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Abstracts in Thai
THE EMERGENCE AND THE WAY OF LIFE OF THE WAGE LABORER CLASS IN THAILAND FROM THE END OF THE 18TH TO THE 19TH CENTURY

Punnee Bualek

Abstract

This research explores the answers to three significant questions. 1) When and in what conditions did the wage laborer class emerge in Thailand? 2) What kinds of relationships were there between the wage laborers and the productivity process? 3) Under those relationships, what were their real lives and way of life like?

The first groups of hired laborers in Thailand were Chinese coolies, the outsiders of the “phrai” system. To study this laborer group, we should understand four inter-related factors. The first are the problems within China that pushed Chinese emigrants from their homeland. The second are the trading and production changes in Southeast Asia, which came from many factors both inside and outside the region. The third is the power of Western countries, which influenced Southeast Asia at that time. The fourth are the conditions and problems in Thai “sakdina” society, including the political and governmental institutions, which were changed in King Rama V’s reformation.

The research found that the laborer class in Thailand emerged at the end of the 18th century in a situation where production for export and trade prospered. They were all Chinese laborers. They used the “kongsi” system in their community and in their ways of production. Moreover, they used the “kongsi” system for trading and protecting themselves from outsiders. The “kongsi” system had a horizontal relationship that emphasized brotherhood, partnership and equality among its members. Later on, this system was superseded by the triad system, which was a vertical relationship. The triad, or T’ien-ti Hui, or secret societies, were governed by a hierarchy and had strict rules, so in this organization equality disappeared. Its ritual oath-taking ceremony and use of opium made the triads tightly-knit. Consequently, coolies and employers could not be separated within the triad “kongsi” system. Coolies would be well taken care of if they demonstrated loyalty to and worked hard for their employers, but they would be severely punished if they lacked these qualities.

This research draws a clear picture of the coolies’ lives in the early Rattanakosin period to the beginning of King Rama VI, in the shipping and the ship-building industry, the sugar industry, pirate organizations, tin mines and various economic activities in the capital, Bangkok.

The triad “kongsi” system gradually faded out at the end of the 19th century when there were many changes in Thai society brought about by both Western influences and the attitude of the Thai government. At that time, Bangkok became the hub of
export production. After that, the triad “kongsi” system was not suited to the urban way of life in a modern city such as Bangkok. The employers or the rich were the first to separate themselves from the “kongsi” system. Some of them moved to become aristocratic Thai. They absorbed both Western and Thai “sakdina” culture and then neglected the “kongsi” Chinese culture. They established, instead, new organizations like merchant guilds and chambers of commerce. These groups of merchants were called “thaokae.” At the same time, the coolies themselves established their new organizations, which subsequently became the modern laborer organizations. At first, the coolie organizations were controlled by “thaokae” groups who employed them for their own advantage. These kinds of organizations were “angyi” or gangsters, which were latterly subdued by the Thai government towards the end of King Rama V’s reign and the beginning of King Rama VI’s reign.

Introduction

This paper is a brief account of research that studied the kongsi system and the laborer class in Thailand. The concept of the Chinese kongsi system that is used in this research comes from three important historical works. The first one is The Origins of Chinese Kongsi by Wang Tai Peng, which tries to explain the origins and erosion of the kongsi system in Southeast Asia (Wang 1995). Another item of research is Opium and Empire: Chinese Society in Colonial Singapore 1800–1990 by Carl A. Trocki. He describes the kongsi system of Singapore and Southeast Asia (Trocki 1990). The third source is Chinese Pioneers on the Sarawak Frontier 1841–1941 by Daniel Chew, in which he specifically studies the kongsi system in Sarawak (Chew 1990).

The three works are different when explaining the characteristics of the kongsi system but they are similar in explaining their establishment and ruin. Moreover, they emphasize that the kongsi system were almost inevitable for most overseas Chinese as is shown by their establishment in Borneo by the Hakka from the end of the eighteenth until the end of the nineteenth century. Trocki does not entirely agree with many points in Wang Tai Peng’s kongsi concept that the kongsi system which appeared in Southeast Asia were unique in their combination of the Chinese brotherhood tradition within an economic partnership and that the kongsi system of Southeast Asia were different from the “secret” societies of China. Trocki explains that the Chinese kongsi systems were organized for economic purposes. They emerged in the eighteenth century within Chinese settlements in Southeast Asia and they were primarily workers’ organizations. Some of them were characterized by some forms of triad ritual and could thus be considered as “secret” societies. Trocki argues that the kongsi systems of Southeast Asia were not unique. Particular circumstances led to different kongsi configurations. In certain situations, kongsi ties based on kinship or speech group or regional origin cut across oaths of brotherhood. The significance of the kongsi systems was their economic function. The Kongsi system grew up around certain occupations and industries, in different places and at different times, and they maintained a variety of relationships with external political structures. Likewise, whether or not a kongsi system was a “secret” society was largely a function of its situation. Rituals were probably always private but in
situations where the kongsi system was not a forbidden organization secrecy was probably only a formality.

Trocki explains that the kongsi systems in Southeast Asia and in some colonies did not always form a self-governing community but, rather, some were under the power of local government. The kongsi systems were thus economic organizations that assumed the functions of government when necessary. Some kongsi systems lacked democracy and equality. The triad concept of brotherhood, the “heaven-earth-man,” seems to have formed the umbrella, particularly in frontier situations. Some kongsi systems had political and military aspects. The early settlements of the overseas Chinese were an extension of the maritime world dominated by anti-Manchu rebels. The settlers came in ships or as groups, perhaps already organized as kongsi. Another reason for maintaining the military-political function was that these overseas settlements had to provide their own defense in a relatively hostile and unsettled environment. Even where a reliable local government provided security, the Chinese were generally left to manage their own internal affairs. These were undertaken by the kongsi system.

Even though there have been some historical studies portraying the economic and social changes in the early Rattanakosin period, the story of wage laborer class in Thailand is still unclear. The three major works on the topic are Chinese Society in Thailand: An Analytical History by William Skinner, (Skinner 1957) Tribute and Profit: Sino-Siamese Trade 1631–1853 by Sarasin Viraphol (Viraphol 1977) and Pak Kai Lae Bai Rua by Nithi Iawsriwong (Iawsriwong 1995). Skinner generally studies Chinese society in Thailand. The pictures that he distinctly displays are the story and statistics of Chinese immigrants. Viraphol’s work emphasizes the trade between Siam and China from its prosperity to its decline. Iawsriwong studies Chinese immigrants as Siam’s bourgeois class and their activities in both foreign and inland trade. These three do not study Chinese activity in production and consequently the story of laborers is only inexplicitly shown.

The three works of Wang Tai Peng, Carl A. Trocki and Daniel Chew have been used to provide the conceptual framework for this research in studying the circumstances and conditions of the wage laborer class in Thailand. The study can be outlined as follows.

1. Chinese coolie immigrants formed the first group of the wage laborer class in Thailand. This class originated in sakdina society at the end of the eighteenth century coinciding with the end of the Ayutthaya and the beginning of the Rattanakosin periods. During the reigns of King Rama I to King Rama III of the Rattanakosin Period, they developed as an exclusive class in Thai society. Chinese coolies worked at first in the shipping and the ship-building industry, in pepper plants and the sugar industry and later in tin mines, rice mills and saw mills. All of these were part of the export business and had the Chinese merchants as the real employers. In some businesses, Chinese merchants had to deal under the umbrella of members of the Thai upper class who facilitated their activities by lending capital or giving extra legitimacy. In the nineteenth century, some Chinese coolies worked in the public works of the modern city of Bangkok replacing the phrai corvee laborers.
The arrival of Chinese coolies coincided with a period of expansion in commerce and a high demand for laborers in Southeast Asia. At that time, the forced corvee laborers or *phrai* people were under the control of the Thai *sakdina* ruling class. The demand for commodities in Southeast Asia came from 2 areas; 1. China demanded tin, gold, tobacco, gambia, pepper, sugar, rice and forest commodities. 2. Europe demanded coffee, sugar, pepper, teak, rice and forest commodities. Some of this demand could not be satisfied or afforded by the *phrai* people, so the Chinese stepped in and the Thai ruling class did not despise them because the rulers derived advantages from exporting and trading taxes including internal production revenue.

Iawsriwong (1995) comments that Chinese immigrants in the Early Period of Rattanakosin were populations with quality, diligence and a tolerance for hard work. Moreover, they had some economic experience and commercial knowledge especially in accounting. Nevertheless, most of them failed to achieve success in both social and economic status in their society. They were all uneducated so they were unable to be good delegates of Chinese culture. The work that they could do and which made the Thai higher class admire them was as craftsmen, builders, artists and masons (Swee 1991: 37–48).

2. There were four reasons why the Chinese coolies migrated to Thailand.
Table 1: Selected estimate of the Chinese and total population of Thailand prior to 1917

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approx. Year</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Total (all races)</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1822</td>
<td>440,000</td>
<td>2,790,500</td>
<td>Crawford 1830, II. 224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1827</td>
<td>800,000</td>
<td>3,252,650</td>
<td>Mallock 1852, 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>3,620,000</td>
<td>Edmund Roberts, from Malcom 1839, 146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1839</td>
<td>450,000</td>
<td>3,000,000</td>
<td>Malcom 1839, 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>1,100,000</td>
<td>3,653,150</td>
<td>Mallock 1852, 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>1,500,000</td>
<td>6,000,000</td>
<td>Pallegoix 1854, I, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5,000,000</td>
<td>Auguste Heurtier, from Girard 1860, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>1,750,000</td>
<td>7,000,000</td>
<td>Werner 1873, 259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4,000,000</td>
<td>Siam Consular Report 1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>1,750,000</td>
<td>7,750,000</td>
<td>Rouset 1878, 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>1,500,000</td>
<td>5,900,000</td>
<td>Rosny 1885, 116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>3,000,000</td>
<td>10,000,000</td>
<td>Gaston Rautier, from Hallett 1890, 461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Gordon 1891, 289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>1,500,000</td>
<td>5,900,000</td>
<td>Hoeylaerts 1892, 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>900,000</td>
<td>9,000,000</td>
<td>Directory for Bangkok and Siam 1894, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>400,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Campbell 1902, 268#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>600,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Raquez 1903, 434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>700,000</td>
<td>5,000,000</td>
<td>Little 1903, 261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
<td>6,300,000</td>
<td>Mury 1903, 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>2,500,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Gottwaldt 1903, 75, 89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>480,000</td>
<td>5,029,000</td>
<td>Directory for Bangkok and Siam 1903, 119**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>1,400,000</td>
<td>6,000,000</td>
<td>Siam Free Press 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>2,755,807</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>“Statistik der Chinesen in Auslande” 1907–1908, 277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Survey of Chinese Industry and Commerce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>400,000</td>
<td>6,020,000</td>
<td>1951 Graham 1912, 109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>650,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>China Year Book 1912, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>1,500,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>China Year Book 4916, 37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1 Starvation and political problems encouraged Chinese migration, especially among the people who lived near the South Seas (Nanyang). China had always faced many natural hazards: floods, the collapse of dams, epidemics, high temperatures and droughts. These problems made the cultivation of crops far more difficult and, with lower yields, many people died of starvation. As well as natural hazards, the lives of many Chinese people were made worse by wars, both internal and from outside which not only lowered productivity but also used up any surplus. Wars with foreign countries cost an enormous amount and the Chinese community was severely hampered by having to pay war debts. Moreover, as an additional burden, many Chinese were...
oppressed by foreigners. Wholesale starvation brought about by economic, political, natural and social problems made many people in the south of China migrate from their homeland. Even though the Ch’ing Governments did not permit this practice, and considered those leaving to be pirates, criminals or traitors, many Chinese continued to migrate to the South Seas for their survival and to make their fortune (Iawsriwong 1995: 145–146).

2.2 In the nineteenth century, Chinese laborers were in great demand on the world market and the Ch’ing dynasty was forced to change its policy of prohibiting its people from migrating to one of protecting its people who were working as wage laborers, or “coolies.” In this century, some Western countries, in extending their power and economic activity in their colonies, found that they needed many more unskilled laborers to help in the extraction of the colonies’ natural resources. In 1838, the American government passed an act to prohibit the African slave trade. One of the results was that Chinese laborers, working for low wages, replaced black slave laborers in some economic activities. In the nineteenth century, Penang, Singapore, Macao and Hong Kong became the trade centers for Chinese coolies in Southeast Asia (Irick 1982: 6–8). The traffic of Chinese coolies made a lucrative profit for some Portuguese, British and French companies. After the end of the Opium War in 1845, the coolie trade began to expand but it was abolished in 1874, following strong Chinese opposition to the practice (Yen 1985: 119, 122).

Chinese coolies were exported to all regions of the world; to South Africa, to North and South America and to almost every area in Southeast Asia. In general, Chinese coolies were either: 1. voluntary immigrants, 2. indentured coolies, or 3. credit-ticket coolies. The voluntary immigrants, or free emigrants, went abroad bypassing any local and foreign coolie dealers so they were free to work when they arrived at their destination. This group of coolies normally had relatives or friends to accommodate them. The indentured and the credit-ticket coolies migrated under the control of coolie dealers as part of the coolie trade system. The indentured coolies received money when they arrived at their destination and then the coolies were passed into the hands of the coolie dealers. At the port, the coolies could be sold on to other dealers at a high profit. The other group, the credit-ticket coolies, had no money to pay for their tickets. When they arrived at their destination, there would be someone to pay for their tickets including any expenses incurred on the voyage and after this payment was made, the laborers were free to work. Normally both indentured coolies and credit-ticket coolies were treated similarly. They were treated like animals and were called “pigs” because of the disgusting conditions on the ships. Almost all of them worked hard for their freedom which, on average, they secured after three years (Campbell 1971: 2–6).

The coolies that migrated to Thailand were of two kinds: voluntary immigrants and credit-ticket coolies.

The coolie trade in China was managed by both foreign coolie brokers and local brokers. In this situation, the Ch’ing dynasty’s policies for prohibiting the coolie trade and Chinese people from going abroad, were not successful. After the Treaty of Beijing in 1860, the Ch’ing dynasty had to accept the existence of the coolie trade and had to change its policies
to protect Chinese people who were going abroad. Under the government’s new policy toward the coolie trade, Chinese people legally migrated in order to work abroad. This new policy was brought about by the pressure exerted upon the Ch’ing government by those powerful countries that had most to benefit from the coolie trade. In addition, the Ch’ing government recognized the economic capability of the Chinese working overseas writing overseas and anticipated that considerable funds would be sent back to China (Swee 1991: 66–69). The new attitude and policy toward coolies augmented the coolie traffic so that cheap Chinese laborers were soon to be found everywhere in the world.

2.3 The court of Siam had for a long time accepted Chinese people as migrants into the kingdom. Many Chinese people had migrated into this kingdom from the beginning of the Ayutthaya period. They played a significant role in shipping by becoming accountants, storehouse officials and sailors. Many others worked as merchants, pig farmers, craftsmen, traditional Chinese dancers, state officials and doctors, to name but a few. There were three reasons that Thai society had relied on them and had left important work in their hands. 1. The Chinese had become accustomed to both the Thai people and the Thai court. Opportunities for trade prompted further immigration to Thailand and many Chinese became long-term residents. 2. The Chinese court and the Siamese court had a close relationship because the Siamese court accepted traditional Chinese trade under the tribute system. The trade between the two countries was prosperous in the reigns of King Rama II and King Rama III. 3. Chinese immigration did not trouble the Siamese state, but rather satisfied the need for laborers, tax farmers, loyal ship’s officers and craftsmen.

Because of the large number of Chinese immigrants entering the country, the Siamese court introduced laws to control the flow. In the reign of King Rama II, Chinese immigrants were controlled by the collection of a poll tax generally known as phuk phi. Every three years they had to register with the state for phuk phi and they had to pay two baht with a fee of one satang. This payment was increased in the reign of King Rama III to four baht with a fee of one satang. This rate of payment continued to be used until King Rama V abolished it in 1908 and changed it to correspond with the same rate that Thai people paid which was six baht a year from 1909. This method provided some means of controlling the number of Chinese immigrants. The Siamese state instituted some Chinese governors in the reign of King Rama III and some Chinese judges in the reign of King Rama IV. Siamese state policy towards Chinese immigrants was to permit some limited Chinese self-governance, one result of which was to increase the number of Chinese people migrating to Thailand (Lertphanichkul 1991: 117–130).

2.4 The ease of traveling from China to Thailand also encouraged greater Chinese migration. At first, the Chinese often migrated in Chinese junks. The Teochiu dialect group was the most numerous migrant group coming into Thailand on their red-hulled junks from the port of Zhanglin port. Many Hokkien dialect people sailed from Fukien in their green-hulled junks. The voyage generally took more than a month. The junk weighed about three hundred fifty tons and had usually no fewer than two hundred passengers. The Chinese junk journey was
dependent upon wind. For the journey to Thailand, ships had to come between January and April to take advantage of the north-eastern monsoon. The return trip to China was best undertaken in June or July, helped by the south-western monsoon. The passengers had to live their normal everyday lives on the deck of the junk for a long period of time and they also had to face shortages of food and water, problems with pirates and the vagaries of the weather (Chanthawanich 1991: 13–15).

About the middle of the nineteenth century, there was a change in marine transportation. Westerners brought steamships for transportation to every important port of this region including China, Singapore, Hong Kong, Amoy, Kwangtung and Swatow. Steamships were employed instead of the Chinese junks because they were better able to accommodate the enormous increase in coolie traffic after the end of the Opium War and the Beijing Treaty of 1860 that allowed Chinese people to go abroad legally. The lucrative profit from the Chinese coolie traffic attracted Western Shipping companies and their interest grew in this business.

In 1873, The Scottish and Oriental Company began to use steamships for voyages between Bangkok, Hong Kong and Swatow and, also, appointed the Windsor Company its agency in Thailand. Initially, shipping schedules were not very accurate but, at the beginning of 1882, the Bangkok Passenger Steamer Company of Britain began to run the shipping business between Bangkok and Swatow and the company inaugurated a punctual once-a-week schedule. Subsequently, other rival European ship companies entered the business and, in 1888, a new line providing a direct voyage between Bangkok, Swatow and Hainam was opened so that Chinese coolies could be more expeditiously transported to Thailand (Veeskul 1949: 2–5).

Among the Western countries, Britain had been the one that had taken most advantage of the coolie traffic to Thailand at first but in 1874–1899 the British steamship companies faced rivalry from Norwegian and German shipping companies. From 1899, Germany became the most powerful country in shipments to the Far East and Southeast Asia. This success occurred because of the assistance of the German government, which strongly supported their shipping companies in the competition. The North German Lloyd Steamship Company took over the British ship companies and controlled fifty five percent of the shipping into and out of Thailand. After the German shipping companies had eliminated their rivals, they raised the ticket price. In 1906 the Nippon Yusen ship company of Japan launched their business in Thailand but for a short period the company had to withdraw because of failure in the face of reduced ticket price competition. For this reason, the German shipping companies continued to control all shipments to and from Thailand.

In 1908, some Chinese merchants in Thailand tried to destroy the shipping monopoly and the high price of traffic. They collaborated to establish a new shipping company, the “Siam Chinese Ship Company,” by hiring some steamships from a Norwegian company. The company had many shareholders from the leaders of five Chinese dialect groups: Hokkien, Teochiu, Hakka, Hainam and Kwangtung. Moreover, some of the shareholders such as Mr. Hun Kim Hoad, Mr. Aung Lum Sum and Mr. Seow Hood
Seng, had connections with the national party “Guomingdang” of China. The attempt to establish their shipping company came from the growing feeling of nationalism among Chinese leaders, who wished to strengthen their nation and to counter Western influence. Even though the Chinese leaders and merchants compelled their employees to take the company ship when they went abroad, the company met with failure like the other European companies that had previously been rivals in this business. At last, the Siam Chinese Ship Company was abolished in 1912. Some important shareholders like Kim Seng Lee (Luang Sophon Phet Charat) and Yi Koh Hong (Phra Anuwat Ratchaniyom), were left in debt and bankruptcy followed. As a result, the Thai shipping business remained under the control of a few German shipping companies (Bualek 2002: 52–56).

3. The kongsi system emerged in Southeast Asia at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. This system was not only a commercial relationship but also the basis of all Chinese coolie immigration relationships. The kongsi system initially emphasized brotherhood and partnership with equality but later this system was superseded by the triad or “Tien-ti Hui” which was familiarly called a secret organization or angyi in some areas. In Thailand this kind of organization may have begun at the same period as in other parts of Southeast Asia but it explicitly showed up at a tin mine in the south of Thailand during the reign of King Rama II of the Rattanakosin period (Lertphanichkul 1981: 144). At that time there were a lot of Chinese coolie immigrants in both agricultural plantations and tin mines so the triads were needed to oppress the coolies and crush any resistance. According to the evidence, in 1824 during the reign of King Rama III in Chanthaburi province, a Teochiu bean-oil kongsi system with 700–800 members fought against a Hokkien kongsi system. Both of them had an established triad system which had the managers of the mills called long chu as leaders of the triads (Damrong Rachanuphap 1974: 328–331).

As well as setting up the triad kongsi system, the use of opium became a highly significant instrument for intoxicating coolies to persuade them to work hard and not escape. One of the major problems of the governments of King Rama II and King Rama III was that the triad kongsi system provided opium for coolies and smuggled large quantities of opium into the country. Even though King Rama III introduced a prohibition policy for opium possession and addiction and proclaimed that those who broke it would be severely punished, opium smuggling remained prevalent. This policy failure was caused by three main factors. 1. The Thai government realized that Great Britain was the nation that derived most benefit from the trade and was behind-the-scene in supplying opium; in this area the Thai government dared not oppose Britain. 2. Many Thai aristocrats lacked honesty and benefited from the smuggling of opium, so the attempts to suppress opium in the reign of King Rama III were unsuccessful. 3. Opium consumption was an ingrained habit with many coolies and thus it was impossible to stamp out the habit. The more Chinese coolies migrated to Thailand, the more opium was distributed in this country (Damrong Rachanuphap 1974: 332–338).

Because it proved impossible to suppress the growing opium trade, a royal
command in 1851 sanctioned opium addiction with the government benefiting from future taxes on its sale. However, the defeat of China by Great Britain in the Opium War was significant. China had to pay both money and land as an indemnity for the war. This was a clear lesson for the Thai state. By the terms of the Bowring Treaty 1855 between Thailand and Great Britain, there was an agreement that Great Britain could import opium into Thailand without any tax, hence the number of opium distributors in the country grew considerably. The opium tax that the state derived from the tax-farmers represented one quarter (1/4) of the nation’s entire higher income—derived from opium, lotteries, gambling and distillation taxes. The proportion of taxes from the consumption of the coolies was about fifty per cent of the entire revenue collection, twenty per cent of which came from opium (Jaranpattana 1980: 102–103, 172–173).

The kongsi system controlled the coolies’ ways of living for about one hundred years from the end of the eighteenth century but it faced a decline at the end of the nineteenth century at the end of King Rama V’s reign and the beginning of King Rama VI’s reign. The cause of the decline was principally that the fraternal relationship in the kongsi system gradually deteriorated and was replaced by the employee/employer relationship. Furthermore, the environment of the coolies’ lives between the beginning and the end of the nineteenth century was of the significantly different. By the end of the nineteenth century, Bangkok, a modernized capital with many new roads for transportation, was becoming the center of production. It was isolated like the production areas in the Early Rattanakosin Period. The relationship between employers, between thaokae people, and the employees changed. Most of thaokae people resided in luxurious European-style residences in town, so they did not stay in the kongsi houses with the coolies any more. The kongsi houses were the homes of the coolies and the Chinese managers or long chu. Some of the employers began to adopt European culture and enjoyed Thai sakdina rank by becoming tax-farmers, so the essence of the kongsi system that emphasized a closed fraternal Chinese relationship decayed. The discriminative process between the employers and the Chinese coolies became marked in the reign of King Rama V. After that the Chinese coolies established their own kongsi systems which were at first occupied by the employers or thaokae. The kongsi coolies at that time were not the kongsi production—on the contrary they were only the brokers of coolie laborers (Damrong Rachanuphap 1974: 332–336). At the same time the employers also established their own kongsi organization, “the Chinese Chamber of Commerce (1910)” or hui in the Chinese style (Bualek 2002: 242–243, 291).

Another reason for the change in the relationship was caused by the centralization or strengthening of the central state in King Rama V’s reign. According to this concept, the kongsi system or angyi group were unlawful organizations so they had to be suppressed and abolished. Evidence from King Rama IV’s era and King Rama V’s era shows that the kongsi coolies frequently quarreled. This rivalry arose chiefly from competition over seeking jobs for newcomers. In Bangkok, thaokae groups derived great benefit from being coolie brokers, so they recruited a large number of coolies from China. In business competition they had to establish the
kongsi systems for controlling their coolies and acquiring work; thus quarreling among the kongsi coolies occurred all the time. In the southern area, there were two prominent kongsi groups: Yi Hin and Pun Thao Kong. Both of them dealt in mining, so they fought for the control of water resources to clean the tin ore. The government at that time used the supporting anyi policy to solve kongsi disputes. According to this policy, the Chinese had some measure of self-government so they had to choose leaders of each clan to have contact with the government. The Chinese leaders had to drink holy water and take an oath that they would be loyal to the king and not cause any disturbance. Explicitly, this policy collapsed because these leaders engaged in disputes after the death of the powerful aristocrat, Somdet Chaophraya Borommathep Sri Suriyawong (Chuang Bunna) in 1882 who had employed the supporting anyi policy. At that period the anyi kongsi groups lacked any person to respect and look up to so they frequently fought among themselves (Damrong Rachanuphap 1974: 334–365).

In 1889 in Bangkok, there was a big battle between a Teochiu kongsi group and a Hokkien kongsi groups because of the rivalry in seeking jobs for newcomers. The government used an army of about one thousand soldiers to suppress this disturbance. About eight hundred members of both kongsi groups were captured, thirty were killed and twenty injured. After this incident, the government definitely decided to end the Chinese kongsi anyi organization. The government proclaimed the anyi Act of 1887 prohibiting the establishment of the kongsi anyi organization. Those breaking the law were to be fined as well as detained for any infraction. After this, the Thai state passed the Nationality Change Act of 1911, the Exile Act of 1912 and the Nationality Act of 1913 to control the Chinese community. Another important act was the Association Act of 1914 which compelled Chinese organizations of all kinds to register and come under the control of the Thai state. These acts were an attempt by the Thai state to coerce the Chinese into conforming to Thai ways and involuntarily erode the Chinese kongsi system.

The other cause of the kongsi collapse was the European influence in both economy and culture. The growth of production and trade arising from European capitalism provided huge benefits to the Chinese capitalists and the rich in Thailand. This new group in Thai society needed a new way of life to demonstrate their wealth, so they replaced the Chinese life style with a European style. This weakened the Confucian brotherhood culture and the basis of the kongsi relationship became ignored. A lot of Chinese merchants and coolies accepted the Christian religion and became the responsibility of European consuls (Lertphanichkul 1981: 1824–1910). These were reasons for the Chinese kongsi decline.

4. This investigative research into the kongsi system in Thailand, has studied five specific cases. They are 1. shipping and ship-building, 2. the sugar industry, 3. pirate organizations, 4. tin mines, and 5. various economic activities in the capital, Bangkok. The Chinese coolies played a major role in the pepper plant industry but there is insufficient data for an in-depth study, so it was not included in this research. Conclusions drawn from the five

case studies may be summarized as follows:

4.1 Chinese people have played a significant role in the maritime affairs of Thailand since the Ayutthaya period. The junk trade between China and Ayutthaya, under the tribute system, was so prosperous that there was an organization named “Pen-kang hang” in Kwangtung to take care of the monopoly of maritime trade between the two kingdoms (Cushman 1975: 40–41). The destruction of the Ayutthaya state caused a short break in the trade cycle which was not revived until the time of King Rama II and King Rama III in the Rattanakosin era. Not only the king but also aristocrats and Chinese merchants took part in the trade. The main exports to China were rhinoceros horn, sappan wood, cardamoms, pepper, crude sugar, anchors, tillers and other jungle products. Thailand traded with its other neighbors in Southeast Asia, as well as with China. Crawfurd, who entered Thailand in about 1823, noted that there were about seventy junks on the Chaophraya River, two of them were government-owned vessels, twenty were owned by aristocrats and about forty-eight were owned by Chinese merchants. In addition to these, the Chinese merchants had about thirty to forty vessels trading with adjacent areas in Southeast Asia. All of the laborers and the commanders on the ships were Chinese. The maritime trade brought wealth to all who were involved in it and they were named chaosua or setthi samphao (Thinanont 1979: 66–73).

Burney observed in 1826 that the Siamese king and most of his courtiers participated in the trade with China, which yielded them a three hundred percent profit at least. They sold sapan wood, gamboge and other goods at Chinese ports via Chinese merchants. According to documents of the Third Reign, Siamese vessels trading with Canton, Shanghai and Ningpo carried as their usual cargo, such items as sapan wood, pepper, red wood, bee’s wax, tin, cardamom, rudders, rhinoceros horn and betel nuts. Between 1844 and 1845, twenty ships were involved in the transport of such items to the above destinations. We also learn that the cost of outfitting a junk to trade there, at least for that season, was slightly over one thousand three hundred and eighty Siamese tales (£690). Such ventures involved a number of junks from the Siamese side, including those vessels owned by resident merchants and chartered to the Siamese court. There were also many from the Chinese side which traded actively with Siam (Viraphol 1977: 194–195).

In the early Rattanakosin period, Bangkok was the hub of Chinese junk building because the junks built in Siam were considered to be the cheapest and most durable. The Chinese junks which were built in Bangkok imitated the style of the junks of Kwangtung and Fukien. Bangkok became the hub for Chinese junk building because there were considerable quantities of hard wood in this area so junks were fifty percent cheaper than those built in China. The shipping industry may have existed before the Rattanakosin period and evidence shows that in King Rama I’s reign, there were many shipyards along the Chaophraya River. In King Rama II’s reign the Thai shipping industry was very influential on the Asian shipping market (Cushman 1975: 81–82). According to Crawfurd’s report, the majority of junks that journeyed between East India and China were built in Bangkok. Chinese merchants and the Thai government were the owners of the
shipyards which were located in many of the kingdom’s coastal areas. Crawfurd estimated that there were about eight thousand laborers working in shipping but he did not give any information on the number of coolies in the ship building industry (Crawfurd 1972: 111). A fair approximation might be that more than ten thousand laborers worked in the two activities due to prosperity at that time.

Labor in both shipping and ship-building used the *kongsi* system as in China. The research of Jennifer Wayne Cushman explains that everyone on the ship had a strong spirit of brotherhood and could expect a share of the profits. Because they were from the same village and they had collaborated in building ships, everyone was allowed a certain tonnage of personal goods on the ship which depended upon the position and the status of the person. Some of them could get salaries and also some space to hold goods but some could get only space (Cushman 1975: 137–139). This kind of relationship also existed on Thai ships. For the ship-building industry, labor relationship was in accordance with the *kongsi* system and depended on the dialectal groups which were Teochiu, Hokkien and Hainam, of which Hainam was the most important group playing a role in this industry.

The coming of the Europeans to this region from the reign of King Rama III onwards contributed to the decline of the shipping industry in Thailand. The junk trade and junk building were replaced by European merchant ships, which subsequently included steamships (Cushman 1975: 88–89).

4.2 Chinese piracy expanded over the south seas of China and Southeast Asia during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The same *kongsi* tradition for sea life, was used for their self-government. The reasons that the Chinese people in the south of China turned to piracy were much the same as their reasons for migration. In reality, the Chinese immigrants formed a closed, tightly-knit society and there were close relationships between merchants, immigrants and pirates. In the junks, they journeyed hoping for good fortune which might be any of three types, depending upon circumstances. These would determine whether the emigrants became good or bad because the seas at that time were not controlled by any one nation. During the period of the Opium War (1839–1842) and the Tai-Peng rebellion (1850–1864), many Chinese people turned to piracy. Some of the Chinese immigrants could not get any work because their number exceeded the requirements for regional production. Sometimes they met problems in new lands so they turned to piracy later on. It was easy to exist as a sea pirate because no states or kingdoms in Southeast Asia had a strong enough navy or army to suppress them.

The Chinese, who had menaced the seas around the Thai kingdom since the reign of King Rama III, can be separated into two groups: one consisting of the pirates intending to build their junks for plundering, and the other pirates who were sometimes merchants. These merchants would turn to piracy when they had the chance to attack other vessels and to smuggle merchandise. The two groups of pirates were found throughout the seas of Southeast Asia and this presented a great problem to the Western countries which were intruding into this region. Vessels from Great Britain, France, Holland, and America were frequently attacked, plundered and their merchandise
stolen. These Chinese pirates created an enormous problem not only for the vessels of Western countries but also for Thai shipping.

In 1850, Chinese pirates perpetrated an egregious attack. They stormed the town of Songkhla, burnt the governor’s house and captured the deputy governor. The officers and the people were so frightened that they escaped and hid in the jungle (see The Chinese). In the reigns of King Rama IV and King Rama V Chinese pirate activity increased especially in the area of the Andaman Sea because this was an area with many tin mines, merchant ships and multitudes of Chinese coolies. There appeared to be a correlation between the number of coolies and the incidences of piracy. When the tin price in the market failed, many tin mines were closed and, consequently, the unemployed Chinese coolies turned to piracy. Sometimes, the conflict between the Chinese kongsi increased the number of pirates and their activities. Each side both attacked and plundered the other as the opportunity presented itself. 4

The Thai state succeeded in suppressing the pirates in the reign of King Rama V because of the combined efforts of Great Britain, France, and the Thai government. Great Britain was the country that had suffered most from piracy. Its ships were frequently the target of attacks and this interrupted their commercial activity. The British government attempted to subdue the pirates in this region from the sea south of China to the Malaka Channel but British efforts to crush the pirates would have failed without the cooperation of the Thai government. For this reason, the British government employed many strategies to influence the Thai government such as giving advice, sending naval troops to subdue the pirates along the Thai coast and severely condemning the Thai state. 5 Subduing the pirates was the main reason that Thailand had to develop a navy.

4.3 The sugar industry, which emerged about 1810 at the beginning of the Rattanakosin period, was the earliest monopoly industry that employed huge numbers of Chinese coolies and attracted much investment. At that time, before the Bowring Treaty of 1855, sugar was the most important export item even more so than rice. In 1832 it was recorded that the major areas of sugar plantations and mills were in the central part of Thailand near Bangkok, in the provinces of Nakorn-Prathom, Samut-Prakarn, Nakorn-Chaisri, Samut-Sakorn, Ratchaburi and Chachoengsao. In this last province, on the Bang Pakong River, there were about thirty sugar mills. The prosperity of the sugar industry arose because of the support of the Thai government. The investors could be divided into three groups which were: 1. The king and the members of the royal family, 2. The aristocrats or noblemen and 3. The Chinese merchants. The first and the second groups played their role in this industry by making capital available and giving the privileges to the third group. The patronage relationship was commonly used among the three groups of investors. The powerful aristocrat “Bunnag” family was significantly involved in the sugar

4 see The Letter from Chaophraya Akharamahasenabordi to Phraya Senanuchit, the governor of Takao-Pra Province

5 see The Letter from Chaophraya Akharamahasenabordi to Phraya Phuket
industry. The Chinese merchants, the real businessmen in this industry, were also the same group that was investing in the Junk trade and in sugar tax-farmers. In the reign of King Rama III, the sugar industry had been conducted as a monopoly by tax-farmers for the whole country. There was a change in the reign of King Rama IV in that the tax farming was separated into three regions and was also managed by three tax-farmers. Nevertheless, this business brought a lot of benefit to those involved (Burusratanaphand 1983: 10–20).

In the sugar mills and sugar cane plantations, there was a Chinese manager or longchu who governed the Chinese laborers. Normally, the sugar kongsi system formed according to dialectal groups; Teochiu, Hokkien and Hainam. The managers and the laborers were always from the same dialectal group. In each sugar mill, there were about 100–300 laborers. They spent their lives together, eating rice cooked in the same large cauldron, and sleeping under the same roof. The Chinese laborers had to obey the foremen and the managers and there existed a brotherly respect among members of the same kongsi group. In some sugar mills or plantations, their relationship was very deep at the clan level and they were, thus, tightly knit. For example, the “Tan” clan in Chachoengsao was very powerful because the top leader of the kongsi angyi organization in this area, longchu sin-tong, was in this clan.6

In 1848, there was a violent rebellion of the kongsi angyi organization in the sugar industry in Chachoengsao in which every sugar mill and plantation took part. The rebels killed the governor, and then occupied the town. Eventually, they were overcome by central state troops and about three thousand members were killed. The causes of the rebellion were dissatisfaction with official judgments and also the government’s suppression of opium smuggling from which the kongsi group and the sugar managers had obtained benefit. In engaging kongsi troops to occupy the town, the kongsi warrior coolies had to completely obey their leaders or longchu under penalty of death if they refused. The ritual oath-taking ceremony and opium addiction were used as tools of persuasion and to create unity. The soldiers of the “Tan” clan were the most trustworthy so they took the major role in controlling the town.7

4.4 In the south of Thailand, Chinese coolies had played the major role as tin mine workers in the reign of King Rama III after the central state gave authority in tin mining concessions and the collection of revenues to the Chinese tax farmers. While King Rama IV was the ruler, there was another change in tin mining owing to the high demand for tin on the world market and the increase in the tin concession fee. The Chinese tax-farmers, who normally were also the town governors, had expanded their production area and recruited Chinese coolies. The Phuket governor had persuaded Chinese investors from Penang to participate in investment and to recruit coolies to work in Phuket. The central government had supported this arrangement by lending the

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6 see The testimony copy of a Chinese on the triad story in Chachoengsao Province

7 See The testimony copy of a Chinese on the triad story in Chachoengsao Province
tax-farmers capital because they expected an increase in income from tin revenues, trading revenues, tariffs and the Chinese poll tax *phuk phi*. Thanks to the Bowring Treaty 1855, tin ore became a free trade item and the state could no longer levy any tax on it, which was a plus, even though the tin mining concessions were still in the governor’s hands. The power of the governor in tin mining concessions was abolished in 1882, in accordance with the new rules from the central government as part of the change. A governor-general representing the central government was sent to govern the southern part and collect the revenues instead (Phongphatarawat 2000: 43–52).

Most of the Chinese coolies in the tin mines were Hokkien from Amoy province in China. At first, in King Rama III’s time, they had come through Penang and Malaya. The Chinese coolies in the south of Thailand could be separated into two groups of voluntary or free immigrants and credit-ticket immigrants of which the free immigrants were numerically the larger. Credit-ticket migrants had to travel under brokers or agencies that had their branches in the rural areas of China. This group of coolie migrants increased in number when the tin mines’ need for labor increased. At the time when the local governors had the concession authority in mining, they had financed the coolie brokers to recruit coolies from China to work in tin mines but after the central government sent the governor-general to rule the southern provinces directly, coolie recruitment was arranged by the opium tax-farmers with the central government financially supporting the transportation. The credit-ticket coolie system ended towards the end of King Rama V’s reign, after which all coolies were free immigrants coming into the country through the persuasion of their cousins (Phongphatarawat 2000: 51–52).

The tin mine coolies lived their lives under the *kongsi* system. Most of them were single and worked with employers of the same clan so the brotherhood relationship was used to cover the distinction between the classes. Tin *kongsi* system was involved in the production area, the office, as well as in the dwelling places of both the employers and the coolies. Normally, in every tin *kongsi* group, there was a *kongsi* store for supplying everyday needs, an opium den, a gambling den and a liquor shop. It is estimated that each *kongsi* group had about one hundred coolies. The employer was the chief and enjoyed high respect. He could whip the coolies if they were considered lazy. Generally, tin employers had a close relationship with the town governors and they were not only the chiefs of the Chinese clans in the town but also the chiefs of the secret societies or *angyi*. In every *kongsi* group the employers had to provide opium, gambling dens, and liquor as a means of tempting the coolies staying in the *kongsi* house. These evils were also instruments that employers used to recoup wages already paid (Phongphatarawat 2000: 43–52).

Practically, Chinese coolies had to work ten hours a day and could have left from work on seven days for seven days a year on Chinese ceremonial days. In the case of sickness, they could have left their work for no more than thirty days a year. Voluntary coolies could earn 30–40 Malayan ticals but credit-ticket coolies had to work for about one to three years without any wage to repay the cost of their ticket. They only received a wage after they had completed the repayment. Traditionally, the labor wage would be paid every six months after the employers had sold their
tin ore, but if an employer suffered a loss, the coolies might not get any wage or get only half of it and this regularly caused friction in the tin mines (Auansakul 1979: 170–171).

Not only the tin mine employers but also the Thai government derived enormous financial advantage from the employment of coolies, so the government introduced a policy of increased recruitment of Chinese coolies. The government also received revenue from border pass tariffs, the Chinese poll tax *phuk phi*, opium and liquor taxes, and more besides. It has been estimated that in 1891 the government got forty baht from each Chinese and four to eight million baht in total from all the Chinese in the south of Thailand (Auansakul 1979). To control the Chinese coolies, the government employed a self-governing policy by choosing the leaders from the chiefs of the Chinese clans in the area. This policy made the employers, who were also the clan chiefs and the leaders of the secret societies, much more powerful in the eyes of coolies (Phongphatarawat 2000: 188).

The first secret society in Thailand was established in Phuket during the reign of King Rama II and it was a branch of the secret society in Penang which was settled in 1799. The objectives of these organizations were self-government, the protection of their interests, and opposition to the power of Great Britain. The secret societies in both Penang and Phuket were consistently at loggerheads. They had forsaken the ideals of the former secret societies in China to oppose the Manchou dynasty and to recover the Ming dynasty. In the south of Thailand secret societies were divided into two big groups: the Yi Hin kongsi group and the Pun Thao Kong kongsi group, and they had branches in every tin mine. Normally, the branches linked up and helped each other when they had problems and sometimes they cooperated with the organizations in Penang (Lertphanichkul 1991: 149).

The secret societies in the south of Thailand were responsible for three significant events. The first, in 1867, was the conflict between the Yi Hin kongsi and the Pun Thao Kong kongsi in Phuket over the tin washing stream. The second, in 1876, in Ranong and Phuket, arose because tin mine employers had not paid the labor wage as the agreement had demanded. In that year the government increased the Chinese poll tax from forty cents to two ticals and sixty cents and the Chinese coolies felt that they had not received justice from the local governors. These problems culminated in a coolie uprising all over the southern part of Thailand. The third event occurred in 1878 when the Pun Thao Kong kongsi attacked Krabi town and killed the governor. This event highlighted the conflict between the leaders of the Chinese kongsi group with their interests, and the tin mine coolies who were used as instruments to protect the interests of each group (Lertphanichkul 1991: 179–182).

4.5 At the end of the nineteenth century, the Chinese coolies in rice mills, saw mills and public activities were most numerous in Bangkok as a result of the expansion of trading capitalism from the West. The Chinese coolies’ lives in Bangkok differed from the lives of coolies in the provinces by virtue of their different working conditions and surroundings. The Chinese coolies in Bangkok were not restricted in their daily lives, and were not lonely and enclosed in the kongsi houses like the coolies in tin mines or sugar mills. The urban-dwelling coolies’ lives were
more open, even though some of them were still under the control of the kongsi organization. At that time the kongsi system was challenged by state reformation and the development of the Thai royal army. The Thai state set about modernizing its infrastructure based on the European model and attempted to strengthen its central power. The lonely lives of the Chinese coolies had been changed after they had been able to take their women with them after the Chinese government allowed Chinese women to go abroad in 1893. Coolies were independent in making the decision to stay inside or outside the production area or to stay with their relatives. As opium use, they could take it outside the kongsi house in the opium dens which were located near the rice mills, the saw mills, the ship docks and in every Chinese community. At the same time, they were able to go to the gambling dens, the liquor shops and also the remittance shops in the town.

In 1909 the number of Chinese immigrants in Bangkok reached 162,505 as is shown in the table below.

Table 2: The number of Chinese immigrants in Bangkok in 1909

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese dialect</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teochiu</td>
<td>78,091</td>
<td>8,207</td>
<td>86,298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hokkien</td>
<td>19,823</td>
<td>2,367</td>
<td>22,190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwangtung</td>
<td>25,978</td>
<td>4,151</td>
<td>30,129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hainam</td>
<td>12,165</td>
<td>903</td>
<td>13,068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hakka</td>
<td>9,411</td>
<td>1,409</td>
<td>10,820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>145,468</td>
<td>17,037</td>
<td>162,505</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The number of Chinese in Bangkok Rattanakosin Sok)

However, in King Rama V’s reign, almost all of the Chinese coolies were still under the control of the secret societies or angyi organizations which were divided into three significant groups; Neeg-heng, Sew Leegure and Neeg-hoge. Neeg-heng kongsi group assembled the rice mill coolies, Sew Leegure kongsi group collected the cargo vessel coolies and Neeg-hoge kongsi group gathered the coolies working in the town shops. All three had the same objective of protecting the kongsi interior especially in coolie trading. The leader of a kongsi system was called a thaokae and acted as the coolie broker. The kongsi system were able to control their coolies since they traveled from China. In some kongsi system, there might be agencies in the local villages to take the coolies to Thailand. After they arrived in Bangkok, the thaokae people would arrange jobs for them. As compensation for these arrangements, thaokae people would receive the profit from the credit ticket, expenses during the voyage, customs tariffs, food and accommodation in kongsi system (Damrong Rachanuphap 1974: 332–334). All of the expenses, together with high interest, would be taken from the laborers’ wages usually for a three-year period. The starvation coolies had to be under the patronage of kongsi angyi organizations because only by this way could they get a job and be protected from any harm in the new land.

Rice milling was the main economic activity and employed numerous Chinese coolies at that time. There were three groups of investors in this business; European traders, the Thai upper class (The king and his relatives as well as aristocrats) and Chinese traders. In the rice mills, longchu or the rice mill managers had the duty to control both the productivity and the laborers. The real investors resided in their luxurious private houses outside the production area so that the difference between the classes,
employers and employees, became explicit. Coolies in the rice mills were divided into two groups. The first were salary workers who received both salary and accommodation in the rice mills. The others were the contemporary workers who got only labor wages depending on their output of work and these were the larger portion of the coolies in the rice mills. The contemporary workers were free to work in any place but they had to be under the control of coolie brokers. Normally, Chinese coolies worked and were under the control of the same Chinese dialectal group as themselves (Tana 1984: 35–36).

Many newly-arrived, unskilled and generally illiterate coolies were employed on Bangkok public works such as building the roads and the railways as well as the tramway. Most of the coolies in public works were under the control of coolie brokers or thaokae. Some of them worked pulling rickshaws, feeding pigs and ducks and cultivating vegetables. All of them were the lowest class of coolies in Bangkok working for low wages so they had difficult lives. The coolies employed in building railways worked in bad and dangerous condition and consequently many of them died during this hard work. For efficiency in controlling the coolies and rivalry for work, thaokae people always organized the kongsi angyi organizations, so, even though this coolie control system was out of date, it was still maintained in Bangkok.

The principal uprisings of coolies in Bangkok occurred twice in the reign of King Rama V. The first occurred in 1889 and was the result of the conflict between two groups of angyi: the sew leegue and the ngee heng over the problem of seeking jobs. On this occasion, each group had about a thousand coolies participating and during the riot they closed the Charoenkrung Road from Yannawa to Bangrak for two days. The Thai government had to use soldiers and sailors from the Thai royal army and navy to suppress them. After the event the Thai government determined to abolish the secret Chinese societies, and in 1887 they passed the angyi Act to subdue the Chinese kongsi angyi organizations. To disempower all groups outside the central government was the crucial element of state reformation to centralize power within an absolutist state (Damrong Rachanuphap 1974: 353–365).

The second uprising was in 1910 and, again, it was a conflict between the Chinese coolies and the central state. The cause of this conflict came from the states increasing of the Chinese poll tax phuk phi from four baht per three years to six baht per year. The Chinese coolies in Bangkok, especially in the rice mills, saw mills and on the piers at that time, were under the control of secret societies. Estimates suggest that there were about ten-thousand coolies in Bangkok participating in this event. About twenty-thousand government soldiers were employed to suppress and control every section of the Chinese community along the Chaophraya River and the Charoenkrung Road. The government exiled some of the prominent rioters in this event. However, the government believed that the notorious secret society leader of Bangkok Yi Ko Hong, who was also the big lottery tax farmer of Bangkok, was the man behind the scene. Moreover, the government also confidently believed that the French consul supported Yi Ko Hong.
in this act of revolt against the Thai government.\footnote{National Archives, Bangkok, Ratchakan thi 6 (_th Reign) Nakornban 25.2 (Ministry of City) /Chin Nut Yood Nagn (The Chinese Boycott)}

The failure of the uprising on the second occasion signaled the end of the *kongsi angyi* system and the old Chinese leadership style. The success of the suppression added to the strength of the royal Thai army under the absolute monarchy. After this event, the government proclaimed the Exile Act 1912 and the Association Act 1914 to control any further riots and outlaw organizations. In addition, the government planned to reduce Yi Ko Hong’s role in the lottery tax. In 1916–1917 the government succeeded in taking all gambling businesses from the Chinese tax farmers and ran these itself. These measures spelled the decline and the end of the *kongsi angyi* organizations and their leaders. There was no longer any large *kongsi angyi* organization; on the contrary only numerous small gangster organizations remained. This marked the end of the era of laborers working under the control of the *kongsi* system.

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FROM WHORE TO HEROINE: DECONSTRUCTING THE MYTH OF THE FALLEN WOMAN AND REDEFINING FEMALE SEXUALITY IN CONTEMPORARY POPULAR FICTION

Surapeepan Chatraporn

Abstract

The fallen woman, long existent in patriarchal discourse and intensified by Victorian sexual ethics, succumbs to seduction or sensual desires, suffers social condemnation and ostracism, and eventually dies, either repentantly or shamelessly. The questions of female sexuality and feminine virtues are dealt with in *The Great Gatsby*, *Daisy Miller* and *The Awakening*. Daisy Buchanan, Jordan, and Myrtle, all three sexually transgressive women, are punished, with Myrtle, the most sexually aggressive, being subjected to an outrageous death penalty. Daisy Miller, upon engaging in acts of self-presentation and female appropriation of male space, undergoes social disapprobation and dies an untimely death. Edna, though boldly adopting a single sexual standard for both men and women and awakening to life’s independence and sexual freedom, eventually realizes there is no space for her and submerges herself in the ocean. In contrast, the recent contemporary narrative pattern deconstructs the myth of the fallen woman and allows the fallen woman to live and prosper. The fallen woman, traditionally a secondary character who is considered a threat to the virtuous heroine, has emerged as a major or central character with a revolutionary power that both conquers and heals. *Like Water for Chocolate*, *Chocolat* and *Fried Green Tomatoes at the Whistle Stop Café* acknowledge female mobility and sexual freedom and appropriate a space hitherto denied to fallen women. Eva Bates and Gertrudis, satiating female sexual desires and representing eroticized female bodies, overturn the traditional narrative of falling and dying by becoming competent and worthy members of society. Tita and Vianne are central heroines who challenge the cult of true womanhood, embody the sexualized New Woman and display strength and personal power, making them pillars of their communities.

1 This paper was presented at the 11th International conference on World Literature held at North Dakota State University, U.S.A. from April 4–6, 2008. The paper is a continuation of an earlier paper entitled “Bad Girls, Food and Female Position in Contemporary World Literature Bestsellers” presented at the 10th International Conference on World Literature also held at North Dakota State University, U.S.A. from April 20–22, 2007.

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in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, namely, *The Great Gatsby*, *Daisy Miller* and *The Awakening* are selected and discussed concurrently so as to provide a background, set the tone and illustrate earlier-ultimately-unsuccessful attempts of varying urgency to challenge the status quo. The unresolved issues raised by these novels have led to the growing intensity and culmination of female defiance and the smashing of the tradition in three contemporary works, namely, *Like Water for Chocolate*, *Chocolat* and *Fried Green Tomatoes at the Whistle Stop Café*, all of which can be considered as representing fully-fledged feminist discourse. The paper focuses on the dialog these contemporary texts have with one another and illustrate how they concertedely deconstruct the myth of the fallen woman and redefine female sexuality.

Laura Esquivel, a Mexican, Joanne Harris, who is British, and Fannie Flagg, an American, are contemporary women writers whose works are best-selling contemporary popular fiction and have been made into globally successful films. *Like Water for Chocolate*, *Chocolat* and *Fried Green Tomatoes at the Whistle Stop Café* have enjoyed a worldwide readership and, simultaneously, have been taught either as fiction or film adaptations in a number of schools and universities.

Originally published in 1989, Laura Esquivel’s first novel, *Como Agua Para Chocolate*, became a bestseller in the author’s home country, Mexico. It has been translated into thirty languages and the English version, *Like Water for Chocolate*, enjoyed similar success in the United States as well as in many other countries. Based on the book, the film with a screenplay by Esquivel herself, swept the Ariel awards of the Mexican Academy of Motion Pictures, winning eleven in all, and went on to become one of the most popular international films of the past few decades. In 1994 *Like Water for Chocolate* won the prestigious ABBY Award, which is given annually by the American Booksellers Association. The book and the film have won Esquivel rapid international acclaim.

Subsequent to her two obscure early novels, Joanne Harris published *Chocolat* in 1999. The novel immediately made her one of the most celebrated contemporary British novelists. *Chocolat* became a bestseller not only in the United Kingdom but also in the United States. In 2000, the novel was made into a successful motion picture which artfully combines sensual evocativeness and touches of the supernatural.

Often described as folksy, Pulitzer Prize-nominated *Fried Green Tomatoes at the Whistle Stop Café*, written by comedian, actress, producer and author Fanny Flagg, in 1987, remained for thirty six weeks at number one on the New York Times bestseller charts. This second novel brought Flagg unexpected overnight success and was released as *Fried Green Tomatoes* by Universal Studios in 1991. The script, co-written by Flagg and Director/Producer Joe Avnet, received an Academy Award nomination for best screenplay based on material previously published. Fannie Flagg also narrated *Fried Green Tomatoes at the Whistle Stop Café* for an audio edition in 1992 and received a Grammy Award for her recording of the novel.

All these three bestsellers subtly interweave the issues of female position and examine them from a female perspective.
perspective. Prevalent in these works are female identity, sexuality and autonomy. These authors have repudiated the patriarchal notion of feminine nature as binary. They have explored to a great extent the frame of female identity, the pattern of female sexuality and the possibility of female autonomy. Together they have deconstructed the long-running myth of the fallen woman and have redefined female sexuality so that it truthfully and realistically reflects the true nature of women.

Throughout male literary history, woman has been depicted as the embodiment of either virtue or evil. As Abrams (1999: 90) puts it, images of women are often represented as tending to fall into two antithetic patterns. On the one side are idealized projections of men’s desires—the Madonna, the Muses of the arts, Dante’s Beatrice, the pure and innocent virgin and the “Angel in the House.” On the other side are demonic projections of men’s sexual resentment and terror—Eve and Pandora as the sources of all evil, destructive sensual temptresses such as Delilah and Circe, the malign witch and castrating mothers. Lois Tyson (1999: 88) agrees that there are only two identities a woman can have. She can be either a “good girl” or a “bad girl.” These two roles, as referred to in more modern terms as “angel” and “bitch,” define women in terms of male desire and sexuality.

The two opposing images of women as “good girls” and “bad girls” were further fortified by the Victorian feminine ideal and the cult of true womanhood in the nineteenth century. The ideal woman was viewed as submissive, modest, unassuming, self-sacrificing, pious and above all, pure, while the perfect wife was made to be submissive to her husband, selflessly devoted to her children and excelling in the arts of family life. Her principal virtues included submission, the man dictating all actions and decisions; domesticity, the home being the woman’s domain where she made “a haven in a heartless world”; piety, the woman having a strong faith in God and leading a religious life; and, most importantly, purity, the woman being spiritually and bodily pure and innocent.

Victorian sexual and marital ideology reinforced the discrimination between men and women earlier instituted by science and the church. Science analyzed women as intellectually and emotionally weak and the church believed women needed the strong guidance of morally superior men to attain spiritual development. This consensus produced a code of etiquette which rigidly protected women from their inherent weaknesses. Victorian sexual purity and propriety not only strengthened the edicts of science and the church but also exerted a significant influence on women’s lives and women in literature. Living in a male-dominated society, women were forced to be weak and passive. Women were looked on as unnatural if they were too forceful in their actions and emotions. Worse, they were frowned upon if they expressed their sexuality too blatantly. Battan elaborates on the misbelief of female sexuality:

The cornerstone of this interconnected set of beliefs (of science and the church) was the “passionless” woman. Rejecting the long-standing belief in the insatiability of women’s sexual desires, nineteenth-century ministers, moralists, and physicians argued that the sexual drives of women were much weaker than those of men. Unlike the raw sensual urges
that drove male desire, they insisted that women’s erotic impulses were shaped by maternal instincts and a social conscience, and were spiritual in nature.

(Battan 2004: 603)

The Victorians believed passion to be deviant; thoughts of sexuality would cause insanity and, hence, repression was necessary for women. With the strong societal enforcement of these beliefs, many women lived with great shame, guilt and fear of damnation. The themes of sexual morality in fiction often emphasized the woman’s sexual frustration or her punishment, which stemmed from her sexually deviant behavior, as it was considered unthinkable that a woman would have sexual thoughts or desires.

When a woman deviated from the idealized conception of womanhood, she was stigmatized and labeled as a fallen or ruined woman. Fallen women were, in other words, women who gave in to seduction, women who lived a life of sinful desire and women who betrayed their families. Thus, women with strong sexual desires who embraced sensual pleasures, wives committing adultery, prostitutes and unwedded mothers were sure to be branded as sexually immoral and condemned as fallen women. Once yielding to temptation or self-indulgence, the fallen woman had no hope of redemption until her death as the fallen woman was viewed as a contagion, a moral menace and a vicious influence on society. This sexual immorality was often treated with legal severity and female sexual disorder was regarded as a serious social problem. Fallen women, thus, were threatened with social hostility and received little sympathy. A sexual double standard forced them to undergo a degrading ordeal where their sexual history was laid open to hostile scrutiny.

The double standard in judging sexual behavior in men and women has been strictly applied to life in the patriarchal society and has long existed in that literary tradition invented and sustained vigorously by male writers. Physically, a woman was seen as property and as man’s slave, clay to be shaped and molded. Female sex was, thus, controlled by male desire and judgement. Public knowledge of a woman’s sexual misbehavior brought about severe humiliation, shame and guilt on her and resulted in violent public disapproval, condemnation and social ostracism.

The myth of the fallen woman, long existent in patriarchal discourse and intensified by Victorian sexual ethics in which purity, piety, submissiveness and domesticity were accentuated, enriched the narrative tradition. The narrative of the fallen woman dramatizes the themes of sexual morality, adultery, prostitution and rape. The frame of the narrative sets the pattern in which the woman falls, by seduction, rape or sensual desire, suffers public disgrace and rejection, undergoes social condemnation and ostracism and eventually dies shamelessly or repentantly. The conventional treatment of the ruined woman follows this pattern of falling and dying. Isolation and death are seen as punishment for her nonconformity and sexual misconduct.

Throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth and into the twentieth century, the myth of the fallen woman was played out in patriarchal discourse. The pattern of falling and dying reverberated and the narratives foreseeably ended in punitive death of the fallen woman. The questions of moral sexuality and feminine virtue haunted women in
fiction in the twentieth century as it had
done in the previous periods. *The Great
Gatsby* by F. Scott Fitzgerald, *Daisy
Miller* by Henry James and *The
Awakening* by Kate Chopin, all portray
fallen women who were chastised either
through alienation or rejection and finally
met with death. Even though these women
were created to be modern female
characters, they could neither escape their
fate nor break away from this long-
running literary tradition.

*The Great Gatsby* depicts early twentieth-
century women, Daisy, Jordan and Myrtle,
all three being versions of modern women,
who violate the cult of true womanhood.
Daisy and Myrtle commit adultery while
Jordan engages in premarital sex and
displays sexually improper behavior. Their
violation of sexual taboos stigmatizes
them as fallen women. A sense of
discomfort with these ruined women is felt
throughout the novel not only at their
sexual misconduct but also at their
misbehavior in public and, especially, at
their freedom which was unacceptable in
women even in the twentieth century.
Tom’s double sexual standard over his
own and his wife’s behavior is unequivocally
delineated and is met with approval.

Following the tradition of the fallen
woman narrative, these ruined women are
unsympathetically portrayed. Daisy is
pictured as a spoiled brat and remorseless
killer who does not deserve the love and
devotion of the idealistic Gatsby. Jordan is
characterized as a liar and a cheat. Her
manipulativeness and her invasion of the
male domain of golf further damages her
womanhood. The most unsympathetic of
the three is Myrtle who is loud, obnoxious,
wildly affected and overtly sexual. Myrtle
cheats, bullies and humiliates her husband.
Her sexual aggressiveness and her interest
in Tom’s money make her no different
from a prostitute.

In all three cases, the transgressive women
are to different degrees punished by the
sequence of narrative events. Daisy not
only is imprisoned with Tom in a loveless
marriage but also has to bear his incurable
philandering nature. Jordan is punished
when Nick ends his love affair with her.
The most severe punishment is meted out
to the woman who most threatens the
feminine ideal. Myrtle violates patriarchal
gender roles so unabashedly despite the
powerlessness of her status as a woman
from the lower class. Her sexual vitality,
which is her personal power, is portrayed
as an unforgivable form of aggressiveness.
Her intense sensual vivacity makes her the
only thing in the garage that stands out.
Tom’s abuse of Myrtle is slight in
comparison to the novel’s punishment of
her. Her violent death can be seen as
sexual mutilation and testifies to the fact
that her sexual vitality is her real crime,
unimaginable and unpardonable. The
novel finds sexual aggressiveness the most
offensive and endangering quality a
woman can have. Daisy and Jordan may
be bad girls from time to time but Myrtle’s
sexual aggressiveness makes her a
permanently bad girl. Myrtle, the most
ruined woman according to patriarchal
gender rules, thus, is made to suffer an
outrageous death penalty as a consequence
of her sensual sin.

*Daisy Miller* deals with the issue of
acceptable female self-presentation and
behavior and can be read as a narrative of
sexual impropriety in the late nineteenth
century. The whole novel is, in a sense, the
story of Winterbourne’s attempts and
inability to define Daisy in clear moral
terms—whether she is a good or a bad girl.
His preoccupation with Daisy’s character
and his repeated failure to analyze and categorize her into some known class of woman reverberate patriarchal projections of female binary nature.

Daisy breaks free of the constraining cult of true womanhood in which piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity are prized (Allen 1984: 12). Daisy is inevitably labeled a bad girl in the eyes of the snobbish European society as well as the American expatriates. Daisy boasts about the company of the many gentlemen friends whom she greatly enjoys. She goes sightseeing with Winterbourne after an only half-an-hour acquaintance. She appears on the street socializing with men and makes a spectacle of herself causing scandalous gossip. She shocks high society by walking out with Giovanelli, an Italian of unknown background and obscure origin, whom she allows a close relationship. Her doubtful character and ill reputation are further aggravated when she is found side by side with Giovanelli at the Colosseum after dark. Daisy is a bad girl because she does not perform the role of woman “correctly.” Lisa Johnson (2001: 47) notes “She upsets the order of things, with a body that alternately plays with and mocks ‘proper’ displays of femininity. Her conflicts with the rules of etiquette are inscribed through the terminology of ‘exposure.’”

Daisy ventures where proper women do not go—into the street, and into frank speech. In other words, Daisy crosses the gender line and appropriates some male space and freedom. Lisa Johnson (2001: 42) names her “a resister of patriarchal authority” and “a gender outlaw” while “nice” society, including Mrs. Costello, Winterbourne and Mrs. Walker, reads in Daisy traces of the prostitute or fallen woman, though her behavior hardly escalates to the level of actual whoredom. In line with the narrative of fallen women, Daisy undergoes social disapprobation and dies an untimely death of Roman fever. Her death can be seen as a punishment for her appropriation of masculine liberty and her subversion of feminine limitations. Edward Wagenknecht (1978: 4) writes “she is, in short, a rebel, and the price of her rebellion is death.” Daisy has crossed the gender line of female sexuality to pursue her desires; her free attitude and undisciplined behavior are morally beyond redemption. She is, therefore, killed off. However, it is interesting to note that even though Daisy dies, she neither repents nor turns docile. Louise K. Barnett (1979: 287) states “she breaks rather than bending to social demands.”

The Awakening, published at the turn of the century, startled its contemporary readers with its frank portrayal of a woman’s social, sexual and spiritual awakening and, more astoundingly, its bold depiction of a single sexual standard for men as well as women. The consequence of a woman’s violation of feminine virtues, particularly female sexual behavior, is her self realization that there is no space for her in this world and the only way out of this vacuity is to escape from a world that ignores her needs and desires.

In the patriarchal narrative tradition, marriage has always been the goal of every woman’s life. Service to her husband and her children are the wife’s duties. Passionlessness and submission are her attributes. Selflessness is her daily practice and self sacrifice her pleasure. Dutiful and virtuous wives accept and value these codes and they never wish to seek more independence than that which they can enjoy in their husbands’ home shrine. In the novel, Adèle Ratignolle is a literary
example of the Victorian angel in the house. She embodies true womanhood and epitomizes perfect motherhood. Edna Pontellier, also a wife and mother of two sons, on the contrary, has settled into neither the role of the devoted wife nor the selfless maternal mold.

Edna breaks all the rules formulated for women. She seeks personal freedom, yields to her romantic affection for Robert Lebrun and satisfies her sexual desires with Alcée Arobin, a philanderer with whom she never wishes to form any real relationship. Marriage ties and independence, freedom and restraint, love and passion surge within her body and mind and, eventually, she liberates herself from all the trappings of a woman’s life and indulges her every whim. Edna begins a journey of self discovery that leads to several awakenings that are unacceptable in a woman: an awakening to her separateness as a “solitary soul,” (the original title Chopin chose for the novel); an awakening to the pleasures of “swimming far out” in the seductive, sensuously appealing sea; an awakening to a passion for painting; an awakening to the romantic longing for Robert; an awakening to living on her own; and, finally, an awakening to sexual desire.

Moving out of her husband’s house and establishing herself in a small cottage she has acquired with her gambling wins and the sale of her paintings is a radical act. Edna has a strong desire to be independent. She by all means refuses to remain her husband’s property; she is to be the master of herself: “I am no longer one of Mr. Pontellier’s possessions to dispose of or not. I give myself where I choose” (Chopin 1986: 167). Discarding familial bonds and duties, she now will live for herself: “she said to Adèle Ratignolle that she would give up the unessential, but she would never sacrifice herself for her children” (Chopin 1986: 175). Later in the novel, she refers to her children as “antagonists who had overcome her; who had overpowered and sought to drag her into the soul’s slavery for the rest of her days” (Chopin 1986: 175). Edna enjoys her new-found freedom and her new abode. She eats solitary, peaceful meals, visits her friends, does a lot of painting, throws a small dinner party, has an affair with Arobin, though with a mixture of emotions but no shame, and passionately professes her love for Robert when they meet again.

Edna has violated patriarchal gender roles. Viewed in this light she is a bad girl, a fallen woman, an unfaithful wife and an irresponsible mother. When compared to Adèle, Edna becomes a devil, a witch, a bitch and thus, deserves fatal punishment. Although she is not killed, like the fallen women in the other two novels, she cannot survive in patriarchal society. Edna makes her own decision to let go of her life and merge with nature: “she stood naked in the open air, at the mercy of the sun, the breeze that beat upon her, and the waves that invited her” (Chopin 1986: 175). As her feet touch the foamy wavelets, she feels like some “new-borne creature.” While the sensuous sea is enfolding her body in its soft, close embrace, she thinks triumphantly about how she has escaped her family and their claim on her: “They were a part of her life. But they need not have thought that they could possess her, body and soul” (Chopin 1986: 176). Emily Toth (1999: xx) commends Edna and calls her “a heroine of fantasy as much as rebellion.” Although Edna is a precursor of female sexual revolution and has tasted life’s independence, she inescapably comes to a final awareness that she has awakened to a world in which she has no place. She, thus, returns
herself naked to the sea in an act of suicide that puts an end to both her unfulfilling life and futile search.

Of all the fallen women discussed, Edna is probably the most defiant of the cult of true womanhood. Chopin, though rebellious in many ways against the patriarchal narrative tradition, is still unable to escape societal control and her central character inevitably finds herself constrained within it. Edna’s failure to rise above the patriarchy within the text is a direct reflection of the author’s own inability to write beyond the boundaries of her own reality.

Esquivel, Harris and Flagg, though dealing with similar themes of female identity, sexuality and autonomy, challenge social norms and the code of sexual respectability. They have concertedly debunked the theory of women as binary, deconstructed traditional and pervasive images of women and legitimized alternative notions and forms of female behavior. In their novels, they restructure the relationship between men and women and redefine sexual morality, liberty and equality.

These contemporary authors undermine traditional gender stereotypes and discard culturally-constructed myths of femininity, marriage and motherhood. They look upon sexual desire as separate from romantic love and procreation. These authors affirm, as Anna Katsavos (1997: 5) believes, "sexual impulses are in no way gender-specific." Male as well as female characters can play out their desires equally. For these writers, the so-called “fallen woman,” as Stephanie Lore Bower (1995: 7) writes, “has outgrown the constraints of the traditional plot previously designed for her,” the plot that determines her downfall and death. New narratives, therefore, must be invented to accommodate fallen women. In these new narratives, these contemporary authors, rather than condemning and penalizing fallen women, reward them and, in many cases, allow them to prevail in the end.

New narratives acknowledge female mobility and sexual desire and appropriate a space hitherto denied to fallen women. Fallen women are no longer outcasts but are at home in the world that bred them. The patriarchal notion of bodily-fallen women is rejected and the boundary between the ideal and the fallen woman is eliminated. The fallen woman is depicted as a self-conscious and heroic figure. The fallen woman, traditionally a secondary character who is considered a threat to the virtuous heroine, emerges as a central or major character and embodies a revolutionary power which both conquers and heals the community to which she belongs. Furthermore, female identity is more often than not represented through the merging of the fallen woman and the modern woman.

Eva Bates in Fried Green Tomatoes at the Whistle Stop Café and Gertrudis in Like Water for Chocolate defy the edicts of Church and science and reject Victorian sexual ethics of chastity and fidelity. The novel’s portrayal of female sexual desire and the eroticized female body in these two characters is a direct challenge to the sexual double standards long accepted and commonly practiced. A female desire for personal independence is realized through these characters’ sexual freedom and a woman’s need for space is triumphantly fulfilled. In so doing, Flagg and Esquivel disrupt the popular myth of the fallen woman and disrupt the narrative pattern of falling and dying. Both characters satiate their sexual lust and practice prostitution. In contrast to traditional narratives, Eva and Gertrudis are favorably portrayed as
female characters of remarkable strength who prove worthy and competent members of their communities. Eva Bates in Fried Green Tomatoes at the Whistle Stop Café embodies sensuality and indifference to social convention. She is depicted as “a big, buxom girl with a shock of rust-colored hair and apple-green eyes” (Flagg 1987: 51) and she “had the extreme luxury in life of not caring about what people thought of her” (Flagg 1987: 95). Eva has sexual experience with countless men: “she had slept with a lot of men since she was twelve and had enjoyed it every time” (Flagg 1987: 94). Eva never has a feeling of guilt or shame: “she didn’t know the meaning of the word shame and was indeed a friend of man” (Flagg 1987: 94).

Even though Eva Bates is a prostitute who enjoys having sex with numerous men, Flagg neither condemns nor judges her. On the contrary, Flagg gives her a true lover; Flagg makes Buddy fall in love with Eva and he intends to marry her. Buddy is uninterested in her unconventional sexual behavior. He takes Eva to his home and introduces her to his family. Although Eva has multiple sexual partners, she has only one love. Flagg portrays Eva as possessing an admirable quality—being true to the love of her life: “she had slept with whomever she pleased, whenever she pleased; but ... when she loved ..., she was strictly a one-man woman. Eva belonged to Buddy” (Flagg 1987: 95).

Eva is also a woman of sympathy and understanding. When Idgie is devastated because Ruth leaves the Threadgoode’s home to marry Frank, Eva consoles her during this time of sadness and great disappointment. Eva “couldn’t stand anything hurt that bad” (Flagg 1987: 98). Down by the river at her Wagon Wheel Club and Camp, Eva comforts Idgie and keeps her company whenever she is needed: “Hush up now ... it’s gonna be all right ... Eva’s here” (Flagg 1987: 98).

Above all, Flagg makes Eva function as a practical instructor who gives sex education to Stump. Having lost one of his arms, Stump has no confidence in his sexuality; “Well, I’m kinda afraid I’ll fall on her or lose my balance because of my arm” (Flagg 1987: 266–267). Besides, Stump is ignorant of sexual activity “I just don’t know how to do it right ... I might hurt her or something” (Flagg 1987: 27). Idgie helps him out by taking him to Eva who is probably the best teacher to give him sex lessons. Flagg apparently discards the patriarchal treatment of the fallen woman. Her favorable portrayal of the character of Eva Bates as a fun-loving, sympathetic, self-fulfilled woman, and capable instructor demolishes traditional expectations. Eva is not punished for her supposedly serious “crime of passion,” instead, Flagg rewards Eva by allowing her to emerge as a worthy and competent person (Chatraporn 2006: 46).

In Like Water for Chocolate, Esquivel depicts Gertrudis as an extremely sensual woman who unashamedly satisfies her sexual desire without limit. Gertrudis is the illegitimate child of Mama Elena and her mulatto lover and this probably accounts for Gertrudis’s voluptuous nature. Tita’s innovative dish, quail in rose petal sauce, stimulates Gertrudis’s sexual desire. “On her the food seemed to act as an aphrodisiac; she began to feel an intense heat pulsing through her limbs” (Esquivel 1995: 94). She sweats and fantasizes about making love to a soldier. Esquivel describes her uncontrolled lustful desire: “Naked as she was ... her pure virginal body contrasted with the passion, the lust, that leapt from her eyes, from her every
The scent of the roses emanating from her body captivates Juan, a soldier in the revolutionary army, and leads him to her. “Without slowing his gait,” Juan “lifted her onto the horse in front of him, face to face, and carried her away” (Esquivel 1995: 55–56). They passionately make love on horseback. “The movement of the horse combined with the movement of their bodies as they made love” (Esquivel 1995: 56) produces a vivid erotic sensation.

After this graphic scene Gertrudis wanders aimlessly from one place to another. She finally ends up working as a prostitute in a brothel. Gertrudis writes a letter to Tita unabashedly describing her insatiable sexual desire:

> I ended up here (brothel) because I felt an intense fire inside; the man who picked me up in the field in effect saved my life … He left because I had exhausted his strength, though he hadn’t managed to quench the fire inside me. Now at last, after so many men have been with me, I feel a great relief.

(Esquivel 1995: 126)

Even though Gertrudis has insatiable sexual desire and works as a prostitute, Esquivel neither labels her as a fallen woman nor punishes her. On the contrary, the woman author rewards her by making her successful both in life and in career. Gertrudis is reunited with Juan and they become happily married with one son. Gertrudis is also promoted to general in the revolutionary army. In giving Gertrudis the rank of general, Esquivel allows her female character not only to intrude into the male domain but also to thrive in a career that is normally reserved for men.

Gertrudis would be branded a fallen woman and condemned in a traditional narrative but in Esquivel’s work Gertrudis is allowed her achievements and attains happiness and satisfaction in her life (Chatraporn 2006: 46–7).

She (Gertrudis) has come back (home) with the intention of showing Mama Elena how she had triumphed in life. She was a general in the revolutionary army … moreover she was coming back happily married to Juan … what more could a person ask!

(Esquivel 1995: 178–179)

The contemporary narrative pattern portrays the New Woman who repudiates the cult of true womanhood. Victorian sexual ethics have no relevance to the life of the New Woman. Similarly, the idealized conception of womanhood which sanctified and glorified female sexual purity and propriety has also lost its significance. The New Woman liberates herself from male domination and discards all restrictions that hinder her pursuit of self-realization and personal happiness. With her spirit of rebellion, the New Woman refuses to observe feminine ideals handed down from generation to generation and embraces independence and freedom, particularly, sexual freedom. The New Woman acknowledges her erotic impulses and sexual urges and does not consider female sexual experience and desire for sexual pleasures as misconduct or guilt. The double standard in judging sexual behavior, is, thus, revoked. The New Woman asserts individuality in her livelihood and personal relationships and achieves self-fulfillment through experience and growth. The New Woman with her demand for sexual freedom and her expression of female sexual desires could, in a sense, be labeled...
a sexually transgressive woman in the traditional narrative.

In the traditional narrative that associates the sexually transgressive woman or the ruined body with the ruined narrative, the fallen woman is generally created a secondary character who represents the threat of “ruin” to the heroine, the main character. As Amy L. Wolf (2001: 4) affirms: “During a literary shift towards respectability for the novel ... it became even more important for central heroines in novels to be pure, the fallen woman becomes a necessary secondary character.” Both Tita in Like Water for Chocolate and Vianne in Chocolat are bodily-fallen women as Tita commits adultery and Vianne is an unwedded mother. Rejecting traditional practice, Esquivel and Harris alter the literary treatment of the fallen woman. The two novelists make their fallen women no longer foils to virtuous female characters but central heroines of the novels. Furthermore, their heroines are allowed to be conscious of their individual needs and act upon their specific desires. In these bold heroines, the two authors have created central female characters who challenge the cult of true womanhood, embody the sexualized New Woman and possess personal strength and power which make them indispensable to their communities.

Tita is the central heroine around whom the story revolves. Experiencing the most miserable of childhoods and unloved by her mother, Tita, thanks to her culinary gifts and skills in the kitchen, grows to be a competent adult and becomes an artist and inventor, whose cooking can bring joy or sorrow to those who partake of it. Once she discovers her culinary talents, Tita emerges as the central figure on whom the novel’s other characters depend, not only in terms of food but also life in general.

Tita becomes more than an aunt to Roberto and Esperanza; she is more properly their mother, feeding and caring for them. Because of the love and devotion she gives to the children, her nephew and niece come to look on Tita as their mother.

Tita learns to free herself from the heartless domination of her own mother and demands her rights and freedom as an independent woman. As a New Woman, Tita determines her own role and claims the freedom to express her own wishes and act upon her own desires: “I know who I am! A person who has a perfect right to live her life as she pleases. Once and for all, leave me alone;” (Esquivel 1995: 199). Tita becomes the master of her own life, her own heart and soul. Her greatest desire, which is now being achieved, is overcoming the prohibition against love and marriage and sharing her life openly with Pedro, the legal husband of her sister. Moreover, Tita overthrows the long-standing family tradition which denies the youngest daughter the right to marry. In the end, when Esperanza marries Alex, it is a great victory for Tita over the tyranny of cruel, senseless tradition.

Tita challenges the cult of true womanhood by maintaining an emotional bond and having a sexual relationship with Pedro, Rosaura’s husband, with no feeling of guilt or remorse. Tita embodies the sexualized New Woman by unabashedly expressing her love and satisfying her sexual desires. Nevertheless, Esquivel does not impose a punitive ending. On the contrary, Esquivel equips Tita with personal strength and power. In the end, it is Tita who has authority and influence over others. Tita, who would be the condemned and ostracized fallen woman in a traditional ruined narrative, becomes the pillar upon whom all those involved with
her depend. Tita is rightfully and legitimately the central character of the novel not only in her omnipresence but also in her pivotal role.

Similar to Tita, Vianne is the central heroine around whom the novel revolves. Vianne wanders like a loose woman into the town of Lansquenet-sous-Tannes, a rigid, religious community. Vianne Rocher is an unwedded, single mother who, with her daughter, roams across the country and moves from place to place guided by the change of the wind and the turn of a card. As an unwedded mother, an atheist and an outsider, Vianne is unsurprisingly greeted with disrespect and hostility. Curé Francis Reynaud, the town’s patriarch, sees Vianne as a temptress who deliberately comes to lure his pious parishioners. Intentionally disregarding the onset of Lent, Vianne daringly opens a chocolate store right opposite the Church. To many the quiet austere life of the town seems to be disrupted by the arrival of this young, proud and independent-thinking woman.

Vianne challenges the cult of true womanhood; she has a child out of wedlock and, worse, her daughter never knows who her father is. Later in the novel, Vianne has a one-night sexual relationship with Roux, a river gypsy, and it is implied that Vianne may have another child as a consequence of this one-night stand. Vianne, like Tita, embodies the sexualized New Woman who lives her life as she pleases. Vianne fulfills her individual needs and desires and never experiences a morsel of shame or guilt. Nonetheless, Harris neither judges nor condemns Vianne. In contrast, the woman author empowers Vianne and makes her emerge as a healer and savior of these emotionally-starved villagers, who have been taught and trained to deny life’s abundance and ecstasy.

Vianne enthusiastically welcomes each person unreservedly to her chocolate parlor and offers them all her generosity: “In my profession it is a truth quickly learned that the process of giving is without limits” (Harris 2000: 39). With her culinary skills and secret chocolate recipes, her friendliness, her generosity and her life-affirming character, Vianne wins over the hearts of the townspeople and reintroduces to them their natural feelings of love and desire and, more significantly, life’s pleasures which they have long overlooked and renounced. Vianne, the wrongly-accused pagan force of darkness and, more specifically, the fallen woman, has turned out to be the source and bearer of light who brings life and love to the town of Lansquenet-sous-Tannes with her sparkling and sensuous confections: “I can feel satisfaction in its place, a full-bellied satiety ... In homes everywhere ... couples are making love, children are playing, dogs barking, televisions blaring” (Harris 2000: 318).

In both Vianne and Tita, contemporary popular fiction witnesses a vivid representation of the fallen woman as a central and heroic figure. Furthermore, female identity is defined through the merging of the fallen woman and the New Woman. This modern blend not only blurs the boundary between the ideal woman and the fallen woman but also redefines female sexuality.

In these three novels, Esquivel, Harris and Flagg provide a contemporary narrative pattern to contrast with the myth of the fallen woman by daring to let their fallen women live and prosper. Although their protagonists commit adultery, prostitute
themselves or have illegitimate children, the three authors portray them as self-conscious heroic figures who embody a revolutionary power which both conquers and heals the community where they are no longer outcasts but prove to be worthy and competent members. The novels do not end with penance, repentance or punishment but reverberate different degrees of hope and integration for their fallen protagonists. These best-sellers featuring bad girls as heroines deconstruct the myth of the fallen woman and redefine female sexuality as it truthfully and realistically is. These novels subvert the theory of woman’s nature as binary, suggesting that women must not be judged in terms of their conformity to a patriarchal code of sexual behavior but rather in terms of more worthy signifiers such as ability, strength or compassion. As best-selling novels, *Like Water for Chocolate*, *Chocolat* and *Fried Green Tomatoes at the Whistle Stop Café* are ideally situated to shape public consciousness and encourage their diverse audiences to question the legitimacy of feminine ideals and redefine female identity and sexuality.

References


Battan, Jesse F. 2004. ‘You Cannot Fix the Scarlet Letter on My Breast!’


COMPACT CITY STRATEGY OF BANGKOK MEGA-CITY

Chaweewan Denpaiboon
Hidehiko Kanegae

Abstract

The objectives of this study encompass three aspects. First, it analyzes the Bangkok Mega-city Model in three sub-areas around the New Suvarnabhumi International Airport. Second, it analyzes the compact city policy to measure factors of the compact city based on affordable transportation costs related to household income, job-housing balance, and facilities. Third, it analyzes household commuting travel using modeling displays with visual simulation. The results show that the compact city strategy can shed light on the lifestyle of residents in a mega-city. Moreover, the study reveals that the patterns of urban structure in the Bangkok Metropolis are close to the compact city concept, which means the residents utilize urban structure in an area not more than 20 kilometers distant from their residences. The study was designed to show the necessity of urban policy that pursues “a compact city” in the Bangkok Mega-city.

Keywords: Compact City Policy, Mega-city, Bangkok Metropolitan Regions

Introduction

A mega-city is one of the most rapidly growing and increasingly populated cities, in addition to having the greatest amount of urban infrastructure in the world. Bangkok Metropolis is considered one of the world’s 21 mega-cities (Guest 2000). It has a rapidly increasing population. The surrounding areas will also increase by millions, meaning an additional 1.5 million people will live in the Greater Bangkok Area and a million people will be located in the surrounding provinces. As of 2001, populations and built up areas are showing urban sprawl (see Figure 1 and Figure 2). What we are witnessing today requires new concepts and strategies for the management of this urban environment especially for the largest human agglomerations. All the specific problems of this century’s development appear most obvious in mega-cities: population migration, changes in regional patterns, and fast growing cities. Moreover, the character and spatial distribution of the mega-cities has led to
the 21st century being called the age of urbanization, during which period towns and cities have experienced an increase of 50% in population. The effects of urbanization are not the same world-wide; rather, they differ regionally. While the situation in the industrialized nations of the world is challenging, it is still under control. However, we have to face the fact that the inferior situation in the megacities of developing nations is escalating and is, in many cases, out of control. Hence, development of the subcenters concept was selected as the solution to Bangkok Metropolis’ problems. Nine subcenters were developed in Bangkok Mega-city. The subcenters within the jurisdiction of Bangkok Mega-city serve the purposes of travel time and metropolitan structure, of improving the quality of life in the mega-city in view of the current state of urban problems, and of discussion of ideal urban infrastructures from the standpoint of realizing the feasibility of the paper proposed for land-use planning policy.

In recent years, city planners, developers, and policymakers have increasingly looked towards designing a more ‘compact city’ in order to achieve a more sustainable urban form. There are many perceived benefits of the compact city over “urban sprawl”, including less car dependency (and, hence, lower emissions), reduced energy consumption, better public transportation services, increased overall accessibility, re-use of infrastructure and previously developed land, rejuvenation of existing urban areas and urban vitality, higher quality of life, the preservation of green space, and the creation of a milieu for enhanced business and trading activities (Thomas and Cousins 1996). However, the major findings of US mega-city research found that denser and more mixed land use are associated with less automobile use for improving sustainability, and more creation of pedestrian areas in order to support the development of a “health city”. However, there is a limitation for Asian mega cities. Bangkok Mega-city also has been experiencing a rapid increase in automobile use, and empirical studies in the high-density context have been scarce. The studies have shown that the process of urbanization presents enormous challenges for government, social and environmental planners, architects, and inhabitants of the city. There are three points, as follow: (1) What urban population should be realized to mega-city growth? (2) How should compact city policy and subcenter policy serve as guidelines for the mega-city? And (3) how should the urban population commute in order to carry out urban activities in the mega-city?

Figure 1: Bangkok metropolis growth in 2001

6 Subcenter policy was proposed by Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) as a measurement of urban development policy.
Literature review

Williams (2000) argued that compact cities were explained by four characteristics. First, compact cities are efficient for more sustainable modes of transportation. The population densities are high enough to support public transportation and to make it feasible to operate. Also, the theory is that, because compact cities have high density and mixed use, people can live near to their workplace and leisure facilities. Hence, people can walk and cycle easily and the demand for travel is reduced overall. Second, compact cities allow sustainable use of land by reducing sprawl. Land in the countryside is preserved, and land in towns can be recycled for development. Third, in social terms, compactness and mixed use are associated with diversity, social cohesion, and cultural development. Some also argue that it is an equitable form because it offers good accessibility to everyone. Fourth, compact cities are economically viable because infrastructure, such as roads and street lighting, can be provided cost-effectively. Many planners and policymakers believe that “sustainable communities are places that exhibit a compact urban form.” (Beatley 1995) However, there is debate about the very definition of a ‘compact city’ and, in particular, about what policies need to be undertaken to achieve urban compaction, whether these particular policies do in fact, contribute to sustainability. According to Breheny (2001) “policies of urban compaction involve the promotion of urban regeneration, the revitalisation of town centers, restraint on development in rural areas, higher densities, mixed-use development, promotion of public transport and the concentration of urban development at public transport nodes.” Researchers have renounced many of these policies as being uneconomic and against the wishes of the general population, who have characterized the twentieth century by a rejection of inner-city living and the invention of suburbia. The nature of intensification is also important; development in mixed-use town centers is usually perceived to have a positive effect, especially if landscaping and urban design improvements are subsequently implemented. Infill housing developments in residential suburbs are frequently perceived as being of poor quality and therefore having a detrimental effect on the environment and sustainability in general. A model of an existing context is built to a consistent quality, and developers and/or architects are required to “plug-in” their model of a proposed development and various alternatives at the same level of detail, accuracy, and visual quality as the existing contextual model. Additionally, the so-called activity-based approach (Jones 1990) is a useful conceptual framework for the travel activities study. Nearly all travel activities are derived from the need or wish to fulfill physiological needs (eating, sleeping),
Compact City Strategy of Bangkok Mega City

institutional needs (work, education), personal obligations (child-care, shopping) and personal preferences (leisure activities).

Objectives of the study

This paper tries to achieve a better understanding of the mega-city as an introduction to what the quality of life of the residents will be if urban reconstruction can not be achieved by the compact city policy. The objectives of the study encompass three aspects:

1. to analyze the commuting behavior of the Bangkok Mega-city Model in three subareas around the new Suvarnabhumi International Airport, consisting of the Bang Kapi, Bang Phli, and Lat Krabang subareas;

2. to analyze the compact city policy in order to measure factors of the compact city based on affordable transportation costs related to household income, job-housing balance, and facilities; and

3. to analyze household commuting behavior using modeling displays created with simulation software that integrates an existing system using the Sketch Up, Maya, 3D Max, Flash, and Premier programs and also includes visual simulation.

Data collection

The study methods employed travel surveys of residential areas in three subareas (Bang Kapi area, Lat Krabang; Rom Klao Housing Project, Bang Phli; Bang Phli New Town Project and Bang-Chalong Housing Project for a total of 278 samplings). A household travel survey compiled by the authors in August 2006 was employed to investigate the urban structure and the commuting pattern of residents who travel downtown and commute to work. The surveys were designed to test certain effects on people, such as affordable transportation costs related to household income, job-to-housing balance, and to facilitate in the change of the urban structure with the new development of three subcenters. Descriptive statistics were also analyzed within this study with the intention of exploring the different characteristics of Bangkok’s commuting behavior of detailed daily travel investigations among the participants of this survey. The questionnaires consisted of questions about individual travel behavior, participation in activities related to commuting, and social relations or routines likely to influence travel behavior. The main survey included questions about the distance traveled by each method on each day during a week. In addition, the study utilized simulation software integrating existing systems, such as Sketch Up, Maya, 3D Max, Flash, and Premier programs, and also used visual simulation to facilitate the modeling, display, and evaluation of the proposed alternative environment.

Population, urban economics and urban growth

In brief, the population in the Bangkok Metropolitan Region (BMR) reached 3.3 million, 6.6 million, and 10.0 million in 1960, 1980, and 2006, respectively (see Table 1). Thus, the BMR represented a high percentage of the total population of Thailand in 2006. Annual population

7 BMR = BMA + Vicinity (Bangkok Metropolitan Regions) BMA = Bangkok Metropolitan Administration, and vicinity including the provinces of Nonthaburi, Samut Prakan, Pathum Thani, Samut Sakhon, and Nakhon Pathom
growth in the BMR has been slowing down and turned negative between the years 2000 and 2006, dropping from 4.5% per annum during 1960–1970 to –1.0% per annum during 2000 to 2006. According to the Department of City Planning, BMA, the built-up area had expanded by nearly 10% per annum from 1993 to 1995. Depicted by aerial photography in 1995, there were about 39% of the built-up areas in the BMA. Subsequently, the built-up area is 700 kilometers², out of a total of 1,568 kilometers² in the city’s administrative area. However, the population density of Bangkok Metropolis increased from 4,001 to 7,001 inhabitants per sq.km by 2006 (Bang Kapi), from 1,001 to 4,000 inhabitants per sq.km in Lat Krabang, and from 500 to 1,000 inhabitants per sq.km in Bang Phli (see Figure 3). The characteristics of urbanization that indicate a change to urban sprawl are as follows: (1) residential population has declined in the central area; (2) commercial and office buildings are to be found in areas such as Petchaburi, Rama I, Rama IV, Sukhumvit, Asok-Rachadapisek, Victory Monument, and Central Plaza; (3) suburban residential developments are expanding in the eastern and northern corridors; (4) areas within a 10 kilometers radius from the center have vertical extension; and (5) areas outside 10 kilometers have horizontal extension. Unplanned urban sprawls are currently in progress. They cause not only traffic jams, but also various problems relating to the urban living environment. Problems include the mixing of conflicting functions, such as the mixing of residential and industrial areas, which is potentially hazardous to residents, insufficient provision of public services, and the resultant deterioration of the living environment. However, the majority of economic and social activities are still located in Bangkok Metropolis and its vicinity. In addition, Table 2 indicates a real household income of 18,800 baht per month in the BMA and of 18,000 baht per month in the BMR in 2000. Moreover, the employment structure in Bangkok varies greatly across its area. Secondary employment structures such as commercial, financial, and service sectors play an important role as major sources of employment. In the vicinity of Bangkok, the production sector was still the major source of employment in 2000 (see Table 3). Thus, urban sites are initiated primarily by the private sector. This is thought to be one of the reasons why the road network is poorly designed in built-up areas, and this situation is causing serious congestion in town.
Table 1: Total population of the Bangkok Metropolitan Regions (BMR) and its growth rate classified by province in 1980, 1988, and 2006 (Unit: 1,000,000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Total population (millions)</th>
<th>Annual growth rate (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bangkok Metropolitan Area (BMA)</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samut Prakan</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonthaburi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathum Thani</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samut Sakhon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakhon Pathom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicinity</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 2: Real household income in 1995 (unit: baht/month)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bangkok</td>
<td>21,000</td>
<td>18,800</td>
<td>-2.19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakhon Pathom</td>
<td>15,100</td>
<td>13,500</td>
<td>-2.22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonthaburi</td>
<td>27,100</td>
<td>24,200</td>
<td>-2.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathum Thani</td>
<td>17,700</td>
<td>15,800</td>
<td>-2.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samut Prakan</td>
<td>15,200</td>
<td>13,600</td>
<td>-2.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samut Sakhon</td>
<td>13,000</td>
<td>11,600</td>
<td>-2.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMR</td>
<td>20,100</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>-2.18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 3: Employment structure of BMR in 2000 (unit: baht/month)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Province</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Tertiary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bangkok</td>
<td>1.90%</td>
<td>34.70%</td>
<td>63.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakhon Pathom</td>
<td>41.20%</td>
<td>31.90%</td>
<td>26.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonthaburi</td>
<td>18.10%</td>
<td>39.70%</td>
<td>42.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathum Thani</td>
<td>14.40%</td>
<td>59.50%</td>
<td>26.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samut Prakan</td>
<td>7.80%</td>
<td>65.00%</td>
<td>27.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samut Sakhon</td>
<td>15.60%</td>
<td>62.20%</td>
<td>22.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMR</td>
<td>7.60%</td>
<td>41.20%</td>
<td>51.20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: URMAP estimates (2000)

**Commuting mode in greater Bangkok**

There are three modes of transport for commuting in greater Bangkok. These are private vehicle, public transport, and non-motorized vehicle. All types are variably employed. The areas of greater Bangkok are linked to the center by a set of roads radiating northwards and southwards to Nonthaburi and Samut Prakan provinces and eastwards and westwards to Chachoengsao and Nakhon Pathom provinces respectively (see Figure 3).
Within the BMA, private cars and motorcycles (44.7%) and public transportation systems (42.4%) are chiefly employed for journeys. Among the public transportation systems, buses command an outstanding share of 72%. This indicates that mass transportation is a striking feature of transportation within the BMA. There are various commuting modes in place in the BMA. In terms of approximate contribution of passengers per kilometer traveled, city buses are the largest contributors. This transport mode thereby contributes significantly to either improvement or degradation of the urban air quality in Bangkok. Improvement of urban air quality could be accomplished by instituting appropriate policies regarding city buses. In the same fashion, private cars are the biggest contributors in terms of vehicle-kilometer traveled. This indicator signifies that private cars have an important effect on the quality of urban air in the Bangkok Metropolitan Area. The passenger-kilometers traveled and vehicle-kilometers traveled in 2005 for different transport modes are shown in Table 6.

![Figure 3: Direction commuting travel to work place around Suvarnabhumi Airport](image)

**Table 4: Mode of transport to work place in greater Bangkok**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Commute</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Private</th>
<th>Business</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Walk</td>
<td>631,539</td>
<td>766,952</td>
<td>481,135</td>
<td>112,775</td>
<td>1,992,401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicycle</td>
<td>1,056,735</td>
<td>299,310</td>
<td>981,123</td>
<td>450,581</td>
<td>2,787,749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Car</td>
<td>1,297,121</td>
<td>303,490</td>
<td>1,301,277</td>
<td>1,268,848</td>
<td>4,170,736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Transport</td>
<td>2,809,052</td>
<td>2,183,071</td>
<td>1,276,633</td>
<td>320,680</td>
<td>6,589,436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5,794,447</td>
<td>3,552,823</td>
<td>4,040,168</td>
<td>2,152,884</td>
<td>15,540,322</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** JICA (1990, 1997)

**Table 5: Share transport systems in greater Bangkok**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Share (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bus</td>
<td>72.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surface Transport</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (taxi, etc.)</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** JICA (1990, 1997)
Table 6: Passenger-kilometer traveled and vehicle-kilometer traveled in Bangkok in 2005 for various transport modes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transport Mode</th>
<th>Capacity (Passengers)</th>
<th>Number in Fleet</th>
<th>Vehicle-kilometers Traveled</th>
<th>Passenger-kilometers Traveled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taxies</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>53,000</td>
<td>286,200,000</td>
<td>572,400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuk-tuk</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7,500</td>
<td>20,286,000</td>
<td>40,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BTS Sky train</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2,032,380</td>
<td>1,728,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Buses</td>
<td>35–60</td>
<td>8,177</td>
<td>288,036,000</td>
<td>6,623,370,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Microbuses/Vans</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5,519</td>
<td>238,400,000</td>
<td>2,384,208,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Express Boats</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>472,320</td>
<td>28,350,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MRT-Subway</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1,944,000</td>
<td>972,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motorcycle Taxis</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>28,800,000</td>
<td>57,600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Cars</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,700,000</td>
<td>1,834,560,000</td>
<td>3,672,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motorcycles</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2,300,000</td>
<td>1,490,400,000</td>
<td>1,490,400,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Thanaprayochsak 2005

Tables 5 and 6 show that city buses and private-car users are potential shareholders in the issue of alleviating congestion problems and air quality issues. Prior to taking this action, expansion of excellent but affordable public transportation and integration of all public transportation modes with smooth transit systems are necessary to compensate for the comfort that will have to be sacrificed by private-car users. There are encouraging signs that some car users have changed to the
elevated light rail and the subway. This is very visibly indicated by the popularity of the park-and-ride facilities near certain railway stations. Therefore, the park-and-ride system needs more promotion and expansion to attract more car users to mass transit systems.

Results and discussions

Activities and travel in three subareas

This study of activity-based approaches is based on the work-day and holiday behavior for leisure trips by analysis of daily travel behavior and of the relationship between residential locations, urban facilities, the location of the activity, trip distances, activity participation, and journey frequency in the three subareas. For some facility types, the results almost always show that commuters choose the closest facility because the various facilities are more or less equal (such as post offices) or have regulated catchment areas (such as social security offices). Conversely, symbolic differences within each facility category may make people travel beyond the closest facility, other recreational facilities, many types of shops, and, not the least, workplaces. Furthermore, there are a number of features other than proximity that are important when choosing among facilities. Figure 4 shows the relationship between residents and workplaces and the distance traveled for five workdays. It indicates that the distance from residence to workplace of commuters was around 40 – 50 kilometers on average. The cost of travel and distance were significantly related. Additionally, distance is less significantly related to duration of travel.

Figure 4: Average, expected travel distances (km) over five days

Trip frequencies in subareas

Trip frequency analysis was based on data from the daily travel investigation. In particular, close interdependence of activity participation could be expected. However, because of the possibility of combining several activities, such as shopping at different locations, and thus making several journeys in connection with the same activity, on average, the travel daily respondents made three journeys per day during the investigated weekdays and during the weekend. The total number of journeys appears to be influenced by the urban structure. The effect of local area density on the number of journeys at the weekend is more difficult to explain, but it might reflect a tendency found among residents of dense, inner city areas to reduce the number of shopping and visiting trips carried out at the weekend. However, some theorists have assumed that “distance decay” will, by and large, also have an effect on the number of days per week that the workplace is visited, since information technology and improved communication have made it possible for an increasing number of employees to do some of their
work from home. Location of the residence in hierarchy relation centers in the metropolitan area has some influence on the frequency of participation in different activities. Visits to typical “urban” facilities like cinemas and restaurants are more common among inner city dwellers, while residents of outer suburbs go to other provinces more frequently, and spend more time on recreation (see Table 7).

Table 7: Number of residents and urban structural characteristics of dwellers grouped into three subareas near Suvarnabhumi Airport

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban structural factor</th>
<th>Number of residents for traveling to downtown (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Less than 20 km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance from residence to downtown BKK (km)</td>
<td>14.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance from residence to closest second order urban center (km)</td>
<td>55.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance from residence to closest urban rail station (km)</td>
<td>30.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local area population density (dwellers/rai)</td>
<td>18–20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local area workplace density (jobs/rai)</td>
<td>3:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance from residence to closest grocery stores (m)</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5 shows daily commuting and traveling that demonstrates the visual activity by using 3D graphical program presentation. This figure aims to describe the activity through urban facilities like convenience shops, workplaces, and other facilities around their residential area. Residents in three subareas, Bang Kapi, Lat Krabang, and Bang Phli, use the nearest urban facilities to their homes and commute around 41–50 kilometers to their workplaces. In daily life, travelers start from home, take breakfast around their residential area, and take a bus to the railway station, a distance of 12 kilometers with a trip duration of 30 minutes. After spending 30 minutes on the bus, they switch to various other modes of transportation, such as the sky train, i.e., Bangkok Mass Transit System (BTS), or the subway i.e., Mass Rapid Transit System (MRT), which takes only 10–30 minutes.
of travel to the vicinity of their workplace. Then they go to their place of work on foot, which takes less than 10 minutes. So it can be assumed that the shorter distance may take a longer time and the longer distance may take a shorter time if they use an appropriate mode of transportation. At lunch time people will go for lunch near to their workplace for about 5–10 minutes and 10–20 minutes for doing other activities and participating in other urban services also situated near their workplace. After finishing work they will go to department stores for relaxation, other venues for recreational activities, and then back home using the transportation modes mentioned above.

Figure 5: Daily life commuting travelling
A behavioral model

This is a simplified behavioral model of the residential urban structure and other social conditions which individuals are assumed to influence daily through traveling distances, accessing facilities, and participating in activities. This is correlated with the locations of the activities, the frequencies of activity participation, and the locations of the facilities. The location of residences relative to various centers and facilities combined with the transport infrastructure on the relevant stretch determine how accessible these centers and facilities are from the dwelling. There are also mutual influences between the urban structural situation of the dwelling (location relative to various centers and facilities and local transport infrastructure) and the individual and household characteristics. The study suggests that urban structure, in addition to its direct effects, may influence active participation and travel behaviors indirectly via car ownership, transport attitudes, and some other variables. We found that the average distance of holiday travel falls in the range of 21–30 kilometers, while travel time was 30–60 minutes on average (see Figure 6). The majority of respondents used bus and/or train as the major mode of travel.

Figure 6: Distance and time of travel for respondents in three subareas

We also found that residents in the study area go shopping, watch movies, meet family and friends, do social work, and engage in other activities at venues that are less than 20 kilometers from their homes. This means that they are satisfied with going out to other places around their residential area. In addition, they are also satisfied with the aforementioned activities, spending less than 30 minutes and spending at least 7 baht to go shopping, watch movies, or meet family and friends. They also spend around 300 baht on shopping, 159 baht on watching movies, 1,800 baht on meeting their family, 500 baht on
meeting friends and on other activities, 250 baht on social work, and 3,500 baht on travelling to other provinces (see Table 8).

Table 8: Cost of commuting to social functions for residents in study areas (Baht)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cost of travel (Baht)</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shopping</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>46.99</td>
<td>59.019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movie</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>40.00</td>
<td>47.476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting relatives</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>209.96</td>
<td>415.773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting friends</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>89.76</td>
<td>129.379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other provinces</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>851.32</td>
<td>803.358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social work</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>133.33</td>
<td>104.083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>124.17</td>
<td>159.837</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 7 shows the distance and time residents of Bang Kapi subarea spend commuting when they are engaging in certain social functions. It shows that when residents go out for social functions, they usually travel less than 20 kilometers and spend less than 30 minutes traveling. For some activities, they may spend less time; for example, they may travel to meet family and friends more than 50 kilometers in less than 30 minutes. This relates to the chosen mode of transportation. Table 9 shows the cost of travel to social functions in the Bang Kapi subarea. The minimum costs for commuting in Bang Kapi to go shopping, watch movies, meeting family, meeting friends, other provinces, and other activities were 7, 8, 75, 14, 270, and 290 baht, respectively.

Table 9: Cost of commuting to social functions for residents in Bang Kapi subarea (Baht)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cost of travel (Baht)</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shopping</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>67.00</td>
<td>77.454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movie</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>21.50</td>
<td>19.485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting relatives</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>158.33</td>
<td>123.322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting friends</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>83.50</td>
<td>56.883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other provinces</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>897.86</td>
<td>1,021.945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social work</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 8 shows the distance and time that residents of the Lat Krabang subarea spent commuting to engage in certain social functions. The satisfaction of Lat Krabang residents to perform social functions, go shopping, watch movies, meet family, meet friends, and engage in other activities is correlated with a distance of less than 20 kilometers and a time of less than 30 minutes. Table 10 shows the cost of commuting to social functions for residents in the Bang Kapi subarea. The cost for commuting to meet friends is 6–100 baht less than that for other activities, such as meeting family at 30–1,800 baht and shopping at 7–100 baht.

Table 10: Cost of commuting to social functions for residents in Bang Kapi subarea (Baht)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cost of travel</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shopping</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>37.94</td>
<td>26.016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movie</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting relatives</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>379.17</td>
<td>703.821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting friends</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>68.67</td>
<td>54.271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other provinces</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>2,800</td>
<td>914.29</td>
<td>933.503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social work</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>184.67</td>
<td>273.396</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9 shows the distance and time that residents of Bang Phli subarea spent commuting to engage in certain social functions. The results for social functions in Bang Phli show that the residents are satisfied with doing these activities near their homes, and this minimizes time and cost. The distances shown for shopping, watching movies, meeting family, meeting friends, going to other provinces, doing social work, and other activities are less than 20 kilometers and time is less than 30 minutes, with the minimum cost being around 7–80 baht and the maximum cost being around 150–2,000 baht (see Table 11).
Conclusion

In this study, we try to develop a guideline Compact Policy for a newly developed international aero-city. Points of view are based not only on job and housing balance but also on technical points of view measured by activity and functionality. These are important when considering the quality of life in mega-cities. Although government policy is attempting to develop new connections between urban structures and various dimensions of poverty affecting quality of life through mega housing projects for low income people, the low income people still meet the problems of which points of view are, for example, considerations of the meaning of cities as fields of transportation, as well as those for securing urban spaces suitable as a rearing environment for children where such children can come into contact with nature.

Neuman has proposed the compact city fallacy on problems of urban sprawl and how to mitigate it. This is the goal of sustainability, which should focus on the process more than the form (Neuman, 2005). He has argued that a compact city should be created in the form of new urbanism, and health community in such a way that social interaction is fostered when communities are closer to one another. Also it should be more pedestrian friendly, more convenient in terms of mass transit, and generally more sustainable than urban sprawl. Our study agrees with Neuman. It concurs with “the compact city form of urbanism” and shows that the residents in three study areas enjoy living in these projects with accessibility to facilities and services.

We found that low-income residents enjoy living there and having their workplace
near their living area (not more than 20 kilometers distant). Upper middle income groups, on the other hand, still work in the Center Business District, commuting a distance of 41–50 kilometers. For holiday activities, most of them prefer staying at home rather than participating in holiday shopping around residential areas. Moreover, the project location of Bang Chalong is far from the public transportation project.

This study reveals that the urban structure of Bangkok Metropolis is close to the compact city form of urbanism. This means that the residents utilize urban structures such as grocery stores, kindergartens, day-care centers, schools, post offices, etc., in and around the area of their residences or not more than 20 kilometers distant. In addition, the residents’ time for daily life travel and distance for accessibility to urban facilities, activity participation, and local activities were related to the efficiency of the transport infrastructure. This implies that the urban structure directly affects travel behaviour through car ownership and transport attitudes. Hence, the compact city policy in BMR should plan to use urban land for sustainable development. There are three aspects which must be emphasized in Bangkok Mega-city, as follows:

1. Urban redevelopment projects should be resized and the number of large-scale urban redevelopments should be reduced from now on, while a large number of small-scale unit area development projects should be promoted.
2. Building of a network structure should now be formed by transferring its functions to Bangkok Metropolis vicinity areas.
3. Mega-city policies should be promoted from the standpoint of residents, such as the division of mega-city areas into unit areas under separate administrative zones, thus enhancing the quality of daily life.

The BMA’s policy has solved these problems and the future of mega-cities, with view over the growth stages of those cities. The role of the mega-city, however, with large-scale urbanization, has taken a toll in lifestyle terms, with Bangkok residents sacrificing affluence and healthy living. A network structure has now been formed by transferring the functions to Bangkok Metropolis vicinity areas, while promoting compact city policies from the standpoint of residents, such as the division of mega-city areas into unit areas under separate administrations as places for everyday life.

The conclusion of this study shows that (1) the problems facing the Bangkok mega-city have to be solved to a significant extent; (2) the low-income quality of life has to be improved, although access and approach remain problems; (3) there is inadequate low-income housing due to high land prices around the restructured city; and (4) mega-cities create urban sprawl, which is not beneficial to the environment or the national economy.

**Recommendations**

This study has included some measures of the urban living environment. The examination of the Compact City concept could provide a guideline for policy development for mega-cities in the future. However, city or urban plans should be promoted as small-scale urban redevelopments in each subcenter, connected with each other by mass rapid transportation (BTS or MRT). Additionally, Bangkok Sustainable City conditions should consist of the most efficient social structures and balance of
urban areas to rural areas. Moreover, the security of social equality should be taken into account. Finally, the success of the Compact City Policy should be measured by quality-of-life and sustainable city indicators.

To this end, it is necessary to accumulate detailed data by promptly formulating an observation system. The study proposes the following:

(1) Shift from rapid-growth-type urban policies and land planning to policies suitable for a mature society.
(2) Create urban environments as scenes for living and fostering children.
(3) Create a network of medium-to-small-sized cities in order to promote nation building on a decentralized basis.
(4) Establish a wide-area policy to make and enforce offices exceeding local municipalities in mega-city areas.

References


HybridNTELL MODEL: AN ALTERNATIVE FORMULA TO FOSTER 21ST CENTURY AUTONOMOUS EFL LEARNERS

Tavicha Phadvibulya¹
Sudaporn Luksaneeyanawin²

Abstract

This paper examines the design and development process of a Hybrid network technology-enhanced language learning (HybridNTELL) model and evaluates its effectiveness. The model is grounded in a Vygotsky-inspired social constructivism approach to foreign language learning. The concepts of Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) and Mediation underlie the model design framework, generating interactive content-based instruction in a community of practice. The aim of the HybridNTELL model is to foster the EFL learner autonomy required to live and work in a 21st century knowledge-based community. Four dimensions of autonomy were formulated based on literature on social constructivist theory and the current thinking on learner autonomy. The four interactive dimensions were used to inform four different types of task design: reactive-interdependence, reactive-independence, proactive-interdependence and proactive-independence which are the key components of the HybridNTELL model. Two platforms for applying the model in an EFL context are asynchronous online communication on a discussion board and synchronous face-to-face communication in the classroom. The use of two specific platforms complementary creates a hybrid learning environment. To evaluate the model’s effectiveness, ninety first year Chulalongkorn University students were recruited in experiment by stratified random sampling method. The students participated in a HybridNTELL environment during a one-semester English foundation course which is compulsory for non-English major students. Findings suggest that the HybridNTELL model yields positive effects on EFL learning autonomy development based on an assessment of the improvement in students’ English proficiency, achievement test scores, curriculum-based holistic performance development and objective language development.

Introduction

In the 21st century, the notion of a societal transformation to a “knowledge-based society” (Drucker 2002) has a profound impact on English as a foreign language (EFL) learning in higher education. Due to the advancement of information and communication technology, the rate of information and knowledge development has accelerated and consequently, the effective lifetime of knowledge is shortening (Tapscott 1997). Existing knowledge is very soon replaced by new discoveries publicized through new widespread electronic media. This limited lifetime of knowledge necessitates the constant updating, expansion, and development of personal expertise. What constitutes an educated person has radically changed. The educated person must have the capacity to continually learn new concepts and modes of operation throughout his or her life. In this information age, language is inevitably a
“major tool for learning and cognitive development” (Vygotsky 1978: 13).

Similarly, Little (2003: 216) predicted that “the new and rapidly expanding information systems are likely to also have a profound effect on the way in which we communicate within and between societies and, by extension, on the range of skills foreign language learners need to develop.” More specifically, English language skills attached to technology literacy have become more powerful in international communication and collaboration since the majority of new world knowledge and international communication is in English (www.internetworldstats.com, retrieved May 17, 2007). As a result, there is a dramatically increasing number of EFL learners especially in higher education with an immediate need to develop a working knowledge of English to participate in global communication.

However, in most monolingual countries such as Thailand, Japan, China, and the like, EFL education cannot respond to learners’ needs due to many challenges and limitations. First, there is only a limited number of qualified teachers in proportion to the number of learners. Second, most English classes are large and integrated communicative skills practice is relatively difficult. Third, lecture with addition of drill-and-practice is still a widely used method of instruction. This method leaves very limited opportunities for language use as a “social exchange of meanings” (Halliday and Hasan 1985: 11) in large classes with limited contact hours. In addition, English is still considered a foreign language and learned only as a subject for high stakes examinations. Interaction in English is not necessary for daily functioning, and public standards of English proficiency are quite tolerant.

Furthermore, as in many other EFL countries, the way Thai students learn English has been overshadowed by the washback effect of school or university entrance examinations.

The aforementioned limitations create a great challenge for EFL teachers and educators in higher education. Teachers are expected to create a learning environment in which learners have opportunities to use English autonomously to interact with others both within and outside the class, and further develop their communicative competence for real life use. This article proposes a hybrid network technology-enhanced language learning (HybridNTELL) model as an alternative formula for creating an EFL learning environment to foster autonomous learning. First, the theoretical framework for the model design is described. Second, the methodological procedures are explained. Then, results from the model evaluation and interesting findings are discussed.

**Literature review**

From recent research (Cotterall 1995, Fowler 1997, Little 1997, Wenden 2002, Dam and Legenhausen 1996), it is indisputable that language learning is enhanced when the student has a large measure of control over the goals, content and process of language learning. It has also been found that the best learning results are achieved if learners work with authentic materials used in the context of real-world-based situations or at least simulations and thus are supported by authentic tasks.

Since the learner is considered the key to development, a number of learner-centered approaches have been introduced to EFL education along with content-based and
task-based instruction and a higher level of participation in classes. As well, a cooperative learning approach where “group learning activities are organized so that learning is dependent on the socially structured exchange of information between learners in groups and in which each learner is held accountable for his or her own learning and is motivated to increase the learning of others” has been proposed (Kagen 1992: 8). Accordingly, foreign language instruction goes beyond just providing “comprehensible input” (Krashen 1981: 6); it also creates socially interactive contexts in which learners actively engage in the learning process. Learning is then viewed as processes embedded in cognitive and social contexts (Kinginger 2000).

The new paradigms of EFL learning in the 21st century inform the recent theory of autonomy in language learning, which has changed from the belief in learners’ development towards individualization to a development of skills for “collective scaffolding” in cooperative and collaborative learning activities (Donato 1994). Researchers on autonomy have been aware that in order to develop autonomy, learners need to be freed from the direction and control of others. Little (1991: 13) proposed a learner autonomy that takes as its starting point “the learner’s perceived needs, his interest and his learning purpose.” However, learners who choose, or are forced by circumstances, to study languages in isolation from teachers and other learners, will not necessarily develop autonomy. This belief was one of the most challenging developments in the theory of autonomy in the 1990s and led to the idea that autonomy implies interdependence. Kohonen (1992) has argued the point forcefully that autonomy includes the notion of interdependence, because personal decisions are necessarily made with respect to social and moral norms. Autonomous learners are expected to be responsible for their own conduct in the social context and must be able to cooperate with others and solve conflicts in constructive ways. Collaborative decision-making within co-operative learning groups is a key feature of Kohonen’s experiential model for the development of autonomy. Little (1996) also posits that collaboration is essential to the development of autonomy as a psychological capacity. He proposes that the development of a capacity for reflection and analysis, central to the development of learner autonomy, depends on the development of internalization of a capacity to participate fully and critically in social interactions. In a learning context, autonomy is thus an umbrella term covering both “independence” and “interdependence” as opposed to “dependence,” which implies excessive reliance on the direction of teachers or teaching materials (Benson 2001). This clear explanation supports the changing scenario of foreign language learning in the 21st century.

Furthermore, several researchers (Jones 1995, Littlewood 1999, Benson and Voller 1997) have investigated whether cultural value systems will allow autonomy to be introduced in EFL in Asian contexts where students have relatively little opportunity, individually or as a group, to identify and set their own learning goals, to be engaged in free interactive-group learning programs and to develop their own repertoire of learning strategies. To create a form of autonomy that will enable teachers to work within cultural constraints in East Asia, Littlewood (1999: 74) proposed a “broader framework (for autonomy) within
which the perceived needs of different kinds of learners—both inside and beyond East Asia—can be accommodated.” He placed autonomy in a group context and distinguished between proactive autonomy (where learners take charge of their own learning) and reactive autonomy (where learners organize their resources autonomously once the direction is given).

In recent research and articles on the aforementioned ideas of the new EFL learning approaches and concepts of EFL learner autonomy, Vygotsky-inspired social constructivist theory is widely discussed due to the influence and support the theory provides. In his work on developmental psychology, Vygotsky assumed that learning begins from the starting point of the child’s existing knowledge and experience and develops through social interaction. This assumption was made explicit in Vygotsky’s (1978: 86) idea of the Zone of Proximal Development, which he defined as “the distance between what learners can achieve by themselves and what they can achieve with assistance from others.” The skills that the individual has already mastered constitute his or her actual level. The skills that the individual can perform when assisted by a more capable person or some other means of mediation constitute the potential level. Thus, learned skills provide a basis for the performance of new skills. When these skills in turn become autonomous and stable, a new zone can be created to make possible the acquisition of still further skills.

From a social constructivist perspective, language learning is about the understanding of learners themselves as agents whose conditions of learning affect the learning outcome (Lantolf 2000). The degree of interaction and involvement in the shared activity depends on learners’ motives, beliefs, and attitudes, and their investment in the learning situation. Social interaction is more than the action of one person delivering information to another; rather it shapes and constructs learning through collaborative effort and scaffolding in expert and novice interaction (Kinginger 2002). Through socialization, learners use the target language as a cognitive tool to perform and assist each other in a shared activity (Lantolf 2000). Importantly, collaborative scaffolding allows learners to expand their linguistic and cognitive skills to engage in problem-solving situations (e.g., negotiation of meaning and form) and knowledge building (Swain and Lapkin 2000). Donato (1988) found that students who worked collectively on preparing for a role-play task produced learning outcomes for the group and the individual greater than those produced by their more loosely knit counterparts. Storch (2001) also found that in pair work tasks, only those pairs that exhibited a collaborative orientation to their work resulted in co-construction of new knowledge, peer assistance, and the learning of grammatical form and new vocabulary. Ohta (2000) also argues that the nature of the task and the goals of the learners also affect how participants interact with each other. Tasks should expose students to a wide range of structures appropriate to their level in order to make both meaning and form connections (Skehan 1998). In sum, learners’ linguistic, cognitive, and affective domains play a significant role in the social constructivist perspective of language learning because they affect the degree and the quality of social interaction.

However, implementing social constructivist concepts in EFL contexts requires instructional methods or tools to help
overcome the limitation of learning in large classes with less interaction, contact hours, and language resources. These limitations persuade some educators nowadays to incorporate network technology involving computer-mediated communication (CMC) and web-based learning to foster a social constructivist EFL learning environment.

The Internet offers an effective means of opening new horizons for foreign language learning and teaching. Computer-mediated communication through both asynchronous exchange (e.g., emails and discussion boards) and synchronous interaction in real time (e.g., chat rooms, and video conferences) affords unique learning conditions for foreign language learners to expand the use of the target language and thus develop their communicative language skills (see, e.g., Abrams 2003, Blake 2000, Lee 2002, Pellettieri 2000). Previous studies have documented a number of benefits that learners have gained by using network technologies (e.g., Darhower 2002, Lee 2002, 2004, Sengupta 2001, Smith 2003, Warschauer 2000). Network-based learning creates a friendly and low-anxiety learning environment that allows “all” rather than “some” students to participate (e.g., Kern 1995, Lee 2002) and encourages affective support among peers to increase students’ motivation toward foreign language learning (Lee 2003, Weasenforth, Biesenbach-Lucas, and Meloni 2002). As opposed to the traditional classroom setting in which one finds a teacher-driven approach, CMC promotes greater interaction and reduces teacher talk, while the learners take equal turns participating (e.g., Lee 2004, Sullivan and Pratt 1996). Through network collaboration, learners extend their communicative abilities; they employ a wide range of discourse structures and modification devices to interact with others (e.g., Kern and Warschauer 2000, Smith 2003, Sotillo 2000, Toyoda and Harrison 2002, Tudini 2003). As the result of negotiated interaction, learners improve their grammatical competence (Lee 2002, Pellettieri 2000) and written and oral communication skills (e.g., Abrams 2003, Blake 2000, Lee 2002, Payne and Whitney 2002).

From the perspective of learning autonomy, the most significant Internet-based activities involve e-mail, on-line discussion and web authoring (Benson 2001). Internet technologies open up opportunities for interaction among learners, between learners and target language users, and between learners and teachers that would otherwise be difficult or impossible to achieve in the classroom. The Internet also appears to facilitate learner control over interaction. Warschauer et al. (1996) cite a number of studies suggesting that the use of CMC tools in language learning leads to more student-initiated interactions, a social dynamic based on student-student collaboration, more student-centered discussion and a shift in authority from teacher to students. Text-manipulation and CMC applications also offer greater opportunities for the development of control over learning content.

Given the above mentioned benefits that Internet technology has afforded social constructivist EFL learning and learner autonomy development, more and more instructional models and guidelines for online language learning have been created. Yet, relatively little attention has been placed on two big issues that are significant to the area of research and implementation. First, relevant literature reviews and meta-analyses by Zhao (2003),
HybridNTELL model

This alternative “hybrid” learning model provides a flow of instruction where the two modes of interaction: synchronous face-to-face classroom interaction, and asynchronous online interaction are used equally and complementarily as platforms for communication. Learning autonomy is the main goal which guides the organization and development of the model. The crisis often associated with large classes has been turned to a strength, with the aid of the instructional model, designed from the perspective of Vygotsky-inspired social constructivist theory, which emphasizes on learning language through meaning making and collaborating with others.

The HybridNTELL model was created based on two interrelated areas of study on learning: social constructivist theory and foreign language learning autonomy. The two areas of study frame the way network technology-enhanced language learning is put into practice to foster the foreign language learner’s development of autonomy.

Social constructivism: mediation in the ZPD

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1 The term “hybrid” learning environment is widely used in CALL studies (e.g. Chenoweth, Meskill & Anthony 2004, Liu 2003, Scida and Saury 2006, Ushida and Murday 2006) as well as blended learning. The two terms describe courses in which instruction takes place in a traditional classroom setting augmented by network technology-based activities which can replace classroom seat time. Blended learning, however, implies a combination of more than two learning platforms while hybrid implies the use of only two platforms complementarily (CollinsCOBUILD 2006).
The first key construct that offers an overview of the learning process taken into account in the HybridNTELL model is Vygotsky’s concept of “mediation” within “the zone of proximal development”. As illustrated in Figure 1, the zone of proximal development (ZPD) is the distance between what learners can achieve by themselves (zone 1) and what they can achieve with assistance from others (help). The skills that the individual has already mastered constitute his or her actual level. The skills that the individual can perform when assisted by a more capable person or some other means of mediation constitute the potential level (zone 2). Thus, learned skills provide a basis for the performance of new skills. When these skills in turn become autonomous and stable, a new zone (zone 3) can be created to make possible the acquisition of further skills.

EFL learning autonomy

The concept of ZPD offers a supporting explanation of how learning autonomy can be fostered and developed. The HybridNTELL model suggests four interactive dimensions of autonomy development based on current thinking on learning autonomy and social constructivism theory. The four dimensions are assumed to require different degrees of autonomy from the least to the most as follows: reactive-interdependence (re-inter), reactive-independence (re-inde), proactive-interdependence (pro-inter), and proactive-independence (pro-inde) (Phadvibulya 2005). The four dimensions of autonomy are viewed analytically in terms of the psychological planes and motives (see Figure 2).

The first two dimensions of learning autonomy ("interdependence" and "independence") are based on Vygotsky’s work on psychological planes in developmental psychology. He explained that learning begins from the starting point of the learners’ existing knowledge and experience and develops through social interaction or some other means of mediation (e.g. tasks, resources, technology). Based on the belief that every function in the ZPD appears twice: first, on the social level (inter psychological), and later, on the individual level (intra psychological), collaboration is viewed as a key factor in the development of autonomy (Little 1996). In the 21st century, collaboration is even viewed as an act of autonomy since learners must have ‘the capacity to participate fully and critically in social interactions’ (Little 1996: 210); and ‘to cooperate with others and solve conflicts in constructive ways’ (Kohonen 1992). This constitutes what Littlewood (1999) defined as the ‘collective structure’ of autonomy.
The other two dimensions are based on Vygotsky’s concept of motives in a pedagogical goal-directed activity: teacher-directed (other-regulated) and learner-directed (self-regulated) dimensions. Littlewood (1999) proposed two types of autonomy: reactive and proactive autonomy. The “reactive” type, once a direction has been initiated, enables learners to organize their resources autonomously in order to reach their goal. Learners do not create their own directions. The “proactive” type is the kind of autonomy we find when learners determine objectives, and make informed pedagogical decisions based on some form of evaluation (Little and Dam 1998). The learners affirm their individuality and set up directions in a world which they themselves have partially created.

In brief, social constructivist theory is interpreted and applied to frame pedagogical functions in class. The application of network technology to enhance language learning experience is designed to suit a hybrid learning environment where asynchronous online communications enhance face-to-face learning events. Thus, the rate of interaction, chances to be exposed to the target language and class contact hours can be extended.

**Task design**

The four dimensions of autonomy (Figure 2) are used to frame the task design in the HybridNTELL learning environment. Accomplishment and performance in each task type show learners’ development in each dimension of learning autonomy. The four task types are plotted to foster each dimension of autonomy.

All task types were created based on the belief that university level learners should “deploy whatever language they already have, and look for ways of building on that, of improving and expanding on their current language capabilities” (Willis 2005: 15) where “meaning is central and opportunities for language use abound” (Willis 2005: 5). Interdependent tasks (re-inter and pro-inter) were designed from the notion that the learners co-construct the activity they engage in during the task. In re-inter tasks, the co-construction of knowledge is based on goals set by the teacher while in pro-inter tasks, the students co-construct the activity based on their “own socio-history and locally determined goals” (Lantolf 2000). In doing interdependent tasks, learners are provided with collaborative dialogue platforms—asynchronous online and synchronous in class—as tools for
mediated learning. For independent tasks, learners are encouraged to search for their own mediated learning tools under the teacher’s guidance and reflect on their learning in a weblog. This idea is supported by a number of researchers viewing “reflection as a key psychological component of autonomy” (Benson 2001: 90).

In the HybridNTELL environment, learning is an ongoing interactive process. Each of the same task type offers different levels of challenge to different learners. The learners’ responses to those challenges different levels were interpreted as their degree of autonomy or ZPD. Social constructivist theory suggests that tasks are a form of mediation. The four different task types mediate learning with the teacher’s scaffolding (reactive tasks) and collective scaffolding (interdependent tasks). Also, independent and proactive tasks provide opportunities for learners to exercise further transferable skills. The four task types hold different dimensions, criteria and degrees of learner control over their learning. However, each task is considered equally important for the learning process and EFL learner autonomy development, and is given equal weight in the learning outcome.

Classroom environment design

In a HybridNTELL environment, tasks are the major control over class management and organization. The four tasks define the roles of other factors in the learning environment. The related factors illustrated in Figure 3 are adapted from Engeström’s (1987) activity system. The system was developed from the work of Vygotsky (1978) and Leontiev (1978). First, tasks inform whether Subject is regarded as a person working individually or a group working collaboratively. Second, tasks notify whether “Object” is the outcome of learner-directed or teacher-directed activity. Social constructivist theory explains that any given activity is interpreted and reshaped by students in actual performance and outcomes are diversified due to performers’ orientation and interpretation (Coughlan and Duff 1994, Roebuck 1998, 2000 as cited in Lantolf and Thorne 2006). The diversity is due to the fact that an individual’s history impacts action and motives for their learning. For this reason, the rules of HybridNTELL involving the way to direct, manage and assess learning outcomes were set to be flexible and formative in response to the students’ ZPD. “Division of labor” is done through the stratified random assignment technique to keep a balance between having a mixed ability group and learners’ opportunity to form a group with shared interests. The mixed ability nature of the students in groups leads to establishment of a “community” of practice where each individual helps construct knowledge for the community. Finally, selective use of mediation tools is also influenced by task type. From the perspectives of learner autonomy study, there are six ways to foster learner autonomy (Benson 2001) which are regarded as mediation tools in the HybridNTELL environment. The six mediation tools are presented in Figure 3.

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4 Weblogs are short-form online journals that refer to each other and invite comments. It is used in the HybridNTELL environment as students’ portfolio or showcase.
The explanation of each mediation tool in the HybridNTELL model is given clockwise as follows. First, in resource-mediated learning (assumed for all tasks), the focus for the development of autonomy is placed on the learner’s independent interaction with learning resources (e.g. textbook, websites, dictionary, etc.). This type of mediation offers learners the opportunity to exercise control over learning plans, the selection of learning materials and the evaluation of learning.

Second, in a classroom-mediated learning approach to the development of autonomy, students are provided with the opportunity to make decisions regarding their learning within a collaborative and supportive environment. To serve this approach, content-based and task-based language instruction should be designed to offer opportunities for learners to partially or fully make their own decisions and to bring in their own interests. The design of classroom learning is related to how the curriculum is planned.

Third, a curriculum-mediated learning approach has been formalized in the idea of process syllabus, in which learners are expected to make decisions concerning the content and procedures of learning in collaboration with the class and their teacher. In this case, “Objects” and “Rules” can be negotiated in class to reach a mutual agreement. Adjustments are made to cater to the students’ ZPD. The HybridNTELL model takes the view of content-based learning which is influenced by Vygotsky’s classic idea of “Language and Thought”. The focal realization of content-based EFL learning is grounded in the idea that language is learned best in the context of use. When language is relevant and functional, learners have real purposes for using language, and through their language use, they develop control over the processes of language. A strong justification of content-based EFL learning for university students lies in the fact that
the students are diverse and are in the transition to real-life language use. Their English has been enriched with linguistic resources that they can retrieve to advance their skills in a real context of use. In the HybridNTELL model, language functions are embedded in each theme (i.e. language for comparison and contrast related to entertainment; language for time sequence related to technology; language for causal relationship related to environment). The four language skills (i.e. listening, speaking, reading, writing) are interactively combined with linguistic mechanisms (i.e. pronunciation, spelling, grammar, and vocabulary). The content-based approach thus provides a semi-pedagogical/authentic language use arena for the students to further develop whatever linguistic skills they have.

Fourth, “Teacher” in autonomous learning has three basic roles: a facilitator who provides support for learning; a counselor who gives advice in learning; and a resource provider who possesses a source of knowledge and expertise. In other words, the teacher in the HybridNTELL model helps learners to plan and carry out their independent or interdependent learning by means of needs analysis, objective setting, work planning, materials selection, organization of interactions, and development evaluation.

Fifth, a learner-mediated learning approach focuses on the production of behavioral and psychological changes that will enable learners to take greater control over their learning. Social constructivist theorists (Lantolf 2000a, 2000b, Donato 2000, Wertsch 1991 based on Vygotsky 1978) maintain that learning is a socially situated activity rather than an individual activity. Individuals obviously do play a role in learning, but what they will eventually be able to do by themselves, they first achieve collaboratively during social interaction. Research (e.g. Pontecorvo and Zucchermaglio 1990, Tudge 1990) showed growing evidence that collaborative learning between peers, regardless of ability, activates the zone of proximal development. Successful learning involves shifting control within activities from social to individual (from interdependence to independence). In a HybridNTELL environment, students are encouraged to take different degrees of control over different task types so that their ZPD can be monitored and extended. Finally, they are expected to take greater control over their learning.

Finally, a technology-mediated approach to the development of autonomy in the HybridNTELL model aims to facilitate interaction in foreign language classrooms. Network technologies provide opportunities for collaborative learning, interaction among learners, and between learners and teachers that could otherwise be difficult to achieve in the foreign language classroom. Thus, the network technology-enhanced language learning (NTELL) platform is integrated into classroom learning in a way that takes into account the other five approaches.

Design of NTELL platform

The NTELL platform (see Figure 4) is accessible by any member from anywhere and at anytime. The platform was created on a pedagogy-based learning management system, and such featured activities as an electronic discussion board, wiki, online
quizzes and external weblogs anchored to the class website were used to support the design of learning activities. Within the environment, content is customizable due to the fact that everyone is empowered to help construct a flexible and adaptable learning environment. Thus, learning occurs through the act of creating something for others to see, by observing the actions of peers, and from relating new knowledge to personal contexts. Thus, a community of practice can be created out of the flexible nature of the online platform.

Implementation of the HybridNTELL model:
Methodology and procedures

The HybridNTELL model was implemented in an English foundation course for Chulalongkorn University first-year students over a semester (sixteen weeks). Face-to-face meetings took place every week, two ninety-minute on random days of the week, for three hours: ninety minutes each on any two days during a week. In the first seven weeks, a series of orientations were delivered. Then, the HybridNTELL tasks were implemented in the next nine weeks. The use of NTELL provides more contact hours and flexibility in the online learning environment. Some tasks were modified from the curriculum and added to the syllabus to serve the practice of the four dimensions of autonomy development in the HybridNTELL environment.

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Hawaiian language, and it is the speed of creating and updating pages that is one of the defining aspects of wiki technology. The Wiki module in HybridNTELL enables participants to work together on a project using web pages to add, expand and change the content. Old versions are never deleted and can be restored so that learners can trace back their process of learning as an individual or a group.
In the environment, tasks were organized around the collective participation and contribution of knowledge in the classroom website. Different sections of the website were to be realized by smaller teams cooperating with each other. Motivated by the initial object of the language learning activity, in this case the construction of the website, the subjects (who can be individual students, teams, or even teachers) carry out chains of actions that are oriented towards the realization of the website.

These goal-oriented actions focus on both language use, such as the creation of the information given by the site, and on the development and acquisition of transferable skills, such as information retrieval, or organization of presentation. The realization of actions by the “subjects” is mediated by a number of tools and artifacts. The artifacts include the students’ group websites providing linguistic information on topics relevant to the students’ chosen themes (e.g. movies, traveling, music, food, books, etc.). As the activity unfolds, the subjects create artifacts such as written or spoken texts (e.g. content for the website, reports, minutes, postings, oral presentations, etc.). Non-material tools can be of a cognitive or metacognitive nature, such as planning and intentions, organizing, and decision-making, and include both the first and second languages. Material tools include technology, such as networked computers available in the self-access language unit, the NTELL Environment, and generic software, such as Microsoft Office, email, or electronic dictionary software (e.g. CollinsCOBUILD), which are all externally enabled by the university.

The individual subject belongs to a wider community comprising his/her class group and the teachers. The community’s collective activity is mediated by the range of available tools and language learning artifacts previously outlined, in particular by communication tools provided by the NTELL environment and by a certain division of labor. The division of labor occurs when a team of students collaborate and distribute the realization of sub-tasks (e.g. article writing, preparation for oral presentation) between themselves. Then, the rules are set when the teacher imposes a certain way of completing the task and grades the students’ performance. A number of rules and conventions, such as assessment regulations and the requirement to use English to communicate, mediate the relationship between either the subject or the community and the object of the learning activity.

Through the realization of the activity or actions, the object is transformed into an outcome, which can be measured in terms of language performance, transferable skills and learner autonomy. In other words, as students direct their actions towards the construction of the website, they develop and consolidate a range of skills and competencies that can be assessed.

An application of the HybridNTELL model provides nevertheless a starting point for carrying out judgmental and empirical analyses, which can address a variety of issues and research questions relevant to the investigation of the relationship between the HybridNTELL model and learner development. The interweaving of individual and collaborative actions mediated by technology indeed offers a suitable context for such an investigation. It is necessary, however, to
HybridNTELL Model

further explore the mediating role of tools and artifacts, and in particular that of Information Technology, from a social constructivist perspective as well as the human factors offered in the hybrid learning environment.

**HybridNTELL model research**

The HybridNTELL model was evaluated to ensure its effectiveness from the perspective of social constructivism. The evaluation was guided by the following three research questions:

1. To what extent do participants with different English proficiency levels demonstrate different degrees of autonomy during a language learning course?
2. How does the participants’ development of autonomy in the HybridNTELL model enhance their language development?
3. Which of the variables in the HybridNTELL model can predict participants’ development?

Since learning outcomes in the HybridNTELL model were assessed based on a social constructivist perspective, the students’ ZPD was taken into account in order to (1) foster EFL learner autonomy and (2) facilitate learners’ language development.

**Research procedures**

The assessment of degrees of EFL learner autonomy and their language development was based on both objective standardized tests and a set of procedural tests. To answer the first question, the Chulalongkorn University Test of English Proficiency (CU-TEP), a set of standardized tests of English proficiency, was administered before the beginning of the course as a pre-test. The test results were used to select participants and to measure their actual levels of English proficiency. Then, the participants’ degrees of autonomy were assessed holistically based on their performance on the four task types.

To answer the second question, the participants’ degrees of autonomy were compared with their development in English proficiency measured by three aspects of assessment. First, their general development in English proficiency was measured from the difference between the pre-test and the post-test scores based on two different sets of the CU-TEP. The post-test was administered after the end of the course. Second, the participants’ scores from curriculum-based assessment administered campus-wide were used to examine whether the participants learning with the HybridNTELL model make better progress than the rest of the population. Finally, since the CU-TEP and curriculum-based assessment are not sufficient to investigate the participants’ multi-faceted language development qualitatively, the participants’ language use in their task performance was measured focusing on four aspects of development: (1) fluency; (2) accuracy; (3) complexity (both grammatical and lexical); and (4) a focused language function based on the curriculum (i.e. comparison and contrast writing). The results show how degrees of autonomy relate to degrees of language development.

To answer the last question, the predictive variables in HybridNTELL model design, i.e., degrees of autonomy, interaction patterns, discourse types and teacher’s help were measured. The results were used to predict the participants’ language development.
Population and participants

HybridNTELL was implemented with a group of one hundred and forty-three Chulalongkorn University students selected from the whole population of two thousand six hundred and forty-six students. At the beginning of the course, the group of the students was drawn from the population with the mean score of their English proficiency ($M = 454.18$, $SD = 41.66$) showing no significant difference compared to the mean score of the population ($M = 454.03$, $SD = 42.94$), $t = .185$, $p = .854$. The score range of the entire group fell within the standard deviation of the population based on the 68% rule in excluding the outliers from the experiment.

Fifty social science students were in one class (class A). Forty-seven biological science students were in another class (class B). Forty-six technological science students were in the other class (class C). The three classes were not significantly different in terms of language proficiency (Table 1) which is assumed to influence their learning and development.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Mean scores</th>
<th>Ranges</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>458.75</td>
<td>403-547</td>
<td>28.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>452.87</td>
<td>390-541</td>
<td>34.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>450.83</td>
<td>393-537</td>
<td>30.54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The score ranges based on the Common European Framework Reference (CEFR) (Figure 5) were used to stratify the students into three groups: high proficiency (H) with a score range of B2 (480-559), mid proficiency (M) with a score range of B1 (420-479), and low proficiency (L) with a score range of A2 (380-419). Then the stratified random sampling method was used to recruit ninety participants from the H-M-L groups. Thirty students from each group were randomly selected to participate in the experiment.

![Figure 5: Population in the experiment based on CEFR descriptors](image-url)
Being aware that the students were selected from three different classes, the effects from the HybridNTELL environment was ensured by controlling the following major variables to create homogeneity: the teacher, the content, the sequence of the content and the delivery methods. However, there was no comparison group in terms of effectiveness testing, but the development of learners in each proficiency group was compared to ensure HybridNTELL model effectiveness with students at all proficiency levels.

**Research instruments, data collection and analyses**

The process of data collection involved the selection of instruments, data sources and types, method of data analysis, and validity and reliability of the measurement. The following report of data collection and analysis was based on the three research questions.

The first question aimed at investigating to what extent participants at different English proficiency levels demonstrated different degrees of autonomy during a language learning course. The participants’ English proficiency scores as measured from the CU-TEP taken before the beginning of the course and their degrees of autonomy were examined by $3 \times 4$ factorial analyses of variance (ANOVA). The participants’ degrees of autonomy were assessed from their performance in the four task types based on a set of holistic assessment schemes. The schemes corresponded to the course curriculum designed by the course committee. The participants’ task performance was double rated by a colleague of the researcher who has extensive knowledge of the dissertation study and teaches the same course in which the HybridNTELL model was implemented.

The second question addressed the issue of how the participants’ degrees of autonomy in the HybridNTELL model enhanced their language development. The independent variable, the degrees of autonomy, was compared with three dependent variables: the improvement of English proficiency measured from pre-test/post-test scores, curriculum-based achievement, and the four aspects of objective language development investigated qualitatively from the tasks. The analyses of the variables were described in four stages.

First, the participants’ degrees of autonomy were analyzed using descriptive statistics. Second, the different degrees of autonomy were compared with the participants’ improvement of English proficiency level overtime. The improvement was measured from the difference between pretest and post-test scores, determined by a Paired-sample $t$-test. Third, the difference between the curriculum-based achievement test scores of the experimental group and the population was investigated by an independent $t$-test to find out whether the participants demonstrated a higher achievement than the population given that their English proficiency levels were not significantly different before the beginning of the course. Finally, the participants’ language development based on performance and development in the four task types was analyzed using descriptive statistics.

The third question examined which of the variables in the HybridNTELL model can predict students’ development. The students’ degree of autonomy, pattern of interaction,
types of discourse in the interaction, and degree of teacher’s scaffolding were analyzed. Then Pearson’s product moment correlation coefficient ($r$) was used to conduct bivariate correlation analyses between the variables and the students’ improvement of English proficiency and curriculum-based achievement.

**Findings and discussion**

This study investigates how the students with different proficiency levels learned in and benefited from the HybridNTELL environment. Results from quantitative and qualitative data analyses are reported below.

**EFL learners with different proficiency levels and degrees of autonomy**

The study firmly suggests that previous English proficiency levels have no effect on the students’ autonomy and language development. The pre- and post-test scores reveal that the learners improve their language skills ($F (2, 87) = 7.04, p < .001$) regardless of their previous English proficiency levels, $F (2, 87) = .24, p = .078$. However, there is an interaction between the effect of English proficiency levels and degrees of learning autonomy demonstrated in the four task types ($F (6, 87) = 15.96, p < .001$) on the improvement of English proficiency (Figure 6).

![Figure 6: Interaction effects between students’ previous English proficiency levels and the four task types on their degrees of autonomy](image-url)
Although previous proficiency levels did not affect the participants’ development, different task types appeared to have different effects on the degrees of autonomy participants in different English proficiency groups demonstrated. The Re-inter task type showed less effect on distinguishing the participants’ different degrees of autonomy. This was partly due to the nature of the task type which encouraged the participants to work collaboratively towards the shared goal. The results imply that the Re-inter type has an equal chance either to encourage participants at all proficiency levels or to hinder the accountability of an individual. Some group members might not participate fully in the task but acquired the same scores as those who worked hard to accomplish the task.

The Re-inde task type yielded the most significant effect on the degrees of autonomy the participants with different English proficiency demonstrated. The participants were required to work alone in reaction to the teacher’s direction. The results showed that the participants at higher English proficiency levels had better control over the Re-inde task type since task accomplishment relies on the language resources the participants possess and requires minimal creativity on the content.

The Pro-inter task type appeared to create interesting phenomena. The participants demonstrated a lower degree of autonomy in Pro-inter than in Re-inter tasks despite both providing collective scaffolding. It can be assumed that the Pro-inter can distinguish participants at different proficiency levels. However, results showed that the participants with moderate English proficiency had almost as high a degree of autonomy as those at high proficiency levels. Interestingly, the participants with low English proficiency demonstrated more control over the Pro-inter task type than the Re-inde type. An assumption is that collective scaffolding is more beneficial to the M and L proficiency groups.

The Pro-inde task type seems to be difficult for participants at all English proficiency levels. The participants appeared to have more control over the Pro-inter than the Re-inde while they had less control over the Pro-inde. The two proactive tasks yield far different results. The difference in the degree of autonomy of the moderate English proficiency group towards the two proactive task types is interesting in that the Pro-inter type encouraged them to have high control over their learning, much like the high proficiency group, while the Pro-inde led them to have less control over the learning, which is more similar to the low proficiency group.

The general difficulty the Pro-inde type posed to the students might be due to other factors such as their experience and culture. From a personal conversation with Dr. Sudaporn Luksaneeyanawin (March 21, 2007), Thai students in the primary and secondary education system have less opportunity to conduct, reflect and monitor their learning process, which are the main focuses of the Pro-inde task type. This is due to large class size and the teacher-based approach to instruction. As a result, the Pro-inde appeared to be the less familiar task type.
Learners’ improvement of English proficiency

The results from the Paired-sample t-test indicated a significant difference between the students’ pretest scores ($M = 454.18$, $SD = 41.66$) and their post-test scores ($M = 469.32$, $SD = 48.45$), $t = 12.90$, $p < .001$. This difference demonstrates that participants’ English proficiency improved over time. Table 2 provides a descriptive summary of the participants’ pre- and post-test performances.

The diversity of improvement was illustrated by each group’s standard deviations. The standard deviations of the high proficiency group in both pre-test and post-test scores are the widest. The results show that the high proficiency group continued to be more heterogeneous while the low proficiency group appears to be more homogeneous. Nevertheless, the low proficiency group shows a greater increase in standard deviations than the mid proficiency group, while the average development of the whole group is greater in the mid proficiency group. The range of pre-test and post-test scores suggests that some participants in the low proficiency group made a greater improvement, reaching the same level as those in the mid proficiency group. Some participants in the high proficiency group made even further progress (see also Table 3).

Since the range of H-M-L proficiency levels is quite broad, improvement of the participants’ English proficiency is not clearly shown. Thus, the scores of each English proficiency level were subdivided into narrower ranges based on 10-point interval on the score rank (see Table 3) of CEFR bands. After the experiment, twenty participants in the low proficiency group (A2 upper basic level) progressed to the threshold level of B1. Five participants at a moderate level of proficiency progressed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Max</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pretest H (N=30)</td>
<td>504.73</td>
<td>547</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>18.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M (N =30)</td>
<td>447.80</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>13.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L (N =30)</td>
<td>410.03</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N =90)</td>
<td>454.19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>41.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posttest H (N =30)</td>
<td>519.97 (+15)</td>
<td>576</td>
<td>482</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>24.77 (+6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M (N=30)</td>
<td>463.90 (+16)</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>15.16 (+2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L (N=30)</td>
<td>424.10 (+14)</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>12.33 (+4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N=90)</td>
<td>469.32 (+15)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>43.45 (+2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
to the high level of proficiency. Six participants at B2 or upper intermediate level progressed to C1 or advanced level. Although the majority of participants remained at the same level, some made progress within their own range (according to the subdivided ranges in column 2 and 3 in Table 3). The participants in the high proficiency group (H) made different degrees of progress (H1-H7). The numbers after the letters H, M, L show the ranges of progress the participants made (i.e., H1=10-point increase made by a participant with high proficiency). The results show that the means of post-test scores are higher than those of the pre-test scores of all three groups. It is likely that the HybridNTELL model did not obstruct participants in any group. However, looking through a social constructivist lens, participants, despite having the same actual development level, demonstrated different degrees of potential development.
Learners’ curriculum-based achievement

The participants’ achievement was examined by comparing their curriculum-based achievement test scores with those of the population the group represents. At the beginning of the course, the participants were drawn from a population whose English proficiency mean score ($M = 454.18$, $SD = 41.66$) showed no significant difference compared to the mean score of the population ($M = 454.03$, $SD = 42.94$), $t = .185$, $p = .854$. After a semester, the participants had higher scores on the achievement test ($M = 32.24$, $SD = 4.40$) than did the population ($M = 28.35$, $SD = 6.09$), $t = 6.66$, $p < .001$). The standard deviation also exhibits less variety within the participants as related to the population group.

Figure 7 shows the change over time of the population and the participants. The majority of the population showed good performance on the achievement test. However, the participants made better progress. It is interesting to investigate the factors leading to the higher scores the participants gained on the achievement test. Further observations on the participants’ achievement in the next section provide interesting explanations to the phenomenon.

Objective analysis of language development in task performance

Since interaction and contact hours were enhanced in the HybridNTELL environment, there was a large corpus of production for objective language analysis. The researcher carefully selected data that represented the participants’ language development over time based on social constructivist theory. Three task cycles in repetition of the Pro-inter task type were selected since the task involved the
participants’ written language development through collective scaffolding, which relates directly to the concept of the ZPD. The first draft and the second draft of each task cycle were analyzed.

The language production collected from the work of twenty-seven out of ninety participants was investigated further to see their language development over time. The twenty-seven participants were randomly selected from each proficiency group: high, mid and low, based on their different degrees of autonomy. They were composed of nine from each of the three proficiency groups: high, mid and low. Three out of nine participants in each proficiency group demonstrated a high degree of autonomy, three demonstrated a moderate degree of autonomy, and the other three demonstrated a low degree of autonomy.

The HybridNTELL model incorporated four selected developmental measures of language development: fluency, accuracy, complexity and a focused language feature. The first three measures were based on the developmental index proposed by Wolf-Quintero, Inagaki and Kim (1998). The measures include (1) the total word count for fluency development, (2) the ratio of error-free T-units per total number of T-units for accuracy development, and (3) the ratio of total number of clauses per T-units for complexity. The underlying assumption is that these three characteristics of language development progress in tandem that more proficient second language writers write more fluently, accurately, and grammatically and produces more lexically complex sentences than less proficient writers. Apart from the three aspects of development, the participants’ development in the use of focused language features was also examined to see their growth over time through social interaction. The language focus in the experiment was the ability to use comparison and contrast features with correct forms and meanings.

This section summarizes the results of the selected twenty-seven participants’ language development in four aspects based on the HybridNTELL model measurement: (a) fluency, (b) accuracy, (c) complexity, and (d) a focused language feature.

(a) The results of an analysis of participants’ fluency development (Figure 8) show that the participants with higher degrees of autonomy tended to produce more words than the participants with lower degrees of autonomy regardless of their English proficiency levels. However, those with a high degree of autonomy and with high and moderate English proficiency seem to sacrifice fluency for accuracy or complexity in their second drafts. In contrast, those with a high degree of autonomy and low English proficiency developed their fluency more extensively. The participants with moderate and low degrees of autonomy and high and moderate English proficiency levels tended to show a similar pattern of development to those with low English proficiency in that they did not sacrifice fluency in their second drafts. These participants produced the same number of or more words in their second drafts but their fluency dropped when producing the next new piece of writing. The participants with a low degree of autonomy and low English proficiency appeared to trade off fluency at the beginning and later had the same pattern as those with a low degree of autonomy and high or moderate English proficiency. The investigation into the participants’ fluency development showed different patterns according to the degrees of autonomy and English proficiency.
(b) The analysis of students’ accuracy development (Figure 9) shows that the participants with different degrees of autonomy and English proficiency levels appeared to show accuracy development. The participants with a high degree of autonomy showed development in language accuracy between the first and the second draft, and between the first drafts of all three task cycles. Their second drafts showed more accuracy than those with low or moderate degree of autonomy. With the nature of the Pro-inter task type allowing collective scaffolding, it is assumed that the difference between the production of first and second drafts shows the participants’ ZPD. The first drafts reflected their actual level of development and the second drafts reflected their potential level of development. The relationship between the results of the measures of accuracy and fluency gave a clearer view of the students’ developmental patterns. The participants with a higher degree of autonomy tended to develop fluency in their first drafts and accuracy in their second drafts. Those with a lower degree of autonomy showed development in fluency but less accuracy.

(c) The third aspect of the participants’ language development is the measure of complexity in their language use (Figure 10). The students were to write comparison and contrast essays, which involve a variety of complex sentence structures. Thus, the development in
language complexity directly related to development in the use of curriculum-based language focus features. The participants with a high degree of autonomy and high English proficiency showed greater production of language complexity. The development patterns showed constant increases in complexity from the first draft in the first task cycle to the second draft in the last task cycle. It can be assumed that the participants autonomously developed their language complexity through a series of tasks. This language aspect was not the main focus of the lesson but the development might be a by-product of the focused language feature determined in the lesson.

(d) The production of the comparison and contrast feature was examined from the number of T-units containing the feature. The participants produced an increasing number of comparison and contrast units. Those with higher degrees of autonomy produced a more extensive range of development than those with lower degrees of autonomy.

The analyses above of the participants’ language development revealed that those with higher degrees of autonomy showed a greater ZPD than those with lower degrees in all aspects. In addition, the results showed that the prior English proficiency level is not the main effect of the participants’ improvement and achievement in their English language learning. The HybridNTELL environment offered students equal chances to improve their English ability regardless of their previous proficiency level. The participants’ development was related to their degree of autonomy reflected through their performance on the HybridNTELL tasks. The results ensure that the model has
positive effects on the participants’ learning outcomes.

The HybridNTELL model predictors of students’ development

Since the participants’ development involved many factors, the researcher attempted to frame the most related variables in the HybridNTELL model for investigating. Observation of the participants’ performance was examined from the online interaction recorded on the NTELL database.

Bivariate correlation analyses resulted in four most closely related variables in learner development in the HybridNTELL environment: (1) the degree of autonomy, (2) interaction patterns, (3) discourse patterns in collective scaffolding, and (4) teacher’s scaffolding. Table 9 showed the regression analyses of how the four variables are incorporated as strong predictors of students’ English proficiency development ($R^2 = .81$, $F = 63.03$, $p < .001$) and their curriculum-based achievement ($R^2 = .91$, $F = 81.54$, $p < .001$).
Table 9: Summary results of regression analyses for variables predicting students’ improvement in English proficiency and achievement test scores (N = 90 students)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Improvement in English proficiency</th>
<th>Achievement test scores</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coeff.</td>
<td>Beta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. The degree of autonomy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 1: Re-inter</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td>.32*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 2: Re-inde</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.44*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 3: Pro-inter</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td>.76**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 4: Pro-inde</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>.59**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Interaction patterns</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.24***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Discourse type</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addressing</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>.29*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical feedback</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>.47**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-construction</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metatalk</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>.18*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fostering autonomy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being addressed to</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>.46**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive comment</td>
<td>-.14</td>
<td>-.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical feedback</td>
<td>-.25</td>
<td>-.19*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-construction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Teacher’s help</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>.36**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Content</td>
<td>.73</td>
<td>.62***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$R^2$  \hspace{1cm} .81 \hspace{1cm} .91

$F$  \hspace{1cm} 63.03* \hspace{1cm} 81.54*

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
*** $p < .001$
As shown in Table 9, better performance on the English proficiency and achievement tests are associated with all variables. The participants’ development in task performance is the strongest predictor of both improvement in their English proficiency ($R^2 = .37, p < .001$) and achievement test scores ($R^2 = .39, p < .001$). The second predictor for the improvement in English proficiency is the interaction patterns they experienced ($R^2 = .14, p < .001$). The next equally important predictors are the discourse types they use and the teacher’s help ($R^2 = .13, p < .001$). The online interaction ($R^2 = .06, p < .01$) and discourse types received from peers’ feedback ($R^2 = .04, p < .05$) are the weakest predictors.

As for the achievement test scores, the third predictors are group interaction patterns ($R^2 = .16, p < .001$) and degrees of teacher’s help ($R^2 = .16, p < .001$). The next almost equally important predictor is discourse type use ($R^2 = .15, p < .001$). Online interaction ($R^2 = .05, p < .01$) and discourse type received from peers’ feedback ($R^2 = .05, p < .01$) remain the weakest predictors for the achievement test scores. However, it is important to note that less association between the teacher variable (or teacher’s help) and the participants’ development is a good sign. The HybridNTELL model requires that teachers confine their help to just a sufficient degree of association with the students’ development. The design of environment and task to promote collaborative learning and self-directed learning should attempt to reduce students’ dependence on the teacher. In this context, teachers can act as facilitators observing when help is required and deciding the degree to which it should be provided. Then, self-directed learning and collective scaffolding can be effectively encouraged to foster learner autonomy. If the teacher’s help yields a strong correlation with the students’ development, students are prone to be less autonomous.

Findings suggested that the participants made substantial learning progress with the HybridNTELL model but the different degrees of achievement were dependent on the patterns of their learning process in the environment explained by the relationship between the variables above.

**Conclusion**

This article reported the development and evaluation of the HybridNTELL model as an example of a theory-driven design process and empirical evidence for EFL instructors or researchers in higher education. The model is open for modification, application and further investigation.

The model needs to be implemented more than once in order to calibrate its effectiveness. This current study also left some interesting aspects of HybridNTELL to be further investigated such as discourse use in interaction with training, different teacher’s variable, different language themes, learners’ use of resource available, and learner language corpus collected from learners’ production. Further analysis of particular measures should offer more insightful information on students’ development. For example, students’ discourse in their collective scaffolding, based on the results, yielded a strong association with their development and thus, should be examined more closely so that appropriate training could be given to equip students with skills for more effective scaffolding. Teacher training is another important issue to be addressed since the findings suggest that teacher
variable holds a degree of association with the students’ development. Additionally, the model can be expanded to create an environment where students from different classes collaborate.

In conclusion, to create an active HybridNTELL environment, both effective pedagogical principles including specific instructional goals and procedures, as well as technological tools must be taken into account at the stage of implementation. Although the results reported from this study cannot yet be generalized to the entire university population, it is fair to say that the HybridNTELL model well suited the students’ needs. Learners’ development and perspectives toward online learning have offered valuable insights into a way to connect the teacher’s goals and students’ needs in the HybridNTELL environment. Both students and teachers would do well to take advantage of network technologies in order to become active members of a community that thrives far beyond the spatial and temporal limitations of the traditional classroom.

Acknowledgement

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HybridNTELL Model


REIMAGINING EDEN: HOMOEROTIC RELATIONSHIPS IN EMILY DICKINSON’S POETRY

Chutima Pragatwutisarn

Abstract

The homoerotic relationship is one of the major themes in Emily Dickinson’s poetry. Critics have constantly looked for evidence of homoeroticism in the poet’s life and work. In this essay, I argue that feminist psychoanalysis, particularly theories of the mother-daughter relationship, is useful to an understanding of the homoerotic in Dickinson’s poems. In her rereading of psychoanalytical theories, Nancy Chodorow emphasizes the symbiotic relationship between the mother and daughter and the daughter’s marginal position within the symbolic order. Chodorow’s theoretical framework has been applied to the analysis of female writers, including Dickinson, who write from the position of the daughter. In “The Parable of the Cave,” Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar narrate the myth told by Mary Shelley about her search for a literary foremother, the Sibyl, from whom Shelley derived her creative power. Dickinson’s poetry, similar to the parable told by Shelley, depicts a speaker who is alienated from the patriarchal world of law and order and is looking for the lost mother world usually personified by nature. For Dickinson, the recovery of Eden or the female utopia is significant not only for her female self-affirmation but also in her assertion as a female author.

Within the body growing as a graft, indomitable,
There is an other.—Julia Kristeva, Desire in Language

Ourself behind ourself, concealed-
Should startle most.—Emily Dickinson, poem #670

Introduction

Jacques Lacan’s rewriting of the Freudian family romance locates the subject within a language fabricated by men. In this patriarchal discourse or symbolic order, the story of the mother-daughter relationship is forbidden and lost. The world is compensated for by his possession of paternal power signified by the phallus. The feminist revision of Lacan’s androcentric myth, seen in the work of such critics as Nancy Chodorow, Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, focuses on the rediscovery of the mother-daughter plot that has been suppressed by patriarchal culture. As the epigraphs by Kristeva and Dickinson suggest, the female body is not simply a locus of patriarchal control of power but also a site of subversion as the daughter, who is of the same sex as the mother, is able to retain her pre-oedipal and thus homosexual relationship with the mother. Dickinson’s poetry can be understood

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within the context of the gynocritic myth offered by these feminist critics. A close examination of Dickinson’s poems reveals a subtext—her attempt to reconstruct a lost paradise, the pre-symbolic realm of the mother. Many of Dickinson’s poems dramatize the female protagonist’s exile from the Kingdom of the Father, the patriarchal culture where she is regarded as the Other. Seeing herself as powerless and her desire unfulfilled, the protagonist is searching for the mother land of milk and honey. This female utopia is envisioned by Dickinson in several poems as an Eden, a secret female enclave where the protagonist experiences a joyful bliss derived from a homoerotic relationship with the mother’s body in nature.

I

Lacan’s rereading of Freud’s family romance focuses on the role of language in the construction of subjectivity. The Lacanian subject is seen as an effect of linguistic construction, the subject of semiotics whose basic nature is defined as ‘lack’. This Lacanian scheme of the development of subjectivity revolves around two important stages: the pre-symbolic or pre-oedipal and the symbolic. The pre-symbolic is the realm of the Mother characterized by the mother-child dyad. From its direct contact with the mother’s body, the child experiences bliss or jouissance. At this stage, the child does not recognize any lack and perceives itself as whole and unitary. In the mother-child dyadic relationship, the mother functions as the other and her gaze, like a mirror, reflects back the child image as a whole. It must be emphasized, however, that the child’s discovery of selfhood as completeness and wholeness through its identification with the mother is considered by Lacan to be a fantasy or illusion.

The mother-child dyad breaks up when the child enters the realm of signification or symbolic order governed by what Lacan calls the Name of the Father or le Nom du Pere. In Psychoanalytic Criticism, Elizabeth Wright argues that the French word “Nom” (name) is a pun on “Non” (no), indicating the suppression of the child’s desire for the mother. In the symbolic realm, the male child turns away from the mother to identify with his father who possesses the phallus, the central symbol of power. The lack of a phallus in the female child, on the other hand, allows her only indirect connection with her father through having her own child who will provide a phallus for her. The phallus thus comes to determine the subject’s social identity. The child’s learning of gender difference is accompanied by its acquisition of language—the Father’s words which compensate for the absence of the mother. However, desire originated by lack will never be satisfied by language which simply launches an endless chain of signification from one signifier to the next. While there is a ‘Paradise Regained’ for the male subject, the fusion with the mother, once lost to the female child, is

3 In the Lacanian scheme, the terms “[m]other and father signify cultural positions and hence have no necessary correlation to biological realities.” See Silverman (1983: 182).
lost forever in Lacan’s scheme. The loss of the mother to the daughter, says Lorraine (1990: 66), is “complete since she will never have the phallus, never have the mother back.”

Lacan’s theory of subjectivity reveals one important fact: psychoanalysis can be seen as a discourse of power. Discourse, argues Wright (1984: 159), “implies rules which define what is to be considered relevant and unmentionable.” Similarly, the discourse of psychoanalysis operates by submission and withdrawal of certain facts in order to suture any seams, smooth over contradictions and finally provide presentable conditions of existence. Hence, Homans (1986: 6) notes, “In the Lacanian myth, language and gender are connected in such a way as to privilege the masculine and the figurative.” The order of the symbolic is the order of language, of culture, of paternal laws that privilege the male subject who possesses the phallus. Within the order the bond between mother and daughter is not only forgotten and lost but also replaced by that between father and son. The Father’s law substitutes the word for the mother’s body and introduces desire as a result of the lack or absence of the mother’s body. The absence of the mother from the symbolic order makes it possible to uphold patriarchal culture. Therefore, in the Lacanian model, the mother must be ‘killed’ and her story must be suppressed in order to launch an infinite chain of signification.

Since Lacan’s discourse of family romance has had a profoundly damaging effect on women, the feminist revision of this androcentric myth by such critics as Nancy Chodorow, Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar is extremely welcome and indispensable. In her influential essay, “When We Dead Awake: Writing as Revision,” Rich (1979: 35) says, “Revision—the act of looking back, of seeing with fresh eyes, of entering an old text from a new critical direction—is for women more than a chapter in cultural history: it is an act of survival”. As we have seen in the Lacanian scheme, the mother is imprisoned, silenced and buried in the masculine discourse. Revision, Rich (1979: 35) further argues, “is more than a search for identity: it is part of our refusal of the self-destructiveness of male-dominate society”. Therefore, it is not surprising that the feminist project of revision, carried out by critics such as Chodorow, Gilbert and Gubar, reveals an attempt to revive the primacy of the pre-oedipal, the realm of the Mother, and the bond between mother and daughter. Describing this version of the feminist family romance, Hirsch (1989: 138) says it is “the romance of the daughter, entangled with the mother through identification and struggle against it, increasingly distant from the father, brother, and male lover, unproblematic only in the connection to her sister or female lover.” This separation from men and the creation of a separate all-female realm on the borders of patriarchal culture is fundamental to the feminist family romance.

Chodorow’s The Reproductions of Mothering offers an incisive critique and revision of gender development. According to Chodorow, the establishment of gender identity occurs well before the oedipal complex mainly through the

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5 In This Sex Which Is Not One, Luce Irigaray unmasked the “phallocentrism” embedded in the Western system of representation, showing how masculine logic has been the point of reference for the discourse of language. See Irigaray’s critique of Freud’s psychoanalytic discourse (1985: 68–85).
The child’s relationship with the mother, its primary caretaker. The mother is of the same gender as her daughter and of a different gender from her son; thus she treats them differently. The daughter is regarded as an extension of the mother’s self while the son is not. This symbiotic relationship with the mother which is prolonged in the female child also influences the child’s formation of ego boundaries. If “the basic feminine sense of the self,” says Chodorow (1978: 95), “is connected to the world, the basic masculine sense of the self is separate” (1978: 95). While the son must establish his gender identity in opposition to the mother, the daughter’s lengthy identification with her mother results in her fluid ego boundaries. More important is Chodorow’s notion that the boy’s oedipal complex is more decisively resolved than the girl’s. In her discussion of Chodorow’s book, Homans (1986: 11–12) notes that castration never comes to the daughter as a threat. The girl, who has the same sex as her mother, is not considered by her father as a rival and is not far enough from her mother to have devised a phallus to wish for. Furthermore, the daughter, seeing herself as powerless in the symbolic order, has never been given an incentive to enter that order as a son. Allying with Homans, Kahn (1985: 75) notes that “Chodorow distinguishes two coexistent levels of gender identity [in the daughter]: one homosexually oriented towards the mother, one heterosexual toward that father.” Not being completely accepted in the symbolic order, the daughter occupies a marginalized position on the borders of the Father’s kingdom.

Chodorow’s work sets a theoretical framework for the analysis of nineteenth-century women writers, including Dickinson, who write from the position of daughter. Discussing the works of these women writers, Homans (1986: 16) says, “19th century writers articulate thematically a daughter’s bond to and identification with a vulnerable or vanished mother (often figured as Mother Nature);…these writers are writing and practising myths of daughters’ relations to symbolic language working out through their writing the conflict in being a daughter and being a writer.” The myth of women writers searching for their lost mother country mentioned by Homans is well illustrated by Gilbert and Gubar’s essay “The Parable of the Cave.” In the “Parable” the mother is not simply seen as “vanished” and “vulnerable” but also as a source of power and creativity for her poetic daughters. One parable, included in Gilbert and Gubar’s essay, is told by Mary Shelley. In this parable Shelley is led by her “male companion” to the cave of the Sibyl, where they find “piles of leaves, fragments of bark, and a white filmy substance” (Gilbert and Gubar 1989: 1121). Although the cave belongs to the mother goddess and female artist, the Sibyl, it is a man who not only finds the cave but is able to recognize it. “This is the Sibyl’s cave; these are the sibylline leaves,” claims Shelley’s male companion (Gilbert and Gubar 1989: 1122). The


7 The Sibyl was a prophetess of the Ancient Greek and Roman Period. It has been estimated that there are as many as ten sibyls whose names appear in Greek and Latin texts. However, the most famous one is the Sibyl of Cumae who is assigned a crucial role in Virgil’s Aeneid. It is also believed that she is the one who wrote nine books of prophecies. See Cavendish (1983: 2574–2575).
parable reveals the “sad fact” about the “equivocal place” of women in patriarchal culture: they are at once a part of the culture and yet alien to the world controlled by men. However, all is not lost in Shelley’s case since she is the one with the power to interpret the leaves of prophecies left by the Sibyl and convey them to a wider community. Gilbert and Gubar describe the nature of her mission:

But while the way to the cave can be “remembered” by accident, the whole meaning of the sibylline leaves can only be remembered through painstaking labor: translation, transcription, and stitchery, re-vision and recreation. (Gilbert and Gubar 1989: 1122)

There are two ramifications to this statement. Firstly, the cave representing the mother’s place is forgotten and has to be remembered. Secondly, this is not a discovery but a rediscovery of the power that was once wielded and that has been subjugated and suppressed by a male-dominated society.

We must also consider the words Gilbert and Gubar use. This is a “labor” of “recreation” which connects this work to the act of giving birth. This is the maternal role, a role that can be filled only by women. For Gilbert and Gubar, Mary Shelley’s act of translating the Sibyl’s prophecies becomes one of birthing that connects the women writers to a sort of mother goddess. Gilbert and Gubar (1989: 1122) say, “She [the Sibyl] had, in other words, a goddess’s power of the male potential for literary paternity.” In recovering and reconstructing the Sibyl’s “sexual/artistic strength,” Shelley comes to realize the creative power she shares with the mother goddess. Shelley exclaims, while deciphering the sibylline leaves, that she feels herself “taken . . . out of a world, which has averted its once benignant face from me, to one growing with imagination and power” (Gilbert and Gubar 1989: 1122).

Born in 1830, Dickinson was inevitably subject to the Victorian ideology of womanhood. As Joanne Dobson notes, “The cultural ideology of respectable womanhood in mid-nineteenth-century America was structured on the assumption of women’s inmate and unique morality. It defined ideal feminine morality in a large part as altruism, selflessness and reticence” (Stein 1997: 26). A woman’s life, especially that of a middle and upper class family, was thus confined to the domestic where she was expected to be the Angel in the house and a moral or spiritual guidance for men. As a daughter who also wrote, Dickinson found that the main question for her was not simply being female but being a female author. Writing her poems in a male-dominated literary world, Dickinson, as Stein (1997: 26) puts it, “[undertakes] a traditionally masculine role.” Feminist literary critics have noted how literary tradition legitimates the male author and his authority. Citing Homans, Stein (1997: 27) says, “Western literary tradition, beginning with Genesis, assumes an Adamic male speaker and namer whose words have a portion of God’s own verbal powers, whereby words create the things they name. […] According to this view, poetry is a gendered enterprise; the speaker is male and his words reenact God’s Logos that named the world into existence.” The recovery of the lost maternal world was in order for Dickinson to find herself a place for her female self-affirmation and her self-assertion as a female author.
II

Dickinson’s poetry, following the parable told by Shelley, illustrates the poet’s search for the lost mother country. Although Chodorow emphasizes the prolonged relationship between mother and daughter, the inevitable fact is that the daughter does enter the symbolic order and experiences there a sense of the lost paradise of the mother’s world and an alienation from the father’s kingdom.

Dickinson’s “As if some little Arctic flower” (#180) portrays a little flower who wanders through the patriarchal Eden—a place describe as “continents of summer” and “firmaments of sun.” The image of “summer” and “sun” are reminiscent of Dickinson’s “man of noon.” In her letter dated June 1852 to Susan Gilbert, Dickinson contemplates on the plight of womanhood:

How dull our lives must seem to the bride, and the plighted maiden, whose days are fed with gold, and who gather pearls every evening; but to the wife, Susie, sometimes the wife forgotten, our lives perhaps seem dearer than all others in the world; you have seen flowers at morning, satisfied with the dew, and those same sweet flowers at noon with their heads bowed in anguish before the mighty sun; think you these thirsty blossoms will now need nought but—dew? No, they will cry for sunlight, and pine for the burning noon, tho’ it scorches them, scathes them; they have got through with peace—they know that the man of noon, is mightier than the morning and their life is henceforth to him.

(Martin 1984: 149)

Dickinson contrasts the morning dew with the heating sun. The former suggests maternal nurturance which satisfies the child’s needs while the latter represents the burning passion of male energy which promises nothing but death. Unlike those flowers in Dickinson’s letter which “pine for the burning noon,” the little flowers in the poem find themselves alienated from the patriarchal Eden where “bright crowds of flowers-/ And birds” speak a “foreign tongue.”

In poem #959, the speaker’s sense of loss and alienation is accompanied by her yearning for an unnameable and unknowable something:

A loss of something ever felt I—
The first that I could recollect
Bereft I was—of what I know not
Too young that any should suspect

These lines suggest a child’s traumatic experience of separation from her mother. The daughter feels the “loss of something” but cannot “recollect” any words to describe it since the loss here is the loss of the mother which occurs before the child enters the symbolic realm of language. The same experience is also mentioned by

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8 H. Jordan Landry (2004: 901) states, “Throughout her poems and letters, Dickinson writes “noon” as the very sign under which women are subordinated and bodily threatened.”

9 Susan Gilbert was Dickinson’s lifelong friend, neighbor and sister-in-law. Gilbert maintained a close relationship with Dickinson until she married Dickinson’s brother, Austin, in 1886. Since Dickinson devoted a number of her poems to her dear friend “Sue,” many critics have pointed out the erotic love between the two of them. See Hart (1990: 251–272).
a male poet, Wordsworth, in the second book of *The Prelude*:

For now a trouble came into my mind  
From unknown causes. I was left alone,  
Seeking the visible world, not knowing why.  
The props of my affections were remov’d,  
And yet the building stood, as if sustain’d  
By its own spirit!

(II, ii, 291–296)

Although the two poems describe the same loss, their emphasis is different. The male poet is looking forward to the “visible world” where he becomes an individual “sustained/ by [his] spirit.” The speaker in Dickinson’s poem, on the other hand, laments the loss of the mother’s world which for her is the loss of her identity.

A Mourner walked among the children  
I notwithstanding went about  
As one bemoaning a Dominion  
Itself the only Prince cast out—

Separated from the mother, the speaker in Dickinson’s poem experiences absolute isolation; she is a “Prince cast out” from a “Dominion.” In her critique of the development of the male and female subject, Annis Pratt argues that while society allows growth and individuality to the female subject, a woman who enters the social enclosure “grows down” rather than “grows up” (1981: 18). Like a little flower threatened with being beaten down by the mighty sun, the speaker in this poem, “[a] Mourner walk[ing] among the children,” is dwarfed by a society that both suppresses and dominates her.

In searching for the lost paradise, Dickinson questions the patriarchal myth of Eden. In “Did the Harebell loose her girdle” (#213), dealing with the courtship of the lovers, Dickinson asks:

Did the “Paradise”—persuade—  
Yield her moat of pearl—  
Would the Eden be an Eden,  
Or the Earl—an Earl?

Dickinson deconstructs the authority of a transcendent God who represents the Word and His Paradise, which is suggested by the heterosexual relationship of the lovers. Dickinson’s tentative use of the indefinite article “an” to replace the definite article “the” allows her to create another paradise (an Eden) and another God (an Earl). As illustrated by Lacan, the male’s control of power is made possible by his control of language as part of the Father’s law and order. In the poem, Dickinson obviously senses that language is a social construct, an instrument used by patriarchy to create its own myth. Dickinson therefore challenges the patriarchal order by challenging its language.

Dickinson’s “Four Trees—upon a solitary Acre—” (#742) challenges the Transcendental God and Western phallogocentrism. In the poem, God’s great plan and order are substituted by the trees which occur “Without Desire/Or Order, or Apparent Action—/Maintain—.” The breakdown of the apparent order does
not bring about the chaos feared by male writers who see nature as the manifestation of a divine plan. As in Emerson’s “The Apology,” the poet enters “the god of the wood,” where “There was never mystery/ But’tis figured in the flowers;/ Was never secret history/ but birds tell it in the bowers” (Stein 1997: 29). In Dickinson’s poem, the absence of God’s great plan and order is not something the poet laments. Rather, it signifies the poet’s rejection of the Father’s Law and her desire to become liberated from the confinement of domestic life. As the poet says of the trees in the final stanza, “What Deed is Theirs unto the General nature—/ What Plan—/ They severally—retard—or further—/ Unknown—.” Unlike the male subjects who manage to recover the lost maternal world through their access to the Phallus, the symbol of masculine power, the poet’s ambivalent position—her being a part of and yet excluded from the male-dominated world—causes her to feel alienated from the masculine world and culture. Her marginal position within the symbolic order makes it possible for Dickinson to expose the natural relationship between the word and the world, between God’s “Plan” and material things as a man-made myth.

III

As a daughter who writes, Dickinson appropriates the Father’s tool—language—to reconstruct the lost Eden, a female version of utopia characterized by homosexual rather than heterosexual relationships. In The Reproduction of Mothering, Chodorow (1978: 169) argues that the child’s ego boundaries are formed by its relationship with the mother. “From the retention of pre-oedipal attachments to the mother,” explains Chodorow, “growing girls come to define themselves as continuous with others; their experience of self contains more flexible and permeable ego boundaries. Boys come to define themselves as more separate and distant, with a greater sense of ego boundaries and differentiation.” Though she never clearly develops this aspect of her analysis, Chodorow implies here that, for women, lesbian relationships\(^\text{11}\) are bound to be more satisfying. Indeed Hirsch (1989: 134) also notes that Chodorow’s theorization of these differences in male and female structures has “the effect of distancing not only woman from man in individual heterosexual relationships, but also, much more generally, feminine from masculine cultural realms; they create a myth of female separateness which underscores the value of empathy and connectedness, overturning traditional value structures and implying the superiority of women to men.”

In poem #24, Dickinson envisions this feminine world of culture:

There is a morn by men unseen—
Whose maids upon remoter green
Keep their Seraphic May—
And all day long, with dance and game,
And gambol I may never name—
Employ their holiday.

\(^{11}\) The term lesbian used here corresponds to what Adrienne Rich means when she talks about “lesbian continuum.” According to Rich, “the term lesbian continuum [is meant] to include a range—through each woman’s life and throughout history—of women-identified experience, not simply the fact that a woman has had or consciously desires genital sexual experience with another woman” (Rich 2003: 27).
Dickinson’s female utopia is that of the green world, the one women both connect and identify with. “For the young girl, for the woman who has not fully abdicated [to the symbolic realm],” says de Beauvoir (1953: 710–711), “nature represents what woman herself represents for man, herself and her negation, a kingdom and a place of exile; the whole in the guise of the Other.” A woman’s relationship with nature is described in terms of her relationship with the mother. Homans (1980: 32) also argues that “the child learns to love nature by gradually extending his love for his mother, and nature takes on a maternal configuration—the borders between nature and mother are permeable: the ‘one beloved Presence’ is the one manifestation of ‘Presence Nature.’” In Dickinson’s poem, the “mystic green” is a no-man’s land where women “live aloud.” They are engaged in “dance,” “game” and “gambol” which the poet may “never name.” This secret female enclave reminds us of the Greek Mysteries—the worship of mother goddesses such as Demeter and Isis. All female participants in these secret rituals are initiated into some esoteric knowledge about which they must close their lips. According to Rabuzzi (1988: 23), the goddess’s power is closely associated with the cycle of life and death also found in nature: “one of [the goddess’s] primary attributes is chthonicity, that is, earth-rootedness. This attribute not only links her to the fertility of earth…but also with its opposite—death.” Celebrating the power of the goddess she finds in nature, Dickinson exclaims with wonder: “Ne’er saw I such a wondrous scene—/ Ne’er such a ring on such a green.”

In her discussion of Dickinson’s nature poetry, Stein (1997: 26) argues that the poet expresses her “passion, intellect, and heterodox theoretical assertions” through her writing. Stein (1997: 37) notes the primacy of Mother Nature over God’s Logos in a number of Dickinson’s nature poems: “[N]ature’s maternal presence, rather than God’s paternal power, is represented as the constant, sustaining force of life.” In the poem #790, Dickinson personifies Nature as a nurturing mother

Nature—the Gentlest Mother is,  
Impatient of no Child—  
The feeblest—or the waywardest—  
Her Admonition mild—

With infinite Affection  
And infinite Care—  
Her Golden finger on Her lip—  
Wills Silence—Everywhere—

The personification of Nature as a mother figure is in sharp contrast with the cold and revenging nature of the Calvinist God.12 In the poem, Dickinson denaturalizes the relationship between man and God. Stein (1997: 39) writes, “As a ‘waywardest’ believer, unwilling to accept much contemporary theological doctrine, Dickinson creates an alternative maternal deity who revises God-the Father’s failings; this beneficent maternal image, projected throughout nature, embraces the wayward, transgressive behavior of the nonconforming woman poet who knows herself damned within

12 The image of the Calvinist God as an angry and unpredictable God is vividly portrayed in Jonathan Edwards’ “Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God.” In this sermon, one finds “The God that holds you over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider, or some loathsome insect, over the fire…” (See Gallagher 2000: 211).
prevailing Christian doctrine, and this figure interrogates by ironic contrast our acceptance of a grim and absent male God.”

IV

The Eden reimagined in Dickinson’s poetry is an exclusive place for women where they find a life nurturing force in same-sex relations. The Father’s Law and Order are substituted by the female body and the mother’s language of touch, taste and sound (humming). Through her use of bird and bee imagery, Dickinson redraws female desire from a heterosexual economy to a homosocial, even homoerotic, economy. Discussing how Dickinson “overlays the Puritan triangle with a zoological frame in order to lesbianize the process of conversion,” Landry (2004: 901) similarly maintains:

Within Dickinson’s poem, the Puritan metaphor of the marriage ceremony is replaced by the queer metaphor of the bee’s ritual of pollination. In turn, the minister’s persuasion of the convert to a belief in the phallicism of Christ is replaced by the masculine woman’s guidance of the uninitiated woman to an awareness of the power of lesbian sexuality. And, finally, the memorializing of the Puritan convert’s successful acceptance of Christ’s phallic power through eating bread and drinking wine is exchanged for the celebration of the lesbian convert’s embrace of the power of lesbian sexuality by drinking “Nectar.” […] As the female vagina replaces Christ’s phallus though, conversion is not experienced by literally drinking wine and symbolically celebrating union with Christ’s body but by literally “quaffing” the nectar of flowers and symbolically sipping woman’s vaginal juices.

(D Landry 2004: 901)

Dickinson’s poem #211 describes the emergence of the lost mother country—the land of milk and honey suggested by the poet’s use of flower and bee imagery:

Come slowly— Eden!
Lips unused to thee—
Bashful- sip thy Jessamines—
As the fainting Bee—

Reaching late his flower,
Round her chamber hums—
Counts his nectars—
Enter—and is lost in Balms.

As de Beauvoir (1953: 711) says, “It is when she speaks of moors and gardens that [the woman] will reveal her experience and her dreams to us most intimately.” In Dickinson’s Eden, the garden of pleasure, the poet enjoys the heavenly bliss derived from her exercise of erotic imagination and her delight in the female body and sexuality as is implied by such words as “Lips,” “Bashful,” “sip,” and “Jessamines.” Bennett (1990: 165–66, emphasis added) in her book Emily Dickinson notes the homoerotic mode of Dickinson’s sexual fantasy inherent in many of her poems including this one:

Profoundly attracted to the female body, Dickinson lets her love for it inform her erotic poetry even when she is, or seems to be writing heterosexual verse. Not only does she focus on female sexual power but her ‘lover’ who is invited to share this power, is
rarely specified with a human male. Most often, he is a male bee and, hence, being small and round, ambiguously, a covert female symbol.

(Bennett 1990: 165–166)

Not only is the physical appearance of a bee associated with the female body but also a bee is historically linked with ancient mysteries organized by women. According to Hall (1980: 25), the bee is a symbol of immortality, the regenerative and destructive force attributed to both nature and the mother goddess. “In keeping with the bee metaphor,” Hall (1980: 26) further says, “the initiate was called an incubant, from incubare or ‘to dwell in a hive.’ A set of instructions says that the first temple was, like a hive, constructed of bees’ wax and birds’ feathers: ‘Brings feathers, ye birds, and wax, ye bees.’ The temple attendants were priestesses called melissae, or ‘bee maidens.’” The association of the bee with an esoteric group of female cultures gives a spiritual import to Dickinson’s use of bee imagery. The poet, usually comparing herself to a flower (in her letters and poems), welcomes the bee, an agent of the mother goddess, who provides for her a spiritual renewal.

In poem #334, Dickinson uses the bird and flower imagery to describe transgressive female sexuality:

All the letters I can write
Are not fair as this—
Syllables of Velvet—
Sentences of Plush,
Depths of Ruby, undrained,
Hid, Lip, for Thee—
Play it were a Humming Bird—
And just sipped—me—

Here the poet offers the letters to her reader (likely to be Susan Gilbert to whom many of Dickinson’s poems and letters are addressed). But the letters/words are not phallocentric; they are “Syllables of Velvet” and “Sentences of Plush” that break boundaries, refusing to be confined to any order or category. Also, the confusion of the terms “write,” “play” and “sipped” reveals that writing is indeed an erotic activity associated with female pleasure. The phallic word is substituted by the female body—the vagina or the “Ruby, undrained, Hid, Lip, for Thee—.”

Thus, in offering the letters to “Thee”, the poet also conveys a hidden message—“the invitation to cunnilingus—a form of erotic activity to which, consciously or unconsciously, Dickinson appears to have been most drawn” (Bennette 1990: 167).

Reconstructing the lost mother country becomes important for the daughter’s consciousness of her poetic identity. In Mary Shelley’s version of the cave parable, the mother goddess, the Sibyl, is portrayed as a female artist whose poetic works, the sibylline leaves, are “shattered and scattered” by men. Gilbert and Gubar (1989: 1122) write, “Surrounded by the ruins of her own tradition, the leavings and unleavings of her spiritual mother’s art, she [Mary Shelley] …like someone suffering from amnesia. Not only did she fail to recognize—that is, to remember—the cavern itself, she no longer knows its language, its message, its form.” Chodorow’s model of the symbiotic relationship between mother and daughter

13 In This Sex Which Is Not One, Luce Irigaray also uses the vagina-lip as a metaphor for the female autoerotic desire. (See Irigaray 1985: 205–218).
is thus applied by Gilbert and Gubar to female aesthetics. As the daughter models her femaleness on her mother, the female artist inherits a literary tradition from her poetic foremothers.

Dickinson’s “To my quick ear the leaves-conferred” (#891) illustrates her version of the cave parable. Unable to find a Privacy from Nature’s sentinels,” the poet is exiled to an earthen cave:

In Cave if I presumed to hide
The Walls—began to tell—
Creation seemed a mighty Crack—
To make me visible—

The poet’s resignation is far from being passive. Since “Creation seemed a mighty Crack” to make her “visible,” the poet hides herself in a cave, allowing her “Privacy” to create her own craft. Kher (1974: 62) argues that Dickinson’s withdrawal is part of her poetic strategy:

Absence as withdrawal embodies a special type of retreat from the world, a retreat in which the artist cultivates his or her own mode of encountering the world. This withdrawal is not a running away from reality but a process by which the artist ripens to a deeper perception of reality. Dickinson’s own “deliberate and conscious” seclusion and aesthetic privacy should be interpreted as creative devices to meet the world on her own terms.

(Kher 1974: 62)

What is not mentioned in Kher’s argument is the place of the poet’s withdrawal. In the poem, Dickinson’s return to a womblike cave is also a return to the mother goddess whose “sexual/ artistic strength,” claim Gilbert and Gubar (1989: 1122), is “the female equivalent of the male potential for literary paternity.” Although the cave may be a place of confinement, it is also a place where the work of art is conceived. As the cave combines both creation and recreation, the poet’s return to the cave enables her to discover not only her lost selfhood but also her artistic identity.

According to Northrop Frye (Gilbert and Gubar 1989: 1123), a revolutionary “mother-goddess myth,” which allows power and dignity to women, “is anti-hierarchal,…[and] liberate[s] the energy of all living creatures.” Frye’s statement is reinforced by Rich’s Utopian vision at the end of her article “When We Dead Awaken”:

A new generation of women poets is already working out of the psychic energy released when women begin to move out towards what the feminist philosopher Mary Daly has described as the “new space” on the boundaries of patriarchy. Women are speaking to and of women in these poems, out of a newly released courage to name, to love each other, to share risk and grief and celebration.

(Rich 1979: 49)

Dickinson’s poetry prefigures Rich’s utopian vision. What is seen to be retrieved here is the matriarchal myth, namely, the myth of the Sibyl, the woman artist and prophetess, that has been suppressed by patriarchal society.

In Dickinson’s poem #1677, the womblike cave of the earlier poem is replaced by a volcano. While in the earlier poem the female artist escapes from the outside
world into the cave, in this poem she becomes the cave itself—a volcano, and inherits from her mother goddess her “sexual/ artistic” energy:

On my volcano grows the Grass
A meditative spot—
An acre for a Bird to choose
Would be the General thought—

How red the Fire rocks below—
How insecure the sod
Did I disclose
Would populate with awe my solitude.

In her article, “Vesuvius at Home,” Rich’s discussion of Dickinson’s “creative and powerful” self hidden within a publicly acceptable persona focuses on the poet’s use of imagery including the volcano. Describing Dickinson, Rich (1979: 169) says, “The woman who feels herself to be Vesuvius at home has need of a mask, at least, of innocuousness and of containment.” In the poem, Dickinson paradoxically finds her artistic freedom within limited boundaries. Just as the cave is a place of confinement and artistic creativity, the volcano is simply “A meditative spot” but contains “the General thought.” Conscious of the violent and explosive power of the mother goddess she is assuming, Dickinson keeps it secret from the male culture.

In short, reimagining Eden—the lost mother’s country—becomes an important task for a daughter who enters the symbolic realm of the Father. While a woman suffers from the psychic loss of the mother’s world which has never been compensated in the symbolic order, the son who enters the same order comes to identify with the Father and inherits his law and power. As many feminist critics have pointed out, the daughter’s marginalized position in the symbolic order—her being alienated from patriarchal culture and her prolonged relationship with the mother—enables her to play the subversive role of deconstructing the Father’s law and remembering the lost mother continent. As a daughter who also writes, Dickinson describes this lost Eden as a green world of nature which is equated to the lost mother’s body. However Dickinson occupies a reserved position since this resurrected continent, though conceived by the poet, remains separate and hidden from the masculine world of culture. An attempt to bring this female world and its lost tradition into a relationship with the Father’s kingdom and its culture is the challenging task awaiting the poets of the next generation to undertake.

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SELF-REGULATED LEARNING BY THAI UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN AN EFL EXTENSIVE READING PROGRAM

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Abstract

This study aims to investigate students’ self-regulated learning strategies and English reading comprehension in an ER program. There were 38 students participating in the study. The students were divided into upper and lower level groups according to their English reading comprehension pre-test mean scores. After 10 weeks of ER, findings show that there were significant differences between the students’ English reading comprehension pre- and post-test mean scores, especially for the lower level group. Findings from the self-regulated learning interview schedule indicate that students reported frequently using metacognitive and performance regulation strategies. In addition, from the students’ verbal protocols of reading, they reported using self-regulated learning strategies in the performance or volitional control phase more often than in the forethought or self-reflection phases. Pedagogical implications are presented and discussed.

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Introduction

The average EFL proficiency of Thai students is often found to be low. Educational Testing Service (2007) reports that the 2005–2006 computer-based TOEFL mean score of Thai students was only 200. This indicates that Thai students’ English proficiency was below the effective operational proficiency level according to the Common European Framework Reference (Educational Testing Service 2004). The study by Prapphal and Opanon-amata (2002) also found that Thai students scored below 500 on the Chulalongkorn University Test of English Proficiency (CU-TEP) as equated to the paper-based TOEFL score. According to Bernhardt (2005), L2 proficiency such as that gauged by TOEFL and CU-TEP may account for 30 percent of the variables which contribute to second language reading abilities. In other words, L2 proficiency may have an impact on the ability to read in a second language. Therefore, it is possible that Thai students with low English proficiency may experience frustration reading English.

In Thailand, EFL reading instruction primarily focuses on a detailed study of vocabulary and comprehension, but many reading researchers argue that this intensive reading instruction may not be sufficient for EFL students (Day and Bamford 1998, Grabe 2002, Coady 1997, Nuttall 1996). Eskey 1987 recommends that people learn to read by reading. Krashen (2004) further explains that EFL students need to gain exposure to a large amount of comprehensible input to improve their reading comprehension. Although Krashen’s hypothesis of comprehensible input may be controversial, it is undeniable that exposure to L2 can contribute to reading comprehension abilities. Therefore,
an approach to reading instruction that may address the low reading abilities of Thai students may be Extensive Reading.

**Extensive reading (ER)**

ER is an approach to teaching reading in which students are exposed to a large amount of reading materials. The purpose is to gain comprehension and pleasure in reading. The ultimate goal of ER is to give students an opportunity to read in a second language and become avid readers (Day and Bamford 1998). ER helps make reading more meaningful and engaging (Nassaji 2003, Day and Bamford 1998). It may lead to gains in vocabulary knowledge (Coady 1997, Cho and Krashen 1994, Nation 1997, Nation and Ming-tzu 1999), and reading speed and ability (Mason and Krashen 1997). In addition, a positive attitude towards reading may develop (Mason and Krashen 1997, Day and Bamford 1998, Takase 2001). Several researchers agree that although this may not necessarily generate the highest level of competence, it is an indispensable component of reading instruction, which will pave the way for higher levels of language proficiency (Nuttall 1996, Coady 1997).

In ER, as Krashen (2003) proposes, people acquire language only when they understand what they read. Consequently, EFL students in ER need to read a considerable number of books at the level equivalent to their reading abilities in order to improve comprehension. Anderson (1996) states that the number of books students read significantly correlates with their improvement in reading comprehension. Moreover, students must be able to choose reading material with respect to their interests and reading abilities since the purpose of reading in ER is for pleasure (Day and Bamford 1998). Nevertheless, Grabe and Stoller (1997) advise that students do not become proficient readers by reading extensively in only one genre; they need exposure to other genres to improve their reading comprehension abilities.

Students may be reluctant to read as they may be at beginning or low intermediate reading comprehension levels (Hudson 2007). To encourage students to read, a teacher needs to be a model reader (Day and Bamford 1998). In addition, the goal for students should be the number of words, pages, or books read. Post-reading activities should be of low accountability. Grades or rewards should not be offered for students’ reading since they have proven to be ineffective in promoting reading achievement or positive motivation to read. Students may be asked to keep a record of time and the amount of reading done, or to write a short summary of a book or a part of it that they have read (Susser and Robb 1990, Mason and Krashen 1997, Day and Bamford 1998, Sheu 2003).

Nevertheless, Day and Bamford (2000) caution that introducing ER in a non-reading culture or in one that does not attach importance to reading for pleasure makes the task of EFL reading teachers more complex. The National Statistical Office survey (2005) reveals that 30.9 percent of Thais or approximately 18 million people do not read because they dislike reading or they prefer to watch television. This reflects that a number of Thais are not likely to find reading pleasurable in their own language. Similarly, they are not likely to find reading in English pleasurable (Morrow and Gambrell 2000). Furthermore, as ER occurs most of the time outside of the

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classroom, EFL students may not have the discipline to maintain the regular habit of reading. Robb (2002) found that Japanese students may read just to fulfill the requirements of the course.

To implement ER in Thailand, ways to promote regular reading must be understood. However, studies of ER have primarily focused on the effects of ER on reading comprehension and attitudes towards reading (Susser and Robb 1990, Day and Bamford 1998, Krashen 2004). There is very little evidence of what students in ER do outside of the classroom to make reading a regular habit. Without knowledge of how students regulate their reading outside of the classroom, the prospects for successful ER implementation may be obscure.

**Self-regulated learning**

Baker (2002) advises that independent reading is not sufficient. She asserts that students need metacognitive strategies, specifically in knowing how to regulate their cognition. In a similar view, Brown (2002) supports the teaching of self-regulation to improve reading comprehension since poor readers cannot make use of different strategies and they need to be taught how to use these strategies effectively.

Self-regulated learning is viewed by social cognitive theorists as a process in which individuals are metacognitively, motivationally, and behaviorally active participants in their learning process (Bandura 1986). This involves an interdependent interaction among person, environment, and behavior. Each component interacts with the other to modify or change behaviors so that a learning goal can be reached (Bandura 1986). The self-regulated learning process involves three major phases: *foreshough* in which students prepare themselves for learning by planning or setting a goal, “performance” or “volitional control” in which students focus and monitor their learning methods or strategies, and “self-reflection” in which students evaluate their performance and react accordingly (Zimmerman 2000). Research has shown that self-regulated learning plays an important role in the academic accomplishments of successful students (Pintrich and De Groot 1990, Schunk and Zimmerman 1994). These students proactively set specific learning goals, employ strategies, constantly monitor, and reflect on progress (Zimmerman, Bonner and Kovach 2003).

The measurement of self-regulated learning strategies involves two properties—“aptitude” and “event” (Winne and Stockley 1998). An aptitude describes the cognition or motivation that is involved when students participate in future learning activities, or what students predict they will do in learning activities (Winne and Stockley 1998). For example, if students report reading a title and book cover, this may indicate students’ goal-setting and planning. An event describes the operations of cognition in learning activities, or what students actually do when they learn (Winne and Perry 2000). For example, students may be asked to think aloud and report what they do before reading a book to demonstrate the strategies in the planning phase. The measurement of these two properties of self-regulated learning strategies will provide a framework for the investigation of students’ self-regulation in this study.

**Purposes**

A study of students’ self-regulated learning
Self-Regulated Learning

strategies in ER can provide insights into how Thai students regulate themselves while reading outside the classroom. It was guided by the following research questions:

1. To what extent does ER improve a student's EFL reading comprehension?
2. What are self-regulated learning strategies employed by upper and lower level groups after participating in ER?

Method

Participants

The participants were 38 undergraduate students from the Faculty of Commerce and Accountancy in a Thai public university. Based on their English reading comprehension pre-test scores, students were classified into upper and lower level groups. The upper level group included students at +0.3 SD above the mean score, while the lower level group included students at -0.3 SD below the mean score. Students in the middle level group continued to participate in ER but were excluded from the self-regulated learning interview schedule and verbal protocols of reading. There were fourteen upper level students (Mean=33.21, SD=4.61) and fifteen lower level students (Mean=19.67, SD=2.092).

Setting

An ER program for this study was supplementary to the foundation level English course for first-year university students. The design of the ER program was based on the following four components.

“Reading materials”. The ER classroom library consisted of graded readers and authentic books from a variety of genres such as romance, drama, detective, thriller, horror, biography, business, and science fiction. In the beginning, students started reading a book of their interest. As the semester progressed, they were encouraged to read books in other genres to increase their exposure to vocabulary and different types of books.

The classroom library contained graded readers from the starter level to level 6. The readability of each authentic book was determined through the Flesch-Kincaid Index which calculates from the number of syllables, words, and sentences in a text. The readability levels ranged from 4.5 to 10. The level was printed on a sticker and put on the spine of each book. With respect to resource management, the books were arranged on the shelf according to level. Each shelf was dedicated to only one level, and it contained both graded readers and authentic books. Library borrow-return cards were affixed to the inside of the back covers. Students were allowed to check out a book for a period of one week with unlimited renewals.

Comprehensible input. Students extensively read graded readers or authentic books at their own reading levels to increase their exposure to English reading texts. The students were asked to read at least 1,000 pages over 10 weeks.

Feedback. The teacher's role was to provide frequent feedback through a weekly reading portfolio to ensure that students maintained the habit of reading regularly. During each week, students kept a record of the number of pages they read, the time they spent reading, the level of the book they were reading, a 50-word
summary of what they read, and a reflection on what they had read. The purpose was to monitor students' reading, so students would be able to complete the reading portfolio quickly. The teacher gave feedback on the reading portfolio, encouraging or recommending ways for better success with reading comprehension. An individual consultation was also arranged for students who needed assistance in understanding the story or adjusting reading level. Peer feedback was also implemented in this study. During resource management activities which occurred in the last 15 minutes of class, students shared information and recommended books that they had read to friends. Peer feedback also helped students learn how to employ comprehension strategies. Peers shared successful and unsuccessful strategies they had experimented with during the week.

Encouragement. At the beginning of each class, the teacher introduced a new book and discussed with students the book that they were reading during that week and discussed elements such as characters, plot, or cultural background. While students silently read their books, teachers also read to create a positive reading environment and to inform students that ER was important for everyone. The last 15 minutes of every class involved resource management activities such as returning and borrowing books. During this time, the teacher and students shared information about interesting books, a book-sharing activity that would assist students in selecting new books.

ER lessons also include reading tasks which focus on selecting appropriate books and improving reading comprehension. However, Thai students are often reluctant to take the initiative in selecting a text because in their experience, reading is likely to have always been teacher-directed. Therefore, they may have difficulty determining their reading level and, consequently, finding appropriate and enjoyable books. The first ER task was to raise students’ reading awareness of their interests using a reading survey in both Thai and EFL. Then, students self-assessed their reading level by reading all excerpts from the graded readers from the starter level to reading levels 6. They also observed the amount of unfamiliar vocabulary and their general understanding of the story. This process of self-assessment helped students determine their appropriate reading level. To raise students’ awareness of books, ER lessons included encouraging reading tasks such as analyzing the front and back of book covers and making predictions based on the story title.

Among other goals, ER activities in this study were designed to promote reading comprehension. Reading strategies such as summarizing, determining the meaning of unfamiliar vocabulary, and noticing and solving reading problems were taught to students. Students were encouraged to use these strategies throughout the week. Then, they learned how to effectively employ the strategies by discussing their experiences with successful and unsuccessful strategies with their peers.

Data collection and analysis

Data collection consisted of two parts: English reading comprehension and self-regulated learning strategies.

English reading comprehension

For English reading comprehension, “an
English reading comprehension test” was adapted from the reading section of Chulalongkorn University Test of English Proficiency (CU-TEP), an institutional standardized English proficiency test. It contains 60 multiple-choice questions which target different aspects of reading comprehension: word recognition, and literal, interpretive and critical comprehension. Parallel forms were administered in pre- and post-tests. The reliability coefficient of the English reading comprehension pre-test was .83, and .87 for the English reading comprehension post-test, which means that both tests were reliable. A dependent samples t-test was used to study the improvement in reading comprehension.

**Self-regulated learning strategies**

“A Self-Regulated Learning Interview Schedule—SRLIS” (Zimmerman and Martinez-Pons 1986) measures the aptitude property of self-regulated learning. The SRLIS was translated into Thai and adjusted to six learning contexts relating to ER: 1) Reading in class, 2) Completing a reading portfolio, 3) Finishing a book, 4) Preparing for exams, 5) Lacking motivation to read, and 6) Reading outside of the classroom.

Since data from an SRLIS could be overwhelming, representatives from each group were selected. Students' English reading comprehension pre-test scores were arranged from the highest to the lowest. Then, every other student was selected to represent their groups. Fourteen students from the upper level group (n=7) and the lower level group (n=7) were asked to report what they would usually do in the six situations. Fourteen self-regulated learning strategies proposed by Zimmerman and Martinez-Pons (1986) guided the coding. Once a strategy was mentioned, students had to estimate the frequency of the strategy from seldom=1 to most of the time=4.

Thereafter, to examine the three components of self-regulation—person, behavior, and environment, the 14 strategies were classified into a) metacognitive regulation—organizing and transforming, rehearsing and memorizing, goal-setting and planning, and keeping records and monitoring; b) performance regulation—self-evaluation and self-consequences; and c) learning environment regulation—environmental structuring, seeking information, reviewing, and seeking assistance (Zimmerman 1989). Four coded interview transcriptions were randomly selected and sent to two independent raters to assess the reliability of the coding. The reliability coefficient was .83 indicating that the coding categories were highly consistent. Data from the SRLIS were analyzed using descriptive statistics.

“Verbal Protocols of Reading” measured the event property of self-regulated learning of the upper and lower level groups. The students read an excerpt of a level-six graded reader titled *The Runaway Jury* by John Grisham; as they read, they were asked to frequently pause and report their thoughts. Data from the protocols was transcribed and coded according to the constructively responsive reading strategies (Pressley and Afflerbach 1995), portraying what an ideal skilled reader would do. From the first coding of the verbal protocols, it was found that recall strategies were widely used by students; therefore, the coding of this strategy was revised and six sub-strategies were assigned and listed as shown in Table 3. Four coded verbal protocols were randomly selected and sent to two
independent raters to assess the reliability of the coding categories. The reliability coefficient of the verbal protocols coding was .87, which means that the coding categories were highly consistent. Once the verbal protocols were coded, data was calculated in frequency. To examine the even property of self-regulated learning, these reading strategies were categorized into three phases: forethought, performance or volitional control, and self-reflection. Cohen's $d$ suggests that the improvement was small ($d=.21$).

The improvement of the upper level group on the English reading comprehension post-test was not significantly different $t(13) = .968$, $p>0.05$. The effect size also indicates that the difference between the English reading comprehension pre- and post-test mean scores was minimal ($d=.21$).

### Table 1: Findings of English Reading Comprehension Pre- and Post-tests.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$n$</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>$T$</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
<th>Mean difference</th>
<th>$d$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| ER     | Pre-test | 38   | 26.61 | 7.19 | 2.923 | 37  | .006           | 1.97 | .21
|        | Post-test | 38   | 28.08 | 6.78 |
| Upper  | Pre-test | 14   | 33.21 | 4.61 | .968  | 13  | .351           | 1.15 | .21
|        | Post-test | 14   | 34.36 | 6.08 |
| Lower  | Pre-test | 15   | 19.67 | 2.92 | 3.377 | 14  | .005           | 3.93 | 1.0
|        | Post-test | 15   | 23.60 | 4.69 |

$p<0.05$

**Findings**

**English Reading Comprehension**

Table 1 reveals that students’ English reading comprehension post-test mean score was significantly higher than the pre-test mean score $t(37) = 2.923$, $p<0.05$. However, the effect size calculated by The lower level group, on the other hand, made a significant improvement in its English reading comprehension post-test $t(14) = 3.377$, $p<0.05$. The effect size was large ($d=1.0$). Nevertheless, since this study was of a one-group pre- and post-test design, generalization of the results is limited and should be interpreted with cautions.
Self-regulated learning

The findings of self-regulated learning strategies consist of two parts: aptitude and event.

Aptitude

For an aptitude measurement, Table 2 shows the reported use of self-regulated learning strategies by the upper and lower level groups. The upper level group reported using self-evaluation, goal-setting and planning, and environment structuring strategies the most often; the lower level group reported using organizing and transforming, goal-setting and planning, self-evaluation, and environment structuring strategies the most often. Neither groups reported using reviewing tests or textbooks.

Metacognitive regulation

The upper level group reported using strategies to regulate metacognition more frequently than the lower level group (see Table 2). The upper level group employed goal-setting and planning strategies the most often. Goal-setting included establishing a number of pages, or deciding how much time to read each day. In the following excerpt, an upper level student reported setting a specific goal by trying to read two chapters per day to help her finish reading a book each week; the lower level student’s goal, on the other hand, was not clearly specified.

Goal-setting strategy

Upper level student #3: “When I check out a new book, I find out how many chapters there are. Then I will figure how many chapters I should be able to cover in one week. On average, I read two chapters everyday.”

Lower level student #6: “I just tried to read as much as I could during the week, especially on the day before class, I would try to finish a book, so I could write a summary and turn in a reading portfolio.”

Performance regulation

The upper level group also used strategies to regulate performance more frequently than the lower level group. The upper level group tended to use self-evaluation strategies to control performance; the lower level group reported seldom using strategies in this category. In the sample response of an upper level student, the student described how he evaluated his understanding of the story by constructing a brief summary of each section he had read. A lower level student reported using a similar strategy, but she did not seem to have any strategic method to deal with the problem.

Self-evaluation strategy

Upper level student #6: “While I was reading, I usually paused at a quarter or half of a page to tell myself if I understood the story. It's like a very short summary, so that I wouldn't get confused. If there were some problems, I would reread that part.”

Lower level student #3: “If I read and could not understand some parts of a book, I would reread that part again. I don't know how to explain. I just read it again and sometimes I could understand the story.”
Table 2: Self-regulated Learning Interview Schedule Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>An Aptitude: Self-regulated Learning Interview Schedule</th>
<th>Upper (n=7)</th>
<th>Lower (n=7)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Items</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Metacognitive regulation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1. Goal-setting and planning</td>
<td>2.71</td>
<td>0.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2. Organizing and transforming</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>1.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3. Keeping records and monitoring</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>1.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4. Rehearsing and memorizing</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>1.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Performance regulation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1. Self-evaluation</td>
<td>3.14</td>
<td>1.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2. Self-consequences</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Learning environment regulation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1. Environment structuring</td>
<td>2.71</td>
<td>0.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2. Seeking peer assistance</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3. Seeking teacher assistance</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4. Seeking adult assistance</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5. Reviewing tests</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6. Reviewing notes</td>
<td>0.43</td>
<td>1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7. Reviewing textbooks</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8. Other persons’ initiations</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Learning environment regulation

The upper level group reported frequently using environment structuring strategies to regulate the learning environment; the lower level group seldom used strategies in this category. Both groups scarcely used social environment strategies such as seeking peer or adult assistance and reviewing strategies to facilitate their learning. In the following response, an upper level student demonstrated how she regulated her reading time to maintain a regular reading habit.

Environment structuring strategy

Upper level student #8: “I read after 9 p.m. Usually I get home around 6 p.m. and I give myself a three-hour break to relax, have dinner, and chat with friends. Then I start reading until I finish...”
what I plan to. This way I don't leave things to the last minute.”

Lower level student #3: “I don't have a regular reading place, but I often read before I go to bed. I just read whenever I can.”

In sum, from the measurement of an aptitude property of self-regulated learning, the results show a noticeable pattern in the upper and lower level groups’ use of self-regulated learning strategies. The upper level group frequently used strategies to regulate every category of self-regulated learning to enhance learning while the lower level group infrequently used strategies to control its learning. In metacognitive regulation, the upper level group used goal-setting and planning strategies; in performance regulation, the group used self-evaluation strategies; and in learning environment regulation, the group used environment structuring strategies.

Event

For an event measurement of self-regulated learning, not all of the 15 strategies were evident from the verbal protocols. From Table 3, eight strategies were utilized by the students in both upper and lower level groups to varying degrees. Activating prior knowledge was used once by the upper level group, while looking for important information was used once by the lower level group. Five were not found in the data—overviewing text, revising prior knowledge, evaluating text, conversing with author, and anticipating use of knowledge. The most frequently used strategies were using recall strategies and determining word meaning while the least frequently used strategies were relating text to prior knowledge, relating text to text, and inferring.

Forethought

Neither the upper nor lower level groups made frequent use of strategies at this phase to control their learning. Only the upper level group reported using “the activating prior knowledge strategy” once. In the following response to the text, an upper level student showed that the content in this part of the text prompted her to think about U.S. legal matters.

Activating prior knowledge strategy

Text: And now, the lawyers were pursuing them. The survivors of dead smokers were suing them

Upper level student #8: “Oh so this is going to be about lawyers suing these tobacco companies. I have read that in the U.S., people sue one another a lot, and these people in the story are probably doing the same thing, suing the companies that smoking causes diseases.”

Performance or volitional control

Two strategies—interpretive conclusion and determining word meaning—were prominently used by students in both groups. Both the upper and lower level groups relied on the “interpretive conclusion strategy” the most often. Interestingly, the lower level group used this strategy slightly more frequently than the upper level group. In the following response, the upper and lower level students show how they constructed a brief conclusion while they read.
Interpretive conclusion
strategy

Text: To help fight these court cases, the Big Four had put together a sum of money called The Fund.

Upper level student #6: “So they need to gather a lot of money to pay for all of the legal fees and expenses.”

Lower level student #3: “So these four cigarette companies had to help one another. They chip in money to handle these lawsuits.”

Table 3: Verbal Protocols of Reading Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>An Event: Verbal Protocols of Reading</th>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Upper (n=7)</th>
<th>Lower (n=7)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Frequency</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>1. Forethought</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.1. Overviewing text</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.2. Activating prior knowledge</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>2. Performance or Volitional Control</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.1. Looking for important info</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.2. Relating text to text</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.3. Relating text to prior knowledge</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.4. Revising meaning</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.5. Revising prior knowledge</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.6. Inferring</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.7. Determining word meaning</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.8. Using recall strategies</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.8.1 Interpretive conclusion</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.8.2 Rereading</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.8.3 Paraphrasing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.8.4 Self-questioning</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.8.5 Deliberating</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.8.6 Making notes</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.9. Changing strategies</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>3. Self-Reflection</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.1. Evaluating text</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.2. Reflecting</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.3. Anticipating use of knowledge</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.4. Conversing with author</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Both the upper and lower level groups also frequently employed “the determining word meaning strategy”. Again, the lower level group tended to use this strategy more frequently than the upper level group. In the following excerpts, upper and lower level students encountered an unfamiliar word and used their vocabulary knowledge to guess the meaning of the word.

Determining word meaning strategy

Text: What about the jurors?

Upper level student #8: “Juror. This word is very familiar. I think it’s like jury or those people who judge if a person is guilty or not.”

Lower level student #8: “This is probably one of the persons in the legal process.”

Self-reflection

Both the upper and lower level groups relied mainly on “the reflecting strategy”. The upper level group used this strategy just slightly more often than the lower level group. Other strategies were not evident in the verbal protocols. In the following response, upper and lower level students present how they paused to reflect on their understanding of the story.

Reflecting strategy

Text: “A brief summary, gentlemen. At the moment, the entire defense team is working non-stop, and this will continue through the weekend. Investigations into possible jurors are on schedule. Trial lawyers are ready, witnesses are prepared, all our experts are already in town.”

Upper level student #6: “So these four guys have been waiting for Fitch to tell them this news. He is the one who manages these lawsuits and tries to get everything ready for the trial. He has everything prepared, lawyers, witnesses, and experts.”

Lower level student #3: “A short summary. So the team is working all the time even on the weekend. Work is on schedule and things are ready for the trial.”

To conclude, the upper and lower level groups reported using similar self-regulated learning strategies to regulate their learning. However, the upper level group used self-regulated learning strategies more frequently to regulate its learning in two categories—metacognitive and performance regulation. Nevertheless, the verbal protocols show inconsistent findings; the students did not actually use the strategies they reported in the SRLIS. In contrast to the frequent use of goal-setting and planning strategies in the SRLIS, the strategies in the forethought phase were hardly used by the upper level group. Similarly, strategies in the self-reflection phase were underused. The students reported using strategies which clustered in the performance or volitional control phase.

Discussion

The discussion of findings will be presented according to the two components—English reading comprehension and self-regulated learning strategies. The comparison of
English reading comprehension pre- and post-tests mean scores shows significant differences especially for the lower level group. However, the major findings of this study emerge from the self-regulated learning results. For an aptitude property, the upper level students reported actively using self-regulated learning strategies to regulate their metacognition and performance more often than the lower level did. For an event property, both groups employed strategies mostly in the performance or volitional control phase.

**English reading comprehension**

The findings show that the English reading comprehension pre- and post-test mean scores differed significantly. This is consistent with other studies in which ER enhanced reading comprehension (Tanaka and Stapleton 2007, Sheu 2003, Bell 2001, Hayashi 1999, Lituanas, Jacobs and Renandya 1999, Walker 1997, Sims 1996, Schackne 1994). Since students have extensive access to comprehensible input from reading graded readers and books, their reading comprehension was improved. Anderson (1996) explains that the amount of book reading is substantially correlated with improvement in reading comprehension. Students in an EFL setting can especially benefit from this constant exposure to reading books in ER (Anderson 1996). In Thailand, the only exposure to English texts that students have may be from reading English texts in class. This may not be sufficient to help students improve their reading comprehension because they will have fewer opportunities to practice their reading skills and strategies. Therefore, the findings emphasize an important role for ER in EFL classrooms to help improve students' English reading comprehension.

Moreover, the findings argue for the notion that one book doesn't fit all. Students differ greatly in academic background, from those who struggle to read to those who excel in all aspects of their reading. In traditional EFL reading instruction, this variable is hardly recognized, and students have to read the same text regardless of their interest and reading abilities. By allowing students to choose their own book, ER creates a positive reading environment by addressing students' different interests, strengths, and weaknesses. To exemplify, by providing access to texts of various reading levels and genres, students of high reading ability can obtain the benefits of reading interesting and challenging texts while students of low reading ability do not feel discouraged by struggling with books above their reading levels or that do not interest them. Consequently, students may be more motivated to read while regularly practicing their reading skills and strategies.

Bernhardt (2005) also stresses the role of other variables besides language proficiency in second language reading. She explains that L1 language proficiency and L2 language proficiency may account for 20% and 30% of second-language reading proficiency, respectively. The rest may come from other external variables such as students' comprehension strategies, interest, and motivation. Such external variables as the reading environment may also contribute. In their study, Tella and Akande (2007) found that students may not read because they do not have access to interesting material in their reading environment. Mulholland (2006) also agrees and points out the importance of structuring a positive reading environment. She suggests that only the choice of books may be insufficient to promote reading comprehension. The key variable may be
the influence of a positive reading environment which helps students regulate their reading, and enhance reading comprehension; eventually it may help transform students into avid readers.

Thus, to implement ER in Thailand, students must have abundant opportunities to access English texts to improve English reading comprehension abilities. However, teachers also need to consider students' differences and allow them to select books of their interest and level of reading comprehension ability. More importantly, the setting of ER needs to provide positive a reading environment to encourage students to read.

Reading abilities and test scores

From the English reading comprehension pre- and post-tests, the upper level group's English reading comprehension increased only minimally. This may be due to the short duration of ER in this study. Krashen (2007) and Smith (2006) report that ER studies which were shorter than 7 months did not find any significant improvement in reading comprehension. Students, especially in EFL countries, may need more time to gain exposure to reading texts before a significant improvement in reading comprehension takes place. This small increase may also signify that the students began to progress; if they continue in ER, their reading comprehension improvement could be more conspicuous. In contrast, the increase between the lower level group's English reading comprehension pre- and post-test mean scores was large, which is similar to the results of other studies in ER (Sheu 2004, Takase 2003, Maxim 1999, Kern 1989). In other words, students at a low reading comprehension level should be encouraged to participate in ER to obtain the potential benefits of reading comprehension improvement.

Nonetheless, there is also a statistical explanation regarding this phenomenon. Since students in this study were from the upper and lower level groups, it is possible that regression towards the mean may occur. Fraenkel and Wallen (2000) explain that the post-test scores of the extremely high or low ability groups will regress closer to the mean. In this study, the students' performance on English reading comprehension may have been slightly affected by this statistical phenomenon. The increase in the English reading comprehension pre- and post-tests scores of the lower level group was large; on the other hand, the increase in the English reading comprehension pre- and post-tests scores was minimal for the upper level group.

Self-regulated learning

Students’ self-regulated learning strategies will be discussed in the context of the two properties of self-regulated learning strategies: aptitude and event.

Aptitude

The findings from an aptitude measurement of self-regulated learning strategies show that the upper and lower levels group actively used strategies in two self-regulated learning categories—metacognitive and performance regulation. The upper level group frequently used goal-setting and planning, self-evaluation, and environment structuring strategies. On the other hand, the lower level group frequently used goal-setting and planning, organizing and transforming, and environment structuring.

The less frequent use of strategies in metacognitive and performance regulation
by the lower level students reflects that their approach to reading may be unpolished. Although they reported somewhat frequent use of strategies in the metacognitive regulation category, they did not frequently employ strategies in the performance regulation category. That is, these students may have a goal for their reading, but they may not have any specific strategies to monitor and control their performance to achieve their goals. According to Zimmerman (1989), the regulation of metacognitive and performance is critical and influential to other categories and may be an indication of high achieving students. Therefore, it is important that students, especially those with low English reading abilities be taught how to set goals and monitor their performance to attain the desired learning outcomes.

In addition, students in both groups seem to recognize only the regulation of their physical environment. There was inconsistency in the low or non-existing report of social environment regulation as indicated by the infrequent use of seeking assistance strategies. Zimmerman and Martinez-Pons (1988) claim that self-regulated learners should actively seek out information and assistance when needed. However, this rare use of social strategies may be due to the nature of ER in which reading is independent, private, and pleasurable. Students read at or slightly below their level with little or no difficulty in interpreting texts (Day and Bamford 1998). Therefore, students may not often seek assistance from other people while reading in ER.

Event

The findings from an event measurement of self-regulated learning strategies show that students did not make consistent use of all strategies in the three self-regulated learning phases—forethought, performance or volitional control, and self-reflection. The strategies were hardly used in the forethought and self-reflection phases although this was apparent in the SRLIS. This may suggest that Thai students tend not to set goals or reflect on their learning. These strategies may need to be explicitly taught to students. Bandura (1991) illustrates that students of a high reading comprehension level may form learning goals which are specific and proximal to progress towards the distant goals. These students also report having a mastery goal orientation or trying to understand the subject rather than just trying to achieve high grades (Pintrich and De Groot 1990).

In the performance or volitional control phase, the lower level group reported using strategies more frequently than the upper level group. This may be explained by Stanovich’s (2000) compensatory processing. The lower level group may have used more self-regulated learning strategies to compensate for its limited language proficiency. The model proposed that the lower level group’s limited knowledge source in one area would be automatically assisted by other knowledge sources. From the verbal protocols, the lower level group may rely on other strategies to assist its comprehension, thus, resulting in frequent use of self-monitoring strategies such as using recall.

Furthermore, the use of strategies in the performance or volitional control phase suggests that Thai students may read mainly for literal comprehension. Students may be occupied with determining word meaning and trying to understand the story. There was rare use of strategies for critical comprehension such as relating
text to prior knowledge or inferring. That is, Thai students generally read English texts without interacting with the texts to fully grasp in-depth understanding.

In the self-reflection phase, both upper and lower level groups only used the reflecting strategy in the verbal protocols. Paris, Wasik and Turner (1996) explain that in pleasure reading, the post-reading strategies may only be an appreciation of the text. Nonetheless, reflecting on text understanding can help students determine whether they adequately understand the text, or whether they need to reread some parts of the text. Again, this evidence from the self-reflection phase reiterates that Thai students appeared to focus only on trying to construct literal understanding of the text.

In conclusion, the findings show a significant gain in English reading comprehension. If students are provided with a positive reading environment through access to interesting reading materials, they may gain the benefits from exposure to English texts. The findings of the upper and lower level groups also reveal that the lower level group may benefit to a greater extent from reading English texts than the upper level group. Moreover, the findings of self-regulated learning strategies highlight the need to teach Thai students to regulate their learning environment and to develop critical reading comprehension.

Pedagogical implications

Three pedagogical implications can be made from this study. First, a positive reading environment plays a significant role in promoting students' reading comprehension. Greaney (1996) underlines the impact of an adverse reading environment. The lack of appropriate reading material or space may cause poor reading comprehension. For instance, students may not be motivated to read if a reading class does not provide an opportunity to select interesting material to read for pleasure. Consequently, everyone in the learning community should help create a positive EFL reading environment. For a positive physical reading environment, a variety of interesting reading material and suitable space for reading should be made available. A school library needs to include material that can cater to students' different interests and reading levels. For a positive social reading environment, teachers and family need to be model readers and to offer assistance when needed.

Furthermore, students must read a large number of books to improve their reading comprehension since people learn to read by reading (Eskey 1987). Students' development of reading comprehension essentially depends upon their exposure to reading material (Cunningham and Stanovich 1991). Therefore, it is important that students maintain the habit of reading regularly. At the same time, students need to regulate themselves while reading since ER is primarily a private and individual activity (Day and Bamford 1998). Before reading, students should set a goal and generate a plan to reach that goal. While reading, they should learn to monitor their comprehension and use a variety of strategies to aid their comprehension. After reading, they need to reflect on their learning and try to identify strategies that have contributed to the success or failure of their reading.

Finally, EFL reading educators should support ER. Since EFL students have limited exposure to reading materials
outside of class, ER should be integrated into every EFL class. The findings also suggest that ER needs to last for at least one year to see noticeable improvement in reading comprehension (Krashen 2004). Reading material needs to cover a range of genres and vary in readability levels to provide an opportunity for students to progress at their own pace. Explicit strategy instruction should also be implemented as EFL students need more time and practice to learn strategies. For example, through thinking aloud, students can observe how and when a strategy should be employed. Thus, students can learn to recognize and choose appropriate self-regulated learning strategies.

Conclusion

This study explored students' self-regulated learning strategies and English reading comprehension in ER. It concluded that there is evidence to support the benefits of ER. ER may provide a positive reading environment for students with different reading abilities and interests. ER can be particularly beneficial to a lower level group as shown by the large increase in the English reading comprehension test scores. The findings of self-regulated learning strategies show that the upper level group actively used self-regulated learning strategies in all three categories of self-regulated learning—metacognitive, performance and learning environment regulation. That is, these students appeared to be proactive in their learning. Nevertheless, during the three phases of self-regulated learning—forethought, performance or volitional control, and self-reflection—the students' use of self-regulated learning strategies was inconsistent. The high frequency of self-regulated learning strategies in verbal protocols also demonstrates that the lower level group may use compensatory processing to assist its low reading comprehension abilities. The findings also suggest the need for the instruction of critical reading comprehension.

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MODERNIST THAI SHORT STORIES, 1964–1973: THE RELATIONSHIP WITH ART

Soranat Tailanga

Abstract

A number of distinguished Thai short stories from 1964 to 1973 reveal new and distinctive features in terms of subject, form, concepts and style. These features are similar to those of modernism, which was an international movement in literature and the arts that began in the late 19th century and continued into the early 20th century. The similarity suggests the direct and indirect influences of the modernist style upon Thai writers. Furthermore, the change in style of some of the short stories indicates a relationship with the art movements: impressionism, expressionism, cubism and surrealism, which were subsidiary art movements within modernism. These specific features of the Thai short story signify a radical break with the traditional writing of the time.

Introduction

Generically, the term “modernism” refers to a type of position or attitude characterized by specific forms of response towards modernization and modernity. Science and technology have had a part to play in the rapid and continual change in every aspect. The unquestionable change was the modes of representation of the modern world. The attempt to offer alternative perception applied to literature, music, painting, film and architecture. These new modes were later called “modernism” and the term has been used to cover the international movement in the late 19th century to the early twentieth century, or roughly from 1890s to 1930s.

In the area of art and literature, they attempted to come to terms with the urban, industrial and secular society that emerged during the 19th century. They also abandoned realism, the style and concept that presents an accurate depiction of nature. Modern art and literature sought to free itself from the concept of mimesis or art as the reflection of nature. They needed no social or religious justification for its existence. Thus a “crisis of representation” occurred when the entire mode of existence within modernist experience became incompatible with the “traditional” decorum of realism at the time. It has been pointed out that modern artists used innovation in art forms. Charles Harrison defines the symptoms of the breakdown from realism as:

| a tendency for the shapes, colors, and materials of art to lead a life of their own, forming unusual combinations, offering distorted or |

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1 The original version of this paper was presented at the International Conference on Thai Language and Literature: Wisdom and Dynamism in the Global Context, 10–12 November, 2006, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand.

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3 The term “modernization” here refers to the range of technological, economic, and political processes associated with the Industrial Revolution and its aftermath, while “modernity” refers to the social conditions and modes of experience that are seen as the effects of those processes (Harrison 1997: 6).
exaggerated versions of the appearances of nature and, in some cases, losing all obvious connection with the ordinary objects of our visual experience.

(Harrison 1997: 9)

The modern artists’ experiments with color and space and their abandonment of representationalism might be compared with the practices of modern writers. In the West, the relationship between modern art and modern literature has been widely studied. The modern writers also experimented with new style and technique as well as subject matter; and at times affinities with the modern art emerged. The reaction to the crisis of representation in literature arose in the form of technical innovation in various genres: the abandonment of traditional versification methods in free verse, stream of consciousness, which represents the thoughts of individual characters in narrative and the elimination of the separation between the stage and the audience in theatre (Lewis 2007: 3).

Such a crisis of representation can also be seen in Thai literature, especially in modernist Thai short stories. Starting in 1964 and continuing to 1973, the Thai literary circle saw the gradual appearance of innovative styles and content in writing as a counter attack to dictatorship and the established publications which discriminated against the works of young writers.

In Thailand, because consecutive autocratic governments between 1958 and 1973 under the regimes of first Sarit Thanarat and then Thanom Kittikhachon exercised a rigid regulation of publication, freedom of speech was limited. Writers were forbidden to criticize the government’s policies and administration. Thus, the Thai literary circle suffered decades of escapist literature, which aimed at entertainment. The 1960s saw Thai literature struggling to depart from “traditional” realist writing, both in content and style. Newcomers on the literary scene tried to find innovative styles of writing; however, their attempts failed because the established publishers accepted only works written by famous writers or those created according to their “standard” in the style of realism.

Suffering from the dictatorship and its regulation of publishing, a crisis of representation was felt. Students in universities started to realize that new ways of perception and presentation had to be explored. Consequently, they expressed themselves in certain activity groups such as book clubs, from where their literary magazines originated as early as 1961. From that time onwards, illegal student magazines or little magazines found their

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4 In this article, I have used the terms ‘modern’ and ‘modernism’ interchangeably.
6 Interested readers please see details of the characteristics of modernist Thai short stories in Tailanga 2005.
7 It should be remembered that the number of university students increased rapidly due to the Sarit Thanarat administration’s education policy. The expansion in the number of undergraduate students was seen as crucial to the growth of capitalism and modernization (Phongphachit and Baker 2003: 259). Later on in the 1960s these people, students and graduates, formed the new intellectual middle class and fought for democracy in 1973.
voice and achieved significant growth. There were numerous little magazines and these were distributed by various student groups and clubs under changing titles, which was a way of avoiding the rigid control of publication. These little magazines offered a space where students could express their opinions and seek out audiences. At first, the works written by students were imitations of the literary fashion of the moment but later, creative and innovative literary works started to emerge in these little magazines.

Some of the students who had experience in producing the little magazines later managed to form groups and called themselves by different names; the most prominent ones were Phrachan Siao (Crescent Moon) and Num Nao Sao Suai (Handsome Guys, Pretty Girls). Since the number of students who shared these literary interests was quite small, these young people became acquainted and networking within the avant-garde literary circle was initiated with a little help from the established magazines like Sayamrat Weekly, and the Social Science Review, led by Suluk Siwalak, the first editor, and Suchart Sawatsi, the second. These magazines had an important role in supporting the avant-garde movement and experimental writing and had a powerful impact upon academic circles. Another breakthrough in Thai publishing, notably created by Num Nao Sao Suai, was the birth of modern style pocket books in 1969. This kind of publication was innovative for both its content and artistic style.

This innovative writing appeared mostly in the form of the short story. By 1964, short stories were exhibiting radical changes in their content and form. These works, which dared to experiment with new styles, were far more sophisticated than those of the standard publishing houses. For example, The White Balloon (ลูกโป่งสีขาว) and The Glassless Spectacles (แว่นตาไม่มีกระจก) by Niphon Chittakam, then a student at Silpakorn University, were milestones of the surrealistic style. Other stylistically creative “modern” stories also showed the influence of art.

The present study, then, is an attempt to show that there was a close relationship between Thai short stories and modernist art. The first aspect of that relationship is simply the reference to art movements, artists and particular paintings and sculptures mentioned in the stories. The second is the adaptation of art styles and techniques into writing, which shows that, for Thai writers, experimentation in modern art exhibited a response to the social and cultural crisis of their era.

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8 In the West, notably in England and The United States, modernist works originally found their way into print through little magazines. These magazines, though limited in readership, created the new movements in literature and various arts (Bradbury and McFarlane 1985: 203).

9 The group was set up at first by Thammasat students, but later included students from other universities such as Chulalongkorn University and Kasetsart University.

10 The group was set up by Rong Wongsawan and friends who had graduated from Silpakorn University.

11 Suluk Siwalak initiated an activity group called “Paritat Sewana,” which implanted liberal ideas among students whereas Suchart Sawatsi, as editor of The Social Science Review at one period, published a large number of avant-garde poems and short stories.
The artists as writers

It is noteworthy that the writers of modern short stories written from 1964 to 1973 were art graduates or art lovers: Suwanni Sukhontha, Niphon Chittakam and Ditha Ketwiphat graduated from Silpakorn University; Surachai Chantimathon studied art at an art school but did not graduate; Khomson Khunadilok and Suwat Srichuea studied at technical colleges; Thanong Phisan graduated from Chulalongkorn in engineering but was interested in art; and Suchart Savatsi, an art lover, graduated in history from Thammasat University and later became an artist himself. So it was quite natural that these writers were influenced by art in more ways than one.

As these writers were art students or art lovers, they were prone to mention paintings, art styles, painters, and sculptors in their stories. Some writers applied the styles of various art movements to their writing, creating innovation in Thai literature.

The relationship between modern Thai literature and art in Thailand can be traced back to the establishment of the School of Fine Arts, since many writers were either graduates of this institution or students and admirers. An education in Western arts was formally introduced to Thailand through the collaboration of Professor Silpa Bhirasri, an Italian artist, and the chief of the Architecture Division of the Fine Arts Department. In 1933, the Fine Arts School was established, and two years later its name was changed to the Art Section of the School of Fine Arts. In 1943, Silpakorn University was established and the first subjects taught in the institution were painting and sculpture (Department of Fine Arts 1993: 31).

The curriculum and teaching strategies and techniques were the same as those of the Academy in Florence, Silpa Bhirasri’s alma mater. Students were not encouraged to practise modern art since the professor emphasized the Academy’s teaching techniques. Students who painted in a modernist style usually received strong criticism and low grades from the professor.

It was not until around 1961 that modern art was fully accepted in art circles; impressionism, cubism, futurism and abstract expressionism became widely known and practised (Chaiprasathna 1996: 13). But as late as 1971, Chalut Nimsamoe, a renowned painter and a student of Professor Silpa Bhirasri, wrote an article pointing out that Thai art was more than 50 years behind the Western art. The realistic style had become firmly established whereas abstract art had only just been introduced to Thailand.

After Silpakorn University, numerous art schools were established all over Thailand and interest in art flourished and became more widespread since a large number of art students graduated from these schools over the years.

This is not to say that modernist innovative styles came only through the study of art. Numerous Thai writers were also influenced by Western literature, both directly by reading, and indirectly through formal and informal discussion among friends (Chiangkun 1990: 28, Pholanan 2003: 146).

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12 Interview with Pisan on May 16, 2006
Reference to art

One of the most interesting characteristics of the Thai short stories of the period is their reference to art movements, artists and art works. Suwanni Sukhontha, who had been an art lecturer at Silpakorn University before becoming a professional writer, was one of the writers who now and then referred to modern art and artists in her works. In Red Bougainvillea and Romance (ผีดุฟ้าแดงกับเรื่องรัก ใครๆ ใครๆ), which is a story of the unfulfilled love of a middle-aged woman, the narrator tries to catch a butterfly in vain. She compares this attempt to the capture of a hard-to-reach object and the invisible: it was like trying to touch mist or clouds, or the sweetness in poetry, or to grasp the beauty in Rodin’s The Kiss (Sukhontha 1982: 150). The story compares the catching of a butterfly with a hard-to-reach “object” (which implies love in the story) and with the aesthetics of poetry and Rodin’s specific work, The Kiss.

In Lonesome Wine in an Old-fashioned Glass (ไวน์เปลี่ยวในแก้วโอลด์แฟชั่น), the protagonist, a middle-aged woman, is drinking by herself in a restaurant. Being alone, her thoughts wander according to what she sees. As she is looking at the surroundings, the types of plants in particular, she thinks of the paintings of Henri Rousseau, a modern French painter whose eminent works depict tropical scenes: The bon plants were growing abundantly. The color of their leaves was deep green; their brown stalks were smooth, like the arm of a teenager. The image of the plants looked mysterious like Rousseau’s paintings (Sukhontha 1982: 298). In this story, instead of a mere comparison of the mysterious quality of the plants in the traditional way, the writer compares it to “Rousseau’s paintings.”

To appreciate the comparisons in these stories and to conjure up the images, the reader, then, is required to have a specific knowledge of modernist artists’ works.

Like Suwanni Sukhontha, Surachai Chantimathon refers to art, paintings and artists in many of his short stories. The story titled The Season of Withering Flowers (ฤดูดอกไม้โรย) is a letter written by an art student to a friend. He complains about his school, friends and the ignorance of art of people in general. He talks about people who refuse to open their minds to abstract art as a new style of painting and claims that these people are “the destroyers of art.” Elsewhere in the same story, he talks about a friend who has written a poem on a painting called The Persistence of Memory by Salvador Dali, whereas in Sangkhara (Constitution), the protagonist compares the body of a prostitute with the bodies of the women in paintings by Pierre Auguste Renoir. 14 Again, the reader is expected to have some knowledge of the artist and his works.

Thanong Phisan, then an engineering student at Chulalongkorn University, included the life and works of Vincent van Gogh 15 in two of his stories, The Love Story of Ram and Rawi (เรื่องรักของแรมและราวี) (Ruam Rueang San Doi Num Sao Lai Prachan Siaw 1971) and From the Urine-colored Room (จากห้องสีปัสสาวะ) (Sawatsi

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13 Auguste Rodin (1840–1917) was a French sculptor whose famous works are The Kiss and The Thinker.

14 French impressionist painter

15 Dutch post-impressionist painter
The first story mentions the first post-impressionist exhibition in England in 1910. The narrator in the story argues that the post-impressionists provide an example of the abandonment of realism. This elimination of traditional perspective and styles was rejected at first but later these innovative new styles of art became widely accepted. The narrator thus refers to the 1910 exhibition to show that the rejection of “tradition” and the implantation of the “new” in a society is difficult but worthwhile and that one should have the willpower to fight against all odds. In the second story, characters discuss the life and paintings of Vincent van Gogh.

These references to art can mostly be found in impressionistic works where the characters become lost in their thoughts and contemplate their surroundings. Since these works are expressions of thought, it is clear that in this period Thai writers began to experiment with the writing technique of the unmediated presentation of thoughts, that is, without a narrator acting as a mediator who recounts what is in the character’s mind.

In these stories, the references to art are more or less specific, for they refer to particular painters and paintings. For general readers who have no knowledge of art, these references are insignificant and meaningless because the readers cannot appreciate the imagery through an association with particular paintings. It may be possible that these writings aimed to communicate with a certain audience, people who had an interest in common with the authors, since they were published in “liberal” or little magazines, the readership of which were interested in new writing styles.

The influence of a modern painting: Where do we come from? What are we? Where are we going?

When reading modern Thai short stories, the reader may be amazed when coming across the questions in many short stories: Where do we come from? What are we? Where are we going? These questions, slightly modified, are the title of a short story by Suchart Sawatsi: Where do we come from? How do we come here? Where are we going? (มาจากไหน มาอย่างไร จะไปไหน?) (Sawatsi 1972). This story tells of the narrator finding ‘a dead body’ in a drawer and then trying to hide it somewhere else. On the way, he contemplates life and the questions are asked and answered in the story: Where do we come from? Nobody knows. Where are we going? Again, nobody knows. But first I have to get out of here... (Sawatsi 1972: 109). The questions appear once again in another short story called A Walk to the Field (การเดินทางไปสูทองทุง) (Sawatsi 1972) written by the same author but this time they are found in a conversation between
the protagonist and an imaginary woman. The story is about a man’s visit to a field, which ends with his confrontation with a dead body being carried to a temple. The story can be interpreted as expressing the meaninglessness of life. Before starting his walk, his thoughts are about an imaginary woman who might be his companion in the walk. The woman asks him “Who are you?” and “Where do you come from?” (Sawatsi 1972: 123)

In To Die in the Sea (ไปตายทะเล) by Suwat Srichuea, the questions can be found again. In this story, the protagonist decides to drown himself in the sea because he is tired and cannot find a purpose for his life. But before doing this, he goes to a brothel. Later, he and a prostitute have a rather philosophical conversation:

Where do you come from?
She asked me.
I don’t know, I answered.
Why are you here? she asked.
I don’t know, I answered.
She looked upset.
Where are you going?
She asked me again.
I don’t know, I answered truthfully.

(Srichuea 1975: 10)

The questions arise again at the beginning of another short story, The Journey to the Inside (การเดินทางเข้าไปสู่ข้างใน) by Thanong Phisan. This time some information about the origin of these recurring questions is given:

The thunderous yet sad song was playing with strong beats, calling for a violent change of the world. This crude, melancholic, sincere song could be compared to a type of painting called “fauvism,” where unrestrained feeling is expressed. I tried to find the meaning of the painting called “Where do we come from? What are we? Where are we going?” It was painted by an artist who searched for the meaning of art and life in the South Seas. Before creating this work he had seen the death of an empty and meaningless life. He then planned to commit suicide, which was what many might want to do. “Before I die, I will paint a big picture telling what I think.” To his disappointment, the plan failed.

(Phisan 1972: 62)

The artist who painted the work called “Where do we come from? What are we? Where are we going?” (painted between 1897–1898) was Paul Gauguin, a post-impressionist painter whose later style was called “fauvism.” After a failed attempt to take his own life, Gauguin wanted to paint what he had confronted. The painting is of dramatic personae: children, figures, farm animals, old women and idols, who offer the symbolic interpretation of everyday life, destiny, death, and the beyond (Eisenman 1997: 135).

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18 Gauguin modified the title from Tolstoy’s book called What Then Must We Do? (Russell 1981: 26).

19 Fauves means ‘wild beasts.’ Fauvist paintings are known chiefly for their violently contrasting colors. The style is a combination of expressionism and impressionism (Atkins 1993: 100).
The questions of the painting’s title showed Gauguin’s journey into the unknown world and expressed the opposition between the thinking of the European and the primitive. It is also a contemplation of the meaning of life. Thai writers were interested in these ontological questions of the painting’s title. It should be noted that the questions asked in these stories cannot be answered or are left without attempting an answer. Being in a society under dictatorial restraint for more than a decade, the title must have led them to question the meaning and the purpose of life, which later culminated in one of the themes of this period. The stories concerned with the theme of the meaning of life and death, and suicide attempt include Surachai Chantimathon’s The Dumb City (นครใบ้) (Chantimathon 1996), The Yellow Bird (นกสีเหลือง) (Chantimathon 1996), and The Music of the Dead (เพลงศพ) (Chantimathon 1997), Vittayakon Chiangkun’s The Road that Leads to Death (ถนนสายที่นําไปสูความตาย) (Chiangkun 1990) and Kon Krailat’s One Day at a Graveyard (วันหนึ่งที่สุสาน) (Krailat 1974), etc.

The modification of art styles into writing

In a piece of research called Surrealistic Trends in Paintings and Literature in Thailand, 1964–1984 (Chaiprasathna 1996) studies the influence of surrealism on Thai artists and writers. The researcher finds that surrealist forms of expression and techniques were welcomed by artists and writers but its ideology and philosophy were ignored. Since the interest in surrealism in Thailand was not contemporaneous to the original movement in France, contact with surrealism was through art history courses and imported books. As a result, surrealist works in Thailand show a misinterpretation of the essence of surrealism.

Although only a few Thai writers and artists studied and comprehended the historical and conceptual aspects of any particular art movement, it is quite clear that they all were drawn to the new perception and expression of modernist art. This implies a crisis of representation in Thai literary circles. Thai writers and artists realized that they could not portray the world in the traditional, realist way any longer, hence the creation of innovative styles.

Several techniques of art movements are applied in Thai short stories; images of impressionism,21 expressionism,22 cubism23 and abstract24 were applied by writers to

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20 Other themes of 1964–1973 Thai short stories are, for example, “the shattered entity in the modern city,” “the isolated and alienated individual within the crowd.” See details in Tailanga 2005

21 Usually impressionist paintings are not included in modernism but impressionist writings are (Childs 2000: 14).
22 Expressionism depicts the subjective emotions that objects and events arouse. This aim is accomplished through the distortion and exaggeration of shape and the vivid or violent application of color (Atkins 1993: 98).
23 Cubism emphasized the flat, two-dimensional, fragmented surface of the picture plane, rejecting perspective and foreshortening in favor of geometric forms (Atkins 1993: 83).
24 Abstract art explores the relationships of forms and colors and uses them in a non-
offer readers non-traditional presentations. This shows that these writers lent importance to perception, not in the photographic realistic way, but rather in the fashion derived from the styles of art movements. The forms of expression derived from art movements show that Thai modernist writers, when seeking new approaches to writing, turned to art for creating new ways of expression.

In *Lonesome Wine in an Old-fashioned Glass* (ไวน์เปลี่ยวในแก้วโอลด์แฟชั่น) (written in 1965) by Suwanni Sukhontha, the protagonist looks out of a window and describes what she sees. She looks down and sees a jumble of rooftops. But her description turns the scene into the description of an abstract painting:

> Those who didn’t understand abstract paintings could simply look at these rooftops. The light blue galvanized metal rooftop, which was new, reflected the sunlight. Nearby was a rooftop of small red tiles. Over there were rooftops of large white tiles, of rusted galvanized metal sheets, of old tiles covered with velvet-like moss. What you saw was actually a painting. When a composite like this was on a canvas, it did not have to be about “something.” Only colors are needed: white, rust red, moss green, all is arranged into a composition.
>  
> (Sukhontha 1982: 299)

In the above passage, the narrator looks at the rooftops and sees an extraordinary thing; the space before her becomes a huge canvas filled with colors of different shades and textures. Instead of describing the world as it is, the narrator conceptualizes it through the mind and transfigures it into the beauty of colors, shapes, textures and “composition” of an abstract art. Thus, the arrangements of form and color are intended to evoke the nonmaterial realm; this passage clearly shows the modernist concept of the work of art as an autonomous entity divorced from nature.

Thanong Phisan is another writer who uses expressionist images to convey the feelings of characters. His work, *The Journey to the Inside* (การเดินทางเข้าไปสู่จิตในнут), written in 1972, is told by three narrators who are close friends. Each narrator tells about his relationship with and his feeling for the other narrators. One of the narrators recounts an accident he witnessed:

> One day, in the strong sunlight, I met a man at a crossing. He was an ordinary man like those that can be seen everywhere around me. We were waiting at the crossing; I looked at him meaninglessly. We started walking till we reached the island in the middle of the street, waiting to cross to the other side. Instead of moving forward, I stopped because the sunlight reflected from the white shirt of the man into my eyes. The man, walking ahead of me, was hit by a car; his body was thrown up high. His head struck the windshield and broke it; red blood was all over his shirt and the car. Red. I acted like other people in the city; I crossed the street without turning back and caught a bus. Later I got off the bus and walked in the strong sun. I saw a

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representational or subjective way (Atkins 1993: 43).
drop of blood on my sleeve. It spread out, bigger and bigger, red blood was everywhere. Then I started to vomit.

(Phisan 1972: 64)

Expressionist writers reject realism and go beyond impressionism to “objectify inner experience.” They use external objects as transmitters of an internal mood. An unreal atmosphere, nightmarish action and distortion mark the feeling of characters (Holman and Harmon 1992: 187). In The Journey to the Inside (การเดินทางเข้าไปสู่จิต), a drop of blood is immensely bigger in the narrator’s mind after the accident has taken place before his eyes. The description of the pool of blood, then, signifies the horror in the character’s mind rather than what he actually sees. This distortion emphasizes the effect of the accident upon the character. This style can be found in another work called Mali’s Painting (ภาพเขียนของมาลี) published in 1970 by Khomson Khunadilok, where the nightmarish experience of “Mali” turns to madness; she paints a picture of the experience with her blood. The story is told from her point of view, exposing the distorted thoughts of the character’s troubled mind.

Another form of art, the surrealist, can be found in many of Suchart Sawatsi’s stories collected in Silence (ความเงียบ) (written in 1972) and Suwat Srichuea’s War in the Grave (สงครามในหลุมฝังสุสเนช) (written in 1975). Both writers offer surrealist images to present characters in dream-like states without conscious control, or their imagination and dreams. The surrealist form of expression can be found in numerous short stories, making it the most popular movement to be found in Thai literature.

Among the first stories to be presented in the surrealist style is Flight (หนี) which was written by Praphan Phonsavek in 1966 (Sawatsi 1975). The story is that of a killer who flees from the scene of a crime. He feels that someone is following him but when he turns to look, there is nobody. His fear increases and, because of hallucinations, he sees that he is being hunted by a big eye:

I saw it again, no body but an eye. A big eye floats before me, with gleaming light, revealing its vengeance. […] But it was useless trying to run away from it because the even bigger eye was still following me. I couldn’t take it anymore; I had to kill it.

(Sawatsi 1975: 22)

The whole story is a description of a state of paranoia. The reader does not know who the narrator is, why he kills a person and how. This new way of writing clearly emphasizes the mind of the protagonist rather than cause and effect which are the important features of the traditional narrative. The work ignores the plot structure of a beginning, a middle and an end, and the causal arrangement of the incidents. The reader gets into the mind of a mentally ill character and his hallucinatory experience is described in the surrealist manner.

In Silence (ความเงียบ) by Suchart Sawatsi, all the works in the collection show the flow of thought of the characters. For example, in A Walk to the Field (การเดินทาง
ไปยังท้องทุ่ง, the protagonist recounts his dreams:

I dreamed that I was walking to the fields, stepping on the green grass. Walking up the hill on a trail, I saw the sano plants on both sides. When walking down the hill, I felt the blood on my feet. The green grass was gradually covered with blood, and it was from my body. [...] My feet continued bleeding but I didn’t feel any pain. Along the way, I was not quite sure that it was my blood I was stepping on.

(Sawatsi 1972: 122)

Like most stories of this period, it shows the flow of thoughts, including dreams, of the character. Hence, it emphasizes that the significant existence of human beings is to be found not in the outside world but in their minds. And the surreal dream of blood invites readers to investigate the character’s frustration and repression. The story is, then, like an assemblage of memory, dreams, imagination, etc., of the protagonist, put together in a technique not unlike that of collage.

Collage and montage as a representation of the chaotic cities

The techniques of collage and montage, which are the placement of unrelated and fragmented images, became the new style of Thai modernist writers. A device typical of cubist paintings, collage is a technique employing disparate materials, such as cloth, wood and newspaper clippings, which are pasted together on a surface. In the early 20th century, Picasso developed the style to defamiliarize the perception of these objects, as he put it:

If a piece of newspaper can become a bottle, that gives us something to think about in connection with both newspapers and bottles, too. This displaced object has entered a universe for which it was not made and where it retains, in a measure, its strangeness. And this strangeness was what we wanted to make people think about because we were quite aware that our world was becoming very strange and not exactly reassuring.

(Butler 1994: 167)

In cubist paintings, objects are not presented as whole; fragments of objects are imported into a picture with the purpose of forcing the viewer into an awareness of the strange and changing world.

Not only does cubism fracture objects into pieces but it also offers diverse perspectives; front, back and sides are seen simultaneously. All in all, cubist paintings allow the viewer to reconstruct and conceptualize the objects in new ways. This implies the crisis of representation mentioned earlier.

In literature, collage refers to words or passages that are not usually associated but which are put together to create a disturbing impact upon the reader. Usually found in modernist poetry, collage technique allows for an interpretive dislocation of words and phrases or verbal association. It also reinforces the strangeness of the images portrayed. Whereas montage, employed in filmmaking, is a method of rhythmically pacing shots, the rapid transition from shot to shot produces a particular effect, in
literature it means a series of brief pictures, one following another quickly without any apparent order (Holman and Harmon 1992: 93, 301). Although collage and montage are the terms used in different media, they both refer to a fragmentary mode of representation. In this article, montage as a technique of film is thus included.

The fragmentary discourse of collage and montage cuts causal events into pieces and places them arbitrarily. These styles were quite new in Thai literary circles at a time when the unity of plot structure was a must for the short story. The story that probably was the first to experiment with the collage technique is a work called On the Third-Class Railroad Car (บนรถไฟชั้นสาม) by Surachai Chantimathon. The story is of hectic scenes on a crowded train heading for Bangkok. It has no plot or development of the events that happen to particular characters. Rather, the narration is a compilation of the conversations of various groups of people on the train: a group of youngsters boasting about modern life in Bangkok, an employment agent promising to find a good job for a country girl, an old man and a young man discussing politics and criticizing the government and a sympathetic woman consoling a lonesome boy who has left home to find a better education in the big city. The compilation of the conversations of the various groups of people on the train is described in fragments; there is no connection between the people and the scenes. It can be compared with disparate objects being put together in one place, as in cubist paintings (Chantimathon 1996).

The scenes recounted in the story, though unrelated, can be interpreted as a criticism of the government’s policy of modernization, which makes Bangkok the final destination and the center of all activities.

Silence (ความเงียบ) by Suchart Sawatsi is presented in a similar fragmented style. It uses the narrative style of drama, but the characters’ thoughts are also presented between dialogues, making the style closer to that of the short story. The story begins with the scene of a woman and a man sitting in a canteen. She has just discovered that she is pregnant. She is seeking help from her male friend, but from the conversation, he apparently does not particularly care and is quite irritated by the woman’s problem. Then the scene shifts to a waiter who is busy finding the right station on a radio; he has lascivious thoughts when he sees a nude poster and hears obscene songs. He also thinks about the customers, who are mostly students, and he watches the woman and the man in the canteen. Then, a voice from the radio is heard, reporting the situation in the Vietnam War and the government’s propaganda condemning leftists and communists. Next come the disorderly thoughts of a student who wants to be a writer. He looks at a woman (presumably the same woman who is mentioned earlier in the story) and thinks that she might become a character in his novel. The story ends with the voice from the radio reporting the number of casualties in the Vietnam War (Sawatsi 1972).

The scenes presented are barely connected; the only relation is that the characters are sitting in the same place. The fragments of the scenes: the conversation between the man and the woman, the thoughts of the waiter, the thoughts of the student, the news of the Vietnam War, are like different materials pieced together in a space. The canteen, then, can be compared with a canvas on which unrelated
materials are pasted. The story shows the ignorance of the Thai people about the Vietnam War because everyone is busy with his/her life while the tragic war in Vietnam continues.

The story is also a criticism of the policy of the Thai government who cooperated with the United States and became involved in the war.

Another example of collage is *Filth* (โสโครก) written by Thongchai Surakan (Surakan 1972). The narrator is waiting for a bus late at night and thinking about the hypocrisy of the older generation. He thinks he is being forced to become materialistic, so he wants to go away. To kill time he reads a newspaper. So the story moves forward with the news and the articles he reads: President Nixon of the United States visiting China, the attack of communists in a village in Thailand, news of high society, readers’ complaints about the economy and corruption, readers’ letters seeking advice on their love life, U.S. operations in Vietnam War and casualties in Vietnam. Then a street cleaner comes by and he and the narrator have a brief conversation about life. The narrator decides to go back and throws the newspaper in the trash.

Similar in content and style to *Silence* (ความเงียบ), *Filth* (โสโครก) is not only a criticism of the Vietnam War but also of the government and the social and economic malaise. The technique of collage in this story is quite apparent since the fragments are taken from news reports and articles in the newspapers.

The narrative of the short story *Complexity and Confusion* (สนสับสับสน) by Kon Krailat is presented in a similarly fragmented way. But the technique of montage provides the narrative structure.

*Complexity and Confusion* (สนสับสับสน) is about a chaotic city: boys running up and down the streets selling newspapers, female passersby in short skirts, a crippled beggar, a dirty stray dog, a group of intellectuals drinking and cursing the unfairness of the country, teenagers disappearing into a department store that sells foreign goods, a cinema showing an American film with an obscene and immoral subject, a traffic jam, a body falling from a moving bus and the voice of a mother consoling her child. All become connected by forming the scenes through which an old experienced woman walks. The story is an implicit criticism of the change of Bangkok due to modernization since the story “shows,” and does not “tell,” these chaotic and modern states (Krailat 1972).

Thus, the story has no plot. The shots following on one after another can be described as montage because they are only the collection of scenes portraying the chaotic life of Bangkok witnessed by the indifferent old woman.

Montage can be found in *From the Urine-Colored Room* (จากห้องสีปัสสาวะ) written in 1973 by Thanong Phisan (Sawatsi 1975). The story relates the confusing thoughts of the protagonist, who feels alienated from his job and the town he works in. His thoughts, which are about the question of who he is, his beloved friends, his loneliness, excerpts from books and films, an image in his imagination of a woman covered with blood, a water buffalo sunbathing in a pool of mud, etc., are unrelated fragments and yet are mostly
intelligible, except, however, for the passage at the end of the story:

The field under the strong sun. The water buffalo in the pool of mud. The smile of the victor. The urine rapidly flows and smells in the model drainage pipes. A fair equality. [...] A girl with dull skin and unkempt hair sits on the back of a buffalo singing a lively air. I spit and curse. Double standard. Vira walks along the canal slowly. It will show the meaning if it finally happens. Don’t let it die like that. I sit against the wall. Like something is haunting this room.

(Sawatsi 1975: 246)

It seems that these fragments of thoughts, which occur at the beginning of the story, appear again rapidly one after the other at the end of the story to create a film-like impression for the reader. Thus this might be interpreted as the technique of montage. The technique used implies the shattered self of the protagonist living in an alien world.

In a work called The Index Finger in the Third-Class Car (นิ้วชี้ในตู้ชั้นสาม) by Suwat Srichuea, montage technique is used, presenting unusual imagery. The story is about a young man who goes back home to enlist in the Army. On the train he encounters a group of wild rowdy soldiers who dare him to drop a knife in the space between his index and middle fingers. He accepts the dare and it causes him to lose his index finger. Then they suggest playing Russian roulette but before a bullet is shot through someone’s head, the gun is pushed away. The young man hurriedly jumps off the train and decides not to go back home. The beginning of this story relates what he sees through a window:

The 6.30 p.m. The Bangkok-Ubonratchathani train pulled out of Hua Lumpong station. I sat in a third-class car after putting my cloth bag on the rack above the seat. I was watching Bangkok from a window; it was like I was watching a film. The first second, I saw people waving; the fifth, the train left the people behind, [...], the next second, a twenty-story building moving fast and then followed by slums; the 200th, the train running past a prison, the next second, passing the Liberty Monument and an army camp, the 1649th, people along the track throwing stones at the train.

(Srichuea 1975: 73)

The beginning of the story foreshadows the violence the protagonist will encounter later on. The pictures he sees signify conflict: contrast (a high building-slums), crime (prison), war (monument and camp) and violence (thrown stones). But instead of describing the scenes in the traditional way, the writer uses film techniques to offer new imagery.

The urbanization of Thailand undermines the sense of continuity. This continuity is derived from the rhythms and the simplicity of rural culture. The chaos and the complexity of modern life makes the writers conscious of writing in a period of transition and crisis. Since the experimental 1964–1973 Thai short stories are mainly about the cities, it is apparent that the writing techniques which are capable of portraying the strains and tensions inherent in city life are collage and montage.
These features are consistent with modernism, since collage and montage are considered the art forms of modernism, for their fragmentation portrays the disorder and chaos of cities (Eysteinsson 1990: 151).

It may be concluded here that modernist Thai writers use the techniques of collage and montage to imply the malaise of modern society, the shattered self and a criticism of the autocratic administration.

Conclusion

A study of the relationship between modernist Thai short stories from 1964–1973 reveals that most writers who wrote in modernist experimental styles were either graduates of art schools or those who were personally interested in art. Their background in art helped them to adapt the techniques of visual art to their writings.

Thai short stories from 1964 to 1973 display a radical change because the crisis of representation was realized. These modern Thai writers found themselves at odds with their contemporaries and increasingly felt that to describe the modern and changing Thai society, different styles were required in their works. The search for innovation was successful when the techniques of modern art were modified for use in written texts. Since, in some respects, modernist art represents the modern world as chaotic and shattered, this search for innovation in Thai modernist short stories is thus inseparable from the search for new values in modern life.

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BOOK REVIEW


Overview

With *Analyzing Linguistic Data: A Practical Introduction to Statistics using R*, R. H. Baayen presents the linguistics community with a welcome introduction to statistical data analysis in the R programming environment. Baayen uses examples from corpus linguistics, psycholinguistics, and phonetics to explain fundamental concepts in statistics; the examples and sample exercises are intuitive and highly approachable for both students and teachers of linguistics. The principle advantage of the book over previous introductions to statistics in linguistics, however, is its use of the R programming language, a derivative of the S and S+ languages. A true programming language, R provides students and researchers with a framework for conducting statistical analysis and producing publication-quality graphics without tedious repetition of computational tasks necessary in menu-driven statistics packages such as SPSS and Stata. For the student, R has the further advantage of being open-source software, meaning that students can download and install the environment on their own computers—Windows, Mac, or Linux—without cost to themselves or their educational institutions. For the researcher, R is attractive for its active development community. Improvements and extensions to the environment are made of virtually a daily basis, especially in the areas of statistics and bioinformatics, and researchers should have little fear that the system will become obsolete in the near future. This review will give a chapter-by-chapter overview of the text before offering a few minor criticisms of the work that do not detract from its status as a well-written, easy-to-follow text and a valuable introduction to empirically-oriented linguistic methodology.

Chapter Summary

Chapters 1 and 2 familiarize the reader with the essential workings of the R environment. The initial chapter presents the most basic command-line operations in R, including arithmetic operators and manipulation of the dataframe, the data structure used in R for tabular data. Attention is paid to a number of low-level functions that are necessary for the exploration of tabular data, including navigation, sorting of dataframes and performing basic mathematical operations on variables. While these concepts are essentially those presented in the freely available R documentation, the author includes several additional techniques for aggregation of variable values and extraction of contingency tables from rectangular data sets that make the introductory chapter a useful read. One of R’s greatest strengths lies in its data visualization capabilities, and in Chapter 2 the author lays a foundation for data exploration through graphical representation that will be built upon extensively in subsequent chapters. Such essential statistical notions as random variables, probability distributions, and bivariate relationships are explained with histograms, density plots, scatter-plots, and box-and-whisker plots. Baayen also introduces mosaic plots, a particularly useful graph for exploring the relationships among the kinds of categorical variables commonly encountered in corpus linguistics, and trellis graphics, a useful means of presenting multiple graphs in a
single figure. Baayen also uses R’s graphical capabilities to great pedagogical effect, making a point of representing complex statistical concepts graphically for more visually-oriented readers. With almost every analytical technique presented in this chapter and in the remainder of the book, the reader is instructed in the production of publication-quality graphics that bring sometimes opaque quantitative relationships into sharp, intuitively accessible relief.

Chapters 3 and 4 provide basic concepts and methods in statistics which will be necessary for the more complex methods to follow in later chapters. The author begins with the introduction to the basic dichotomy between discrete and continuous distributions. A considerable amount of attention is given to density, distribution, and quantile functions for binomial and Poisson distributions, with examples of term frequency analysis presented with data from the CELEX database (Baayen et al. 1995) and literary corpora. More abstract explanation is made of the properties of normally distributed variables and other distributions, $t$, $F$, and $\chi^2$. One of the characteristics of the book likely to make it more accessible to students without extensive math and statistics backgrounds is the author’s effective presentation of statistical concepts through lay-terminological analogies. Significance levels, for example, are described in Chapter 4 as the researcher’s “surprise that our test statistic is as extreme as it actually is” (68). In this chapter, the author also introduces hypothesis testing and works the reader through a series of examples demonstrating: tests for distribution (i.e., normality), tests for the mean in the form of one-and two-sample t-tests, and tests for variance. In the span of twenty pages, Baayen also covers correlation, linear regression, analysis of variance, and analysis of covariance. Each of these subjects might have been worthy of individual chapters in a lengthier book; regression modeling, at least, is discussed at greater length in Chapter 6. Throughout Chapter 4, the author is careful to provide the reader with cautionary wisdom concerning many of the analytical pitfalls of significance testing, including interpretation of alpha-levels, conducting multiple comparisons of means, and interpretation of p-values.

Statistics textbooks typically present detailed discussion of regression modeling before delving into data mining techniques. Presumably due to the particular subject-matter orientation of Analyzing Linguistic Data, analytical tools designed to cluster (i.e., group according to latent factors) and classify (i.e., group into theoretically or experimentally defined sets) multidimensional data are instead given priority. Chapter 5 is essentially a catalog of these tools, organized around the two approaches to extraction of patterns from multidimensional data sets. A variety of methods for supervised categorization are presented, including principal components analysis, factor analysis, and correspondence analysis. Considerable attention is given to the visualization procedures necessary to explore the results of clustering methods. Dedrogram matrices, consensus trees, and scatter-plot matrices are introduced for the exploration of high-dimensionality data, with example data taken from: examination of affix productivity and literary style in English texts; register variation in Medieval French; sociolinguistic characteristics of Dutch words ending in the suffix -lijk and phylogenetic classification of Papuan and Oceanic languages. The second half of the chapter treats classification techniques,
methods for predicting the class to which a particular data point belongs. Classification trees are shown to be an effective method for classifying English dative alternation data. Discriminant analysis, a kind of reversed multivariate analysis of variance, is used to predict authorship in the texts of three Spanish authors. Finally, support vector machines are presented as a more recent and more efficient means of classifying data into a two-level factor, though the author’s assertions that they are “difficult to interpret,” “provide little into what factors drive the classification,” and cannot be effectively visualized leads one to question the inclusion of the method in an introductory text.

Regression modeling is a staple in the analysis of continuous variables, and Chapter 6 continues the author’s introduction of the method in Chapter 4. The chapter builds from a thorough discussion of ordinary least squares regression, including various assumptions which undergird it, and techniques for analyzing and validating models resultant from application of the method, up to logistic regression for dichotomous and ordinal dependent variables. In this chapter, as throughout the text, Baayen takes a very practical approach to statistical modeling, demonstrating how models are constructed through an iterative process of data exploration, model criticism, data clean-up, and validation, ultimately leading to a finished model against which a set of research hypotheses may be tested. In the latter part of the chapter, the author turns to additional methods that might be useful in linguistic analysis, includes lengthy discussion of the problems associated with regression modeling of lexical richness in a corpus. Chapter 7 extends the ordinary least squares to mixed-effects models, models taking predictor variables with both fixed-effect and random-effect terms. The author works through examples from experimental psycholinguistics, including two analyses of lexical decision latencies in Dutch, and corpus linguistics, with a mixed-effects model of regional and register variation in Dutch words marked with -lijk. This chapter, while introducing a number of recent advances in statistical modeling, does not offer as much discussion of underlying concepts as previous chapters do, and at many points digresses into mechanical presentation of R code and attendant graphics without a great deal of explanation.

Comments

While the subject matter of the book is data analysis, rather than the intricacies of the R language, readers might have benefited from more discussion of basic programming techniques and from observation of some of the pitfalls of using R in a Windows environment. The first and very convincing argument the author makes in the preface regarding the utility of R—that the ability to iteratively perform analytical tasks over large data sets using loops sets the environment head and shoulders above menu-driven frameworks like SPSS and Stata—is undermined somewhat by the fact that the author uses looping rarely and without explanation in the text. Many linguists do not have programming backgrounds, and a short section devoted to basic control structures might have gone some distance in opening up some of the advanced functionality of R to the novice user; other authors of R-based introductory statistics texts have included such information in an appendix (for example, Crawley 2005). Regular expressions are another very useful component of the computational linguist’s toolkit, and a short introduction
to their use in exploring and creating new string variables might have been helpful to those doing corpus-based work. More attention might also have been paid to some of the potential stumbling blocks that users new to R are likely to encounter. One striking omission is found in the author’s failure to mention the one very important .le format—the Microsoft Excel spreadsheet—that R cannot import at all without installation of the RODBC, xlsReadWrite, or similar packages. It is also very likely that linguists will be using R for data sets containing non-Roman characters, and Windows users have experienced difficulties with UTF-8 character sets in R. As of v.2.7.0, for example, certain functions return UTF-8 characters literally in code-point notation, e.g. <U+xxxx>, rather than human-readable glyphs. While R has a very active development community that continues to improve the platform’s functionality in Windows, some users have found it necessary to perform data manipulation manually or in some other programming environment such as Perl, and then perform analysis in R.

Other criticisms of the book are quibbling. The author makes casual mention (p. 57) of scalar measurement of grammaticality judgments as a type of continuous variable. The question of whether grammaticality judgments should be treated as discrete variables, such as Likert-type scale responses, or as multivariate normal ones, like acoustic measurements, is a matter of considerable debate in linguistics (Schütze 1996). While extensive discussion of this contentious issue is likely not to be necessary in an introductory textbook, a more agnostic position might have been taken on the subject. The author also discourages students from the notational convention of using “*” and “**” to denote levels of statistical significance. While the author’s observation that alpha levels of 0.05 and 0.01 respectively are essentially arbitrary thresholds of degree of significance is well taken, the ubiquity of the notation in published work across a variety of disciplines suggests that an introductory textbook designed to make statistical work more accessible to linguists rather than less so should encourage, rather than spurn, familiarity with standard practice. Introductory statistics textbooks tend to fall somewhere in a continuum of mathematical detail, with texts written for science majors at one end and texts for humanities majors at the other. The author states clearly in the preface that the text will fall more to the latter end of the spectrum, and as a result there is occasionally a shortfall in discussion of some of the assumptions behind the methods. For the majority of students, this will make the text more accessible, rather than less so; some, however, may find that detachment from mathematical explanation in the text renders some of the procedures difficult to unpack. Assumptions crucial to certain tests are similarly left under-explained at times; the discriminant analysis in Chapter 5, for example, is only valid under the assumption of non-multi-collinearity, which is not fully explained until the discussion of regression modeling in Chapter 6.

R is known in statistics circles for its steep learning curve. While it is without doubt that learning the language is ultimately worth the practitioner’s time, the length of time necessary to do so should be taken into account by those approaching statistical methods in linguistics for the first time. The casual reader—even one with a fair grasp of statistics—should not expect to pick up a copy of this book, skim
through it, and be able to immediately implement novel solutions to data-oriented research problems. That being said, the book remains a thorough, yet highly penetratable volume on statistical methods for linguistics that would serve well both as a statistics primer for graduate and advanced undergraduate courses and as an introduction to R for the more advanced practitioner.

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ABSTRACTS IN THAI

THE EMERGENCE AND THE WAY OF LIFE OF THE WAGE LABORER CLASS IN THAILAND FROM THE END OF THE 18TH TO THE 19TH CENTURY

Punnee Bualek

The emergence and the way of life of the wage laborer class in Thailand from the end of the 18th to the 19th century

The research questions that need to be answered are:

1) Wage laborers have emerged in Thai society since when and under what conditions in society?
2) How is the system of labor relations in the process of production like?
3) Under the system of production relations as described above, how is the labor situation and way of life?

The initial group of laborers in Thailand are Chinese. They have been in the system of slavery. In order to understand these people, it is necessary to understand four things:

1) Problems inside the Chinese society that cause migration and the migration out of the country.
2) Changes in both方面 and production that occurred in the land of Southeast Asia from the inside and outside of the region.
3) The influence of great powers in the West that came to Southeast Asia.
4) Problems and issues inside the Thai nobility, including changes in the political system of Thailand, including the political institutions and governance, which have changed in the period of the reign of the Rattanakosin era.

The research found that the labor class in Thailand only emerged at the end of the 18th century. Under production for export and preparation of trade, these people were Chinese and used cyanide systems in both communities and in the production process. In addition, the cyanide system was also used in trade and self-defense from outside. The cyanide system is a horizontal system that emphasizes being a brother, a brother, and equality among members. This system was covered by yangtze or tian ti hoi, or secret societies, which are systems under the control of the hierarchy and strictly controlled. Therefore, the system of equality among members is no longer present. Ceremonies and practices that come from the cyanide system are making it stronger. Kuli and aang will not be separated inside the cyanide system. Kuli will be treated well as long as he is loyal and works hard. But they will be punished severely if they lack these things. The research provides a picture of the life of kuli in the period of the reign of Rama V until the reign of the present era, which is in the period of commerce and navigation. The cyanide system has disappeared in the 19th century, when the Chinese found many changes in Thai society, which came from the influence of the West and the government of Thailand at that time. Bangkok has become the center of production for export. Afterwards, the cyanide system became an organization that is not suitable with the new life in Bangkok. The rich become the first group to leave the cyanide system. Some groups become Thai nobility. They absorb Western culture and Thai nobility culture and abandon the Chinese cyanide culture. They set up new organizations and chambers of commerce. These are called "bod tsao". At the same time, the kuli groups themselves also set up new organizations, which become new organizations of workers. In the beginning of these new organizations, they were controlled by the "bod tsao". But later, they became independent organizations, which are called "bod tsao". It can be seen that the organization of labor in Thailand from the end of the 18th century to the present day.
จะใช้ตัวอย่างประโยคของตน องค์ตกษณ์ณีเรื่องกว่า อีกหนึ่งจุดยืนพูด สิ่งต่างๆถูกปรากฏโดยรัฐบาลไทยในช่วงปลายรัชกาลที่ 5 และต้นรัชกาลที่ 6

FROM WHORE TO HEROINE: DECONSTRUCTING THE MYTH OF THE FALLEN WOMAN AND REDEFINING FEMALE SEXUALITY IN CONTEMPORARY POPULAR FICTION

Surapeepan Chatraporn

คำนำความเชื่อเรื่องหญิงชั่วช้าเสื่อมศักดิ์ศรีมีมาอย่างต่อเนื่องในวรรณกรรมของนักเขียนชาย กล่าวถึงหญิงที่มีความผิดทางเพศและเส้นทางล่วงตลอดความผิดของตน หญิงเสื่อมศักดิ์ศรีเหล่านี้จะถูกสังคมประณาม ประจานและขับไล่ต้องทนทุกข์ทรมานด้วยความอัปยศอดสู หรือถูกลงโทษถึงชีวิต คำถามเรื่องเพศสภาพ กายภาพ และคุณธรรมของสตรีปรากฏในนวนิยายเรื่อง The Great Gatsby เรื่อง Daisy Miller และเรื่อง The Awakening นักเขียนเสรีสร้างสมัยสมคบนกอภิปรามถึงเรื่อง Like Water for Chocolate เรื่อง Chocolat และเรื่อง Fried Green Tomatoes at the Whistle Stop Café ได้ลั่นคำนำความเชื่อเพิ่ม ให้นิยายใหม่เรื่องเพศสภาพให้พื้นที่แก่สตรีที่ถูกเรียกว่า “ข้าวข้าเสื่อมศักดิ์ศรี” และพลิกกลับทำให้สตรีเหล่านี้มีความเข้มแข็ง มีพลังและกลายเป็นหลักสำคัญของสังคม

COMPACT CITY STRATEGY OF BANGKOK MEGA-CITY

Chaweewan Denpaiboon
Hidehiko Kanegae

วัตถุประสงค์ของการศึกษานี้มี 3 ประเด็น คือ 1) วิเคราะห์รูปแบบของเมืองที่มีมากของกรุงเทพมหานครในบริเวณพื้นที่ที่หลากหลายมากตั้งอยู่ในแหล่งสมดุลของแหล่งงานแหล่งที่พักอาศัย และพฤติกรรมการเดินทางของผู้อยู่อาศัย 2) วิเคราะห์การใช้แนวคิดเมืองกระชับในแหล่งสมดุลสายงานที่พักอาศัยและพฤติกรรมการเดินทางของผู้อยู่อาศัย 3) วิเคราะห์รูปแบบการใช้แนวคิดเมืองกระชับในแหล่งสมดุลของผู้อยู่อาศัย การศึกษาพบว่านโยบายเมืองกระชับจะใช้เป็นแนวทางการพัฒนาเมืองได้เป็นอย่างดีในแหล่งสมดุลแหล่งงานและผู้อยู่อาศัยที่อยู่ในกรุงเทพมหานคร ได้รับการตีความไว้โดยที่เป็นจะอยู่ในระยะเดินทางไม่เกิน 20 กิโลเมตรจากแหล่งที่พักอาศัย ผู้อยู่อาศัยสูงท้ายความนั้นได้เสนอแนวคิดของเมืองกระชับในเมืองที่มีมากที่อยู่กรุงเทพมหานครไร้ด้วย
HybridNTELL MODEL: AN ALTERNATIVE FORMULA TO FOSTER 21ST CENTURY AUTONOMOUS EFL LEARNERS

Tavicha Phadvibulya
Sudaporn Luksaneeyanawin

The purpose of this study is to report the results of research and development of a model of technology use to enhance English language potential according to the social constructivist theory (HybridNTELL). The experimental group is 1st year students from Chulalongkorn University. The process of designing the model is based on the social constructivist theory which, in turn, is influenced by Vygotsky (1896–1934) and is motivated by the challenge of teaching English as a foreign language at the university level, such as large classes, diverse learners, limited opportunities to use languages, and competition. These issues increase the need for English proficiency to communicate in the 21st century. The development of the HybridNTELL model is intended to break down the barriers to learning English by providing online activity that can be combined with classroom activities. The researcher used the social constructivist framework to create the model and to evaluate the effectiveness of the model. The study evaluated whether learners with different English capabilities can learn and benefit from the HybridNTELL model. The sample consisted of 90 students selected from a population of approximately 2,500 students by level of English capability from high to low. The results found that English proficiency was significantly better than learners in the experimental group (F (6, 87) = 15.96, p < .001) and grades were the same, but no significant difference was found between groups (F (2, 87) = 7.04, p < .001) and in the average test results between groups that had different activities (F (2, 87) = .24, p = .078). Moreover, the relationship between output and input in the teaching-learning process was significant (R² = .87, F = 63.03, p < .001) and showed a high ability to improve English proficiency (R² = .96, F = 81.54, p < .001). This indicates that the educational program was successful in preparing students to learn English, and that the model worked in the HybridNTELL study. This indicates that the model can be used in educational settings and that the model can be used to improve the results of previous studies. The model can be used to encourage research on English learning and to provide a foundation for future research in this area.
REIMAGINING EDEN: HOMOEROTIC RELATIONSHIPS IN EMILY DICKINSON'S POETRY

Chutima Pragatwutisarn

หนึ่งในแก่นเรื่องหลักที่ปรากฏในกวีนิพนธ์ของเอมิลี่ ดิกคินสัน คือความปรารถนาต่อเพศเดียวกันที่ผ่านมาทั้งวิกฤติการณ์หลายด้านที่ทันกับบทกวีและชีวประวัติของดิกคินสัน บทความนี้ชี้ให้เห็นว่าเหตุการณ์แสดงนัยยะในนัยยะนี้ให้ความสำคัญแก่สายสัมพันธ์ที่ตรงกับเมตตาทูตถูกกล่าว อาจเป็นแนวทางหนึ่งในการอธิบายความปรารถนาต่อเพศเดียวกันในกวีนิพนธ์ของดิกคินสัน นักทฤษฎีสตรีนิยมแนวจิตวิเคราะห์ที่สำคัญในกลุ่มนี้คือ แนนซี โชโดโรว์ ซึ่งนำทฤษฎีของฟรอยด์มาทบทวนใหม่โดยชี้ให้เห็นสายสัมพันธ์แบบแนวคิดระหว่างแม่กับลูก มักขึ้นอยู่กับความรักทางเพศและความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างแม่กับลูกนั้น อาจเป็นแนวคิดหนึ่งในการอธิบายความปรารถนาต่อเพศเดียวกันในกวีนิพนธ์ของดิกคินสัน นักทฤษฎีสตรีนิยมแนวจิตวิเคราะห์ที่สำคัญในกลุ่มนี้คือ แนนซี โชโดโรว์ ซึ่งนำทฤษฎีของฟรอยด์มาทบทวนใหม่โดยชี้ให้เห็นสายสัมพันธ์แบบแนวคิดระหว่างแม่กับลูก มักขึ้นอยู่กับความรักทางเพศและความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างแม่กับลูกนั้น อาจเป็นแนวคิดหนึ่งในการอธิบายความปรารถนาต่อเพศเดียวกันในกวีนิพนธ์ของดิกคินสัน นักทฤษฎีสตรีนิยมแนวจิตวิเคราะห์ที่สำคัญในกลุ่มนี้คือ แนนซี โชโดโรว์ ซึ่งนำทฤษฎีของฟรอยด์มาทบทวนใหม่โดยชี้ให้เห็นสายสัมพันธ์แบบแนวคิดระหว่างแม่กับลูก มักขึ้นอยู่กับความรักทางเพศและความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างแม่กับลูกนั้น อาจเป็นแนวคิดหนึ่งในการอธิบายความปรารถนาต่อเพศเดียวกันในกวีนิพนธ์ของดิกคินสัน นักทฤษฎีสตรีนิยมแนวจิตวิเคราะห์ที่สำคัญในกลุ่มนี้คือ แนนซี โชโดโรว์ ซึ่งนำทฤษฎีของฟรอยด์มาทบทวนใหม่โดยชี้ให้เห็นสายสัมพันธ์แบบแนวคิดระหว่างแม่กับลูก มักขึ้นอยู่กับความรักทางเพศและความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างแม่กับลูกนั้น อาจเป็นแนวคิดหนึ่งในการอธิบายความปรารถนาต่อเพศเดียวกันในกวีนิพนธ์ของดิกคินสัน นักทฤษฎีสตรีนิยมแนวจิตวิเคราะห์ที่สำคัญในกลุ่มนี้คือ แนนซี โชโดโรว์ ซึ่งนำทฤษฎีของฟรอยด์มาทบทวนใหม่โดยชี้ให้เห็นสายสัมพันธ์แบบแนวคิดระหว่างแม่กับลูก มักขึ้นอยู่กับความรักทางเพศและความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างแม่กับลูกนั้น อาจเป็นแนวคิดหนึ่งในการอธิบายความปรารถนาต่อเพศเดียวกันในกวีนิพนธ์ของดิกคินสัน นักทฤษฎีสตรีนิยมแนวจิตวิเคราะห์ที่สำคัญในกลุ่มนี้คือ แนนซี โชโดโรว์ ซึ่งนำทฤษฎีของฟรอยด์มาทบทวนใหม่โดยชี้ให้เห็นสายสัมพันธ์แบบแนวคิดระหว่างแม่กับลูก มักขึ้นอยู่กับความรักทางเพศและความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างแม่กับลูกนั้น อาจเป็นแนวคิดหนึ่งในการอธิบายความปรารถนาต่อเพศเดียวกันในกวีนิพนธ์ของดิกคินสัน นักทฤษฎีสตรีนิยมแนวจิตวิเคราะห์ที่สำคัญในกลุ่มนี้คือ แนนซี โชโดโรว์ ซึ่งนำทฤษฎีของฟรอยด์มาทบทวนใหม่โดยชี้ให้เห็นสายสัมพันธ์แบบแนวคิดระหว่างแม่กับลูก มักขึ้นอยู่กับความรักทางเพศและความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างแม่กับลูกนั้น อาจเป็นแนวคิดหนึ่งในการอธิบายความปรารถนาต่อเพศเดียวกันในกวีนิพนธ์ของดิกคินสัน นักทฤษฎีสตรีนิยมแนวจิตวิเคราะห์ที่สำคัญในกลุ่มนี้คือ แนนซี โชโดโรว์ ซึ่งนำทฤษฎีของฟรอยด์มาทบทวนใหม่โดยชี้ให้เห็นสายสัมพันธ์แบบแนวคิดระหว่างแม่กับลูก มักขึ้นอยู่กับความรักทางเพศและความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างแม่กับลูกนั้น อาจเป็นแนวคิดหนึ่งในการอธิบายความปรารถนาต่อเพศเดียวกันในกวีนิพนธ์ของดิกคินสัน นักทฤษฎีสตรีนิยมแนวจิตวิเคราะห์ที่สำคัญในกลุ่มนี้คือ แนนซี โชโดโรว์ ซึ่งนำทฤษฎีของฟรอยด์มาทบทวนใหม่โดยชี้ให้เห็นสายสัมพันธ์แบบแนวคิดระหว่างแม่กับลูก มักขึ้นอยู่กับความรักทางเพศและความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างแม่กับลูกนั้น อาจเป็นแนวคิดหนึ่งในการอธิบายความปรารถนาต่อเพศเดียวกันในกวีนิพนธ์ของดิกคินสัน นักทฤษฎีสตรีนิยมแนวจิตวิเคราะห์ที่สำคัญในกลุ่ม

SELF-REGULATED LEARNING BY THAI UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN AN EFL EXTENSIVE READING PROGRAM

Chitchon Pratontep
Apasara Chinwonno

งานวิจัยนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อดำเนินการสอนและการเรียนภาษาอังกฤษรูปแบบการอ่านภาษาอังกฤษเพื่อความเข้าใจของนิสิตไทยในกลุ่มการสอนแบบย่อย กลุ่มนี้ประกอบด้วยนิสิตจำนวน 38 คน จัดกลุ่มตามคะแนนทดสอบการอ่านภาษาอังกฤษเพื่อความเข้าใจก่อนการทดลอง เป็นกลุ่มนิสิตที่มีความสามารถทางภาษาอ่านสูงและกลุ่มนิสิตที่มีความสามารถทางภาษาอ่านต่ำ นิสิตทั้งสองกลุ่มได้รับการสอนเป็นระยะเวลา 10 สัปดาห์ ผลการวิจัยพบว่า คะแนนแบบทดสอบการอ่านภาษาอังกฤษเพื่อความเข้าใจก่อนและหลังการทดลองเพิ่มขึ้นอย่างมีนัยสำคัญ โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่งในกลุ่มนิสิตที่มีความสามารถทางภาษาอ่านต่ำ ผลการวิจัยจากการสัมภาษณ์นิสิตก็ทำกันและพบว่ามีนิสิตใช้กลวิธีการควบคุมการจดจำ และการควบคุมพฤติกรรมการเรียนเป็นประจำ นอกจากนี้ ผลการวิจัยจากการวิจัยการควบคุมการเรียนได้มาจากการวิเคราะห์ข้อมูลจากคลังข้อมูลที่ได้จากการอ่านในการสอนภาษาอังกฤษ}
Abstracts in Thai

Modernist Thai Short Stories, 1964-1973: The Relationship with Art

Soranat Tailanga

เรื่องสั้นของไทยระหว่างปี พ.ศ. 2507–2516 จำนวนหนึ่งมีลักษณะการเขียนที่แปลกใหม่ทั้งในด้านเนื้อหา รูปแบบแนวคิด และลีลาการประพันธ์ คล้ายคลึงกับลักษณะของงานเขียนคตินิยมสมัยใหม่ ซึ่งเป็นการเคลื่อนไหวทางวรรณกรรมและศิลปะนานาชาติที่เริ่มในช่วงปลายศตวรรษที่ 19 ถึงศตวรรษที่ 20 ความคล้ายคลึงดังกล่าวแสดงให้เห็นว่า งานเขียนแนวคตินิยมสมัยใหม่เข้ามามีอิทธิพลต่อการเขียนไทยทั้งทางตรงและทางอ้อม นอกจากนี้ การเปลี่ยนแปลงของลีลาการเขียนในเรื่องสั้นจำนวนหนึ่งแสดงให้เห็นถึงความสัมพันธ์กับคตินิยมมทวิภาค แนวคตินิยมประทับใจ แนวคตินิยมหลงหล้า แนวคตินิยมแห่งความต้องการ แนวคตินิยมแห่งความต้องการทางคตินิยมสมัยใหม่ ลักษณะพิเศษดังกล่าวของเรื่องสั้นไทยกลุ่มนี้มีความแตกต่างกับเรื่องสั้นแนว ขนบอย่างมาก
Notes to contributors

Submission of the first version of the manuscript

We would like to invite researchers in the field of humanities to publish their works in *MANUSYA*. A prospective contributor should submit to the Editor-in-Chief an electronic copy and two hard copies of his/her paper including two abstracts, one in English and another in Thai. The length of the paper should not exceed 20 pages. It should be printed on one side of A4 paper in single spacing with Times New Roman 12. The author should follow the style guide below regarding the citation and reference system.

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Foreign words cited as examples or key concepts may be written in scripts of each particular language, but they must be accompanied by the same words in phonetic alphabet or Romanized forms followed by glosses and translations of the whole phrase or sentence. All the cited foreign words should be in italics. The author should avoid mixing unnecessary non-English words as if they were English words in sentences unless they are commonly accepted as English loanwords.
Quotation marks

Use double quotation marks for direct quotation and single quotation marks for glosses (translations of foreign words).

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Use the footnote command to insert all footnotes automatically. Do not use endnotes. Footnotes are used only for adding useful information, not for references.

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Full bibliographical information of literature cited in the papers should be given in the list of references at the end of the paper. Within the text, only brief author-date citations should be made, giving the author’s surname, year of publication and page number(s) where relevant. The use of footnotes to indicate citations will not be accepted. Examples showing the system of citation in MANUSYA are as follows.

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References at the end

The following are examples of references placed at the end of a paper. Note that the indentation is at the position after five spaces.


Dialectology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.


Starobinski, Jean. 1979. Words upon words : the anagrams of Ferdinand de Saussure, translated by Olivia Emmet. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

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FROM WHORE TO HEROINE: DECONSTRUCTING THE MYTH OF THE FALLEN WOMAN AND REDEFINING FEMALE SEXUALITY IN CONTEMPORARY POPULAR FICTION
Surapeepan Chatraporn

The fallen woman, long existent in patriarchal discourse and intensified by Victorian sexual ethics, succumbs to seduction or sensual desires, suffers social condemnation and ostracism, and eventually dies, either repentantly or shamelessly. The questions of female sexuality and feminine virtues are dealt with in The Great Gatsby, Daisy Miller and The Awakening. Daisy Buchanan, Jordan, and Myrtle, all three sexually transgressive women, are punished. In contrast, the recent contemporary narrative pattern deconstructs the myth of the fallen woman and allows the fallen woman to live and prosper. The fallen woman, traditionally a secondary character who is considered a threat to the virtuous heroine, has emerged as a major or central character with a revolutionary power that both conquers and heals. Like Water for Chocolate, Chocolat and Fried Green Tomatoes at the Whistle Stop Café acknowledge female mobility and sexual freedom and appropriate a space hitherto denied to fallen women.

SELF-REGULATED LEARNING BY THAI UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN AN EFL EXTENSIVE READING PROGRAM
Chitchon Pratontep
Apasara Chinnwonno

This study aims to investigate students’ self-regulated learning strategies and English reading comprehension in an ER program. There were 38 students participating in the study. The students were divided into upper and lower level groups according to their English reading comprehension pre-test mean scores. After 10 weeks of ER, findings show that there were significant differences between the students’ English reading comprehension pre- and post-test mean scores, especially for the lower level group. Findings from the self-regulated learning interview schedule indicate that students reported frequently using metacognitive and performance regulation strategies. In addition, the students’ verbal protocols of reading, they reported using self-regulated learning strategies in the performance or volitional control phase more often than in the forethought or self-reflection phases. Pedagogical implications are presented and discussed.

THE EMERGENCE AND THE WAY OF LIFE OF THE WAGE LABORER CLASS IN THAILAND FROM THE END OF THE 18TH TO THE 19TH CENTURY
Punnee Bualek

It was found that the laborer class in Thailand emerged at the end of the 18th century in a situation where production for export and trade prospered. They were all Chinese laborers, who used the “kongsi” system in their ways of production and also for trading and protecting themselves from outsiders. The “kongsi” system had a horizontal relationship that emphasized brotherhood, partnership and equality among its members. Later on, this system was superseded by the triad system, which was a vertical relationship. The triad system gradually faded out at the end of the 19th century when there were many changes in Thai society brought about by both Western influences and the attitude of the Thai government. The employers or the rich absorbed both Western and Thai “sakdina” culture and then neglected the “kongsi” Chinese culture. They established, instead, new organizations like merchant guilds and chambers of commerce.