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Andrew Cherlin

Aphichat Chamratrithirong

Institute for Population and Social Research
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Andrew Cherlin*

Aphichat Chamrathirong

*Andrew Cherlin is Professor at Department of Sociology, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, U.S.A. and Aphichat Chamrathirong is Deputy Director and Associate Professor at Institute for Population and Social Research, Mahidol University, Bangkok, Thailand.

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Abstract

Data from a survey of marriage patterns in Central Thailand illustrate the complexity of change in marriage patterns in a developing society--the diversity of traditional patterns, the different directions of change, and the variations in current patterns. The data were collected from ever-married women aged 15 to 44 in three settings in 1978 and 1979: a Central Plains village, established areas in Bangkok, and a Bangkok squatter settlement. Three forms of entry into marriage were identified: ceremonial marriage with parental involvement in the choice of spouse, ceremonial marriage with self-choice of spouse, and nonceremonial marriage (elopement and living together). All three forms of marriage existed in each setting, and the dominant form differed in each. In general, a family background of higher socioeconomic status led to a greater likelihood of a marriage ceremony and greater parental involvement in spouse choice. Women with more education also were more likely to marry with ceremony, but higher education for daughters was associated with less parental involvement in spouse choice. These findings suggest that marriage patterns may remain diverse in Thailand even as further development occurs.

Variations in Marriage Patterns in Central Thailand

How does the process of entry into marriage change as social and economic development occur? In this paper we will present evidence from a survey of marriage patterns in Central Thailand. The dominant model in the literature is one of declining family control over the process as development proceeds. This is so for historical studies of the developing West as well as for studies of contemporary developing nations. For example, in a well-known historical article, Smith (1973) compiled evidence on marriage timing and marriage order of siblings in a Massachusetts town from 1635 to 1880; and he concluded that "In the seventeenth and early eighteenth century there existed a stable, parental-run marriage system, in the nineteenth century a stable, participant-run system." Goods (1963) argued in a cross-national study that as urbanization and industrialization increased, the importance of the conjugal bond of husband and wife increased relative to the parent-child bond, and parents had less control over their children's choice of marriage partners. One could draw a similar corollary from Caldwell's (1982) influential theory of fertility decline, which posits an increasing "emotional nucleation" of the husband-wife family during the transition from family-based economic organization to labor-market production.

Among contemporary developing nations, the cases of

China and Taiwan appear to provide the clearest evidence of declining family control. Until recent decades nearly all marriages were arranged by the parents, often without consulting the children or even allowing them to meet prior to the wedding. But Whyte and Parish (1984) stated that "the principle of freedom of mate choice has won general acceptance among urbanites of all classes." They report that 56 percent of the persons in their urban sample who married after 1958 met their spouses directly, and 44 percent relied on introductions from parents, friends, or workmates. As for Taiwan, Thornton et al. (1984) , reported data from two cross-sectional surveys of married women showing that the proportion whose parents chose their husbands for them declined dramatically from 77 percent for those born between 1930 and 1934 to 48 percent of those born between 1940 and 1944 and to 26 percent of those born between 1950 and 1954.

Nevertheless, the process of family change is more complex than a linear modernization model might suggest. For example, several studies suggest that it is an oversimplification to assume that a shift occurs from a uniform, "traditional" pattern to a uniform, "modern" pattern across all classes and social groups as development proceeds. Even in the Chinese past, many families did not marry off their sons according to the prevailing norms but rather developed other forms of marriage, such as adopting a girl who would later marry one of the family's sons (Wolf and Huang, 1980).

This form of "minor marriage," as Wolf and Huang call it, was more common among poor families that did not have the resources to attract a bride through normatively preferred means; but it also appealed to better off families because it produced loyal and obedient daughters-in-law. As development proceeds, these non-normative forms of marriage may decrease in prevalence, as, indeed, Wolf and Huang demonstrate for the adoption of brides in Taiwan. Thus, the initial patterns of marriage and the direction of change may differ within a developing society according to a family's social and economic position.

Overall, our aim in this paper is to present further evidence of the complexity of family change in a developing society--of the diversity of traditional patterns, the different directions of change, and the variations in current patterns. We seek to demonstrate that these variations are tied to such factors as a family's socioeconomic position and the amount of education attained by their daughters. The information comes from three settings in Central Thailand: rural, rice-growing villages in the Central Plains north of Bangkok; established neighborhoods in Bangkok; and a large squatter settlement in Bangkok. It will be shown that several different forms of marriage co-exist in these settings, and that the dominant form is different in each. The determinants of experiencing a particular marriage form will be analyzed and some tentative conclusions will be offered concerning the relationship between national development and family change.

Data

Rural sample. The data are from the Asian Marriage Survey in Thailand (AMS), which was conducted between December 1978 and April 1979. Personal interviews were conducted with ever-married women aged 15 to 44 in three settings. The rural setting consisted of three adjacent tambols (a tambol is a sub-district consisting of a group of several villages), socially and geographically defined as one community, located near the center of Visessaichan District, Angthong province, about 70 kilometers from Bangkok. Fourteen of the 19 villages in the three tambols were randomly selected with probabilities proportional to size, and an attempt was made to interview all ever-married women aged 15 to 44. A total of 657 were finally interviewed. This rural sample consisted of residents of ricegrowing villages in the Central Plains, most of whom were engaged in farming or farm labor. Nearly all were ethnically Thai and Theravada Buddhist, the dominant ethnicity and religion in the country. At the time of the survey most farmers grew one wet-rice per year, relying for irrigation on a network of canals and on the annual flood that occurs during the rainy season. The community was not unaffected by social change: Eighty-four percent of the households had electricity; twelve percent of the respondents reported that they had ever lived in Bangkok; and all children were required to complete four grades at the community school. Still,

the organization of family life and the ways of making a living were quite similar to earlier descriptions of Central Plains communities (for example, Kaufman 1960; Sharp and Hanks 1978). And consistent with national estimates (Limanonda 1983; Knodel et al. 1984), cohort analyses of the rural data showed little change in average age at marriage.

Urban samples. A second sample was drawn from the Master sample of the Bangkok Metropolis, which was developed by the Department of Applied Statistics, National Institute of Development Administration in 1978 (Suwatti and Saisaengchan 1978). Two hundred blocks had randomly selected as the Master Sample from 6,000 blocks in 24 administrative divisions in Bangkok. Twenty-four of these blocks were selected at random for inclusion in the AMS. New household listings were compiled for each of the 24 blocks and systematic random samples of the households in each block were made, producing 515 interviews. This second sample provides good representation of the established, economically-stable areas of Bangkok, and it will be referred to as the urban established areas sample. Many of the families, as will be discussed, could be described as relatively prosperous, though not wealthy. But the selected 24 blocks did not cover residents of squatter settlements which, in Bangkok as in many other cities in developing nations, contain large, economically marginal populations. Therefore, the AMS included a third setting, to be referred to as the squatter settlement sample,

consisting of the residents of one of the largest and oldest squatter settlements in the city, known as "Slum Klong Toey." There was no running water in the settlement, though most dwellings had electricity; and sanitary conditions were poor. Most of the men sought work as porters, drivers, or as similar kinds of unskilled laborers. From a listing of households made by the Office of the Bangkok Metropolis in 1978, 18 of 57 blocks in the settlement were randomly selected, and 507 interviews were obtained.

The two urban samples in the AMS are much more diverse than the rural sample. Fifty-nine percent of the respondents in the urban established areas and 78 percent of those in the squatter settlement reported that they had been born in rural villages and subsequently migrated to Bangkok. twenty-nine percent of the women in the established areas and 44 percent of the women in the squatter settlement had not moved to Bangkok until after they were married. Though data on place of origin was not obtained, qualitative interviews suggested that the migrants to the established neighborhoods came primarily from the Central Plains but that the squatter settlement attracted migrants from the more distant North and Northeast regions as well. Moreover, the established areas included a substantial minority of ethnic Chinese, whose families typically owned shops or trading businesses. A direct question about ethnicity was deemed too sensitive to ask (a reflection of an ideology favoring assimilation

to Thai culture), so ethnic identity had to be inferred indirectly from other questions.¹ The heterogeneity introduced by migration and Chinese ethnicity, and the incomplete information in the AMS in this regard, will limit some of the conclusions that can be drawn from the urban strata, as will be noted below.

To avoid an overrepresentation of women who marry at an early age, our analyses will be restricted to women aged 26 or older in the rural and urban established areas and 24 or older in the squatter settlement, these being the ages by which 90 percent of the women in the respective strata have experienced a marriage. The effective sample sizes are therefore as follows: 494 for the rural sample, 408 for the urban established areas, and 370 for the urban squatter settlement. The AMS also attempted to obtain interviews with as many of the husbands of the female respondents as possible. Interviews were completed with husbands for 314 of the 494 rural women in the restricted sample, 221 of the 408 women in established neighborhoods, and 216 of the 370 women in the squatter settlement. The analyses in this paper will be limited to information from the interviews with wives, with the exception of the question on amount of brideprice, which was asked only of husbands.

Variations in the Form of Marriage

Observers of rural Central Thai society have noted several types of marriage, including the following: marriage

with negotiations between the parents and a formal ceremony; elopement; and living together without ceremony. All three patterns were reported by the AMS respondents. The ceremonial marriage best fits the "romantic ideal" of Thai tradition (Riley 1972). According to Kaufman (1960), the ceremonial form typically begins when a young man approaches his parents concerning a girl he wishes to marry. If the parents approve, they hire the services of a go-between who negotiates an agreement with the bride's parents, including the payment of a brideprice. The wedding takes place at the bride's home on a day selected as auspicious by an astrologer. At the wedding ceremony the brideprice is transferred, a sacred string is tied around the couple's wrists, and the family and guests pour holy water over the head and hands of the couple.

But as Riley (1972) notes, the villagers recognize and accept that not everyone can follow the romantic ideal. In particular, when a conventional ceremony is not possible because the parents disapprove of the match or because the cost would be too expensive, the young couple may run away together. This elopment pattern often follows its own elaborate ritual, in which the couple runs away to a nearby village only to return after a short stay of a few days or weeks. Then the young man begs forgiveness from the young woman's parents. The parents nearly always agree to forgive, and typically an abbreviated ceremony is held and a greatly

reduced brideprice is paid. Although the elopement is supposed to take place without the knowledge of the parents, in some cases it may be a convenient device for avoiding a ceremony that the families cannot afford. Yoddumnern (1981) reports that, in one village, elopements occurred more often in years during which a drought or famine occurred.

A third type of marriage is for the couple to simply live together without any rituals or ceremonies. This pattern is only rarely reported in village ethnographies, and it will be shown to be rare in the AMS rural sample. It should be noted, however, that Thai Buddhist tradition contains no prescribed wedding ritual and that the typical ceremonies are Brahmanistic in origin (Riley 1972). Thus, living together is a more or less acceptable way of marrying, especially if the marriage is later registered with the civil authorities. Nevertheless, it does not follow the romantic ideal and does not allow the families to participate in or ratify the marriage.

A second dimension of the marriage process on which there is variation is the degree of involvement of the parents in the choice of spouse. Kaufman (1960) contends that "until very recent times, the majority of marriages were arranged by the parents, with the young couple often seeing each other for the first time on their wedding day" (p. 151). But this speculation is not confirmed by any evidence, and others are skeptical. Lauro (1980) argues that the Chinese

and Indian traditions of arranged marriages, often contracted at childhood, did not survive among the Thai. In any case, by the early 1950s, when Kaufman carried out his field work, marriages arranged without consulting the children were very rare. Piker's (1964) commentary on another Central Plains village is probably more apt:

Theoretically, young people marry only the mate selected by their parents. Actually, although formal parental approval is a necessary prerequisite for legitimate marriage and is generally obtained, there is tremendous variation in the sequences of events leading to marriage. This variation ranges from virtually free choice by youngsters to absolute parental determination. Although young people generally prefer to pick their own spouses, or at least have the right to veto a parental choice, there is some feeling among young ladies that it may in fact be better for the parents to choose for them (pp. 12-13).

In a national survey conducted in 1969 and 1970, married women were asked, "When you married who chose your spouse for you?" Seventy percent of the rural Central Plains women chose the response category "self-selection," 17 percent said "parental selection," and 13 percent said it had been relatives, friends or others. In Bangkok, 55 percent chose self-selection, 37 percent chose parents, and eight percent said others. The author concluded that self-selection was the predominant pattern among Thai women. Moreover, cross-tabulations by cohort suggested declining parental influence over time, though this trend was much more pronounced among urban women than among rural women (Limanonda 1979).²

Marriage forms. Table 1 presents evidence from the AMS on these two dimension of the process of entry into marriage,

ceremony and parental involvement. Panel A displays the responses of women in the three settings to the question, "In your first marriage, by what method did you marry?" In the rural sample, seven out of ten women reported having a traditional marriage ceremony. But two out of ten reported that they eloped, the highest proportion of any of the three settings. Few women--just seven percent--reported that they lived together with their partners without ceremony or elopement. This distribution is consistent with past ethnographic reports (in fact, Kaufman [1960] reported that two out of ten married couples had eloped.) In the urban established areas, on the other hand, elopement was rare (five percent) and living together relatively more common (fourteen percent). Eighty percent, the highest figure for any sample, reported a marriage ceremony. The urban squatter settlement was the most distinctive: only half reported following the ideal of ceremonial marriage. Fully one out of three reported that that they just lived together, and one out of seven reported an elopement.

Table 1. Indicators of Marriage Form, by Stratum

		<u>Stratum</u>	
	Rural	Urban Established Areas	Urban Squatter Settlement
A. "In your first marriage, by what method did marry?"			
		(1)	(2)
1. Marriage ceremony	71	80	51
2. Ran away/eloped	21	5	14
3. Lived together	7	14	34
Other	1	1	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
	(n=494)	(n=408)	(n=370)
B. "How did you make the decision to marry?"			
1. Parents' decision totally	8	10	6
2. Parents' decision with your approval	13	9	6
3. Parents' and your decision	6	4	3
4. Your decision with parents' approval	15	17	11
5. Totally your decision	58	59	72
6. Other's decision (relative, employer, etc.)	1	1	1
	<u>101%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
	(n=483)	(n=401)	(n=359)

Panel B displays the responses to the question, "How did you make the decision to marry?" Five response categories representing various degrees of parental involvement were presented, along with an additional category for those few women who reported that other relatives or employers had arranged their marriages. In all three samples, a majority chose the "totally your decision" category, and in all three the second most common response was "your decision with parents' approval." These responses confirm that in most instances the influence of parents in the choice of spouse is limited. But note that in the rural area and urban established areas there is substantial variation, with about one out of five reporting that the decision was primarily or totally their parents' (response categories one and two). Moreover, here again the squatter settlement is the most distinctive, with substantially lower levels of parental involvement.

We have combined the information from the two questions into a three-category classification of marriage form, displayed in Table 2. Marriage ceremony was dichotomized as "ceremonial" versus "non-ceremonial" (i.e., living together or elopement), and parental involvement was dichotomized as some involvement (categories one through four in Panel B of Table 1) versus no involvement (Category five, "totally your decision").³ In combination, these two dichotomies yield four categories, but nearly all the women who eloped

or lived together with their husbands reported no parental involvement in the choice of spouse. Thus, the three remaining categories were ceremonial marriage with parental involvement in choice of spouse, ceremonial marriage with self choice, and non-ceremonial marriage. As can be seen in Table 2, the modal form was different in each of the three settings. In the rural sample, the ceremonial-parent form, which most closely resembles the romantic ideal, was most common, though there are substantial proportions in all three categories. In contrast, ceremonial-self choice was the most common form in the urban established areas. This became more apparent when the women in the established areas were divided into two groups, those who married in a rural area and then moved to Bangkok (29 percent), on the one hand, and those who migrated to Bangkok at least one year before marrying or who were born in Bangkok. Among the latter group, who married in Bangkok, almost half followed the ceremonial-self choice pattern. But among those who married prior to moving to Bangkok, almost half followed the ceremonial-parental involvement pattern. Among both sub-groups the proportion of non-ceremonial marriages was lower than among the rural sample. Thus, although women in the established areas of Bangkok exercised greater control over spouse choice, they were more likely than rural women to participate with their families in a formal marriage ceremony. We will discuss possible reasons for this pattern below.

Table 2. Form of Marriage, by Stratum and Place of Marriage

<u>Form of Marriage</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Urban Established Areas</u>		<u>Urban Squatter Settlement</u>	
		<u>Married in</u>		<u>Married in</u>	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rural Area</u>	<u>Bangkok</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rural Area</u>
					<u>Bangkok</u>
1. Ceremonial with parental involvement in choice of spouse	41	38	48	35	25
					34
					18
2. Ceremonial with self-choice of spouse	31	44	36	47	28
					26
					29
3. Non-ceremonial (elopement or living together)	28	18	16	19	48
					40
					54
	<u>100%</u> (n=467)	<u>100%</u> (n=369)	<u>100%</u> (n=103)	<u>101%</u> (n=266)	<u>100%</u> (n=329)
					<u>100%</u> (n=142)
					<u>101%</u> (n=187)

Among women in the squatter settlement, the non-ceremonial form, which primarily involved living together, was most common. Among those who married in Bangkok (56 percent), more than half followed this form, and less than one out of five followed the romantic ideal of parental involvement and ceremony. Some of these women had migrated to Bangkok without their parents in order to seek employment, which would account for part of this low level of ritual and parental involvement. But even among those who married in rural areas prior to migrating, only one-third followed the ceremonial-parental involvement form versus 40 percent who married without ceremony. These figures suggest that women who migrated to the urban squatter settlement after marrying tended to be drawn disproportionately from segment of the rural population that did not follow formal rituals in marriage. And those who migrated before marrying (or who were born in the settlement) relied even more heavily on a form of marriage, living together, that avoided all rituals involving parents--even the well-established ritual of eloping, returning, and asking for forgiveness that was common among village youth. Consequently, marriage seems to be much more of a purely individual matter than in the villages or the established areas of Bangkok.

Bride price. Another important component of the ideal marriage process in the payment of brideprice. Indeed, the transfer of brideprice from the parents of the groom to the

parents of the bride is part of the traditional marriage ceremony (Kaufman 1960: Riley 1972). It would be expected, therefore, that the payment of brideprice would be associated with ceremony and parental involvement, which Table 3 shows to be the case.⁴ Consider the rural sample: 35 percent of the non-ceremonial marriages had no brideprice, compared to ten percent of the ceremonial-parental involvement marriages and 12 percent of the ceremonial-self choice marriages. Moreover, within the two ceremonial marriage categories, 56 percent of those with parental involvement in the choice of spouse had a brideprice of 5,000 baht or more compared to 44 percent of those with no parental involvement. (In the late 1970s, one baht was worth approximately U.S. \$0.05.)

Table 3. Brideprice by Form of Marriage, by Stratum

<u>Brideprice</u>	<u>Form of Marriage</u>			
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Ceremonial with Parental Involvement</u>	<u>Ceremonial with Self-choice</u>	<u>Non- ceremonial</u>
A. Rural				
None	17	10	12	35
1-5,000 baht	36	35	45	31
5-10,000 baht	14	21	13	5
More than 10,000 baht	33	35	31	30
	<u>100%</u>	<u>101%</u>	<u>101%</u>	<u>101%</u>
(n)	(248)	(126)	(94)	(78)
B. Urban Established Areas				
None	37	26	30	79
1-5,000 baht	48	55	54	15
5-10,000 baht	5	10	1	3
More than 10,000 baht	10	10	15	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>101%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
(n)	(199)	(82)	(83)	(34)
C. Urban Squatter Settlement				
None	47	20	40	62
1-5,000 baht	46	65	52	34
5-10,000 baht	2	6	4	0
More than 10,000 baht	5	9	4	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
(n)	(196)	(46)	(52)	(98)

This relationship of brideprice to marriage form was also present in the two urban samples. But, overall, the prevalence of brideprice and the amount paid tended to be higher among village women. More than one-third of the marriages among women in urban established neighborhoods and nearly one-half of the marriages among women in the squatter settlement involved no payment of brideprice. Payments of 5,000 baht or more were rare, regardless of marriage form. Thus, the payment of brideprice does not appear to be simply a function of parental wealth or status because the incomes of many of the urban families certainly were comparable or superior to that of the rural families. Rather, brideprice payments would appear to reflect a specific kind of transaction between families in which the groom gains rights to farm part of the land of the bride's family. (The traditional pattern is for the groom to live at least temporarily with the bride's parents and for the youngest daughter in the family to inherit the house and at least some of the family's land). Where this exchange of money for rights in land is absent, as in Bangkok, bride-price is either ignored or a modest payment is made.

Subsequent approval.

The interviews also confirmed the pattern of parental approval noted in ethnographies. All women who reported that the decision to choose their spouse was totally their own asked, "Did your parents approve of your selection of spouse?" The results from all three

samples were very similar, and they are presented in Table 4. About three-fourths of those who, after choosing their own spouse, had a ceremony reported that their parents approved of the choice from the beginning; only about ten percent reported that one or both parents never approved. This is as expected, since the wife's family should be more likely to hold a ceremony if they approved of their potential son-in-law. What is perhaps notable here is that a substantial minority of families went ahead with a marriage ceremony for their daughters despite initial opposition to her choice of husband; this tendency shows once again the limits on parental involvement in Central Thailand. The situation of women who married without ceremony is in sharp contrast. In the rural area, just 27 percent of these women, most of whom eloped, reported approval by their parents from the beginning. But as suggested by ethnographic reports of couples returning home after elopement to beg successfully for forgiveness, 57 percent reported that their parents approved later. Still, about one out of six reported continued opposition from one or both parents. The responses from urban women who married without ceremony, most of whom lived together with their husbands without elopement, are similar. Thus, most couples who elope or move in together soon receive parental acceptance. Since non-ceremonial marriage is a way of circumventing parental disapproval (or at least obviating the need for prior

approval), the low levels of initial approval are understandable. Again, what is perhaps more notable is the behavior of the minority: 27 to 37 percent reported that their parents approved from the beginning and yet they still had no ceremony. This chain of events suggests that elopement or living together may be a way for families lacking in resources to avoid having to mount a ceremony, even when the parents approve of the match.

Table 4. Parents' Approval by Form of Marriage, by Stratum

<u>Parents' Approval</u>	<u>Form of Marriage</u>	
	<u>Ceremonial with Self-choice</u>	<u>Non-ceremonial</u>
<u>A. Rural Stratum</u>		
1. From the beginning	74	27
2. Later	16	57
3. One never approved	4	6
4. Both never approved	6	10
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
(n)	(139)	(116)
<u>B. Urban Established Areas</u>		
1. From the beginning	72	37
2. Later	18	47
3. One never approved	1	2
4. Both never approved	9	15
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
(n)	(147)	(60)
<u>C. Urban Squatter Settlement</u>		
1. From the beginning	74	37
2. Later	17	44
3. One never approved	3	5
4. Both never approved	6	15
	<u>100%</u>	<u>101%</u>
(n)	(87)	(142)

So far we have demonstrated that all three forms of entry into marriage existed in each setting, but that the dominant form differed in each. In order to account for this variation, we turn now to an analysis of the effects of socioeconomic background and education on the type of marriage process a woman experienced.

Socioeconomic Background, Education, and Form of Marriage Rural areas. Let us consider two related explanations for the variation in marriage form: socioeconomic background and education. In the rural areas, the importance of socioeconomic background, which has been implicit in much of the above discussion, is evident in ethnographic accounts of the marriage process. As noted, these accounts suggest that the ideal form of entry into marriage, involving ritual and ceremony, may be adhered to more closely by wealthier families. These families have more at stake in the economic exchange involved in marriage, and they also have a level of status in the village and among relatives that would suffer if proper, public ceremonies were not held. The rituals may be particularly salient to land-owning families, for as noted above the husband in Thai marriages often gains the right to farm at least part of the wife's family's land. Thus, we would expect that, other things being equal, women from wealthier, land-owning families would be more likely to marry with ceremony and with parental involvement in choice of spouse.

Consistent with this hypothesis is Podhisita's (1984, 1985) study of a Northeast Thai village. He found that parents from households that owned the least land were less involved in the choice of their daughters' spouses. The pressure to be highly careful in the choice of spouse, he suggests, may be relatively less when there is less to lose, socially and economically, should there be a mistake. "In Ban Lao," he writes, "the villagers often describe the rich households as 'choosy' and 'demanding' where marriage is concerned" (Podhisita 1984, p. 83).

Turning to education, we will argue that greater educational attainment for women is associated with increased autonomy and reduced parental involvement in the choice of spouse. Caldwell (1982) has argued that the greatest impact of education on fertility is "through the restructuring of family relationships," the weakening of a "family morality" that placed a high value on loyalty and obedience to parents and on economic cooperation. This is so, argues Caldwell, for a number of reasons, the most important of which is the spread of new values stressing the importance of extra-familiarities to the broader economy and to the state. This same restructuring of family relationships should also work to reduce the authority of parents in spouse choice. Schooling also should increase autonomy in mate selection for two additional reasons: it is associated with work outside the home prior to

marriage, which increases the young woman's independence; and 2) it provides a setting in which young people can meet potential spouses without parental supervision. In addition, greater education should increase the likelihood of ceremonial marriage. This is so because elopement is, in part, a form of marriage used by young people who cannot otherwise escape parental control. The increased autonomy that results from education should reduce the need to elope. And educated young adults may be more conscious of following the established, ideal pattern, which still holds considerable status.

Overall, we expect that in the rural areas a woman's education and her family's socioeconomic background will have the following effects. With respect to marriage ceremony, the hypothesized effects are reinforcing: Both greater education and a family background of land ownership or greater prosperity should lead to an increased likelihood of following established marriage ceremonies, rather than eloping or living together. But with respect to spouse choice, the hypothesized effects are contradictory: Although greater education should be associated with increased autonomy in spouse choice, a more prosperous background should be associated with decreased autonomy. This contradiction implies that families that can better educate their daughters by virtue of their greater prosperity may find that one result of this education is

to undercut their influence in the marriage process.

Urban areas. In the urban areas, we expect that the effects of education on ceremony and spouse choice should be similar. But the effects of socioeconomic background are less clear and the AMS data is less-well suited to testing them. First of all, neither the transfer of rights to land nor access to other means of production owned by the family is at issue in most urban marriages. Thus, there is less need to formalize the marital contract through rituals, as the lower levels of brideprice in the urban areas, shown in Table 3, suggested. Nevertheless, status considerations may still lead wealthier families to desire a marriage ceremony and to attempt to match their children with socially suitable spouses.

Second, ethnicity is confounded with socioeconomic background in the urban established areas. It is well-known that a substantial ethnic Chinese population exists in Bangkok. The AMS data suggest that a large proportion of the daughters from families in which the fathers were proprietors of trading businesses were ethnic Chinese.⁵ There is reason to believe that many ethnic Chinese still follow somewhat distinctive marriage patterns (Punyodyana 1971), particularly an aversion to elopement and living together without ceremony.⁶

Third, selective migration from rural areas is a complication. As stated, 29 percent of the women in the urban established areas and 44 percent of the women in the

squatter settlement were married in rural areas prior to moving to Bangkok. Especially in the squatter settlement, other women migrated to Bangkok while still single without their parents; and they obviously would be expected to report less parental involvement.

Estimation. In order to test our hypotheses, we estimated a model in which both education and socioeconomic background were allowed to influence the probability that a woman experienced a particular form of marriage. However, in the absence of a direct question about Chinese ethnicity and given the complexities of selective migration, we have less confidence in the results for the urban samples. Thus, although we will present the results from all three samples for comparison, we will focus our interpretations on the rural sample. The dependent variable was the three-category measure of form of marriage for which data was presented in Table 2. Education was measured as a set of three categories: zero to three grades completed, four; and five or more in the rural and urban established areas; and zero, one to three, and four or more in the urban squatter settlement. In all three strata, the most common attainment was exactly four years completed, reflecting the four-year minimum then required by law.

For each woman in the study, a four-category measure of socioeconomic background was constructed from questions concerning father's occupation at the time of

the woman's birth, father's occupation at the time of the woman's first marriage, and, for rural women, whether the parents owned land at the time of the woman's marriage.⁷ For rural women, the first category was "white collar," consisting mostly of women whose fathers were the proprietors of trading businesses but also women whose fathers were teachers, medical personnel, managers or owners of enterprises such as rice-mills, local administrators (village heads and assistants), and the like. The second category, "landed farmers," consisted of women whose fathers farmed and owned land; this was by far the largest category. The third category, "landless farmers," consisted of women whose fathers were farmers but did not own land at the time of the woman's marriage; and the last category, "laborers," consisted of women whose fathers were carpenters, boat pilots, millers, and other production workers, as well as a group whose fathers were described only as wage laborers.

In the urban samples, the criterion of owning land was dropped. The "white collar" category was defined similarly except that a separate category for "shopkeepers" was added for women whose fathers were the proprietors of wholesale or retail trading businesses. The shopkeeper category alone accounted for 28 percent of the women in the urban established areas, many of whose families lived above their shops in two-or three-story dwellings. And as has

been discussed, many of these shopkeeper families in the established areas appear to be of Chinese ethnicity. The "laborer" category was retained for women whose fathers were carpenters, porters, drivers, or similar kinds of semi-skilled or unskilled wage laborers. Finally, a "farmer" category was constructed to include women from landed or landless farm families of origin; most (though not all) of these women were born outside of Bangkok and subsequently migrated.

We estimated a multinomial logit model of marriage form, in which the log-odds of experiencing a particular form of marriage were expressed as a linear function of socioeconomic background and education.⁸ A multinomial logit model with a three-category dependent variable permits two contrasts among the three categories. There are several ways to express these contrasts; we chose to express the parameters as representing the following two orthogonal contrasts: 1) the log-odds of a ceremonial marriage versus a non-ceremonial marriage; and 2) given that a woman followed one of the ceremonial forms, the conditional log-odds of parental involvement in spouse choice versus self-choice. Thus, the model estimates simultaneously: 1) the effects of socioeconomic background and education net of each other on ceremonial versus non-ceremonial forms of marriage; and 2) the conditional effects of socioeconomic background and education on parental involvement. The

estimated parameters of this model can be used to calculate predicted log-odds, which in turn can be transformed into predicted probabilities for each background-education category. Since these predicted probabilities are much easier to interpret than the logit coefficients, we have presented them in Tables 5, 6, and 7 for the rural, urban established areas, and squatter settlement samples, respectively. The multinomial logit estimates on which these tables are based are presented in Appendix Table 1.

Results. Consider first the predicted probabilities for the rural sample displayed in Table 5. The best fitting model included the effects of both socioeconomic background and education on marriage form; neither effect could be deleted without worsening the fit. The first set of predicted probabilities (panel A) shows that socioeconomic background and education each have an effect on the likelihood of ceremonial marriage. For example, among women with exactly four years of schooling (the dominant category), those from laborer families had a predicted probability of only .37 of having a ceremonial marriage, compared to .59 for those with landless farm background, .57 for those with landed farm backgrounds, and .53 for those with white collar backgrounds. Thus, controlling for education, the non-ceremonial, elopement pattern of marriage was much more common among the families of laborers than among families that had access to land (either through

tenancy or ownership or to better-paying employment. As for the effects of education, consider women from families in the dominant landed farmer category. Those who completed five or more years of schooling had a predicted probability of .78 of having a ceremonial marriage, substantially higher than the probability of .57 among those with four grades of school completed, and nearly twice the probability of .43 among those with three or fewer grades completed. Clearly, the more education a woman had, the more likely was a ceremonial marriage.

Table 5. Predicted Probabilities of Forms of Marriage, for Rural Women

A. Unconditional probabilities of having a ceremonial marriage versus a non-ceremonial marriage.

<u>Socioeconomic Background</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Predicted Probability of Ceremonial Marriage</u>
white collar	5 or more	.75
white collar	4	.53
white collar	0-3	.39
landed farmer	5 or more	.78
landed farmer	4	.57
landed farmer	0-3	.43
landless farmer	5 or more	.79
landless farmer	4	.59
landless farmer	0-3	.45
laborer	5 or more	.61
laborer	4	.37
laborer	0-3	.25

B. Probabilities of parental involvement versus self-choice of spouse, conditional on the occurrence of a ceremonial marriage.

<u>Socioeconomic Background</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Predicted Probability of Ceremonial Marriage</u>
white collar	5 or more	.45
white collar	4	.64
white collar	0-3	.75
landed farmer	5 or more	.41
landed farmer	4	.60
landed farmer	0-3	.72
landless farmer	5 or more	.04
landless farmer	4	.40
landless farmer	0-3	.53
laborer	5 or more	.36
laborer	4	.55
laborer	0-3	.68

Source: Appendix Table 1.

Turning to panel B of Table 5, we can examine the predicted probability of parental involvement in spouse choice, given that a ceremonial marriage occurred. Again looking first at women with four grades of school completed, those from white collar or landed farmer backgrounds had the highest probabilities of parental involvement (.64 and .60, respectively). Those from landless farmer backgrounds had a substantially lower probability of (.40), and those from laborer backgrounds were in-between (.55). In general, then, women from more prosperous socioeconomic backgrounds reported more parental involvement.

But Panel B also shows the strong, cross-cutting effect of education. For example, consider again women from landed farmer backgrounds. The more education they had, the less likely they were to involve their parents in their choice of a husband: the predicted probabilities were .72 for those with 0-3 grades completed compared to only .41 for those with five or more grades completed. Since high education was more common among daughters from prosperous families (31 percent of women from white collar families had five or more years of schooling, compared to eight, six, and seven percent of those from landed farmer, landless farmer, and laborer families, respectively), the very families that had the greatest incentive to be "choosy" and "demanding" were educating their daughters in ways that produced (or at least reflected) a greater

independence in the matter of spouse choice. As a result, according to Panel B, a white collar family whose daughter had completed five or more grades of school was less likely to be involved in her choice of spouse than was a landless farmer family whose daughter had completed fewer than four years of school (.45 compared to .53).

In sum, the rural findings seem quite consistent with the hypotheses advanced above. They show that socioeconomic background and education have effects on the marriage process that are sometimes reinforcing and sometimes cross-cutting. Women from families with access to land or white collar jobs were more likely to marry ceremonially, as were women who had more education. A family's access to land or a white collar position also increased the likelihood of parental involvement for rural women, but a higher level of education decreased the likelihood of parental involvement.

In the urban established areas, the effects of education are the same as in the villages, as Table 6 shows. More education was associated with more ceremonial marriages but less parental involvement in spouse choice. But the effects of socioeconomic background, if any, appear to be confounded with ethnicity: shopkeeper families, many of whom were of chinese origin, had the highest levels of ceremonial marriage and parental involvement.

Table 6. Predicted Probabilities of Forms of Marriage, for Women in the Urban Established Areas

- A. Unconditional probabilities of having a ceremonial marriage versus a non-ceremonial marriage.

<u>Socioeconomic Background</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Predicted Probability of Ceremonial Marriage</u>
white collar	5 or more	.71
white collar	4	.52
white collar	0-3	.49
shopkeeper	5 or more	.87
shopkeeper	4	.76
shopkeeper	0-3	.73
farmer	5 or more	.71
farmer	4	.52
farmer	0-3	.48
laborer	5 or more	.78
laborer	4	.62
laborer	0-3	.57

- B. Probabilities of parental involvement versus self-choice of spouse, conditional on the occurrence of a ceremonial marriage.

<u>Socioeconomic Background</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Predicted Probability of Ceremonial Marriage</u>
white collar	5 or more	.33
white collar	4	.35
white collar	0-3	.43
shopkeeper	5 or more	.54
shopkeeper	4	.56
shopkeeper	0-3	.65
farmer	5 or more	.42
farmer	4	.44
farmer	0-3	.52
laborer	5 or more	.38
laborer	4	.40
laborer	0-3	.48

Source: Appendix Table 1.

Table 7. Predicted Probabilities of Forms of Marriage, for Women in the Urban Squatter Settlement

A. Unconditional probabilities of having a ceremonial marriage versus a non-ceremonial marriage.

<u>socioeconomic Background</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Predicted Probability of Ceremonial Marriage</u>
white collar	4 or more	.49
white collar	0-3	.35
white collar	none	.44
shopkeeper	4 or more	.57
shopkeeper	0-3	.42
shopkeeper	none	.51
farmer	4 or more	.41
farmer	0-3	.28
farmer	none	.36
laborer	4 or more	.40
laborer	0-3	.27
laborer	none	.32

B. Probabilities of parental involvement versus self-choice of spouse, conditional on the occurrence of a ceremonial marriage.

<u>Socioeconomic Background</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>predicted Probability of Ceremonial Marriage</u>
white collar	4 or more	.36
white collar	0-3	.31
white collar	none	.47
shopkeeper	4 or more	.47
shopkeeper	0-3	.42
shopkeeper	none	.58
farmer	4 or more	.49
farmer	0-3	.44
farmer	none	.61
laborer	4 or more	.45
laborer	0-3	.27
laborer	none	.43

Source: Appendix Table 1.

The results for the urban squatter settlement were weaker. Education had no significant effect on the form of marriage, once class background was taken into account. Nevertheless, for comparative purposes we have calculated and presented in Table 7 predicted probabilities for the model that included the effects of class background and education. As in the urban established areas, shopkeeper families had higher levels of ceremonial marriage, but the differences were smaller. Our sense is that the findings in Table 7 are weaker because family involvement is generally low for women in this relatively impoverished settlement. Recall from Table 1 that about half of these women married non-ceremonially, with one-third reporting that they just "lived together" with their husbands. Only five percent had more than four years of schooling, and 17 percent had not completed any grades of school. Many were migrants, some of whom left their parents in their villages. The sample therefore shows less variation in marriage patterns by socioeconomic background and education because most of its members were less likely, for reasons of poverty, low education, and migration, to be subject to parental control. The sources of variation within the squatter settlement are modest compared to the substantial differences in the marriage process between women from the settlement and women from the established areas of Bangkok.

Discussion

The data from the Asian Marriage Survey in Central Thailand clearly establish that several different forms of the process of entry into marriage can co-exist in a contemporary developing society both within and across different social settings. In each of the three samples--villages, established areas in Bangkok, and a squatter settlement in Bangkok--less than half of the women reported following the form that comes closest to the romantic ideal, namely parental involvement in the choice of spouse followed by a wedding ceremony. Even in the villages; 58 percent of the women reported that the choice of spouse was totally theirs. And more than one-fourth married without ceremony, mostly by eloping with a young man without the explicit knowledge and consent of their parents. In the urban established areas ceremonial marriage was more prevalent than in the villages, but more of the urban women--who were better educated, on average--chose their spouses by themselves. The urban squatter settlement stood in sharp contrast to the established urban areas and the villages. About half the women married without ceremony, with most reporting that they just lived together with their husbands. All three forms of marriage--ceremonial with parental involvement, ceremonial with self choice, and non-ceremonial--were to be found among substantial number of women in each setting.

Thus, the patterns in the Thai data contradict the notion that developing societies begin with a single, dominant "traditional" form of marriage and progress to a single, dominant "modern" form. To be sure, some observers who hold the widely-debated position that Thailand is a "loosely structured" society (Embry 1950: Evers 1969) might argue that Thai family patterns are exceptionally diverse. But diverse patterns of marriage have been reported in many developing nations: consider for example, the large proportion of consensual and visiting unions in Caribbean societies and elsewhere in Latin America (Blake 1961, Quilodran 1985). And as noted above, even in the supposedly more tightly-structured East Asian societies, there is evidence that alternatives to the ideal patterns existed (Wolf and Huang 1980).

Returning to the question with which this article began, what can be said about how the process of entry into marriage changes as development occurs? Our answers must be tentative because the Thai data are cross-sectional and because some assumptions must be made about the future course of development. Specifically, we assume that further development and internal migration in Central Thailand will bring an increase in the population of both the relatively prosperous established areas of Bangkok and the relatively impoverished urban squatter settlements. If so, we expect

a continuing and perhaps widening split between the marriage patterns that predominate among families in these two settings. For it appears that the prevalence of non-ceremonial forms such as elopement and living together is associated with families that have the least amount of economic resources and social status. Recall that even in the village sample, women whose fathers were laborers were much more likely to marry by elopement or other non-ceremonial means. And women from the squatter settlement, who had a higher proportion of laborer backgrounds and a lower proportion of white collar and shopkeeper backgrounds than did urban women from established areas, had much higher reported levels of marrying by just living together.

Consequently, among rural families with access to land through ownership or tenancy, the existence of rituals such as brideprice and a marriage ceremony may remain important for reasons of economic exchange and social prestige. Similarly, for shopkeeper families in Bangkok, a ceremony may remain important for transferring rights to the family enterprise or because of the persistence of Chinese traditions. And for urban white collar families, ceremonies may remain important due to status considerations.⁹ It is among poorer families--villagers who do not have access to land, city dwellers who do not have access to steady, contractual employment--that the economic and status considerations that would

lead to a marriage ceremony are weakest. If population pressures, the consolidation of land holdings, or patterns of urban economic development lead to continued growth of this latter group, then differences in marriage patterns within each setting and across settings could become more pronounced. Differences in age at marriage would also be maintained: In the villages and the urban established areas, women who had a marriage ceremony married about two years later than those who did not.¹⁰ And to the extent that marriage timing affects the number of children ever born, fertility differentials would also be maintained.

So far in this section we have discussed the differences between families according to socioeconomic background. The Thai data also suggest the possibility of a growing tension concerning marriage patterns within families. Our findings suggest that if families become more prosperous and then use some of their resources to better educate their daughters, as seems likely, two contradictory developments may occur: the families may have a greater incentive to participate in the marriage process in order to make sure that their daughters marry a suitable young man, but the daughters may insist on choosing their own spouses. Put somewhat differently, an increase in parental resources appears to increase the likelihood of parental involvement in the marriage process, but the associated increase in the personal resources of

daughters appears to decrease the likelihood of parental involvement. How this source of tension will be resolved remains to be seen. One could infer from Caldwell's (1982) theory that the clash of interests over spouse choice is part of a broader transformation of family relationships that occurs with the spread of mass education and capitalist production. As these institutions continue to spread, one might predict that young people's autonomy in spouse choice, as in fertility decisions and other family matters, will increase.

Finally, the large differences in educational levels, economic resources, and marriage patterns between the established areas of Bangkok and the squatter settlement remind us that the process of family change is not necessarily uniform in its outcomes. Thus, a last lesson to be drawn from this analysis is that theories of cross-national convergence in family patterns (Goode 1963, Inkeles 1980) are limited by their failure to consider the growth and persistence of populations in squatter settlements and, more generally, in the informal economic sector of contemporary developing countries. To be sure, there are insights to be gained from convergence theory concerning the emerging behavior of better-off families. In an Asian context, convergence theory would predict a rising age at marriage, greater autonomy for children in spouse choice, a decreasing prevalence of brideprice, and a greater

proportion experiencing formal, ceremonial marriage.¹¹ In general, family patterns in the established areas of Bangkok support these predictions when compared to farm families in the Central Plains. But among the families of landless laborers in the villages and the growing number of families of non-contractual laborers in the squatter settlements, family patterns seem to be taking a quite different turn. To be sure, the prevalence of brideprice is low and autonomy for children in spouse choice is substantial. But marriage age remains relatively low; and living together without ceremony or parental involvement is common. Indeed, among the residents of slum Klong Toey--particularly those who were born in Bangkok or who migrated before marrying--living together without parental involvement in spouse choice is the most common form of marriage. If the population in the squatter settlements of cities in developing countries continues to expand, then persistent differences, even divergence, may be as appropriate a way to characterize trends in family patterns as is convergence; and diversity may be a better summary descriptor of the current situation than uniformity.

Footnotes

1. See footnote five below.
2. Cross-tabulations of the AMS data by cohort also show modest declines in parental influence for rural women and for women in the squatter settlement, but no decline for women in the urban established areas.
3. The very small number of women who reported that other relatives, employers, or friends had arranged their marriage were included in the "parental involvement" group.
4. Recall that information about brideprice is available only for the subset of women whose husbands were interviewed.
5. In the absence of a direct question on ethnicity, we cannot tell precisely what proportion of the urban women in the AMS are ethnic Chinese. But 28 percent of the women in the established areas said either that they followed "Chinese rituals" at marriage or that one or both of their parents were born in china, as opposed to only four percent of the women in the squatter settlement and two percent of the rural women. These are minimum estimates because they ignore ethnic Chinese who did not follow Chinese rituals or were the second (or subsequent) generation children of immigrants. Sixty percent of the women in the established areas

who could be identified as Chinese were from families in which the fathers were proprietors of trading businesses, which is consistent with the heavy concentration of ethnic Chinese in trading and marketing throughout Southeast Asia.

6. One woman told an interviewer, "Most Chinese cut off their children who elope. They will neglect them, pay no attention to them." Of the 46 women in established areas who said that a parent was born in China, only three reported a non-ceremonial marriage.
7. Potter (1976) describes the social and economic levels of residents of a Northern Thai village as heavily dependent upon access to land. He defines five groups: landlord families, who are supported by land rent and associated activities such as rice-mills; rich peasants, who work their own substantial farms and may own enough to rent land to others; middle peasants, who own just enough land to be fairly self-sufficient; poor peasants, who must supplement their farm income with labor for others; and landless laborers, who neither own nor rent land and who must work for wages for others. In addition, Potter found a small number of villagers engaged full-time in non-agricultural activities. Unfortunately, we cannot classify the AMS rural respondents' families in this much detail because no information was obtained on whether the family rented

(or rented out) land at the time for the woman's marriage or how much land they owned.

8. The models were estimated by maximum **likelihood** methods. Small cell sizes and incomplete information prevented us from expanding the list of independent variables. As noted, we had no direct measure of Chinese ethnicity, and the indirect measure based on Chinese rituals at marriage was inappropriate since, by definition, women who eloped or lived together did not follow Chinese rituals. The inclusion of a dichotomous variable measuring whether a woman now living in the urban strata married in a rural area or in Bangkok was investigated, but some cell sizes became too small. Nevertheless, inspection of cross-tabulations suggested that the relationships among marriage form, socioeconomic background, and education were similar for urban women who married in Bangkok versus those who married in rural areas prior to migrating.
9. In semi-structured interviews, highly-educated women in Bangkok talked of their marriage ceremonies as being important for the parents, who had to invite friends and relatives to a proper ceremony or lose face.
10. The mean ages at marriage for each sample, by marriage form, were as follows: 1) Rural: ceremonial 22.3, non-ceremonial 20.6, total 21.9; 2) Urban established areas: ceremonial 22.9, non-ceremonial 21.3, total

22.6; 3) Urban squatter settlement: ceremonial 20.1, non-ceremonial 20.2, total 20.2.

11. Although Goode (1982) predicts a continued increase in the number of couples who live together outside a legal union in Western developed countries, he argues that in developing countries in which many poor couples have lived outside legal unions, such as contemporary Latin America and the Caribbean, "the trend will be in the opposite direction: toward less unmarried cohabitation" (p.185).

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Appendix Table 1. Multinomial Logit Models of Marriage Form, as a Function of Socioeconomic Background and Education, by Stratum

Parameter	Rural				
	Contrast 1: Log-odds of Ceremonial Marriage Versus Non-Ceremonial Marriage		Contrast 2: Conditional Log-odd of Parental Involvement versus Self Choice, Given that a Ceremonial Marriage Occurred		n
	coefficient	t-statistic	coefficient	t-statistic	
Constant	.195	1.39	.115	0.55	450
Socioeconomic Background-rural					
white collar	.063	-	.388	-	68
landed farmer	.216	1.87	.226	1.22	283
landless farmer	.301	1.54	-.610	2.06	43
laborer	-.580	3.65	-.004	0.01	56
Socioeconomic Background-urban					
white collar	-	-	-	-	-
shopkeeper	-	-	-	-	-
farmer	-	-	-	-	-
laborer	-	-	-	-	-
Education-rural and urban established areas					
0-3 grades of school completed	-.706	-	.618	-	40
4	-.139	0.97	.084	0.41	357
5 or more	.845	3.63	-.702	2.70	53
Education-squatter settlement					
none	-	-	-	-	-
0-3 grades of school completed	-	-	-	-	-
4 or more	-	-	-	-	-
Likelihood Ratio					
Chi-squared	8.27				
Degrees of Freedom	12				
p	.764				
n	450				

Appendix Table 1. Cont.

Parameter	Urban Established Areas				
	Contrast 1: Log-odds of Ceremonial Marriage Versus Non-Ceremonial Marriage		Contrast 2: Conditional Log-odds of Parental Involvement versus Self Choice of spouse, Given that a Ceremonial Marriage Occurred		
	Coefficient	t-statistic	coefficient	t-statistic	n
Constant	.663	5.56	-.145	1.07	362
Socioeconomic Background-rural					
white collar	-	-	-	-	-
landed farmer	-	-	-	-	-
landless farmer	-	-	-	-	-
laborer	-	-	-	-	-
Socioeconomic Background-urban					
white collar	-.366	1.72	-.356	1.42	68
shopkeeper	.692	3.23	.508	2.69	108
farmer	-.36	2.38	.004	0.02	119
laborer	.024	-	-.156	-	67
Education-rural and urban established areas					
0-3 grades of school completed	-.365	-	.233	-	66
4	-.217	1.59	-.114	0.68	186
5 or more	.582	2.87	-.199	1.03	110
Education-squatter settlement					
none	-	-	-	-	-
0-3 grades of school completed	-	-	-	-	-
4 or more	-	-	-	-	-
Likelihood Ratio					
Chi-squared	9.13				
Degrees of Freedom	12				
p	.692				
n	362				

Appendix Table 1. Cont.

Urban Squatter Settlement					
Parameter	Contrast 1: Log-odds of Ceremonial Marriage Versus Non-Ceremonial Marriage		Contrast 2: Conditional Log-odds of parental Involvement versus Self Choice of Spouse, Given that a Ceremonial Marriage Occurred		n
	<u>coefficient</u>	<u>t-statistic</u>	<u>coefficient</u>	<u>t-statistic</u>	
Constant	-.404	3.57	-.152	.117	327
Socioeconomic Background-rural					
white collar	-	-	-	-	-
landed farmer	-	-	-	-	-
landless farmer	-	-	-	-	-
laborer	-	-	-	-	-
Socioeconomic Background-urban					
white collar	.10	0.49	-.346	0.92	32
shopkeeper	.412	2.12	.108	0.33	38
farmer	-.233	1.90	.200	0.85	167
laborer	-.279	-	.038	-	92
Education-rural and urban established areas					
0-3 grades of school completed	-	-	-	-	-
4	-	-	-	-	-
5 or more	-	-	-	-	-
Education-squatter settlement					
none	.05	-	.382	-	53
0-3 grades of school completed	-.322	2.14	-.294	0.84	49
4 or more	.272	2.47	-.088	0.36	225
Likelihood Ratio					
Chi-squared	10.8				
Degrees of Freedom	12				
p	.547				
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