4%) and designing scientific experiments (14.5%). In addition, nearly two thirds of pre-service science teachers (62.2%) agreed that ‘scientists are open-minded without any biases’. The majority of written responses (60%) stated that being open-minded and unbiased are desirable characteristics of scientists that allow them to succeed in their work. Only 11.7% of respondents held the contemporary view and argued that some scientists are not open-minded and possess some biases.
Pre-service science teachers’ conceptions of the NOS: Scientific enterprise

The pre-service science teachers’ conceptions of the NOS with respect to scientific enterprise are depicted in Table 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>1st year</th>
<th>2nd year</th>
<th>3rd year</th>
<th>4th year</th>
<th>5th year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uncertain</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uncertain</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uncertain</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More than one third of pre-service science teachers (36%) disagreed with the statement ‘science and technology are identical’. One third of the written responses expressed the pre-service science teachers’ naïve conceptions that ‘technology is applied science’. Three patterns of the relationship between science and technology emerged from the responses, i.e., technology originated from science (54.4%), science and technology interact with each other (28.9%), and science creates technology and technology develops science (2.2%). Notably, the fourth year pre-service science teachers were highly uncertain, and none of them held informed conceptions of the interaction between science and technology. The majority of pre-service science teachers (74.8%) disagreed with the item ‘scientific enterprise is an individual enterprise’. Nearly all of the written responses (97.8%) claimed that science is a social activity that involves many persons. The fourth year pre-service science teachers were highly uncertain, and none of them held informed conceptions regarding science as a social activity. In addition, nearly two thirds of pre-service science teachers (64%) believed that society, politics, and culture potentially affect the development of scientific knowledge in some ways. Again, the fourth year pre-service science teachers were highly uncertain, and none of them possessed contemporary views regarding this item.

Pre-service science teachers’ conceptions of the NOS: Holistic view

The overall responses of all pre-service science teachers are depicted in Figures 2 and 3.
Preservice science teachers’ conceptions of the nature of science (Items 1 to 7)

Figure 2 Pre-service science teachers’ conceptions of the nature of science (Items 1 to 7)

Preservice science teachers’ conceptions of the nature of science (Items 8 to 14)

Figure 3 Pre-service science teachers’ conceptions of the nature of science (Items 8 to 14)
In overall, nine of the fourteen items expressed consistent patterns of responses, which can be categorised into two groups: a highly consistent group (Items 1, 3, 4, 8 and 10) and a consistent group (Items 5, 7, 11 and 13). The pre-service teachers’ conceptions of the NOS are shown in Table 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Uninformed %</th>
<th>Uncertain %</th>
<th>Informed %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Item 8</td>
<td>81.1</td>
<td>Item 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item 3</td>
<td>80.4</td>
<td>Item 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item 11</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>Item 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item 2</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>Item 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item 5</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>Item 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item 9</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>Item 7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 Relationship between uninformed, uncertain, and informed views across items

Of 14 items of the MOSQ, more than a half of the pre-service science teachers (55.4%) held informed conceptions of the NOS on six items. Two of them involve scientific knowledge (Item 1: Hypotheses and theories and Item 4: Tentativeness of science), one involves the scientific method (Item 7: Scientific experiment), one of them involves scientists’ work (Item 10: Creativity and imagination in science), and another two involve scientific enterprise (Item 13: Science as social enterprise and Item 14: Social and cultural influences on science). On the contrary, more than one-third of pre-service science teachers (33.3%) held uninformed conceptions of the NOS on six items. Four of them involve scientific knowledge (Items 2 and 3: Theories and laws, Item 8: Cumulative knowledge, and Item 9: Scientific model), one involves the scientific method (Item 5: Universal, step-wise scientific method), and another one involves scientists’ work (Item 11: Theory-laden observation and subjectivity). Interestingly, considering the relationship between uninformed, uncertain, and informed responses, two characteristics of responses were noticed: a highly informed with low confident (Items 1 and 7) and a highly informed with low confident group (Items 2 and 9). We also found that the third, fifth, first, fourth, and second year pre-service teachers showed informed responses on seven items (Items 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13), five items (Items 3, 4, 7, 10, 14), two items (Items 2, 13), two items (Items 1, 2), and one item (Item 8), respectively.

Discussion and conclusions

Most of the pre-service science teachers in this study, like other pre-service teachers around the world, held uninformed conceptions about the roles of hypotheses, theories, and laws, particularly the ‘laws-are-mature-theories-fables’ (Abd-El-Khalick et al., 1998; Rubba & Harkness, 1993; Thye & Kwen, 2003) that lead them to perceive theories as less secure than laws (Ogunniyi, 1982). The tentativeness of science or dynamic of science is highly recognised by the pre-service science teachers (Abd-El-Khalick et al., 1998; Bell et al., 2000; Craven et al., 2002; Mellado, 1997; Murcia & Schibeci, 1999; Palmquist & Finley, 1997). However, they did not raise subjectivity or creativity as important factors that make science tentative, like Bell, Lederman, and Abd-El-Khalic (2000) noticed, but instead raised the discovery of new credible evidence. The caution before making judgments about pre-service teachers’ ideas about the tentativeness of science is that the ‘laws-are-mature-theories-fables’ might lead them to mistakenly answer the tentativeness of science item ‘correctly’ (Bell et al., 2000; Thye & Kwen, 2003). Scientific progress can be best described as a revisionary process rather than a cumulative process (Brickhouse, 1990). However, a majority of pre-service science teachers in this study, similar to that of Haidar (1999), strongly believed in Baconian induction. They viewed science as cumulative knowledge, i.e., individual pieces of evidence.
are collected and examined until a law is discovered or a theory is invented. They were not aware of the problem of induction, i.e., ‘even a preponderance of evidence does not guarantee the production of valid knowledge’ (McComas, 1998, p. 58). Pre-service science teachers who believed that a scientific model is not a copy of reality, similar to Haidar (1999) and Bell et al. (2000), believed this because a model is created from scientists’ imaginations as an educated guess. Other pre-service teachers believed that a scientific model is a copy of reality, which is similar to the findings of Oggunniyi (1982) and Thye and Kwen (2003).

The pre-service science teachers in this study were highly uninformed and uncertain about the scientific method. They strongly believed in the universal, step-wise scientific method, which is widely propagated in school science textbooks (Craven et al., 2002; Haidar, 1999; Mellado, 1997; Murcia & Schibeci, 1999; Palmquist & Finley, 1997). Also, the form of cookbook- or verification-type laboratory activities, unfortunately, leads student teachers to portray science as a rigid procedural investigation leading to reliable, valid, and dependable knowledge (Palmquist & Finley, 1997). In this study, the fixed process of the scientific method is also linked with the objectivity of scientific knowledge (Gallagher, 1991; Mellado, 1997), but is not linked with the character of scientists as in Haidar’s (1999) study. The term ‘scientific method’ itself is, maybe, an issue. Abd-El-Khalick and BouJaoude (1997) found that without explicitly stating the term “scientific method”, almost all teachers (94%) in their study adopted the more informed view that science activities are not completely logical and sequential. Many pre-service science teachers did not believe that or were uncertain whether science and the scientific method can answer all questions. They raised many phenomena that are unexplainable by science. In this group, some student teachers raised time as a major factor, predicting that at some point in the future, scientists will come up with explanations for these phenomena. More than half of pre-service science teachers believed that scientific knowledge is not only originated from experiments. They frequently raised observation and other methods of knowledge accumulation (Thye & Kwen, 2003).

Creativity and imagination were highly regarded as important in developing scientific knowledge, in particular to creating scientific models and designing experiments (Abd-El-Khalick et al., 1998; Bell et al., 2000; Murcia & Schibeci, 1999). A minority of pre-service science teachers believed in objectivity in science (Murcia & Schibeci, 1999; Thye & Kwen, 2003) and also raised it as an important characteristic of scientists, as in (Palmquist & Finley, 1997), in order to be successful in their work.

The idea that technology is an applied science is dominant among pre-service science teachers in this study. They cannot easily distinguish between science and technology (Rubba & Harkness, 1993). This finding has strong cultural roots because people tend to ‘point to artefacts and systems that followed scientific discoveries’, e.g., atomic physics leading to nuclear power generation and electrical research leading to dynamos and transformers. Consequently, science educators should present a clear distinction between science and technology and advocate the complexity and the interactive nature of the relationship between science and technology, or ‘an interactionist perspective’ (Tairab, 2001, p. 245). Three patterns of relationships between science and technology emerged in this study. One of them is similar to that described by Rubba and Harkness (1993), i.e., science interacts with technology. A majority of pre-service science teachers believed in science as a social activity, which is greatly influenced by society, culture, and politics (Bell et al., 2000; Haidar, 1999; Mellado, 1997; Murcia & Schibeci, 1999; Rubba & Harkness, 1993; Tairab, 2001). Only a few prospective teachers did not perceive the influences of society, culture, and politics on scientific advancement (Tairab, 2001).
Implications

Science teachers’ conceptions of the NOS potentially influence their actions in classrooms. Therefore, preparing pre-service science teachers to acquire an adequate understanding of the NOS should be a basic requirement for teacher preparation programmes. However, the reality is that some pre-service science teachers arrive with largely unexamined conceptions of the NOS, and, too often, they leave the teacher education programmes without these conceptions being challenged (O’Brien & Korth, 1991). The MOSQ employed in this study may be useful for science teacher preparation programs in exploring pre-service science teachers’ conceptions of the NOS at the beginning and the end of individual courses or even the program as a whole. It is able to provide both quantitative and qualitative data of conceptions of the NOS.

If one accepts the importance of understanding the NOS, then pre-service science teacher education programmes are obligated to develop new science teachers who understand a contemporary view of the NOS and its application to teaching (Palmquist & Finley, 1997, p. 596). The NOS should not be anticipated as a side effect or secondary product of hands-on inquiry (Akindehin, 1988); rather, it should be explicitly mentioned and included in science teacher education programmes. Based on empirical evidence (Akindehin, 1988; Billeh & Hassan, 1975; Carey & Strauss, 1968; King, 1991; Oggunniyi, 1982), explicit instruction on the NOS in science teacher education programmes has the potential to improve pre-service science teachers’ conceptions of the NOS. However, explicitly teaching the NOS outside a science context has only a limited effect on changing and improving understanding of the NOS. Therefore, NOS-associated activities and discussions should not be an ‘add-on’, but should be tightly linked to science content (Driver et al., 1996).

Science teachers’ different views of science arise from their views about how children learn. Another aspect that should be included in science teacher education programmes is constructivist epistemology. Growing awareness of and commitment to constructivism among prospective science teachers have the potential to improve their conceptions of the NOS (Pomeroy, 1993), in particular as related to the tentativeness of science and theory-laden observation. The other implication is to study the relationship between pre-service science teachers’ conceptions of the NOS and their classroom practices. Although this question is still unclear in the literature, it is worth studying, especially in the Thai context. However, there are, of course, limitations to this study. The assertions made cannot be generalised from this small sample, which was not randomly selected to represent all pre-service science teachers in Thailand.

Acknowledgements

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References


Jongchidklang, A. (2000). *Understanding of the nature of science held by student teachers with different gender and major in the northeastern Rajabhat Institutes*. Mahasarakham University.


Appendix

Figure 1 The Myths of Science Questionnaire (MOSQ)
Directions: Please select the choice that best reflects your opinion and provide an explanation supporting your selection.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Hypotheses are developed to become theories only</td>
<td>□ Agree □ Uncertain □ Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Scientific theories are less secure than laws</td>
<td>□ Agree □ Uncertain □ Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Scientific theories can be developed to become laws</td>
<td>□ Agree □ Uncertain □ Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Scientific knowledge cannot be changed</td>
<td>□ Agree □ Uncertain □ Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The scientific method is a fixed step-by-step process</td>
<td>□ Agree □ Uncertain □ Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Science and the scientific method can answer all questions</td>
<td>□ Agree □ Uncertain □ Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Scientific knowledge comes from experiments only</td>
<td>□ Agree □ Uncertain □ Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Accumulation of evidence makes scientific knowledge more stable</td>
<td>□ Agree □ Uncertain □ Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. A scientific model (e.g., the atomic model) expresses a copy of reality</td>
<td>□ Agree □ Uncertain □ Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Scientists do not use creativity and imagination in developing scientific knowledge</td>
<td>□ Agree □ Uncertain □ Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Scientists are open-minded without any biases</td>
<td>□ Agree □ Uncertain □ Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Science and technology are identical</td>
<td>□ Agree □ Uncertain □ Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Scientific enterprise is an individual enterprise</td>
<td>□ Agree □ Uncertain □ Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Society, politics, and culture do not affect the development of scientific knowledge</td>
<td>□ Agree □ Uncertain □ Disagree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. Introduction

Need analysis (NA) is very essential for any course or curriculum design and development because (1) the results of the NA will be a useful resource in developing learner-centered syllabus. (2) The syllabus developed will maximize learning and teaching because learning and teaching are provided relevant to the needs, wants, and interests of target students. According to Tyler’s principles of setting objectives for designing a syllabus, it is suggested that it is necessary to identify the learners’ needs in order to gear the syllabus to its students. Tyler’s model for designing a syllabus is composed of learning objectives, content, learning processes, and evaluation. To accomplish this, a syllabus designer must identify the learners’ needs during the first stage of the design (Tyler, 1949; and Hutchinson and Water’s 1987).

Research has shown (Gardener & Winslow, 1983; Long, 2005; Richterich, 1983; West, 1994) that there is often a lack of awareness of the existence of NA as a tool in ESL course design, especially in bilingual courses where the specific needs of the students are difficult to determine. Thus, it is important to identify learner needs, problems, and wants for a bilingual program within a particular context. The early studies of NA are associated with Munby (1978) who developed one of the earliest models of NA for language course design. Over the past three decades, the definition of NA has varied amongst many scholars. One of the earliest concepts of NA was largely established during the 1970s by the Council of Europe in the field of ESP (Richterich, 1973/1980) although one of the most general terms of NA is defined as a “gap or measurable discrepancy between a current state of affairs and a desired future state” (Berwick 1989, p. 52). However, in broader terms, NA can be described as identifying “what learners will be required to do with the foreign language in the target situation, and how learners might best master the target language during the period of training” (West, 1994, p.1). More recently, task-based NAs are gaining attention (Gilabert, 2005; Long, 2005; Long & Crookes, 1992, 1993; Long & Norris, 2000) due to their use of multiple sources and methods to gather quality data. According to Brindley, the needs are individual learner needs in the learning situation, which entail a number of affective, cognitive, and social factors; whereas, some researchers such as Nunan (1988) use ‘objective as factual, and subjective as perceived’ to describe information about learners. Moreover, there are various ways in which information can be gathered about the needs of learners; the most frequently used being questionnaires, interviews, observation, and data collection. Because Needs Analysis is a complicated process, the analysis should use more than one of these methods. The methodologies selected depend on the time and resources available; but, also, the procedures of each will partly depend on accessibility (Hutchinson and Water, 1987).
Schwab’s four commonplaces: teacher, learner, subject matter, and milieu, a syllabus design should include the opinions of those in the population who are going to be involved with the learners and the program. There are various ways in which NA can be diagnosed, which varies according to the purpose of the analysis and the context. The most common instruments are questionnaires, interviews, observations, and consultations, which may be designed for various groups such as learners, teachers, administrators, etc.

1.1 Bilingual Program within a Thai Context
Since the mid-1990s, bilingual approaches to schooling and higher education have become popular in parts of South-east Asia, especially in Thailand (Office of the National Education Commission, 2006). The approaches are new within a Thai educational context and a curriculum has been designed and developed to serve the social need of using English as a tool of learning. Bilingual education in Thailand has been applied by teaching some subjects in both the mother-tongue and a second language (usually English). It is firstly necessary to identify the bilingual learners’ needs of English to design syllabuses in order to provide suitable courses for learners (Jordan, 1997). Consequently, needs analyses (NAs) relating to bilingual learners within a Thai secondary level context should be established as an essential part of developing the bilingual program. It is the initial step to solve learning problems in the bilingual program; especially the language difficulty in learning other subjects in English. This study investigates the needs, problems, and wants of the bilingual students from grades 7-9 in a Thai private secondary school. A NA theoretical overview of the study will next be presented.

1.2 Conceptual Framework
The conceptual framework to design the NA model of this research utilizes Tyler’s framework for a syllabus design, Hutchinson and Water’s example of an ESP course design, and Schwab’s idea of four commonplaces and is illustrated in Figure 1 below. The framework corresponds to the research questions of this study are as follows. (1) To what extent do the bilingual students need to use English in both: their present situations, and their future situations? (2) To what extent do the bilingual students have problems in using English in their specialized studies? (3) Finally, what are the learners’ wants for the purpose, content, and methodology of the bilingual program?

**Figure 1: Conceptual Framework for Winit Secondary School NA**

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**Figure 1: Factors affecting ESP course design**

Hutchinson & Waters, 1987

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Syllabus design
1. Objectives
2. Contents
3. Learning Process
4. Evaluation
(Tyler, 1949)
2. Methodology

Both quantitative and qualitative data were employed. The quantitative part is a survey using questionnaires to investigate the learners, teachers, administrators and parents involved in the bilingual program. The qualitative approach collected data by using semi-structured interviews as well as a focus group interview.

2.1 Participants

The participants of the research were students, teachers, administrators, parents, and alumni from the Bilingual Program at Winit Secondary School. The population included five groups (total 1,336), and only 400 responded to questionnaires: 241 students, 71 parents, 20 teachers, six administrators, and 62 alumni. Twenty-three were selected by using a purposive sampling technique to be interviewed both in a semi-structured (15) and as a focus group (8) format. Three from each group were interviewed by using a semi-structure technique, but only two from the second to the fourth groups. All of the participants were involved in the program. Below, Table 1 shows the details of participants and respondents from all five groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Administrators</th>
<th>Parents</th>
<th>Alumni</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The target population</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>1,336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questionnaire distributed</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questionnaire respondents</td>
<td>241 (86%)</td>
<td>20 (100%)</td>
<td>6 (100%)</td>
<td>71 (84.5%)</td>
<td>62 (82.6%)</td>
<td>400 (86.02%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-structured interview</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus group interview</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The participants of the semi-structured and focus group interviews were selected by using a purposive sampling technique from groups five and four respectively. The semi-structure interviewees were selected from students, parents, and teachers who are representative of grades 7-9 since these participants are able to cover the entire progress of the learners in this program. The vice-director of the academic department, the head of the bilingual program, and the head of the bilingual teachers were selected to be in the administrative category. The alumni representatives were one high school student, one undergraduate student, and one English teacher as they can represent English skills needs for their present private and professional lives. While the participants of the focus group interview were from four groups: teachers, administrators, parents, and alumni. Two subjects from each group were selected from different districts in order to have variety. Thus, eight subjects were included. The suitable number for a focus group is reported to be between six to eight participants, as smaller groups show greater potential (Krueger & Casey, 2000). Furthermore, the goal in selecting participants is to purposively search for those who continue to participate with the bilingual activities. Which is to say, ideally they should be familiar with both the purpose and the function of Winit Secondary School’s Bilingual Program. Also, focus group interviewees were included because of their higher knowledge and varied experience (Burrows & Kendall, 1997).
2.2 Instruments

The instruments employed in this study include semi-structured interviews, a focus group interview and questionnaires.

2.2.1 Questionnaires

There are four separate sets of questionnaires for the students, teachers, administrators, and parents. The questionnaires for the students, administrators, and parents are predominantly the same and are written in Thai in order to minimize ambiguity and misinterpretation. The questionnaires for the teachers are written in both Thai and English as the instructors may be either Thai or English speakers. The questions contained in the questionnaires are both closed and open form, the questionnaires comprise four parts, and they make use of a five-point Likert scale.

- Part 1: Background information of the respondent.
- Part 2: The respondent’s opinions concerning the needs and problems in regards to English learning skills for bilingual learners.
- Part 3: The respondent’s opinions concerning the wants of the bilingual learners in terms of curriculum, content, methodology, skills, times, and teachers.
- Part 4: The respondent’s attitudes towards learning in the bilingual program.

The questionnaires mirror all research questions which pertain to the needs in the present and future, problems, and wants of learners using the five-point Likert scale criteria. The mean range for each scale is defined below in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Needs and Problems</th>
<th>Wants</th>
<th>Mean Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Very extensive</td>
<td>Very strong</td>
<td>4.21-5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>3.41-4.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>2.61-3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td>Rare</td>
<td>1.81-2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>1.01-1.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.2 The semi-structured interviews

The interviews were conducted in two ways; namely, face to face interviews and telephone interviews. The data obtained were used in order to be a guideline in drafting questionnaires and to gather in-depth data for analyzing the future needs.

2.2.3 The focus group interviews

The focus group interviews were conducted in order to analyze in-depth data using audio records. The purposive sampling was with selected subjects for the focus group interview. (See Table 1)

3. Data collection

In total, 465 questionnaires were distributed, but only 400 (or 86.02%) responded. The completed questionnaires were computer-coded and analyzed by using descriptive statistics (means and standard deviation). Both the semi-structured interviews and focus group interview were transcribed and analyzed immediately after finished the interviews on each day because the observational notes, the audio and video recording should be transcribed immediately after each focus group interview (Krueger & Casey, 2000). Thus, the analysis would be systematic, sequential, verifiable, and continuous.
4. Finding and discussion
The results of the findings are illustrated in Tables 3-6.
4.1 Present needs
4.1.1. Finding for preset needs
Table 3 showed the findings for the present needs in English for the bilingual learners at Winit Secondary School where the five groups of participants completed the questionnaires.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present needs for</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Needs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Speaking</td>
<td>4.46</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>Very extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Listening</td>
<td>4.45</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Reading</td>
<td>4.18</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Writing</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present needs for listening to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lectures</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Presentations</td>
<td>4.05</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• News and documentaries</td>
<td>4.04</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Music and movies</td>
<td>3.92</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present needs for speaking to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• General conversation</td>
<td>4.32</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>Very extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Discussions</td>
<td>4.22</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Questions and answers</td>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need for reading to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Examination and exercises</td>
<td>4.32</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>Very extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Textbooks</td>
<td>4.31</td>
<td>0.89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• E-mail and internet information</td>
<td>3.92</td>
<td>1.01</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Newspaper and magazines</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Story, novels, or ads</td>
<td>3.80</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present needs for writing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Wh- and Yes-No questions</td>
<td>4.26</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>Very extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Compound and complex sentences</td>
<td>4.19</td>
<td>0.89</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Essays</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Summaries</td>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Simple sentences</td>
<td>4.09</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Classroom Notes</td>
<td>4.03</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Letters</td>
<td>3.85</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The result of the finding for present needs shows that the students need all 4 English skills to communicate. This was supported by their statement in focus group. For example, an administrative “...they need to have and practice all 4 communicative skills because they have to learn other subjects through English language.” The two alumni also gave the similar opinions as they said “Yes, we did improve all skills because we have to use the 4 skills all the time... and when we were in the program we had to listen to the teachers at all times as during lectures, for classroom directives and rapport.” Also, practice listening to reports or presentations and additional audio/visual materials such as CDs and DVDs.

4.1.2 Discussion of the present needs
The learners need all four language skills in communicative English. Among the four language skills, the need for writing and listening is perceived as the most often used as they have to understand their teachers giving the lectures and be able to make study notes. In contrast, speaking skills seem to be the least used. However, all of the four skills are equally important to the learner in order to excel in the program.

4.2 Future needs
4.2.1 Finding for future needs
Table 4 shows the findings for the future needs in English for the bilingual learners at Winit Secondary School where the group of alumni participants completed the questionnaires and were audio record for the semi-structures interviews.
Table 4: Future English needs the bilingual learners at Winit Secondary School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Future needs for</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Needs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Listening</td>
<td>4.52</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>Very extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaking</td>
<td>4.42</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>3.98</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future need for listening to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presentations</td>
<td>4.07</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectures</td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News and documentaries</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music and movies</td>
<td>3.81</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future need for speaking to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General conversation</td>
<td>4.41</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>Very extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presentations</td>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questions and answers</td>
<td>4.07</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future need for reading to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Examination and exercises</td>
<td>4.30</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textbooks</td>
<td>4.16</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E-mail and internet information</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper and magazines</td>
<td>3.82</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story telling, novels, or ads</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future needs for writing to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wh- and Yes-No questions</td>
<td>4.20</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essays</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compound and complex sentences</td>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summaries</td>
<td>4.05</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple sentences</td>
<td>4.03</td>
<td>0.89</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking notes</td>
<td>3.93</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letters</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>Extensive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three English language skills: listening, speaking, and reading were rated as students’ very strong needs. Two sub skills: general conversation and discussion were very extreme need. However, English skills needs in target or future situations depended on each situation. For example, one alumnus, who studied under a Thai curriculum, mainly used English to read texts and research online because the other 3 skills just weren't called upon". An International student alumnus used all four skills. Finally, a golfer used speaking most and very frequent.

N= 56-62

4.2.2 Discussion of future needs

The results of both approaches tend in the same direction which is the need of the four skills as they have to learn other subjects in English. English major needs seem to depend on their opinions and personal life choices. The form al students found the usefulness of being in the bilingual program when they had to use English skills for their higher education or professional life. In an International university program giving to presentation, listening to lecturing, reading online texts, and conversing with foreigners are extensive needs.

4.3 Problems

4.3.2 Finding for problems

Table 5 shows the findings for the problems of English for the bilingual learners at Winit Secondary School where the five groups of participants completed the questionnaires and the focus group participants were interviewed.
Table 5: Problems of using English of the bilingual learners at Winit Secondary School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problems for</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Problem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Speaking</td>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Listening</td>
<td>2.98</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Writing</td>
<td>2.95</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Reading</td>
<td>2.73</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems for listening to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lectures</td>
<td>3.07</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Presentations</td>
<td>2.94</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• News and documentaries</td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Music and movies</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>Rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems for speaking to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Discussions</td>
<td>3.12</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Presentations</td>
<td>2.98</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Questions and answers</td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• General conversation</td>
<td>2.80</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems for reading to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Examination and exercises</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Textbooks</td>
<td>2.77</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Newspaper and magazines</td>
<td>2.76</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Story, novels, or ads</td>
<td>2.58</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>Rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• E-mail and internet information</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>Rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems for writing to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Compound and complex sentences</td>
<td>3.29</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Summaries</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Essays</td>
<td>3.16</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Letters</td>
<td>2.99</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Classroom notes</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Wh- and Yes-No questions</td>
<td>2.78</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Simple sentences</td>
<td>2.52</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>Rare</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results showed that the learners have moderate problems with most skills such as ‘writing compound and complex, sentences’, ‘writing summarizations’, and ‘writing essays’. The lowest mean scores are ‘Problem in writing simple sentences’ and ‘Problem in listening to music and movies’. The result from the focus group interview was expressed in more detail along with a deeper understanding during the focus group interview. There seem to be serious problems in writing and speaking because their teachers have the responsibility of collecting a lot of written work; and, the large class size is a hindrance for effective speaking activities. However, reading and listening seem to be moderate problems as shown in the quantitative part as the learners have more time to practice listening and reading skills. The bilingual learners are required to listen to their foreign teachers speaking at all times and giving lectures; and, they have to read course text books in English.

N = 357-360

4.3.2 Discussion of problems

The results from both quantitative and qualitative research have supported one another whereby the interview provided more details about the learners’ problems; especially since the results from the questionnaire scarcely recognize the learners’ problems. The interview clearly shows the learners have serious problems in writing and speaking. The frequent use of reading and listening skills has decreased their problems in using those skills.

4.4 Wants

4.4.1 Findings of wants

Table 6 shows the findings of the wants for English skills, and the objectives and content of learning for the bilingual learners at Winit Secondary School where the learner participants completed the questionnaires and were audio recorded for the semi-structured interviews.
Table 6: Wants of using English of the bilingual learners at Winit Secondary School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wants for</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Wants</th>
<th>Wants for language skills, objectives and content in learning:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Writing</td>
<td>3.06</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>The learners have a moderate want for writing skills and reading.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Reading</td>
<td>2.99</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>Rare</td>
<td>In contrast with the results of the learners' needs, the learners rarely have a want for listening and don’t have a want for speaking. All of the objectives of learning in the bilingual program are very strong wants; especially the want to speak fluently like a native speaker. With respect to the content of the text books, it is preferred to use all forms of texts: Thai and foreign, only foreign, and Thai translations. The interviews of the learners’ wants show that they prefer the writing skills to communicate in learning more than speaking as they lack the confidence of speaking correctly. For example, a previous student said, “I want to be able to speak but it’s too difficult and I’m afraid of people laughing at me when I make a mistake. I think writing is better because when I make any mistakes, the teacher always corrects them for me”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Listening</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td>Rare</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Speaking</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wants for objective:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• To use Eng as fluently as a native English speaker</td>
<td>4.63</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>Very strong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• To pass the entrance exam</td>
<td>4.52</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>Very strong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• To be able to study in an international program in the university level</td>
<td>4.48</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>Very strong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• To use as a medium of learning (autonomous learning)</td>
<td>4.37</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>Very strong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wants for content:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• From Thai and foreign texts</td>
<td>4.26</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>Very strong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• From foreign texts</td>
<td>4.05</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Translated from Thai texts</td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wants for methodology:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Experiential learning outside the classroom</td>
<td>4.44</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>Very strong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Learning by doing</td>
<td>4.26</td>
<td>0.89</td>
<td>Very strong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Cross subjects integrated</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Lectures</td>
<td>3.92</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>Very strong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Class discussions</td>
<td>3.91</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Problem-based</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Research presentation</td>
<td>3.81</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Project-based</td>
<td>3.61</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wants for learning activity:</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>Wants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Outside classroom activities</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>Very strong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Group work</td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Pair work</td>
<td>4.07</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Inside classroom activities</td>
<td>3.96</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Individual</td>
<td>3.70</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wants for teaching technique:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Telling jock to relax during the instruction</td>
<td>4.57</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>Very strong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• CAI</td>
<td>4.36</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>Very strong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Using song</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Role play</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Drama/play</td>
<td>3.96</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Wants for assessment and instructions by

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wants for assessment and instructions by</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Wants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Testing</td>
<td>4.22</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>Very strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Deciding the learners performance by considering learners’ progressive</td>
<td>4.02</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>Strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Consider corporation among the learners</td>
<td>4.18</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Deciding the learners performance by using criteria</td>
<td>4.20</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Task, worksheet and portfolios</td>
<td>3.96</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Observing the learners development</td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Wants for instructional language:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wants for instructional language:</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Wants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• The teachers use Eng 70% while teaching</td>
<td>4.28</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>Very strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The teachers use Eng 50% while teaching</td>
<td>4.23</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Native speakers teach grammar</td>
<td>4.20</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Thai and foreign teachers teach in the same time as a team teaching</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Thai teachers who are good at English teach in bilingual</td>
<td>4.07</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Only native speakers teach English subject in the program</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Only native speakers teach every subject in the program</td>
<td>3.81</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>Strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Thai English teachers teach grammar</td>
<td>3.72</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The teachers use Eng 100% while teaching</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(N=204-241\)

### Wants for teaching process:

The experiential learning from outside the classroom seems to be very popular; whereas, the rest were all at the moderate level. Outside classroom activities is the most wanted. Telling jokes during the instruction, using CAI, and using songs are very strong wants. This was confirmed by the results of the interviews in which students said that they can understand better when using these techniques as opposed to just listening to their teachers talk. Also using a second language as an instructional language is very difficult at the beginning, but having practice helped them to understand better. Group activities helped them learn from one another; however, individual work is sometimes needed when not all of the group members are very responsible. Finally, the learners prefer to learn within a relaxing atmosphere.

### Wants for assessment and instruction:

Students only rated doing tests at the highest level. The learners prefer to have instruction in English 70% of the time or English 50% of the time, and want native English speakers to teach grammar. The semi-structured interview data in the assessments and evaluation category shows that learners prefer to be measured by considering the learners’ performance, for example: “The previous student said that he didn’t want to do the test because he didn’t know what would be on the test and that there was so much content to study and remember for the test. It is unlike doing some kind of work point by point or using my knowledge to apply to the work at hand. I think this way is better.” Furthermore, an example relating to language use for instruction is from a previous student: “I prefer to have both Thai and foreign teachers for the non-English subjects like Math or Science because even though the content may be difficult, the Thai teacher can help in understanding.”
4.4.2 Discussion of wants

The wants for English skills are clearly found in the preference for using writing to express their understanding rather than speaking. This result does not mean that they do not see benefit of speaking skills but, in fact, they haven't sufficient confidence to speak. Consequently, it may be surmised that they want to be able to speak correctly. Focusing on “Why do they want to learn in this program?”, the findings show that they want to use English for their future learning. Therefore, the text books for the program should be selected from Thai and foreign texts.

With respect to the results of the findings involving teaching methodology, they prefer having experiential learning, a variety of teaching methods and relaxing techniques while teaching. Surprisingly, the results for assessments and evaluation from the questionnaires differ from the interview results as the questionnaires show the highest mean score in testing but the interviews show a preference in performance.

However, the mean score for evaluation by performance is also very close to evaluation by testing as the mean scores only have a difference of 0.02. In addition, both sets of results for instructional language are the same as they want to have two teaching languages as well as a Thai teacher present in the classroom to assist them during the class.

5. Implements of the study

5.1 Policy makers may use this study as a guideline for designing a suitable curriculum that meets the needs of bilingual learners and the community.

5.2 Instructors may consider the findings in methodology, learning, and assessment processes that meet learners’ needs in the present and the future, problems, and wants.

5.3 Parents should be more concerned to better understand their children in relation to the previous and future needs and difficulties in learning within the bilingual program.

5.4 Students may recognize similarities or evaluate themselves while studying in this program as well as prepare themselves for their future careers.

6. Conclusion and summary

Bilingual Education in Thailand has been attractive to many parents in Thailand as there is an increasing need of using English as a global language. The analysis of needs, problems, and wants of the bilingual learners at Winit Secondary School has been described in this paper by using Tyler (1949), Hutchinson and Water (1987), and Schwab (1969) frameworks. The mixed methods of quantitative and qualitative research were used to collect the data. The reliability and validity of the instruments were clarified by using construct and content validities. The questionnaires were piloted, and the reliability coefficient was 0.89. The results of the study can be summarized in two major findings.

The results find that the present English curriculum for teaching in the bilingual program has two main inappropriate parts: First, the results of the findings in problems show critical problems in speaking skills due to the large classroom size. Second, a serious problem in writing skills due to the teacher having to correct many errors of the learners’ paper work. However, this program seems to provide numerous benefits in acquiring English skills since many of the alumni have had success in their present lives due to their English abilities. The skills that learners want may be those which they feel comfortable to use like writing as opposed to speaking. The research shows that they want both writing and speaking but the teacher may have to find better ways for them to practice.

The results suggest that the bilingual program should provide varieties of teaching methodologies and techniques by focusing on giving them authentic experiences in order to learn and practice the language such as an opportunity to speak the language with foreigners.
outside the classroom. Having two languages while using English 70% of the time during instruction is required by the learners.

Finally, a recommendation for further study would be in the methodology of collecting data of learners’ problems. As the participants may not be comfortable criticizing the problems of the learners or the program, the questionnaires alone may scarcely be adequate to identify the problems. Thus, using in-depth interviews may have to be used and carefully analyzed in order to find the problems. This would possibly suggest an observation of the learners’ work and/or performance to effectively criticize their problems.

Acknowledgements
I would like to gratefully thank Mr. Steven Buchanan, and the participants from the bilingual program for their much appreciated collaboration and help in conducting this research.

References
Burrows, D. & Kendall, S. (1997). Focus groups: What are they and how can they be used in nursing and health care research?. *Social Sciences in Health* 3, 244–253.

**************************************************
Theatre and Drama for Youth Development: A Pilot Study for Policy Advocacy

Pasakorn Intoo-Marn

Background

Theatre for development first appeared in Thailand in 1980 when a group of former university theatre/drama activists formed “Grassroots Micro Media Project” which is later known as Makhampom Theatre Group to communicate development messages to rural population. At that time the group had not yet focused on youth, but rural adults because the latter took major roles in rural community development. However, after working for a while, the group found that adults spent most of their time on daily activities such as farming, and had not much time to attend and participate in theatre activities. Makhampom Theatre Group therefore shifted its focus to community youths as they were active in involving in theatre process. The theatre group then stared to work with youth group with the expectation that youth group would be mechanism for community development. With this perception, problematic issues such as HIV, drug, the environment, and so on, were communicated with rural people through theatre of the youth. Moreover, Makhampom conducted theatre training sessions for rural youth with the hope that rural communities where the youth were in would have their own media to communicate among community members and across communities. Through this activity, Makhampom found that apart from being communication medium, theatre could be a tool for youth development psychologically and mentally. As a result, youth development through theatre process has been major mission of Makhampom Theatre Group since then (Buaprakhon, 2004). With this mission, many youth theatre groups have been formed around the country.

Another major theatre for youth development institution in Thailand is “Institute of Arts and Cultures for Development”, formerly Maya Theatre Group. It was established in 1981, started with a production of puppet theatre performed in rural communities throughout the country. Maya has been working in coordination with the Ministry of Education to place theatre activities in school curricula for a long while. It also conducts training for young theatre artists.

At present, there are around 100 groups using theatre for youth development. This includes professional theatre groups, youth groups in schools and communities. These groups are mostly “off-springs” of Makhampom and Maya (Theatre and Drama for Development Research Centre, 2007).

It can be seen that theatre has been utilised as a tool for youth development in Thailand for decades. Despite this fact, there is no state policy to support theatre practitioners and theatre groups in this regard. This is because common understanding of the general public towards “theatre and drama” is that of “TV soaps” or “people making their livelihood from acting around”. Policy makers, then, do not perceive theatre and drama as educational and developmental tool. “Theatre and Drama for Youth Development: A Pilot Study for Policy Advocacy” research project is therefore an attempt to identify strategies for policy-makers on implementing theatre and drama for youth development in Thailand.

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Objectives
1. To identify the roles of theatre and drama for youth development.
2. To identify the needs for policy support of theatre for youth development practitioners and involving parties.
3. To develop strategies for policy-makers on implementing theatre and drama for youth development in Thailand.

Methodology
Information to answer the research questions has been gathered through interview sessions with 19 groups of practitioners, focus-group discussions among service-providers and service-users such as non-governmental organisations and schools, and comments and suggestions from experts of related fields. Information analysis and policy strategies identification have been done through a workshop-seminar to brainstorm ideas among stakeholders from knowledge management organisations, state agencies, local and international non-governmental organisations, theatre groups, educators and academics.

Findings
Roles of theatre for youth development
Findings from groups and organisations using theatre and drama for youth development result in categorisation of groups and models to use theatre arts as follows:
1. Groups and organisations equipped with theatrical and dramatic skills can employ various models and methods according to their aims, for example, to use drama process to “empower” young participants to dare thinking and speaking out. It also emphasises strategic importance of Youth Theatre Group, for theatre could be effective tools in telling both their own and their community’s stories. It also aims to build networks for exchanges of concrete experiences and visions so that young people could acquire better understanding towards society and their place in the community.

2. Non-governmental organisations and education institutes use theatre arts to supplement main curricula in the organisations. A number of organisations rely on theatre and drama as “communication tool” to disseminate their content such as women’s rights, children’s rights, environmental issues, and so forth. As theatre communicates by performance and actions, not verbal preaching, it triggers interest and lead the audience to consider targeted issues, in many cases with passion.
   a. For youth development, theatre enables these young practitioners to develop their analytical skills, then transform the agendas into stories. Assertiveness and immediate problem solving skills are gained when taking their theatre to different communities without knowing in advance what issues might arise and what problems they might encounter.

3. When using drama and theatre in school and community works, young people found that their voice can be “heard” more. The fact that adults sometimes underestimated their quality had changed into new perspectives once they showed how constructive they could be with their community theatre projects which brought both adults and young people together to their roots. Since the process of community theatre sometimes begins with tales that could be told only by the elderly, connection between past and present, themselves and tales, enables all involved to clearly “see” themselves as crucial members of the community. Amid globalisation that is blurring and obscuring the self (selves), as seen by youths, theatre arts takes them back to search for and understand their own “identities.”
Obstacles and limitations

Obstacles and limitations for using theatre arts for youth development can be categorised as follows.

1. Groups and organisations directly employing drama process
   
   State and private funding agencies, and foreign international development agencies have their own agendas to advocate; thus, these organisations have to take the position of funding agencies when working. As a result, their theatre arts skills are limited and artistic creativities will be harnessed by agendas of funding agencies.
   
   Incorporation of theatre arts in education process can be limited by narrow understanding of theatre arts by personnel in education. Additionally, if the process is to be included in education policies, working with teachers will not be sufficient. More would have to be done with directors and policy makers. However, the policy level work is not an easy one.
   
   Despite the policy levels agree with the drama process, an implementation of policies will remain a difficult task because operational level personnel still have limited understanding and lack of theatre and drama skills.
   
   Lack of infrastructure necessary for the development of knowledge and understanding of drama and theatre for development, such as information system, research and knowledge creation, places for production, public forum, and so on, is also crucial.

2. Non-governmental organisation and educational organisations using drama and theatre
   
   Lack of capacities building for organisations to fully develop drama process. In case of education institutes, directors do not understand roles of drama and theatre for youth development, which is an obstacle for implementation in schools.

3. Youth groups
   
   Lack of schools and communities’ supports force many groups to suspend their operations or change their roles to other directions, such as changing to commercial or paid theatre group in other events.
   
   Lack of “coaches” to upgrade capacities of youth groups to utilise drama process in development. Coaches, including organisations that train drama and theatre skills, provide training for teachers or local development organisations, also have their own missions and do not have time to follow-up and support youth groups.
   
   Limits to access funding resources or funding agencies forces some groups to terminate their operations.

Managerial characteristics and adaptability of theatre groups for their survival

1. There are groups which have been developed into institutions with organisational management systems and precise budget allocations. These groups have been operated over 10 years and are the pioneers in utilising theatre and dramatic processes for youth development. Fundraising of these organisations could be simply done through both local and international funding sources, as well as their base resource capital such as volunteers. In respect of management, there are chiefs and boards who take charge of operational planning and disseminate the operational works to the permanent officers and volunteer networks. These are the most sustainable groups.

2. There are theatre groups which have been transformed themselves into development organisations. They originated as community theatre projects, starting from utilising theatre for youth development. They then extended their roles to be a part of social movements as development organisations, with specific goals for each movement. For example, some community theatre projects utilise theatre and dramatic processes for social issues such as human trafficking and child prostitution, so they are able to access funding sources available
for those issues, which are moving in the international level and being financially supported by many funding sources. From their experiences, they have adapted themselves to work towards specific goals on major moving issues, so funding sources are accessible and they can survive.

3. There are theatre groups which have adapted their roles to the surrounding context. At the present moment, they do not utilise theatre and dramatic process for youth development, but turn to learning and practicing the folk performing arts such as Likay, E-Saew Song, and so on, and playing in community events like the ordination ceremonies or temple festivals. These performances are regarded as a new definition to their identity on the behalf of a youth group who takes charge of the cultural inheritance. This new definition allows them to be recognised in their community and they can earn enough to maintain their existence.

4. There are theatre groups as parts of development organisations and educational institutes. These groups are in non-management systems but they remain in existence by their umbrella institutes’ support, while in turn the theatre groups serve those institutes’ mission. Once the institutes stop supporting the groups it usually automatically terminates.

5. There are theatre groups as a part of development organisations. They do not define themselves as theatre groups but as development organisations that use theatre and dramatic processes as tool for doing their work. So the existence of these groups is flexible according to the determination of their roles and tools in development activities.

6. There are some independent theatre groups. These groups are in non-management systems and without any permanent institutional support. Their existence is derived from income paid to them for their organisation of activities. Such income is occasional and inconstant, so the continued existence of these groups is often at risk.

Factors influencing the existence of groups and organisations utilising theatre for youth development

From the information presented, the factors influencing the existence of the groups and organisations utilising theatre and dramatic processes for youth development can be summarised as follows:

1. Organisational management: the information from many theatre groups reflects that the organisational management of theatre groups vitally influences their existence. Because management generates planning within groups they can assign work to their members and determine the direction of fundraising, budget and utilise volunteers to support the continuing execution of groups.

2. Group positioning under the social context: group positioning influences the determination of their roles toward society, including the access to funding sources as well. For example, some position their roles as a development organisation with movement on specific issues; some as local cultural inheritor.

3. Supporting organisations: the evidence shows that poor, inexperienced theatre groups are not able to exist if there is no supporting organisation. This experience reflects the truth that these kinds of groups remain their existence under the institutional support i.e. school support.

Development dimensions

To develop theatre for youth development in Thai society, it is necessary to develop in three dimensions:

1) theatre/dramatic skills;
2) the perception to what the dramatic arts is; and
3) the attitude of society toward the dramatic arts.
These three dimensions of development are interrelated as follows:

| Attitude (of the people at supportive levels) |
| Perception (of the people who play important roles in youth development toward theatre) |
| Skills (of the people who utilise dramatic processes) |

To bring about support for the roles of theatre and dramatic arts for youth development, the attitude of key support persons is significant. That is, they need to have the right attitude that theatre and dramatic arts can play that role. But before such attitude change can occur, the key players, both in supportive and operational levels, must understand that theatre roles can only be manifested by theatre practitioners who have the necessary and appropriate theatre and dramatic skills.

However, in a three-dimension development process, there must be the necessary resources for development. This includes: an explicit knowledge; infrastructure such as database system; knowledge creation; constant presentation to public; theatre labs; and a budget to support all processes. Therefore, the needs in theatre for youth development could be summarised as follows:

| The right perception and attitude toward the roles of theatre for youth development |
| Explicit holistic knowledge and theatre and dramatic skills |
| Fundamental structures |
| Budget |

**Conclusion**

**Strategies to promote theatre for youth development**

The above synthesis of findings can be concluded in the research of “Strategies to Promote Theatre Art of Youth Development in Thailand,” as follows.

1\(^{st}\) Strategy: Drama process for youth development knowledge management

1. Gather existing knowledge at present to build drama and theatre for youth development database.
2. Research and generate new knowledge to connect existing knowledge of folk artists and contemporary theatre and drama knowledge.
3. Develop networks of learning and knowledge management of theatre and drama artists, educationists and development workers to enable learning process for success and failure stories from domestic and international levels.

2\(^{nd}\) Strategy: Foster knowledge of theatre art for youth development

1. Acquire and allocate spaces for theatre artists for youth development experimental workshops and spaces for theatre to perform and present the drama and theatre act to the public, as a process to “develop theatre artists” and “understanding audiences.”
2. Create “social spaces” of drama and theatre for development through academic forums, theatre and drama for development festivals, and so on, for general public’s understanding of roles of theatre and drama for development.

3\(^{rd}\) Strategy: Create model schools

Initiate “model schools” project to create lessons learned and knowledge on integration of drama process with other subjects already taught in schools for learning process and learner development.
1. Select schools that are interested in using drama process for education and development to join force with theatre artists to incorporate drama process in education and learner development process.

2. Generate lessons learned from collaboration with school and theatre artists to further the impact.

4th Strategy: Make supports available for groups and organisation using theatre arts for youth development

1. Incubate skills, methods and academic knowledge of theatre and drama for groups and organisations using theatre arts for youth development.

2. Allocate and support budgets for groups and organisations using theatre arts for youth development, from fixed governmental resources and enable them to conduct their own fundraising.

5th Strategy: Creation of personnel

1. Initiate “Theatre arts for development/ education” curriculum, utilising experience of educators, development workers and theatre artists who have used theatre and drama in learning processes and learners development.

2. Develop personnel such as instructors and development workers to effectively utilise the curriculum.

3. Indicate that the theatre art is a “sought-after discipline” in university level so that the budget for personnel development can be allocated.

Recommendation

1. There should be an action research on the implementation of the strategies resulting from this research, in order to assess the practicality of this findings against the existing social contexts.

2. It can be seen that theatre as form of the arts can be utilised as educational tool for youth development. It is believed that other forms of the arts namely painting, music, and so on, could also be utilised in this way. Therefore, there should be a series of research to prove this task of the arts, as well as to conduct a research to propose arts education for youth development policy.

References


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Track 3:

Gender Studies
Sexuality of Menopausal Women at Manamaiju Village, Nepal

Meg Bahadur Bhujel¹
Pimpawun Boonmongkon²

1. Background:
Sexuality is an important aspect of human being. Sexuality is a way of life and it is more than just what is said and spoken over several decades. Sexuality is more than procreation. Sexuality is neither sinful nor immoral. Sexuality is also about art, culture, history, politics, civilization and evolution of the human species and continuation for by now. Sexuality is biological, physical, psychological, emotional and behavioral expression of individual in a particular way. It is more than intercourse between couple. Women are always hesitant to talk about their sexual experiences surrounding sexuality at the menopause as this is a sensitive and individual issue. Cultural background shapes a woman’s view and expressions about sexuality to the menopause which also depends on ethnic community. She cannot able to express her expectations concerning sexuality and warm relations and needs. It is difficult to sort out whether or not menopausal causes problems to women regarding to sexuality. There are a number of factors that can interrupt on sexuality such as a relationship, declining physical health, chronic conditions and their medication, education and mental health. (Pitkin, 2009, p. 33 & 34).

Sexuality is about sexual health of menopausal woman in later life
Sexual health is an important aspect of life in human being at any age but this is more important at menopausal stage because women are fear of getting disease and unable to perform sexual activities with her husband. Sexual health is not just about physical capability but it is combination of good faith and relationship with partner, positive attitudes and sharing feelings and emotions equally.

Sexual health is a state of physical, emotional, mental and social well-being in relation to sexuality; it is not merely the absence of disease, dysfunction or infirmity. Sexual health requires a positive and respectful approach to sexuality and sexual relationships, as well as the possibility of having pleasurable and safe sexual experiences, free of coercion, discrimination and violence….
(Shapiro & Ray, 2007, p. 67).

Sexual health is for betterment of sexual life and well being, all aspects of social life to get enrichment of sexuality and representing the sexuality of self subjective body, beauty and all sorts of sexual feelings which is significant in later life. However, women’s sexual health and al health practices are largely ignored by biomedical perspective, government and society. Basically, in later life women do have these experiences and there is no such program and policy developed to address the sexual health problems of menopausal women. The lack of attention paid to the sexual health needs of older people within UK policy is not supported. Data available regarding the extent of sexual health concerns in later life is significant. Some

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sexual problems are known to increase with age which is a normal process but needs to some sorts of advice and cooperation rather than drugs. (Gott, Hinchiliff and Galena, 2004, p.2094).

**Nepali context:**

Nepal was only one world's constitutionally declared Hindu state for more than 250 years, until 2007, ruled by different Hindu King and still 80% people follow Hindu rites and they even protesting and struggling for retaining Hindu state (Hachhethu, Kumar and Subedi, 2008, p., 85-86) which issued a proclamation ending the absolute power of monarch and declared Nepal as a secular state by reconvened parliament and announced by the government of Nepal on 18 may. Women are regulated under Hindu discourse and their female sexuality is dominated by Hindu discourse which is so called bad sex and good sex. Menopausal women are considered as crossing through mid-old age and society. Society ignores the sexuality of menopausal women and these women are expected to be moral or what so called good women and expected to be involvement in different religious rites. In general they are not considered as sexually potential women or women with sexual desire, libido or so on. There are lots of socio-cultural phenomena that derive our sexuality and sexual life how we represent our sexuality and sexual behavior and practices in our different stages of life. However, it may not be similar in each context because we are regulated by culture, religion, values, norms, traditions and practices for a long time. Women sexuality is suppressed for a long time in male dominant and strict religious culture that one is Nepal. The Hindu discourse regulates women sexuality from her childhood to till death. Women in any age groups are under strict supervision of father, husband, brother, son and they all use power to control over women body and her sexual orientation because of religious doctrine.

**No research has been done before at manamaiju Village Development Committee (VDC):**

This is the first research in Sexuality of Menopausal Women that has done during political transitional in Nepal, which is I would say very sensitive and challenging to me. This research is important not just because of Nepali Hindu society but because chances of expression of sexual right and, right to quality of life and well being by speaking up to let other know even by giving information to the researcher. And this research study, hopefully, provides a space to share their sexual experiences. This research will help for further study in the field of sexuality for mid to older age women. It will also insist government to address the oppressed voice of female who are suffering from post menopausal status. Because In practical terms this means that millions of women will experience the second half of their adult life following menopause; menopause can be seen as the gateway to second adulthood (Brewster et al., 1999 cited in Crooks and Baur, 2005, p.102).

**The double standard of sexuality:**

The double standard of sexuality for male and female makes difference and dominates women’s sexuality. The double standard of male sexuality is for pleasure and they have every access of sexuality related materials and service but for the female, sexuality is sinful and sex is only for procreation not for pleasure. [M]male and female sexual expression during adolescent and adulthood: Feelings and behaviors that are considered acceptable for males are often viewed as un acceptable or in appropriate for female. The assumptions and prejudices implicit in the sexual double standard continue into old age, imposing a particular burden on women (Scott, 2003 cited in Crooks and Baur, 2005, p.421). Women are encouraged to be sexually cautious to avoid acquiring a
reputation of being loose, but part of stereotype masculine sexual success is "scoring" (Morehouse, 2001; Sanders et al., 2003). Masters and Johnson noted that "sociocultural influence more often than not places a woman in a position in which she must adapt, sublimate, inhibit, or even distort her natural capacity to function sexuality….Herein lies a major source of woman's sexual dysfunction" (1970, p.218). The male side of the sexual double standard is also a function of cultural expectations. Men frequently learn that sexual conquest is a measure of manliness" (Crooks and Baur, 2005, p. 435).

Objectives:
1.2 General objective:
1.2.1 To understand the social meanings and medical and discourse of menopause, social life experiences, and the social and health context among menopausal women at Manamaiju Village Development Committee (VDC), Nepal.

1.2.1 Specific Objectives:
- To explore the social meanings of menopause among menopausal women at Manamaiju Village Development Committee (VDC) in Nepal
- To explore emerging medical discourses of menopause at Manamaiju Village Development Committee (VDC) in Nepal
- To explore the social life experiences of menopausal women at Manamaiju Village Development Committee (VDC) in Nepal.
- To explore the existing social and cultural context which influences life experiences of menopausal women at Manamaiju Village Development Committee (VDC) in Nepal?

Research Methodology
This research uses an ethnographic approach with postmodernism perspective. This study makes research possible with in-depth probing. The fluidity of female sexuality at the menopausal stage can’t be answered with any superficial hypothetical study. It studies the production of everyday life by often “othered” people analyzed at the level of meaning, social structure, power relations and history. Denaturalize via cultural comparison (Edited by Atkinson, Coffey, Delamont, Lofland and Lofland, 2001, p.481). Ethnography is a form of qualitative research methodology which will be applied to get the data from the source. This research method can help to get the reality of woman and its related issue. Ethnography research can provide useful information to assist the successful incorporation of women’s health problems and issues (WHO, 1997). "Ethnography literally means 'a portrait of a people.' Ethnography is a written description of a particular culture - the customs, beliefs, and behavior - based on information collected through fieldwork." --Marvin Harris and Oma Johnson, 2000 (Genzuk, M, 1999, page 1-10). This research uses participant and non-participant observation, in-depth interview, Life Histories and key informants interview methods to complete the purpose of this research where rapport building and confidentiality are the most important issue by hanging with the community. However, this is a sensitive work to do in this context being a male researcher at below 30 years of age. But, finally researcher enables to overcome with these challenges by applying certain techniques such as hiring a female research assistant who does have a social science background and trained her about social science research.
Research Methods:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Methods</th>
<th>Types of Informants</th>
<th>Data</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-participation observations</td>
<td>Menopausal women, Villagers and VDC</td>
<td>The general information about menopausal women, home based direct viewable information.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-depth Interviews</td>
<td>Menopausal women</td>
<td>Complete and detailed understanding in so far as possible about menopause and relevant information using investigative methods.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life Histories</td>
<td>Menopausal women</td>
<td>Lives of women living menopause and pre-menopause the representative and reflective information.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key informant Interviews</td>
<td>Local people, Pundits, Academics, Teachers, Social Worker, Doctors,</td>
<td>The back ground information, local context based, their views and about menopause</td>
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Menopause, middle age, ageing, and old age are neither a disease and will not be cured. Menopausal women are not born to be asexual but they are compelled to be asexual by using such a “discursive weapon” that controls their sexuality and expression of sexuality. The double standard of male female sexuality is the main cause, I think because if an old man shows his sexuality than it is considered as maleness and he is supposed to be stud but when woman shows then it is considered as slut.

Postmodern perspective gives you freedom of space where one can look at in a different way human behavior and understand the way you understand. It rejects the idea of “essentialism” and any “fixed prediction”. “Foucault saw societies as constructing “sexual regimes”- entire complexes of sexual attitudes, values and practices – that were infused with politics. He urged us to deconstruct these regimes so that we could see them for what they are.

(Ho, 2006, p.549)

Sexuality is constructed and so how it is constructed for menopausal women and how it relates and affects, can be explored through postmodern perspective because our assumptions and “produced theory” do not work in the “real life” in terms of sexuality. By the combined use of postmodern perspective, we can get what is there rather than what might be there because I am going to study about subjective sexuality of menopausal women in contemporary cultural context which is also influenced by modernization and urbanization. And, I am also going to explore the power relation and sexual agency which negotiates with self, partner and medical system. “Postmodern sex thus remains caught up in relation of power which protect from some social groups.”(Eadie, 2004, p.169).

Informants’ selections (Sample):

Informants are selected on the basis of purposive or criteria based approach. This gives the key stages of designing purposive sampling and the kind of decision involved. (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003, p. 96).

In this way, I participated in some women group programs organized by local NGOs, INGOs and by themselves such as “Didi Bahini Samuha” (Sisters group) and put my concern them after they had finished their activities. I explained that I came as a student of Mahidol University, Thailand, Health Social Science International Program and a requirement of the program is to submit the one research project that is selected by me to be graduate so, I have
selected the subject about Sexuality of Menopausal Women at Manamaiju, VDC and I have only four months so, please feel free to participate in this research. Nobody will be forced. Anybody can reject at any time and I also explained no extra benefit will be covered for participating in this research. I did these things many times and finally, six menopausal women and fourteen relevant informants such as local people, academicians, teachers, doctors, health service providers, pundit, social worker became ready to participate in my research project after negotiating wit them. However, 12 menopausal women refused to participate in this research. I have explained that I was and am a part of this community, I introduced my self as every time and everywhere as a student and learner doing research who came from Mahidol University, Thailand and want to know from them about their sexual life experiences in this society. My relations with them had been as health service provider and counselor and I would still do that if they needed even I am not working there.

Findings:

Menopause means “freedom”

When they stop to menstruate from middle age as a natural process, “women are free walk around and to participate in any rituals” (case 3, A 50 years old menopausal woman). “Women have power more than previous in terms of social and economical and they are respective as senior members of the society and family.” (Case 5, 69 years old menopausal woman). Menopause is a state of freedom when women can enjoy all aspects of social and sexual life which was restricted for a long time in the society through social norms and cultural barriers.

“No body will suspect on her even if she had extra sexual relationship.”

(Case 4, 69 years old menopausal woman).

It’s the time to have more power in terms of decision making, economical, social and religious as well. It is also a state of freedom from child bearing and using contraceptives.

“I am assured. I can go everywhere without any restriction. I feel easy. No body cares about my menopause. It is ok for me. I don't have any uneasiness and barriers”

(cas 3, A 50 years menopausal woman)

Menopause is about age of respect

Menopausal women get more respect like Namaskar! Because, their role in the society is helpful and identity is moral, loyal and senior member of the society. Menopausal women are socially empowered than before.

“When I walk around my village, people just ask about me, my health and daily life. They ask me to help if they have some problems. They mostly ask me to participate in rites as we have lots of rites all the year. They ask me to manage and give good advices about marriage of the adult children.”

(Case 4, 69 years old menopausal woman).

If they have some problems between husband and wife or minor conflict in the local community, they will inform and ask for the management. I have dealt with these issues several times. I do treatment by using traditional herbal medicine and refer in the health centers and hospitals of those poor women and children who are seeking for health care and lack of knowledge and money.”
When they stop to menstruate from middle age as a natural process, “women are free walk around and to participate in any rituals” (case 3, A 50 years old menopausal woman). “Women have power more than previous in terms of social and economical and they are respective as senior members of the society and family.”(Case 5, 69 years old menopausal woman).

**Menopausal women enjoy sexual life**

Menopausal women do not need to take contraceptives to not to get pregnant. This makes they comfortable sexual life. Because fear of being pregnant is ended at this time so that they can enjoy sexual life. They get rid of child bearing and this is good for health and enjoys sexual life.

*"I don’t care about menopause or what else. I just concern about not to be pregnant because it’s unbearable, it’s too much for me because I bore 5 children and I have bitter experience of it, so right now, I don’t get pregnant because I got menopause therefore, I am happy then I have sex freely without any fear of getting pregnant. It’s ok."*

(Case 3, 50 years old menopausal woman)

**Social meaning of “menopause” and “old age” “discourse”**

Menopausal women are expected to be “moral” and “loyal” in daily life through regular activities in the society and participation in social and cultural activities. They (old couples) are some times compelled to sleep separately in the family. However, it also depends on family size and availability of rooms. In Nepalese culture, in late life couples depends on their children and children take care by rotation or by dividing mother and father such as one son will take care father and other will take for mother. Most of the older couples are ignored by the family in terms of sexual life of old couples it is because of following old traditions of the society.

Adult children are not enough aware of sexual existence of their parents and needs of sexual behaviors of their parents as a consequences parents’ sexual life will be affected. Menopause means “old age” and which also means “loss of sexuality” in general, therefore, they (couple) suffer even if they may not have sexual intercourse for several days but it does not necessarily mean they do not have sexual desire or intent. And, sexuality at “middle” or “old age” does not mean “end of sexuality” or “sexual desire” and sexuality and sexual enjoyment doe not necessarily means just able to have intercourse as one of my informant said “I believe that only sexual intercourse does not create love, which I want.” (Case 2, 49 years old menopausal woman). So, in late life people need companionship with a partner and want to be together because needs of each other is most important and as I have found during my field study that at “early marital stage” and “adult age” husband spends time to work outside the home and very difficult to stay together because at that time he (husband) have to go to earn money in many difficult and far region some times abroad and is only the late stage of life is left to enjoy.

*We have chance to stay together hardly in every six months or more than six months. He worked for government in different regions and no chance to come at home. I am upset many times. All of my children did not have chance to grow up with father. I asked him let me go with you or give up the job but it was not possible to select both option and time has passed over more than 20 years*
separately. And, now we have a good time that we are living together for few years here.  

(Case 1, 49 years old woman)

Therefore, Social discourse “old age” which represents the meaning for asexuality regulates in different way which adult couples don’t want this discursive practice to be regulated which violates older couples’ sexual desires and sexual freedom.

I am however not notice directly about menopause did in a negative way. But, I noticed and I know menopausal women are considered as “old” and “asexual”. People think that we are old and we do not have sexual life and we should not be sexual. Sexuality at this stage is shameful. People deny sexuality of older women like me. But it is individual issue. We do not need to be what we are supposed to be in terms of sexuality.  

(Case 4, 49 years old menopausal woman)

Final rites of menopause represent the “old age” means “asexual”

“All women until they reach at menopause have to perform special rites so call rishipanchami brata. This is crucial in Hindu culture in Nepali society. This rite is about to wash out the sinful incident which is made either knowingly or unknowingly. This rite is very special for women which women have to keep stomach empty for 3 days without having water for the respect of husband and his longer life.”

(Case 1, 49 year old menopausal woman)

They have to perform a religious rite every month until they get menopause from teenage (even before menstruation). But, once they reached at menopause they get rid of this crucial rite forever. The point here is why they are not expected to do even after getting menopause as they have been performing religious rite every month because they do not bleed. This is the simple reason but the meaning of not bleeding after menopause as before is about loss of reproductive power which is considered as “budhi” which literary means “old age”. This represents “asexuality of women after menopause” which creates a clear line of difference. Those who got menopause is asexual and those who still menstruate is sexual in general speaking. Which means still have power to play sexual acts and please sex partner. Menstruation also means taruni which literary means “young enough”. However, “taruni” is the term specially using for a very young women such as just after menstruation until get marry. But, there is no such a word to use from early marriage to until menopause. So, people use the term “jawani” in general which literary means “young enough” that represents the potentiality of sexuality of women and men. This is considered as appropriate to get marry and have sex and of course, marriage is for domestic settlement that stables with procreation therefore marriage is for sex and sex is for procreation for the settlement of the domestic life. So, sexuality begins with menstruation because of the concept of marriage, sex and procreation and ends with menopause. Bbecause of “old age”, and sex is not considered for “sexual pleasure”. “Which remains with menstruation will not remain with menopause.” (A 50 year old, school head master of a school) because they are already supposed to be older and older are not considered as sexual as young woman. However, this fact exists in public space but does not exist in private space, because sexuality is private matter and hidden behavior.
The double standard of male and female sexuality and aging

“The male side of the sexual double standard is also a function of cultural expectations. Men frequently learn that sexual conquest is a measure of manliness”.

(Crooks and Baur, 2005, p.421).

People in Nepali society still feel pride if one takes a young wife having one wife already at house. If one has multiple wives at old age, people just smiles saying how capable he is. It shows the “sexual power” and supposed to be nothing bad for general people. It is something about ability to show the “sexual power”. But if woman does the same thing (one woman with more than one husband at the same time except polyandry culture in hillside ethnic group), it is not accepted. The woman will be punished severely.

“When it comes to heterosexual sex, the same question has been asked since the beginning of time. Why is it that when a man has sex with multiple women he is considered a stud, but when a woman has sex with multiple men she is considered a slut?”

(Cartledge, Kamaria, 2009)

“The men have more freedom and power than women in terms of sexual acts. Men can take a wife easily or assault if wife could not give sexual pleaser.”

(Case 5, A 69 years old woman)

…double standard as it relates to male and female sexual expression during adolescent and adulthood: Feelings and behaviors that are considered acceptable for males are often viewed as unacceptable or inappropriate for females. The assumptions and prejudices implicit in the sexual double standard continue into old age, imposing a particular burden on women.

(Crooks and Baur, 2005, p.421)

“A wife never thinks about extra sexual relationship if her husband gets old or is not able to satisfy her but a man focuses on “sexual pleasure” if his wife cannot satisfy him and the wife feels fear about a minor wife or extra sexual relationship or step but all men are not as same because my husband is honest and loyal to me.”

(Case 1, A 49 years old menopausal woman)

Sexual double standard remain mostly in developing countries like Nepal where a strong patriarchal system dominates the women especially in terms of sexuality like issues of virginity, female circumcision and menstrual culture but it also exists in developed countries where women are sexually dominated by men and thus women, because of “social fear” and fear of lack of pleasing husband, are made sexually dysfunctional.

“I always afraid of my husband, if he makes some violent against daughters or if he does something wrong with societal people. Sometimes, I get tired and do not want to have sex because of heavy work and physical tiredness I cannot enjoy sex at that moment but my husband comes and just forced me to have sex at any time especially when he gets drunk. I cannot explain you how much hurt
it me but I have to have sex with him at that moment if not he breaks everything and beats children and fights with people.”

(Case 2, A 49 years old menopausal woman)

...sexual double standard is diminishing somewhat, opposing sexual expectations for women and men are still prevalent in U.S. society. Women are encouraged to be sexually cautious to avoid acquiring a reputation of being loose, but part of stereotypical masculine sexual success is "scoring". Masters and Johnson noted that "sociocultural influence more often than not places a woman in a position in which she must adapt, sublimate, inhibit, or even distort her natural capacity to function sexuality….Herein lies a major source of woman's sexual dysfunction(1970,p.218 cited in Crooks and Baur, 2005, p.435).

Men are not considered as old the same as women and nobody has feelings of asexuality towards men it remains only with women which is a double standard of the lens of the society.

“Men have more power and respect than woman so they have to follow as men asked. Sometimes women do not want to have sex because of health and tiredness but husband blames with whom you slept? Why you do not want to have sex with me? Who is your natho?” (Literary means sex partner except husband; but very bad word in Nepali community, do not use this word). (Case6, 49 years old menopausal woman).

A good woman:

Especially, Menopause is called “sukeko” which literary means “desiccated”, or “Rokieko which literary means “stopped” and or “majewjew” which literary means “ends of menstruation”. These all which represent the loss of reproductive capacity, though who is in menopausal stage may not need children but the symbolic meaning of non reproductive is “old”. An “old” woman is expected to be moral by using the terms “Dharma, karma ma lagne umer” which means the age of engage in religious activities. All women, who are at the middle age and above than that are expected to participate in religious rites and social activities because they are supposed to be moral and pure by got rid of menstrual bleeding. It is also time to show that the loss of reproduction power begins with asexual and time to be moral and discourage sexual behaviors and acts. “Once women reached at menopause she is supposed to be not to touch non menopausal women.” (Case 1, 49 years old menopausal woman). It shows the “pure body” of menopausal women because menstrual body is considered as “bad blood”.

The word “old age” is practiced for a long time in Nepali society which always represents the “sexual power”

“Actually woman in her “middle” and “old age” is a symbol of “good wife”, “good mother”, “good daughter in law”, “faithful member” of the family and society. “Sexuality in middle and old age is bad”.

(Case 5, 69 years old menopausal woman)

“Sexuality in “old age” is bad, in our society, sometimes woman gets pregnant in late age like 45 years or later before menopause and it’s “very bad”. People just criticize that oh! What she is doing if one bore children in 49 years or near
if this is her another children. Therefore, they use contraceptive until menopause even their children are grown up”.

(Case 2, 49 years old menopausal woman)

“A woman who is in “middle age” and in “old age” means she has strong ties with her husband, family and society with all moral aspects in life. A woman has passed every difficult examination in her life time with long journey in the family. So, they are “reliable” and have more respect and power than before so at this stage, women are expected to visit temples and participate in rites to show she is moral and give the representation of being “old””. Therefore, I afraid of being blamed sexual if I do not represent good woman.

(Case 5, 63 years old menopausal woman)

“My children are grown up and they all are married and I have grandsons already. I am expected not to be sexual in my family because I afraid of my sons if they notice if we are engaged in sexual acts showing such sexuality by make up, dresses, talking such things etc. so this dominates my sexual behavior and I try to avoid being shamed.”

(Case 5, 69 years menopausal woman)

Sexuality:

Sexuality of women from social perspective means a disciplined body, a pure body such as virgin girl, a monogamous woman. “Virginity”, “good woman” and monogamy are the social norms of Hinduism philosophy in this society which forever controls women’s sexuality by deciding what is immoral and what is moral sexual behavior.

Although much of the research on sexuality and aging focuses more on the mechanics of sex than feelings about it, it does clarify some misconceptions about aging and sexual activity. “Ageism” is now a familiar concept. One long standing example of ageist attitudes is the view of older persons as asexual adults who are not and should not be interested in sex. Fortunately, this view has softened among all age groups, and today older persons are more open to discussing and engaging in sexual activity.

(Connidis, Ingrid Arnet, 2001, p, 48)

“Sex before marriage, sex in late life, sex in the evening and day time and sex with multiple partners, lesbian, gay, transgender, bisexual, anal sex, oral sex, sex during menstruation are the immoral sexual behavior in Hindu Dharma”.

(A 55 years old Hindu Pundit)

“Women are not allowed to eat nutritional supplement and other essential food enough because they thought daughter in law will be strong and we may not control her. My sons are allowed to eat milk ghee and some other essential food.”

(Case 1, 49 years old woman)

“If I talk about sexuality and sexual behavior among friends, some body might say oh! What a naughty old woman, shame on you, your sons and daughters are young. I am blamed vulgar woman.”

(Case 2, 49 years old)
Quality of Life:
All informants in this research are “heterosexual” women who have lost their “reproductive power” and lost their “youth” therefore, they are no longer attractive to men and do not have sexual charm for the opposite sex. However, menopausal women may not need to reproduce because they have already children but it has symbolic meaning of being “asexual” and “old”. Of course these all are however, heterosexual women but no longer sexual which may cause family conflict between husband and wife if husband does not support and cooperate. Therefore, sexuality at this stage is dominated in some extent.

“Menopausal women are “old woman” and therefore, they are supposed to be unable to have sex with others and she can’t satisfy her husband. People do not trust her even if she had extra sexual relationship because she is “old” and she can’t get “pregnant”. I believe that menopausal women losses her sexual desire and she does not have any sexual enjoyment.”

(A 50 years old local school teacher)

“I am a witness of one silent incident in terms of sexuality of menopausal woman at my village, I do not disclose identity however, in the past, husband wanted to have sex with wife. She had already got menopause few years before at that time and husband forced her to sleep and sex with husband but she always denied and that guy beat several times at night. It happened many times and her daughter asked mother to go and sleep when she came to sleep into daughter’s room. But, she always denied and husband beat up. Few years later, he died and the woman is still alive. I felt very regret at that moment when I knew from my wife through local woman that the cause of death is sexual denial which caused anxiety and related health problems.”

(A 50 years old school headmaster)

Sexual Desire:
Sexual desire itself means an interest in sexual activity which does not necessarily means increased or decreased sexual desire but among the menopausal women, sexual desire is comparatively decreased than in the past few years but has not disappeared. However, it is not because of menopause “Many women appear to experience changes in their level of sexual desire during the menopausal transition, and most research indicates that this change is that of decreased sexual desire.” (Wood, Jill M., Mansfield, Phyllis Kernoff, Koch, Patricia Barthalow, 2007, p. 190). But this is biomedical study it needs to know the socio-cultural context of impact on sexuality of menopausal women which may be different in fact. There is also a finding from the biomedical stand point which claims that low sexual desire is a genetic and normal biological condition. “…low sexual desire might be a normal biological condition rather than a psychological problem, the researchers say.”(Live Science Staff, 2006).

At the same time, socio-cultural research found that this is because of age and social stigma on menopausal women. “In contrast to biomedical research, socio-cultural researchers have focused on the influence of contextual factors and life circumstances on menopausal women’s sexual desire. Findings emphasize the role of the cultural context in which women age and the stigma surrounding menopause.” (Wood, Jill M., Mansfield, Phyllis Kernoff, Koch, Patricia Barthalow, 2007, p. 190).

“When people believe me I am old because my children are grown up and now they have their own children and people do not think I can have sex and any
sexual thoughts because I am already old. So, this leads me to not be sexual and be moral and engage in religious rites.”

(Case 4, 69 years old menopausal woman)

Sexual desire is physical, social and the psychobiologic vigor that precedes and accompanies Sexual desire is the sum of the emotional activation forces that bow us in the direction of and move forward us away from sexual behavior. It is about drive, motivation and wish. Drive is viewed as the biological component when motivation is the psychological and wish is the cultural component of sexual desire that plays a vital role in sexual life.

(Averett, 2004, p.64)

Conclusions:

All menopausal women do not necessarily loss their sexuality or sexual desire at mid life or at old age because of menopause (estrogen loss). Every individual is different from each other and sexuality is private and natural matter. Menopausal women have and can experience sexuality or cannot is known only by her sexual partner (husband) only. Social factors such as “ashamed” and “expressing” “sexuality” in “middle”, “old age” and discourses “moral”, “medical” and “social” and partner’s relation, sexual agency and negotiating power and context such as adult children can influence the sexuality of “menopausal” “middle” and “older” people.

Women at “middle” and “old age” seeking for health care services, and fear partner’s unwanted extra sexual relationship and lack of care in ageing period. They can contribute better sexuality if their sexuality is not ignored and dominated by societal norms and practices.

There were so called of course, some limitations issues in terms of time, finance, resources, requirements and “Ethical Approval” in human research. I still feel inadequate and found myself rushing to achieve the target. There are also limitations of methodology, ethical issues and informants selection so I may not be able to answer all the required question related to this topic but I have tried my best to make understand within the limit territory.

Recommendations:

Research instruments and data collections:

Doing research in gender sensitive topic such as woman sexuality is sensitive to context and culture which may bring lots of difficulties. There for this is recommended that researcher should be prepared enough and should have decided whether or not it should begin. Once it is decided then, enough preparation for informants’ selection and data collection with appropriate methodology must be reviewed thoroughly. Selection of informants is challenging, and collection of data is more challenging than informants selecting. Therefore, all preparation should be made before research begins. To make reliable of the study, being a man doing research in woman, one should have enough evidence to support that the real work is done by him.

To make research possible, one should have enough informal relation than formal such as relation with community people, local leaders, academicians and women groups.

The implication of this research is one of the challenging issues in Nepal. Many would surprise to hear for those who do not think that sexuality exist in the later life. They (old woman and man) are seeking for quality of life such as health services, shelter food and social security including pleasurable sexual life which is more necessary than ever. Therefore, Government of Nepal and people of Nepal have to have to be aware of issues of late life people and should conduct some programs such as counseling services and awareness programs.
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Muslim Women Organizations: Promoting Peace and Community Development in Lanao Del Sur

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Background or Rationale:

The human community has launched extensive efforts to set up people’s organization for the resolution of problems facing humans at present such as conflicts, violence, gender inequality, and poverty. These people’s organizations are expected to have an understanding among the members as well as the staff and then translate into actions into global plans and projects with positive impacts not only to their clients but also to the whole community. As a result, Muslim Women’s Organizations were created to promote solutions to the socio-economic problems in the community.

People’s Organization, as defined by Grolier Encyclopedia (2000) is an assembly of people with a defined structure working together for a common objective and pursues social change in the community through division of labors. It provides a means of using individual strengths within a group to achieve more than an accomplishment by the aggregate efforts of group members working individually. These organizations are formed to serve the needs, problems, and priorities in the community.

Nowadays, people’s organizations are composed mostly of women. Women as of this time were more cognizant of their significant role in peace and community development like the Muslim women in the south. Muslim women used to conjure up a vision of heavy veils and seclusion, whose lives consist of home keeping and child rearing. However, because of the advent of education and technology this image has changed. Muslim women are recognized as leaders in various sectors of society performing functions for public benefit be it in business, education, politics, and social services. In community services, they have become more active as community organizers or initiators. They are not only active members of professional or religious organizations but also organizing social action works and other community programs. Muslim Women Organization discussed and studied various aspects of promoting peace and community development in order to increase knowledge, facilitate better understanding, and develop friendly relation among people. It also aimed to make Muslim women contributors as well as clients in their efforts to establish communication networks.

Muslim Women Organization based in Lanao Del Sur will be examined in terms of promoting peace and community development the area.

Objectives:

There seems to be a very few studies done about the social involvement of Muslim Women Organization in community development works based in Lanao del Sur, Philippines. The study, therefore, is an attempt to arrive at a better understanding of the Muslim Women Organizational characteristics, operation, and their contribution to the peace advocacy and community development of poor communities in Lanao Del Sur.

The objectives of the study are the following:

1. To describe each organizations with the following concerns:
   a. Historical background on the formation of the organizations

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b. Thrusts (vision/mission and goals/objectives of the organizations

c. Organizational structure

d. Funding

2. To examine the factors which led to the establishment of Muslim Women Organizations based in Lanao Del Sur.

3. To determine the effects of the Muslim Women Organization in promoting community development works in the following aspects:
   a. Economic
   b. Social
   c. Educational
   d. Moral Values

4. To evaluate the response of the Muslim Women Organizations, beneficiaries, and the target communities on the impact of the peace and community development programs and activities.

Methodology

The study employed two research methods. The first method was a survey to determine the general profiles of Lanao Del Sur based Muslim Women Organizations. The second method employed three (3) case studies which determined the orientation and development practices of the Muslim Women Organizations. The data gathering method in carrying out with the studies were the Key Informant Interviews, on site observation, and community research. Secondary date utilize the use of materials such as books, unpublished materials, articles and documents.

The Muslim Women Organization chosen as case studies were selected according to the following criteria:
   a. It must be involved in an ongoing community development works in selected communities in Lanao Del Sur.
   b. The Muslim Women Organizations must have operated in Lanao Del Sur and the staff and personnel of the organization were exclusively women.
   c. It must be relatively established organization with community development programs and projects and must have operated in the community for at least two – three consecutive years.

Findings

Muslim Women Organizations in Lanao Del Sur: a Profile

A. Data Presentation

1. Nature and Characteristics of the Muslim Women Organization

_Type of Muslim Women Organization_

Majority of the Muslim Women Organizations based in Lanao Del Sur are fifty five percent (55%) nonprofit and non government agencies. These non government organizations were private non profit organizations, committed to the tasks of socio economic development and established primarily for the delivery of basic services to the communities. Muslim Women Organizations primary role is to initiate of facilitate the process of socio economic empowerment of the people. They are privately owned companies whose earnings are not intended to directly profit the individuals but rather the communities of its intended cause. Although these types of non government organizations did not generate profits, they still need to generate revenues through donations and supports from private and public sector in order to finance their activities.
Only a few of the Muslim Women Organizations were cooperative types of organization with about 45.45% of the total number of respondents. The cooperative type of Muslim Women organization base were intended for, making equitable contribution to the capital required and accepting a fair share of the risks and benefits in accordance with its principles of encouraging thrift and saving mobilization and create funds in order to grant loans for productive purposes to its members. These types of Muslim Women Organization were committed to the upliftment of the economic condition of the beneficiaries in terms of providing for basic needs such as clothing, shelter, education, and health care among others.

Membership and Accreditation with Government Agencies

Majority of the Lanao Del Sur based Muslim Women Organizations (36.36%) were registered with the Security and Exchange Commission (SEC). These percentages of SEC registration may have been brought about by necessity to acquire legal identity in the community. The Philippine government required private as well as public institutions and corporations operating in the country to register with the Security and Exchange Commission (SEC) in order to acquire legal status so that the clients and funding institutions have no second judgments on the legality of the organizations.

Other Muslim Women Organizations based in Lanao del Sur (45.45%) were registered in the community Development Authority, another government agency in which the cooperatives type of organization could obtain their legal status.

Only a few of the Muslim Women Organization (18.18%), registered or acquired their membership in the Department of Labor and Employment and the Department of social works and Development.

Muslim Women Organization must register in the government agencies to acquire membership and accreditation as well as have easier access to funds, donations, and supports from locally and internationally based organization or private sectors who were also dedicated to their cause in accordance with their objectives and goals. In addition, the program participants could take away their uncertainties on the real intent of the Muslim Women Organization for them and for the community. On the other hand, the organization who would be able to access more participants in their Community Development Programs and Projects.

Linkages with other Non-Government Organization

All the eleven (11) Muslim Women Organizations, (100%) of the respondents had established working relationship with other non-government organization. In working together with the other non-government organizations (NGO’s), the Muslim women Organization, received services from other resources. In some instances, both the organization (NGO’s and MWO) undertook joint for their intended beneficiaries.

Among other supports received by the Muslim Women Organizations through their membership with the other non-government agencies were linkages and networking, moral support, financial and technical assistance,. Consultancy and training services.

2. Program and Program Participants

The organizational goals and objectives of the Muslim women organizations are the transformations of the social and economic orientations of its members as well as the environment itself. The objectives enumerated (from the highest to the least) by the Muslim women Organizations respondents generally focused on serving the total needs of the persons by catering his physical, social, emotional as well as his/her economic economic being. The general objectives of the Lanao Del Sur based Muslim women Organizations, promoted the awareness of the Muslim Women Organization of their roles, rights, and responsibilities in Islamic perspectives not only for their family bit for the community as well.
Among the major objectives of the Muslim women Organizations were the implementation of programs and projects serving the total needs of man, provision of additional income to their clients through livelihood programs and income generating programs, development and implementation of community based health programs, provision of medical and dental services to the people, providing assistance to attain formal education, promotion and encouragement of peace advocacies in the community, development of educational materials for the people’s social growth. The establishment of linkages and networking with other organization and institutions enhances the effectiveness of the Muslim women Organizations.

Development programs and projects implemented by the Muslim Women Organization

The Lanao De Sur based Muslim Women Organization were basically involved in the delivery of basic social services and implementation of socio-economic community development programs and projects. These programs and projects were short term in nature and inspire harmonious relationship between the community and organization.

Training, seminars and linkages and networking (100%) were the foremost main activities of the Lanao Del Sur based Muslim women Organization. These frequently involve enhancing the skills (managerial, technical, organizational, community development) of the Muslim women Organizations personnel. Apart from these, the enhancement of women’s right and responsibilities not only in their families but in the public as well were also undertaken. In addition, discussions on the community development programs were also conducted by the Muslim Women Organization in selected communities. While linkages and networking fortified the Muslim Women Organizations in their desired goals and objectives, assistance and support received by them, were duly recognized not only in their area of operation but in some parts of the community as well.

Livelihood programs (90.90%) were the second priorities of the Muslim women Organizations listed in the community development programs and projects. These livelihood programs include the establishment of small business ventures such as sari sari, and vegetables store, a small talipapa, loom/hand weaving, mat weaving: dress making / handicrafts / agriculture manufacturing and processing among others.

Peace advocacies followed with at least forty five percentage (45%). These concerns were due to the unstable condition of the province because of family feud or the so called rido and the disturbances in some parts of the area particularly the clashes between the MILF troops and the Philippine Army. The activities usually employed by the Muslim Women Organizations were the giving of pamphlets and brochures during seminars, trainings, and congregations. Others were the participation of the administrators of the Muslim Women Organizations conferences on Peace and Community Development. These advocacy works raised the awareness of the people and most importantly led the local government of Lanao to do something about the condition in the area, which affected the community programs and hindered prosperity and development.

Community programs on literacy, health care and the lack of social services received the least attention by the Muslim Women Organizations for the present source, they lacked the needed budget and financing due to the unstable condition of the area. However, these Muslim women Organizations see their mission toward these kinds of activities so that development could be achieved at the end.

Annual number of Participants

Out of the eleven respondents, only five (5) had an annual number of participants ranging from 101 to 400(45.45%) the highest percentages of all. This number of participants was due to the small budget of the Muslim Women Organizations as well as the aloofness and
skeptical mood of the people to join the project. The Muslim Women Organizations therefore must conduct extensive campaigns to promote their community development projects and programs.

Only three out of the eleven Muslim Women Organization respondents 27.27% had participants above 1000 in their community development projects and programs. These large numbers was brought about by the extensive campaigns of the MWO as well as the kind of programs conducted which responded to the needs and wants of the communities. This great number of participants can be a good source of big funding, which the Muslim Women Organizations could use for many community projects and personnel in the future.

The rest of the Muslim Women Organizations had an annual number of participants’ ranging from 401 to 800 and from 800 to 1000.

**Actual program participants of the Muslim Women Organization**

All sectors of society (63.63%) from women, men, urban poor, fisher folks, farmers, and orphans benefited most from the program operations of the Muslim Women Organizations in Lanao Del Sur. Only thirty six (36.36%) served the needs of women since these Muslim Women Organizations are exclusive for women.

**Area of Program Participants**

The province has one (1) city and thirty eight municipalities. The Muslim Women Organizations had been operating in selected Barangays in Marawi City as well as in selected Municipalities such as the Municipality of Paigapo and Bobong. Among the barangays served were barangays Amitu, Sugod Mawatan, Basingan, Dayawan and many others.

The communities were chosen according to the problems, desires, and wants of the community which were also in agreement with the goals and C. objectives of the MWO.

3. Personnel of the Muslim Women Organizations based in Lanao Del Sur

**Profile of the Muslim Woman Organizations Personnel**

Of the total number of the personnel hired by the Muslim Women Organization, about sixteen (16%) were permanent and about seventy three percent (73%) were contractual. Usually these contractual personnel comprised the members of the organizations or the personnel assigned as community organizers while the permanent ones were the administrators of the Muslim Women Organizations. Though the MWO have a large numbers of resources from the funding agencies, personnel were categorized mostly as contractual because a big part of the resources are allocated for community projects. All of the staff and members even the volunteers including the Board of Directors and Board of Trustees were dominantly staffed by the Maranaos. The Muslim Women Organizations administrative staffs were held responsible for sensitive and important decisions in their respective organizations. They also had consultations and intervention from the outside personnel composed of professors, lawyers, accountant who would influence the orientation and operation of the organization as well as strengthen the staff and members. Most of the staff especially the community organizers were relatively young and single, ranging from age bracket of 25 to 35. Head of Muslim Women Organizations preferred to hire personnel assigned in the community to be single so that the roles and responsibilities of the organization will not be disturbed by family problems of married people.

Majority of the personnel of the Lanao Del Sur based Muslim Women Organizations were highly educated. Everyone was a college graduate except for volunteers who were mostly students taking part time job, or students on their OJT, as school requirements for social; works primarily from the Mindanao State University-Marawi. Among the course taken
by the Muslim Women Organization personnel were medical and health courses, social sciences, commerce, education, and economics. However, these academic courses did not provide the necessary grassroots experience toward participatory reflection and action with the people in the communities where they work. The MWO personnel (administrative staff, members, and community organizers) should therefore train themselves to become more sensitive to identify the poor and deserving beneficiaries for their programs. Once these MWO personnel are provided with proper perspectives and skills in development works, they would be a potential and effective agent for change not only in the community where they are operating but in the whole country.

Frequency of Site Visits
About sixty-three percent or seven out of eleven respondents of the Lanao Del Sur based Muslim Women Organizations need not visit the community because the community organizers actually lived in the community. Head of organization preferred that the organizers themselves were inhabitants in the community for easy access of information and linkages. Only twenty seven (27%) visited to the community two to three times week while nine (9%) were able to visit the community only once a week. These data showed that the involvement of the Muslim Women Organizations in the community was a very vital factor for them to secure that the implementation of the programs are done well and foster harmonious relationship with the people projects were ongoing.

For salaries, administrative personnel received higher salaries compared to those working in the project sites. In some cases, there were also differences in the salaries of the administrative officials depending on the length of service in the organization.

For the living allowances, the Muslim Women Organizations personnel received incentives aside from their salaries. Among them were the transportation allowances in going to the project sites and the 13th month pay.

5. Budget and Resources

Annual Budget
Of the eleven respondents (Muslim Women Organizations’), six of them had an annual budget of above one (1) million for their community development programs and projects while others ranged from 801,000 to 1,000,000.

The expenses did not only include the finances of the implementation of the programs but for the wages of personnel as well as the other related activities inside the organization.

Sources of Funds
Basically, the operating funds of the Muslim Women Organization came from foreign funding with offices based in the country. Other sources came from local funding, supported by the mother units, assisted by other NGOs that shared the same vision and goals. The respondents used the term mother units to refer to their sister agencies or organization that they worked with as umbrella organizations based in the country.

Muslim Women Organizations were relatively dependent on outside funds, donation, and support which meant that they not self reliant in terms of resources and funding. It is a fact that once these institutions stop supporting and assisting these Muslim Women Organizations, there will be a possibility that the latter will come to a standstill. However, the MWO are committed to go on their mission of serving people because they believed that people brought them to where they are now.

The relatively huge financial resources of the Muslim Women Organization did not seem too commensurate with the relatively low salaries of their personnel and the lack of
incentives and benefits. This is a part of the organization’s resolution to do something productive for the people through dedicated service.

B. Case Studies of Three Muslim Women Organizations based in Lanao del Sur

Several Muslim Women Organizations were organized in Lanao Del Sur whose objectives are for the welfare of the populace particularly for women.

Al Mujadillah Development Foundation

Head: Yamin Busaran Lao
Address: 4th street commercial center Area, at MSU Main Campus, Marawi City.
Objectives: The goal of Al Mujadillah Development Foundation Inc., is to promote gender equity and equality in the areas of women’s right, good governance, and peace building towards the development of self-reliant, empowered, and sustainable development. It seeks to attain and realized equal status and access to resources of society as well as to increase the participation of women in decision making within the family and society.
Programs: Centered on community based health clinics and livelihood programs, information and researches, linkages and networking, whose advocacy works relate to its primary thrusts and concerns specifically on gender equity, reproductive alleviation, community health and environmental protection.

United CHRISLAM Women Multi-Purpose Cooperative

Head: Rose Pangcoga
Address: 048 PFRM Building, National Highway, East Basak malutut, Marawi City
Objectives: The goal of the United CHRISLAM Women for progress, a multipurpose cooperative was to relieve the sufferings of the poor by helping them to enhance their skills. The cooperative believed that this can best be achieved by providing funds through the process of loans for productive and providential purposes to its beneficial, thus promoting the improvement of the social and economic well being of the people.
Programs: focused on Micro Financing, Livelihood program, Institutional building development and Research Extension and Consultancy services.

Salam Women Group Inc.,

Head: Pinky Ali
Address: NPC compound Agus I, HEP at S aduc, Marawi City
Objectives: SWGI is committed to serve the urban poor communities in Lanao del Sur. The group enhances the capacity of women’s rights, roles, and responsibilities according to the Islamic perspectives through reducing the sufferings of the poor by helping them to promote livelihood activities that will generate income of each family, provide proper health sanitation and nutrients as well as other needs.
Programs: focused on literacy, Nutrition and sanitation.

Impact of the community development works in Lanao del Sur

The program and activities implemented by the Muslim Women Organizations were mostly economic related projects and the delivery of basic goods and social services. These include primary health care, income generating and livelihood projects, delivery of basic health services, establishments of trainings and seminars and others.

Income generating and livelihood programs brought additional income in each of the beneficiaries which were used to put up small business ventures, to improve educational status of the beneficiaries, to but first aid medicines to avoid illness. In addition, it boosted the confidence of the people within the organization to teach the people the value of self reliance
and self acceptance. Trainings, seminars, and symposiums paved the way for the people as well as the local government in Lanao Del Sur to make efforts toward stable peace and order condition of the area.

The program participants (Beneficiaries), viewed the initial impact of self help and the livelihood programs as very successful in terms of catering to the immediate needs of the beneficiaries. Apart from the beneficiaries who claimed that their small business become successful, majority of them did not experience any long term impact in the income generating project. The success and failure of the community development programs of these organizations enabled the beneficiaries to aspire more concrete and sustainable projects. They also recognized the need to be given more opportunities to participate in the formulations, planning, and implementation and evaluation of the community development projects.

The Muslim Women Organizations viewed the implementation is their projects as successful based on their organizational goals and objectives. Their evaluation of their programs is often based on the impression of the program implementer rather than on the empirical date presented. However, the MWO also recognized their limitation in providing opportunities for maximum participation of program beneficiaries and their lack of documentation and evaluation scores.

**Conclusion**

The study therefore concluded the following items:

a. The Muslim Women Organizations in Lanao Del Sur emerged in response to the needs and problems of the community such as poverty, illiteracy, and unstable peace and order situation. However, the MWO are not fully ready of equipped to respond to these adequately because it has yet to develop its self reliance as an organization financially and policy wise since they were heavily dependent on local and foreign funding.

b. The staff and members of Muslim Women Organizations were mostly composed of women. Most of them were single and highly educated from Mindanao State University, Marawi city taking medical and health courses, social sciences, commerce, and education.

c. In terms of organizational process (planning, organizing, and directing), the member’s participation is equal with that of the officer. Though the administrative staff carried the whole tasks or function of the organization, members were given responsibilities and duties especially on the implementation of the community development activities.

d. If community development as viewed by the staff and residents’ points to meet the basic needs – food, clothing, descent homes through a stable livelihood, stabilized peace and order, literacy, the Muslim Women Organizations is still yet to achieve this kind of development to help the people. But other needs of the community remains; potable water system, land security for economic stability and basic commodities to fight the daily struggle for survival.

**Recommendation**

In the light of the lessons and insights learned from the conduct of this, some priorities and strategies in the community development works are hereby recommended.

a. The education and training of the community development workers

The formal education of the community development workers should be complemented with knowledge and skills needed in practice of community development. They should be provided with an enlightened critical awareness of the existing political and
socio cultural forces that affect the development or underdevelopment of the people they are serving. Their training should focus on acquiring skills to heighten the people’s awareness of their needs and aspirations and of their power and responsibility to eliminate the forces that hinder their genuine development. The community development worker therefore should possess a balanced development perspective and skills that would enable them to effectively carry out their noble role as a catalyst for change.

b. Program contextualization and program participants
The development program of the Muslim Women Organization should be contextualized in a broader context and should not be limited only within the scope and condition of the target area. The operationalization of the development programs should consider regional development. In implementing programs and projects, the participation of the beneficiaries must transcend beyond mere consultation. They must be involved in the decision making, conceptualization, operationalization, and evaluation of development schedule affecting them.

c. Documentation of Development Experiences
There is a need to document the development experiences of the Muslim Women Organizational and the local Organization they are working with to facilitate the monitoring and evaluation of the development efforts. The documented experiences would also serve as the learning experiences from the past, which could help other organization not to repeat the same mistakes.

d. Redefining the role of the Muslim Women Organization
In the context of the rapid socio-political changes in the Philippines, the Muslim Women Organization needs to redefine their new emerging roles in order to become relevant and effective. In these contexts, the role of the MWO is to develop critical understanding and analysis of the root cause of problems such as the rido conflict and the clashes between the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and the armed Forces of the Philippines. Their advocacy works may also foster public opinion that may influence government policies on issues that will protect and promote the interest of less privileged.

e. Raise their own funds
Moreover, officers and members of the Muslim Women Organization should reconsider closely its financial management status. In the long run, outside financial support can make them into dependency and will eventually shake the autonomy and self-reliance the organization’s desire. The Organization can take stock of the current resources of the organization and from the internal sources can build other projects.

References

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The Burden of Armed Conflict in Mindanao: Voices of Women and the Youth

Chona R. Echavez
Jennefer Lyn L. Bagaporo, MAHESOS

Background or Rationale

Mindanao is a land of contrast. While it makes a major contribution in feeding the whole country, its own residents are wallowing in poverty. This is especially true in the ARMM. Concepcion, et. al. (2003) pointed out that by all economic indicators, the ARMM and Muslim areas in general lag behind non-Muslim regions X and XI in terms of economic growth. When poor economic performance, and the accompanying low standards of living, and lack of employment opportunities, are laid down with ethnic differences, it is most likely that armed conflict will follow.

The 2000 conflict caused so much damage not only to life, property and other possessions, but above all the core of these people’s existence -- their relationships and overall well-being. Not only were children traumatized but also adults. The rebuilding of these communities and people is not an easy task. An examination of the condition of communities, households, individuals, and above all the women and the youth in these conflict-affected areas is one step in finding solutions together with the people themselves who are affected of the aftermath of armed struggle.

As we look into the experiences of women and youth during conflict, we ask, what are the lessons that can be learned and what are the programmatic implications to address the special needs of these groups?

Objective

The study’s primary objectives is to determine the effect of armed conflict on women and young men, in order to learn lessons and insights and provide recommendations for development programs, which aim to improve and sustain peace and people’s welfare.

Methodology

The Study Areas were chosen from the areas covered by the Joint Needs Assessment. However, with limited time and resources, the study team decided to choose areas that experienced the highest intensity of conflict in the past five years. These are regions: Region X, Region XII, and the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). A multi-stage method of choosing the specific areas was followed. A municipality in each of the provinces was chosen, again with the intensity of conflict as the main criteria. From each of the municipalities chosen, two barangays were selected to be the specific study sites following these criteria: 1) intensity of the conflict, and 2) geographic location – one barangay in the upland area and the other one in the lowland area or coastal area in order to consider the

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consequences of armed conflict by also factoring the geographic location or the eco-system of the area.

A combination of quantitative and qualitative methods were adopted in gathering different levels of data: 1) community level, 2) household level, and 3) individual level. For the quantitative method, a survey was conducted in all the areas covered, while for the qualitative method, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews were done.

Findings
Communities and Hostilities

The needs of people in the conflict affected areas in Mindanao are huge. While lack of roads, inaccessible roads, lack of transportation and bad health facilities, including lack of medicines are serious in these areas, four main problems stand out as most frequently listed in the conflict affected areas in Mindanao. First, fear dominates in many communities throughout the conflict affected areas. People long for peace and stability. Second, lack of livelihood programs also dominates all the areas. Many people complain that they cannot find a job, and even educated persons are jobless because there is hardly any job available. Third, the overall need in most of the areas where the survey took place is to have better access to water. The same complaint is repeated throughout the conflict areas: water is scarce. Women spend a lot of time cooking and cleaning, trying to use as little water as possible. Finally, the lack of education is also serious in these areas and ought to be prioritized. As opposed to other poor countries around the world, more girls than boys attend school in these areas. Illiteracy and a general lack of knowledge is a dangerous impediment to economic and political progress.

Characteristics of household members in the area by stratum

Regardless of strata, there are more men than women in the study areas and they have a young population. It was noted though that the coastal area registered a higher mean age (21.05) than the rest of the strata, while the upland registered the lowest (20.57).

The upland also registered a higher percentage of those who at least had some elementary education compared with the rest of the strata. However, they registered a lower percentage of those who reached higher level of education. Maguindanao registered the highest percentage (31.7%) of those who have not gone to school at all. In Maguindanao, the bulk of those who have not gone to school come from the lowland, opposite to that of Lanao del Sur where the bulk of those who have not gone to school come from the upland.

As to housing materials, it seemed that the lowland and the coastal areas are relatively better-off than their upland counterparts since the materials they used are more sturdy and permanent.

As to ownership of livestock and poultry, upland Lanao del Sur areas had the most number of chickens while ducks are raised in the lowland/coastal. Upland Maguindanao raised more goats while Lanao del Norte (upland and lowland) registered the highest number of cows.

Crops Grown

The upland areas grow corn, the lowland, rice and the coastal area, coconut. When the province and strata are considered in the classification, corn is predominant in upland Maguindanao and rice predominant in lowland Maguindanao. Coconut is widely grown in the coastal area of Sultan Kudarat.

The main use of crops (corn for upland and coconuts for coastal) planted by households in the upland and the coastal is for selling, while rice produced by lowland households is for consumption.
Health Status
In the five provinces covered, the top three provinces that reported the highest number of any household member who got sick within the past six months are: 1) Maguindanao (93.3%), 2) Sultan Kudarat (90%), and 3) North Cotabato (83.3%).
Households in the upland area of Maguindanao took the longest travel time to reach the nearest health facility from their house.
The majority (60.2%) of households from the upland area, followed very closely by the households from the coastal area (58.2%) did not consult a doctor about any illness.
As the province was factored into the equation, households from the upland areas of Lanao del Sur (54.5%) and Maguindanao (64.8%) and the coastal area of Sultan Kudarat (65.9%) are the ones who did not consult a doctor about any illness.

Water and Sanitation
More than a third of the residents in the upland area still depend on rain as source of drinking water. In the lowland area, majority have dug wells as the main source of water, while those living in the coastal area have hand pumps.
The majority of residents in North Cotabato (lowland) and Sultan Kudarat (lowland and coastal) have no toilets. Among those who do not have toilet in their homes, they reported having to defecate in the following areas: anywhere, in the coconut plantation for those in the upland areas and in the river, surroundings, coconut plantation for those in the lowland areas.

Transport and Communication
Majority of the road network in the upland area is only usable during dry season. The areas most problematic when it comes to road condition are as follows: Maguindanao (upland), 90.9% is usable during dry season only, Cotabato (lowland) 42.9% is usable during dry season only, and Maguindanao (lowland) 26.9% is usable during dry season only.
Newspapers are not common reading materials in the conflict-affected areas and majority of the respondents regardless of strata claimed that they have no immediate access to other means of information.

Empowerment and Social Capital
As to membership in an organization(s), the majority of the households in Sultan Kudarat (66.7%) regardless of stratum, and those from Cotabato (lowland, 56.7%) reported being not a member of any organization.
As to the type of organizations, almost half (47%) of the organizations in the lowland, two out of five organizations in the coastal and a third in the upland are socio-civic organizations. Cooperatives are more popular in the lowland than in the upland and coastal.
Upland areas depend on interpersonal communication (relatives, friends, and leaders) in getting information. In the lowland and coastal areas, radio is another source that residents depend on for information.

Conflict Social Tension and Violence
North Cotabato (lowland) residents still rated their community as “somewhat violent” while Lanao del Norte (upland) residents rated their community as “very peaceful.” The rest of the answers from the residents of communities covered in the study varied from “neither peaceful nor violent” to “somewhat peaceful.”
The upland area of Lanao del Norte identified theft (cattle rustling) as the source of conflict while the lowland area identified civil disturbance (skirmishes among the young and those who get drunk). Lanao del Sur (coastal) identified rido while lowland North Cotabato and Maguindanao, identified political clashes as the source of conflict.
**Family Consumption**

When asked if there were times that respondents or a household member had to skip a meal (not because of Ramadan) but because there is nothing to eat, the majority (53.3%) of respondents from the lowlands of Sultan Kudarat, and almost half (46.7%) of the coastal area of Sultan Kudarat and upland area of Lanao del Norte (46.7%) said that there were times that a household member had to skip meals.

**Women and Armed Conflict: Women’s Voices; Women’s Stories**

**Leaders and Leadership**

The women identified the Barangay officials, the Imam and Ustadz and those who have gone to Mecca on a pilgrimage as the leaders in their barangay. Women look up to them as leaders not only because of their leadership skills, but also for their ability to mobilize people to render voluntary work; they have gone to school; or have the experience and knowledge on religion and community matters. Areas with operational women’s organization identified the leaders of these organizations as community leaders. However, for those who do not belong to any women’s organization, they are a bit strong in their belief that it should be the men who should lead. MILF and MNLF commanders were also identified as leaders in specific areas because they know the concerns of the residents in the barangay.

The residents from the majority of the study areas said that not much consultation is being done regarding the activities and projects that are being undertaken within their community. People are usually called to an assembly, to inform them of the decisions made rather than making them a part of the decision-making process.

**Life before the Conflict (2000 Conflict)**

People have been experiencing series or episodes of conflict in the study areas. But when asked what was life like before the 2000 conflict (which they identified as the most devastating conflict that they have experienced so far), they would say, “relatively peaceful.” What they mean is they were having periods of lull in between. However, some areas in Lanao del Norte (Barangay Delabayan and Libertad), and in Maguindanao (Barangay Bongo), were experiencing theft and cattle rustling which also created conflict. This is beside from the armed conflict that they constantly experience between the military and MILF. There were also some areas that experienced skirmishes with young people and adults who got drunk. There were also areas identified where all were one in saying that their means of living was relatively “okay” since it was not disrupted.

**Life during the Conflict**

Some women said that it was indescribable. They fled as conflict erupted and still life at the place where they stayed (relatives or evacuation centers) was difficult. Sickness, lack of food, no means of livelihood (especially for the men), tense relationships with reversal of roles among couples, were among the problems and difficulties that arose among the affected people. However, from the stories told, women bear the brunt of the burden compared to men.

Common among the narratives was the issue that women were the ones who looked for coping mechanism and who tried their best to keep the family members safe when the conflict erupted. Men were mostly out or attended to some community concerns and women were left to fend for themselves as well as take care of the rest of the family.

Women also had special needs that made life more difficult when people evacuated to safer places. The residents from coastal barangays took the sea route in their escape while the upland traversed the mountains for safer areas. Some women were pregnant and some were sick and some did not make it and died in the forest. The families were ill-prepared for the long walk and some just had the clothes that they had when they fled and nothing else.
Women had to deal with challenged “masculinities” as men could not go out and earn a living for fear of being mistaken as sympathizers or combatants themselves. Frustration on the part of the men is another source of conflict within the family.

**Life after the Conflict (2000 conflict)**

There were areas (e.g. Barangay Bulod) that experienced a breakdown in social relations because they become more centered on the immediate family needs rather than share resources with the rest of the community for fear of another conflict and impending evacuation. They would rather store what they have for the rainy days (conflict days) than celebrate the harvest with neighbors. However, there were areas wherein residents became closer because of what they had experienced. They learned to help one another and share what they have with neighbors even from the neighboring barangay (e.g. Barangay Butril and Kolong-kolong). In Barangay Bongo (South Upi) and Barangay Delabayan (Kauswagan), they constructed their houses near each other so that they can help one another during emergency situations as well as in daily circumstances. In Barangay Delabayan, they learned to help one another as they realized that people from the outside are helping them.

Other barangays became more cautious and on “alert mode” in case another conflict will occur. Movements of residents are curtailed because there are areas identified as dangerous, and young people, especially children are prohibited to go. Even adults do not allow themselves to be caught in these places late in the afternoon or early evening.

Upon the return of families to their respective communities, men assumed their breadwinner roles but in some cases the women continue to earn a living because some families were left with nothing. In areas where there is not much women’s participation or no women’s organization, the women have gone back to the kitchen and household chores, although they played major roles during evacuation and even at the place where they evacuated. Women were not given roles in peace-building efforts. But in areas where organizing has been happening, the residents mentioned of the women’s role as peacemakers. Unfortunately, few communities have thriving women’s organizations. There are even places, especially in the upland areas, wherein residents had difficulty identifying active organizations in their community. It is evident though that when an NGO is operating in an area, it is most likely that an active people’s organization is also operating in the area.

The women’s stories stressed that when conflict erupted, the women forgot their own safety and placed the safety of their loved ones first. Women’s burdens were further added to as they took care of earning a living for the family at the same time still performing the “reproductive tasks” for their families to be operational even in an abnormal condition, such as the evacuation center.

**Post-Conflict Situation and Aspirations**

Right after the conflict (or during the lull in between conflict) the residents of the conflict-affected areas had to pick up the pieces of whatever was left of their belongings, and above all, the pieces of their lives.

Both men and women were confronted with the task of earning a living for the family, as well as in reconstructing their houses that were burned to the ground, since it is too big a task for the man in the family to handle.

Though informants and participants termed the activities that women engage in as secondary sources of livelihood, all of these women’s activities (e.g. tending a sari-sari store, selling native delicacies) have contributed a significant amount to the household coffers.

In most cases, the women will deny the existence of domestic violence in the area. However, the women’s knowing looks and smiles tell a different story.
Women dreamt of the following: 1) additional livestock for additional income; 2) a more lucrative job, and not just unpaid farm work; and 3) be able to send their children to school and for their children to finish school and obtain a good job. Most of them are willing to participate in activities that will help them attain what they aspire for. They are also willing to join in any activity that will promote a peaceful environment. However, if the activities would be done in a nearby barangay together with other women, two of the informants were a bit hesitant if they would participate or not. For some women participating in an activity held outside their barangay would mean permission from their husband.

When women were asked of programs that will benefit them or what skill they would like to learn, they gave the following answers. They would want to learn how to manage a business or even a cooperative so that they need not depend on usurious moneylenders, each time they run short of cash. A number of the women participants also declared that they are also interested in learning how to sew because it is both a source of income and savings. This is a source of income because they can sell their finished products, at the same time a saving mechanism because they can sew their own dresses and that of the rest of the family members or they can just easily repair old garments. The women, especially those in South Upi, also want to learn how to effectively and efficiently raise livestock. Cooking food and snacks, such native delicacies, came out last of the things that the women want to learn. They also want to have additional health services, and that medicines be made available in their health centers.

When Youth Are Heard and Not Only Seen: Voices of Youth in Conflict-Affected Areas

Like the women, the youth are also greatly affected by armed conflicts. Several aspects of their lives such as education, family life, community life, and economic opportunities, are distressed during these circumstances. It was common in the conflict-affected areas that after the conflict, school buildings were not utilized immediately because of the presence of displaced persons or these were destroyed during the armed conflict. The postponement of the young adults’ education during conflict situations either leave them doing nothing or seeking any form of labor.

When conflict erupted, there were shift in their roles – instead of being led, they are now the ones responsible for guiding their younger siblings. They are subjected to looking after the household, in the absence of their parents.

Young men, young soldiers

Both the armed group from the “rebel” and the government side served as an attraction to the youth. To become a member of any group spells security for the young people with regard to their family and other people close to them. Some said, that it is a different feeling to be “needed” and that they can contribute to the attainment of the cause that the group is working for.

For others, they have nothing to do since they are not also in school. Some informants said it is the thrill of carrying guns and going places during operations. While others are driven to join because they felt that an injustice was done to his/her family. Other than that, religion and ideology are also acknowledged to influence the recruitment of young soldiers to engage in combat. It is known that many young Muslims in the Philippines join the MILF and the ASG in response to the call for *jihad* or holy war by the leaders of these armed groups. The recruitment of children into these armed groups is viewed as part of basic Islamic teaching, with the promise of martyrdom for anyone who dies defending the realm of Islam. Another factor that contributes to this realization of a young male soldier is that some young men and women have family members who are also affiliated to the armed troops.

This is also the impression from the survey in the conflict affected areas in Mindanao, that the decision of young people to join armed groups is often shaped by how their
consciousness was nurtured by the community and their social environment. If the parents and other adult family members sympathize with the movement, can we then expect the youth not to join?

Prestige and power of the military came out too as a reason why some children, often under 15 years of age, were attracted in joining the military troops. It was also noted that for some reason, young people join the CAFGU out of fear of extreme hardships under the communists or Islamic state. If they associate themselves with the military, they have allies to protect them. But this could also be true for those who join revolutionary or secessionist armed group. Aside from this, the armed groups have become a haven for young men and women who wanted to escape conflicts that exist even within their families.

Young girls, young soldiers

While some girls are abducted or forced, many girls choose to volunteer to become soldiers. For them joining a military group appears to be preferable to civilian life. Many young soldiers find solidarity and emotional support within the group that they missed out as a civilian person. Particularly, women may find that belonging to an armed group offers them a certain kind of protection. Within such groups, the women feel that they are important members who have rights which are protected by the leadership of the group.

Both men and women report that being a member of an armed group gives them self-confidence. Two young informants said that girls cook and clean for the guerrillas, but that they also carry weapons. Many girls are taught medical aid-in the MILF the medical aide is composed of women. They added that young people who join the guerrilla get to travel, which they find is very enjoyable. They experience a kind of life that others cannot. Along this line, some may have joined not so much as to fight for freedom as to ‘have life’. Becoming a member of the MILF is closely tied to identity and many expressed that it is a respectable choice to make. The ones who undergo the training are very proud of what they are doing.

Small arms and young people

Many of the people who live in the conflict areas confirmed that there are lots of weapons in their barangay. As noted by many sources, it is well accepted that boys from the age of around 12 learn how to handle guns. During the interviews this view came out clearly. A young girl said that boys prefer to get acquainted with guns instead of going to school.

The coming of age, a boy becoming a man, is linked with learning how to handle a gun. Attitude is important. The attitude is that violence equals masculinity. A 23 year old man in Lepok, Shariff Aguak explained that guns are very important to him. He paid 20,000 pesos for it. The money was given to him by his parents and some other relatives. He said that they all saved up in order to buy the gun. Obviously this man’s family approved of his buying a gun. The fact that he was very young, barely in high school, did not make them hesitant about his owning a gun.

Although Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) are not the root cause of conflict, crime or insecurity, their wide availability acts as a ‘multiplier of violence’, making conflict more lethal, crime more violent and people’s lives, assets and livelihoods more insecure.

Why the fuss about young people’s inclusion in battles?

Bengwayan (2000) conveyed that too many of these young men’s and women’s lives have already been wasted. Their childhood has been stolen and they are traumatized since they are asked to do things that no child or adult should ever be asked to do. They put their lives in danger and apart from that they also put into risk the lives of other civilian young adults, as suspicion from the warring parties among them becomes high, especially if they reside in conflict zones.
Involvement of adolescents in armed conflict is also considered as a health issue. Young peoples’ participation in conflict has grave consequences on the physical and mental health of the child soldiers, who generally end up with scars, permanent damage to bodily movements or functions, deteriorated health, or death.

With limited education, cases of child soldiers who wish to return to community life showed that they undergo certain difficulties in being reintegrated in the communities, which can lead to some other complexities. Without adequate and proper support from family, friends or the community, the re-integration, and recovery of former child soldiers will be unsuccessful and they may decide to rejoin the armed groups.

Demobilization of the many men and women who are active in the guerrilla is a major concern in the future. It is important to find possible projects and ways of building on what these people already know. For some, being a member of an armed group is a central identity marker. The knowledge and skills that have been acquired by these people should be encouraged and built on as much as possible.

Development precedes peace or the other way around. It can be that without peace there can be no development or without progress there can be no peace. Due to this, the issue on child soldiers is also a peace issue.

The hopes and aspirations of the youth in the midst of conflict episodes

In the midst of the conflict situation and experience of evacuations, most of the young men and women still want to complete their studies. They want to help their parents and the other members of the family, as well as the bigger community to which they belong. However, the desire to continue with their studies is tempered with the immediate financial needs of the family. Thus, some of them opted to find work instead of pursuing their studies. With the need to earn, a number voiced out their desire to learn specific skills (automotive, cooking, sewing) with which they can earn an income. Some also want to establish their own business. Young people in the study also pointed out that if they cannot attain their dream in a straight path, they are willing to go around the bend for as long as they will still end up attaining their dreams.

As young people determined where they will be in a 10-step ladder of life at the age of 30, the most optimistic ones are those that come from North Cotabato as more than a quarter of both male and female youth respondents ranked themselves to belong to the highest step, Step 10 when they reach the age of 30. However, the most pessimistic are also found in the same province as a fifth of the female youth placed themselves on Step 2.

The most common step that earned the highest percentage, regardless of province is Step 5 (with the exception of the youth from the two Lanao provinces that opted to go for Step 4).

More female youth than male youth opt to have a business of one’s own when they reach 30 years old. Three out of four of the male youth in Sultan Kudarat prefer to have their own business than engage in any other kind of work. The male youth in Lanao del Norte see themselves as having jobs when they reach 30 years old.

The youth from Sultan Kudarat are the ones who are confident that they can get the occupation they are aiming for. The majority were “fairly sure” that they can get such occupation. Half of the young women in Lanao del Sur and North Cotabato said that they are not sure if they can get the job they want to have.

Financial problem is the number one reason given by both male and female youth as a reason that may hinder them from getting such an occupation. It also follows that if their family is in financial difficulties, getting the necessary education inorder to qualify for specific jobs is a problem.
Conclusion

The people living in the conflict affected areas worry that a new conflict might begin. They hope that peace will be sustained and development will come. If they have peace, they know how to maintain this area without any help, they say. It is the conflict that destroys their livelihoods.

If peace is to prevail, injustices must be addressed. It is constructive that current Peace Talks are held. A plan for recovery and reconstruction must focus both on immediate needs and long-term development projects. People must have reasonable access to basic needs such as health care, nutrition, education, and housing. Meeting these immediate needs is especially important for young children, pregnant or nursing women and the elderly.

Presently, huge amounts of resources are spent on security in the conflict affected areas in Mindanao. In some areas the only jobs available are activities related to bearing arms. On a more long-term scale it is crucial that resources must be redirected from defence to productive investment and development.

The people in the conflict affected areas are distanced from the state and have little influence on decisions made in their behalf. The increasing marginalization, especially of young men, leads to various coping strategies. More young women than men receive an education and presently, women are better qualified than men to find work that demand an educational background elsewhere. From a long term perspective, these areas may develop a deficit of women and a surplus of men who are marginalized from mainstream society.

Division of labor needs to be established between the international development organizations, other members of the international community, and development cooperation agencies. This is important in order to maximize effectiveness of external resources. The different parties must work together and pool their reconstruction efforts.

It is also important to coordinate international commitment. Donors should take steps to lengthen the time frame for post-conflict peace building activities. They need to prioritize building institutional capacity in both the public and civil sectors as early as possible. Together with the Filipino government, donors can help to create an environment in which reconstruction can take place.

Not only the economy, but also social structures, need to be built. Thus, donors should make every effort to ensure that activities enhance national reconciliation. To accomplish this, the underlying causes of conflict must be addressed. Economic development cannot bring peace if the underlying ethnic or political causes of conflict are not resolved. Often this requires addressing past and present injustices.

Recommendations

Men’s and women’s positions and roles are influenced by war. Structures which make a society stable are often destroyed during a prolonged war. Post conflict society again represents a new situation for men and for women. Women who gained new roles during war oftentimes lost these roles. In a post conflict society, stability is lacking and actively pursued. As a rule, such societies turn conservative and revert to traditional and stereotype gender roles. The ideals of what roles women ought to have push women in the direction of more traditional gender roles. This is a typical development in a post conflict society, which lacks institutions to care for the disadvantaged, the children, the old and the disabled. In such a society, women are crucial because they take care of all these people’s needs. Furthermore, there also lies the challenge of young people joining the armed conflict, especially young men. After the conflict, or if there is a lull in the conflict, there are some young people who live and survive and who want to be reintegrated to the community and the society as a whole. Demobilization is another issue. Expectations in a post war society are rarely fulfilled. The
trend is that such a society lacks the resources, which may provide for the desired development. But in spite of limited resources, what can be done?

**From conflict to where: Some programmatic implications**

Throughout the conflict-affected areas some complaints are heard many times, and some are more unique to a particular area. The data on communities and hostilities showed that all conflict-affected areas are in need of a number of things (from infrastructures to services) however, some areas have more need than others.

The upland areas with Muslim as predominant residents are more wanting in basic services (as basic as potable water and a primary education). In Baguaengud, almost all the young males who participated in the FGD had not gone to school (there were a few who reached Grade 1) and there is no school in the area.

In the Maguindanao and Sultan Kudarat areas, the road is problematic and some areas have no market for the people to buy and sell their goods.

In all, there are needs that are common to all conflict-affected areas (e.g. livelihood but then different areas also differ as to what type of livelihood will be appropriate). The community data also provide information on what are the assets and capabilities of communities that can be tapped in the rebuilding of communities in post-conflict situation. Some areas have dynamic and thriving organizations while those who are most in need do not have any or if there is one, it is inactive. Heightened consciousness, organizing and group mobilization are important ingredients for projects and development work to flourish and thrive. There are a number of communities in the conflict-affected areas who are wanting in this type of intervention while there are some areas wherein rebuilding can be made easier because of existing groups. Prior knowledge of the leaders and organizations present in the area to be tapped or to be avoided, can make things easier and can cut the cost and the time in committing mistakes when data are at hand. It is important that development agencies define what local capacities/resources are and attempt to build on them. These resources contain the key to the knowledge base that already exists in a community and must be accessed in order for development projects to succeed.

In cultures and situations wherein men usually receive preferential access to resources (there are still a number of communities with residents who expressed that men are more superior than women and that only men should lead and women follow), there is a need for built-in gender intervention even during the social preparations for project and program implementation. Women have contributed so much to the pre and post-conflict conditions. More often than not, women’s contributions are seen as a given and a role and responsibility that women should undertake. However, in the decision-making and peace-building initiatives, women have not much to contribute because they are not also allowed to do so. It is only in communities with active women’s organization that women are viewed as major contributors to the communities’ development.

In the case of young people, especially the men, the reasons given why they joined the armed group are as follows: 1) they have nothing to do; they are not in school nor are they working; 2) it is a boost to their identity and a proof to their masculinity; 3) it is an act of rebellion and vengeance to the government for the suffering (social inequality and oppression) that their respective families or communities encountered; 4) the environment or people close to them encouraged them to join the armed group; 5) for security reasons that a group will protect them or their loved ones when conflict erupts; and 6) for religious belief in response to the call of jihad -- that joining the armed conflict and dying for it is a noble way of losing one’s life.

In the midst of conflict, the least that the government and development agencies can think of are preparing educational materials using appropriate language that will be made
available to young people. Meeting the needs for food and shelter is the primary consideration. In times wherein there is disruption in the lives of young people, their schooling is also disrupted. The problem of youth joining the armed group also comes into the picture. Providing them with educational materials or activities will minimize the disruption and bring about healing to their traumatized minds.

Projects that will pre-occupy the minds of the youth (and even adults) are needed in these areas. Even something that will serve both as a support to livelihood as well as a venue for entertainment (a basketball court which can be used as dryer of farm products and a venue for funfair and basketball games). In tension-filled areas, basketball courts are often mentioned as a need. It has livelihood implications but it also keeps young people out of trouble if they course their energies and frustrations into a sports activity rather than engaging in a fist fight or shootout. It is a place to unwind not only for young people but the residents of the community. It is where social functions are held. Thus, a basketball court has deeper meaning and use in these areas.

The need for training activities (area-specific) to learn new skills has been mentioned by both the women and the youth. These initiatives should be based on the realities of women’s and young peoples’ lives with an eye for employability. Education, including literacy training, vocational life skills, informal educational opportunities are needed by young people. As pointed out by a report made by Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children (2000), these type of endeavours, specifically education are primary means of psychological and social healing, skills-building, training for livelihood, peace-making, community building, social integration and protection. They answer a number of needs of young people who underwent traumatic experience in a conflict situation.

Vocational and life skills training opportunities that are relevant to the realities of their experiences and the needs of their communities are needed or else such activities will create false hopes and expectations that will lead the young to further perils and destruction. Mismatches occur with the training given and the market demand.

Alternative and non-violent ways of manhood that are also friendly and sensitive to the community should be explored. The gender dimension and issues of masculinity must be included among the factors in the gender orientation of women, men and young people in the community.

Experts claim that for as long as poverty stalks the land, young soldiers will not only be around but will affect a broad spectrum of the society. However, there still is hope. These conflict-weary residents in these war-torn areas are tired of wars and conflict; in their on words, they definitely want to give peace a chance. The task of development workers and organizations is to help them find the way and the chance to do it their way. Young people involved in the armed conflict say they want to study and have a life outside the training camps. They want to enjoy how it is to be young, carefree, and taken cared of.

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Muslim Women and Gender Piety

Amporn Marddent

Background

Muslim women’s movements in Thailand emerged 20 years ago when the promotion of the hijab dressing had campaigned by Thai Muslim activists. The Islamic reawakening comes in the late-1970s when the influence of the traditions of piety was called by da’wa groups and networks: Sunni-Salafi, Shi’a, Tablighi Jamaa’t, etc. Women have been asked to hold up the traditional female image and gender role in society. Muslim women’s movements awaken as a potential treat of Islamization in national level. In Thailand, it is important to underline that women’s groups are mostly established from the support of men and the headquarter. However, apart from the groups setting up in accordance with men supporting, there are some other groups of Muslim women found from their own vision and agenda.

Majority Muslim in Thailand is Sunni, while the prominent Islamic movement since 1970s are Salafi and Tablighi Jamaa’t. Women are the members of both groups who have given attention to da’wa women and young people. The notion of sisterhood is spreading and rising up along with Muslim brotherhood. Therefore, women who involves with the movement would rather to be Muslimah salihah with taqwa or the righteous with higher conscious women. Jitmuod (2005) stated that young Muslim women are invited to call for reforming in their faith amidst the rapid change and more complex Thai society. She pointed to the matter that women are struggling for their space in the community. They are firstly brought into the circle of Islamic revival as the collective liberation of the ummah or community from un-Islamic and Western hegemony. Nonetheless, there is no argument about the overt leadership among Muslim women’s movements including the capacity and authority of the specific organizations. However, pious identity, ethical sensibility and groups agency are obviously practicing among Muslim women.

It seems Muslim in Thai society are acknowledged the segment of Muslim women as a part of men’s movement. Since Muslim women issues have been the key to many of the most significant mass movements in modern Thai Muslim society, women become more

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2 Doktorand (PhD Candidate), Anthropology of Colonial and Postcolonial Orders, Institute of Anthropology, Cluster of Excellence “Formation of Normative Orders”, Goethe-University Frankfurt, Germany.
3 The so-called “Yala Teacher Training College Incident” was a conflict between the college administration and the Muslim students who insisted to wear Islamic headscarf or hijab in 1988.
4 Islamic terminology, da’wa means to encourage fellow Muslims in the pursuance of the greater piety in all aspects of their lives.
5 Sunni-Salafi is a Sunni Islamic movement that take places the pious ancestors or Salaf of the patristic period of early Islam as exemplary models. While, Shi’a or Shi’ite is the second largest denomination of Islam after Sunni. However, many Sunni-Salafi scholars are oppose to Shi’a doctrines, which Salafi regard as having many aspects of shirk (sin of polytheism) and bid’ah (innovation in Islamic creed). Another transnational pietist Islamic movement is Tablighi Jamaa’t. The leaders of the last group claim that the movement is strictly non-political in nature, but the main aim of the participants being to work at the grass roots level and reaching out to the world of spiritual development.
widely recognized in the very recent past that the crucial role played by women in raising basic issues, organizing and involving the masses have become more widely recognized, especially calling the rights to veil, hijab, in public spaces, including adopt the certain Islamic dress on ID card and passport. Prospectus of Jitmuod on the movements of Muslim women in Thailand was a part of the mass reformism. Notwithstanding, Muslim women insisted that the struggle on behalf of Islam from women differ from men both social and personal actions.¹ In many cases, however, Muslim women were brought into the politics of identity and space as the minority of Thai state. Meanwhile identity mark, the hijab for example, of women is indicated for negotiating space and identity of social identification.

Prapertchob revealed that at the end of 1970s, Islamic revolution in Iran inspired the global Islamic resurgence and hijab was promoted and revived in Thailand. The promotion of hijab dressing had campaigned by Muslim activists who were studying in various secular institutions. In the late 1980s, in grew in popularity culminating in the so-called “Yala Teacher Training College Incident”² when there was a conflict between the college administration and the students who insisted to wear the hijab.³ It is very important to note that these activists are not only Muslim women but also men. Moreover, the activists were growing in the path of secular education system and some have maintained to study Islam in a high degree, including strengthen their faith by perform and join Muslim students’ activities in each institution. Thai Muslim Student Association (TMSA), an active and united group of young Muslim in Thailand activist whilst, represented as a coordinate center for Muslim students in Thailand. The hijab then became popular among Muslims throughout the country after a Muslim member of the parliament, MP, from Narathiwat, Mr. Areepen Uttarasin, introduced a special rule for all schools in Thailand addressing this issue while he was a Vice-Minister of Education.⁴ That is, a special permission was given to Muslim students who wish to put on the hijab. On the one hand, hijab movement in Thailand managed the attitude changing of the Thai people to accept plurality. It became a success symbolic resistance from Muslim women in expressing their opposition to Thai authority in public policy. Hijab movement, on the other hand, was dedicated to be a symbol of women religiosity.

In this article, it is focusing on a group of Muslim women’s movement in central Thailand. The most currently and actively leading group found in between 2005-2006 of the Salafiya formation is Banatulhuda (Guided Muslim Women). The group focuses on calling Muslim women back to the root of Islam (back to the Book) by providing and training essential Islam in the way of Salafiya of a pious Muslim. The leader of the group is a family member of Sheikh Rida Ahmad Samadi, who is the president of Muslim Group for Peace. Sheikh is a leader of demonstration to protest the Danish cartoon controversy at Danish Embassy, Bangkok and lastly a leader of the groups who react to Israel's invasion of Gaza in front of Israel Embassy, Bangkok.⁵ Sheikh Rida is accepted as an ideal Muslim scholar among young Muslims. He works closely with various university students and young Salafi scholars for a decade to promote da’wa of Ahli Sunna Wal Jamaa’. Banatulhuda was found from the encouragement of Sheikh Rida and the lealeading women themselves. The 3-4 group’s

¹ Many Muslims women activists and university students revealed that women’s activities are different from men’s, but it is the duty for women at the same time to seek for the embracement that relevant to Islam.
² The confrontation was at its peak in February – March 1988 when more than demonstration to protest the banning of such attire by the college authorities.

leaders and organizers work from their homes by using internet-based communication with other members.

**Objective**

The article aims at exploring the development of Banatulhuda group and how this movement is socially, politically and culturally constructed, especially the representation of gender piety.

**Methodology**

The focal point of study method is conducting a research into the documentary and field study of the *Salafi* women in Bangkok, Thailand. The research methodology is based on ethnography, in order to give descriptions of the pious fabrications of Muslim woman group who called themselves as the reformist or *Salafi*. The rational for conducting ethnographic research is direct experience which is often posited as the primary means for securing the knowledge. The most vital basis for research methods of getting the truth is it yields an empathic understanding of social worlds by allowing the fieldworkers to apprehend how members of this world act, think, and feel as they do. ¹ I am collecting information and documents related to history, current situation, process, pattern, practice, respond, impact of pietization and gender in *Salafi* Muslim women’s group in Bangkok.

The study uses the tools of participant observation and interviewing informants, especially the activists, by using semi-structured, narrative and in-depth interviews, biographical interviews and focus group discussions. Data collected by using qualitative method that intends to investigate the definition of piety and its patterns, the situations and process of Muslim women’s movement and its related issue of gender relations, Muslim women identity, self and agency, and the role of Islam and Muslim women in the different social and education contexts.

Participant observation is a major method for the study. It comes from various anthropologists and sociologists. First, both driven by Malinowski to find out exactly what is occurring in the communities. Second, there is an implicit interest in studying community typically considered to diverge significantly from the normal practices. And third, both disciplines generally provide an empathetic presentation of the communities, utilizing relativistic approach to knowledge and social value. Lindeman who underwrites the researcher’s full engagement in the subjects’ activities (participation) and the professional distinction of the discipline (observation). ² While, interview and group discussion are interactional component: “Talk” with the actors to praise out the social meanings appended to actions. ³ Narrations also refer to the stories members of the setting or network under study tell themselves and others in order to render meaningful events. Every methods that used, especially focus group discussion where the reception from the viewer would be discussed, can show the role of self and agency. In the field research, I am taking the role of participant-as-observer since the time to collect data is limited, also tend to minimize problems of role-pretending.


Bangkoknoi Community is the field site where the leader, core members and advisors of Banatulhuda and other Sunni-Salafis are living. Here is the plural Buddhist-Muslim society, while nearby the mouth of Bangkoknoi canal is a situated Muslim living zone. The original of Muslim in this area is Arabian and Malay ethnic groups who have settled down more than 400 years.\(^1\) There are Ansar al-Sunna Royal Mosque and Anuchon Bangkoknoi Islamic School which is administrated by Al-islah Association Bangkoknoi locating in this Sunni Muslim community. However, in between 2007-2008, there is another prominent place located in the community, that is musalla or the prayer room, where male members of the Sheikh circle say the daily prayer instead of spending times at the mosque of the community. Other activities are implicitly process out of the management of the central community. Banatulhuda activities are also running at the Sheikh house and his alliance locations. Besides, Islamic Santichon School at Ramkamhaeng, Bangkok is another important place that Banatulhuda rent the rooms for the meetings and doing activities. This school is understood by the local Muslims as Sunna institute where various prominent activities have taken place, such as, projecting the video of Gaza unrest and providing discussion forum before performing demonstration that led by Sheikh and his networks. I use internet to followed up information regarding ideas, visions, activities, women issues and debates by Banatulhuda members and alliances by discussing with the leader and a core member of the group through electronic mails during October-December 2008.\(^2\) The preliminary information regarding networks of Banatulhuda will be applicable to the see the cohesion and structure of the current reformist Muslims. The network analysis will be used to facilitate a better understanding of the effect from the pattern of relations among the actors. Theoretical important concepts of network analysis that will be used is planed to be trained in summer semester, 2009, especially innovation adoption and diffusion, cognitive social networks and network evolution and dynamics.

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\(^2\) Banatulhuda website: http://www.banatulhuda.com
Research population lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth which one can learn a great deal about issues of the research. Purposeful sampling thus is used to select the informants. Typical case sampling is one strategy to provide a qualitative profile of the Salafis who are the leaders, core members and groups’ advisers. The first strategy is, however, an approach that one can not make generalized statements about the experiences of all members of the Salafi women. The second approach that will be taken is snowball sampling. This strategy is processed as valuable by a number of different informants. Nominations for cases to study are the members of women’s movements who participate the workshops, youth leaders camp, and group lessons. Opportunistic sampling also will be involved to take into consideration during actual data collection or after the filed work has begun. Another important sampling is the knowledgeable people who have studied and worked on Islamic revivalism and Salafism including Muslim women’s movement in Thailand.

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Reason for the selected these informants is that they specifically address Islamic revivalism, Salafism, piousness, Muslim women and gender issues in Thailand. Most of them have established an open forum for the discussion of Muslim women’s roles, duty and rights. Apart from these, other related people who have relevant knowledge and highly informative data from the local will be the opportunistic samplings.

Banatulhuda provide weekly and monthly group study among the core members at a house of the amira, women’s group leader who is a relative of Sheikh Rida, or at Islamic Santichon School in Bangkok. The leaders of Banatulhuda organize a yearly camp for young women at the high school and undergraduate levels. The core members and leaders often provide group study (Halqa) among themselves in order to empower iman (faith) women and make missionary movement by focus on the piety and purity in modern Thai society.

Special attention will be paid to the following aspects: First, community life on Salafi women; in this point, I will examine how piety shaped the forms of cultural values of the life world, including personality and life order. Who, how, when and why do the members of each group engage with the movements? This will include the reason(s) that the movements expand to the certain network. Second, engendering spiritual direction of Salafi women; to understand religious doctrine is a set of virtue that shaped inner world as an order of Salafi women through training in religious excellence. The question is related to the process how piety can be described and measured when women can achieve in the particular sphere. And if it is described, in what way does the inner world exit in the everyday life world. Moreover, it is important to explore the relationship between pious women’s body and self including agency. Third, political piety; in each movement, the reformists have the form of pious status of the group that are defined by authority people. To this reason, it is very interesting to know who can define piety, how that person(s) describe and why it is clarified in such way. At the same time, I have assumption that the definitions of piety created hierarchies of religious virtue and practice among the member of these two Salafi women’s groups. Forth, economic of spiritual market; this aspect concern with the influence of Islamic revival of Salafism to the cultivation of religious market and the relationship between pious women in the two Salafi movements and the capitalist economy in modern Thai society.

Data analysis processes is taken by using appropriate theories to ensure quality of the results and the interpretation. During the collection of qualitative data, the credibility and quality of data analysis can be strengthened from ethnography method. Focusing in particular on observation, interview, discussion and meeting these methods are the main qualitative and critical analysis. The idea of data analysis covers recording and organizing field notes, participatory appraisal and analysis, reading data, thematic analysis and coding, and other visual displays, techniques to develop effective strategies to produce a clear and informative assessment report and recommendations.

Grounded theory method is provided for the research strategy and develop social construction analyses. Experiences of people’s constructions reflect their understandings of their experiences in the diverse situations. Foucault’s argument on the conditions giving rise to discursive practices, like constructionists view acknowledges that outcomes result from social interactions, negotiations and power. Apart from this theory method, my application of the theory will also be covered feminist critical discourse analysis to discuss with the gender relations. This is a part of emancipatory critical social sciences which as openly committed to achievement of a just social order through a critique of discourse. Aim of this is to show that social practices are in fact gendered. Gender functions as an interpretative category that enables participants in a community to make sense of and structure their particular social

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practices, since gender is a social relation that enters into that partially institutes all other social relations and activities. Thus a critic of gender practice and social relations is ultimately effecting social transformation. The study is exploring some of the conceptual challenges that Muslim women participate in Salafi Islamic movements pose to feminist critical discourse.

Finding

Thailand is recognized as a predominant Buddhist country, however, it is not officially designated as state religion. Islam in Thailand is relatively pluralistic in character than in much of the neighboring country, Malaysia. This plurality stems in part of the way Islam evolve in the secular state and law. Muslims in Thailand have much shaded their identity vis-à-vis other ethno-religious groups in the country from the global and local key factors. This is the linkage between ethno-religious mobilization and political identities enforced. Although a call for religious orthodoxy is found all over the Islamic world, the directions of the movements are different form country to country. Chandra Muzaffar stated that while the resurgence in, for instance, Indonesia deals with economic issues like poverty and exploitation, in Malaysia the movement seems to be more concerned with identity. In Thailand, Omar Farouk Bajunid, Imtiyaz Yusuf and Chaiwat Satha-Anand have pointed to make understanding the local contents and various directions of the Islamic movements in Thailand. However, the dimensions of Islam in Thailand still related with identity. Ulama (those who have been trained in religious sciences) bring with them the aura of religious authority and constitute the distinct elite group within their respective communities.

Bajunid distinguished between two types of Muslims namely the ‘assimilated’ and the ‘unassimilated’. The former constitutes a whole diversity of ethnic groups such as the Arabs, the Pathans, The Thai-Malays, etc. Meanwhile, the latter is predominantly Malays who reside in the tri-province area of Narathiwat; Pattani and Yala; together with the neighboring Songkla. Imtiyaz Yusuf pointed to the main factors responsible for this is their firm adherence to ethnicized religious identity and their strong attachment to the concept of race, language and Islam which are largely shaped and inspired by an ethno-religious nationalism.

2 In the southernmost provinces of Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and Satun, Muslims are governed by Islamic family law and inheritance, while the rest of the country is determined by the civil law. In 1946, under the Islamic Law in Pattani, Narathiwat, Yala and Satun Act, BE 2489, Islamic law regarding family and inheritance was recognized by the state for historical and political reasons. The dominant population in these areas are Malay Muslims who have been struggling to retain their identity as a consequence of the intrusion of the Thai state and subsequent policies of cultural nationalism, especially during the eras of Major General Luang Phibulsongkram (1938-1944 and 1948-1957) and Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat (1958-1963).
based on Malay ethnicity. Consequently, Muslims in the southernmost provinces are ethnically Malay which is divided from other Thai in what Thai state refers to as the “Thai Islam” or “Thai Muslims.” Moreover, the rising of Malay nationalism in Southeast Asia has pulled this ethnic divide in southern Thailand. Thai state then move to embrace religious plurality instead, by using the certain terms, while Buddhism is closely associated with Thai identity. In case of the Thai Muslims, they contest with this concept by pressing on the differences of ethnicity, language and religion. Hence, to be Malays mean to be Muslims only, as well as to be Thai means to be Buddhist.

The concepts of ethnicity and religion were brought together to determine Muslim identity in Thailand. The influence of Islamic resurgence in the global level is also pulled Muslims to struggle for their space in a non-Muslim majority state and society in particular. Moreover, the global Islamic revival that infused by the contemporary politicization of religious and political arenas have awaked a vast number of the local in Thailand, especially young Muslims, to adopt new forms of pure Islam. The phenomenon brings back Islamic values, practices, and institutions into the lives of Muslims. The resurgence emphasizes on Islamic identity and adherence with regards to belief and practice. There are some movements toward searching for the true Islam in recent decades and cleansing the traditions of non-Islamic elements. This process has been accompanied by a genuine drive to become real and good Muslims. It is reflected in an increase in the use of Arabic religious terminology, segregation between genders, and wearing Arabic, Pakistani, and Malay dresses as well as covering the hijab among women, for instance.

Since the 1970s Islam in Thailand has acquired different faces. These faces are traditional and reformist Islam. The traditional Islam (khana kau/ kaum tua) represents Islam which is syncretist in orientation. On the other hand, the reformist (khana mai/ kaum muda) represents Islam which is puritanical in orientation. The latter face associated with Salafi-Wahhabi reformism. The rise of reformism in Thailand brings the new movements. They have been recruited young people and women to strengthen the identity aspect of the religion and influence to communicate as well as expose their own selves in the public. Islamic revival has coincided with the growth and diversification of the undergraduate Muslim student’s movements. In the late 1960s Thai Muslim Students Association (TMSA) was established to promote and preserve the collective and interest of the ummah (Muslim community) in general and educated Muslim youth in particular. In 1964, the Thai Muslim youth established

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2 Patrick Jory analyzed that Thai government has attempted to replace Malay ethnic identity with the religious label in the hope that these linguistic changes would contribute to the overall goal of assimilation. See Patrick Jory, ‘From “Melayu Patani” to “Thai Muslims”: The Spectre of Ethnic Identity in Southern Thailand’, ARI Working Paper, 84 (February 2007).
3 According to Surin Pitsuwan (‘Islam and Malay Nationalism: A Case Study of Malay-Muslims of Southern Thailand’, quotations from p.68-70), King Wachiravut’s rule marked the beginning of a long and tortuous struggle to widen the sphere and deepen the level of autonomy for the Malay-Muslims of Patani based on specific ethnic differences. However, the very nature of the Thai state and its bureaucratic set-up did not permit such royal policy announcement to be fully promulgated. The bureaucracy was heavily dominated by the Thai Buddhists, who were fire by a sense of “ethnic Thai chauvinism” could not very well be expected to conscientiously carry out state policies that would respect regional differences and preserve ethnic autonomy. For the very order for special treatment for the Malay-Muslims of Patani contradicted the singlemost ideological contribution the king himself made to the Thai nation: nationalism. Between the two objectives of the cultivation of a Thai national identity (with the Thai language, Thai religion-Theravada Buddhism, and Thai culture implied by it) and the preservation of a minority’s separate identity, the former was always the priority for the Thai bureaucrats.
another prominent group which is called the Young Muslim Association of Thailand (YMAT). At the same time, Tablighi Jama’it activity which had arrived from India started working at the grass roots level in the differences provinces of the country. In the 1980s, the spread of the Sunni-Salafi thought impact southern Thailand through the rise of local movement with the aim of establishing pure Islamic society through religious activism. The prominent reformers, such as Dr. Ismail Lutfi Japakiya, rector of Yala Islamic University and Asst. Prof. Dr. Ismail Alee, director of College of Islamic Studies of Prince of Songkla University at Pattani, are agree with the main features of Salafi-Wahhabi Puritanism. It was understood that Wahhabi are rigid literalism intolerance toward differences, insularism, restriction of women’s movement, and so on.1

Wahhabism is the religious reform movement associated with the teachings of Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1703-1792). He and his followers believed that they have a religious obligation to spread the call or da’wa for a restoration of pure monotheistic worship. In the late nineteenth century, an Islamic revivalist tendency appeared in the Arab East and India. The next step in rapprochement came in the first decades of the twentieth century when the founder of Saudi Arabia’s modern kingdom took step to integrate the realm into regional and global political and economic systems. Wahhabi ulama disapproved of the foreigners’ arrival, during that time is American, to develop the land’s reservoirs of petroleum. However, they were powerless to defense. During the same era, Wahhabis joined hands with popular religious organizations, especially Muslim Brotherhood (al-İkhwān al-Muslimūn)2 to consolidate the bastion of Islam against secular regimes, atheist and the tides of western-style modernity.3 However, the term Wahhabi was rejected by Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab and his followers. The preference is to call their movement salafi. Consequently, Salafi or Salafiya is a term to of the historical movement for Islamic reform marked by the ideas of three thinkers in particular, Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839-1897), Mohammed Abduh (1849-1905) and Rashid Rida (1865-1935). While they are sought to revive the true practice of Islam via the reference to the Salaf as a movement. The term Salafism is often used interchangeably with Wahhabism. Adherents usually reject this term because it is considered derogatory and because they believe that Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab did not establish a new school of thought nor self-describe themselves as such. Salafi have a more embraced a forward-oriented doctrine centered on the pristine purity of Islam.

In Thailand, generally, the terms Wahhabi and Salafi are characterized as extreme Sunni with stern and extreme, especially post-September 11, 2001 that ensuing US-led war on terror and the Kru Se incident in 2004 when the book titled “Berjihad di Pattani” was found on the body of a dead militant at the historic Kru Se Mosque, Pattani.4 Some scholars understood that there are connections between Wahhabism and Jihad Salafis. However, the debates and arguments from another group claim that the militants of Osama bin Laden and the dead militant at the Kru Se incident do not have its origins in the teachings of Ibn Abd al-Wahhab and is not representative of Wahhabi.5 Likewise, many Salafis preferred to be called as the Ahli Sunna Wal Jamaa’ or Sunni, in short, than Wahhabi and khana mai or kaum muda. However, among religious scholar and young reformists, Salafi term is widely

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1 Imtiyaz Yusuf (2007) already quoted.

2 The largest political opposition organization in many Arab states, particularly Egypt which was founded by the Egyptian schoolteacher, Hassan al-Banna in 1928.


accepted. Regarding to Banatulhuda and Baan Muslimah of Majlis Ilm, they identified themselves as the Salafis. Generally, Salafi men’s leaders graduated from the universities in the Middle East, while educational background of women’s leaders and young members are different. The majority of them educated from the secular universities and programs in the country. Women’s movement emerged increasingly under modern structure of secular governance.

Apart from the Mustura, a group of Tablighi Jama’ai women, Salafi is another prominent Islamic movement that has been inspired youth and educated people for a decade. To understanding this neo-orthodox Muslim movement as well as Salafi women organizations in Thailand and their pious orientations. It is also remarkable to draw attention to the understand the teachings and interpretations of the Salafi scholars and gender relations. In addition, gender is as an aspect of acts of piety since women’s bodies and their sexualities are potentially identical dimensions of the everyday world. In Thailand, Muslim women’s relationships to piety are changing as a consequence of critical transformations of the status as other women in Southeast Asia when women are entering higher education. Joy Tong and Bryan Turner stated that piety is norm that have highly compatible with the life style of the elite. When women enter into higher education, it is implied that they are now better trained to compete with men in the labor market and these social changes raise important questions about the correct norms – or rituals of intimacy – by which women can function in the public sphere.1 Saba Mahmood challenges the typical opposition, characteristic of western feminism, between submission and resistance, wearing and discarding the veil, for instance. The veil in this case can be empowering by allowing women to enter public spaces and compete with men in the religious field and at the same time it is a part of the creation of a certain middle-class habitus. It is a habitus that is oriented toward modernity and accords with essentialized notions of gender when gender itself is an important axis around which class distinctions and a form of socialized subjectivity.2

An example issue as a prominent current situation that obviously seen among Muslim women in the secular and modern Thai society is headscarf which is basically called the hijab. It is a meaning of gendering piety boundary which is a part of the discursive practice of Islamic revival and the possible establishment of a support base for Muslim piety due to the descent Islamic principle which in effect led to instituting of Muslim space and women’s piety respectively. Muslim community in Thailand rules such etiquette and endorses closer collaboration among the different groups of Islamic social movements and very rarely debates the issues that might be involved with the descent of the veil and male elite. Salafi is the most active group among young people Muslim women’s wearing the scarf is thus not only represented Muslim identity in Thai society or rights to practice one’s belief, but is oriented toward retraining ethical sensibilities and transforming self to create a new social and moral order. They are trying to seek the path of Islam are motivated to sake of increasing their faith. Among women believers, there is considerable that they are exploring religious learning and practices along with what their husbands, sons, relatives and friends respectively being as core members. The views and approaches toward Islam of each group highlight the process and boundary of women’s piety. Muslim women in general neither argue for gender equality in the mainstream religious groups’ taught, nor reconsider the traditional gender roles. Instead, values outward markers of piety, especially the veil, is as a necessary meaning for cultivating a certain type of religiosity. In Thai Muslim women’s perspective, bodily

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dispositions to involve with the certain groups of Islamic social movement indicates not only their pious aspects and roots, but also promote the piety movements which they belong to.

In contemporary Thailand, form and style of good Muslim women is initially looking for community identity. This includes the various visible markers for emerging belief and piety. Women are defined as faith lived through bodily practice. The cultivation of modest and pious self seems to represent the real piety. Muslim women activists in Thailand have drawn inspiration from Islam for a variety of religious movements. These women, with their attachments to identity politic and to religion, embody the new pious Thai Muslim.

In respect of Muslims pietization, Salafi Muslim women’s movements is the main group that their relationships between personal piety, religious discipline and interpretation, and political connotations through the lens of gender and representation are the crucial aspects to understand the dynamics and politics of Islam in Thai society. During the period of Muslims experience the religious change of revolutionary, it is also significance to scrutinize pietization under the influences of the modern socio-cultural, economic and political contexts as well as the various Muslim women’s groups for understanding gendering piety in Thailand, particularly among the active group of Salafi which is understanding as a new orthodox Muslim. It is also to understand the entire Salafism movement—its past, present and future with the greatest concern within the national and global movements.

In the hijab case, it is a part of the discursive practice of Islamic revival and the possible establishment of a support base for Muslim piety due to the descent Islamic principle which in effect led to instituting of Muslim space and women’s piety respectively. In Thailand, Muslim community rules such etiquette and endorses closer collaboration among the different groups of Islamic social movements and very rarely debates the issues that might be involved with the descent of the veil and male elite. Muslim women’s wearing the scarf is thus not only represented Muslim identity in Thai society or rights to practice one’s belief, but is oriented toward retraining ethical sensibilities and transforming self to create a new social and moral order.

Banatulhuda members mostly wear the niqab with the black and gloomy dress. They are trying to seek the space for women in Muslim community which are motivated to sake of increasing their iman and amal. It is obvious that among women believers, there is considerable that they are exploring religious learning and practices along with what their husbands, sons, relatives and friends respectively being as core members. The views and approaches toward Islam highlight the process and boundary of women’s piety. Muslim women in general neither argue for gender equality in the mainstream religious groups’ taught, nor reconsider the traditional gender roles. Instead, values outward markers of piety, especially the veil, is as a necessary meaning for cultivating a certain type of religiosity. In Thai Muslim women’s perspective, bodily dispositions to involve with the certain groups of Islamic social movement indicates not only their pious aspects and roots, but also promote the piety movements which they belong to.

Under the modern Thai society, Muslims seem to be granted religious freedom, however, religious leaders and authority, normally the imam (the leader of each Muslim community who is a role model for Muslims in all its spiritual and secular undertaken), khatib (a person who preach the Friday sermon, orator), and bilal (male who issues adhan or call to prayer)¹, mosque committees, religious scholars and religious men activists have the role to express Islamic principle. Most leaders’ wives and daughters are officially women activists. They are shaped their aspects and ways of manifesting piety and belief since they belong to groups define their piety. When women are called to consider their same religious and moral

¹ In Thai context, these are the three prominent persons for each community. They have the official authority to role the dominant legal system that Thai government subsidizes for self-administration.
duties and responsibilities to men, they then face the consequences of their deeds. They believed that the sole basis for superiority of any person over another is piety and righteousness.\textsuperscript{1} Women then became products of a Muslim piety movement. They have to cultivate religiosity, and the discourses of modesty and piety. Islamic religious piety has often pointed outward. It has encouraged involvement in activism in their communities.

The movement of Banatulhuda carried out with the aim of reviving faith and Prophet Muhammad’s practices among the members. Women are thought to be in need of self reformation, as they are found guilty of perpetuating un-Islamic customs associated with household rituals, while representing the source of guidance for future generation at the same time. Outlook of Banatulhuda emphasizes on the spiritual virtues as well as legal questions that are throwing to the Sheikh to find out the solutions. Changing the appearance of hijab as well as choosing to study with the group along with the high education in the secular system are the mean in order to develop Muslim community and come closer to Islam. However, some new and young members quit and stop to extend their study in the university because the vision and worldview of Islam from their understandings are different from the secular world. They then start to have their own group study and call it as “home university” by managing their own curriculun. The prominent subjects for Muslim women from their perspectives is how to be a good mother and wife. This emphasises on that duty of Muslim women and preparing them to enter into the door of good wife and mother. Apart from this, they link every moment of life with Islam and make it clear what Islam say about it.

The seriously task of reforming women have to be taken since they were young through religious program. However, members of Banatulhuda do not have the certain elements of the practice from Sheikh, but when the study group process, for example, amira or the leader has the major role to stratgize and put the duties to the distinguish members. Amira is the one who pick up the verses of the Qur’an to recite, read and interpret among women from women’s opinions and experiences. This kind of activity allow members of Banatulhuda get into the front of Islamic interpreters.

Notwithstanding, major idea of interpreted Islam came from the Sheikh. Amira has good chance to find out the answers from the Sheikh since she is staying in the same house with him. But this does not means she has a face to face communication, but it is process through the wife of Sheikh. Members became enthusiastic supporters and learners by joining the group activities and following the global movement of Muslim women from the internet and online world. Participating in the mass meetings among women is another encouragement to strategies and means to collective practice of embodied pious living. This diverse cultivation of a pious relies on the context and idea of the movement.

**Conclusion**

In the modern time, socio-cultural and political surrounding Muslim in Thailand and all over the world drew much public intention. Merely providing religious reformation in the certain pattern and ideology is not enough. Form and style of good Muslim women is initially looking for the emancipatory reinterpretation. This should be included the various visible markers for emerging women authority in Islam. Because underlying belief and piety, women are defined as faith lived through bodily practice. Otherwise, one will not be found the piety and modernity growing alongside in Muslim world. The cultivation of modest and pious self seems to represent the real piety.

\textsuperscript{1} “O mankind! Lo! We have created you male and female, and have made you nations and tribes that ye may know one another. Lo! the noblest of you, in the sight of Allah, is the best in conduct. Lo! Allah is Knower, Aware (The Qur’an 49:13)”. This verse always repeats during man and women do religious activity together. Besides, history of wives of Prophet Muhammad and His Companion are encouraged to process women’s piety. It also effect led to a splitting of Muslim women space.
Consequently, it is not difficult to see how participation in the Islamic revival and the attractions of pious Islam for the women. Many young women are on a trajectory of Islamic piety and becoming women activists. But the exactly attractions of pious Islam for women in Thailand is the piety promote gender equality which is based on Islam. It is found that this movement even rigid gender segregation between sex and the limitation to move from one place to another physically, but at the same time women have their own space to misunderstanding the value, dynamic, and just position on gender relations in Islam. Moreover, young women in Thailand appear to view themselves outside the scope of Islamic legal and principle.

Thai Muslim women in fashionable hijab, for example, settling Muslim magazines, running Muslim TV and radio programs, including those who fight for their identity mark for school dressing, show that women use the veil to maneuver their way. This kind of neo-reformation have shifted to their public culture and professing a commitment to Islam. I argue that young Muslim women activists in Thailand have drawn inspiration from Islam for a variety of religious movements. For Banatulhuda, as the Salafi women, their fighting with the non-Islamic world, for example the case of niqab, which is aims at struggle with the world fashion consumerism and erase the class distinction. However, among this the non-members of the group and uneducated Muslim women cannot cross this wall to be a good Muslim women as Banatulhuda’s domination. Those who are not wearing the gloomy dress with the niqab is not yet “a certain Salafiya” who capable to be a good Muslim women from their perspective. Hierarchy is still survived in this term even though the emancipatory power of gender in Islam is interpreted from women. Attachment of identity politics and religion are embodied the new pious Thai Muslim, whether they are feminist or not, liberal or conservative. Islamic and gender piety thus not only be profaned through the identification with efforts to seize justice, but also sacred to grasp the spiritual frontier.

References


**Online**


Track 4:

Public Administration
/ Demographic / Population Studies
The Process of Self-Reliant Community Planning: A Comparative Study Between The Original Model Communities in Central Region of Thailand and The Experimental Model Communities in Bangkok

Khemapat Yenpiam1*

Background:
“Self - Reliant Community Plan” was made during the National Economic and Social Development Plan No. 8. In 1999, Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives under support of UNDP wanted to enable agriculturists to make the work plan to solve problems and develop themselves. Furthermore, Aside from that, The Village Foundation and The Thai Wisdom Network cooperated in making the community plan. (Self - Reliant Community Master Plan Network of Four Region, 2008, p.9-12)

In 2002, the Office of Social Investment Fund expanded the concept of Self-Reliant Community Plan by following the model of Mai Riang Community because this community made the Self-Reliant Community Plan obviously by collecting data, jointly analyze, and determining the working guidelines by the community plan activities. Therefore, Mai Riang Community was the learning center and the original model of making the Self-Reliant Community Plan.

In 2003, the Community Organization Development Institute (CODI) consulted with leaders having the experience in making the Self-Reliant Community Plan to synthesize the lessons on making the Self- Reliant Community Plan to find the support guidelines and increasingly expanded the result of the self-reliant community plan to the other communities. Moreover, CODI expected the Self-Reliant Community Plan could be used to solve the poverty problem.

In 2004, the CODI supported the budget to make the Self-Reliant Plan which could be really used to solve the poverty problem of villagers in 222 sub-districts divided into 49 model sub-districts and 173 pilot sub-districts.

In 2005-2006, The Four- Region Self-Reliant Community Plan Network under gathering of the leaders with the experience in making the Self- Reliant Community Plan expanded the result of the Self-Reliant Community Plan by giving priority to development of the Community Plan Learning Center and creating the understanding to the other communities, provinces, and regions. Besides, The Self-Reliant Community Plan Network received the support fund from the Struggle Supporting Coordination Center to Overcome People’s Poverty. Moreover, There are the other agencies which supported and mobilized the community plan comprising Community Development Department, Local Government Promotion Department, Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board, Department of Agricultural Extension, Bank for Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives.

At the present, the working group and leaders disseminate and mobilize the Self- Reliant Community Plan making in every region. In Bangkok Metropolitan, the community plan is made and disseminated by following the guidelines of the original model communities. However, the communities in Bangkok Metropolitan are urban communities where economic and social conditions are considerably different from those of the rural communities.

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Therefore, the researcher is interested to study that whether the Self-Reliant Community Plan making process of the original model communities in the central region and the Experimental Communities in Bangkok Metropolitan which has different steps and methods of making the community plan and what are the problems and obstacles of making the community plan. Moreover, The study objectives are to find the suitable guidelines of making the Self-Reliant Community Plan and seek the efficient way to implement the Self-Reliant Community Plan successfully.

**Objectives:**

This research aimed to study as follows:

1) The process of Self – Reliant Community Planning of the Original Model Communities in Central Region of Thailand and the process of Self – Reliant Community Planning of the Experimental Communities in Bangkok.
2) Comparison the process of Self – Reliant Community Planning between the Original Model Communities in Central Region of Thailand and the process of Self – Reliant Community Planning of the Experimental Communities in Bangkok.
3) Identification of problems and obstacles in Self – Reliant Community Planning of the Original Model Communities in Central Region of Thailand and the Experimental Communities in Bangkok.
4) Some guidelines for a good planning process of Self – Reliant Community plan.
5) The efficient way to implement the Self – Reliant community plan successfully.

**Methodology:**

This study was qualitative research that the data were collected by in-depth interviews with persons who were concerned with self-reliant community planning which comprised twenty seven interviewees from the three original model communities in central region: three local wisemen, three community leaders, three community development officers, six local organization administrators and nine representatives of carrier groups, and eighteen interviewees from the experimental communities in Bangkok: nine communities’ committee, six community plan leaders, three representatives from Bangkok district offices. Furthermore, There were four interviewees from public organizations which comprised two officers of Department of Community Development and two officers of Community Organization Development Institute and three lecturers from major public universities.

**Findings:**

**The Self - Reliant community plan making process of model communities in the central region and pilot communities in Bangkok**

After studying documents and interviewing the Self – Reliant Community Planning Leaders about making the Self - Reliant Community plan, the researcher found that the model communities of three sub-districts in the Central Region had the same process of making the Self - Reliant Community plan. Such the process was compiled and summarized by the Community Organization Development Institute (Four-Region Self Reliant Community Master Plan Network, 2008, pp.17-18) comprised 10 steps as follows;

1) Creating leaders.
2) Creating ideas.
3) Studying community history.
4) Surveying data.
5) Analyzing data.
6) Drafting the plan.
7) Public hearing.
8) Implementing the plan
9) Reviewing.
10) Summarizing The lessons.

Most of the Self-Reliant Community Plan making the process of three experimental communities in Bangkok Metropolitan was identical. The District Committee of Community Plan of Samakkhee Ruamjai Community approved the Community Plan before submitting to the District Office. While Pracha Rabertham Community and Suan Rern Community did not have the District Committee of Community Plan. This made Samakkhee Ruamjai Community have 13 steps of making the Community plan as follows: (Samakkhee Ruamjai Community Planning, 2008)

1) Preparing people and area.
2) Arranging the forum for learning and creating the understanding on “Community Plan” to the people.
3) Surveying data.
4) Analyzing data.
5) Visiting the Original Model Community to study the process of planning
6) Drafting the community plan.
7) Public hearing.
8) Submitting the plan to the District Committee of Community Plan for approval.
9) The committee submitted the plan to Social Development Division of District Office for budget allocation by executives.
10) Implementing the plan.
11) Monitoring and evaluating.
12) The community planning team submitted the report to the District Committee of Community Plan.
13) The District Committee of Community Plan reported to Social Development Office of District Office.

However, Pracha Rabertham Community and Suan Rern Community had 11 steps of the process of community planning. After the public hearing, they submitted the community plan directly to the district office for approval and budget allocation. After implementing plan. They reported performance to the district office later.

The researcher found that the process of community planning of two studied areas showed participation of people in the plan planning to solve economic and social problems of the community by themselves. This was consistent with the concept of People Participation (Cohen and Uphoff, 1998, pp.213-218) who divided participation into four models: participation in making decision, participation in operation, participation in benefits, and participation in evaluation. Moreover, it was consistent with The concept of Strong Community (David Mathews translated by Thirawuth Senakham,1998, pp.15-18), who said that 1. Determining the problem issues by community participation enabled people to solve problems for their benefits and other people’s benefits. 2. People’s alternatives should be created by collective discussion and analysis to find out the problem-solving guidelines. 3. Several groups of people operated public activities together. 4. People in the community collectively evaluated the public activities.

**Comparison the process of Self-Reliant Community Planning between the Original Model Communities and the Experimental Communities**

After comparison the Self-Reliant Community Planning between the Original Model Communities in the central region and the Experimental Communities in Bangkok Metropolitan, the researcher found that the steps of preparing, surveying and analyzing data,
the planning process, plan implementation, monitoring and evaluating of the Original Model Communities in the Central Region and the Experimental Communities in Bangkok Metropolitan were similar. It was consistent with the resulted of research of Sirikwan Utha (2003) who studied Participatory Process for Community Planning in Lamphun Province which found that the community planning process comprised five steps as follows; 1.) Arranging the forum for acquiring understanding about the community plan 2.) Surveying and Collecting the community information 3.) Analyzing and developing the community plan 4.) Community plan implementation and 5.) Organizing lesson-learned forum.

However, There were found some different in the step of monitoring and Evaluating. The Original Model Communities in the Central Region summarized the lessons and developed about the community planning process by themselves while the Experimental Communities in Bangkok Metropolitan reported the results of plan implementation to the District Office.

Aside from that, The beginning of the planning process of the Original Model Communities in the Central Region and the Experimental Communities in Bangkok Metropolitan was different. The community plan leaders of the Original Model communities were able to created knowledge and made understanding about the community planning process by themselves. Moreover, they could create the team leaders to mobilize the community plan. While the Experimental Communities in Bangkok were supported from the Social and Community Development Officers created knowledge and made understanding and created the community planning process for those communities. From that’s reason, it was consistent with Worathai Jarugwai (2002) who researched on “The Building of Community Strength According to the concept of Community Economy Self-Reliant: A Case Study of Pracharaj Phatthana Community, Bung Dam Phroy Sub-district, Lam Look Ka District, Pathum Thani Province” which found that the factors affecting the building of the community strength were leaders, members’ participation, collective learning, management, and external support.

Moreover, The economic and social conditions of the Original Model Communities in Central Region were different from those of the Experimental Communities in Bangkok Metropolitan. Especially, the economic condition of the Original Model Communities in Central Region was agricultural. People help each other through the traditions and cultures of the communities and local wisdom. So, it was factors affecting people to cooperate for public activities. While the economic condition of the Experimental Model Communities in Bangkok Metropolitan was business. People had to work in the offices. They had no time to participate in public activities. Therefore, it was difficult to ask them for cooperation.

From that was reasons, the researcher could summarize the factor affecting people’s participation in the planning process were as follows; 1. Kinship ties and relationship of people in the community 2. Working burden 3. Facing major similar problems 4. Supporting from the outside organization (Cha-An Wutthikamraksa,1983, p.26).

**Self Reliant Community Plan Making Problems and Obstacles**

From the interviewing of the Self-Reliant Community Planning leaders. The researcher could summarize the problems and obstacles of the Self-Reliant Community Planning process which were divided into five issues as follows;

1. Leader.
   - The leaders did not have voluntary mind, knowledge and understanding about the community planning process.

2. People.
   - People were not interested in attending the forum because they had to work.
People behavior were consumptionism and asking supports from the local government organization to solve problems.

3. Lacking Public Sectors Supports.
   - Lacking support on budget and knowledge.
   - Some local government organizations were not interested in bringing villagers’ self-reliant community plan to integrate with the local development plan.

4. Data and data collection
   - Data collectors did not understand the method of collecting data and they did not have techniques to ask people to collect verified data.
   - The collected data were unverified data because villagers feared that the state agency would taxed them if they know about villagers’ income.

5. Process
   - Lacking creation of the learning process to people about the Self-Reliant community plan.
   - The state agency used their model to teach villagers.

The guidelines of good the Self-Reliant Community Planning Process.

After interviewing the leaders about the Self-Reliant Community planning process and lectures from major public universities. There were two guidelines of good the Self-Reliant Community planning process as follows;

A) Activities – Plan with the following steps;
   1) Villagers’ leaders or local wisemen disseminated the real practice to the people to consider what they could do by themselves.
   2) Villagers were ordered to practice to learn problems and find problem-solving methods, which would lead to the planning data.
   3) Plan Implementation should be based on the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy. It should began from consuming, distributing in the community, exchanging, and selling. (Precha Mahingsapanchu, December 23, 2008)

B) Plan – Activities with the following steps;
   1. People’s readiness prepared by
      - The inside trainers in the community
      - The facilitators outside the community
      - Building team leaders to mobilize the Self-Reliant plan such as occupational group’s leaders, local wisemen and informal community leaders i.c.
   2. Preparing the community data such as government, number of populations and households, occupations, community resources, and local wisdom i.c.
   3. Community leaders and volunteers jointly collected data regarding income, expenditures, and household debts.
   4. The inside trainers and team leaders arranged the forum for learning community data by using participatory techniques such as Appreciate Influence Conference (AIC), Village Map, Future Search Conference (FSC), Meta Plan, SWOT Analysis i.c.
   5. Collective analyzing to find out the problem-solving guidelines by determining activities which could be done by themselves, activities which had to coordinate with the development alliance such as local government organization, district, province.

By the way, The abovementioned steps were suitable for the communities where the leaders have a good knowledge and experience about the Self–Reliant Planning Process. But the community where the leaders did not have a good knowledge and experience, they should
Initially arranged the forum to create understanding and surveying people’s opinions what did they think. Majority of people in community recognized and needed to have the Self-Reliant community plan, and who could be the facilitators. After they did understand and really needed to have the Self-Community plan, then they arranged the forum to find out the leaders and volunteers. Anyway, there would be the facilitators from outside such as development officers, sub-district agriculturists, assistant district officer to attend the forum for giving the recommendations to mobilize the Self-Reliant Community Plan. After that, it would be the step of surveying community data, community data presentation and the community data verification, Analyzing the community problems and finding the problem-solving guidelines together. (Wirat Kamsrichan, January, 15, 2009)

Recommendation:
The efficient way to implement self – reliant community plan successfully were as follows:

1) Public organization must use the participatory – based management for community planning
2) Public organization must consider to integrate the Self-Reliant Plan with Local Development Plan
3) The Self-Reliant Community Planning was not necessarily implemented in every community
4) The Self-Reliant Community Planning must be developed based on economic and social aspect of each community and should incorporate self – sufficiency economy for plan implementation
5) The Self-Reliant Community Planning should not be limited time
6) Making people understand about the purpose of data collection and training data collectors before collecting data were greatly crucial and
7) There should be training program for volunteers who devote themselves to be the communities leaders with any aim to help them to understand about self- reliant community planning.

Conclusion:
The Self- Reliant Community Plan enabled people in the community to collective thinking and finding the community problem-solving guidelines by initial self-reliance. People in the community had to participate in the following process: people readiness preparation, surveying data, analyzing data, the planning process, plan implementation, and monitoring and evaluating. The Self- Reliant Community Plan should not be determined by the time frame. The problem-solving guidelines should be in line with the way of life of people in the community. The successful community plan should be supported by the people in community and the public organization.

However, the economic and social context could effect the Self-Reliant Community Plan implementation. There were the key success factor of planning comprised resources, leaders, cooperation of community members. Moreover, The of the Self-Reliant Community planning was creating the learning process in the community planning. It could be sustainable development later.

References:


**Electronic and Internet:**


**Interviewees:**


*****************************************************************************
International Migration and the Standard of Living in Thailand

Buraskorn Torut¹

Background

With the opening of national markets and further integration of the regional economy, international migration has in recent decades emerged as a new key phenomenon. Table 1 shows that the number of international migrants has risen from 75.9 millions in 1960 to 174.9 millions in 2000. Developed countries have more migrants than developing countries in the 2000 and their share of migrants in their populations has almost tripled in the past 40 years.

Table 1: International Migrants and Global Population, 1960-2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>International Migrants(millions)</th>
<th>Migrants as Percentage of Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>World MDª</td>
<td>LDª</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>75.9</td>
<td>32.1(42%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>81.5</td>
<td>38.2(47%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>99.8</td>
<td>47.8(48%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>89.7(58%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>174.9</td>
<td>110.3(63%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MD: more developed(Europe, North America, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and the former USSR; LD: less developed.


The imbalance of economic and social condition among the rich and the poor countries contribute to the growing of inter regional labor market. In the past decade migrants move from poorer to richer countries within the developing world. Thailand is an example of a country that sends and receives migrant workers. As a result from the Thai economic miracle in the early 1990s, Thailand made the transition from the net labor exporter to net labor importer. Many Thais with new job options shunned so-called 3-D jobs in agriculture, fisheries, construction, and private households. With many local workers taking factory jobs, migrants from poorer countries arrived to fill in as domestic helpers, construction and plantation workers, and factory workers in small and medium size enterprises. Figure 1 below shows the number of international migrants in various job sectors in the year 2004. Migrants represent a high percentage of workers in agriculture, fishing, construction and domestic services in Bangkok. About 38 percent of migrants worked in agriculture and livestock sector, followed by 26 percent in construction and 13 percent in fishery.

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Thailand has more than a million migrants from Myanmar, Cambodia, and Laos. In 2004, Thailand had become a destination country for approximately 1,136,485 registered migrant from Myanmar, 245,444 from Cambodia, and 216,823 from Laos. The number declined in 2006 due to the short term permit regulated in 2004. The law allowed registered migrants to work temporary in Thailand for 2 years followed by a mandatory three year stay at home before asking for renewal.

With the change of pattern in migration, Thailand is trying to develop policies toward managing labor migration from poorer neighboring countries. At the same time the government seeks to protect the native unskilled and low skill workers from being exploit by the migration. The policies at the receiving end of migration should emphasize flexibility of inflow of migration in response to local labor market fluctuations. At the same time the policy
should try to control migrant employment because flexible migration policy can create social problems associated with illegal migrant labor. There had been discussion of social burden associated with migrants in Thailand, including the charge of migrants were responsible for increasing crime rates and reintroducing communicable diseases that had been eliminated from Thailand.

Objectives
The objectives of the paper are to:
- Determine which characteristics of the individuals contribute to income earning.
- Determine if the international migration population effects the income earning of Thai workers.
- Determine if the foreign worker policy has an effect on the income earning of Thai workers.

Methodology & Findings
Data
To understand whether international migration has any impact on Thai well being, this paper utilizes two sets of data. The first set of data is obtained from the socio-economic survey from the National Statistical Office of Thailand from the year 2002-2006. The socio-economic survey collects comprehensive nationwide information on household income, expenditures, asset ownership, and household characteristics such as sex, age, education, occupation. The sample size for 2002-2006 includes 322 households randomly selected from Central (excluding Bangkok), North, South, and Northeastern region of Thailand.

The second set of data is obtained from Asian Research Center for Migration from the year 2004-2006. The data consists of the information of migrant workers in Thailand, including the number of employment needs, quota, and extension of work permit for irregular immigrant workers classified by province, business activities, and migrant nationality (Myanmar, Laos, Cambodia).

Since labor is the main source of input for income, per capita expenditures is the primary measure of individual well being. Monthly expenditure of individuals from all the provinces in Thailand in the year 2002 was used as the base year. In 2004 the Thai government restructured the migration policy based on decentralization and promoted economic development at the border from which many migrants came. Under the new policy, migration quota was lifted and allocates each province’s quota by the industry and the demand from the employers. In 2004, Thailand saw a significant growth in international labor migration. Monthly expenditure in the year 2006 was then analyzed to see if there’s a change in expenditure due to the inflow of international migration. The dependent variable is therefore the change in an individual monthly expenditure in the year 2002 from the year 2006. Total expenditures are calculated by summing consumption expenditures on food, clothing, rental value of the dwelling, medicine, transportation/communication, and education cost. To ensure that the expenditures are comparable over time, the total consumption expenditures were adjusted for inflation using 2002 price index as the based year.

Table 2 compares the monthly consumption expenditures for each independent variables in the year before (2002) and after (2004-2006) the relaxing of international migration policy. The data that this paper uses are age, sex, marital status, and education. The second group of independent variable describes the characteristics of the location where the individual resides. The theoretical model suggests that unobservable that affect the net return

1 Consumer price index 2002 = 100, 2004 = 104.6, 2006 = 114.4 Source from Central Bank of Thailand
on jobs that employ international migration will also affect individual expenditure. The paper attempts to identify measures that would affect the flow of international migration but would not directly affect the total expenditures. Most of these variables turn out to be the characteristic of the province the individual live in. These independent variables are therefore the percentage of industrialized factories, the location of the province (near border of the neighboring countries or not), the region of the province. Another important independent variable is the change in the number of international migrants from the neighboring countries in the year 2004 and 2006. Table below summarizes the descriptive statistics.

Table 2: Consumption Expenditures for each individual characteristic in the year 2002, 2004-2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less 20</td>
<td>8868.03</td>
<td>6164.235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2127.026)</td>
<td>(1704.7290)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>9367.223</td>
<td>9228.114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2279.236)</td>
<td>(2655.422)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>9562.319</td>
<td>11944.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2306.971)</td>
<td>(3180.939)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>10110.33</td>
<td>13199.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3036.712)</td>
<td>(4144.587)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>10159.72</td>
<td>12407.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2825.891)</td>
<td>(4900.563)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Status</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>9006.227</td>
<td>8360.574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2153.074)</td>
<td>(2833.239)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>10102.25</td>
<td>12398.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2708.836)</td>
<td>(4145.306)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No education</td>
<td>8902.873</td>
<td>7023.562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2249.418)</td>
<td>(1966.197)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Education</td>
<td>9306.048</td>
<td>9215.702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2200.272)</td>
<td>(2335.522)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Education</td>
<td>10366.08</td>
<td>14465.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2826.988)</td>
<td>(3645.823)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Region</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>12169.85</td>
<td>12708.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1882.781)</td>
<td>(4614.22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeastern</td>
<td>8897.246</td>
<td>8423.528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1370.954)</td>
<td>(2951.861)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>7565.561</td>
<td>8502.973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(650.9264)</td>
<td>(2951.55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>8673.011</td>
<td>10973.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2523.498)</td>
<td>(3565.512)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>At Country Border</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>9281.048</td>
<td>9868.803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1622.056)</td>
<td>(3947.97)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>9628.097</td>
<td>10493.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2717.581)</td>
<td>(4105.282)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Standard deviations are in parentheses.
Theoretical Model

To illustrate how international migration from bordering countries can affect Thai standard of living, this paper develop a model based on the following scenario.

1. Each native worker is endowed with labor and initially all of the labor is in the manufacturing sectors earning hourly wages.
2. Once foreign workers show up in Thailand, factory employers may decide to hire foreign workers since they accept lower wage than native workers.
3. The native worker then will have to make a decision. They will have to decide how much of their labor inputs will they want to spend in factory and how much they want to spend in agriculture.

The scenario is based on the following assumptions.

1. Native labor inputs are perfect substitute between working in manufacturing and go back to their farm and work in agriculture.
2. All native and foreign labors are endowed with homogenous skill necessary to work in low skilled manufacturing sector. In other words, foreign labor and native labor are perfect substitute for working in factory the native workers were initially working in.
3. Native workers produce agricultural goods using technology $f(l)$, where $f(.)$ is strictly increasing function, $l$ is the labor input of the farm. This paper also assumes that $f(.)$ is concave in labor.
4. When deciding whether or not to work in factory, each worker considers the net return of formal sector job $\Phi(w, Z)$, where $w$ is wage earned in factory and $Z$ is the information the worker possessed that shapes the expectations about the net returns to work in factory. Information factors include knowledge about number of foreign workers, the characteristics of the factories and the probability of being employed. Therefore $\Phi(.)$ is increasing in $w$ but decreasing in $Z$.

As international immigration begins to develop, native worker can dedicate a share of its labor endowment $m$ to agriculture. Suppose each native worker is endowed with 1 unit of labor input. Therefore 1-$m$ unit of labor input will be spent working in factory. Let $\alpha \ln(L)$ be the agriculture production function. Since workers derive their income ($Y$) from labor input, each worker then want to maximize $m$ as follows.

$$\text{Max } Y: (1-m) \Phi(w, Z) + \alpha \ln(m)$$

$$\text{s.t } (1-m) \Phi(w, Z) + \alpha \ln(m) \geq \Phi(w, Z)$$

From first order condition with respect to $m$:

$$\frac{\partial Y}{\partial m} \frac{\partial \Phi}{\partial m} = \frac{\partial \Phi}{\partial Z} \frac{\partial Z}{\partial m} - \frac{\partial \Phi}{\partial W} \frac{\partial W}{\partial m}$$

Where $m^*$ is the optimal agricultural labor input level. From the first order condition we can see that $m^*$ is increasing in $\alpha$ but decreasing $\Phi(.)$.

*Figure 3: Illustration of relationship between food production and factory production per one unit of labor*
From figure 3 the model implies straightforward expression for optimal choice of labor input. Given different net return to formal sector job due to the inflow of international migration, an individual chooses m that maximizes his/her consumption. If $\Phi(w, Z)$ is steeper or greater than the productivity $\alpha$ then the individual would choose to stay and work in the formal job rather than move back and work in agricultural sector. His or her income would be equal to wage earned in formal sector job multiply by number of hours put into work. This is represent in figure 3 where $\Phi(w', Z)$ intersects the agricultural production function $f(l)$ at the horizontal axis. On the other hand if farm productivity $\alpha$ exceeds net return of formal work $\Phi(w, Z)$ then an individual would choose to resign from factory work and return to work on farm. The optimal choice of labor input is therefore at the point where the net return of formal job tangent to the agricultural production $f(l)$. This is represent in figure 3 at $m^*$. 

Since the interest is in understanding the relationship between international migration and consumption growth, the paper consider a worker that perceive working solely in factory in the first period but did not in the second period. For this case, first period consumption is $C1 = \Phi(w, Z)$ and the second period is $C2 = (1-m) \Phi(w, Z) + \alpha \ln(m)$. The change in consumption period is then

1. $C2 - C1 = \alpha \ln(m) - \Phi(w, Z)m$

The first term represents the increase in consumption due to agriculture and the second term represents the lost of wage income due to international migration. Labor input choice variable is influenced by the net return to farm production and the change of factory wage.

**Empirical Model and Estimation Strategy:**

In order to explain the effect of international immigration on consumption growth, the paper abstracts somewhat from equation (1) and estimates the following model.

2. $\Delta C = \alpha + \beta_1 X + \beta_2 \Delta W + \varepsilon$

$\Delta C$ is the change in consumption after allowing for international migration. $X$ is the matrix of independent variables that influence the marginal product of labor in production. Most of the variables are the demographic composition of the worker and the factors that encourage production such as education and land ownership. $\Delta W$ represents vector of change in wage due to change in international migration flows.
Since this paper will use change in migration inflow as the instrumental variable, the model will abstract from equation (2) and estimates the model using 2Sstage Least Squares method as follows.

\[
\begin{align*}
\Delta C &= \alpha + \beta_1 X + \beta_2 \Delta M + \varepsilon \\
\Delta M &= \gamma + \delta_1 Z + \delta_2 \Delta C + \varepsilon
\end{align*}
\]

\(Z\) is a matrix of independent variables that influence the change in migration. Since \(\Delta M\) is an endogenous variable, \(Z\) will include information factors that affect international migration but do not affect household expenditure. Therefore in estimating the relationship between international migration and consumption growth, the paper must account for as many of these factors as we can observe. Variables in \(Z\) then include the change in number of international migration inflows, the characteristic of the province; whether it is an industrial based province or agricultural based. If the theoretical model is correct, after the estimation, the result should show a negative relationship between the increase number of immigration and expenditure growth (\(\beta_2 < 0\)).

Simultaneous Equation Model

To test the model from (3) and (4) using instrumental variables, the empirical model estimates the following simultaneous equations:

\[
\begin{align*}
\Phi C &= \gamma - \delta_1 \text{age} - \delta_2 \text{age}^2 - \delta_3 \text{status} - \delta_4 \text{edu} - \delta_5 \text{sex} - \delta_6 \Phi M - \gamma \\
\Phi M &= \phi_1 \Phi Q - \phi_2 \text{indus} - \phi_3 \text{dist} - \phi_4 \text{border} - \phi_5 \text{region} - \phi_6 \Phi C - \gamma
\end{align*}
\]

From equation (5) and (6), \(\Delta M\) and \(\Delta C\) are endogenous variables (\(Y\)). The rest are exogenous variables (\(Z\)). To test the simultaneous equations using 2SLS, the regression runs the following procedures.

**Stage 1:**
- Regress \(\Delta M\) on \(\text{age}^2\), status, edu, sex, \(\Phi Q\), indus, dist, border, region \(\Phi M\) fitted \(\Delta M\)
- Regress \(\text{age}^2\) on \(\text{age}\), status, edu, sex, \(\Phi Q\), indus, dist, border, region \(\Phi\) age
- Regress \(\text{status}\) on \(\text{age}^2\), status, edu, sex, \(\Phi Q\), indus, dist, border, region \(\Phi\) status
- Regress \(\text{edu}\) on \(\text{age}^2\), status, edu, sex, \(\Phi Q\), indus, dist, border, region \(\Phi\) edu
- Regress \(\text{sex}\) on \(\text{age}^2\), status, edu, sex, \(\Phi Q\), indus, dist, border, region \(\Phi\) sex

**Stage 2:**
- Regress \(\Delta C\) on fitted \(\Delta M\), age, \(\text{age}^2\), status, edu, sex

**Figure 5:** 2SLS Result

Source | SS df MS Number of obs = 322
---------+------------------------------------------ F( 7, 314) = 45.01
Model | 2.3667e+09 7 338101993 Prob > F = 0.0000
Residual | 2.3585e+09 314 7511174.57 R-squared = 0.5009
---------+------------------------------------------ Adj R-squared = 0.4897
Total | 4.7252e+09 321 14720320.1 Root MSE = 2740.7

| Coef. Std. Err. t P>|t| [95% Conf. Interval] |
|-----------------------------+--------------------------|
| m_hat | -1.116282 .0275136 -4.06 0.000 -.1657625 -.0574939 |
| age  | 565.0456 95.41658 5.92 0.000 377.3089 752.7823 |
| age2 | -6.816259 1.280362 -5.32 0.000 -9.335432 -4.297086 |
| d_male | -163.3559 305.9419 -0.53 0.594 -765.3111 438.5993 |

1 Detailed description of the variables is described in the Appendix
Figure 5 illustrates the estimation of equation (5) after following 2SLS procedure. The result of 2 stage least squares regression shows that a one unit change in foreign workers registration significantly reduces the change in Thai workers income by 0.11 units. The increase in the irregular workers in the Thai labor workforce reduces the original income by 0.11 percent. As expected, the increase in the supply of labor due to the inflow of irregular workers induces changes in the wage of the entire labor force. The wage reduction results in lower income for the Thai workers as implied by the negative value of the coefficient in figure 5 for variable \( m_{\text{hat}} \). Other variables related to the individuals’ characteristics have expected relationship with the change in income. Increase in age, attaining higher education, and having family results in a statistically significant positive change in income. 1 year older in age increases the change in income by 565.05 baht (in nominal term). However age increases income at a decreasing rate. The analysis is reflected in the variable age\(^2\) where the coefficient is estimated to be significant and negative. Education is also the basis for higher income. The dummy variable that represents higher education indicates highest change in income of 3609.88 compared to 146.37 of change in income for the dummy variable of lower education. A single status individual earns income less than those with family. Being single significantly depresses the change in income by 832.62. Gender variable does not show statistically significant impact on the changes in income. Overall the variables can predict income growth 45% according to the adjusted R-square.

Since inflow of migration endogenously determined the wages of the Thai labor, the study must also analyze if the instrumental variable has any correlation with the dependent variable (the changes in income). The second part of the simultaneous equation is to regress equation (6) and analyze whether the changes in income of the Thai workers has any direct effect on the inflow of migration. From equation (6): \( Y = \Delta M; X = \Delta Q, \text{Indus, dist, border, region, } \Delta C; Z = \text{age age}^2, \text{status, edu, sex, } \Delta Q, \text{Indus, dist, border, region} \). Figure 6 illustrates the estimation of equation (6) after following 2SLS procedure.

Figure 6: 2SLS Regression Result

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>Number of obs = 322</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Model</td>
<td>2.9638×10^8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.7048×10^7</td>
<td>789.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residual</td>
<td>1.4694×10^7</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>4694727.61</td>
<td>R-squared = 0.9528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3.1108×10^8</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>96908426.1</td>
<td>Root MSE = 2166.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The result of instrumental variable regression shows that a one unit change in foreign workers registration is not statistically significant in influencing the Thai income. However the coefficients of the environmental variables that could possibly boost the inflow of migrations have expected signs and are statistically significant. From figure 6, migration policy which is reflected in the registration quota coefficients is statistically significant and has positive influence on migration inflow. One unit of migration quota increases migration inflow by 1.16 units.

Geographical factors are also statistically significant and have impact on the inflow of migration. Provinces bordering the neighboring countries are more likely to be the habitat of foreign workers. From figure 6 the coefficient is statistically significant with value of 1009.297. Provinces adjacent to either Myanmar, Laos or Cambodia approximately on average has 1009 foreign workers more than other non-border provinces. Industrial provinces are also less likely to have foreign workers. The number agrees with the fact that foreign workers took up agriculture and 3-D jobs as mentioned in the first part of the paper. Distance from Bangkok encourages foreign workers inflow. From the analysis of the coefficient, an area one kilometer nearer to Bangkok is likely to have on average 3 more foreign workers than further area. The number reflects the fact that foreign workers would flow into the area near the capital city for the opportunities for finding jobs are greater than rural districts. In supporting with having foreign workers in urban area, Northeastern, North and South regions of Thailand are less likely to find irregular workers in comparing with the central region. Overall the model could explain the inflow of migration 90% according to the adjusted R-Square.

Restriction and IV consistency Tests

It is in interest to test the null hypothesis whether the coefficients of the change in migration flow, β₆ in equation (5), and the change in income, δ₇ in equation (6), are equal to 0. Specifically we want to test the following null hypothesis:

H₀: β₆ = 0
H₀: δ₇ = 0

From a formal test using the regression software, the F statistics with 2 and 308 degrees of freedom is 1.15(Prob > F = 0.03193). The study therefore can reject the null hypothesis that the coefficients are equal to zero.

Using Wu statistics, the t-ratio on the prediction independent variable for equation (5) is -3.61 and equation (6) is 0.61. The p value for equation (5) and (6) is 0.000 and 0.542 respectively. Therefore I cannot reject null hypothesis that both the OLS and IV estimates are
consistent for equation 6. However I can accept the alternative hypothesis that OLS estimate is inconsistent and IV estimate is consistent for equation (5).

**Testing Robustness of the Model:**

From the 2SLS method, I cannot reject the null hypothesis for equation (6) that the OLS estimate of the coefficients is consistent. In testing for robustness the study will also estimate equation (6) with various OLS methods. Due to heterogeneity problem in the data, ordinary least square, generalized least squares, robust regression with cluster, and robust regression with weight least squares methods are used to analyze the data.

Table 3: Summary of Econometrics Result

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model/Variable</th>
<th>OLS (eq 7)</th>
<th>GLS</th>
<th>Clustered GLS</th>
<th>WLS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>549.674*</td>
<td>548.252*</td>
<td>551.475*</td>
<td>514.491*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(91.170)</td>
<td>(80.78)</td>
<td>(46.243)</td>
<td>(75.412)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age2</td>
<td>-6.748*</td>
<td>-6.734*</td>
<td>-6.773*</td>
<td>-6.265*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.224)</td>
<td>(1.160)</td>
<td>(0.922)</td>
<td>(1.013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex (male)</td>
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<td>-90.859</td>
<td>-110.885</td>
<td>352.084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(293.003)</td>
<td>(297.241)</td>
<td>(143.088)</td>
<td>(242.437)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>-917.945**</td>
<td>-924.910*</td>
<td>-933.14**</td>
<td>-605.700**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(360.760)</td>
<td>(318.095)</td>
<td>(217.422)</td>
<td>(298.356)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower education</td>
<td>310.989</td>
<td>312.260</td>
<td>221.366</td>
<td>393.917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(418.251)</td>
<td>(324.279)</td>
<td>(195.107)</td>
<td>(346.068)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Education</td>
<td>3,812.184*</td>
<td>3,837.426*</td>
<td>3,559.71*</td>
<td>3,359.040*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(531,532)</td>
<td>(490.811)</td>
<td>(446.189)</td>
<td>(438.490)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migration quota</td>
<td>-0.051</td>
<td>-0.051</td>
<td>-0.051</td>
<td>-0.051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.083)</td>
<td>(0.083)</td>
<td>(0.083)</td>
<td>(0.083)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance from Bangkok</td>
<td>2.032+</td>
<td>2.196**</td>
<td>2.378*</td>
<td>1.684+</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.118)</td>
<td>(0.877)</td>
<td>(0.346)</td>
<td>(0.898)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Border</td>
<td>-23.332</td>
<td>23.399</td>
<td>-75.343</td>
<td>-118.074</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(392.700)</td>
<td>(347.904)</td>
<td>(599.842)</td>
<td>(318.789)</td>
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<tr>
<td>dummy2 (region = northeastern)</td>
<td>118.871</td>
<td>-54.956</td>
<td>336.861</td>
<td>336.861</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(679.407)</td>
<td>(571.753)</td>
<td>(511.198)</td>
<td>(511.198)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dummy3 (region = north)</td>
<td>1,532.599**</td>
<td>1,484.70**</td>
<td>1,768.471*</td>
<td>1,768.471*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(688.802)</td>
<td>(652.864)</td>
<td>(566.285)</td>
<td>(566.285)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dummy4 (region = south)</td>
<td>159.623</td>
<td>14.117</td>
<td>1,146.924</td>
<td>1,146.924</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(965.802)</td>
<td>(861.945)</td>
<td>(774.779)</td>
<td>(774.779)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m_dem1</td>
<td>0.051</td>
<td>0.010</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>0.011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.069)</td>
<td>(0.018)</td>
<td>(0.025)</td>
<td>(0.015)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-10,742.308*</td>
<td>-10,730.991*</td>
<td>-10,510.870*</td>
<td>-10,773.683*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1,563.460)</td>
<td>(1,336.728)</td>
<td>(1,185.897)</td>
<td>(1,293.559)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R-squared</td>
<td>0.534</td>
<td>0.535</td>
<td>0.519</td>
<td>0.594</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 See the detail of the regression results in the Appendix
Table 3 summarizes on the empirical estimation of the model from various econometric methods. The estimation shows that demographic characteristics mainly education, age, marital status, and sex do have strong impact income growth. From the table the coefficient of the change in migration has negative impact and significant to the consumption growth for OLS and various GLS estimations. As with the GLS estimation, the coefficient are the same as OLS estimates but the standard errors take into account that the observations within the region are dependent. Even though the standard errors are larger in this analysis, the variables that were significant in the OLS are significant here as well. From the adjusted R-squared, the models predict 50% of the impact of income growth from migration. Therefore we cannot say that the change in migration has some significant impact on consumption growth.

Conclusions

The increase in the supply of labor due to the inflow of irregular workers induces changes in the wage of the entire labor force. The wage reduction results in lower income for the Thai workers as implied by the negative impact of the change in migration analyzed in the study. Other variables related to the individuals’ characteristics have expected relationship with the change in income. Increase in age, attaining higher education, and having family results in a statistically significant positive change in income. Geographical factors are also statistically significant and have impact on the inflow of migration in which foreign workers are more likely to be located near the borders or in agricultural provinces and places more likely to find job opportunities. Policy factor in terms of migration quota also has significant impact on the inflow of migration. Allowing illegal immigrants to register as a irregular workers attracts more foreign work flows into the country which then results in lower income for the native workers.

Reference:
Appendix:

Table 1: Definition of the independent variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables [X]</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Values</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Numerical</td>
<td>Age of the individual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age²</td>
<td>Numerical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Dummy</td>
<td>Single = 1 Married = 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Dummy</td>
<td>No Education, Lower Education, Upper Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Dummy</td>
<td>Male = 1 Female = 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Independent Variables [Z]

| ∆M                       | Numerical  | Change in number of migration (2004)       |
| ∆Q                       | Numerical  | Change in quota for migration              |
| Indus                    | Numerical  | Percentage of industrial sector in the province |
| Dist                     | Numerical  | Distance of the province from Bangkok      |
| Region                   | Dummy      | Dummy1 = Central Dummy2 = Northeastern Dummy3 = North Dummy4 = South |

OLS Regression

ΦC?= χ − δ,age − δ,age² − δ,status − δ,edu − δ,sex

δ,M − δ,ΦQ − δ,indus − δ,dist − δ,border − δ,region − γ

```
reg ch_inc age age2 d_single d_male d_lowedu d_upedu m_dem1 m_quo1 indus kmbkk d_border dummy2 dummy3 dummy4
Source | SS df MS Number of obs = 322
-------------+------------------------------ F( 14, 307) = 27.31
Model | 2.6210e+09 14 187213134 Prob > F = 0.0000
Residual | 2.1042e+09 307 6854198.34 R-squared = 0.5547
-------------+------------------------------ Adj R-squared = 0.5344
Total | 4.7252e+09 321 14720320.1 Root MSE = 2618.1
-------------+------------------------------
ch_inc | Coef. Std. Err. t P>|t| [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+------------------------------
age | 549.6742 91.1703 6.03 0.000 370.2768 729.0716
age2 | -6.748161 1.224427 -5.51 0.000 -9.157493 -4.33883
d_single | -19.4951 360.7604 -0.05 0.957 -666.7642 485.8090
d_male | -90.21627 293.0028 -0.31 0.758 -666.7642 485.8090
d_lowedu | 310.9895 418.2509 0.74 0.458 -512.0117 1133.991
M_dem1 | 0.0508143 .0685185 0.74 0.459 -0.0840111 .1856396
```

185
m_quo1 | -.0509573 .0828613 -.0509573 .0828613
kmbkk | 2.031537 1.118307 2.031537 1.118307
d_border | -23.3317 392.7 -23.3317 392.7
dummy2 | 118.8713 679.4069 118.8713 679.4069
dummy3 | 1532.599 688.8018 1532.599 688.8018
dummy4 | 159.6225 965.8023 159.6225 965.8023
_cons | -10742.31 1563.46 -10742.31 1563.46

Residuals Plot

VIF to check for multicolinearity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>VIF</th>
<th>1/VIF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>age</td>
<td>56.74</td>
<td>0.017623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age2</td>
<td>52.07</td>
<td>0.019204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m_quo1</td>
<td>21.72</td>
<td>0.046042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m_dem1</td>
<td>21.31</td>
<td>0.046933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dummy4</td>
<td>8.58</td>
<td>0.116580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kmbkk</td>
<td>5.83</td>
<td>0.171567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dummy2</td>
<td>4.37</td>
<td>0.228993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dummy3</td>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>0.321437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d_upedu</td>
<td>2.92</td>
<td>0.342851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndus</td>
<td>2.76</td>
<td>0.362251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d_lowedu</td>
<td>1.98</td>
<td>0.504236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d_single</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>0.654446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d_border</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>0.751980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d_male</td>
<td>1.01</td>
<td>0.991822</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Mean VIF | 13.23 |

GLS Results
Linear regression Number of obs = 322
F(13, 308) = 32.48  
Prob > F = 0.0000  
R-squared = 0.5541  
Root MSE = 2615.4

| Robust  
ch_inc | Coef. Std. Err. T P>|t| [95% Conf. Interval]  
|---------|------------------|---------|-----------------|------------------|  
| age | 548.2521 80.78375 6.79 0.000 389.2942 707.2099  
age2 | -6.733871 1.159515 -5.81 0.000 -9.015444 -4.452298  
d_single | -924.9102 318.0947 -2.91 0.004 -1550.824 -298.9964  
d_male | -90.8589 297.2412 -0.31 0.760 -675.7392 494.0214  
d_lowedu | 312.2596 324.2789 0.96 0.336 -325.8227 950.3419  
d_upedu | 3837.426 490.8113 7.82 0.000 2871.659 4803.194  
m_dem1 | .0102541 .0183715 0.56 0.577 -.0258954 .0464036  
ndus | -21.26243 12.70973 -1.67 0.095 -46.27132 3.746455  
kmbkk | 2.196235 .8774459 2.50 0.013 .4698879 3.922781  
d_border | 23.39881 347.9042 0.07 0.946 -661.171 707.9686  
dummy2 | -54.9551 571.7532 -0.10 0.923 -1179.992 1070.081  
dummy3 | 1484.75 652.8642 2.27 0.013 200.1117 2769.388  
dummy4 | 14.11743 652.8642 0.02 0.987 -1681.928 1710.163  
_cons | -10730.99 1336.728 -8.03 0.000 -13361.26 -8100.718

Robust Regression with clustered  
Linear regression Number of obs = 322  
F(2, 3) = .  
Prob > F = .  
R-squared = 0.5340  
Number of clusters (region) = 4 Root MSE = 2660.9

| Robust  
ch_inc | Coef. Std. Err. t P>|t| [95% Conf. Interval]  
|---------|------------------|---------|-----------------|------------------|  
| age | 551.4753 46.24288 11.93 0.001 404.3099 698.6408  
age2 | -6.773451 .9219299 -7.35 0.005 -9.70444 -3.839459  
d_single | -933.141 217.4216 -4.29 0.023 -1625.074 -241.2084  
d_male | -110.8853 143.0485 -0.77 0.464 -366.2567 344.4861  
d_lowedu | 221.3664 195.1074 1.13 0.339 -399.5524 842.2851  
d_upedu | 3559.714 446.1894 7.98 0.004 2139.74 4979.687  
m_dem1 | .005296 .0249549 0.21 0.846 -.0741216 .0847136  
ndus | -18.11838 14.0489 -1.29 0.205 -62.82824 26.59147  
kmbkk | 2.37812 .3464449 6.86 0.006 1.275578 3.480663  
d_border | 37.3433 599.8423 -0.13 0.908 -1894.309 1833.623  
_cons | -10510.87 1185.897 -8.86 0.003 -14284.92 -6736.816

Robust regression with weight least square  
Robust regression Number of obs = 322  
F(13, 308) = 37.10  
Prob > F = 0.0000
| Variable  | Coef.  | Std. Err. | t     | P>|t|  | [95% Conf. Interval] |
|-----------|--------|-----------|-------|------|-----------------------|
| age       | 514.49 | 75.41     | 6.82  | 0.00 | 366.10 - 662.88       |
| age2      | -6.27  | 1.01      | -6.19 | 0.00 | -8.26 - -4.27         |
| d_single  | -605.7 | 298.36    | -2.03 | 0.04 | -1192.8 - 18.63       |
| d_male    | 352.08 | 242.44    | 1.45  | 0.15 | -124.96 - 829.21      |
| d_lowedu  | 393.92 | 346.07    | 1.14  | 0.26 | -8.26 - 1074.84       |
| d_upedu   | 3359.04| 438.50    | 7.66  | 0.00 | 2496.22 - 4221.85     |
| m_dem1    | 0.01   | 0.01      | 0.68  | 0.49 | -0.02 - 0.04          |
| indus     | -17.4  | 11.63     | -1.50 | 0.14 | -40.29 - 5.49         |
| kmbkk     | 1.68   | 0.89      | 1.87  | 0.07 | -0.08 - 3.45          |
| d_border  | -118.1 | 318.79    | -0.37 | 0.71 | -745.35 - 509.21      |
| dummy2    | 336.86 | 511.19    | 0.66  | 0.51 | -669.02 - 1342.74     |
| dummy3    | 1768.5 | 566.29    | 3.12  | 0.00 | 654.19 - 2882.75      |
| dummy4    | 1146.9 | 774.78    | 1.48  | 0.14 | -377.61 - 2671.45     |
| _cons     | -10773.7| 1293.56  | -8.33 | 0.00 | -13319.01 - 8228.35   |

* * *
Track 5:
Community Health
A Case Control Study on Environmental Sanitation Deficit and The Diarrheal Disease in Semi Urban Community, Pathumthani Province, Thailand

Chandrasiri P.P.A.A 1, Wangsuphachart V 2, Sirivichayakul C 3, Limkittikul K 4, and Kaewprasert S 5*****

Background and rationale
Sanitation is fundamental for better health. In year 2002, there were 2.6 billion people without even the most basic sanitation facilities. Providing improved sanitation for an additional 1.8 billion from 2002 to 2015 will achieve the Millennium Development Goal target to halve the proportion unserved by 2015. In 2004, only 59% of the world population had access to any improved sanitation facility. (Meeting the MDG, 2006.)

Disease burden from unsafe water, sanitation and hygiene (WSH) was estimated at the global level, diarrheal diseases were accounting the highest disease outcomes (Murray, Lopez, & Mathers, 2004). The risk factors are ingestion of unsafe water, contact with unsafe water, lack of water linked to inadequate hygiene, poor personal and domestic hygiene and agricultural practices, and inadequate development and management of water resources or water systems. Poverty is also a risk factor for diarrheal diseases.

About 94% of all cases of diarrhea around the world were attributable to the environment, resulting in more than 1.5 million deaths annually, mainly in children. (Pruss-Ustun & Corvalan, 2006, pp. 65 - 70) In year 2000-2003 more than 2000 lives lost every day. South Asia mortality was also very high, 683 000 children under 5 years of age die each year by diarrheal diseases. In year 2000-2003, 17% of death worldwide among children less than five years was due to diarrheal diseases. (Water for Life, 2005).

Infection is the most common cause of acute diarrhea, and is related to environmental conditions including poor sanitation and hygiene, unsafe water supplies, inadequate sewage disposal and poor education. The key reservoirs of human enteropathogens are food, water and other humans. Certain human infective agents are carried by animals such as salmonellosis, campylobacteriosis, giardiasis and cryptosporidiosis. Domestic water supplies, swimming pools, inland freshwater and sea water, lakes and rivers also harbour enteropathogens. Faecal-oral transmission is the main route by which these infections are spread and may infect either through ingestion of contaminated food or fluids or by direct person-to-person contact (Pruss-Ustun et al., 2006).

In Thailand, diarrhea remains an important cause of childhood morbidity and mortality. It is one of the top ten diseases with highest morbidity and mortality rate under surveillance. Even though diarrhea-related mortality has declined morbidity has remained stable (Thailand Environmental, 2004). However, true burden of diarrheal disease in Thailand

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4 Assistant Professor, Department of Tropical Pediatric, Faculty of Tropical Medicine, Mahidol University
5 Lecturer, Department of Tropical Nutrition & Food Science, Faculty of Tropical Medicine, Mahidol University
is likely greatly underestimated. (Jiraphongsa, Bresee, Pongsuwanna, Kluabwang, Poonawagul, Arporntip et al., 2005)

Diarrhoea, the leading cause of illness in Thailand, is a preventable disease with provision of safe, adequate water supply and sanitation facilities. (Thailand Environmental, 2004.) Changes in domestic hygiene behaviour was also very important for the prevention of diarrheal diseases (Strina, Cairncross, Barreto, Larrea, & Prado, 2003).

**Objective**

This study was designed to investigate the impact of several environmental sanitation deficits and factors associated with the occurrence of acute diarrhea as well as household hygiene among community living in the canal network area, Pathumthani province, Thailand.

**Methodology**

**Study population**

The study was conducted in ten villages situated adjacent to irrigation Canal One (Klong Neung), Klong Luang district of Pathumthani province, Thailand. Those ten villages belong to the administration area of Klong Neung (Canal One) health center. During the field survey performed from August to September 2008, it had been noticed that the vicinity of canal was densely populated with poor environmental sanitation and socioeconomically underdeveloped community. Most working individuals living nearby the canals were belonged to different ethnic groups and many were informally employed or illegal workers.

Water in canal one was highly polluted with municipal, agricultural and industrial wastewater. Though people in this area use canal water for bathing, washing, fishing, swimming, and growing vegetables, the canal water was only suitable for transportation due to the high concentration of pathogens and pollution load. Estimated annual risk of diarrheal disease due to infection by *Cryptosporidium* and *Giardia* parasites were 120 fold greater than the reported disease incidence in this area. Highest numbers of cases were reported in the most polluted Canal One area. It is important to note that 70% of diarrheal cases were unreported in this area. Reported cases of diarrhea represent only a fraction of infected individuals who have been admitted to the health care centers or hospitals after onset of severe diarrhea (Diallo, Anceno, Tawatsupa, Houpt, Wangsuphachart, Shipin et al., 2008).

**Sample size**

Sample size was calculated assuming: 1) probability of type I error (alpha value) = 0.05; 2) value of the standard normal distribution 0.84 corresponding to power of the test 80% [probability of type II error (beta value) = 0.10]; 3) proportion of exposure among controls = 0.1 (Heller, Colosimo, & Antunes, 2003) proportion of exposure among cases = 0.3 (Heller et al., 2003). Controls per case = 2. Sample size calculation was done, using a formula for multiple controls per cases (Schlesselman JJ,1982, pp. 145-152). Total of 48 cases and 96 controls were recruited in this study.

**Case selection**

Cases were defined as, residents in the administration area of Klong Neung health center, visited the Klong Neung health center with acute diarrhea during 1st of December 2007 to 30th of November 2008. According to the medical records, patients with a frequency of diarrhea 5 times or more for a day or diarrhea with blood and mucous in stool or diarrhea that required hospital admission or diarrhea that lasted more than one week or diarrhea that caused absence from school or work, were recruited as case.
Control selection
Two age-matched neighborhood controls were selected from the two nearest houses to the residence of the cases with no history of episodes and symptoms of the disease as described for the cases above during the same time frame.

Data collection
Spot-check observations and questionnaire interview among the study subject were conducted by the trained student helpers from the Faculty of Public Health, Mahidol University and village health volunteers. Face-to-face questionnaire interview was used to get the baseline information. On 22 specific hygienic indicators under four sections - drinking water, household hygiene, latrine and food hygiene were observed to determine the sanitation deficit and household hygiene. Each item was scored as 0 or 1, with 1 representing a positive indicator. Curtis, Cairncross, & Yonli (2000) reported that spot check observations were effective method to assess the household hygiene because it is less intensive, less time consuming, more economical and less reactive.

Data analysis
Data were entered and analyzed using SPSS for Windows version 16. Descriptive statistics was used to describe demographic data and spot check observations. To contrast the cases and the controls chi-square test and Fisher’s exact test were employed. Logistic regression was performed to assess the association between hygienic indicators and the occurrence of diarrhea. Two tailed Independent T test was used to compare the means of positive observations with $P$-value <0.05 as statistically significant.

Findings
Fifty six percent of diarrheal cases were children under the age of five years. That is consistent with the study, done by Pruss-Ustun et al., (2006) that indicated children under the age of five years live in the developing countries have higher morbidity from diarrheal diseases due to unsafe water, sanitation and hygiene.

Heller (2003) discussed that Environmental factors, poor hygienic practices, lack of appropriate public services and social determinants play an important role in transmission of diarrheal disease.

Table 1 shows the frequency distribution of the observed hygienic indicators with the respective $p$ values and odds ratio. With univariate analysis, presence of garbage inside and outside the houses, presence of waste water in patio/around house, presence of flies in house/cooking area, presence of unrestrained animals and faeces in patio/house and kept cooked food uncovered were significantly different between cases and controls.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Observed hygienic indicators</th>
<th>Case (%)</th>
<th>Control (%)</th>
<th>$p$</th>
<th>Odds ratio (95% CI)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exterior drinking water container</td>
<td>18/22</td>
<td>25/27</td>
<td>0.388</td>
<td>0.36 (0.06-2.18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>covered</td>
<td>(81.8)</td>
<td>(92.6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interior drinking water container</td>
<td>44/47</td>
<td>90/94</td>
<td>0.583</td>
<td>0.65 (0.14-3.04)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>covered</td>
<td>(93.6)</td>
<td>(95.7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garbage outside house</td>
<td>34/48</td>
<td>44/96</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>2.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(70.8)</td>
<td>(45.8)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garbage inside house</td>
<td>17/48</td>
<td>18/96</td>
<td>0.028</td>
<td>2.37 (1.08-5.19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(35.4)</td>
<td>(18.8)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observed hygienic indicators</td>
<td>Case (%)</td>
<td>Control (%)</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>Odds ratio (95% CI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use garbage bins outside</td>
<td>35/48 (72.9)</td>
<td>72/96 (75.0)</td>
<td>0.787</td>
<td>0.90 (0.41-1.97)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside garbage bins are covered</td>
<td>9/35 (25.7)</td>
<td>15/72 (20.8)</td>
<td>0.570</td>
<td>1.32 (0.51-3.39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use garbage bins inside</td>
<td>34/48 (70.8)</td>
<td>74/96 (77.1)</td>
<td>0.414</td>
<td>0.72 (0.33-1.58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inside garbage bins are covered</td>
<td>14/34 (41.2)</td>
<td>29/74 (39.2)</td>
<td>0.845</td>
<td>1.09 (0.47-2.48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unrestrained animal in patio/house</td>
<td>25/48 (52.1)</td>
<td>30/96 (31.2)</td>
<td>0.015</td>
<td>2.39 (1.17-4.87)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flies in patio/house</td>
<td>29/48 (60.4)</td>
<td>35/96 (36.5)</td>
<td>0.006</td>
<td>2.66 (1.30-5.47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waste water in patio/around house</td>
<td>26/48 (54.2)</td>
<td>27/96 (28.1)</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>3.02 (1.46-6.21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faeces in the patio/house</td>
<td>5/48 (10.4)</td>
<td>1/96 (1.0)</td>
<td>0.016</td>
<td>11.0 (1.25-97.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the latrine water is available for cleaning</td>
<td>48/48 (100)</td>
<td>94/96 (97.9)</td>
<td>0.552</td>
<td>1.51 (1.34-1.67)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flies inside latrine</td>
<td>8/48 (16.7)</td>
<td>10/96 (10.4)</td>
<td>0.296</td>
<td>1.72 (0.63-4.68)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dirty paper in and around latrine</td>
<td>4/48 (8.3)</td>
<td>4/96 (4.2)</td>
<td>0.441</td>
<td>2.09 (0.50-8.75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faeces in and around latrine</td>
<td>3/48 (6.2)</td>
<td>2/96 (2.1)</td>
<td>0.333</td>
<td>3.13 (0.50-19.41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have place for hand washing in the toilet</td>
<td>17/48 (35.4)</td>
<td>50/96 (52.1)</td>
<td>0.059</td>
<td>0.51 (0.75-1.03)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap available for hand washing in the toilet</td>
<td>12/48 (25)</td>
<td>38/96 (39.6)</td>
<td>0.083</td>
<td>0.51 (0.24-1.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap available for hand washing in the kitchen</td>
<td>15/48 (31.5)</td>
<td>36/96 (37.5)</td>
<td>0.460</td>
<td>0.76 (0.36-1.58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooked foods are not covered</td>
<td>14/48 (29.2)</td>
<td>11/96 (11.5)</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td>3.18 (1.31-7.70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clean dishes are covered</td>
<td>16/48 (33.3)</td>
<td>47/96 (49.0)</td>
<td>0.075</td>
<td>0.52 (0.25-1.07)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flies in cooking area</td>
<td>29/48 (60.4)</td>
<td>38/96 (39.6)</td>
<td>0.018</td>
<td>2.33 (1.14-4.73)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the present study, 72.9% of cases and 75% controls had outside garbage bins and 70.8% cases and 77.1% controls had inside garbage bins. Although the majority of cases and the controls use garbage bins inside and outside their houses, it has been observed that 70.8% cases and 45.8% controls had garbage outside their houses and 35.4% cases and 18.8% controls had garbage inside their houses. Presences of garbage in and around the houses were significantly different among cases and controls whereas 58.8% cases and 60.8% controls did not close their inside garbage bins and 74.3% cases and 79.2% controls did not cover their outside garbage bins (Table 1). In previous studies it has been noted that Inadequate management of domestic garbage associate with the occurrence of diarrhea (Heller et al., 2003). Findings of the present study are compatible with the result of previous studies. Public
awareness and social services are important in the management of solid waste to control diarrheal disease.

Animal faeces have been shown to harbour a number of organisms that may also be infective to humans such as certain *Salmonellae, Campylobacter* and *Cryptosporidium*. Avoid contacting with animal faeces is important in prevention of transmission of diarrhea (Curtis et al., 2000). In this study it has been observed that 10.4% of cases and 1% controls had faeces in the patio/around the house (p<0.05). Presence of animals in patio/houses was significantly different between two groups. Unrestrained animals were observed in 52% of cases and 31.2% controls (Table 1).

In this study it has been observed that presence of waste water and faeces in patio/around the houses of cases and controls were significantly different. Flies were observed in 60.4% of case houses and 39.6% of controls (p<0.05). Presence of flies in the latrine was not significant (Table 1). In a previous study Curtis et al., (2000) also suggested that flies are a source of diarrheal disease and presence of waste water and solid waste attract flies and provide breeding places. Animal dung in the environment also encourages fly proliferation.

Water that is free of pathogenic agents at the source may become contaminated with faecal material in the private domain as it is carried home, stored and use (Curtis et al., 2000). It has been observed that 93.6% cases and 95.7% controls keep covered interior water storage containers. 87.8% of both controls and cases covered the exterior storage containers (Table 1).

Table 2 shows comparison of means of positive observations between cases and controls. Mean value of positive observations in controls were higher than the cases. (p<0.05). This significant difference implied that there was a sanitation deficit between the houses of cases and controls.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>P-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Case</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>13.65</td>
<td>4.169</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>16.64</td>
<td>3.694</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Heller et al., (2003) indicated that superficial presence of waste water is a risk factor for the occurrence of diarrheal. Similar result was observed in the present study. Waste water in patio or around the house were observed in 54.2% of cases and 28.1% of controls with significant difference (p<0.05). After the multivariate adjustment (variables are shown in the Table 3) waste water in patio or around the house was associated with the occurrence of diarrhea. The transmission route of diarrheal diseases due to presence of waste water was not described in the previous studies. Safe food storage is important to break the one of the transmission routes of diarrheal pathogens from stool to new host (Curtis et al, 2000). In this study differences were observed between cases and controls in the manner in which cooked food were stored. Uncovered cooked foods were observed in 29.2% of cases and 11.5% controls with significant difference. (P<0.05). After adjusting for other factors, kept cooked food uncovered was associated with the occurrence of diarrhea (Table 3).
Table 3: Association between hygienic factors and occurrence of diarrhea

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Observed hygienic indicator</th>
<th>Odds ratio (95% CI)</th>
<th>p value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Presence of garbage outside house</td>
<td>2.08 (0.77-5.59)</td>
<td>0.148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use garbage bins outside</td>
<td>0.63 (0.23-1.73)</td>
<td>0.369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use garbage bins inside</td>
<td>0.72 (0.28-1.87)</td>
<td>0.498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No unrestrained animal in patio/house</td>
<td>2.20 (0.93-5.22)</td>
<td>0.072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flies in patio/house</td>
<td>1.72 (0.67-4.44)</td>
<td>0.260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waste water in patio/around house</td>
<td>2.61 (1.08-6.34)</td>
<td>0.034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Flies inside latrine</td>
<td>0.45 (0.13-1.63)</td>
<td>0.221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dirty paper in and around latrine</td>
<td>1.94 (0.39-9.74)</td>
<td>0.420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No place for hand washing in the toilet</td>
<td>2.64 (1.08-6.45)</td>
<td>0.033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No soap for hand washing in the kitchen</td>
<td>6.73 (1.73-1.07)</td>
<td>0.504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All cooked foods are not covered</td>
<td>3.17 (1.07-9.43)</td>
<td>0.038</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hand washing with soap and water is a key hygienic behavior to reduce the incidence of diarrhea. It interrupts the transmission of diarrhea causing pathogens (Shahid, Huq, & Rahman, 1996). Sheth, & Obrah (2004) indicated that hand washing with soap and water can reduce the incidence of diarrhea significantly. Curtis et al., (2000) concluded that availability of water and soap encourages the hand washing. In this study it has been observed that 100% of cases and 97.9% controls had water in the latrine whereas 64.6% of cases and 47.9% controls did not have a place for hand washing in the latrine ($P = 0.033$). In addition 75% of cases and 60.4% of controls did not have soap in the latrine ($P = 0.083$). Curtis et al., (2000) pointed out not only hand washing is important as a primary barrier to remove faecal matter after contact with stool but also as a secondary barrier before preparing food, handling fluids, feeding and eating. Knowledge as well as the cost of soap also limits the hand washing. Therefore it is very important to emphasize when hand washing is most needed for health protection. In this study it has been observed large proportion of cases (68.8%) and controls (62.5%) did not use soap for hand washing in the kitchen although there was no meaningful association as mentioned in the previous study.

Following 11 spot-check observations were used to develop a household hygienic index. The indicators included: interior drinking water container covered, presence of garbage in and outside the house, presence of animal in patio/house, presence of flies in patio/house, stagnant waste water in patio/around house, presence of faeces in patio/house, water availability in the latrine, soap for hand washing in the kitchen, cook foods were covered, presence of flies in cooking area. A simple hygiene index was created by summing up scores for all items. A categorical variable was created based on the distribution of index scores. Total score was classified into three groups wherein households with 0-5, 6-8 and 9-11 score were
classified poor, average and good, respectively (Ruel, & Arimond, 2006). Household hygienic index was poor in cases whereas controls have moderate household hygienic index with significant difference (Table 4).

### Table 4: Level of hygienic status of household hygiene between cases and controls

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>category</th>
<th>case</th>
<th>control</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>56.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>29.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Guatemala, Webb, Stein, Ramakrishnan, Hertzberg, Urizar, & Martorell (2006) had observed hygiene behaviours of 588 households using spot check observations and showed that scores on the different hygiene indices deteriorate over time due to changes in family size or structure, changes in socioeconomic status, or increasing child age. In the present study diarrhea cases were reported during December 2007 to November 2008. Spot check observations were performed in January and February 2009. According to Webb (2006), observed household hygiene might have changed over time.

### Conclusion

There are multiple determinants for the transmission of diarrhea. A consistent relationship between occurrence of diarrhea and poor household hygiene and environmental sanitation was detected. Improper solid waste and waste water disposal, presence of animals and faeces in the house encourage the fly proliferation. Improvements in environmental sanitation can interrupt the transmission route of diarrheal diseases. Hygienic behaviors like proper storage of cooked food and hand washing after using toilet and before preparing food should be encourage.

### Recommendation

Implication for action lies in two domains. In the private domain the process of acquisition of the means of waste water disposal and in the manner in which cooked food storage must be given higher priority. Other than that, hygiene promotion should focus on effective hand washing, fly control and to keep animals away from the houses. Public domain must continue to improve waste water and solid waste management and establish intervention programs in the field of environmental sanitation.

### References


Using Microfinance to Mitigate the Economic Impact of HIV and AIDS

Sovannary Tuot 1

Rationale

Context: The HIV epidemic in Cambodia

In recent years Cambodia has seen a significant decrease in HIV prevalence, which has fallen from an estimated 2% of the adult population at its peak in 1998 to 0.9% of the adult population in 2006 (NCHADS, 2007). At the same time, implementation of the continuum of care for people living with HIV has enabled more people to access antiretroviral therapy (ART) which can stabilize their health status. Against this background, there is an increasing need for the response to HIV and AIDS in Cambodia to focus on broader impact mitigation, including livelihoods opportunities for families affected by HIV.

KHANA’s role in the Cambodian response to HIV

The Khmer HIV/AIDS NGO Alliance (KHANA) is the largest national, non-governmental organization to provide HIV prevention, care and treatment services in Cambodia. KHANA works in 17 of Cambodia’s 24 provinces and municipalities and works through over 60 local NGO implementing partners. KHANA supports its partners to work on care, support and impact mitigation with PLHIV and orphans and vulnerable children as well as promoting HIV prevention with men who have sex with men, drug users, sex workers, entertainment workers, garment factory workers, married couples and young people.

Initially established in 1996 as a project of International HIV/AIDS Alliance, KHANA operated as an NGO from 1997 and was officially registered as a local NGO in 2000. Since then it has operated as a linking organization of the International HIV/AIDS Alliance and is one of the most respected and recognized organizations focusing on HIV and AIDS in Cambodia today.

Objectives

The one year pilot suggests microfinance has potential to improve the economic situation of HIV affected families. In order to improve livelihoods opportunities for people living with HIV KHANA initiated a pilot project integrating microfinance and home based care in partnership with a microfinance institution, VisionFund Cambodia.

It should be noted at the outset that the pilot period of one year was too short to deliver what might properly be termed “impacts” of microfinance. However, the results of a survey carried out in order to evaluate the pilot project do highlight positive effects of access to microfinance on the families which took part and contribute to the identification of recommendations for similar future programming in Cambodia.

Methodology

The quantitative and qualitative methodologies were employed. The process of study began in March 2008. In the first week research objectives were identified, data collection

1 Research Coordinator, Khmer HIV/AIDS NGO Alliance
tools were reviewed to assess whether the goals, indicators and questions in the survey answered the research objectives, data collectors were trained to use the Main Impact Survey tool developed by the USAID Assessing the Impact of Micro Enterprise Services-Small Enterprise Education and Promotion (AIMS-SEEP) project. The tool was translated into Khmer and pre-tested. The questionnaire was subsequently refined to reflect the experience of the pre-test.

The data collection team was selected from KHANA volunteers, CARD staff and researchers from the Royal University of Phnom Penh. The study team was accompanied by project implementation staff during fieldwork. The data collection team were coached and supervised by the research consultant and KHANA research coordinator.

Field work was in the project site, located in Tbuong Khmum District, Kampong Cham Province and a sample of 90 clients were interviewed. The sample consisted of 30 HIV affected households with microfinance; 30 HIV affected households without microfinance and 30 non-HIV affected microfinance client. Thirty samples were taken for each subgroup, because in parametric statistics, 30 is generally accepted as the minimum cell size for each strata or subgroup of a simple sample.

The interviews were carried out in respondents’ homes or community meeting places. Data analysis of client interviews was done using SPSS software.

Key informant interviews and focus group discussions (FGD) were also conducted with VisionFund Cambodia management and staff and KT Home Based Care Staff. A desk review of KHANA Technical Support Visit Reports and other relevant documents was also carried out.

**Findings**

**Socio-Demographic Characteristic**

The HIV affected households surveyed as part of the evaluation displayed characteristics which might suggest some additional risk as microfinance clients. Most had a low level of education, with a mean of 2 – 3 years of school completed. The majority of the respondents were women: 77% of HIV affected respondents with microfinance; 83% of HIV affected respondents without microfinance and 97% of non-HIV affected microfinance clients. In regard to the marital status, the majority of non-HIV affected (90%) respondents are married with only 3% having separated or divorced and 7% having been widowed. As might be expected, the situation of HIV and AIDS affected households is very different. Among both groups of HIV and AIDS affected respondents 50% are widowed. Thus, the number of female-headed households is higher among affected households. Fifty six percent of HIV and AIDS affected households which accessed microfinance and 53% of those which did not are headed by a woman, compared with only 10% of other households surveyed. It has been observed that microfinance services targeting women often benefit the entire family, and specifically the children. In microfinance terms, women who have a partner to assist in their IGA and contribute to loan repayment, are expected to be more likely to be able to repay loans. Thus including married women in the target group for the project mitigates risk in VisionFund Cambodia’s portfolio. There is little variation between the mean ages of respondents in the three groups. On average, those from affected households that accessed microfinance were 43 while the average age of those who did not access microfinance was 45 and those who were not from affected households were on average slightly younger, at 40. When respondents are stratified according to age group, 57% of all those who accessed microfinance are in the younger 21–40 age group, compared to 50% of those who did not access microfinance. It is positive that a majority of clients in the project start accessing services while they are in the 21 – 40 age groups, which is the most economically productive
period of their lives. This is an opportunity for clients to maximize their economic potential at a critical period in their lives and an opportunity for the microfinance provider to develop a long-term client base. It is desirable to engage women in microfinance during their most productive years and VisionFund Cambodia could consider introducing age criteria when identifying new clients. However, it should be noted that this may not be practical when targeting microfinance specifically at people from affected households.

Challenges for Affected Households

The survey showed a quite high dependency ratio among affected families. More than half of households had only one adult, usually a woman, working. The less quantifiable burdens of caring for sick relatives or orphans, being bereaved and facing stigma and discrimination might also be expected to be a factor in limiting income generation activities.

Affected Households as Microfinance Clients

During the period of the pilot, the affected households who received loans showed perfect repayment performance and only one respondent in the survey reported difficulties in making loan repayments. While, over the longer term, illness and its associated financial and opportunity costs might be expected to impact on the household economic status including loan repayment, it was also notable that even respondents whose income had fallen over the last 12 months only attributed this to illness in 3% of cases.

Increasing Incomes Through Business Expansion

It is notable that microfinance clients were three times more likely to identify expansion of their existing enterprise, undertaking a new enterprise or being able to invest in inputs as the reason for their improved income than respondents from affected households who did not have access to microfinance. More than half of microfinance clients reported an increase in income. They attributed this to a range of reasons such as starting up or expanding an enterprise, being able to buy inputs for an enterprise and selling their produce at higher prices. Households without microfinance, on the other hand, attributed increases in income to securing paid employment. Microfinance clients were also more likely to report that their savings had increased.

Microfinance and Children’s Education

Microfinance clients reported larger profits from enterprises and were more likely to have been able to undertake a second enterprise as part of their livelihoods strategy. Profit was used primarily to buy food, and secondly, to pay for children’s school expenses. Data on children’s school attendance indicates the premium parents place on education, with a majority of respondents sending their children to school. HIV affected households who had not accessed microfinance were more likely than those who had received loans to report that health-related expenses were a major expenditure.

Increased Household Economic Security

In terms of food security, it appears that families who accessed microfinance were in a better situation. While 87% of HIV affected households accessing loans reported that their food consumption increased or stayed the same, over one third of those who did not access microfinance reported that their families had less to eat.

It is also observed that the impact of microfinance services on clients who have remained in the program for at least two years is that the resulting increase in income also leads to incremental house improvement. While this pilot was only one year in duration, the survey looked at whether microfinance had made any impact on the quality of their housing.
by investigating how many respondents had been able to spend over $50 on improving their house. Given that the pilot had been running for only a year, it was not surprising that only 27% of microfinance clients from HIV affected families and 37% of non-HIV affected microfinance clients reported spending more than USD 50 on improving their home. The types of improvements they made ranged from repairing damaged roofs to installing electricity supply. Those who accessed microfinance appeared to be more likely than others to be able to make such improvements with only 13% of HIV affected families who did not access microfinance able to spend more than USD 50 on home improvements. It was notable that none of the male respondents reported such expenditure; all those who did were women. Home improvement is a significant indicator since this kind of investment is usually not made unless there are substantial increases in the level of income generated by the household. House improvement requires a substantial amount of money and does not take priority for a poor household unless there is both an increased income and confidence that it will be maintained in the future.

Coping Strategies with Crisis

Poor people cope with planned and unplanned events in a number of ways. Many significant life events necessitate poor people accessing substantial sums of money and their planned coping strategies in such eventualities are an indicator of household economic security. As part of the research, respondents were asked to identify sources of money they could tap in times of crisis. Respondents identified a range of strategies for their households in the event of a crisis. It was notable that both HIV affected and non-affected microfinance clients ranked their savings as a preferred source of cash in a crisis, together with mobilizing their social capital by seeking support and loans from neighbors and village leaders. This suggests that people who access microfinance are enabled to save money and have some resources of their own to draw on in the event of an emergency. This distinguishes them from HIV affected households without access to microfinance that identified their first recourse in the event of needing cash in an emergency as seeking a grant from Kasekor Thmey, as well as seeking loans from people around them. Microfinance aims to reduce household insecurity so that client households will not have to resort to liquidating their assets when faced with a crisis. Respondents who had not accessed microfinance were slightly more likely to resort to selling their assets than those who had not. HIV affected respondents who did not access microfinance ranked selling assets fifth in order of preference, while HIV affected respondents with microfinance ranked it seventh and other microfinance clients ranked it eighth. Microfinance providers (MFIs) can help poor households cope with crises by offering products and services that help the poor prepare for and protect themselves against losses. For instance, there is a scope for MFIs to develop a health savings account. Recent qualitative research on savings in Cambodia (ADB, 2007) described how the burden of medical costs when a household member becomes seriously ill can drastically reduce household income. Respondents who participated in focus group discussions reported that they save money in case of emergencies. It seems there is an unmet need for a savings facility for poor people that can help them in case of medical and other emergencies. Another important coping strategy reported by respondents is investment in their social network, creating social capital which they can draw upon when it is their turn to need help. Seeking relief from family, friends, and neighbors is important for households affected by HIV and AIDS, underscoring the importance of eliminating stigma and discrimination.
Livelihood security contributes to ART adherence

KHANA, in partnership with Kasekor Thmey, provides psychosocial and medical support to households with OVC and PLHIV. Medicines are also provided to PLHIV households. During the last 12 months 67% of OVC have received medical support; 53% have received motional and psychological support; and 63% have received other social support. Anti-retroviral therapy (ART) is provided to the small number of OVC who need it. It was reported that only 21% of households received school-related assistance, however it is not clear whether there was any causal relationship with the relatively low school attendance of this group, reported at 53%. Among adults 73% in affected households with microfinance and 87% of those in affected households without microfinance were taking ART. Respondents were asked about adherence to ART. All those accessing microfinance were adhering to their anti-retroviral regime. However two women in the group who did not access microfinance reported not taking their medications. One cited the reason that she was too busy with agricultural work while the other had to sell her ART medications in order to buy food for her family.

Adherence to anti-retroviral therapy was higher among people who accessed microfinance, with 100% reporting that they always took their medication. People on ART who had not accessed microfinance showed slightly lower adherence with two out of fifteen women reporting that they did not take their medication. One cited being busy as a reason while the other reported selling her medication to provide food for the family.

Continuing Impact of Stigma and Discrimination

Stigma and discrimination remain significant and damaging life experiences for PLHIV. As well as creating alienation, stress, loss of confidence and distress, the examples above illustrate that stigma and discrimination can severely limit PLHIV’s livelihoods options. For example, discrimination may discourage would-be entrepreneurs from engaging in otherwise viable IGA. For example, food processing and preparation adds value to agricultural or fisheries products but some PLHIV are reluctant to initiate this IGA in case potential customers refuse to buy food from them. KHANA/KT could look at the experience of the Positive Partnership Program (PPP) in Thailand which is emerging as a promising model to contribute to the two distinct yet complementary goals of poverty alleviation though the provision of micro credit and reduction of stigma and discrimination against people living with HIV through the model of business partnerships between PLHIV and non-PLHIV microfinance clients. While attitudinal research in Cambodia suggests that public attitudes to people living with HIV have become more positive, stigma and discrimination remain a significant issue (NAA, 2007). As part of this evaluation, respondents’ experiences of stigma and discrimination were explored. Despite the efforts spent on creating awareness of HIV and AIDS, 60% of people living with HIV surveyed reported that they had experienced discrimination in varying degrees, ranging from receiving looks of disgust from others to people refusing to buy their products. The experience and fear of stigma and discrimination limited the livelihoods choices of some respondents who reported not selecting some business opportunities because they were afraid other community members would not buy their products.

Conclusion

It is too early to identify the longer-term impact of the pilot on clients, but the survey results showed evidence of increased income and savings among respondents accessing loans. Improvements in household welfare such as food security and housing conditions were reported.
However, the movement out of poverty can be made faster if clients are able to profitably use higher loans. As it is, bottlenecks to such movement are: they are engaged in small projects that could not possibly generate sufficient income to meet the repayment of a large loan; limited sources of income for repayment, such as income only from farming, or a precarious family economic situation; some of the very common loan activities, such as fishing, are very seasonal; and limited commercial opportunities on account of the mostly rural inaccessible communities where the clients are residing, where markets are very undeveloped, demand is limited and transport costs are high.

**Recommendation**

There is a need to sustain the momentum of the positive effects of credit provision among HIV affected households and it is strongly recommended that the pilot should be continued and expanded to further communities where the lessons learned can be applied and built on in order to contribute to longer term sustainable livelihoods development with poor and HIV affected households.

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The Application of a Dengue Community Capacity-Assessment Tool (DCCAT) for Sustainable Community-Based Dengue Prevention and Control

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Background

In Thailand, dengue is a serious public health problem with outbreaks has been taking place for at least 50 years. The National Dengue Control and Prevention Program in Thailand have endorsed a community-based control program, encouraging residents to take responsibility for control activities in their own households. Yet, despite this, at the national level, current dengue prevention and control activities have not had much impact in reducing dengue transmission. The incidence rate of dengue illness has remained high; more than what is deemed acceptable by the Ministry of Public Health which has stated that the morbidity rate should not exceed 20 cases per 100,000 population and the mortality rate less than 0.2% (The 9th Health Care Plan in the 9th National Social and Economic Development Plan 2002-2006). In addition, Southern Thailand has shown a higher dengue morbidity rate than other areas these past ten years (1997-2006) (MoPH, 2007).

Community-based would consist of identifying such elements as setting, targets, agents and resources of intervention (Nguyen, Gauvin, Martineau, & Grignon, 2005). For community-based dengue prevention and control which has a problem with dengue and requires community-based activities for sustainable dengue prevention and control, a new paradigm for changing its epidemiology needs such a community-based program (Guha-Sapir & Schimmer, 2005; Lcung, Yen, & Minkler, 2004). However, community-based dengue prevention and control has been generally shown to be weak (Heintze, Garrido, & Kroeger, 2007). Thus, it is clear that Southern Thailand requires an improved and sustainable dengue prevention and control program.

Sustainability has become one of the most critical concepts of dengue prevention and control. It is a continuing challenge and a major issue, and must be defined according to the characteristics of each specific setting (Spiegel et al., 2005; Swaddiwudhipong et al., 1992). Community capacity building is not only concerned with the large-scale prevention and control of communicable diseases, but is also focused on individual protection within communities (Norton, McKeroy, Burdine, Felix, & Dorsey, 2002). Community capacity building is an intervention process which increases community capacity. This process involves four steps 1) preparation by defining domains and developing the assessment tool, 2) assessment of domains, recording and analyzing, 3) developing a strategic plan and its

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implementation and 4) follow-up and re-assessment by the same assessment tool (Laverack,
2001; NSW, 2001).

Previously, there had been no assessment tool to assess dengue community capacity of sustainable community-based dengue prevention and control. This researcher set out to develop and test this tool to assess community capacity of sustainable community-based dengue prevention and control incorporating both qualitative and quantitative methodology (Burns & Grove, 2001; DeVellis, 2003; Streiner & Norman, 2005) resulting in the final tool entitled the dengue community capacity-assessment tool (DCCAT) for leaders and non-leaders. The dengue community capacity-assessment tool for leaders had a factor analysis yielding 115 items, 14 domains which produced the best fit. The initial Eigenvalue for the leaders domains ranged from 2.06 to 50.39, % of the variance was 27.68 and communality % indicated 14 domains together that explained 57.58% of the variance and a Conbrach’s alpha coefficient of .97. The leaders tool were comprised of the following domains: 1) critical situation management (9 items), 2) personal leadership (12 items), 3) health care provider capacity (8 items), 4) needs assessment (8 items), 5) sense of community (11 items), 6) leader group networking (11-item), 7) communication of dengue information (10-item), 8) community leadership (8-item), 9) religious leader capacity (9-item), 10) leaders group and community networking (7-item), 11) resource mobilization (4-item), 12) dengue working group (6 items), 13) community participation (6 items), and 14) continuing activities (6 items).

The final version of the dengue community capacity-assessment tool for non-leaders categorized 11 domains yielding 83 items through factor analysis which produced the best fit. Initial Eigenvalue for the domains ranged from 2.07 to 52.96, % of the variance which was 32.69 and communality % indicated 11 domains together explaining 57.11% of the variance. The non-leaders tool domains were 1) critical situation management (13 items), 2) personal leadership (8 items), 3) religious leader capacity (10 items), 4) community leadership (8 items), 5) health care provider capacity (6 items), 6) sense of community (8 items), 7) communication of dengue information (7 items), 8) continuing activities (6 items), 9) dengue working group (7 items), 10) resource mobilization (5 items), and 11) needs assessment (4 items).

In conclusion, the dengue community capacity assessment tool (DCCAT) is a new tool to assess community capacity of sustainable community-based dengue prevention and control developed through a qualitative and quantitative method. Although the new assessment tools were validated for content and construct, “translating research results into practice” is a challenging question which remains unanswered in this study of the tool development. The assessment of any tool in a community capacity building process requires assessment and reassessment and raises the following questions. How can the tool be applied for measuring dengue community capacity? How can it be applied in community?

Objective

The objective of this study was to apply a dengue community capacity-assessment tool (DCCAT)

Methodology

The study design used a cross sectional study by community participatory approach in a village in Southern Thailand. The study consisted of the community preparation step, an assessment step, and community consensus step.
1. Community Preparation Step

Setting. A high dengue incidence village of the sub-district was selected using purposive criteria as having had a problem with dengue during the past five years, had carried out dengue prevention and control activities, and was willing to participate in this study. The researcher confirmed the morbidity and mortality rates of dengue from the health care center statistics and the medical official of Nakorn Si Thammarat province. This high dengue incidence village consisted of 473 households, a temple, a primary school, a mosque and two staff of local administrative organization. Initially, the researcher discussed the dengue of problem and its solution with stakeholders in community such as health care workers, village health volunteers, community leaders, religious leaders and local administrative organization representatives.

Sample Size. Stakeholders for dengue prevention and control for conducting were defined with the community leader group determining the data collecting team for gathering data. Participants were based on the two groups of community member in villages. In group 1, there were thirty-two leaders representing stakeholders who demonstrated and built capacity, i.e., officials of the local administrative organization, schools, community leaders and religious leaders who were located in the community, having resided there for more than one year, whose age was 18 or above, were fluent in Thai, and available for this study. Group 2 consisted of 174 non-leaders with the capacity to sustain dengue prevention and control. They represented households in the community and were family health leaders of each household. Both groups were available to participate in the application of the new tool.

Integrating Tool with Entomological Survey. According to the concept of sustainability, community-based prevention and control necessitates conducting dengue interventions, e.g., 1) identifying community capacity, 2) observing positive dengue prevention and control behavior from routine entomological surveys (larval indices) assessed by the Breteau Index (BI), the House Index (HI) and the Container Index (CI), 3) conducting community environment survey and 4) determining the epidemiology index in regards to morbidity and mortality rates as long-term outcomes (Toledo et al., 2007). Thus, dengue community capacity should be viewed as a part of the process and outcome of sustainable community-based dengue control. It was necessary to use not only the assessment tool as the community capacity assessment tool but also three other important survey tools to assess the capacity of the community: the larval indices survey form, the household environment observation form and the reported morbidity and mortality rates.

The DCCAT was composed of four parts as follows:

Part I: General characteristics. This part included questions about the responder’s address, gender, age, educational level, family income per month, occupation, time lived in the community, dengue illness experience, dengue information acquired in the previous year, and time in current community position.

Part II: The Dengue Community Capacity-Assessment Tool (DCCAT) provided separate questionnaires for the dengue community capacity of leader and the dengue community capacity of non-leaders.

Part III: Household Environment Observation Form with open ended questions and a guide for observers of dengue prevention control measures such as covering of water containers, placing Temephos (Abat) sand granule in large water containers, and the destruction of probable mosquito breeding sites.

Part IV: Larval Indices Survey Form, the old form of entomological vector surveillance. A larval survey was undertaken to examine the vectors density levels. The House Index (HI) and Breteau Index (BI) and Container Index (CI) were calculated to indicate the dengue density.
Moreover, five years of supporting data on morbidity and mortality rates and dengue prevention and control projects and activities were collected. The secondary data form was sent to the health care center and the local administrative organization.

*Data Collection Team.* Fifteen village health volunteers took responsibility for implementing dengue activities and responsibility of health care of 15-20 households in the community. The villagers partnered with the village health volunteers in carrying out dengue prevention and control activities. Fifteen village health volunteers were trained by the research team for collecting data and in the participatory process.

2. *Assessment Step*

The researcher prepared for data collection at a village in Nakhorn Si Thammarat Province. The steps were as follows: the researcher introduces herself and presented the objectives of the study to community council representatives, met a health worker for assistance in collecting data and making the objectives of this study understood, obtained consent at the first session of the participants, and collected data of the leaders group, who were representatives selected by was purposive sampling from community leaders, religious leaders, teachers, and local administrative organization officers.

*Data Analysis.* This step followed the collection of measurements in order to evaluate sustainable community-base dengue prevention and control. Both descriptive and inferential statistics were used in this study. Descriptive statistics such as percentage, mean, median, range and standard deviation were used to describe the general characteristics of the leaders and non-leaders groups, and environment characteristics.

*Cut-off Point of Dengue Community Capacity Level.* The dengue community capacity was analyzed with descriptive statistics and divided into domains for both groups. The dengue community capacity of leaders consisted of 115 items in 14 domains. The possible overall mean scores and cut of point were categorized into five levels ranging from 0 - 575 and categorized into five levels ranked with scores of 0 -115 scores as very low, 116 - 230 as low, 231 - 345 as moderate, 346 - 460 as high and 461 - 575 as very high.

The dengue community capacity of non-leaders consisted of 83 items divided among 11 domains. The possible mean score and cut off point scores were categorized into five levels with scores of 0 - 83 ranked as very low, 84 - 166 as low, 167 - 249 as moderate, 250 - 332 as high and 333 - 415 as very high.

*Larval Indices.* Vector surveillance was important in determining the distribution, population density, major larval habitat, spatial and temporal risk factors related to dengue transmission, and levels of insecticide susceptibility or resistance (WHO, 1999). Standard larval surveys (Focks, 2004) as epidemiologic indicators of dengue transmission should be viewed with caution. The larval indices involved three traditional indicators: House index (HI) - percentage of houses infested with larvae and/or pupae; Container index (CI) - percentage of water-holding containers infested with larvae or pupae; and Breteau index (BI) - number of positive containers per 100 houses inspected. The guideline of larval indices evaluated as being of low risk is according to the Breteau Index (BI) <5, House Index (HI) <10 and Container Index (CI) <1 (Ministry of Public Health, 2007).

3. *Community Consensus Step*

Community consensus was workshops of the dengue leaders group and supporting team, the researcher and other stakeholders who were involved in dengue prevention and control of community. Defining priorities for prevention and control activities, they discussed the results of assessment and characteristics of the causes of the problem. The charring community’s opinions focused on sharing dengue information, dengue prevention and control activities and resources.
Findings

To confirm the application of the new tools, the findings consisted of characteristics of participants, level of dengue community capacity, household environment and larval indices, and the practical guidelines of using the tool.

Characteristics of Participants

The age of the participants ranged from 18 to 60 years old, with the average age of the non-leaders 49.80 years (SD = 14.54) and the leaders 50.72 years (SD=14.30). The average monthly income of families of the non-leaders was 5292.53 baht (SD= 4057.07) and the leaders group was 11,790.63 baht (SD=13,044.44). The non-leaders group had an average residency in the community 27.75 years (SD= 18.56) and the leaders group 34.88 years (SD= 20.38). The least dengue education time in the past 12 month of the non-leaders group averaged .33 time (SD=.87) and 1.19 time (SD=2.42). The characteristics of both groups were that almost all of the 32 leaders and 174 non-leaders were female (77.0%, 90.6%), Buddhist (54%, 78.1%), married (75.3%, 62.5%), with an elementary education (53.4%, 28.1%), unskilled labor (28.7%, 28.1%), and having had the experience of dengue (25.3%, 34.4%). Almost half (50%) of the leaders, but few (16.1%) of non-leaders had received information about dengue in the past 12 months. Almost all individuals in the leaders group occupied positions in the community with 24 as village health volunteers (75%), community club members (15.6%) and teachers (15.6%).

The Level of Dengue Community Capacity

The Dengue Community Capacity-Assessment Tool (DCCAT) is divided into two sub-tools: the dengue community capacity of non-leaders and dengue community capacity of leaders.

The Level of Dengue Community Capacity of Leaders

The 32 leaders demonstrated a high level of community capacity level (X̄=30.34, SD= 58.82 and 95% CI=339.26-381.68). One of 14 domains of DCCL, the “sense of community domain, was very high (X̄=44.31, SD=6.45 and 95%CI=41.98-46.64). Half of the domains (7 domains) were at a “high level” and nearly half (6 domains) were at “moderate level” as shown in Table 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domains of Leaders</th>
<th>Dengue Community Capacity of leader (N= 32)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X̄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L1: Critical situation management</td>
<td>30.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L2: Personal leadership</td>
<td>40.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L3: Health care provider capacity</td>
<td>27.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L4: Needs assessment</td>
<td>25.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L5: Sense of community</td>
<td>44.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L6: Leader group networking</td>
<td>34.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L7: Communication of dengue information</td>
<td>25.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L8: Community leadership</td>
<td>22.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L9: Religious leader capacity</td>
<td>21.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L10: Leader group and community networking</td>
<td>23.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L11: Resource mobilization</td>
<td>9.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L12: Dengue working group</td>
<td>16.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L13: Community leader participation</td>
<td>17.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L14: Continuing activities</td>
<td>19.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>360.47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Level of Dengue Community Capacity of Non-leaders

The 174 non-leaders showed a total community capacity level at the “moderate level” (\( \bar{X}=205.66, SD=60.09 \) and 95%CI=196.67-214.65), two domains were at a “low level”, the religious leader capacity domain (\( \bar{X}=16.51, SD=11.04 \) and 95%CI=14.85-18.16) and the communication of dengue information domain (\( \bar{X}=12.97, SD=8.90 \) and 95%CI=11.63-14.30).

Table 16 Level of dengue community capacity of non-leaders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain label</th>
<th>Dengue Community Capacity of Non leader (N=174)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( \bar{X} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NL1: Critical situation management</td>
<td>33.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NL2: Personal leadership</td>
<td>20.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NL4: Community leadership</td>
<td>18.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NL5: Health care provider capacity</td>
<td>17.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NL6: Sense of community</td>
<td>29.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NL7: Communication of dengue</td>
<td>12.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NL8: Continuing activities</td>
<td>15.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NL9: Dengue working group</td>
<td>17.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NL10: Resources mobilization</td>
<td>10.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NL11: Needs assessment</td>
<td>13.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>205.66</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Household Environment

The characteristics of habitat consisted of house distribution, housing type, materials used to build the house, house surroundings and community characteristics. The 206 households consisted of 174 non-leader households and 32 leader households. Most houses were scattered (68.0%) and were single houses. Half of housing types (46.6%) were single-storey houses with low basements. The most common materials used to build the houses (68.4%) were Wood with concrete. Half the people in community (50.5%) had houses surrounding tidy disposal discarded containers. Most people (44.7%) resided in a rural area near a market.

Larval Indices

The larval survey was conducted to determine types of containers and larval indices. A total number of 2269 containers were sampled covering the community area and 372 (16%) were found to be positive with larvae. Of these, the greatest percentage of containers positive for larvae inspected, 38% were of discarded containers surrounding domiciles, 15% waste water, and 14% drinking water. The results showed that the total number of houses inspected were 206 houses with 75 found to be positive for larvae. The larval indices of the community were BI = 185%, HI = 37 %, and CI = 16 %, higher than the standard level (BI<50, HI<10, and CI=0) (WHO, 1999).

A Practical Guideline of Using the Dengue Community Capacity-Assessment Tool (DCCAT)

The practical guideline of using the DCCAT is based on community participatory approach. It consisted of five steps, namely, community preparation, assessment, community hearing, planning and implement, and reassessment.
Community Preparation Step

The community preparation step consisted of consulting and discussing, setting up of the Dengue Leader Group (DLG) and the dengue support team.

1) Consultation and discussions were held with the formal leaders of the sub-district i.e. health care workers, local administrative organization officers, and the formal community leaders. Morbidity and mortality of dengue from secondary for the past 5 years were discussed and a consensus of solutions of the problems reached.

2) Setting up the “Dengue Leader Group” (DLG) as the key group for conducting dengue prevention and control consisting of volunteers with available time for dengue activities. The DLG included individuals from the leaders and non-leaders groups.

3) The dengue support team consisted of health workers, local administrative organization officers, and religious leaders.

Assessment Step

This step comprised collecting data, estimating sample size, assessing data and data analysis.

1) Collecting data team. The village health volunteers were given training in data gathering skills, describing the objectives of the study and the benefits of the results of the plan and of implementing dengue prevention and control.

2) Estimating sample size of leaders and non-leaders. The number of participants based on the context of the community.

3) Assessing data with DCCAT. The format consisted of 4 parts: (1) general characteristics, (2) two dengue community capacity-assessment questionnaires, one for the leaders (consisting of 14 domains and 115 items) and the other for non-leaders (11 domains and 83 items), (3) household environment observation and (4) larval indices survey form.

4) Data analysis followed the assessment format. The level of dengue community capacity of leaders and non-leaders had clear cut-off points of mean scores of each domain and total score.

Community Consensus step

This step involved a discussion among the DLG, support team and other stakeholders. The results of data collection can be used in this step as a base for planning and setting strategies for dengue prevention and control. Plans and implement of dengue prevention and control, and reassessment were proposed in this step. The study comprised only three steps, but the two additional steps, plan and implement, and reassessment, were offered by the community as the required next step for building community capacity for sustainable dengue prevention and control. All steps are shown in Figure 1.
A practical guidelines for using the DCCAT to assess community capacity of sustainable community-based dengue prevention and control

According to the representative of an entomology survey, for a sample size of a large community of more than 300 households, one should use approximately 10% and a simple random sampling, or 100 households (WHO, 1999). Consequently, this study selected a non-leaders group of at least 100 households. The leaders group was composed of at least 30 representatives selected by purposive technique of community leaders, religious leaders, teachers, and local administrative organization officers. However, in practical terms for building community capacity, this number of participants could cover the entire area in the community. The results of high larval index (HI=37%) were consonant with the household environment survey in that half of the total households (50.5%) were surrounded by disposable and discarded containers. It is clear that the capability of dengue prevention and control in households has an important impact on curtailment of mosquito breeding places. Thus, both leaders and non-leaders should be building capacity based on the level of dengue community capacity domains.
In order to achieve the sustainability of community-based dengue prevention and control, the application of the dengue community capacity-assessment tool can confirm the level of dengue community capacity of leaders and non-leaders and can provide a possible practical guideline of using tool. The total level of the community capacity of leaders was high whereas the level of non-leaders was moderate. In each of the domains of community capacity, almost 7 domains of the leaders were high and 6 were moderate, and the sense of community domains of the leader was at a very high level. By the same token, the level of the capacity of non-leaders was at moderate level with almost 9 of 11 domains at that level. The 2 low level non-leaders domains were “Communication of dengue information domain” and “Religious leader capacity domain”. Toledo (Toledo et al., 2007) pointed out that achieving sustainability of community-based dengue control is dependent upon an intensified community-based intervention such as resource mobilization, participation, leadership, linkage of groups in the community. Laverack (Laverack, 2003) suggested that information from one person to others be presented as a challenge during implementation of building capable communities in health promotion. Gubler and Clark (Gubler & Clark, 1996) pointed out that sustainability of disease control programs required a sense of community ownership.

The practical guidelines of using the tool require community participation within the community context. In the initial step, most people did not perceive dengue as a threat to their community; consequently, the researcher and all stakeholders participating in meetings and in training sessions of the village health volunteers and dengue leaders group created awareness in order to motivate people in community to modify their dengue prevention and control activities. Focusing on the five steps to assess dengue community capacity in this study, the stakeholders in the community consensus continued to plan and implement dengue prevention and control activities and then to reassess and evaluate the results. These steps are consonant with the process of community capacity building for sustainability intervention (Laverack, 2001; NSW, 2001).

Conclusion

The application of using the dengue community capacity-assessment tool and the practical guidelines DCCAT increased both the level of community capacity of both community both leaders and non-leaders. These results confirmed that these new tools can measure the level of dengue community capacity. The practice guidelines of using these tools have three possible steps: 1) community preparation, 2) assessment and 3) community hearings. The DLG (15 village health volunteers and 15 people) was the key group for collecting data and carrying out interventions. The community capacity of leaders and non-leaders were integrated with the entomology surveys. The application of the DCCAT format gathers both qualitative and quantitative data in 4 areas: general data, the community capacity questionnaires for dengue control, the household environment and larval indices. Survey results of household environment and larval indices are consonant with the level of the capacity of the leaders and the non-leaders. In addition, the community hearing step requires additional steps: “plan and strategies” and “reassessment” as an evaluation of dengue prevention and control.

Recommendation

As of yet, not all of the five steps of application tool for building community capacity of sustainable community-based dengue prevention and control have been utilized. The study comprised only three steps, but the two additional steps, plan and implement, and reassessment, were offered by the community consensus as the required next step for building community capacity for sustainable dengue prevention and control. Further time is needed in order to confirm the guidelines of using the tool in other areas. Moreover, the items and
domains of the new tools are more items and specific concepts of dengue community capacity taking time and understanding the questionnaires. Further study of appropriate items and domains requires the well training of data collectors who understand the concepts and are skilled in asking questions. It is suggested, nevertheless, that these new tools could be adopted for other sub-districts where the need for dengue prevention and control is clearly indicated. Finally, the results of measurements were important issues because these values of levels determined high or low of dengue community capacity. The level was the basic of only capacity presents the interpretation and community application. Thus, the community should use the new tools based on their understanding the concepts of community capacity building and dengue prevention and control, the objectives, outcomes, the practical guidelines of using tool, resources and characteristics of community.

Reference

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Rationale and justification

The emergence of avian influenza is a global health problem. The avian influenza epidemic has highlighted the global nature of health and the emergence of bird flu has given rise to a trend towards finding common solutions to global health challenges. One factor that has contributed to the global spread of avian influenza is the global migration patterns of wild birds.

The widespread outbreak of avian influenza in many countries in Asia and the demonstrated capacity of the avian influenza H5N1 virus to directly infect humans and cause death have together significantly increased the risk of the emergence of a human influenza pandemic. However the virus has yet to develop efficient human to human transmission. Thus, there is still the opportunity to take action that focuses on reducing the risk of the virus establishing the attributes and prevalence necessary for a pandemic. The World Health Organization (WHO) is concerned an outbreak of bird flu in Asia, and other countries in the world. Since 2003, there have been outbreaks in Asia, and bird flu is continuing to outbreak in Asia. This is causing suffering in terms of socio-economic and socio-cultural issues. For prevention and control, people cull poultry and stop raising poultry in the backyard. However both control and prevention are difficult at the community and country level. At present avian influenza H5N1 has been found in more than sixty countries in the world, and more than 150 million poultry have died from bird flu, as have 240 people (WHO, 2008).

In Lao, the outbreak of bird flu of 2004 to 2006 around 185,969 chickens have been culled and or died of bird flu. One result of the outbreak of bird flu on people’s living condition in the villages was that the price of food increased. Normally chicken is the basic food to support families when there is a shortage of food (CARE, 2006).

According to National Avian and Human Influenza Coordination Office, the bird flu outbreak in Laos quickly spread over six provinces to a total of 17 provinces in Laos. Bird flu affected people’s living condition in the urban and rural areas as in more and more provinces and villages chicken were culled. When people in the community stop raise poultry, standards of living suffer as chickens and both food and a source for income (National Avian and Human Influenza Coordination Office, Lao PDR 2008).

The control and prevention of bird flu in villages is difficult, as people do not understand bird flu, in terms of how the infection spreads and because bird flu has never occurred before in Laos. (CARE LAO 2006).

General Objective

This study aims to understand how poultry is part of the daily life of rural Lao people and how such relationships have implications for bird flu infection, prevention and control. It

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includes the following specific objectives: To describe how poultry is part of the daily life of rural Lao people especially in terms of economic, food availability, cultural and social aspects.

Methodology

Study site

Vientiane is the capital of the Lao PDR. It has urban, semi-rural and rural districts. Sisattanark District, is semi-rural and ten kilometers away from Vientiane. It was selected as the study site because it has study site because a bird flu outbreak in 2007. The district has the total population of 73,294 living in 40 villages. Most of the inhabitants are workers and farmers (Report Vientiane 2008).

In 2007, when the first death case of H5N1 bird flu was reported in Sisattanark District, all poultry were culled and breeding them was officially prohibited by the Ministry of Public Health. The selection of this district as the study site was largely due to this.

In-dept Interviews

The in-depth interviews were conducted:
1) To understand villagers living conditions.
2) Experience of chickens and duck breeders before and after the bird flu outbreak.
3) The beliefs and practices of villagers and note of chickens in such matters.

Furthermore, informants are asked about eating chicken before and after the bird flu outbreak and how they dealt with authorities who come to cull chicken.

To start the in-depth interviews, the researcher told the villagers his name, and that the he was a student at Mahidol University, studying health social sciences, and that the he was interested in people’s daily life related to poultry. The researcher told them he would like to learn and hear the meaning and experiences of people in the community and concerning bird flu. After that the researcher asked permission to do interviews. The researcher noted the key information and the main points during the interviews. The researcher also checked with guidelines to make sure that the important questions had been. The information supported the objectives of the research.

Non-participant observation

Non-participant observation covered everyday life and social relations – at the market, grocery shops, temples, cock-pits, household backyards, and the village office. The researcher also went to see special events related to culture and ritual in the village such as cockpit places. Wagers at the cock fights can be as low as $50- and as high as $2000. The workplaces are legal if the owners of the places have approval from the Department of Sports. The cock fighting opens twice for a week, on Saturdays and Sundays. More than 60 people come to see the cock fighting at any one time. There are three restaurants that sell food made from poultry.

Participant observation

For participant observation, the researcher joined activities with people in the villages that used poultry as symbols of culture such as Baci ceremony as Baci a new house, Baci a new baby and wedding parties.

Findings

Meaning chickens in culture

The majority of people in Laos are Buddhist. However, they also believe in Brahmanism. They believed that culture is the principle of living their lives. In Lao society,
they are many ceremonies and events that are related to culture and traditional beliefs. For example, the “Baci Sukhouane” [the spiritual ceremony] that Lao people usually arrange for a wedding, occupy a new houses, Lao new year, after childbirth or having a new baby, recovering from illness, for welcoming guests or visitors, celebrating when people get a higher position, and a farewell party.

Baci Sukhouane is ceremony to call the soul back to the person’s body after recover from illness, or changing the residence or social status. The elderly have a role in preparing the necessary things to be used in the ritual. For example, in making ceremonial arrangement of banana leaves and flowers holding cotton threads to tie to the wrist of person ( in Lao it is name PhaKhouane or makbang). Female elderly are expected to do this function. A person who was a monk in the past will be the ceremony master for Baci Sukhoune rite. Lao people believe that “Baci” ceremony will bring good luck, health, wealth, and happiness to them. It is important to note that the “Baci” must have boiled chickens.

All Baci Sukhouane ceremony cannot be organized without “Loa Thai Kaito” it means one jar of alcohol and one chicken. The ceremony can only be done with chickens. Even if all chickens in a district are culled people will get them from elsewhere.

Pheng said, “Before we organize the wedding ceremony we must find two chickens to boil for the ceremony. Chicken is the most important for people. In the wedding ceremony, chicken is the symbolic of love between bride and groom. We cannot organize wedding ceremony without chickens.”

(Pheng and husband)

All of people in the village said that the wedding ceremony is important for the new couple. Lao people believe that when people get married, they must organize a Baci Sukhouane ceremony to show that the couple has married. If they haven’t organized the ceremony it means they are not married. The ceremony must have a person to say the prayers and he must be older than 60 years and someone who has been a monk. The person must have good manners and be someone the village respects. Baci Sukhouane ceremony is inherited from the ancestors, and is a mix of Buddhism and animism in which the people in the communities believe in and practice. Consequently, it has become the culture of Lao people. Lao people like to organize the Baci Sukhouane ceremony for many occasions (Chulamany, 2006, Lao language).

When Lao people move to a new house they usually organize the “Baci” ceremony for the new house. They believe that they will have good luck and good health. Chicken is used as a sacred food in the ceremony.

Thon’s wife said, We organized “Baci” ceremony for the new house. We use chickens as a symbolic of wealthy. (Thon’s wife)

The purpose holding a Baci Sukhouane for a new house, is so that the owner can meet friends and relatives, they believe that they will have good luck, good health and wealth by using chickens to bring good luck to the owner of the house.

According to Van, Lao people believe that getting sick is caused by bad luck. When someone is sick their soul had left the body. That’s why the “Baci” ceremony will be arranged in order to call the soul back to the body when people have recovered from the sickness.

Von’s wife said, We believe in culture, and we continue to practice. When people recovered from sick we must have the “Baci” ceremony for them. We believed that chickens and eggs can call the soul to stay in the body, and people will not get sick again.
The villagers have cultural beliefs that when they are sick or ill the soul has left their bodies. The way to call the soul return to the body is use chickens to communicate and call the soul to stay with the body. After that they are never sick and ill. The role of chickens is important for villagers, as food and for a special role to help villagers get well when they are sick. Villagers and chickens have good relationship because chickens can help them to live in the community without worry. Chickens can provide both physical and psychological support.

The body of the chicken used in the ceremony is important for villagers. They can use it to predict if the future will have “bad luck or good”. If the feet if the of chicken are closed that means they will have good luck. But if they are opened it means they will. Some people make predictions from the tongue of the chicken if the chicken’s tongue is curved the meaning is not good, if the chicken’s tongue is straight that means they will have good luck. Hence, villagers never think that chickens are source of disease. For them it is important for cultural practices and psychological well being.

Xang said, “During the Lao New Year, everybody will comeback home to celebration with family. We will organize “Baci” ceremony for the parents to make apologize for the mistakes that we did. We used chickens as a symbolic of apologize. We wish them to have a good luck and be wealthy and healthy.”

(Vang and husband)

New Year is a time to visit family and organize Baci Sukhouane. Villagers believe they will have good luck.

Von’s wife said, We organize Baci Sukhoune for the visitors for happy when visitor comes to visit, we use chickens to welcome visitor. Baci Sukhouane ceremony for the visitors it is organized when special persons come to visit or the high level of government. It means that we wish them comes back home safety and to be good luck and good health. Baci Sukhouane ceremony is building the good relationship between visitor and hosts are good friends.

(Von’s wife)

The work sukhouane is made up two words: SuKhouane is signifies, spirit, soul, and guardian spirit; a crown on the head of a human or animal; or goodness, prosperity and happiness. The concept of a Lao person consists of both physical and spiritual. To the Lao, the number of sukhouane in a person is imprecise, but it is believed that when sukhouane leave the physical body, a person falls ill or becomes frightened. This condition can only be cured by the recalling and propitiation of the Sukhouane and keeping them united with body. The tradition to call back, welcome, propitiate and unite the sukhouane with the physical body needs to have a Sukhuoane ceremony.

Chicken in ritual

Ritual practices have existed for a long time among Lao people. Villagers believed that chickens as the special poultry that can communicate between people and spirits, as for example when members of a family are sick or ill they use chicken to communicate for those who are sick and ill to get well. Furtherer more, chickens are special food for the villagers. Hence, people offer the chicken meat to the spirits. The villagers believe that the spirit will protect them from diseases, animals, and devils.
The informants believed that there are spirits everywhere, including their rice fields. Therefore, they show respect to the spirits in their rice fields in order to succeed with their cultivation. They sacrifice and asked the spirit to allow them to work in the rice field and to keep them healthy.

As Thon said, *In June, we used chickens to sacrifice for the rice field before we start working. We prepared “Lao hai Kai to” [a bottle of alcohol and a chicken] to sacrifice spirit two times a year: Before we start plowing the land and growing the rice and after the harvest season. If we didn’t take chickens to sacrifice the spirit in the rice field they will not protect us. We will get sick, and the plants in the field will be destroyed by animals or insects.*

(Thon and wife)

Five of the respondents said that it is important to sacrifice chickens to the spirits before they start work in the rice fields. They mentioned that when they do this they feel happy and free because they believe the spirits will protect the rice field from animals and insects. All of them have to use chickens to sacrifice to the spirit in the rice fields every year.

Van said, *We believe that when we are sick in the family it is because of we did something mistake with spirit in the farms or gardens that we must use chickens to sacrifice to spirit after that we will get well from sick. My son, he is sick and he went to hospital and take the medicine for a week but the symptom is the same, we called to the spirit in the village, we said if my son did something mistake please let him to apologize and, when my son gets well from sick, we will take one chickens with alcohol to sacrifice spirit”. When we come back home and my son gets well from sick, which makes our believe more in the spirit. After that we took chicken boiled to sacrifice to the spirit in village. We believe in sacrifice spirit it can protect our life.*

(Von and wife)

Three household believed that when people get sick it is because they have offended the spirit. For example, someone said bad words to the spirit and cut the tree in the field or in the gardens. Two of them said that they do not believe one hundred percent, but they usually sacrifice chickens to the spirit to ask for their protection.

*Lieng ban* (offering chickens for the spirit in the village or it means to use chickens to sacrifice to the spirit in the village), every year they use more than 100 chickens to sacrifice to spirits in the village. All of the villagers collect one chicken from one household and money to use to sacrifice to the spirit in village *Lieng ban* every year the event is organized in July. All of us come to in village’s office to prepare to cook chickens to sacrifice the spirit (*They call Cham*) must burn the candles and use 100 chickens to sacrifice to the sprite by called sprit in the village come to eat food. And the older person tells the spirit to protect all people in the village from sick and ill and including to protect animals and poultry do not die from diseases. If the agriculture produces well next years

*Von Said, We will offer more poultry than this year. After the candle finishes burning we take the chickens to be given to the spirit to cook for food and they have lunch together, including drinking alcohol because every of us come to join the event take one bottle of alcohol. We take chickens to sacrifice to spirit every year.*

(Von)
The villagers mentioned that the chickens slaughtered for use in ritual events are prepared differently from those slaughtered for food. Chicken culled for rituals cannot have their necks cut, so people use a knife to hit the head but do not make a wound on the head, after that they pluck the feathers, and make small wound near the bottom of the anus to take out feces. After this they tie the body of the chickens together and boil it. The chickens used in the ritual are around 3 or 4 month old, they cannot be younger or older.

Because of the cultural believes, people in the communities use chickens to sacrifice to spirits. This is widespread in Lao society. All the respondents believe and practice to use chickens to sacrifice to spirits living in the villages and in the fields. It is most important for the living conditions of village’s that they must have a guardian spirit to protect them from bad luck, disease, wild animal, and natural disasters, that will destroy their health and wealth. When they sacrifice chickens to the spirits they feel happy, and they don’t worry about the future because they believe that the spirits will protect them.

It can be concluded that poultry play an important role in ritual or traditional beliefs and practices. They provide physical, emotional, and economic support for the informants. Thus, the informants have a good perception of chickens. This leads them to have a good relationship with chickens.

The most important belief among villagers is that chickens, can communicate between people and spirits. Consequently, when they are sick or ill, they do not go to hospital, they believe that rituals can deal with situation so it they sacrifice chickens to the spirits they will get well.

**The farmers’ experiences and behavior selling sick poultry**

The informants prefer to take poultry to sell in the market. Poultry are a source of income, so when their poultry are sick they are concerned that they will lose their income. They do not think about the disease spreading in the community. All of them believed that it is common to take sick poultry to sell in the markets.

According to WHO selling live animals is the critical point of the spread of disease. Moving birds between farms and markets can spread the virus. Care should be taken to prevent faecal contamination in materials to transport birds, the roads and offloading areas. Cages used to carry birds should be constructed with materials that can be easily cleaned and disinfected. One in eight poultry traders interviewed in Vietnam admitted to selling sick birds in markets during the 2004 epidemic of bird flu (World Health Organization Western Pacific Region, 2005).

Van’s wife said, “We always took poultry to sell in the market. We know merchant well, and when we take sick poultry to sell in the market we tell the merchant that the poultry is ill and the price is lower than normal poultry. The merchants usually bought the sick poultry from us. It is the way to help each other.”

(Van and wife)

Xang said, *We have experiences to take sick poultry to sell in the market. When we see poultry in the backyard did not eat as usual and some poultry died, we always take the mature poultry to sell in the market. It happened before bird flu out break in village.*

(Xang and husband)

According to the informants, the villagers preferred to take the sick poultry to sell in the market. Poultry are a source of income, so when poultry are sick villagers are concerned
that they will lose their income. They do not think about disease spreading in the community. All of them believed that it is common to take sick poultry to sell in the markets.

Von’s wife said, *We took poultry to sell in the market if we know that they will die. It is normal that we select poultry to sell in the market. We got up early around 4:00 am. If we were late or went to the market in the day time the merchants will know that we took sick poultry to sell. The merchants don’t like to buy sick poultry, or if they buy the sick poultry they will give low prices.*  

(Von and wife)

Pheng said, *We raise poultry at home for economic, and of cause when poultry died in the backyard we will lose money. If there is any poultry died in the backyard we must take our poultry to sell to before all of them die.*  

(Pheng and husband)

**Chicken is cultural food**

People construct the value of chicken as a good and sacred food. They believe that chicken meat is high quality. The protein from chicken eggs and meat can make people healthy. It can make people feel fresh and strong.

In line with traditional beliefs and practices, the food that is made from chicken is very special and high value. In special events or when any guests come to their house they will provide food for their guest (especially close friends or relatives). The special meal will be made from chickens in order to show that the visitors are very important to them and that they are pleased to welcome their guests.

As Pheng’s husband said, *“If the owner of the house provide chicken meat for the visitors, it means the visitors are close friend and important to their family.*  

(Pheng and husband)

Every year after Buddhist lent, there are many special events. Such as the boat racing festival, Thatluang festival, and the Rocket festival. *“Ping Kai”* [grill chickens] is quite popular in these festivals.

*“Ping kai” is a traditional Lao food that very famous in Lao society. Von’s said, “[laugh]...we haven’t eaten “Ping kai” for long time. It is very nice when we eat with papaya salad.*  

(Von)

More importantly, they believe that native chickens and eggs are very good food, and can also be a traditional medicine. They believe that chicken is very good for women after giving birth. They are not allowed to eat beef and some fish but they are allowed to eat chicken meat, especially grilled chicken. In addition, the villagers believe black chicken can strengthen people who are becoming weak from sickness. And the bones of black chicken mixed with herbs are used as a traditional medicine to heal people who have spots,. The eggs are important for men; because it believed it can energize them. They think that raw eggs can make people strong and feel fresh.

*“Kaitayha” “Kaitayha”* (Lao Language) means that chickens died quickly and when chickens die in one flock the cause will be transmitted to other poultry in the village. *“Kaitayha” is the name of people use when poultry die in the community.*
The informants have been raising poultry for a long time, and it is certain that they have encountered chicken diseases. “Kaitayha” [Seasonal disease] is a term commonly used among the informants. It refers to the death of chickens that occurs one or two times a year. Most chickens in the village get sick and die in a few days after getting sick. The informants stated that they know the symptoms of “Kaitayha”, and they regard it as a common phenomenon that happens every year because of the weather.

**Xang** said, *When it occurred chickens would not play and eat as usual, and they looked lethargy or drowsy. Chicken’s feces are white or green, and before they die their feces are like water. The body of chicken is hot, and chickens always drink water. After that, one or two days chickens will die. After that we can raise chicken again.*

(Xang and husband)

**Van** said, *Every years “Kaitayha” outbreak in village one or two times per year. We know poultry died because they drink dirty water. We believe that “Kaitayha” is transmitted by eating death poultry.*

(Van and wife)

**Pheng** said, *Poultry always die from “Kaitayha” in two seasons: rainy season and dry season. We know the symptom of “Kaitayha” like poultry did not eat food for two or three days, and then they died. The poultry death from “Kaitayha” is not died more than 7 poultry per day, and “Kaitayha” will stop in one week. Then, we continue to raise poultry again. It always happens in village.*

(Pheng and husband)

**Khaivatsutpek” The New Experiences (bird flu)**

The informants have little knowledge about bird flu. The information on bird flu was provided through TV, radio programs, and the government authorities. Some informants said that they heard about “khaivatsutpek” from TV and radio programs beginning many years ago, but they did not know the details. They know that “khaivatsutpek” can be transmitted from poultry to poultry, and it can also kill people. However, they did not pay attention to it. They were not interested in it. They just put the posters on the wall, but they did not read what was written. They did not think that it would happen in their village.

**Xang** told that, *We know about bird flu from TV since 2005. We know that bird flu can transmit from poultry to human, and it can be transmitted from poultry to poultry. There were only or two ways, but we don’t know the details. When the authorities came to talk about the bird flu information, “we attended the meeting with them. We could not remember what they told us. They told a lot of information about bird flu. We never read the brochures and posters that they gave us.*

(Xang and husband)

When there was a bird flu outbreak in the village in 2007, the government authorities came to the village in order to provide comprehensive information on bird flu to the villagers. They explained the details of bird flu, and they distributed brochures and posters about bird flu to every household in the village. They were effective in terms of giving the correct
information to the villagers. The villagers know more about bird flu, and they know how to protect themselves from bird flu infection.

**Chickens As Economic Life Of Villagers**

The informants are farmers, and their income is low in comparison with other kinds of work. However, they know how to live with nature. They work in the farm and raise poultry to support their family. They considered that raising poultry is a good way to earn and save money. They do not have a large cash income or savings in the family so when they need money poultry are sold.

**Compared the income before and after outbreak of bird flu**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Before outbreak of bird flu in village. Villagers can earn income per month from poultry</th>
<th>After outbreak of bird flu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xang’ household</td>
<td>200,000 – 300,00 Kip per month($ 20-30)</td>
<td>No income from poultry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Von’ household</td>
<td>150,000 Kip per month ($ 15)</td>
<td>No income from poultry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pheng’s household</td>
<td>130,000 Kip per month ($ 10)</td>
<td>No income from poultry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van’s household</td>
<td>100,000 Kip per month ($ 10)</td>
<td>No income from poultry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thon’s household</td>
<td>100,000 Kip per month ($ 10)</td>
<td>No income from poultry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Subsistence mode of living**

The purpose villagers raise poultry is for emergency events that happen to their family such as the member of family gives birth, is sick or dies. When they have a shortage of money and they need to use cash poultry are sold. The farmers claimed that poultry is the first choice they make get cash to use when they need money. They say that having poultry in the backyard is similar to money in the bank. Their family’s economic status is based on their poultry. Therefore, it is difficult to separate the poultry from their owners. They said that the households do not have cash. Every day it is rare to use money. They use cash when they need to buy shampoo, soap, drinking water, and pay for electricity. For food they do not need to buy it. Villagers live their life by relying on nature. They catch fish from the canals and harvest rice from the filed. Sometimes the rice they grow is not enough for their family, and so they need to sell poultry in order to have money to buy rice.

As Xang said that, “In 1999, we needed to buy 24 kilograms of rice, so we must sell around 5 to 10 poultry. We do not know what will happen if we did not have poultry. We sold poultry and bought rice for four months until the harvest season came again. Poultry is very important to us, and we try to raise more poultry to support our family.”

(Xang and husbnd)

Three household informants have sold poultry and used the money to buy rice to eat in the family. All of them mentioned that farmers work in the farms and whatever is produced is the result of their hard work for four or five months. If the output of agriculture is good they are happy, and when the production is not enough to support their family, they face serious
conditions. Farmers have experience and they have learned how to live with nature. They know how to gain the benefits from nature by raising poultry for the family economy when the family has a shortage of money. The role of poultry is a source of income for the family.

Von’s wife said, “Poultry provided us a good income, we paid for electricity and bought petrol for the motorbike. We used money from selling poultry in our daily life. When there was a shortage of money we usually sold our poultry, and then we raised new poultry as saving money at home.”

(Thon and wife)

Discussion and Conclusions.

The relationship between villager’s living condition and poultry

The national economic status based upon agriculture, and agricultural production has increased significantly during the past decades. (Gender Concerns in Migration in Laos PDR, 2007). The poverty assessment reported that livestock and poultry are the most valuable household assets among villagers. About 70 percent of rural households have livestock. Further more, the assessment shows that livestock were associated with poverty reduction (Lao PDR Poverty Assessment Report, 2006)

In terms of sources of income and nourishment, livestock and poultry are very important for farmers. In 1999, there were 693,534 native chickens, 239,082 trade chickens, and 237,437 ducks in the whole country. Seventy four per cent of them were household assets. Seventy three per cent of native chickens were raised by farmers. Lao people prefer to raise chickens rather than other kinds of poultry. It was estimated that one household owned 24 native chickens, and they raised their chickens in the backyard. (The National Statistical Center of the Committee for Planning, (National Statistical Center of the Committee for Planning 1998/99)

As the study shows most of the respondents had encountered problems once there was an outbreak of bird flu in the village. They were not allowed to raise poultry, and moreover, all poultry were killed by the government authorities in order to protect people’s lives.

The farmers complained about the policy on bird flu prevention and control. From a medical perspective, killing poultry in the village is the best way to eliminate the disease. In contrast, farmers perceived that it is cruel. They did not know the meaning of bird flu is. In relation to their low income, raising poultry means income generation. They raised poultry to support their family. They can use poultry for food. They can sell poultry in order to have money for their children’s educational support, and when they get sick they can sell their poultry to pay for medical fees. Hence, the loss of their poultry means loss of their food and source of income.

The government compensated sixty percents of the cost for villagers who killed their poultry to control and prevented bird flu out break. Villagers felt that the compensation is low when compared with the income if they take poultry to sell in the market. During the outbreak of bird flu the villagers cannot move their poultry because the authorities maintain surveillance. The villagers hid their poultry before the authorities come to kill bird, because, they are afraid their will lose income. The villagers complained that the authorities gave compensation to them late. The authorities killed poultry but did not pay compensation at that
time. The villagers had to wait three months before they revived any money. This compensation is important to control and prevent bird flu in the community. If villagers believe their will get compensation from the authorities they will follow the rule to let the authorities cull their poultry. If they do not believe they will get compensation from the authorities they will hide their poultry. It is important to give information to villagers so they understand the objectives of the authorities. After killing their poultry the authorities should find ways to help the villagers to earn money from others job to compensate for their loss of earnings from poultry.

Many studies show that bird flu has a negative impact on people’s living conditions. According to Gerald, during 2003-2004, a million domestic animals in Asia were killed because of the outbreak of bird flu (Gerald C.H., 2006).

Farmers raise poultry to earn income for the family. Therefore, farmers were affected by the bird flu outbreak, because farmers must stop raising poultry so as to control and prevent the outbreak. When they stopped raising poultry the income of the family decreased and this has a negative affect on living conditions.

The meaning of poultry is similar to that of money in a bank account. Consequently, when poultry are culled the financial reserves become zero. One household, therefore, would like their children to stop studying because they cannot pay the fees and associated expense. In addition, two households have already borrowed money to survive. If the ban on keeping chickens continues, and the government do not provide financial support the households will continue to suffer economic hardships. Furthermore, without a clear understanding of the consequences of bird flu, farmers will undoubtedly raise chickens to cover expenses for rituals.

According to World health organization bird flu can devastate poor communities as the recent epidemic in Asia demonstrated. More than 140 million birds were killed between January 2004 and May 2005. The estimated losses to the Asian poultry sector totaled more than $10 billion. Local economic and household were hit hard and deep. Tens of thousands of farmers lost assets, cash flow, food security, even their livelihoods, increasing their overall vulnerability. Poultry is valuable asset in many rural areas, providing a key source of additional income, food security, and dietary protein and for fast cash. Thus, the loss of half the stock of poultry in local was a severe blow. Farmers were left indebted or impoverished. This had an impact on local poultry trade, as well as on the mental and physical heath of farmers and farming communities. (World Health Organization, 2005)

Poultry and traditional beliefs and practices

Lao people began to believe in Theravada Buddhism starting in the fourteenth century Common Era. Also, they believe in the spirits of nature and the house. They believe that people’s lives are controlled by many spirits. They really respect “Phi muang” [the spirit of the township]. The villagers show respect for this spirit by building a spirit house near the village, and they sacrifice pigs and chickens to the spirit (Yukio, 2002). They believe that the spirit is the guardian to protect people in the village. If they do not sacrifice chickens to the spirit they will get sick, hurt, or have trouble in their lives. Every body in the community uses poultry and animals to sacrifice to the spirit in villages, farms, and gardens.

Obviously, the people’s way of life is shaped by social values, beliefs, and practices. The living conditions of people in the village are simple, and most of them are farmers who prefer to raise animals and poultry for consumption and spiritual practices (Orlaboun, 2008).

Traditional beliefs and practices are the model and principle of living for human beings. Lao society is a hierarchal society. The old generation must be respected by the young generation. Spirits and ritual are considered important among Lao people, and poultry are used in such beliefs and practices. For example, a chicken and a bottle of alcohol are used as a representative of social respect. When people need to make an apology to someone, they have to perform a spiritual
ceremony that uses a cooked chicken and a bottle of alcohol to show their respect. It has been traditional beliefs and practices for more than 500 years (Kedeng2006).

Additionally, Lao people believe that there are spirits in their rice fields. They are called “guardian spirits”. Before starting working in the rice field, people in the village sacrifice chickens, alcohol, and sticky rice to the spirits in the rice field to ask for permission to use the field and protection from spirits. As well, they ask the spirits to protect the buffalos that they use to plow their rice field (Chandala 2003).

According to Yang, people use oxen and poultry to sacrifice to the spirit (Meng God) to protect people and prevent disasters in the village, to make people to live without diseases, to gain happiness, to save their land, and to guard against enemies. “Meng God, please help us to have a good harvest and save our rice field from insects. Please help us to drive out all natural disasters, ghosts, bad elements, robbers, thieves, bandits etc. May Meng God bless all of us” (Yang, 2004).

The social value of chickens and other kinds of poultry are influenced by the relationship between poultry and the informants. The spiritual practices take place in farmer’s daily activities. As mentioned above, chickens are used in many important ceremonies in the community. “Baci” is an important ceremony in Lao society. Lao people will arrange this ceremony on many occasions such as, Lao New Year, moving into a new house, wedding, having a baby, and for those who recover from illness. The “Baci” ceremony must include a boiled chicken and other food and desserts. They can not organize the “Baci” ceremony without chickens (Chandala, 2003)

Chickens play an important role in traditional beliefs and practices in Lao society. Chickens are considered as a symbol of good luck among Lao people.

The negative effects of culture and ritual

The outbreaks of bird flu in 2007 meant that villagers do not have chickens to use in cultural events such as the Baci Sukhouane ceremony. To compensate for this they buy chickens from other provinces but complain that the price for a kilo of chicken has increased from $1.5 to $3.00.

The overall effect has been to interfere with the scheduling and performance of rituals deemed necessary for the harmony and good fortune of the villagers. In some cause the ceremonies have had to be delayed.

Chickens have also been an important on the social life of villagers. Some ceremonies have to be accompanied by the participants eating and drinking together. The shortage, or lack, of chickens make this part of ceremony at best, uncertain and in extreme situation delayed., Van says that the village changed of the schedule every year to use chickens to sacrifice spirit in village to three years for one time, from the reason many people are sick and ill in village because to they do not follow the rule that ancestor do it.

According to Panyasith villagers respect the spirit of the village as the major centre of the village. It is here they work together to build unity and improve the living conditions, prosperity and security in their community. According to their custom all of village have lunch and drink together this it like unity of villagers (Panyasith, 2009).

Culture practices and beliefs influence on infection from bird flu

This study found that of farmers allow poultry near the house and to even enter it. Furthermore, they eat sick poultry and uncooked food such as raw duck’s blood. Therefore, they are at high risk of infection from bird flu if there is an outbreak of the disease in the community.

According to Vernon, the effects of infectious disease are also interconnected with the prevailing social and cultural practices. The development and spread of infectious disease is dependent on the social and cultural activities around the globe and within specific communities. With in the current bird flu outbreak, in of the cases were individuals who have
been in close contact with poultry. The close proximally between humans and poultry is a cultural phenomenon that is especially rampant in rural even urban communities in Asia. In addition, their cultural practice may result in the development of the next bird flu pandemic (Vernon, 2006)

Besides that, beliefs, attitudes and practice about bird flu among farmers are obstacles to the control and prevention bird flu in villages. This study found villagers are not fully aware of the implications of bird flu. Farmers receive information about bird flu, but they don’t believe bird flu can kill them. They still continue to consume chickens and raise poultry in the village even thought the government does allow them to do it.

According to Maton mentions that knowledge, attitudes practices, and information of bird flu can prevent and control the disease. In addition, this study shows that the essential socio-cultural factors influence the prevention and control of bird flu among people in the community, and she mentioned that people have knowledge of bird flu, but they behavior and practice is different from knowledge.(Maton, 2006)

5.2 Recommendations

Strategies to control bird flu must be based on the cultural beliefs and practices of the people that they are meant to help. In this case they require an understanding of how poultry are part of the socio - cultural and socio-economic conditions of the villages.

Messages to control the spread of bird flu must be easy to read and easy to understand. This will require the participation of villagers in their preparation and not just that of academics or government officials. At present, while the messages tell the villagers there is a problem they do not state clearly how the villagers are part of the problem and what they must do to help control it.

The campaign to control and prevent bird flu must involve the community leaders of the village. The Youth Union and Women Union in the village and the entire village authorities have important roles for convince villagers to understand and practice bird flu control that is based on cultural belief and practices in the community. Then the campaign to control and prevent bird flu in the community will be successful.

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Economic Burden of Illness for Near Poor Households in Comparison with the Poor and Other Income Groups in Vietnam.

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Sauwakon Ratanawijitrasin²

Background

In Vietnam before Doimoi (Renovation), all health services were provided free of charge with financial subsidies from the Government. Since 1986, after the collapse of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the Vietnam Communist Party has carried out economic reforms shifting from a centrally planned to a socialist oriented market economy. In 1989, a policy on user fees at public health facilities was introduced to mobilize financial resources for the health care system. This policy was implemented leading to two opposing impacts. One has partly increased income resources to public health facilities but on the other hand it produced barriers to the accessibility to health care services for people. The out-of-pocket payment paid by households are the main source for the health financing system in Vietnam, it accounted for 61% of the total expenditure for the whole country (Vietnam Ministry of Health & Health Partnership Group, 2008).

In 1992, the Government issued a health insurance policy to reduce the burden of household health care expenditures and create good conditions for people to access health facilities. But this policy is not yet successful. Until 2006 only 36.7 million people (42%) were enrolled in health insurance (Vietnam Government, 2008). In 2002, a financing autonomy regime was implemented with the responsibility to make decision about user fees under the power of hospital directors. In recent years, a lot of high technology equipment and expensive medication have been imported into Vietnam which makes patients have to pay high medical costs. In addition, the prices of petroleum and rice have increased in step with world prices so low income people are facing difficulties. All of these could increase the burden of health care expenditures for low income groups.

In the health care system, the Government has the policy to support some vulnerable groups such as children under six years old, ethnic minorities, people older than 85 years old, people with incomes below the poverty line, and disabled war veterans. One group not covered by the policy includes people whose income is just above the poverty line. They are still poor and face difficulties in daily life including meeting health care expenditures. They easily become poor if faced by severe diseases or catastrophic health care payments. These people are defined as the “near poor” and are considered as being a vulnerable group. Their vulnerability arises from economic disadvantages and payment for health care services. In addition, for near poor households, the basic cost of living for daily life, cost of education for children, costs for social-cultural events (celebration of festivals, contribution to social funds) constitute a economic burden on their low incomes (Grossman, 2005).

Near poor households are recognized as household whose income is just above the poverty line. They are no better off than the poor and financially well below the other income groups, but the poor are supported by health insurance and other income groups have the

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ability to pay for health care and purchase health insurance. Meanwhile, the near poor in Vietnam have not been a priority target to get benefits from the social economic policy as have been the poor. Since 2008, the Government officially supports 50% of the premium for health insurance cards for the near poor but this policy does not ensure that a high percentage of near poor will be willing to buy health insurance to reduce their out-of-pocket payments on seeking health care.

Almost all previous research used expenditure or income quintiles to define the poor or near poor, but this study will use the definition of the “poverty line” according to the Government to define them. The research already has done, often focuses on the poor and gives recommendations for their health care, even though much research evaluates the impact of the health care fund for the poor, little research pays attention to the near poor.

**Objectives**

The aim of this study is to analyze the economic burden of illness for near poor households, and to compare this with the poor and other income groups. The study also analyzes the ability to purchase health insurance for the near poor if they are subsidized 50% of the premium for health insurance.

**Methodology**

The unit of analysis of out-of-pocket payments related to total income is the household. Data were obtained from a nationally representative household survey, Vietnam Household Living Standard Survey 2006 (VHLSS 2006), with a sampling of 9,189 households.

The economic burden is measured by the comparison between total out-of-pocket payment on medical direct costs and total household income, using the following formula:

\[ R = \frac{H_{hc}}{HH_{inc}} \times 100 \]

- \( R \): the share of total out-of-pocket payment on health care of the total income.
- \( H_{hc} \): the total average out-of-pocket for health care in one year.
- \( HH_{inc} \): the total average household income per year.

*(the formula was modified from (Su, Kouryate, & Flessa, 2006))*

Another way to measure economic burden used in this paper is to examine how near poor households manage the cost of illness. According to Prescott (1999), Ranson (2002), Devadasan et al (2007), catastrophic payment is considered as 10% of household income being consumed by health care expenditures. The term catastrophic implies that such expenditure levels are “likely to force households to cut their consumption of other minimum needs, trigger productive asset sales or high levels of debt, and lead to impoverishment” (Russell, 2004), (McIntyre, Thiede, Dahlgren, & Whitehead, 2006). This paper also used the 10% rate of total out-of-pocket payment for health care to total income.

- If \( R > 10\% \): household faces catastrophic payment.
- If \( R \leq 10\% \): household do not face catastrophic payment.
Operational definition

The near poor households are defined as households which have an average income 1.5 times higher than the poverty line (MOLISA, 2008) (MOLISA: Ministry of Labor, Invalid and Social Affairs).

The poor are defined by the poverty line, based on the monthly income per capita deemed necessary for meeting minimum needs for both food and other basic necessities such as clothing and social services like education and health care. In 2005, MOLISA set the poverty line for the period 2005-2010 (Decision 170/2005/QĐ-TTg, July 2005) is:
- rural (including mountainous) areas: VND 200,000/capita/month ($2.14 per day PPP)
- urban areas: VND 260,000/capital/month ($2.79 per day PPP).

Other income groups are the household whose income is higher than the poor and near poor.

The structure of out-of-pocket payments for health care costs is divided into two components: medical direct costs and non-medical direct costs. Medical direct costs include costs of health services at the health facility (user fee, medicine) and outside the health facility (to buy extra medicine, X-ray, ultrasound, blood tests or other laboratory tests which are not available in the facility). Non-medical direct costs include gifts to providers and costs for transportation, food and accommodation for people accompanying the sick. The costs were calculated in one year for inpatient and outpatient care. Total out-of-pocket payments include medical and non-medical direct costs.

Level of health facility: The lowest level of health facilities is the primary health care level. This level includes village health workers (for outpatient care), commune health stations, and regional clinics. The second level is the district hospital. The upper level includes provincial hospitals and central hospitals. Data on household expenditures survey for health care were separated for each level of health facility.

Inpatient care means that the patient hospitalized at the health facilities. Outpatient care means that the patient visited health facilities but they are not admit to the health facilities.

Health insurance means that the patient use health insurance card when they seeking care in order to pay for health care costs.

Data analysis

The data were analyzed using Stata 9 software, all analyses of the data from respondents were weighted according to the probability of each household unit being sampled being representative of the whole country. The weighting factor is available in the survey data.

Results

The results section present three parts. The first part focuses on the proportion between out-of-pocket payments for uninsured and insured for inpatient and outpatient care. The second part concentrates on the economic burden of illness. The third part discusses health insurance policy for the near poor.

The proportion between out-of-pocket health payment for uninsured and insured

Table 1 shows the proportion between out-of-pocket payments for uninsured and insured for inpatient and outpatient care. The structure of out-of-pocket payments for inpatient and outpatient care per patient including payment on medical direct costs (as medical costs in table 1) and non-medical direct costs (as non-medical costs in table 1).
In general, the uninsured pay out-of-pocket for both inpatient and outpatient care higher than insured. The uninsured poor pay total inpatient and outpatient costs 2.8 and 4.9 times higher than insured. Similarly for that payment, the uninsured near poor pay 2.4 and 3.6 times higher than insured. Meanwhile, uninsured people in other income groups pay twice as much as the insured.

Regarding medical direct costs paid directly to the health facility, the uninsured poor and near poor pay 5.2 and 4.5 times for inpatient care, and 6.7 and 5.9 times for outpatient care respectively higher than insured. Meanwhile, uninsured in other income groups pay 2.9 times higher for inpatient care and 2.3 times higher for outpatient care than insured.

For medical direct costs paid outside the health care facility, the proportion of out-of-pocket payments between uninsured and insured patient for outpatient care is higher than for inpatient care.

The gift for the provider, as a proportion of the total cost, is not much (it accounts for from 1.2% to 5.2% of the total out-of-pocket expense for inpatient costs, and less than 1% of the total out-of-pocket for outpatient costs) but it is one component of the structure of costs and causes a burden for households. Those who do not have health insurance pay for the gift higher than insured from 0.2 to 2.7 times.

For other costs (transportation, food and accommodation) during inpatient care, the uninsured near poor and other groups pay 1.2 times higher than insured. For outpatient care, the uninsured poor pay 2.1 times higher than insured.

**Table 1: Ratio between OOP payments for uninsured and insured for health care**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income group</th>
<th>Medical costs</th>
<th>Non-medical costs</th>
<th>Total out-of-pocket payments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>At the facility</td>
<td>Outside the facility</td>
<td>Gifts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>5.2 6.7</td>
<td>1.7 2.4</td>
<td>2.7 0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near poor</td>
<td>4.5 5.9</td>
<td>0.6 1.8</td>
<td>1.4 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2.9 2.3</td>
<td>0.8 1.5</td>
<td>1.1 4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3.2 2.7</td>
<td>0.9 1.7</td>
<td>1.2 5.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: VHLSS 2006*  
*Note: IP: Inpatient care; OP: Outpatient care; OOP: out-of-pocket*  
*Others: other income groups*

**Economic burden of illness costs for households**

This part presents the economic burden of illness costs and focuses only on medical direct costs. A household’s economic burden due to illness is measured by the ratio between the total out-of-pocket payments for health care services and total income of a household in one year.

Table 2 shows the economic burden of illness for households in 2006. In the three groups: poor, near poor and other income groups, the household who do not have health insurance bear the economic burden higher than those who have health insurance.

Without health insurance, the total OOP payments on medical direct costs for the poor accounts for 18.7% of their total income, while the near poor pay 15.2%. Meanwhile, uninsured people in other income groups pay 10.9% of their income for health care costs. In 2002, the Government provided health insurance for the poor and this policy has been implemented until now. From Table 2 we can see that the poor who have health insurance pay...
9.3% of their total income for total medical direct costs. Other income groups who have insurance pay only 6.1% of their total income for health care costs. The near poor who have health insurance also pay for health care costs less than those who do not have health insurance.

The burden comes almost entirely from health care costs at the health facility. The uninsured poor and near poor have to pay 16.9% and 13.6% respectively of their total income for health care costs at the health facility. The burden from health care costs outside the facilities is less than at the facility but it is also a burden for both insured and uninsured people.

**Table 2: Economic burden of illness for households, 2006**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income group</th>
<th>Out-of-pocket payments for medical direct costs as a % of HH income</th>
<th>Out-of-pocket payments for health care outside the facility as a % of HH income</th>
<th>Number of HH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>People who have health insurance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near poor</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other income groups</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1552</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People who do not have health insurance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near poor</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other income groups</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>2712</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: VHLSS 2006

*HH: household

**Economic burden of illness for households by level of health facility**

Table 3 show the economic burden of illness by level of health facility. People who visit higher levels health facilities incur a greater burden for health care cost than those who use lower level facilities.

At the highest level of health facilities (upper level), the insured poor and uninsured near poor bear the highest economic burden (22.3% for insured poor, and 31.7% for uninsured near poor).
Table 3: Economic burden of illness for household by level of health facility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of health facility</th>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>Near poor</th>
<th>Other income groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>People who have health insurance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary level</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District level</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper level</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| People who do not have health insurance | | | |
| Primary level | 14.1 | 12.8 | 9.1 |
| District level | 14.7 | 14.4 | 12.1 |
| Upper level | 23.2 | 31.7 | 16.7 |

Source: VHLSS 2006

Another way to assess the economic burden is to see how a household manages the costs. Whether they have to borrow or sell assets to pay for health services. The results show that the percentage of the near poor who have to sell products or assets is the highest (15.4%) compared with the poor (10.4%) and other groups (8.5%).

There are no great differences in the amount borrowed with interest or without interest among the three groups. However, the percentage of households that borrow without interest is higher than those who borrow with interest (24.1% compared with 9.2% overall). Health insurance tends to help the poor and other groups more than the near poor. Around 17.5% of the near poor’s health costs were paid by health insurance, compared with 26.3% of the poor and 38.3% of other groups. The poor and near poor can get exemptions or reductions at hospitals if they request them but they need to complete many documents to send to the hospital (such as a letter from local government approving them as poor or near poor households).

Catastrophic payments for health care

Health care expenditures above 10% of income are considered as a “catastrophic payment”. It is likely that households will have to cut basic expenditures in daily life, sell assets or incur debt. Without health insurance, 45.6% of poor and 35% of near poor households pay medical direct costs that are more than 10% of their total income. In comparison with uninsured people in other groups (28.3%), a larger percentage of the poor and near poor faces higher catastrophic payments.

Health insurance helps to reduce catastrophic payment. Of the poor who have health insurance 21.2% face catastrophic payment compared with 45.6% of those who do not have health insurance. Of the insured near poor only 14.7% face catastrophic payment, compared with 35% of uninsured near poor.

Health insurance policy for the near poor

The results show 39.5% of the near poor does not have health insurance because the prices are too high or they cannot afford to buy health insurance.

Since August 2008, the Government has had a policy to support a minimum of 50% of health insurance premiums for the near poor who are willing to buy health insurance. The
premium of health insurance accounts for 3% of the basic salary (194,000 dong). The near poor who want to buy health insurance have to pay 97,000 dong per year. The survey of 2006 (VHLSS) raises questions about the assumption that if the premium for health insurance is 80,000 dong, only 25.6% of the near poor are willing to buy with this price. Perhaps it is unfeasible or difficult for them to cover the premium of 97,000 dong.

Discussion

The out-of-pocket payments of patients covered by health insurance are much lower than people who do not have health insurance for both inpatient and outpatient care.

The uninsured near poor paid out-of-pocket 2.4 times higher than the insured for inpatient care, and 3.6 times for outpatient care. In comparison with the poor, the uninsured poor paid out-of-pocket 2.8 times and 4.9 times higher than the insured for inpatient and outpatient care respectively. While uninsured people in other income group pay for both inpatient and outpatient care 2 times higher than insured.

Due to the economic burden, households without health insurance bear an economic burden higher than those who have health insurance, especially the uninsured near poor bear the highest economic burden. Since the government covers health insurance for the poor, their health care burden is reduced to 9.3% of their total income compared with 18.7% for uninsured people. People in other income groups have the ability to purchase their own health insurance and their burden is reduced to 6.1% of their total income (compared with 10.6% of uninsured). Even the near poor who have health insurance bear a lower burden (7.1% of their total income) than those who have health insurance (15.2%). The result from other research also shows the reductions in out-of-pocket health expenditure due to health insurance.

Research from Ministry of Health (2005) shows evidence that an inpatient contact by a poor person who do not have health insurance is equivalent to 17 months of non-food expenditure per capita in the household, and 13 months with the middle income groups while it is only equivalent to 8 months of non-food expenditures for the high income group. The health expenditure burden among people with health insurance is equivalent to 11 months of non-food expenditure, compared with 7 months for middle income groups and 5 months for the better off. (Vietnam Ministry of Health, 2005). Another research of Jowett M et al (2003) also points out that health insurance reduces average approximately 200% for health care expenditures and the reduction was larger for the low income than for the high income people (Jowett, Contoyannis, & Vinh, 2003).

The poor and near poor who do not have health insurance face a high risk of catastrophic payment. Among the poor households without health insurance, 45.6% of them face catastrophic payments. For the near poor without health insurance, 35% of them face catastrophic payments, while other income groups are only 28.3%. The research from McIntyre, Prescott, and Ranson discuss the cut-off-point of catastrophic payment that: “10 percent of annual household income being consumed by health care expenditure as the cut-off point for catastrophic expenditure levels”. (McIntyre D. & Thiede, 2007), (Prescott, 1999), (Ranson, 2002). They consider that catastrophic expenditures apply to households who “devote their entire current income to meeting basic needs such as food purchases and who have limited ability to cope with unexpected health care costs (McIntyre D. & Thiede, 2007) or costs that are “likely to force households to cut their consumption of other minimum needs, trigger productive asset sales or high level of debt, and lead to impoverishment (Russell, 2004).

The proportion of poor and near poor who cannot afford or for whom the price is too high to buy health insurance accounts for the largest among the all reasons why people do not have health insurance. This proportion for the poor is 40.1% and for the near poor it is 39.5%. In addition, only 25.6% of the near poor are willing to buy health insurance with a premium.
of 80,000 dong. While if the Government supported 50% of the health insurance premium, they only have to pay a half of 97,000 dong. This policy does not ensure that a high percentage of near poor will be willing to buy health insurance, or supposes only ill people will purchase it. Adverse selection can happen in this situation. According to McPake et al (2002) when discussing adverse selection: "‘individuals’ risks vary and their own knowledge of some aspects of their particular risks is better than that of the insurance agency. If the insurance agency sets a single premium that is capable of covering the actuarial risks of the whole population, those who perceive their risks as higher will purchase insurance” (McPake, Kumaranayake, & Normand, 2002, p. 209).

**Conclusion**

Without health insurance, the poor and near poor bear an economic burden and face catastrophic payment higher than other income groups. The poor are supported by government health insurance, people in other income groups have the ability to purchase health insurance and pay for health care costs, while the near poor do not (the proportion of near poor who cannot afford to buy health insurance is the highest among all the reason why they do not buy health insurance, it accounts for 39.5%). This leaves the uninsured near poor households as the group bearing the largest economic burden because of health care expenditures.

The Government supports 50% of health insurance premium for the near poor which is equal to 97,000 dong but the result from survey show only 25.6% of the near poor who willing to buy health insurance with a supposed premium of 80,000 dong.

**Recommendation**

1. The near poor are not eligible to get subsidized free health insurance as are the poor, and also high proportion of them can not afford or unwillingness to purchase health insurance and pay for health care costs as other income groups. But their economic burden is high, especially for the uninsured near poor so it is easy for them to face catastrophic payments and easily fall under the poverty line because of health care expenditures. They need to receive subsidization from the Government.

    The health insurance policy for the near poor shows the subsidization from the Government to the near poor but it is not sure that the policy is well implementation to reduce the economic burden for the near poor. This policy does not coverage of every near poor nor the willingness to purchase health insurance with support 50% of premium. The proportion of near poor who willing to purchase health insurance is low. Future research can be done to see how many percentages should be supported to induce near poor household to purchase health insurance.

    The current health insurance for the poor is inadequate. The poor still leave out health insurance, and they still pay out-of-pocket for health care. The health policy should expand its current assistance to the poor by making health insurance coverage sufficient in term of benefit and cover all poor people in the actual implementation.
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