SPEED, VIOLENCE AND SEX: MARGINALITY, IDENTITY AND ROAD TRAFFIC INJURIES AMONG YOUNG MOTORCYCLISTS

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Thesis

Entitled

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SPEED, VIOLENCE AND SEX: MARGINALITY, IDENTITY AND ROAD TRAFFIC INJURIES AMONG YOUNG MOTORCYCLISTS

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to study the world of young motorcyclists and their severe road traffic injuries. The methods for data collection were interviews and entering into the world of young motorcyclists by ethnographic techniques for three years. This study attempts to understand motorcycle fetishism among teenagers in a provincial town of eastern Thailand. The study suggests that a motorcycle as a commodity is endowed with values, meanings, and utilities far more than its transportation function. Social meanings of motorcycles change in relation to the changing ages and phases in a teenager's life. As a vehicle for everyday errands and helping out parents, or for traveling to school in a district town, motorcycles assume a new meaning as teenagers become owners. Attitudes to motorcycles change from a human to object relationship to an ownership between two beings in which care, commitment, and deep emotional ties connect the teenager to his or her "vehicle". A motorcycle in the teenager's world is more than just a commodity, it is an object of fetishism. This obsessive affection could be viewed as the highest form of consumption, a consumption that needs to be taken care of, not unlike a living thing.

The severe road traffic injuries are a reflection of Thai society. It is not a problem of skill but a problem related with teenagers' lifestyle today and how they express their identities, which is a result of consumerism in society. The motorcycle has led them into another world, where they meet new people and make more friends. The bike was the key to this world and thus became a status symbol to be cherished. They are good at nothing; nothing they could be proud of. The motorcycle allows them to have social space. The vehicle is the gateway to many problems such as discontinued study, drugs, street violence and crime as well as free unprotected sex. The motorcycle is the cause that leads the kids to other problems. It is a large issue that people overlook. It links with social violence and crime. Actually, there is a chain of problems. If policy makers understand the whole problem clearly, they may see a new way to solve it. Otherwise it will just continue to loop. This study sheds light on the fact that road traffic accidents and related-injuries among young motorcyclists are complex social problems that require a paradigm shift in understanding and solving.

KEY WORDS: MOTORCYCLE / THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THINGS / TEENAGERS / MATERIAL FETISHISM / ROAD TRAFFIC INJURY / IDENTITY/ SOCIAL VIOLENCE / SPEED / MARGINALITY

190 pp.

ซิ่ง ซ่า เซ็ก: ภาวะชายขอบ อัตลักษณ์ และการบาดเจ็บจากอุบัติเหตุจราจรในกลุ่มผู้ขับขี่รถมอเตอร์ไซค์วัยรุ่น (SPEED, VIOLENCE AND SEX: MARGINALITY, IDENTITY AND ROAD TRAFFIC INJURIES AMONG YOUNG MOTORCYCLISTS)

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บทคัดย่อ

งานวิจัยนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อทำความเข้าใจโลกของผู้ขับขี่รถมอเตอร์ไซค์วัยรุ่นที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการบาดเจ็บรุนแรงจากการเกิดอุบัติเหตุจราจรวิธีการศึกษาวิจัยใช้เทคนิคการสัมภาษณ์และการศึกษาทางชาติพันธุ์-วรรณาโดยใช้เวลาอยู่ในพื้นที่วิจัยเป็นเวลาสามปีเพื่อทำความเข้าใจความหลงใหลคลั่งไคล้รถมอเตอร์ไซค์ของเด็กวัยรุ่นในชุมชนแห่งหนึ่งในภาคตะวันออกในประเทศไทย ผลการศึกษาพบว่ามอเตอร์ไซค์ซึ่งถูกผลิตขึ้นเป็นสินค้านั้นมีคุณค่าความหมายและประโยชน์ใช้สอยที่เป็นมากกว่าพาหนะเพื่อการขับขี่ มอเตอร์ไซค์ในชีวิตของเด็กวัยรุ่นมีความหมายเปลี่ยนแปลงไปตามช่วงชีวิต(วัย)ของพวกเขา เริ่มต้นจากการเป็นพาหนะที่พ่อแม่มีไว้ให้ใช้เพื่อช่วยแบ่งเบาภาระการจับจ่ายใช้สอยในชุมชนและเพื่อการเดินทางไปเรียนหนังสือในตัวอำเภอ จนต่อเมื่อเด็กเหล่านี้ได้เป็นเจ้าของรถมอเตอร์ไซค์ที่สมบูรณ์ ความหมายของมอเตอร์ไซค์ได้เปลี่ยนแปลงไปจากความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างคนกับวัตถุมาเป็นความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างชีวิตสองชีวิตที่ต้องดูแลเอาใจใส่ มีความผูกพันทางอารมณ์ ความรู้สึกอย่างลึกซึ้งแนบแน่น และอยู่เคียงข้างผูกพันกันเหมือนชีวิตสองชีวิต มอเตอร์ไซค์ในโลกของวัยรุ่นจึงเป็นมากกว่าสินค้า แต่เป็นวัตถุแห่งความหลงใหลคลั่งไคล้ ซึ่งเป็นรูปแบบสูงสุดของการบริโภคที่ได้ ทำให้วัตถุกลายเป็นสิ่งที่ต้องเอาใจใส่ไม่ต่างไปจากสิ่งมีชีวิตการบาดเจ็บรุนแรงจากการเกิดอุบัติเหตุไม่ใช่เป็นเพียงปัญหาด้านทักษะหากแต่สะท้อนภาพสังคมไทย เป็นปัญหาที่เกี่ยวข้องกับวิถีการดำเนินชีวิตประจำวันของวัยรุ่น ความต้องการแสดงอัตลักษณ์อันเป็นผลมาจากลัทธิบริโภคนิยม มอเตอร์ไซค์เป็นเครื่องมือในการเปิดโลกและเป็นสิ่งที่แสดงสัญญะของสถานะทางสังคม เป็นสิ่งที่มีคุณค่าและช่วยให้พวกเขามีพื้นที่ทางสังคมกว้างขวางยิ่งขึ้น อย่างไรก็ตาม มอเตอร์ไซค์กลายเป็นสิ่งที่นำพวกเขาไปสู่ปัญหาอื่นๆอีกมากมายที่คนส่วนใหญ่คาดไม่ถึง อาทิเช่น การไม่ประสบความสำเร็จในการเรียน การใช้ยาเสพติด การกระทำรุนแรง และการก่ออาชญากรรมต่างๆ รวมถึงการมีเพศสัมพันธ์ที่ไม่ปลอดภัย ปัญหาต่างๆเหล่านี้ล้วนมีความเกี่ยวข้องเชื่อมโยงกัน ดังนั้นผู้ที่มีส่วนเกี่ยวข้องในการกำหนดนโยบายจึงควรทำความเข้าใจความเกี่ยวข้องระหว่างกันของปัญหาดังกล่าวอย่างละเอียดลึกซึ้งรอบด้านก่อนที่จะกำหนดนโยบายหรือมาตรการต่างๆที่เกี่ยวข้องในการแก้ไขปัญหาการศึกษานี้แสดงให้เห็นความจริงที่ว่าอุบัติเหตุจราจรที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการบาดเจ็บในกลุ่มผู้ขับขี่รถมอเตอร์ไซค์วัยรุ่นเป็นปัญหาสังคมที่มีความซับซ้อนและมีความจำเป็นต้องปรับเปลี่ยนกระบวนทัศน์เพื่อทำความเข้าใจและแก้ไขปัญหา
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Long holidays like New Year's days or Songkran's days are periods to which all people look forward with a hope to stay and do activities with other family members happily. Nevertheless, during these periods, some groups of people have to work under stress and worry about road traffic injury and death rate, expecting that the rate during the periods, officially announced as dangerous periods, will not exceed the target rate.

3 Mo 2 Kho 1 Ro (safety ride a motorcycle, wear a helmet, don't drive drunk, license driving, wear safety belt, control speed) Measures were intended to be strictly enforced by officers concerned to control the death rate so that it will not exceed the target rate determined by the central agency.

"I have a lot of stress. They (motorcyclists) don't love themselves and there is no reason why I'll care for them," said an officer working on road safety.

Amidst the strict surveillance and spending a great deal of budget on controlling the road traffic death and injury rate during periods officially determined as dangerous periods, which always fall in the periods of national good traditions and cultures, another coincident picture is the happiness among teenage motorcyclists who have a risky riding style, who need to be strictly controlled through legal measures.

"During long holidays, authorities concerned will work hard. It is informed that a provincial governor may be shifted if the number of deaths and injuries in his province can't be restricted."

Songkran Festival is a period in which motorcycles play a role in teenagers' social activities. In 2005, Keng, a 17-year-old boy who lived in Ban Sang Gang,

celebrated his birthday, which was on Songkran Day. He spent his money, which he had earned from keeping watch on vehicles of gamblers at a casino within his village, buying liquor for his friends. He and his friends drank and enjoyed splashing water to other people at Ban Sang Canal and waving their hands to stop passing cars to powder the passengers. The area was officially identified as a risk area of road accidents because road construction in the area did not conform to engineering standards, thus bringing about many road accidents. Music from the stereo they put on the roadside increased their fun. Later, they rode their motorcycle as a group to the ditch in front of the Provincial Hall, a place where a lot of teenagers come to with their motorcycles and pick-ups to splash water.

The picture of motorcyclists with flushed faces and necks and alcohol breath yielding to greet people, singing and speeding their motorcycle with joy was completely different from that of ideal motorcyclists for government officers and volunteers that were seriously working during these dangerous periods.

District, provincial and national meetings aimed at controlling the rate of injuries and deaths due to road accidents were held. It is very difficult for the officers to give their superiors explanations as to why the road traffic death and injury rate in their areas of responsibility exceeds the target and that it does not result from their deficiency. An officer said, “Will our province be announced as the most terrible province (having the highest road traffic injury and death rate) this year?”[1]

Why do teenagers prefer riding motorcycles? Why do they have risky riding styles? Why doesn’t road traffic death and injury rate among teenagers satisfactorily increase despite strict enforcement of legal measures?

Apart from a conflict in term of feeling between these 2 groups, which coincides in the same context, in which the first group identified as the risk group, teenage motorcyclists, is happy whist another group, government officers and volunteers, viewed as unhappy looks tense and alert, a conflict between both groups is that the emotional state of the latter group lasts for a short period, that is, during long holidays only whereas risky riding of the teenagers occur daily as their normal lifestyle.

[1] Each year, the road traffic injury and death rate of each province will be is compared to the target rate to announce which province has the best and poorest operation on road safety.

'Motorcycles play an important role in social activities of teenagers' is my primary remark while I was carrying a field survey. During the first period of living in the community, I saw teenagers riding a motorcycle alone and in group during their free time, e.g. in the evening after finishing class, nighttime or holidays or during when there were concerts and Red Cross Fair.

On Saturday during the period of End of Buddhist Lent Day, the teenagers joined social activities with using their motorcycles. They showed off their motorcycle decorated the day before and rode it with a high speed and power, which was exciting and challenging for them.

In the activities, the power of motorcycles' engine was the most important, followed by its beauty and attractiveness. The motorcycles to show off had to be powerful and speedy and able to run for a long distance[2] as their destination was a waterfall located in another province.

The night before, they gathered at motorcycles shops or some places named according to the places or identity of the gang members. At dawn, they rode out their motorcycles. Various small motorcycle gangs were formed to be a big motorcycle gang and their destination was a big motorcycle shop. The image of the caravan attracted other teenagers and aroused them to join with them.

"Riding and racing are fun." said Sukham, a member of Bang Phra Gang. In some parts of the route, they found another big teenager gang. For them, defying another gang to take part in motorcycle racing was a challenge in their trip. Their fun and excitement also came from escaping police officers. Normally, a group of motorcyclists would be the leading group surveying the possibility of racing and escape routes and then phoned or rode to tell their friends behind about what to do.

There were few motorcycles that had no illegal articles. Apart from motorcycles, the riders themselves did not conform to the laws, e.g. they did not carry a driving license, did not wear a helmet, rode at an excessive speed or drank alcohol during riding a motorcycle.

Stories of their journey, including wining motorcycle racings with another gang coming from another area, showing superior power, resistance against police,

[2] Normally, the modified motorcycle will not able to run in a long distance due to low resistance.

incitement of police's anger and defiance of police were proudly narrated within their gang, which stimulated other teenagers to join these activities.

A certain period after spending my life in the field, I realized that consideration of the phenomena of road traffic injury based on epidemiology without linking with the lifestyles and socio-cultural context of the motorcyclists may cause failures of strategies and measures concerning reduction of death and injury rate among them. I wonder if it is possible to suggest that road traffic injury and death is a phenomenon that has a connection with complex social, market, family, school, community and even political and administration system or that injury and death due to road accidents are a reflection of relations of operation of these social systems. Based on the above views, the problem will not be only an engineering problem but also a social problem.

1.1 Significance of the Problem

In Thai society, road traffic injury and death among motorcycles has made some roads officially defined as risk areas, which require strict surveillance. Supposing that motorcycle riding is a space, which is based upon concepts and actions, groups of people involved in the space compete for taking their concepts and actions to be their practice guideline, consisting of government, markets, families, communities and riders.

Thai government has stipulated "Road Accident" as a national agenda and established Road Safety Center to enforce relevant measures principally based on 6E Strategies[3] with an aim to control motorcycle riding strictly, especially in the group of teenage motorcyclists, who are identified as a risk group.

Solutions to the problem of road traffic injury and death have been focused on exercising state authority upon individuals that are riders with an attempt to change and control riding behavior through legal measures, which is one of the 6E Strategies. While the government tries to force, control and restrict the space for motorcycle

[3] In 2004, the Thai government stipulated 5 strategies, including law-enforcement, engineering, emergency medical service, education and evaluation, empowerment. Enforcement of the strategies is obvious during long holidays but lacks continuity.

riding among teenagers, marketing enterprises dealing with manufacture, distribution and modification of motorcycles as a unit of the system related to road accidents take part in competing for the space through marketing strategies in accordance with mechanisms of capitalist industry.

According to Paibul Suriyawongpaisal (2006, p.79), the rate of road accidents for the past 20 years has not been constant but has varied to economic condition. During economic regression, the rate of road accidents will decline but during economic boom, it will increase.

Economic growth, urbanization and industrialization lead to consumerism, of which one of the most concrete examples is an increase in the number of teenagers owning motorcycles and motorcycle shops and sale promotion strategies offering discount, exchange and gifts to stimulate the total sales and expand consumer groups, from middle-class people to low-class people through, e.g. loan and installment system. Discourses in advertisements and sales promotion strategies are concrete examples manifesting that the major target group of motorcycle products at the present time is teenagers and the sales promotion strategies manifest that the targeted consumers are low-class people or low-middle class people.

Whist the marketing enterprises try to launch their products into the world of teenagers, road accidents are rated as one of the major death causes that are non-communicable diseases among Thai people, which kill over 13,000 people a year. In 2003, there were 22 road victims per a population of 100,000, which led to an economic loss to at least a hundred thousand million baht a year. In 2002, the total economic loss due to road accident reached 115,932 million baht, accounting for 2.1% of the GPD and seriously injured victims were mostly male motorcyclists aged between 15 and 24 (Siriwan Phitthayarangsarit, 2006, p.10).

Despite implementation of 6E strategies, the road traffic death and injury still increase in parallel with an increase in the total sales of motorcycles and the number of teenagers who are motorcycle owners and riders. The information leads to an assumption that the mechanism that the government has employed to compete for space for motorcycle riding among teenagers through authorities to control individuals according to 6E strategies may not be sufficiently powerful.

The statistical data of road accidents in Mueang District in a province, which is my study site suggest that from the year 2003-2004, the age of motorcyclists injured by road accidents started from 5-10 years.

My preliminary field research shows that in Mueang District in the province, there are a lot of adolescent motorcyclists and the reports on accident surveillance of Mueang Hospital from January-December reveals that the rate of road accidents among students who visited the hospital ranked the second next to that among labors and reveals that road accidents mostly occurred after school time, which is from 3 p.m.-11:59 pm, especially from 8-8:59 p.m. on Saturday and Sunday.

The statistics suggest that the age of motorcyclists experiencing road accidents begins at 10 and mostly ranges from 15-20 years. The rate of motorcyclists injured by falling over to those injured by crashing is 1,818:1,927. This finding is in line with that in a research study "How do Thai Youths Live?" of Ladda Mosuwan et al. (2004, p.129-130) suggesting that for the past 3 months, among the informants aged not over 18, it is found that 55-80% of the informants aged 6-18 years used to ride a motorcycle or drive a car, 39-44.5% did not wear a helmet, 38.4% were students and 19.9% used to ride a motorcycle or drive a car after drinking alcohol. The rate of male teenagers experiencing road accidents is higher than that of female teenagers at a significant statistical level. The research study's finding is also in accordance with that of a research study on evaluation of "Don't Drive Drunk" Project by Paibun Suriyawongpaisan and Adisak Phalitaphonkanphim (2001).

The government defined areas for implementation based on 6E strategies: areas within government agencies, state enterprises, markets/communities, motorcycle queues, educational institutions and intercity routes by assigning traffic police officers to enforce the measures strictly through setting checkpoints and charges. The preliminary field observation shows that enforcement of the measures in the province was consistently done; however, the rate of culprits, injuries and deaths did not substantially change.

The government exercises its power by issuing laws and rules for control and surveillance of risks to road traffic injury and death through controlling teenage motorcyclists. Nevertheless, its power exercising has obstacles and limitations as

indicated by three high-ranking police officers concerning a failure to reduce road accident through 6E strategies.

"In fact, this is a trivial issue, which I don't want to deal with."

"This task shouldn't be assigned to the police**.** This makes them (teenage motorcyclists) hate the police, not just for a moment but throughout their life."

"The police can't deal with the problem alone. The work requires cooperation among different agencies and each agency has to have clear responsibility."

"About speed detecting, normally, provincial police don't do that because highway police deal with this task so that they are hated by people. So, we don't want to do that."

"If people have disciplines, police don't need to arrest them**.** I used to ask an employee why he drove in a wrong way and if he wasn't afraid of dying. He said it was better to die than to make a U-Turn, which was far away."

"Law enforcement and campaigns are impractical. Driving discipline must be cultivated in young people."

These utterances reflect thoughts of police officers whose duty is to enforce laws, showing attitudes and acceptance of limitations of legal authorities to control and force the riders.

In case the legal measures have limitation, it should be considered as to if there are other alternatives that are powerful to prevent and solve the problem of injury and death due to motorcycle riding among teenagers apart from good roads, "Don't Drunk Drive" Campaign, education of road safety, facilitation of driving license issuance, preparation of statistical database for accident surveillance and strict law enforcement.

The research study has a conceptual framework that performing duties of the government sector, commercial sector and communities concerning road traffic injury and death is in the form of competing for space for motorcycle riding of teenagers. That is, whilst the police aim at controlling the space for motorcycle riding, the commercial sector stimulates consumption through producing discourses and products (motorcycles) that attract teenagers, and communities train thinking and

method of riding attached to their lifestyle and creating self through social groups. As a result, it can be seen that traditional epidemiology alone has limitations on making an understanding and explaining phenomena concerning injury and death due to road accidents.

Studying riding styles among teenagers injured by road accidents as riders or pillion passengers in their socio-cultural context as well as their lifestyle amidst relations with family members and peer group will lead to more specific and clearer knowledge of risky riding among them, which will bring about information useful for planning to prevent and solve the problem. I also view that the phenomenon does not exist alone but is related to other social problems reflecting socio-cultural conditions of teenagers in present Thai society. Accordingly, in the research study, quantitative research method with multiple logistic regression analysis and qualitative research method based on ethnographic techniques were employed to create an understanding and explain the complex phenomenon.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

1.2.1 To investigate the association between demographic factors, personality characteristics, attitude towards road traffic safety**,** risk perception**,** risky riding style and severe road traffic injury.

1.2.2 To understand motorcycle fetishism among teenagers in a provincial town of eastern Thailand.

1.2.3 To understand the world of young motorcyclists and severe road traffic injury.

1.3. Research Questions

1.3.1 Are demographic factors, personality characteristics, attitude towards road traffic safety**,** risk perception**,** and risky riding style associated with the severe road traffic injury ?

1.3.2 Why do motorcycles become superb objects for teenagers? How do they become a fascinating symbol and bring competition among them?

1.3.3 How do teenagers live in their own world? How do motorcycles take part in their world? How is motorcycle riding related to their other behavior, e.g. drug use and sexual behavior?

1.4. Benefits for the Study

The results of the study can bring about various benefits as follows:

1.4.1 The knowledge of this study may be use to be a guide line for urges policy makers to understand the whole problem clearly before launching any problem-solving policies in the future.

1.4.2 The knowledge of this study may be useful to future longitudinal studies.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

There has been a lot of research studies on traffic injury among young motorcyclists in Thailand and foreign countries, in which 'risk' is the main concept employed as the research framework. The large number of research studies indicates that traffic accidents are a significant problem; nonetheless, they do not give a clear answer and explanation for the issue. Data from some research studies reveal that traffic injury and death rate tends not to be decreasing.

The chapter will present concepts concerning traffic accidents through review of literature and research studies, starting from presenting that due to causing the great loss, the problem a global problem and animate research works.

Epidemiology has been used as the main guideline for explaining the risk of traffic accidents as well as for formulating legal and social measures. Whilst it has dominated the knowledge of the risk of traffic accidents, researchers in psychological field started to be interested in studying risky riding styles in order to form a model for explaining risky riding and traffic accidents. In addition, social scientists in other fields, e.g. sociologists and anthropologists started to pay attention to explaining risks within the risk framework with a different theoretical philosophy. It can be said that academic space for making an understanding of the risk of traffic accidents has been expanded since the mid 20^{th} century.

Although traffic injury and death has been considered as an internationally significant problem, being fooled by the concept that traffic injury and death is the health issue has made most academics and people concerned restrict the problem to the sphere of 'public health problem'. I view that risky riding behavior of teenagers has a connection with complex systems, which are connected to one another, including family, community relations, educational, market and political system. Accordingly, analysis of traffic injury and death through medical views will reduce the problem and its relevant factors to a problem of single cause-effect relations

within a specific boundary and to a problem that can be prevented and resolved mainly based on medical methods e.g. wearing a helmet and establishing efficient emergency medical service.

Seeing no complexity of the problem is a problem. That is, when a problem is regarded a simple problem, it tends to be solved by means of measures in which complexity of causes and effects is not seriously considered and finally, it will not be able to be resolved because its roots and factors still exist.

2.1 Traffic Accidents Cause Great Loss

Traffic accidents have been an interesting issue as they have been one of the top causes of death among Thai people and caused substantially immense economic and social loss. In 2002, the total loss of economic cost was equal to 115,932 million baht per year, accounting for 2.1% of GDP (Siriwan Phitthayarangsarit, 2006, p.10) and human cost, 106,994 million baht: 8,409 million baht for death, 12,719 million baht for serious injury and disability, and 8 million baht for minor injury.

With regard to loss to traffic victims, it is found that the loss due to absence from work of a dead person amounted to 3,149,784 baht; loss due to absence from work of a person injured so as to become disabled (either non-working or working) and caretaker, 686,805 baht; and loss during medical care period (cost of medical care and absence from work of a patient and caretaker) for a patient, 8,990 baht: the per capital medical care cost, to 5,913 baht and loss due to absence from work of a patient and caretaker, 3077 baht. Regarding loss to people disabled by land traffic accidents, it is found that over half of them were household heads or spouses, 58% and males, 77%. Most of them were disabled so that they were not able to work and some of them needed caretakers, which resulted in economic loss due to absence from work and loss of human cost. In addition, it was estimated that the total loss due to absence from work of people disabled by land traffic accidents amounted to 67,556 million baht, which was substantially high (Worawet et al., 2005).

2.2 Epidemiological Concepts and Explanations for the Phenomenon of Traffic Accidents

As the problem of traffic accidents has led relatively high loss, it was identified as a public health problem that urgently requires measures for prevention and resolution from the government sector. Academics and personnel concerned are alert to research on analysis of factors influencing traffic accidents. In many research studies, epidemiological theories are employed as the main concept for determining the framework for planning research methodology. The epidemiological concepts state 3 main groups of factors effecting traffic accidents, which comprise road-user factors, vehicle-related factors and environmental factors. Risk behavior, which is a road-user factor mostly contributed to traffic accidents (Paibul Suriyawongpaisal, 2003, p.7). Regarding road-user factors, it is found that traffic accidents are related to alcoholic drinking before and during driving or riding, wearing no helmet, driving or riding fast and violating traffic rules. Alcoholic drinking and driving at high speeds are important risk behavior found in epidemiological research studies. A study of Paibul Suriyawongpaisal has interesting findings and explanations for the problem that go beyond those for a medical problem, which suggests the rate of traffic accidents tends to decrease during economic crisis period, implying that the growth of capitalism and consumerism have a connection to traffic accidents.

The rate of traffic injury and death tends to increase, from 23 to a population of 100,000 in 1984 to 173 to a population of 100,000 in 2004. With regard to traffic accident cases of the Royal Thai Police, it is shown that the rate of traffic death tends to decrease, which implies that previous measures resulted in reduction in severe traffic injury rather than accidents. If the measures concerning behavioral adjustment of the road users, measures concerning environmental improvement of roads and measures regarding correction of defects of vehicles were perfectly implemented, it is estimated that the accident rate would be reduced by 95%, 35% and 13% respectively (Siriwan Phitthayarangsarit, 2006, cited, pp.21-22).

Utilization of epidemiological theories in most research studies lead to a conclusion concerning factors influencing increasing and decreasing of the risk

involving traffic accidents that most seriously injured victims are aged 15-24 years and males; traffic injury during holidays is 1.4 times higher than during normal time; almost all the injured are motorcycle riders or passengers; almost all the traffic injuries are caused by crashing and turning over respectively; almost half of the injured have risk behavior, which is drinking alcohol before and during driving or riding; and 85% of the injured or dead motorcycle riders or passengers do not wear a helmet (Siriwan Phitthayarangsarit, 2006, cited, p.10) and Paibul (2003, p.91) with a conclusion that the issues of youths, motorcycles and pedestrians should be taken in consideration. According to a research study 'Age Distribution of Motorcyclists in Selected Thai Cities' of Fukuda A, Sikine T. (2004), which was conducted in 3 large provinces in Thailand, namely Bangkok, Khon Kaen and Chiang Mai, it is found that Thai youths start to ride a motorcycle at that age of 8-10. Paibul remarked: "We've mostly driven our youths to the risk path."

The epidemiological data on death and injury in the province that is my study site suggest that the rate of traffic death and injury tends to increase and the province is ranked as one of 20 top provinces of the country with a high prevalence of traffic injury and death.

The data also reveal that teenagers are the risk group of traffic injury and death, which are in accordance with those in a study on traffic injury in Bangkok of Paibul Suriyawongpaisal and Adisak Phalitaphonkanphim, of which the data collection was conducted in 2001 at the emergency room of 4 government hospitals. Their study shows that among traffic injured victims aged from 10-19 years, 61% were the riders or drivers; 82% were males; 77% were motorcycle riders or passengers; and 8% were bicycle riders or passengers. Furthermore, it was estimated that in Thailand, there would be 2,400 teenage traffic dead and injured victims; 36,000 traffic inpatients; 108,000 traffic patients at the emergency rooms per year.

The statistical data of Mueang Hospital in the province that is my study site show that in 2004, there were 246 motorcyclists aged below 18 years experiencing serious traffic injury, of whom 180 were students. Furthermore, they show that the rate of traffic injury and death in the province did not significantly vary according to months, showing that it was a common phenomenon in the province, not only during Songkran and New Year Festival.

Furthermore, it is also found that most incident spots of severely injured victims, who were motorcyclists aged below 18, were in Na Mueang Sub-district, Mueang District, in community area, where there were shops, restaurants, entertainment places, schools, markets and stadiums.

The statistics reflect that the phenomenon of injury due to motorcycle riding among teenagers aged below 18 years requires concepts for a better understanding.

The government is trying to solve the problem of traffic injury through enforcement of 6E strategies, which is exercising the state power to control individuals through a concept that individuals are constant condition. Furthermore, study on traffic injury based on atomistic views makes it fail to explain the influence of socio-cultural structure affecting behavior of individuals, which is consumerism in capitalist industrial society.

An analysis on 6E strategies suggests that the measures directly related to drivers or riders are legal measures, of which 3 Mo 2 Kho 1 Ro Measure is the core measure, and public relations measures stressing education and public participation through determining areas where the measures will be strictly enforced, including government agencies, state enterprises, markets/communities, motorcycle stands, educational institutions and intercity routes.

The primary field observation suggests that the measures are regularly implemented in the province; however, the number of traffic culprit, injured and dead did not change much and in Mueang District, there were a large number of students riding a motorcycle in front of educational institutions and markets before and after school time until dusk.

In the research study, through new glasses, the phenomenon of traffic accidents is considered under a close scrutiny, analyzed in a detailed manner and reconstructed with regard to its background, which is aimed at creating an understanding of the root of injury and death due to motorcycle riding among teenagers. The study starts from the framework that the phenomenon of injury due to motorcycle riding in Thai society has made road, a public space, defined as a ‘risk’ space that must be monitored, which makes that the government’s resolution stress the use of state authority (via police and medical staff) upon individuals through oppression, e.g. controlling wearing a helmet and arresting drunk riders and through

exercising power of knowledge in adjusting attitudes and educating the public, which are solutions at surface level of the phenomena. However, as stated, the phenomenon is related to complicated and deeply linked factors, comprising individual factors and socio-cultural factors, e.g. economic institute, composed of agencies involved in production, distribution and modification of motorcycles, which are a social structure participating in competing for occupying space for motorcycle riding of Thai youths by means of market strategies that are in line with consumerism and lifestyles of youths.

Focusing on exercising power to control individuals without considering complexity of the problem maintains and aggravates the problem.

Epidemiology has contributed to an understanding of traffic injury and death. However, an attempt to search for the main factors and atomistic philosophies for creating an understanding of phenomena have led to limitations of explanations for the phenomenon, which consists of dynamically connected factors.

The research study of Churirat Kitsomphon (2003) shows physical environment and motorcycle-riding related activities in leisure time of teenagers. Its first part presents the issue of time of riding in relation to riding styles and second part presents riding styles of teenagers, suggesting that their riding styles vary according to the places they go. This is her conclusion, which appears in the rear part of the study.

> "**...**The pattern of motorcycle riding among teenagers include riding alone when they ride out to do some business and in group when they ride out for pleasure. When they join their peer group, their commitment within the group will occur. Commitment through doing risk activities together will render them more intimacy, unity and solidarity. The risk activities that the group members do together will bring the group excitement…"

Her study is one of the first research studies depicting motorcycle riding patterns of teenagers related to their socio-cultural context. However, her work does not clearly explain why the teenagers live with risky riding styles at a particular space and time.

2.3 Perspective to Explain Individual Differences in Risk-Taking and Traffic Accident Involvement

2.3.1 The Three Periods of Motorcycling Safety Research (Chesham, D.J., Rutter, D.R. and Quine Lyn , 1993)

The literature on motorcycling safety research is reviewed, and it is argued that there have been two main periods. The first, spanning the 1970's, was based on accident analysis, and the main objective was to identify and control factors that contribute to the severity of motorcycling accidents, The main concerns were to reduce head and brain injuries through safety helmets, to reduce multi-vehicle collisions through daytime use of headlamps, and to reduce drink-riding. The second period, the 1980's, shifted the emphasis of research to what might be called 'riding analysis'-that is, analysis of the process of motorcycle riding. Particular attention was paid to skills testing, training evaluation and perceived risk. Now, in the early 1990's, a third period is developing, in which the rider is seen as 'active agent'. The theoretical basis of the new research has come from the models of social psychology, and the main concern is to use riders' beliefs and attitudes about safe riding to predict their behavior on the roads and their accident involvement.

Based on a study of 2041 traffic accidents, Sabey and Taylor (1980) concluded that human factors were contributing elements in 95% of the accidents. In particular, driving behavior was identified as the most central of these factors. Consequently, a variety of studies have been carried out in order to identify variables which may influence accident involvement and risk-taking behavior in traffic, meaning behavior that indicate the possibility of a negative health outcome for the individual as well as for others.

Within psychology, the different perspectives of cognitive, personality and social psychology have all attempted to explain individual differences in risk-taking and traffic accident involvement (e.g. Arthur, Barrett, and Alexander, 1991; Parker and Manstead, 1996).

Cognitive research has traditionally studied variables such as management of attention and information processing capabilities, whereas personality research has

focused upon the predictive value of personality traits. At the same time, social psychological research has attempted to explain differences in risk-taking behavior and accident involvement within the framework of social cognition models. Despite the extensive research within these areas of psychology, few studies attempt to integrate variables from these different research traditions. For instance, personality traits are rarely studied together with social cognitive variables. The present study attempts to integrate these two research traditions, the personality trait approach and the social cognition approach, in order to understand the mechanisms underlying risk-taking behavior in traffic. Specifically, we will focus on risky driving behavior among young drivers. This is due to the fact that adolescents are more frequently involved in traffic accidents as compared to other age groups (Bjørnskau, 2000). Within the social cognition approach, models such as the Theory of Reasoned Action/Planned Behaviour (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980; Ajzen, 1988) and the health belief model (Rosenstock, 1974) have frequently been applied to study the determinants of risky driving behavior (see e.g. Parker et al., 1992; Parker et al., 1995; Rutter et al., 1995; Parker et al., 1998). According to these models, variables such as attitudes, perceived risk, social norms and perceived behavioral control are central determinants of behavior. Evidence for the predictive value of these variables has been found in several studies. In particular, attitudes towards traffic safety have been found to correlate with aggressive driving behavior, fast driving, and self-reported accident involvement (Parker and Manstead, 1996; West and Hall, 1997; Parker et al., 1998). Perceived risk seems also to be of importance, since young drivers, as compared to other age groups, are more likely to underestimate the probability of the specific risks caused by traffic situations (Brown and Groeger, 1988; Deery, 1999). They also tend to perceive the hazards in traffic less holistically (Milech et al., 1989; Deery, 1999), and overestimate their own driving skills (Moe, 1986). Based on this knowledge, one of the most popular strategies of promoting road safety has aimed at changing adolescents' attitudes and risk perception related to driving. However, several literature reviews have concluded that the majority of traffic safety campaigns aimed at influencing attitudes and risk perception have failed to document any effect on the number of accidents (Elvik, Vaa and Østvik, 1989; OECD, 1994). There may be several reasons for the campaigns' apparent lack of

success. One reason may be that the role of personality characteristics often has been ignored when such campaigns are carried out. Personality traits can be defined as dimensions of individual differences in tendency to show consistent patterns of thoughts, feelings and behavior (McCrae and Costa, 1995). In contrast to social cognitive variables such as an attitude, defined as an evaluative condition with reference to a specific object (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993), traits are not evaluative, and are not referring to specific objects. Thus, traits are thought to be more stable and more general as compared to attitudes. The role of personality traits in traffic accidents can be traced back to Farmer and Chambers' (1939) theory of "accident proneness", who suggested that the majority of traffic accidents are caused by a small number of individuals who possess certain personality characteristics. The theory is now regarded as unsatisfactory. However, recent studies have found that personality traits are weakly, but consistently associated with accident involvement in traffic (e.g. Elander et al., 1993, for a review). In particular, sensation-seeking, aggression and social deviance are frequently related to traffic accident involvement (Hilakivi et al., 1989; Jonah, 1997; West and Hall, 1997).

There is, however, reason to believe that the role of personality traits pertaining to accident involvement in traffic may be underestimated. General measures such as personality traits are assumed to be weak predictors of accidents, mainly for the reason that accidents are relatively rare, and influenced by numerous factors, such as exposure (e.g. annual mileage), randomness and weather conditions (Friedstøm et al., 1995). From a psychometric point of view, an accident is therefore regarded as both an unsuitable and an unreliable criterion. Among others, Epstein (1979) has suggested that an aggregation of different behaviors across situations, a multiple act criterion, is a more appropriate and reliable criterion when studying the influence of personality on behavior. Based on this, one can expect personality traits to be more successful in predicting an aggregate of different risk-taking behaviors in traffic as compared to accident frequency. This has been also been acknowledged by several researchers, who have found that the correlation between personality traits and risky behavior increases when a multiple-act criteria is applied (e.g. Booth- Kewley and Vichers, 1994). It should also be mentioned that the same

problems apply equally well when studying the relation between attitudes and specific behaviors like accidents (Ajzen, 1988; Sutton, 1998).

Another reason for a possible underestimation of personality in relation to accident involvement and risky driving behavior is that indirect effects of personality traits are rarely studied. Theoretically, personality traits are thought to influence the individual's perception and appraisal of the environment (McCrae and Costa, 1995). Several studies have supported this assumption (see Matthews and Deary, 1998, for a review). Such appraisals are subsequently thought to affect behavior. A similar point of view has been incorporated within social cognition models, which acknowledge that personality traits may affect behavior indirectly through influencing the attitudinal or normative determinants of behavior (Rosenstock, 1974; Ajzen, 1988). Still, such indirect effects of personality variables are rarely studied. This is probably due to the fact that the majority of studies carried out within the social cognitive framework aim at identifying the determinants of behavior hypothesized to be most open to change. Personality traits are regarded as less open to change as compared social cognitive variables, and consequently of minimal interest in such studies.

I still believe that the role of personality should not be ignored in road safety promotion. First, taking both personality and social cognitive variables into account as sources of variation in behavior may provide more explanational power than either one alone. Second, traffic safety campaigns often fail to demonstrate any effects on behavior. Designing safety programs that take personality dispositions into account may result in a more efficient measure of both communicating the message to the target audience as well as changing their behavior. As implied by the previous presentation, the present study aims at examining the relative importance of both traits and social cognitive variables in relation to risky driving behavior. A central aim is to investigate whether personality traits have a direct influence on behavior when the effects of social cognitive variables are controlled for, or whether traits primarily have indirect effects on behavior through their influence on social cognitive variables such as attitudes and risk perception.

The most of psychological research focus on riding behavioral until in the 21st century the research emerging to focus on social context of riding behavior among

young motorcyclist such as Bina, M., Graziano, F., & Bonino, S. (2006) show that many adolescents drove cars and motorcycles without the required driving license and the most frequent offences were speeding and failure to maintain a safe braking distance. Risky driving was not an isolated behavior. Boys who displayed risky driving practices were more likely to adopt a lifestyle characterized by high involvement in antisocial behaviors, tobacco smoking, comfort eating and time spent in non-0rganized activities with friends. Girls involved in risky driving were more likely to be involved in other risk-taking behaviors, antisocial behaviors and drug use.

2.4 Theorizing Risk and Road Traffic Injury

Lupton (1999) reviews these contrasting perspectives, discussing the epistemologies (knowledges) on which they are based and the different ways in which they represent risk, risk perception and the risk actor.

2.4.1 The Cognitive Science Perspectives

Technico-scientific approaches to risk, emerging from such fields as engineering, statistics, actuarialism, psychology, epidemiology and economiology and economics, bring together the notion of danger or hazard with calculations of probability. They define risk as ‘the product of the probability and consequences (magnitude and severity) of an adverse event (ie. a hazard) (Bradbury 1989: 382). Debates over risk in these technico-scientific fields tend to revolve around issues of how well a risk has been identified or calculated, the level of seriousness of a risk in terms of its possible effects, how accurate is the ‘science’ that has been used to measure and calculate risk and how inclusive are the causal or predictive models that have been constructed to understand why risks occur and why people respond to them in certain ways.

Much of the technico-scientific literature addresses what is seen to be the problem of conflict between scientific, industrial and government organizations and the public in relation to the health and environmental risks associated with science, technology and industry. The public is traditionally described as having become progressively concerned about such risks over the past half century or so and

as directing a more critical and challenging eye upon the activities of industry and government. The literature on risk addressing this problem tends to attempt to identify the social and psychological factors influencing greater public cynicism and distrust of institutions and lay people's assessment of risk. The objective it seeks is to facilitate understanding between the public and institutions, and as Brown puts it, 'to provide a route out of the ever-growing bitterness of clashes between affected publics and the managing institutions' (1989: 2).

One question that tends *not* to be asked in this research is 'How are risks constructed as social facts?', for the nature of risk is taken for granted. While most practitioners working in probabilistic risk assessment would acknowledge that 'subjectiveness' is an inevitable element of human judgement, and that therefore technical risk assessment is not value-free, the calculations they produce tend to be treated as if they were 'objective facts', or 'absolute truths' (Bradbury 1989:382). Risks, according to this model, are pre-existing in nature and in principle are able to be identified through scientific measurement and calculation and controlled using this knowledge.

In the technico-scientific literature on risk there is sometimes evident an ill-masked contempt for lay people's lack of what is deemed to be 'appropriate' or 'correct' knowledge about risk. Lay people are often portrayed as responding 'unscientifically' to risk, using inferior and unsophisticated sources of knowledge such as 'intuition'. This distinction is found, for example, in the Royal Society's (1992) report on risk, which drew a distinction between 'objective' and 'subjective' risk. It was argued in this report that a range of 'objective' risks exist in any situation, to which individuals and social groups respond in more or less 'subjective' ways.

Exponents of the cognitive science approach, for example, the dominant approach in the social sciences, are primarily interested in using various psychological models of human behavior to identify the ways in which people respond cognitively and behaviorally to risk. In this literature, 'the hazard is taken as the independent variable and people's response to it as dependent' (Douglas 1985: 25). The 'objective facts' of risk as they are calculated by 'experts' are contrasted with the subjective understanding of lay people, which are seen as being more or less accurate compared with these 'facts'. Such risk calculations tend not to acknowledge the role played by

the ‘ways of seeing’ on the part of the experts themselves that produce such calculations. Their understandings of risk are represented as neutral and unbiased.

A number of cognitive science researchers have sought to identify patterns in the ways in which lay people assess and respond to various risks. Some take a psychometric perspective, seeking to measure the relative influence of different cognitive factors in shaping lay responses. They attempt to identify the ‘mental strategies’ or ‘heuristics’ used in making judgements about risk and which are viewed as often leading to ‘large and persistent biases’ on the part of lay people (Slovic 1987:281). Several psychometric researchers have developed a ‘taxonomy’ by which hazards are categorized and dealt with cognitively. They have argued that lay people over-estimate and under-estimate some categories of risk, and find it difficult to assess risk using probabilities.

For instance, in has been found by psychometric researchers that lay people are more likely to calculate that risk is likely to occur if information related to it is available and easily recalled, and tend to overestimate risk related to circumstances where it can be easily imagined as happening to oneself. It has also been found that people are more likely to be concerned about risks that they see as being close to them. Risks that are seen to be rare but memorable tend to be overestimated while those that are considered to be common and less serious are underestimated. Risks that are perceived as familiar or voluntary are considered more acceptable and less likely to happen than those that are perceived to be new or imposed. People tend to be risk averse when faced with gains and risk seeking when faced with losses. Psychometric researchers have also reported that disasters that receive a high level of media attention arouse more concern than those that do not, even if they are relatively rare occurrences; dangers which are seen to occur in a cluster are considered more serious than an equivalent number of events that happen over a longer period of time; and the consequences of catastrophes that occur immediately arouse more concern that those that are delayed. (See Douglas (1985), Slovic (1987), Heimer (1988), Hansson (1989) and Brown (1989) for reviews of psychometric research).

In one example of a psychometric study of risk perception (Marris and Langford 1996), the researchers asked a sample of English people to assess the seriousness of common risks associated with the following: sunbathing, food

colouring, genetic engineering, nuclear power, mugging, home accidents, ozone depletion, car driving, microwave ovens, AIDS, war, terrorism and alcoholic drinks, They chose these phenomena because it was possible to categorize the potential harms according to two variables: to what extent possible harmful effects are delayed and have catastrophic potential, and whether the harm is seen as imposed and unavoidable or voluntary. The findings supported previous psychometric models of risk perception. Familiar and voluntary potential hazards from microwave ovens, food colouring and alcohol were all seen as not particularly risky, while 'catastrophic' dangers such as war, genetic engineering, ozone loss and nuclear power were rated as highly risky. The researchers also found that people most feared risks that they perceived as unacceptable to society. They often used the term 'dread' to describe risks they considered involuntary, unfairly imposed upon individuals or highly likely to kill or permanently injure people.

Psychometric risk analyses are founded on a theory of rational behavior and the notion of the ideal rational investigator and the rational, risk-perceiving agent: 'Both are driven to seek order in the world; both recognize inconsistency; both assess probability' (Douglas 1985: 28). They represent the individual as an information-processing unit, taking in information about risk and dealing with it in certain ways that are typically represented as biased or limited. The 'health belief model', which dominates ideas about risk perception in the fields of health promotion and health education, is another example of this approach. Like other such models of behavior, it represents human action as volitional and rational, invariably categorizing risk avoidance as rational and risk-taking as irrational (Bloor 1995). According to the health belief model, a number of perceptions have to be in place before an individual will take steps to protect herself or himself from a health threat. Individuals must see themselves as vulnerable to the threat, they must perceive the threat as having serious consequences, they must believe that taking preventive action will be effective and they must believe that the benefits of that action will outweigh the costs. This model relies upon an understanding of the human actor in which there is a linear relationship between knowledge of a risk, developing the attitude that one is at risk and adopting a practice to prevent the risk happening to oneself.

The cognitive science approach, therefore, constructs individuals as calculating and emotion-free actors, assuming that they all share the responses and preferences of the actor in utilitarian philosophy:

Warm-blooded, passionate, inherently social beings though we think we are, humans are presented in this context as hedonic calculators calmly seeking to pursue private interests. We are said to be risk-aversive, but, alas, so inefficient in handing information that we are unintentional risk-takers; basically we are fools. (Douglas 1992: 13)

Douglas further asserts that cognitive science presents too narrow a view of rational action, so that anything outside this becomes viewed as irrational: 'So instead of a sociological, cultural, and ethical theory of human judgement, there is an unintended emphasis on perceptual pathology' (1985: 3).

An epistemological uncertainty is evident in relation to the concept of risk as it is used in psychometric and psychological research endeavours, even though this does not tend to be openly acknowledged by its exponents. As Bradbury points out: 'In examining the individual's response to risk, this research provides a subjectivist interpretation within a realist paradigm' (1989: 384). Some psychometric researchers argue that 'actual risks' exist but they can only ever be interpreted as perceptions. Others continue to argue that some definitions of risk (particularly those made by 'experts') are 'real' and 'correct'. Some, confusingly, include both concepts of risk in their work interchangeably (ibid.: 384).

Another difficulty with such approaches is that they tend to reduce the meanings and behaviors associated with risk perception and assessment to the individualistic level. Cognitive science does not generally take into account the symbolic meanings, created through the social world, that humans give to things and events. Perception is limited to how humans see and understand the world through their senses and brain-functioning, without acknowledging the ways in which cultural conceptual categories mediate judgement. People tend to be positioned outside the cultural and political frameworks, relationships and institutions within which they construct their beliefs and engage in behaviors. In such research, individuals are therefore represented as atomized and self-interested, ideally behaving in response to their carefully considered calculations of risk as it affects them

individually. They are portrayed as free actors who are constrained only by their lack of self-efficacy in feeling able to do something about a risk. So too, risks and behaviors that are associated with such risks are themselves singled out for attention in this literature as often separate from other risks and behaviors. This is convenient for psychometric statistical testing and modeling, but reduces and over-simplifies such phenomena.

Nonetheless, it would appear that at least some researchers using a psychometric approach have recently attempted to consider issues of social and cultural group membership in people's responses to risk. Research has shown for example, that members of social groups that are less powerful tend to be more concerned about risks than members of powerful social groups. Women compared with men, and non-whites compared with whites tend in quantitative surveys to rate their concern about specific risks more highly. For instance, in one quantitative study in which a sample of Americans to rate the public health risks associated with each of 25 hazards, Flynn et al. (1994) found that white men produce risk perception ratings that were consistently much lower than white women, non-white men and non-white women. In a similar study, Graham and Clemente (1996) found that again, white men were more skeptical than other groups about the threat to human health posed by the risks to which they were asked to give ratings. Both studies showed that of white men, those who had higher levels of education, higher household incomes and were politically more conservative were most likely to rate risks as less serious. Both studies concluded that 'further research was needed' on sociopolitical factors and risk perception, particularly the ways in which power, social status and political orientation influence people's views on risk.

It is evident, too, that since the late 1980s some sociocultural perspectives on risk-particularly those offered by Mary Douglas-have been taken up enthusiastically by some researchers in cognitive science and other techno-scientific fields interested in risk perception and risk management. This usage, however, has been somewhat selective and has, at times, somewhat distorted Douglas'views.

Charles E. Osgood (1960) (Littlejohn, 1996 p.129-155) was a distinguished researcher in psychology and communication who developed a technique for the measurement of the connotative meaning of concepts known as the semantic

differential. In 1960, he wrote a book 'The Measurement of Meaning", presenting that 'meaning' is a means of creating an understanding, explaining, feeling and reacting to our surrounding phenomena and basic instrument for explaining or making an understanding of our social world and environment. The main concept of Charles Osgood's Theory of Semantic Differentiation attaches great importance to individual in cognitive process. The theory was developed from B.F. Skinner's Theory of Behaviorism. Both theories are significantly different in the issue of 'stimuli', which Skinner views as actual stimuli but Osgood, as signs.

The psychological concepts influencing the development of Osgood's theory are psychoanalysis [1] behaviorism [2] and cognitivism [3].

Osgood employed the concepts of cognitive theory as the core theory. The essentials of Osgood's Theory of Semantic Differentiation are as follows:

1) Meaning is individually related and is generated from leaning of an individual and learning is related to cognition and action. For instance, without learning, a person will never know that "on a 2-way road, a right rear light signal from the front to a car pursuing it shows warning not to overtake because there is a car surpassing." Accordingly, if one does not know the meaning of the signal, when given the signal, one may speed up instead because of thinking that the front car will overtake, which will lead to crashing the front car. In semantic analysis, individual analysis units are utilized, for instance, the meanings of danger and safety we think about are called connotative meanings. He tries to answer of what connotative meanings are composed and from which they stem.

2) Regarding learning theory, he starts from learning theory of Behaviorism explaining that individuals learn to respond to stimuli in environment via forming a stimulus-response relationship (S-R) and the stimulus-response association establish

[1] It focuses on searching for what being inside unconsciousness of humans, believing that individual behavior is derived from unconsciousness.

[2] It focuses on searching for behavior that can be empirically observed and believes that human behavior occurs by s-r condition.

[3] It does not pay interest in unconsciousness; however, it does not explain behavior superficially as Behaviorism does. It suggests that the distance between stimulus and response, there is 'black box' or 'cognition', which influences human behavior.

meaning. The stimulus from the environment is projected onto the brain, where an internal response leads to the individual's overt response.

3) From actual stimuli to signs, Osgood further suggests that most experiences of individuals do not stem from direct learning of actual stimuli but mostly, through signs. Sometimes, they directly learn from a sign without an actual stimulus. For instance, children that never see a motorcycle but learn its images and sound via TV or narrations of their elders may have response to a picture of motorcycle. One of the teenagers said, “Just seeing the picture of a motorcycle, I feel fun and excited.”

4) Regarding measurement of meaning, he not only presents it as a principle but also makes it tangible for research studies. Osgood's semantic differential was designed to measure connotative meanings based on a theory that a meaning is an internal representation between a stimulus and response.

5) His research was repetitively conducted to form semantic space, which shows that most of the variance in judgment could be explained by only three major factors. These three factors of the affective or emotive meaning are:

5.1 Evaluative factor-the adjective pair ‘good-bad’, ‘beautiful-ugly’.

5.2 Activity factor-the adjective pair ‘active-passive’, ‘fast-slow’.

5.3 Potency factor-the adjective pair ‘strong-weak’, ‘patient-sensitive’.

Osgood's Theory of Semantic Differentiation attaches great importance to individuals in the cognitive process. However, his theory is on the basis of Behaviorism, viewing an individual as passive. Although he explained special property in cognition of humans, he utilized the criteria of S-R conditioning and his study unit conforms to the formula of Behaviorism, which is individual. Both characteristics make Osgood's Theory of Semantic Differentiation different from the Theory of Social Construction, which is based on phenomenalism and symbolic relativism.

2.4.2 Sociocultural Perspectives

Sociocultural perspectives on risk emphasize the very aspects that cognitive science and other technico-scientific approaches have been criticized for neglecting: the social and cultural contexts in which risk is understood and negotiated. They have emerged from such disciplines as cultural anthropology, philosophy, sociology, social history, cultural geography and science and technology studies.

Theorists on the sociocultural dimensions on risk could loosely be categorized into at least three major groups based on the perspective adopted. The perspective advanced by anthropologist Mary Douglas and her colleagues and followers constitutes the 'cultural/symbolic' perspective. A second group is that of the 'risk society' theorists, dominated by the sociologists Ulrich Beck and Anthony Giddens. A third group may be described as the 'governmentality' theorists, who draw on the writings of the French philosopher Michel Foucault.

Those scholars adopting the 'cultural/symbolic' perspective direct their attention to the ways in which notions of risk are used to establish and maintain conceptual boundaries between self and other, with a particular interest in how the human body is used symbolically and metaphorically in discourses and practices around risk. The sociologists adopting the 'risk society' perspective are predominantly interested in the macro-social processes they see as characteristic of late modern societies and their relation to concepts of risk. These processes include reflexive modernization, or the move towards criticism of the outcomes of modernity, and individualization, or the breaking down of traditional norms and values. 'Governmentality' scholars have taken up in particular Foucault's insights on governmentality and on ethical self-formation to explore risk in the context of surveillance, discipline and regulation of populations, and how concepts of risk construct particular norms of behavior which are used to encourage individuals to engage voluntarily in self-regulation in response to these norms.

While, as will be explained in detail in later chapters, there are some major differences between these perspectives, their exponents all tend to argue that there are a number of important new features in notions of risk in contemporary western societies. They see risk as having become a central cultural and political concept by which individuals, social groups and institutions are organized, monitored and regulated. The following insights are central to all three major perspectives: risk has become an increasingly pervasive concept of human existence in western societies; risk is a central aspect of human subjectivity; risk is seen as something that can be managed through human intervention; and risk is associated with notions of choice, responsibility and blame.

There is another loose typology that can be used to characterize the more discrete epistemological and methodological positions taken up within sociocultural investigations into risk. This typology distinguishes between structuralists, poststructuralists, phenomenologists and psychoanalytic theorists.

Structuralists approach their analyses of risk primarily by seeking to identify the ways in which underlying cultural structures, hierarchies and categories serve to define risk knowledges and practices. They may adopt a functional structuralist approach, interested in how social and cultural structures and systems serve to maintain social order and the status quo and deal with 'deviance', or divergence from accepted norms and social rules concerning behavior. Mary Douglas and some of her followers may be categorized as functional structuralists. Alternatively, a critical structuralist approach may be taken, which builds on the Marxist critical legacy to focus more on social conflict, inequities and dissent and the need for social change in relation to risk. Critical structuralists tend to be interested in critiquing the ways in which social institutions (such as government, the economic system and the legal system) wield power over individuals, reducing their capacity for agency and autonomy. The work of Ulrich Beck and Anthony Giddens largely adopts a critical structuralist approach.

The poststructuralist perspective, as it has been adopted to explore issues of risk, builds largely upon Foucauldian theory. Poststructuralism emphasizes the importance of identifying the discourses that participate in the construction of notions of realities, meanings and understandings. Exponents of poststructuralism tend to focus less on what they see to be the overly rigid definitions of structures identified in structuralism. They are more interested in change and flux in social structures and meanings. There is also a different view on power relations in poststructuralist writings than is generally put forward in structuralist accounts. A central preoccupation of poststructuralists is with the relationship between power and knowledge. They point out that power relations are always implicated with knowledge and that no knowledge, therefore, can be said to be 'neutral' or 'disinterested' (including poststructuralists' own truth claims). Individuals are seen not to be fixed in social or cultural identities, but constantly shifting, the products of various combinations of power-knowledge formations. Power is seen as operating

through manifold sites, rather than predominantly through monolithic social instructions. Power is seen as not simply coercive or oppressive, as critical structuralism tends to have it, but also as productive and inevitably present in any social relation.

Phehomenological or hermeneutic accounts of risk are interested in the situated meanings that are given to risk. Exponents of this perspective, therefore, are less interested in the macrostructures organizing and constraining the meanings of risk than are the structuralist. Rather, they turn their attention towards 'lived experience', or how individuals experience their world as an interpretive reality with the use of shared commonsense meanings and knowledges. Qualitative research methods such as indepth interviews with respondents about their understandings and experiences of risk is the basis of phenomenological inquiries. Phenomenologists argue that the meanings of risk differ from locale to locale: that is, in the micro-context of risk meanings. Phenomenological accounts examine how specific actors (or subgroups) within a certain sociocultural setting construct their risk understandings as part of their interactions with others, albeit within the broader frame of social structures. Meaning is not simply drawn from the social environment, therefore; it also works the other way, with social actors influencing their environments.

The Psychoanalytic theoretical perspective is interested in exploring the unconscious psychodynamic processes which mediate people's responses to other people and to objects and events. In relation to ideas about risk it is perhaps best represented in the work of Julia Kristeva and Elizabeth Grosz, both feminist psychoanalytic theorists who have built upon and extended Mary Douglas' theories. While Kristeva and Grosz do not explicitly discuss the topic of risk, many of their observation on the notion of the 'abject' have strong relevance for a understanding of the ways in which notions of risk are linked to those of the body and Otherness. The abject is that which both disgusts or horrifies and fascinates us, which we seek to expel from our bodies and ourselves as part of maintaining our sense of autonomy and individual. As such, the abject is fraught with symbolic riskiness, in the sense of challenging our sense of subjectivity and individuality, our ability to demarcate ourselves from others, our feelings of purity and containment.

2.4.3 Social Constructionist Positions

In the sociocultural literature there are a range of positions on risk that are taken up, with some falling more towards a relativist and others more towards a realist approach, and yet others somewhere in the middle. Sometimes risk is talked about as if it were based on objective facts about dangers and hazards, amenable to rationalistic calculation, which are then mediated, perceived and responded to in particular ways via social, cultural and political processes. This may be described as the 'weak'social constructionist thesis, which overlaps to some extent with those psychometric and psychological studies (some of which are discussed above) which go beyond a focus on individuals to directing attention at social group membership and power relations. Exponents of the more relativist perspective, or the 'strong' social constructionist position, contend, as Ewald has put it, that: 'Nothing is a risk in itself; there is no risk in reality. But on the other hand, anything *can* be a risk; it all depends on how one analyzes the danger, considers the event' (1991: 199, original emphasis). The 'risk society' approach tends to waver uncertainly between a realist and weak constructionist approach, while the 'cultural/symbolic' approach is somewhat more towards the strong end of constructionism and exponents of the 'governmentality' approach generally adopt an even stronger relativist position.

Those who have adopted social constructionism, regardless of the strength of their position, tend to argue that a risk is never fully objective of knowable outside of belief systems and moral positions: what we measure, identify and manage as risks are always constituted via pre-existing knowledges and discourses. This approach to risk is indebted to writings in the sociology of knowledge, the sociology of science and technology and theorizing from poststructuralist perspectives. Social constructionists argue that humans and their social world exist in a dialectical relationship, in which each creates the other. Although the material and social worlds are experienced by most individuals as objective, pre-existing realities, these realities involve the reproduction of meaning and knowledges through social interaction and socialization and rely upon shared definitions. Because of the continually constructed nature of reality, its meanings are precarious and subject to change.

From the constructionist perspective, all knowledge about risk is bound to the sociocultural contexts in which this knowledge is generated, whether in relation to

scientists' and other experts' knowledges or lay people knowledges. Scientific knowledge, or any other knowledge, is never value-free but rather is always the product of a way of seeing. A risk, therefore, is not a static, objective phenomenon, but is constantly constructed and negotiated as part of the network of social interaction and the formation of meaning. 'Expert' judgements of risk, rather than being the 'objective' and 'neutral' and therefore 'unbiased' assessments which they tend to be portrayed in the technico-scientific literature, are regarded as being equally as constructed through implicit social and cultural processes as are lay people's judgements. For social constructionists, it is not a matter of doing more research to obtain a clearer view of exactly to which risks people are exposed.

Instead, the primary focus is on examining how concepts of risk are part of world views. There is a cultural pattern in the ways in which certain phenomena are identified and dealt with as 'risks' and this pattern is subject to change over time and space. Rather than seeing 'risks' as realities lying outside of society and culture, therefore, they can be viewed as assembledges of meanings, logics and beliefs cohering around material phenomena, giving these phenomena form and substance. We can only ever know and experience risks through our specific location in a particular sociocultural context. This approach to risk highlights the importance of understanding the embeddedness of understandings and perceptions of risk, and emphasizes that these understandings and perceptions often differ between actors who are located in different contexts and thus bring competing logics to bear upon risk.

Debates about risk always involve questions of cultural representation and meaning and political positions. The weak social constructionist position sees risk as cultural mediations of 'real' dangers and hazards. For the strong social constructionist position, by contrast, a 'hazard' or 'danger' itself is also seen as socially constructed, coming into social existence when human actors recognize and label it as such (Fox 1999). Judgements about risk, therefore, are not simply cultural interpretations of objective dangers or hazards. What is deemed a 'danger' or 'hazard' in one historical or cultural context may not be so identified in another, and this has implications for how knowledges and understandings about risks are developed. Hilgartner (1992) argues that even constructionist accounts have tended to neglect the social

construction of what he calls ‘risk objects’ (things, activities or situations to which harmful consequences are conceptually attached) or to examine systematically the construction of networks of causal attribution that links chains of risk objects to harm or danger. To become risk objects, he claims, objects must first become constructed as ‘objects’, and then as ‘risky’, or identified as the cause of harm or danger. The process of defining harm or danger is a third construction is this linkage.

The extent to which objects may be linked with each other and with harm in a causal attribution model is potentially infinite: anything may be defined as a ‘risk’. What is of importance for a sociocultural analysis of risk is the ways in which certain linkages are defined. The task of constructing a risk object is essentially a rhetorical process, performed in specialized texts or in public arenas and usually involves building networks of heterogeneous risk objects. It often involves intense struggles over meaning, particularly in relation to those actors who are deemed to be responsible for the risk object. These struggles are complemented by struggles with a variety of human and non-human actors to identify and control risk objects (Hilgartner 1992).

For example, in a scare over the quality of the water supply in Sydney in mid 1998, two parasitic micro-organisms, cryptosporidium and giardia, were identified in routine testing of the water in levels that were deemed to potentially pose a health risk to consumers. A Substance that had previously been treated as risk-free-tap water-turned into a risk object. All Sydney residents were warned to boil tap water before drinking it or using it for other purposes such as brushing their teeth to avoid infection that could lead to gastric upsets. Sales of bottled water increased dramatically during this time, and advertisements for water filters promising to remove the micro-organisms from water and for law firms seeking clients who wished to sue the water authority because of illness or financial loss appeared in newspapers.

After a week, the micro-organism content of the water was eventually deemed to have dropped to acceptable levels and consumers were encouraged to go back to using the water straight from the tap. Much blame was pointed at the authority responsible for ensuring water quality for posing such a risk to and alarming their clients, particularly in news media accounts, some of which claimed that Sydney was experiencing ‘Third World’ conditions. Yet some scientists made the point that

these micro-organisms could well have been in the water supply at such levels before, and indeed could never be totally eradicated from the water. It was only because the water authority had begun testing for the micro-organisms that they had now been identified and concern over the possible risk to consumers was generated. There was also some debate among experts as to what constituted a 'safe' and a 'risky' level of the micro-organisms in the water supply. In the construction of this new risk in the water supply, therefore, a number of human actors – including water authority officials, members of the news media, scientific experts and members of the legal profession – interacted in shaping the meanings of risk, together with non-human actors – the water, the micro-organisms and the technologies for testing the water.

As this example suggests, it is rarely lay people who play a major role in the construction of risk objects at the level of public debates. Rather, 'expert' knowledges – particularly those emerging from science, medicine, the 'psy' disciplines (psychology, psychiatry, counseling), social work, the law and economics – embedded within organizational contexts and often mediated through the mass media, are central to the construction and publicizing of risk. Debates among scientists and other experts often occur around such uncertainties as what is considered adequate 'proof' that a phenomenon is hazardous, how acceptable the level of hazard is and what the consequences of attempting to control that hazard might be. While disputes over the validity of technical data may contribute to these debates, at a more fundamental level different systems of values and ways of seeing shape experts' judgements of these data. Experts, in seeking validity for their knowledge claims, do not tend to acknowledge the situated and localized nature of their risk calculations and prognoses, however, preferring to represent them as objective universal truths. Neither do they acknowledge that their knowledges are culturally shaped, evincing particular assumptions about the 'natural', the 'cultural' and what it means to be human (Wynne 1996).

If a 'risk' is understood as a product of perception and cultural understanding, then to draw a distinction between 'real' risks (as measured and identified by 'experts') and 'false' risks (as perceived by members of the public) is irrelevant. Both perspectives are describing forms of risk, and both lead to certain actions. It is the ways in which these understandings are constructed and acted upon that is

considered important, not the extent to which one perspective may be considered to be more 'accurate' or less 'biased' than the order, for this distinction is also considered to be irrelevant. The questions that might be asked about risk from the constructionist perspective, therefore, are very different from those asked from the technico-scientific perspective. They include the following (adapted from Hall 1997: 45-6): What statements are used to construct certain kinds of knowledges about risk at a particular historical moment and sociocultural setting?; What rules prescribe certain ways of talking about risk and exclude other ways?; What types of subject are constructed through risk discourses?; How does knowledge about risk acquire authority, a sense of embodying the 'truth' about it?; What practices are used in institutions and by individuals for dealing with the subjects of risk discourses?; and How do new discourses on risk emerge, supplanting other discourses, and what are the effects of this for risk knowledges and subjects of risk?

A research study of Churirat Kitsomphon (2003) is an example of research studies on motorcycle riding according to the concept of social construction, which presents 3 aspects of risk perception of teenagers.

First Risk perception is related to attitudes of their friends, people with an intimate relationship, relatives and other people is society. Teenagers exchange ideas, beliefs and values of riding motorcycles, buying motorcycles, motorcycle shops, motorcycle-modification shops, parts sources, motorcycle-fixing shops, parts shops, motorcycle centers, saddle-making shops and racing roads etc. It is concluded that these things determine ideas, beliefs and world view of teenagers as to what they will and will not do. In the study, it is found that teenagers do not think that speed is a risk of accidents because they have confidence in their riding skills and experiences and themselves. For teenagers, traffic accidents may be caused by being crosscut by a man or dog, bad road condition, inappropriate behavior of other road users, bad luck or their destiny.

Second It is concluded that risk perception is socially constructed. Car-manufacturing companies change the meaning of motorcycles.

Third It is presented that teenagers have more confidence in their own ability to control motorcycle, certain that their daily riding experience will not lead them to traffic accidents, rather than knowledge of engineers, medical officers and police

officers, who stipulate a safe speed standard for riding, stopping motorcycles at the red light, forbidding riding in a wrong way and wearing a helmet etc.

Churirat studied risk perception concerning riding behavior stressing the issue of speed, riding in a wrong way, stopping at the red right and wearing a helmet among key informants, who rode in a challenging, exciting and speedy manner especially during dusk in group and racing.

Motorcycle riding behaviour and traffic injury and death among teenagers should not be considered as a constant condition but as a process of exchanging information, observing, sharing fun, excitement and ability to control the engine and developing riding style through experiences, which make them such familiar to motorcycle that they seem to be able to control the risk of traffic accidents.

Reconstruction of concepts behind motorcycle riding of teenagers will allow us to know the cultural unconsciousness that directs their motorcycle riding behavior internalized by the teenagers. For years, riding style has been cultivated through their senses via lifestyle system, mass communication, advertisement, social symbols and pattern of their relationships with other teenagers and institutes. Daily lifestyle involving motorcycle riding makes motorcycles not fearful technology or dangerous for them.

Teenagers ride their motorcycle with consciousness, semi-consciousness or sub-consciousness. Consequently, drawing riding culture from subconscious level to conscious level and systematic process may encourage riders and all parties concerned, including family, community and government to make decisions on motorcycle riding, which causes traffic injury and death among teenagers with a clearer understanding through seeing relations between psychosocial factors and cultural factors that have a connection with riding behavior and traffic injury and death among teenagers.

Study on community cultures to penetrate the illusion barrier that separates cultures from motorcycle riding and traffic accidents among teenagers will reveal complex relations between teenagers' motorcycle riding and cultures of people in community. Cultural reconstruction to reveal risk motorcycle riding behavior or social relations between individuals and groups in the cultural phenomenon as well as 'shelling' riding behavior to open cultures or values, meanings, beliefs and feeling

deeply supporting riding behavior of teenagers are aimed at producing a profound understanding of motorcycle riding and traffic accidents among them.

Motorcycle riding of teenagers is related to their lifestyle and other social activities, e.g. playing football, social gathering, playing games and snookers. Because the public spaces in community for their social activities are located away from one another, a motorcycle facilitates their traveling to do such activities. Moving to do these activities in each period, e.g. gathering to talk, playing football, eating (in a place in town, which is exciting, fun and not too much expensive) by riding in their group, talking and teasing one another along the way is a joyful life on the saddle. However, the happiness they can easily find leads them to suffering (injured or disabled) or death, which is, however, distant from and meaningless for them.

Motorcycle riding of teenagers is related to consumerist culture. That is, at present, the heart of consumerism is that consumers are not stimulated to consume tangible products or services but their signs instead, which makes consumption move on. Seri Phongphit (2004) states that consumerism has been widely used in academic and social sphere. Academically, it means a theory stating that the more consumption there is in a society, the more prosperous its economy is. Socially, it tends to contain negative meanings, that is, it shows that being crazy about consumption is a condition in which consumers are disadvantaged, tempted, deceived and dominated by manufacturer, who have economic, social and political power and utilize means of communication, especially mass media to create propagandas to make consumers mad about getting more, not related to ‘more human’ but ‘less human’ due to breaking into the cycle of debt for consumption so deeply that they cannot draw themselves from it, which result in life, family and social problem. In addition, he explains that consumerism makes people view that having a large house, large car, a lot of money, expensive things and products of a popular brand name is creating social status and acceptance as upper class and rich people. Consumerism comes along with materialism, which is basically means a theory claiming that possessing external happiness and property is the most important component and ultimate value of life.

This research study is aimed at analyzing consumerist culture in term of youth culture, proposing that at present youths become the main marketing target group in

motorcycle business and that youth group is one of the groups that are severely affected by consumerism.

Youths are people in the period of withdrawing from responsibilities, which Erikson called a 'moratorium' (Erikson,1959) and in industrial societies, educational system is developed so that moratorium is longer, which results from modernization, e.g. urbanization or industrialization and is the model of middle-class youths in urban areas. Furthermore, he asserts that lower-class people have lower education and shorter moratorium than middle-class youths. Accordingly, youths have time to seek their own identity, whose 'private time' becomes more important and youths have more social play, which means behavior of seeking and criticizing their relationship with the actual world and sub-culture, which is against original culture and society.

Peer group is important for social development of teenagers. The group organization of peers is called 'crowd' and 'clique'. Most members are of the same sex and always think about 'we' and 'they' and show that 'we' are members of a particular group through, e.g. decorating motorcycles in the same style of other members. For cliques, they are small groups in a big group, each being composed of 2-3 teenagers of the same sex who go out and invent jargon together based on unity and conformity (Smart, 1978).

At present, youth group is one of the main target groups of motorcycle market, reflecting that marketing process has produced consumerism in Thai society. Meanwhile, teenagers play a role in constructing consumerist culture as seen that most youths spend most time in the department stores, shopping centers etc. Sutthiphan (1988) states that consumption of Thai society has 2 processes: imitation process and distinction process.

In imitation process, Thai youths construct modern and western consumerist culture through seeking information from different sources, e.g. TV, magazines, stars, goods displays in the department stores or other sources of information, e.g. peers, who play a role in shaping their lifestyle.

Distinction process is related to managing peers mainly based on unity and conformity. Group members have consciousness of wanting superiority to other people and try to produce distinction from other groups in terms of relations with peers, institutes and socio-economic status.

Distinction process of youth group is a means of constructing the identity. The reasons why youths become the important market target group in motorcycle business may be that youths seek freedom from social rules; are easily influenced by their peers; are prone to adopt fashion as part of their life; and motorcycles possess qualities in terms of utility and sign in line with the need and feeling of youths and become part of youth culture.

Broke (1980) presents 4 aspects of youth sub-cultures as follows:

1) Youth culture always reflects problems caused by socio-economic culture, e.g. social class.

2) Youth culture exists in cultural elements, e.g. styles, values, ideologies and lifestyles, which take part in seeking identity, which is conscience as to who we are how different we are from other people, what unique characteristics we have and how others view us. It creates the boundary of individuals to show or to gain power. Identity is a relationship with other people. Teenager's perception as to who they are is not inside themselves but depends on their relationship with other people, family background, community, school and batch where they are and race and nationality they have. Therefore, identity is not an innate characteristic but socially constructed; it is not objective but is culturally related. Accordingly, there are no individuals but a variety of identities of individuals in relations to their social roles.

3) Youth culture is likely to be affected by the outside world, mostly from culture in ones' own culture. In addition, their peers and mass media have high influence on them.

4) Youth culture exists in consumption during leisure time, in which they are free from social activities, e.g. studying.

Although I believe that people have freedom to define themselves, I believe that their freedom is restricted by socio-cultural frame. However, that they do not surrender to the restriction, their identity is adjusted through daily actions on their relationship with people around them in their socio-cultural context. On the other hand, youths are determined and dominated by traditions and beliefs succeeded for a long time. On the other hand, they are dominated by a new world, which constructs mass cultures. Accordingly, the identity of youths is generated through determination of modern society, mass media, market and manufactures.

In the research study, analysis is made on the lifestyle of teenagers in consumerist culture related to motorcycle riding and traffic accidents, which lead to injury to reflect socio-cultural dynamic related to traffic injury and death among teenagers.

Present society in consumerist society, which makes consumption behavior stand on the basis of unlimited need. Consumerist society is established by capitalism to stimulate needs of humans to be in line with development of capacity of production of goods and services in capitalism. Consumption is changed from consumption to respond to human needs to consumption of signs, which is consumption to give meanings to things, resulting in humans' endless needs of consumption and other consequent problems.

CHAPTER 3
SEVERE ROAD TRAFFIC INJURY

The teenagers' motorcycle riding behavior was influenced by structural factors through socio-cultural process in conjunction with the change into a consumerist society, which made their society an open society. Consequently, they had more chance to learn and exchange their experiences with other people and societies. However, the opportunity varied to their exposure to news, experiences, family background, family economic status and personalities, which also led to different motorcycle riding styles. Accordingly, their risky riding styles were determined by individual condition and socio-cultural context condition.

The part of study is focused on micro data analysis, which involves severe road traffic injury among motorcyclists aged below 18. The psychosocial variables comprise personalities, attitudes to safe riding, risk perceptions (Perceived susceptibility, Perceived seriousness, Perceived concern and worry of safe riding) and the risky riding styles, which were employed to predict severe traffic injury, the dependent variable.

3.1 Research Methodology

Mainly, psychosocial concepts and theories serve as the guidelines on formulating the framework of the research question as to if and how psychosocial factors, comprising personalities, attitudes to safe riding, risk perception and risky riding behavior, can predict severe road traffic injury among teenage motorcyclists. Retroactive analysis was utilized to study the relations between the risk factors and severe road traffic injury among motorcyclists aged below 18 through comparing the cases with control group in the same period.

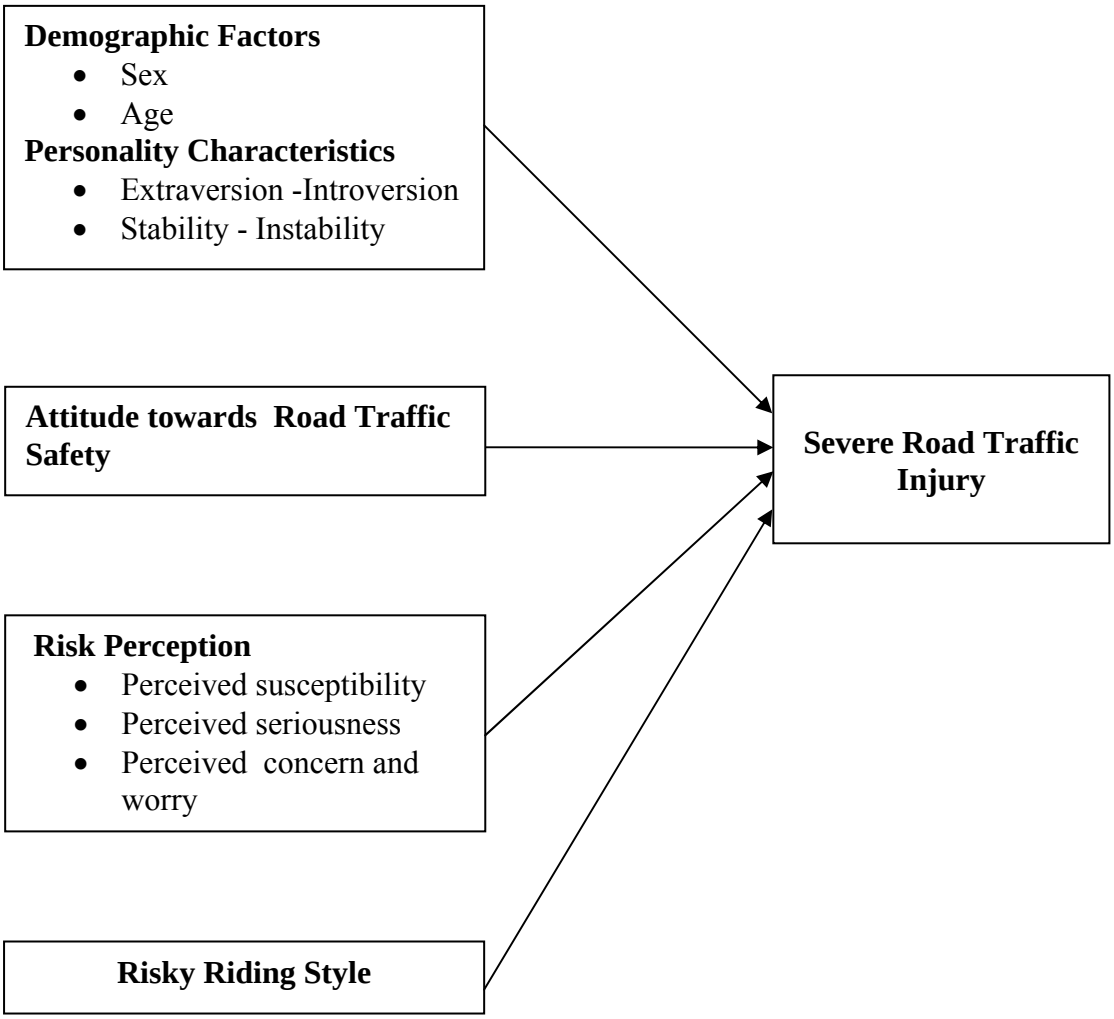

Figure 1 Conceptual Framework of Risk Factors Affecting Severe Road Traffic Injury of Young Motorcyclists.

3.1.1 Hypothesis

H_0 : $\beta_1 = \beta_2 = \beta_3 = \beta_4 = \beta_5 = \beta_6 = \beta_7 = \beta_8 = \beta_9 = 0$

H_A : $\beta_1 \neq \beta_2 \neq \beta_3 \neq \beta_4 \neq \beta_5 \neq \beta_6 \neq \beta_7 \neq \beta_8 \neq \beta_9 \neq 0$

sex, age, attitude towards road traffic safety**,** perceived susceptibility, perceived seriousness, perceive concern and worry, risky riding style, extrovert scale personality and neurotic scale personality influencing to severe road traffic injury.

3.1.2 Population and Sample

3.1.2.1 Population

The population in this study is the young motorcyclists aged below 18 years living in Mueang District and ride motorcyclists more than 1 year.

3.1.2.2 Sample

Case: Patients was diagnosed with severe road traffic injury and admitted to the Mueang Hospital.

1) Inclusion Criteria

1.1 Patients were the Severe Road Traffic Injury aged below 18 years living in Mueang District and ride motorcyclists in everyday life more than 1 year.

1.2 Patients were interviewed and oral examined with out the harmful.

2) Exclusion Criteria

2.1 Patients who disability to give informed consent or uncooperate in the study.

3.1.2.3 Control: Students who were studying in the provincial school.

1) Inclusion Criteria

1.1 Students who were aged below 18 and studying in the provincial school.

2.1 Students who were young motorcyclists without sever road traffic injury that prove by questionnaire.

3.1 Students were interviewed and oral examined with out the harmful.

2) Exclusion Criteria

2.1 Students had recently received severe road traffic injury less than 6 months before oral examined.

2.2 Students who disability to give informed consent or uncooperate in the study.

3.1.3 Studied Variables

Independent variables were including: sex, age, attitude towards road traffic safety**,** perceived susceptibility, perceived seriousness , perceive concern and worry, risky riding style, extrovert scale personality and neurotic scale personality.

Dependent variable was severe road traffic injury.

3.1.4 Sample Size

Calculated by the formula for Unmatched case-control study and the sample size for this study, the number of control group is at least 114 people.

$$n = \left[\; z_{\alpha}\sqrt{2\bar{p}\bar{q}} \; + \; z_{\beta}\sqrt{p_1 q_1 + p_0 q_0} \; \right]^2 / \left(p_1 - p_0\right)^2$$

$$p_1 = p_0 R / \left[1 + p_0 (R-1) \; \right]$$

$$\bar{p} = \tfrac{1}{2}\left(p_1 + p_0\right) \qquad \bar{q} = 1 - \bar{p}$$

$$q_1 = 1 - p_1 \qquad q_0 = 1 - p_0$$

$\alpha = 0.05$, $Z_{\alpha/2} = 1.96$ (two-size),

$\beta = .10$ $Z_{\beta} = 1.28$

OR = 7.49

$P_0 = 0.02$

c = ratio between control and case =1:1.67

OR = The odd ratio corresponding to the smallest increase or decrease in risk of interest.

p_0 = The estimated exposure rate (proportion exposed) among control.

The basic data consist of the number of injured motorcyclists aged 6-18 years living in the study site, who received treatment at Mueang Hospital in 2004: 592 (Injury Statistics, Mueang Hospital, 2003); number of population aged 5-19 years living in Mueang District: 31,010 (Provincial Statistics, 2005); and OR value of riding at excessive speeds: 7.49 (Kulap, 2005), which were used as the criteria for calculating the size of cases = 114.

3.1.5 Instruments

The instruments of this study were questionnaires consisting of 5 sections including:

3.1.5.1 Section1, consists of demographic questions. There were 7 items including: sex, age, educational status, patient status, address, motorcycle riding experience, historical background about severe road traffic injury.

3.1.5.2 Section2**,** The Eysenck Personality Inventory - E.P.I were created by H.J.Eysenck and Sybil B.G. Eysenck(1984) FORM A. There were 57 items. Each item statement was attached by 2 point rating scale, yes or no. It was divided into 3 parts as followed.

1) Extroversion- Introversion Scale Item (24 items).

2) Neuroticism- emotional stability Scale Item (24 items).

3) Lie Scale Item (9 items).

3.1.5.3 Section3, was focused on the questions of attitude towards road traffic safety which was created by the researcher. Each item statement was attached by 5-point rating scale, ranged from “Strongly disagree” to “Strongly agree”. There were 5 items in this section.

3.1.5.4 Section4, consists of questions about risk perception which was created by the researcher. The details of the components of risk perception measured by this questionnaire were as follows:

1) Perceived susceptibility (38 items), Each item statement was attached by 7-point rating scale, ranged from “Strongly disagree” to “Strongly agree”.

2) Perceived seriousness (6 items), Each item statement was attached by 5-point rating scale, ranged from “Strongly disagree” to “Strongly agree”.

3) Perceived concern and worry (13 items) Each item statement was attached by 7-point rating scale, ranged from “Strongly disagree” to “Strongly agree”.

3.1.5.5 Section5, There were 30 items, deals with Risky riding style. They were evaluated by participants, scoring from 1-5.

3.1.6 Instrument Testing

3.1.6.1 Content Validity

The items were created by concept of Edwards were as follows:

1) Avoid statements that refer to the past rather than to the present.

2) Avoid statements that are factual or capable of being interpreted as factual.

3) Avoid statements that are irrelevant to the psychological object under consideration.

4) Avoid statements that are likely to be endorsed by almost everyone or by almost no one.

5) Select statements that are believed to cover the entire range of the affective scale of interest.

6) Keep the language of the statements simple, clear, and direct.

7) Each statement should contain only one complete thought.

8) Statements containing universals such as all, always, none, and never often introduce ambiguity and should be avoided.

9) Words such as only, just, merely, and others of a similar nature should be used with care and moderation in writing statements.

10) When ever possible, statements should be in the form of simple sentences rather than in the form of compound or complex sentences.

Content Validity of the instrument was evaluated by the dissertation committees, then it was improved and evaluated by table of content specification

3.1.6.2 Reliability

The questionnaires were tried out by testing on subjects who had similar characteristics. The reliability of the instrument: Each questionnaire section was computed for Alpha Correlation Coefficients of Cronbach. The reliability was as follows:

Table 3.1 Alpha Reliabilities of Tests in This Study.

	Test						
	Risky riding style	Perceived susceptibility	Perceived seriousness	Perceived concern and worry	Attitude towards road traffic safety	Personality scale E	Personality scale N
the number of sample	124	176	176	176	176	176	176
α	.870	.922	.654	.865	.623	.623	.722

3.1.7 Data Collection

While surveying the study site, I was collecting preliminary data to create a questionnaire from the group of teenagers having similar characteristics of the sample groups. After the questionnaire was verified, it was used with those experiencing traffic injury that possessed the required characteristics. Two important sources of information were Mueang Hospital and the provincial school. With regard to data collection among patients in Mueang Hospital, purposive sampling technique was used due to a need to collect data from a certain number of samples according to the formula calculated and due to health restrictions of the samples. As for data collection among the control group, students in the provincial school, non-purposive sampling technique was adopted because their characteristics could not be categorized according to the table of characteristics above. Therefore, data of students of all levels in the available classes were collected through the questionnaires. The questionnaires completed by the students possessing the characteristics of the control group were selected for further statistical analysis.

During the period, data from three sources were simultaneously collected: patients, teenage students in the provincial school without traffic injury, and teenage

motorcyclists who were no longer students. Therefore, there was a need to have a research assistant responsible for coordinating with the sample group during waiting for me and interviewing some samples in case that they were allowed to go back home because an interview at home was difficult and interview occurring too late after an incident might increase data inaccuracy. I trained the research assistant, who was an officer in Mueang Hospital in interviewing and using the questionnaire as well as monitored her interviewing so that it conformed to technical principles and discussed with her regularly.

After the questionnaires were completed, their completeness was verified before being used for statistical analysis. Collection of the data lasted from October, 2004 to November, 2006 (25 months). The reason why it lasted long is too much specific characteristics, for example, experiencing severe traffic accidents. Furthermore, due to health condition of the teenage patients, I had to attach great importance to their personal time and rest. Because each questionnaire was composed of a lot of items and the personality test had scales allowing the respondents to side with themselves, the data from severely injured motorcyclists could not be used for result analysis, which prolonged data collection period.

3.1.8 Statistical Analysis

1) Statistical analyses and data management were performed using a statistical software program and significance was set at 0.05

2) Frequency, means, percentage and standard variation were determined to describe the data.

3) Bivariate relationship were calculated using chi-squared, odds ratios (OR) and 95% confidence intervals (CI) for categorical variables.

4) Multivariate relationship were performed using Multiple logistic regression.

3.2 Research Result

3.2.1 Testing Assumptions

The Assumptions were tested before analyze the Multiple Logistic Regression composed

1) Testing normal distribution of independent variables composed sex, age, attitude towards road traffic safety, perceived susceptibility, perceived seriousness , perceive concern towards safety riding, risky riding style, extrovert scale personality and neurotic scale personality by mean, mode, median, standard deviation, skewness, and kurtosis.It was found that they were interval scale

2) Testing multicolinearity by bivariate correlation. It has not found multicolinearity.

3.2.2 Multiple Logistic Regression Analysis

The Enter technique were used for analyze multiple logistic regression. The table 3.2 found that The Linear Regression Model were

logit (D_1) = βo + β_1 sex + $\beta_2$age+ β_3 perceived susceptibility + β_4 perceived seriousness + β_5 attitude + β_6 risky riding style + β_7 extrovert personality + β_8 neurotic personality + $\beta_9$riding style

Iteration = 5

-2 log likelihood (-2LL_1) = 364.138

Constant (βo) = 3.841

logit (D_1) = 3.841 + 2.388 sex -.296 age -.022 perceived susceptibility +.095 perceived seriousness +.084 attitude - .007 risky riding style +.035 extrovert personality - .085 neurotic personality

Table3.2 Regression Coefficient (β_1) and Significance Values of Variables.

Variable	Regression coefficient (β_1)	Sig.
sex	2.388	0.000
age	-.296	0.000
perceived susceptibility	-.022	0.000
perceived seriousness	.095	0.001
perceived concern toward safety riding	.000	0.987
attitude	.084	0.032
Risky riding style	-.007	0.510
extrovert personality	.035	0.366
neurotic personality	-.085	0.006

Wald statistic were used for testing parameter B

H_0: $\beta_0 = \beta_i = \beta_i = \ldots = \beta_i = 0$

H_1: $\beta_0 \neq \beta_i \neq \beta_i \neq \ldots \neq \beta_i$ 0

Wald Value = $(\beta_i / S.E)^2$

Table3.3 Wald and p-Value of Variables.

Variable	Wald Value	p-value
sex	$(2.388/.338)^2$ = 49.920	.000
age	$(-.296/.078)^2$ = 14.387	.000
perceived susceptibility	$(-.022/.003)^2$ = 55.230	.000
perceived seriousness	$(.095/.029)^2$ = 11.029	.001
Perceived concern towards safety riding	$(-.000/.010)^2$ = .000	.987
attitude	$(.084/.039)^2$ = 4.604	.032
risky riding style	$(-.007/.010)^2$ = .433	.510
extrovert personality	$(.035/.038)^2$ = .816	.366
neurotic personality	$(-.085/.031)^2$ = 7.428	.006

The p-value of Wald Value sex, Wald Value age, Wald Value perceived susceptibility , Wald Value perceived seriousness, Wald Value attitude, Wald Value neurotic personality, show significance that mean the model has potential to predict severe road traffic injury.

The p-value of Wald Value extrovert personality, Wald Value concern and worry , Wald Value riding style showed no significance that was mean the model has no potential to predict severe road traffic injury.

Table 3.4 The Relative Risks of Injury associated with Risk Factors.

Variables	B	S.E	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95.0% C.I. for EXP (B)	
							Lower	Upper
Sex	2.388	.338	49.920	1	.000	10.889	5.615	21.117
Age	-.296	.078	14.387	1	.000	.744	.638	.867
Perceived Susceptibility	-.022	.003	55.230	1	.000	.978	.973	.984
Perceived Seriousness	.095	.029	11.029	1	.001	1.099	1.040	1.162
Perceived concern towards Safety Riding	.000	.010	.000	1	.987	1.000	.981	1.019
Attitude towards Road Traffic Safety	.084	.039	4.604	1	.032	1.088	1.007	1.175
Risky riding style	-.007	.010	.433	1	.510	.993	.974	1.013
Personality Scale E	.035	.038	.816	1	.366	1.035	.960	1.116
Personality Scale N	-.085	.031	7.428	1	.006	.919	.864	.976
Constant	3.841	1.893	4.115	1	.043	46.559		

Based on Table 3.4, it is found that The value of Exp (B) of sex = 10.889, which means that male teenagers have a 10.889 times higher risk of experiencing serious traffic injury than female teenagers with a minimum to maximum range at the 95% confidence level from 5.615 to 21.117 times.

The value of Exp (B) of age = .744, which means that elder motorcyclists have a .744 times higher risk of experiencing serious traffic injury than younger motorcyclists with a minimum to maximum range at the 95% confidence level from .638 to .867 times.

The value of Exp (B) of perceived susceptibility = .978, which means that motorcyclists with higher perceived susceptibility of traffic injury have a .978 times

higher risk of experiencing serious traffic injury than those with lower perceived susceptibility of traffic injury with a minimum to maximum range at the 95% confidence level from .973 to .984 times.

The value of Exp (B) of perceived seriousness = 1.099, which means that motorcyclists with higher perceived seriousness of traffic accidents have a 1.099 times higher risk of experiencing serious traffic injury than those with lower perceived seriousness of traffic accidents with a minimum to maximum range at the 95% confidence level from 1.040 to 1.162 times.

The value of Exp (B) of attitude = 1.088 which means that motorcyclists with positive attitudes to safe riding have a 1.088 times higher risk of experiencing serious traffic injury than those with negative attitudes to safe riding with a minimum to maximum range at the 95% confidence level from 1.007 to 1.175 times.

The value Exp (B) of neurotic personality = .919, which means that motorcyclists with neurotic personality have a .919 times higher risk of experiencing serious traffic injury than those without neurotic personality with a minimum to maximum range at the 95% confidence level from .864 to .976 times.

According to an analysis of risk factors of severe traffic injury based on logistic regression, it was found that the variables of sex, age, perceptions of the risks of severe traffic injury, perceptions of the severity of impacts of traffic accidents, attitudes to safe riding and personalities in term of emotional instability-stability can predict severe traffic injury among motorcyclists aged lower 18 years. That is, motorcyclists aged lower 18 years, who were males, had low perceptions of the risks of traffic injury and had emotional stability would have a high risk of severe traffic injury. An interesting finding is that the motorcyclists aged below 18 having high perceptions of the severity of impacts of traffic accidents and positive attitudes to safe riding had a high risk of serious traffic injury, which is accordance with the results of analysis of number and percentage of motorcyclists aged below 18 who experienced serious traffic injury, suggesting that most of them were males (80.4%), had low perceptions of the risks of traffic accidents (36.9%) and had high perceptions of the severity of impacts after experiencing a traffic accident (57.7%).

An analysis of relations between psychological factors and risky riding styles among the motorcyclists aged below 18 experiencing serious traffic injury suggests

that their perceptions of the risks of traffic injury, extrovert-introvert personalities and emotional stability-instability have positive relations with risky riding styles while perceptions of importance of safe riding and attitudes to safe riding have negative relations with risking riding styles. This shows that the motorcyclists aged below 18 had high perceptions of the risks of traffic injury, low perceptions of importance of safe riding, negative attitudes to safe riding, introvert personalities, emotional instability and risky riding styles.

The research study provides basic information of the characteristics of severely injured motorcyclists and its some findings are in accordance with those of previous research studies, for instance, male teenagers and younger teenagers have a high risk of traffic accidents. Furthermore, it has a notable finding, that is, although motorcyclists aged 18 experiencing serious traffic injury had high perceptions of the risks of traffic injury, they had highly risky riding styles, low perceptions of importance of safe riding and negative attitudes to safe riding.

Ethnographic methods were employed for data collection through involving myself in the world of teenagers who got severely injured due to motorcycle riding to create a better understanding and explanation for the phenomenon of severe injury due to motorcycle riding under a concept that the phenomenon is caused by risky riding style, which is a result of concepts and everyday life actions related to lifestyle in the socio-cultural contexts of the young motorcyclists.

CHAPTER 4
ENTERING INTO THE WORLD OF YOUNG MOTORCYCLE GANG

The chapter will present fieldwork in a community in an eastern province of Thailand from May 2004 to December 2006. It was believed that involvement in activities and lifestyles of the teenagers and living in their community for a relatively long period, studying their lifestyles in their social gathering as well as creating an understanding of their social relations with their peer groups of the same age and people around them would lead to an understanding of their daily-life stories related to motorcycle riding styles. Furthermore, it was also believed that participatory observations would allow witnessing their symbols, jargons and rites related to their lifestyles and motorcycle riding. What to be presented includes 1) Site selection and fieldwork 2) Insider?: Field data collection 3) Data analysis 4) Presentation of research findings

4.1 Site Selection and Fieldwork

4.1.1 Site Selection and Self-Preparation Prior to Entering the World of Young Motorcyclists

Countrywide statistical data concerning severe traffic injury and death prepared by the Ministry of Public Health were studied in order to find a community in a province with a high prevalence of traffic accidents. After the statistical data at provincial level were obtained, the statistical data at district level prepared by Provincial Public Health Office was studied.

Mueang District in an eastern Thai Province was selected as the study site because it had the highest number of teenagers injured by riding motorcycles among other districts. Furthermore, as it was not a very large community, it was appropriate

for anthropological research, which facilitated learning and creating a relationship with key informants.

The first thing done after the study site was determined was studying its preliminary data from official documents, followed by surveying communities in Mueang District by driving a car, taking a bus, riding a motorcycle and walking, which was the most frequently used method in order to see an overview of lifestyles of the local people. In addition, all main roads, minor roads, streets, conditions of areas including farms, orchards, aquaculture farms, entertainment places, mini parks, public parks, schools, hospitals, temples, markets, police stations, transportation stations and foundations were studied as the preliminary data so as to learn and create familiarity with the area. The area was viewed not only a physical space but also a social space, through which social relations, especially those among young motorcyclists were searched for.

I drove a car and walked to survey places where teenagers in the community did activities and spent their life from the morning, late morning, afternoon, evening, night until dawn. I made observations of their motorcycle riding and created a relationship with some government officers[1] in agencies concerned, e.g. police officers, health officers in hospitals, high-school teachers, officers of Provincial Road Safety Center, and officers of Provincial Disaster Prevention Office. In addition, I formulated a question guideline that I thought would help me find explanations for severe traffic injury among teenage motorcyclists.

4.1.2 Seeking Key Informants

I sought key informants among teenage patients that were severely injured by road accidents staying at Mueang Hospital, a government hospital in the community, to make myself known to them and people around them as well as to create familiarity with their peer group to get better access to their world. The teenage key informants answering the 2nd and 3rd research questions possessed the following characteristics: 1) Being a teenage motorcyclist seriously injured by overturning his/her motorcycle 2) Being a teenage motorcyclist seriously injured by crashing other vehicles, passers-by, animals or traffic hindrances.

[1] I think knowing government officers in agencies concerned is a social capital, which will facilitate accessing the information sources and aid for researchers working alone in the field.

I started making myself known to the key informants while they were staying at the hospital by sitting talking with them beside their bed in order to create our familiarity. Next, I interviewed them and asked them to take a psychological test. In this step, an officer working on traffic injury and death data assisted me in work coordination, contact, talking with the teenage patients and preparing the psychological tests. I trained her to understand data collection techniques to acquire academically accurate data. Talking with the cases coincided with linking, concluding and processing data from their narratives and questionnaires.

Four months later, I found that most severely injured young motorcyclists were male teenagers, who experienced the road accident at night and that they started riding a motorcycle when they were studying in senior primary school level, the period in which they did not fully occupy a motorcycle and for them, riding a motorcycle was merely part of playing with their friends within the community.

When studying in high-school level, mostly in the provincial school, which was located far away from their community, some of them were allowed by their parents to ride a motorcycle to school instead of taking a bus due to many reasons, e.g. the equivalence between daily bus fares and cost of lunch, time saving and congestion on the bus in the morning and evening. These sounded reasonable enough for parents to let their children ride a motorcycle to school even though they had no riding license and their school did not allow them to ride a motorcycle to school. Among the cases, there was only a female teenager, who, however, had a boyish personality.

While I was collecting data via talking with and interviewing the teenagers at the hospital, I was collecting data in the provincial school via talking with and interviewing students of all levels in formal style through, e.g. individual and group interview and in informal style through, e.g. talking to them during their free time outside class with general topics, e.g. their daily life, school, peers and studying. In addition, I interviewed teachers in the school, including those working in Administration Section or Counseling Section or regular teachers. I also walked around the school to make an understanding of the stories I had heard. A student said to me about life in each physical space, “I smoked in the toilet secretly. If my friends

had seen what I'd done, they'd have called me 'Ai Bat'[2]." I surveyed around the buildings and in the classrooms, where I saw messages on the desks and walls. For example, 'Khifun Gang'[3], it was a phrase written on the desks and appearing in many places below other messages, which expressed affection and boredom. Some messages on the desks were the same as those existing on the walls and traffic signs, e.g. 'Wawun Chang-ngang'[4] and 'Kao Yot Gang'.

During a period, I arrived at the school at 7 a.m. daily, hoping to observe lives in the space from the morning to dusk. A certain period later, I started to learn lifestyles of the students here, which had connection to various spaces, e.g. classrooms, toilets, sport fields, pavilions and marble tables, canteen, shops opposite to the school etc. Different lifestyles reflected a variety of teenagers in the school.

Six months later, I became accustomed to the community. Talking with teenagers at the hospital and school allowed me to process the picture of life of teenagers in the school and other public spaces, e.g. markets, department stores, entertainment places and public parks during daytime and nighttime. The data analysis suggested that if I knew in-depth data on the young motorcyclists' family and life within the community, I would be able to have clearer explanations for their injury due caused by motorcycle riding. Therefore, I prepared myself to enter the key informants' community. The first key informant was a 17-year-old boy severely injured by riding a motorcycle and hitting an old man crossing the road during nighttime.

4.2 Insider?: Field Data Collection

The clock in front of my car said that it was over 3 p.m. when I reached in front of a technical college in Mueang District, where I saw a lot of students walking

[2] 'Ai Bat' comes from 'Bambat', which means 'therapy'. In this context, it means a drug user arrested by the police and sent to receive therapy under Citizen Development Project. Being acted upon in such a manner made them feel inferior and loss self-esteem. A student said, "Putting me in jail is better than sending me to have the therapy."

[3] 'Khifun' in Thai means 'dust'.

[4] 'Wawun' in Thai means 'upset' and 'Chang-ngang' in Thai means 'stupefied'.

on the pavement on the side of the main road I had just passed. Some of them were talking with their friends and some were sitting at the bus stop. On the opposite side of the college, there was a large group of teenagers gathering in front of a motorcycle shop. Some were sitting on a motorcycle and some were standing busy with fixing their motorcycles. On another side of the shop, there were a lot of trophy cups displayed. I drove until the end of the road and turned left into the provincial school.

Almost all students in the school rode a motorcycle out of the school with (a) pillion passenger (s). Some wore a helmet or had 1-2 pillion passengers, who were their friends. It seemed that some had already been back home but returned to the school again to pick up their friends. The picture of a large number of students riding a motorcycle in front of the school reminded me of statistical data in accident surveillance reports of the provincial hospital.

In front of the school, there was a market, which used to be a bus terminal, where a large number of shops were located. Around the bus terminal, there were many food shops. I decided to walk into a shop where there were a lot of students. Meanwhile, I heard a group of students say with familiarity to the shopkeeper, "Uncle Mi, 5 glasses of iced Ovaltine."

I sat near them and ordered a glass of iced coffee. While Uncle Mi was making coffee, there was a boy walking towards a cupboard to pick some cigarettes and gave a cigarette to each of his friends. Later, there were many teenagers entering the shop and greeting Uncle Mi familiarly. I noticed a young boy, who looked like a gangster rather than a student 'wai'[5] other elder students, which interested me. I walked following the group of students, who rode a motorcycle with a striking riding style. They started their motorcycle powerfully and rode it with high speed and unique riding style, which also interested me.

I started entering the world of the young motorcyclists through making myself known to the 17-year-old boy, who had to undergo a brain operation and wear a splint on his broken leg due to riding a motorcycle with style described by experts as 'risky' and then hitting an elderly man crossing the road at a curve near his village. The statistics suggested that there was a high prevalence of road accidents at the curve in front of his village. Following the boy into his community was aimed at locating

[5] 'Wai' in Thai means 'raising hands pressed together as a sign of respect'.

myself as a community member in order to create an understanding of the socio-cultural context of teenagers seriously injured by motorcycle riding.

The incident caused severe injury to both of them. The boy decided to leave the hospital to go back home prior to being completely cured and informing a hospital staff about his decision because he had no money for medical treatment. He was informed by a nurse that he had to pay for the treatment himself because he did not register his motorcycle under Road Victim Protection Act.

The hospital officer who helped me with collecting preliminary data and contacting with me when there were new seriously injured teenagers at the hospital told me that she had learned from the boy during when he stayed at the hospital that Tha Yai Market was the last place which he visited before riding a motorcycle so speedily that he hit the elderly man. The information encouraged me to follow the boy. I went to Tha Yai Market to ask other boys about him in order to prepare data before meeting him at his house, of which the address was informed by him at the hospital's Registration Division.

During nighttime, at a soft-boiled rice shop at Tha Yai Market, a 15-year-old girl was busy with serving food to clients sitting at the tables on the side of footpath and I was one of her clients. When the girl served me food, I talked with her to create our familiarity. As she liked to talk and tell stories, our relationship moved on well. She said she knew Ko, the boy I was searching for and knew stories relating his accident and leaving the hospital due to a lack of money. She told me his stories with voice and facial expression of pride of being someone who knew him and was paid attention to by his peers. She said, "All boys in this gang ride a motorcycle with high speed and Ko rides the fastest. At Ban Sang, Ko and Ke are the coolest boys and they are also chic."

I wondered why the girl knew the stories about Ko and his peers well even though she did not live in the same village of him since this is not likely the way of perception of mine, a middle-class person living in the capital city and passing over half of the entire life. After being involved with the teenagers in the community, my lifestyle changed and I knew stories about their social actions although I did not witness them. I learned various stories relating to the group of teenagers I knew and did not know. Accumulation of narratives about their social actions transmitted

among teenagers helped me with creating a relationship with them when I had a chance to make myself known to them as the girl did.

The girl also said that Ko and his friends always rode motorcycles to find something to eat at Tha Yai Market and that at dusk, they always rode their motorcycles to many places and sped up their motorcycles when passing her food shop as well as shouted to tease or greet her by calling her name and then went.

After I learned Ko's life from her and her friends to some extent, I entered to Ban Sang Community with the hospital officer, who used to talk with him while he was staying at the hospital.

The reason why Ko left the hospital even though he had not received any advice from a doctor about self-care and continual treatment after cutting the stitch was related to 'financial factor'. He chose to leave the hospital secretly with a thought that cutting the stitch was the end of the treatment process. He said, "I had no money even for eating and I hadn't paid for the motorcycle installment for many months. Then, how can I pay for the treatment?"

I searched for the place where he lived by asking other villagers since the address he gave to the hospital was inaccurate. A merchant in the village pointed to the place where he sat. When I walked toward him and told him that I was university lecturer, who was studying in Ph.D. program and would like to make a report about road accidents among teenagers, he smiled to me and took me to her mother's food shop at the end of the market. During the first time, our conversation was under a formal atmosphere. While we were talking, his mother and other teenagers always stopped to look at us and listen to what we were saying. During that time, I did not expect to obtain in-depth information from him but just to introduce myself to and create a relationship with him to build a network connecting teenagers and me via him.

Being a stranger in the community started when I drove a car and dressed like 'a big man'[6] and asked people where Ko was. Although I tried hard to change my look, I was still the tarket of gossip among the villagers. Various doubts among them were derived from the way I dressed and acted, my aim to create a relationship

[6] I wore slack trousers and long-slipped cotton blouse. For Thai people, it seems to be a dress for rich people or high-raking people.

with teenagers, who were mostly male whilst I was female as well as sensitivity of the community's history. In the past, the community was notorious for drug sale and casinos. Their doubts included why I did not spend time on teaching but being associated with these male teenagers and why I did not blame them for their improper behavior, e.g. drinking and smoking. These made some villagers understand that I was a police spy, had an affair with some boys in the community or had minor mental disorder. Their attitudes sometimes affected me. Many times, the teenagers that were my key informants consoled me and encouraged me to revise myself so that I was stronger to carry on the fieldwork.

"You must accept these reactions. This is the nature of villagers. They'll understand you sometime." said Ko, during a night when I felt discouraged by gossip of some villagers suggesting that I had an affair with him.

Therefore, I adjusted myself to make people in the community get familiar with me by spending my life each day in public spaces within the community through drinking coffee at a coffee shop to talk with elderly people to make us know each other; walking throughout the community and searching for social spaces of teenagers with a use of a walking map, which was aimed to create intimacy with the villagers and to search for social relations related to teenagers and their motorcycles; having all meals at food shops within the community; and doing all activities that the villagers did.

Later, I felt that the villagers paid less attention to me and were more comfortable in front of me. However, I still looked different from them because I was mostly associated with young motorcycle gangsters, who were mostly male teenagers whilst I had passed teenage period for a long time. Association with the teenagers all time and social spaces, especially in their social actions that were not acceptable among the villagers made it difficult for me to avoid being a 'stranger' for them.

My relations with Ko went well. He answered all my questions and also asked me about my background. Visiting Ko everyday and being with him for a long period daily by doing activities, going out to eat and talking to each other strengthened our relationship.

Three months later, my relationship with Ko was like that of close friends. I was in all places where he was. At that time, it was disclosed that what he had told

me during the first period was a lie. Ko said, “At that time, I’d just known you and I didn’t know who you were.” The fieldwork experience made me realize that a key informant will definitely protect himself/herself and examine the researcher’s self. Although he had passed the world for not over 20 years, he made me completely believe him and repetitively analyze the reality he had constructed. Since then, I had revised my attitudes and stories I had learned and collected field data along with analyzing, revising and arguing with the key informants periodically and verifying the data with other sources through, e.g. talking with other teenagers, observing or interviewing elderly people in the community. Repetitive observation was also a method for data collection. However, my main data collection method was taking myself to all social activities with the teenagers as much as possible so long as it did not make me loss much self-respect. Therefore, I, the researcher, was the most important instrument in the research study.

The fieldwork experiences made me learn how to adjust my language and action and reduce expectation to search for information to answer the research questions. I started to act naturally as a community member and spend more time with the teenagers apart from in-depth interviews. Furthermore, I paid more attention to other issues that did not exist in the guideline. Making myself easy, being close to Ko and spending more time with him gradually enhanced our relationship. I acted as if I had been a member of his gang and tried to make myself known to his friends. I started to create a relationship with his closest friend, ‘Ke’ and his relatives, ‘Maen’ ‘Chok’ and ‘Keng’. All of them were young motorcyclists with risky riding style and experienced serious traffic injury. He and other teenagers living at the end of the market took me to walk around the community and told me about activities they had done in the area. They said, “In the street, we gathered to use drugs.”, “I must park my motorcycles here so that no one knows where it is to avoid impounding.”, “Here, I taught Dia to smoke.” or “My father slapped me from here to there.” I walked throughout the village and within the teenagers’ houses. Surveying the physical space thoroughly allowed me to understand lifestyles of villagers and see relations between a physical space and social space. For example, the row houses at the end of the market, which were deep, dark and had small ways connected to other row houses and small alleys as entrance to other parts allowed people to do illegal

actions and escape the police easily. Furthermore, they facilitated the teenagers' confidential activities, e.g. drug use and sexual harassment.

Whilst some groups of adults were puzzled by my actions, which was different from those of general highly-educated people, my relationship with the group of teenagers went on better as perceived through their concern about me. "You can move to live near my place. I've surveyed a place, which is a good place for you. I worry when you drop me and drive back. Behind Plaza, robbery often happened." said Ko at 2 a.m. before we separated after riding motorcycles and talking on the roadside within the community. That they slept at my room, kept asking me to sleep at their room and rode me to many places during happy and sad time as well as doing something exciting, e.g. teasing police officers to arouse them to pursue us while we were escaping them or escaping another gang of teenagers made me feel that I was a member in their gang.

Ko and his friends introduced me to another group of friends that did not live at the end of the market but about 2 km. away from their village, at Trok Khao Lam Community, where I knew Non Gang. Ko took me to the gang to show me Non's 'Oishi Motorcycle', which was a Honda Wave with new frames having colors and patterns of a brand of drink featured by a worm. The Oishi motorcycle was parked near a black Honda Wave decorated in teenage style. Teenagers in the gang, especially the motorcycles' owners looked proud of their motorcycles and pleased with showing excitement and enthusiasm and asked me to take photos of my motorcycle.

Self-introduction among the teenagers expanded their social network. Accordingly, it was not surprising that when they gathered to ride motorcycles for pleasure or to ride illegal motorcycles for racing, there would be over hundred participants, who were contacted via mobile phones not many minutes before each activity started. A gang was composed of members, which might be an alliance or enemy of another gang. During this time, my social relations with the young motorcyclists started to expand, from those at the end of Ban Sang Market, Non Gang, Tha Yai Market, Khlong Kut, Wiang Tai to Sano Gang. I took myself to the teenagers' communities and started to understand the map of their social networks related to actions in their daily life.

Selection of key informants in such a manner made me find that my field data reflect 2 features of the key informants: 1) being a lower-middle class teenager with clear marginality with regard to economic and socio-cultural background and 2) being a male teenager. Preliminarily, I had aimed to study risky riding style of female teenagers as well; however, when I was involved with nightlife through risky motorcycle riding with the teenagers, I found that the world was mostly occupied by boys or boyish girls.

I did not know if I was able to enter the space where the teenagers stood to allow me view and feel about the world as they did; however, I felt that my feelings and actions toward motorcycles has changed since I entered the community. My experiences, which were gradually accumulated and resulted from actions in daily life during living with the teenagers in the community changed my feelings from 'fear and tenseness' even when riding pillion on a motorcycle to 'happiness, fun and relaxation'. The feeling of delight when riding a motorcycle without fear for danger originated from operation of my senses. While I was riding or riding pillion on a motorcycle, the key informants taught me to love motorcycle riding without fear for heat of the sun even during the afternoon. The practice gradually went on informally in daily life.

A boy said to me, "Teens don't control handles like this." and "Take off the helmet. No one wears it in the evening." When riding pillion on a motorcycle, I was no longer tense and did not need to hold the side of the motorcycle but folded my arm over my chest as most teenagers did. "The way you place your feet shows that you have no riding skills." said Ken while taking my ankle to the foot pegs found in some types of motorcycles by pressing my legs against his legs, which was commonly practiced among teenagers.

Apart from change in my feeling about motorcycles and motorcycle riding, I felt affection, concern and attachment among us. For example, at about 3 a.m., after our nightlife ended, Boi asked me to stay overnight at his house due to his concern about my safety as they were going to use drugs.

I was the only woman among five boys in a house located at the end of a deep and narrow street, behind which there was tall grass and a small ditch and where cars were not able to pass. At his house, there was a pack of dogs, which always barked at

people even when they were in the middle of the street to signal to him that some strangers were coming.

I admitted that at that time I was frightened and posed many questions concerning my actions, which seemed to be against my ethics. My fear and questions were perceived from choosing to sleep on a long sofa outside the room where they were using drugs. At least, sleeping at the position that did not allow me to see what they were doing was a claim that I did not encourage them to do such a thing.

I slept on the old sofa with weariness caused by all-day-long activities. In front of me was a boy who refused to take drugs. He was asked by one of his friends to look after me. The other four boys were taking drugs in the next small room while its door was open. Before that, the boy borrowed my mobile phone to order the drugs from someone I knew. While I was half asleep, he inserted my small pillow under my head and covered me with a blanket politely and set an only electric fan in the house in front of me. I pretended to be asleep to observe his actions. Then, he entered the small room and then I heard Ja[7] say while using drugs, "I really love Pu (me). We're really bad but she is still associated with us."

Apart from concern about me, one thing showing that I won their heart is that 2 days after I returned to Bangkok, they kept asking me to 'go back to their home' and told me all their stories as ordinary matters although they seemed to be too dangerous and violent to be accepted by general people in Thai society[8], which often made me feel uncomfortable, angry, guilty and have conflicts in my mind and such feelings were like a sign that I existed amidst 'others' that have a different self and values from mine and from people with whom I have been involved and that I was entering into a lesson on making an understanding of 'others'. I started to gain more understanding of them after I had taken off my self from the past social world and

[7] Ja in Thai means 'noncommissioned police officer'. He was given the name due to his spirit of adventure and high self-confidence. He was accepted among his group as a 'strong' person with regard to riding, leading life and using drugs. Apart from the characteristics, he was a leading member due to having a good 'back'.

[8] These include extorting money from younger children, fighting with another gang so that they were seriously injured, having a sexual relationship with girls carelessly, buying, keeping and using illegal guns, using drugs and destroying official offices, especially police's boxes.

regarded them as they were with more empathy and acceptance of different values and human dignity.

I spent most time with them in all places and circumstances, including buying, selling, riding, fixing and modifying motorcycles, visiting a discotheque or casino, seeing and flirting with girls, ordaining ceremony, marriage or fighting with other gangs.

In February, at Bang Phra Temple, almost all teenagers in Bang Phra Gang and I went to the funeral of Boi's father. I was the only old person in the big group of teenagers. Outsiders might view that I was different from these teenagers; however, for them, I was their sister.

"I love you more than my mother. As for father, who has raised me, I never say that I love him. But I will say that I love you." said Boi. He expressed his feeling to me after I blamed him for destroying things in the house with anger and resentment after his motorcycle was arrested by a police officer. And when he told this to me, I was paying attention to what other boys were saying.

The teenagers and I exchanged feelings to each other periodically as it could be. One day, during Red Cross Fair, Boi, a high-speed rider of the gang was so hungry for drugs that he was very anxious. He tried to seek 500 baht to respond to his desire. I looked at him with concern and a sharp conflict occurred in my mind. Conscience of a teacher, morality and ethics with which I had been socialized severely fought against my thought to give him money to relieve his suffering. Finally, I decided to give him 500 baht with a letter reading 'I am not happy to do what a good teacher shouldn't do; however, I don't want to see you suffer. I hope that what I am doing will occur the first and last time.' After he read the letter, he returned the money to me and said that that he did not want me to do so. He said, "I don't want you to be involved with drugs." Although I told him that he could keep the money with himself to buy food, he still refused to get it, reasoning that it could not be spent for other things but drugs (his thought shows his good conscience in controlling himself for taking drugs. That is, he would buy drugs with money that he got from a rightful method, which did not make him feel uneasy).

Even when the teenagers were at odds with one another, I was a person who could 'reconcile' it. For example, at 2 p.m. on Saturday, Ko and members of Ban

Sang Gang rode motorcycles to a discotheque. After it was closed, they walked outside and saw Den, who came with members of Bang Phra Gang. Ko walked toward Den, who sat on a motorcycle parked in front of the discotheque and pulled down his neck. Den resisted against him while Ko was hitting his belly and stabbed it with an ice pincer. Den thought that it was a knife and then he punched Ko immediately. Ko's friends walked towards Den to punch him whilst Ko called Nueng, his brother to help him, saying that Den had punched him. Nueng, who did not witness the event from the first time went to help Ko by punching Den. Den did not fight against him because he was older than him. Tony, who was an elder boy respectable in Ban Sang Gang went to stop them. When I walked toward them, Tony told me the story and asked me to help him deal with the situation[9] unless the conflict between Ban Sang and Bang Phra Gang would be severer.

"Only you who can clear the conflicts between Ban Sang and Bang Phra Gang so that they become united and help one another when there are problems." said Chai.

The situation could be settled. Ko and Nueng apologized to Den and Den forgave them. After that, they shook their hands.

I learn that values and ethics I took hold of is only something constructed by society to which I belong, not innate nature. Accordingly, the values that each person adopts cannot be used for judging values in other societies.

The examples of feelings and actions are part of life and activities in a community, which made me, realize that the teenagers and I shared some experiences. Although I cannot say that I was an 'insider' of the group, I entered the state of being an 'insider' in terms of space and feeling, which allowed me to understand their feelings on and relations with their motorcycles within their socio-cultural context better than the period in which I had not been involved with them. However, the narration is merely a reality produced through my self mixed with

[9] Tom was not able to deal with the situation because he was a senior of Bang Phra Gang but a relative of Nueng and Ko.

reality constructed by the teenagers and people in the community with whom I had spent my life for over 2 years.

4.3 Data Analysis

Data analysis to answer the research questions was periodically conducted throughout the period of living with the teenagers in the community. I reviewed data obtained from non-participatory observation, note jotting and interviewing daily. Reading field writing over and over, interpretation, analysis, organization and classification of field data of each period enabled me to have an understanding of the phenomena, explain social actions in their daily life more clearly and carry on the fieldwork. In addition, it enabled me to revise the conceptual framework, which is related to the research questions. Conducing data analysis during data collection allowed me to adjust the conceptual framework and research questions as well as data collection techniques more clearly and in line with phenomena.

A certain period later, I obtained more detailed and diverse data and the key informants revealed their self and had a tighter relationship with me, which led to a better understanding of their social network and relations so that an analysis on the phenomenon of traffic injury and death among the young motorcyclists is no longer a still picture or superficial explanation.

Around 1 year after the fieldwork through data collection and analysis, I started to classify and organize the filed data through analysis of meanings and relations of the phenomena based on the views of insiders, young motorcyclists that were my key informants (native's category). Data categorization as well as analysis of patterns of meanings and relations of the phenomena under their socio-cultural context allowed me to understand and explain the meaning of motorcycles according to their attitudes, which are different from those of their parents, experts and other people in society. Field data analysis based on my categorization reveals that the meanings of motorcycles among the young motorcyclists lie upon unique socio-cultural conditions. Analyzing the relations of the data and classifying conditions to explain causes, occurrence and existence of such meanings led to an explanation for underlying conditions of their meanings of motorcycles as to how motorcycles

became a type of living things and as to which processes and socio-cultural conditions influence the construction of such meanings.

Over 3-year period in the field gave me a lot of detailed data. By nature, the key informants were sensitive; therefore, creating their trust in me through spending time together was an essential strategy in the research study. As some field data comprise sensitive issues, they had to be verified. For example, after field data were analyzed based on the concept of social relations among the teenagers, which is related to riding style, social violence and careless sexual relations, an observation of reoccurrence of the phenomena was made apart from being involved in the events and interviewing other groups of key informants. Data collection alternated with data analysis and revision of conceptual framework and research questions were dynamically and continuously done until the end of data presentation.

4.4 Presentation of Research Findings

The research findings are composed of 2 parts: quantitative findings and qualitative findings, which are narratives revealing correlations among factors related to severe injury and death of teenagers under their socio-cultural context.

Qualitative data are presented in 2 chapters according to my research questions: Chapter 5: Two of Us: Motorcycles and Fetishism in the World of Teenagers, which is aimed at answering why motorcycles became a superb thing for the teenagers and how they became a fascinating symbol and led to racing among the teenagers and Chapter 6: Speed, Violence and Sex: Young Motorcycle Gang and Social Exclusion, which is aimed at answering why the teenagers used risky riding styles and how serious injury due to their risky riding reflects the socio-cultural aspects of teenagers in general.

Overall, the content of each chapter is independent; however, some parts of data have connection. The writing style is narrative through experiences of the researcher, who had lived with the teenagers for over 3 years. Most data come from my direct experiences from being involved myself with events and stories told by the key informants. Despite long living with the teenagers and observation of

recurring situations, I cannot say that the writing presented will free from the bias from my ‘self’.

CHAPTER 5
THE TWO OF US: MOTORCYCLES AND FETISHISM IN THE WORLD OF TEENAGERS

> "I am one of those who love motorcycles. I feel as if it was alive. It's me who gave my motorcycle muscle and energy. When I bought it, it was weak, so we took care of it."[1]

5.1 Introduction

In this research, I will present the results from the field research and information from documents through my interpretation and discussion with existing theories in order to explain why motorcycles are a dream for teenagers in the community. The Social Life of Thing of Appadurai was applied to explain the findings from the field research. Appadurai suggested that things had a social life like human beings.[2] The meaning of things cannot be separated from transactions. Citing reasons and motivation of human beings in terms of meaning are inscribed according to their types, usage and trajectories. The analysis of trajectories enables us to understand the meaning of communication and activities of people and enlivens things. Appadurai proposed that the methodology of studying things in motion would enable us to understand people and social context.[3]

Based on the findings of the study on the way of life of teenagers in one province in the east, I suggested that produced motorcycles have more values, meaning and benefits than being only vehicles. Motorcycles for teenagers are as if

[1] Rang, a 17-old-year teenager was severely injured since he drove his motorcycle with a high speed so that he hit a middle-aged woman who was crossing the road.
[2] Arjun Appadurai, (ed.). The Social Life of Things : Commodities in Cultural Perspective. (London : Cambridge University Press,2003). p.3
[3] Arjun Appadurai, (ed.). The Social Life of Things : Commodities in Cultural Perspective.p.5

they were beloved living things. The relationship between teenagers and motorcycles is not only a trade transaction which ends after purchase but continues and develops through the motorcycle's life tied up with their lives. Such relationship makes the consumption of teenagers continue and develop into commodity fetishism. I have divided the content into three parts as follows:

The first part describes the origin of motorcycles in the society of industry capitalism and the definition of "commodities" in the context of consumerism society prior moving to communities where their meaning of "risk" appears. The risk relates to the life context of people concerned in the community.

The second part mentions about the definition and value of motorcycles through various perspectives of different ages as well as marketing operation of industry capitalism in the consumerism society participating in defining and giving value to motorcycles.

The third part presents a practical view in the daily life of teenagers who have binding relationship with motorcycles. The relationship between human beings and things becomes affectionate and intimate. Finally, motorcycles in the teenagers' world are not commodities but objects of crazy and passion which are regarded as the highest type of consumption where objects require attention and care like living things. This is a result of dynamic action between teenagers and industrial capitalism system.

5.2 Starting Point and Movement to Communities

Motorcycles originated from the end of 19th century to the beginning of 20th century. Meanwhile, consumerism took place. The development of motor vehicles reflected the changing culture in the society. At the beginning, wheels were invented in pre-history age. Later, they were developed to be bicycles. In 1885, Gottleb Daimler experimented with the four-engine made by Dr. Otto to invent the first motorcycle of the world[4]. Since that time the history of motorcycles began. After that motorcycles were widely used in Europe. Main producers were Germany, France and

[4] http://inventors.about.com/library/inventors/blmotorcycle.htm., 26 December 2005

Great Britain. They were not only used in normal lives but also in wartime e.g. in the World War I and II.

After the World War II, motorcycles were imported to Asia, in which Japan was a leader of technology. During that time, three companies of motorcycles production were established starting from Honda[5] in 1937, Suzuki[6] in 1952 and Yamaha[7] in 1955. Three companies competed in developing technology and marketing. Motorcycles were locally and internationally produced and sold. The companies applied different strategies to the competition among producers as well as advertisement of the quality of products and efficiency of companies at global level to stimulate the consumption and increase the sales volume. Motorcycles in this age meant "commodities" which were produced to make profits.

During Marshal Sarit Thanarat's period, the Thai economy developed the National Economic Development Plan (since 1961) and the policy of investment promotion under the concept of modern development. As a result, the industry of motorcycle manufacturing of Japan settled in Thailand starting from Honda[8] and Yamaha[9] in 1963 and Suzuki[10] in 1967. Motorcycles as "commodities" of the industrial capitalism system gradually played a role in the Thai society particularly in upper classes. Then, they expanded to consumer groups like residents and teenagers in rural communities.

Watthana Sukansi[11] wrote about the movement of motorcycles to rural communities. They represented the living conditions, convenience and fashion. The advantages of motorcycles were modified in accordance with the norm of assistance and network of relationship in the community. Watthana mentioned that the context of road development, building of relation network and convenience became a norm for modern age. Consequently, motorcycles were more increasingly needed. More than 80-90% of labor households spend their money on motorcycles. More than 95% of these households owned motorcycles.

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[5] http://powersports.honda.com/the_story/heritage_timeline.asp?Decade=1940, 26 December 2005
[6] http://www.globalsuzuki.com/corp_info/index.htm., 26 December 2005
[7] http://www.yamaha-motor.co.jp/global/profile/history/index.html., 20 December 2005
[8] http://world.honda.com/AsiaOceania/history.html., 26 December 2005
[9] http://www.yamaha-motor.co.th/Company., 20 December 2005
[10] http://www.spsuzuki.com/th/world/index_thaisu.asp., 24 February 2007
[11] Watthana Sukansi, Consumption Culture of laborers in rural communities (Bangkok:, Thailand Research Fund, 2001), page 1

Since 1984, the economy and construction had boomed in rural communities. In the study area, Watthana found that average one motorcycle was bought per month. Most people paid them instalments or mortgaged their land at the Bank for Agriculture & Agricultural Cooperative to buy motorcycles. Some bought second hand motorcycles as they were cheap. They became a part of people's way of life. They were named as "family motorcycle"[12], transvestite motorcycle[13] "male motorcycle"[14], "Philanderer's motorcycle"[15] or other names in related conditions like "bitten by a Japanese dog".[16]

The status of "commodities" of motorcycles with values and benefits was changed when they moved into the communities and became a part of the people's way of life and villager's consumption.

The relationship between teenagers and family members as well as neighbors and friends was a primary context of cultural society which formed habitus and a background of young riders. These riders had a driving waving style or defined by experts as "risky". Motorcycles which were closely related to lifestyles of people in the community became an important instrument for constructing a social space of marginalized teenagers.

I observed one teenager who was severely injured due to his frisky/daredevil riding[17] with high speed. He hit an old man who was crossing the road on a curve not far from his village. I brought myself into the community to understand young motorcyclists, their habits, way of life as well as social and cultural relationship which were related to the driving styles and their injuries caused by accidents.

This community was located in one province in the east. One-storey or one and a half-storey wooden house was built in a row and along the main river in this

[12] The motorbike has a basket on the front, average thrust and high benefits. It costs approximately 30,000-40,000 baht.
[13] Thin-shaped powerful motorcycles which are for both male and female riders are more expensive than family motorcycles.
[14] The price of relatively-large powerful motorcycle that looks like a racing motorcycle may reach 80,000 baht.
[15] It is believed that possessing a powerful large motorcycle with a colorful pattern and beautiful shape will help with flirting with women, which are desired by male teenagers in the village.
[16] In fact, getting wound from motorcycle overturning.
[17] Frisky/daredevil riding means riding at high speeds and lifting the front wheel alternated with riding on the plain repetitively.

province. In the backyard, these houses were adjacent to the river. Houses were located facing an alley. The areas in front of houses were modified to shops for selling consumer goods, food, fresh food, dried food and ready-to-eat food. Local villagers and tourists were tempted to buy their goods.

This community was more than 100 years old. The conditions of houses and other symbols reflected “antique”. A great change in the community started with road cut. Prior to the construction of roads, it used to be a community near the river where people used as a mode to commute at one pier at the head of the market, one in the middle of the market and one at the end of the market. “After cutting roads, everything has changed.” Kuang, a Chinese old man told me about the past story of the community, which used to be a market near the river and crowded with people from other areas to buy things. He told me the story while he was stirring and serving coffee to his tourist clients. [18]

Roads have changed the people’s way of life. In the past, transport routes ended at a market near the river. But after the construction of roads, villagers from other districts living upstream could travel on this road to go to the city and other nearby communities. This community was only a by pass. The trade became quiet. A crowd of people from other villagers declined. Only villagers living in the community were left.

During the field survey from 2004 to the end of 2006, there were two major groups of people from other villages. They had different goals for visiting this community which were related to time.

During daytime holidays, there were visitors including Thai and foreign tourists in Asia like Taiwan and China. They intended to visit the 100-year market[19]and pay homage to the Buddha image in the Chinese temple at the end of market. A barge was a vehicle taking tourists to go down the River from Wat Bang Phra pier, stop at a pier in Ban Sang community at the top of the market. The tourists were persuaded by a guide to walk from the top to the end of market. Along the walkway, there were many stalls selling food, utensils and souvenirs.

[18] This community was renovated to be an ancient community which was more than 100 years old.
[19] Ban Sang Market was renovated to serve as a cultural tourist site in 2004. This idea was supported by a local politician.

At night, at the end of market people from other villages parked their pickups, cars and motorcycles along the sidewalk and in an open space modified to be a temporary parking lot and went into legal gambling dens[20] located in the community.

"In the past, it was known that Ban Sang was a gambling and drug source. Most traders were Chinese-Thai people, the rest did nothing but went to gambling dens." Mi, a 75-old man in the community narrated the stories of people in his community in the past.

Based on my data collected from talking and living with teenagers, it was found that gambling and drug trade still existed until a son of a big drug dealer was arrested when the government strictly suppressed drugs like a phrase saying "a war against drugs."[21]

> "In the past, my mom had a lot of money. She sold drugs and gambled at the same time. Later, she could not sell drugs for fear of being arrested by police. However, my dad and brother were arrested and my mom lost her money while gambling. We needed to bail my brother out. But no money was left. At thee moment, my mom still plays gambling but not so often as she does not have money." [22]

[20] The gamblers of this gambling den explained to me that there were two types of gambling dens: illegal and legal gambling dens. Illegal gambling dens were places gamblers had to secretly gamble but in legal gambling dens, they could gamble without fearing that they would be arrested by police because the owners of gambling dens had paid some money to the police. The gambling dens in this community were poker casinos which had to pay 60,000 baht per month. Their owners informed that the amount of money paid to the police was unequal depending on the size and number of players. But it depended on how much it was agreed. If 60,000 baht was agreed, that amount had to be paid. Some time in the past, the dens were closed as there were few customers. The owners could collect few commissions to cover the payment for the police. Later, the local owners of gambling dens could share the payment with other people. So, they shared in finding gamblers to play. The gambling den was changed to locate in a house outside the community but not far away. This kind of den was called "running den" or a gambling den which was not permanently used but changed from time to time. It depended on the condition if they could agree with the police or not.

[21] Although big dealers of drug trade of in the community had stopped their business, some teenagers still used and some brought drug to buyers during my research time. It was widely known that some older teenagers were still small drug traders.

[22] Hooligans, who were severely injured as a result of daredevil motorcycling, talked about his economic conditions in the past.

During the time, I spent my life in this community which was changed to be a cultural tourist site. But the image of 100-year market seemed to exist only at the head and middle of the market. In contrary, houses, shops and snooker tables were located at the end of market. Besides, about 15 teenagers, aged 13-20 gathered at a pavilion. Some watched their friends playing snooker regardless of a note on the wall “Don’t play gambling”. Some teenagers as well as adults joined spinning a coin and betting numbers.

Roads change not only the mode of transport, but also types of vehicles. Motorcycles turn to be a part of people’s way of life as a result of their small, compact and agile figures as well as the installment possibility. People can apply their skills in riding bicycles to riding motorcycles without any difficulty.

In my point of view, riding motorcycles on small and curved roads where things are laid down messily may look irritating but it becomes normal as the number of motorcycles is increasing. When one household possesses a motorcycle, other households possess them too.

At last, motorcycles are no longer new and strange. They are used in the villager’s way of life starting from going to the market in the morning by merchants to the end of social daily life.[23] The day of teenagers also starts with motorcycles as their vehicles.

The scene of motorcyclists wearing simple clothes and carrying vegetables, fruits, meat and stuff riding around the market and teenagers riding their motorcycles appears. The picture of motorcycles with only steel frames and noisy engines while moving with the highest speed can be seen. Motorcycles having different looks[24] stopped in line not far from where a group of teenagers spend their time socializing in the community.

Although motorcycles are beneficial and needed by villagers, they trouble people especially when teenagers speed their noisy engines.

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[23] Sitting in group, chatting, drinking, gambling, going around by motorcycles and arguing with enemies etc.

[24] Motorcycles were modified by cutting their seats, changing frames with new colors or stickers, changing exhaust pipes, modifying engines or changing equipment e.g. tanks, front and rear shock up etc.

The phenomenon of death and injury caused by road accidents were disseminated and stricter public measures were enforced at a level that "governor" might be transferred if he could not control the death toll due to road accidents. The knowledge of epidemiology concerning road accidents was applied to formulate strategies for management of risk factors. The death and injury toll was expected to reduce.

In terms of epidemiology, "motorcycles" are marked and defined by experts as "risky vehicles" which imply danger. This danger should be avoided, separated, controlled, eradicated and should not enter into the world of teenagers who have little experience, lack skills in riding and safety awareness. After associating with these teenagers, I feel that teenagers do not define motorcycles as mentioned above but their daily lives reflect the close relationship and affection with motorcycles.

Therefore, a theory and concept of epidemiology describing that motorcycles are risk vehicles seem to be insufficient for explaining the phenomenon of relationship between teenagers and motorcycles. This relationship is built by the definition and values given by the teenagers in this community.

Entering into the teenager's world by studying on ethics and complexion in order to bring me as a big guy[25] who has neither ridden a motorcycle nor prefers motorcycles is only to understand their way of life attached to motorcycles. I try to perceive motorcycles as if I were them and had the same feeling. I had spent my time for three years living with them in the community.

Although I have learned and been trained in the qualitative research, a short time of experience cannot make my existing character fade. Adolescents and villagers in the community could see the difference between me and those who lived in old one-storey rent rooms which were, dark, stuffy, narrow and deep.

"Ban Sang Market" is a community, in which I made a research to explain the relationship between teenagers and their motorcycles. Although it is not a large area, the people's ways of lives are remarkably different. Thus, it is seen into three components: the head, middle and end of market. I spent my time with teenagers at the end of market. "Those at the end of market are delinquent, none allows his

[25] "Big guy" is a word teens use to call older people who look matured.

children to associate with" big dealers" told me an adult at the middle of the market about teenagers at the end of market. This expression discriminates among themselves.

The relationship between me and Ko, a young guy who was injured as he hit an old man looked serious on the first day we met. Ko answered all my prepared questions as if he was pleased to talk to me. But after analyzing the discussion, I found that our discussion did not make me understand his idea and feeling about his motorcycle at all. I could not give an answer to my research, so I had to review myself and my method of fact finding. In the past, I approached and dated Ko at any time suiting him, that was after midnight. Then, I changed to walk into the community in one early morning and chat with all villagers I came across. I started building relationship with villagers at a coffee shop where Ko's mother was the owner. I walked around to survey the community and let people there familiar with me. I also changed my dressing in order to look like other people. I gave a chance to people who looked doubtful to talk to me and know me better by telling them the truth and my objectives of my arrival. Around noon, the teenagers at the end of market woke up and came to gather at the pavilion near the entrance to the end of market. They gathered in groups watching older guys play gambles. Some sat there and cleaned their motorcycles.

"He has no water for taking a bath as he has no water supply. He has to buy it for use. However, he has to clean his motorcycle. Therefore, he has to take a bath in a canal whereas his motorcycle needs tap water." Adults in the community talked about cleaning of Ko's motorcycles.

In spite of being aware that I was a teacher studying for a doctor's degree and the objective of my research on accidental events among teenagers, they were still skeptical whenever they saw me make friends with those at the end of market.

"How can he be a teacher? Instead of prohibiting them to ride like that, he sat pillion". Once a relative of one teenager insisted to see my I.D card to check my status. It had passed for more than two months; people were familiar and less interested in me. At the same time, Ko and me were more intimate.

We glided our motorcycles every night. I accepted some activities and could adapt myself without any difficulty such as sitting behind them looking at young girls in the evening. It was excited to sit on motorcycles or to escape from police in different manners either by racing with high speed or evading into alleys or running red light or going against the traffic sign on a high bridge with an exciting style. Some activities made me feel uneasy and contradict to my thought and feeling. I always asked myself what I should and shouldn't do e.g. riding motorcycles to join our group in a curve and to drink. After finishing their bottles, they threw bottles at pickup trucks approaching to the curve, throwing them on the road or riding and scrapping the road with a long knife until it sparked etc. While they were doing such habits, they looked as if they were happy, good-tempered and relaxed. On the contrary, I felt contradicted. If I stopped them or showed any sign of disagreement, the gap between them and me would be wider or they might not act naturally whenever they met me. If it was like that, it might hinder me to understand their life context. Even though I warned them against doing that, it did not mean that they obeyed me or followed my words both in front of and behind me. Finally, I decided to stay with them but would not join such action again. However, I would tell them how I feared and worried. Such expression made them think that I was a chicken[26], so they had to teach me more.

As time passed by for 4-5 months, our relationship was closer and firmer. They persuaded me to rent a room close to them. "Please live close to us as we are worried about you and robbery often takes place behind the plaza." So, I decided to move and stay close to them. Sometimes, they slept in my room after going by motorcycles until 3 a.m. Spending my life from waking up in the morning until going to bed made me realize more their routines. I began to see and touch their feelings towards motorcycles. I was close to them and took part in their routine lives. The methodology I used to understand their definition and value of motorcycles was to observe their actions, feelings and words towards motorcycles. There were no interview, no formal discussion and no tape records It was a discussion between friends. The field data was mostly collected by listening to their conversations.

[26] Chicken means timid and fearful.

One afternoon, Ko pushed his motorcycle bought by her mother with a down payment of only 4,000 baht.[27] The buyer was Ko and the guarantor[28] was his neighbor. His appearance showed obviously that he just got off the bed. He wore only shorts and no shoes. His hair was tangled and his face looked sleepy. He pushed his motorcycle passing me to his grandmother's house, a row house next to the end of market and not far from the pavilion. . After parking it, he started cleaning it by pouring tap water in a jar on it and softly touching it with his bare hands. Then, he dried it with a piece of cloth carefully, thoroughly and slowly. He looked happy and enjoyed doing that alone without paying attention to anybody or talking to someone. He went on polishing it cautiously without any hurry. I observed that his manner was different from doing other activities which seemed to be aggressive and rude.

> "He loves his vehicle and spends his time roaming with it. If he does not go out, he is busy with either cleaning or washing. He himself does not like to take a bath but he repeatedly washes it. He does not use water in the river but buys it. He admits to clean himself in the river but only tap water is spared for his motorcycle." It was Wali's remark. She was a dressmaker living next to Ko.

5.3 Value and Meaning of Motorcycles from Different Points of View

Motorcycles become a possession of teenagers through different definitions and values of numerous ages. For parents, motorcycles are only vehicles served to help them buy stuff or go to school in the district. Their decisions in the purchase of motorcycles take their use values into consideration. Moreover, it is a bargaining tool to negotiate their children to do what they need.

One mother who trained her son to ride a motorcycle since he was only 9 years said, "I wish he could ride a motorcycle, so he could buy me something in

[27] Ko's mother borrowed money from a loan shark with an interest rate of 20 baht per 100 baht which had to pay daily.
[28] This guarantor did not have any occupation. Her daily life was to hang around gambling dens, to shuffle cards and to play cards.

a shop." Or she bought it to her 13-year-old boy who had beg her for years hoping that "He would arrive home earlier to help with the housework" or hoping that "From now on, he will not face a problem to go to school as he can drive it" including using it as a bargaining tool to persuade poor students to continue studying and finishing the junior high school level. Motorcycles are transformed to be a tool parents use to confirm their love to their children and hope that they will compensate them by doing what they demand.

"Maen, he doesn't know that his mom lacks love. She wishes he loved him. When he wished a motorcycle, she bought it to him. Even, a mobile phone costing 10,000 baht, she can afford it.**"** Maen's uncle talked about Maen's mom who sold roast chicken on the footpath and was an informal loaner.

As for this situation, motorcycles were compared to be exchange rituals because the meanings of motorcycles between givers (parents) and receivers (children) were different and not based on the direct relationship between givers and receivers. But it was based on the political relationship between parents and teenagers linking the context of givers and receivers. The values of motorcycles were not merely simple gifts but they were things parents used to reinforce their power and ask their children to do what they demanded.[29] In the same way, children used motorcycles to serve as a bargaining tool in order to let their parents believe that they would do as they demanded after possessing motorcycles. This kind of bargain was not straightforward or completed after receiving gifts. It was different from what Franken mentioned about the movement of ritual exchange, in which givers hope to transfer the meaning via objects to receivers frankly[30]. For example, young women received gifts containing the feminine definition which givers wanted receivers to interpret it with the same definition. Similarly, gifts parents gave to their children also contained the symbol parents wanted their children to absorb the definition of objects to define themselves.

[29] For example, arriving home not more than 9 pm, studying hard and helping with housework etc.
[30] Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption*.(Bloomington : Indiana University Press,1990) pp.84-85

Everyone said, “Are you crazy to buy him a motorcycle? Do you want him to die?”

“What should I do? She wants it, I cannot stand being pleaded again and again.**”** said mother of Nit: Nit was a teenager who rode her motorcycle and found a monk hit another motorcycle be unconscious on the spot for 3 days.

5.3.1 Motorcycles and Their Use Values

In the case of Nick, she was 14 year olds. Her character, behavior, speech and her way of life seemed rather mannish. It was a case study which represented disagreement of values and definitions of motorcycles between parents as givers and teenagers as receivers.

Nit’s house was located in the district. Its alley was only 600 m far from a large department store in the province. After turning, you would see a community where coconut or betel palm orchards were found. Houses were located distantly. Nit’s house was approximately 6 km from the end of alley where no public transport services or motorcycle taxis were provided. “There must be motorcycles in all houses; otherwise they cannot leave their villages”. Nit’s father narrated it to me with a reason why he bought him a motorcycle. I remarked that there were three motorcycles, one pickup truck and another old car parking at his house.

“Motorcycles” serve as a vehicle for agricultural villagers since their houses are far away. The areas are shrimp farms, paddy fields as well as coconut and betel palm orchards. The main roads are asphalted, not so wide but sufficient for vehicles to pass in opposite.

Nit’s father was a police senior sergeant major. Her mother was hired to sell sweets at a primary school with a daily wage of more than 200 baht. She had to arrive at school around 6 am to open the shop. The shop was closed around 5.30 to 6.00 pm. Due to her schedule, she had to leave home with her children since 5.30 am or 6.00 am at the latest which she said it was nearly late as she could not prepare her stuff in time. That time was too early for Nit, a primary school student, to go to school when the sky was still dark. After school at 3 pm, he could not go home because he had to wait for his mom to close the shop. As a result of time difference between Nit and her mom, it was fair for her to buy her a motorcycle and allow her to

ride it to school when she was at junior high school in the second semester. Although she worried about accidents which might happen to her, many reasons supported her to give her that permission. It includes the solution to different schedules, conflicts between her husband and son (he had to pick her up or send her to school) and positive benefits that she would help her do some chores and lessen her workload.

Nit's mother cited a reason why she bought her a motorcycle "When her dad sends her to school, they quarrel as both are hot-tempered. I thought that if she had her vehicle, she would come home earlier to fill water in bottles. She has whispered in my ear for years."

In some villages, some people used their pickup trucks to send and pick up students in the community. The parents paid a monthly amount depending on the distance. Most students who lived far away from school went to school in these pick up trucks. Even though there were pick up truck services, time was not flexible for students. Therefore, motorcycles helped them have more time.

"If I am in a hurry, I have to ask my children to give me a ride. If they can ride motorcycles, they can go to school by themselves. Riding to school is not dangerous, what is dangerous is riding to somewhere else because roads to school are good." said Rang, Rang was 17 years old. He was a motorcycle taxi driver and hit a middle-aged woman. Both were seriously injured.

According to the words of teenager's parents, riding motorcycles between home and school did not place teenagers at risk for injuries or accidents. This idea was in line with the data of epidemiology indicating that the frequency of accidents or injuries among teenagers occurred after school period and during school holidays.

The parents realized that motorcycles defined by them were not directly sent to their children after they had bought them motorcycles. After they had afforded them motorcycles, the feelings and ideas of parents as well as the lifestyles of their children changed. They hoped that their children would do some chores, go home earlier and be good students. On contrary, teenagers arrived home late as they went

around with their motorcycles and friends. The places they went to began to expand. They did not hang out only in the district. In addition, they stayed longer out of houses with their motorcycles. Mobile phones, which served as a tool for parents to check where their children were, seemed to be inefficient as motorcyclists did not answer the phones, take the phones with them and switched them off. The punishment started from complaining to seizing their keys. One night after, parents could not resist when their children kept on asking for riding motorcycles again.

Nit's mom revealed how she felt after buying her a motorcycle "Only positive thinking, I don' think that She will be like that, otherwise I will not buy it to her."

Around 9.30 pm in one night, a variety of shops and entertainment venues were open on Phop Phra Road, called "Lustful Road". Teens who liked to hang out at night would spend their time here. Nit rode his Honda Wave 125, bronzish black with high speed. He offered himself to buy alcohol to their friends at a shop in that quarter. After drinking for a while until no alcohol was left, they were on the way to drink more at a dormitory of one mate while one motorcycle was coming and cut in front of him immediately. Nit's motorbike was out of control and overturned. Nit's head knocked against the floor so brutally that he was unconscious. His nose and mouth was full of blood. He was admitted to the hospital and was unconscious for three days.

5.3.2 Teenagers : "Goal" of Motorcycle's Market

In the industrial capitalism, the emphasis was changed from production sector to distribution sector, and as a result, "marketing" became significant. Marketing experts had to prepare long-term marketing plans for each target group e.g. teenagers to build a steady relationship base and to continuously communicate with target groups which would become income earners. Teenagers are independent to select their favorite brandnames when they have to rely on parents' money. Hence, they are a perfect target group of marketing as they have direct influence on parent's expenses. In addition, they are a first post to decide to buy the brandname. Teens become

"middlemen" to communicate with their parents. By this strategy, these companies can grab the household area successfully.[31]

Teenagers are categorized by those studying culture. For example, Willis studied culture[32] by starting with the macro level that the society perceives a change in teenagers. Marketing experts in the past were interested in analyzing "teenager's market" by using the criteria of population or position in the production process of teenagers, e.g. family characteristic, class, income and education level to produce products suitable for target groups. At present, the criteria used by marketing to understand teenagers are taste and habits which may be called lifestyle such as roamer group, learner group and athlete group. "Consumption" is therefore emphasized since teenagers still have freedom to resist or change. Culture consumption is a stage where they can create their culture especially in their leisure time.

In the industrial capitalism, producers focus on the exchange value. In the exchange process, capitalism system creates the meaning of motorcycles attached to the image of riders. It means that there is a reaction between producers and consumers to create and exchange the meaning of motorcycles. Motorcycles are consistent with habitus and taste of teenagers e.g. agility, aggressiveness, speed, loudness and excitation. Advertisements and fashions are used to be a tool for changing the meaning from the cultural world to motorcycle world (products).[33]In the advertisements, advertisement creators try to combine products and the cultural world in order to let the spectators see both components. If the symbol is successful, the cultural world will exist in products. Fashions are also a tool to move the definition of culture through the advertisement process. The presenter is the one who acts and gives the meaning of styles and appearance which teenagers are ready to copy.

Advertisement is a channel where market experts use to communicate between themselves and teenagers. Creative advertisements use teenager's language to

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[31] Translated by Innov from a book "Brandchild" written by Martin Lindstorm (Bangkok : Nation Multimedia Group, 2005, page 20-23)

[32]Kanchana Kaeothep, Science of Media and Cultural Studies (Bangkok: Edison Press Products, 2001, page 543-545)

[33] Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption*. pp.77-83

communicate “the thing” teenagers will get after consuming their products in order to arouse the desire e.g. an advertisement about one brandname of motorcycles:

“New Honda Wave 125 R, in dark green, orange and fresh pink colors, 125 CC, 4 strokes, endurable and chic motorbikes with high speed and headlight, designed only for teenagers!”

The styles and tastes of teenagers are different. The understanding of the culture of teenagers and their differences[34] allows them to use the strategy to induce teenagers to have brand royalty. It implies that consumption of teenagers has never ended.

The marketing target group of teenagers in this community was not only well-to-do. It could be seen from the advertisement at motorcycle shops saying that local buyers with obvious domicile, guarantors and only 4,000 baht could own motorcycles easily. The installment payment system allowed a minimum of 1,000 to 2,000 baht even though it required a long period of installment payment. This was a significant condition why the area of motorcycle possession among teenagers was increasing.

While motorcycles were valued and defined as use or beneficial, they were attractive, interesting and arousing to try. It was a challenging vehicle as it proved the ability of riders to control engines with higher speed and more danger than bicycles they had experienced before. It was proud to show off that they were able to control engines whereas their friends could not. Motorcycles became a median to unite major events in the daily lives of teenagers. By this token, motorcycles were culture-related living symbols.

Motorcycles owners in the Thai society at the end of King Rama V were elites. Motorcycles were approached to elites in the Thai society like cars which brought to the American society in the end of the 19th century. Gartman wrote that cars at the early stage meant expensive things with artful appearance and fineness in line with tastes of elites. Cars meant not only products but also revealed the class of

[34] Translated by Innov from a book “Brandchild” written by Martin Lindstorm, 2003, pp 23-26 (teenagers were divided into 4 groups namely fringes, influencers, conformers and passives).

owners. They were not only vehicles drivers felt independent, flexible and private but also used to perform leisure activities and to show off in the public. This action was a symbol of leisure class to show their richness without working.[35] This concept was consistent with Veblen's statement that consumption did not consider only utmost benefits as explained by a neoclassic economist. Consumers wished to have a consumption style which was different from others in order to remain in a higher social position. This position was judged by their assets. These assets could be expressed in two ways: leisure activities and products or services. Each class tried to copy the consumption behavior of higher class people whereas those higher class people tried to consume new products or went on changing their consumption behavior to differentiate from others. It was an infinitively dynamic process.[36]

Infinite consumption was caused by copycat of people in different classes. This consumption was fastened to leisure activities which trickled down. Subordinate social groups tried to be in a higher status by copying the consumption of superordinate group who developed newer fashions to form a status marker.

Motorcycles e.g. Harley which symbolized luxurious goods to present their status would be limited only for specific buyer groups.

> "First, Harley was well-known to few groups (niche market). Then, it was enlarged to larger groups to the extent that a Harley cult was formed. Two things that made the giant two-wheeled brand become an icon on the road were its distinct character and emotional involvement with riders. Harley focuses on riding experience on a chromium body with loud noise of engines. Harley was not merely motorcycle but a companion and a vehicle reflecting his rider, his attitude and his lifestyle. To own a Harley is to announce independent spirit being fond of adventure, rebellion and masculine. An essential marketing strategy is to form H.O.G (Harley Owners Group). These persons will act as evangelists who are happy to share their experience to other

[35] David Gartman, "The Ages of The Automobile : The Cultural Logics of the Car", in Automobilities, edited by Mike Fetherstone, Nigel Thrift and John Urry (London : SAGE Publications,2005), pp.171-176.
[36] Veblen, thorstein. "Conspicuous Consumption" in *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. (New York and Toronto: New York American Library, 1899)

people, friends, children or grandchildren. The fascination of this brandname was transferred from generation to generation via a marketing tool at the grassroot level with a wide network."[37]

The consumption for boastfulness did not occur only in high classes. But according to my research, it was found that consumption in the teenager's world was also to show off. However, it was not targeted to move to a higher class or to copy superordinate groups but to enlarge a space to demonstrate their identity, create culture and shape specific persona in order to get free from being marginalized.

In the late afternoon on Saturday, teenagers rode their favorite brandname of motorcycles (approximately over 100 motorcycles) to gather on Bamrungrat Road, a main road in Mueang District. Each motorcycle was decorated since their purchase. These teens were informed about the activities held by the dealers by inviting honored guests as club members to join the activity and thanking important customers. This activity was one of marketing promotion activities the dealers were advised by the parent company. It was served to satisfy the customers especially teenagers. The activities were designed to fit the taste and lifestyle of this target group.

The front shop which was originally a footpath, was modified by setting a color tent to serve as a location for activities e.g. games, trial ride of new style motorbikes which were produced to stimulate the current motorcycle market. The rewards received by playing games could be used as a coupon to buy decoration equipment and clothes in same brandname as motorcycle. In the fair, there were food and drinks and fashion show by male or female models dressed in the same brandname of motorcycles which were sold in the shop. These models were the same as shown in the leaflets of motorcycle public relations. One main activity was a motorcycle contest. After the contest, those receiving awards would be ranked and their owners were allowed to head the procession of over 100 motorcycles.

The procession slowly moved along the road heading to an entertainment venue on Phop Phra Road. The selected motorbikes in the final run and the first three awards were displayed in a platform in front of that venue. Around 6 pm, teenagers, which were regarded as important customers, could use the coupon distributed during

[37] Theo, Phraeo, 26th Year, Volume 607 (December 2004) pp. 426

registration to enter the mini concert. The show would end around 9 pm. More than 300 teenagers entered the entertainment venue and used the coupon to exchange two glasses of beer, fried chicken and popcorn.

Bia was a 14-year-old boy, one of teenagers joining such activity told me. **"**If beer was run out, they had to buy themselves. Some did not drink[38], they would put it together and those who drank could drink more.**"**

After the concert, most teenagers gradually left the entertainment venue. Some still enjoyed themselves in that venue.

The noises of teenagers showed their satisfaction and happiness with the activities arranged by the dealer. They were eager to take care and decorate their motorbikes more. They exchanged the information of dealers and decoration shops. They had more networks of motorcycle discussion and prepared to participate in the activity expected to be held in the next two months.

The arrangement of activities by dealers was not only a strategy to make the teenagers eager to buy motorcycles and equipment but also a stress of lifestyle culture in leisure time at night via motorcycles of teenagers. The possession of motorcycles especially in case of riding pretty and eye-catching motorcycles enabled them to attract interest from surrounding people. Pride and fun during that time was a tempting experience teenagers wished to search for an opportunity in order to spend their lives like that when they had that chance.

While Baudrillard gave an importance to consumption of signs, Bourdieu quoted the idea that people consumed modern products to differentiate from others and the consumption was in accordance with embodied habitus. Cars became a symbol linking economic classes with cultural tastes through embodied habitus. By this, cars were produced to be in line with the personality, character and manner of people in that class[39] like Wut's story.

The lifestyle in the community was compared to a crucible for melting experience and feeling on motorcycles. The experience in riding of teenagers was

[38] The speaker implied to drinking alcohol.
[39] David Gartman, *"The Ages of The Automobile : The Cultural Logics of the Car"*, pp.171-176.

originated from observation, exchange and learning of lifestyles in the community. Wut's story was an example for spending his life with his motorcycle since he was born. It started from a passenger to a young rider who was severely injured due to motorcycle riding.

A middle-aged man ran breathlessly and shouted loudly through music and talking at ordination festivity. "Suda, Wut has overturned his motorcycle on the next curve." After his sentence, Suda jumped frightenedly and was worried about his 11-year-old son who started riding with his 5-year-old sister behind. He told her that they would go to their grandmother who lived not far from the house hosting the festivity.

Wut was a small dark boy who rode his motorcycle with his sister as pillion passenger. He rode his motorcycle and talked with his friend at the same age riding another motorcycle. Their destination was to sit and chat with their friends grouping near Kae's house. While Wut was riding his motorbike happily, another motorcycle running parallel to him avoided a hole in front of him by cutting immediately in front of him. Wut explained why he hit the motorcycle of his friend, "At that time, I was dreamy." As his body was smaller than his motorcycle, he could not control it, and as a result, it skid, overturned and lay on top of his leg. His sister was thrown from the seat and cried out in shock. This event broke his leg since another motorcycle ran over him.

Wut's mom told me that when he studied at Prathom 3, he asked her to ride a motorcycle. She taught him how to ride without thinking. Both father and mother taught him to ride a motorbike by allowing him to hold hand grips while parents (he or she) sat pillion. The hands of his mother or father were on top of those of his son. Then, they gradually let him ride alone. After two weeks, he could ride it. His mother told me that at the beginning when she or her husband took him on motorcycle, he would ask them to ride it.

'Kids could learn easily as they were brave. Moreover, there were many neighbors who could ride motorcycles. If they could ride motorcycle, we should ride them too. I wished they could learn riding sooner as I could let them ride to buy things for me", Wut's mom told me the reasons she promoted him to enter the motorcycling process since he was young and his body was smaller than motorcycles.

The familiarity with the lifestyle relying on motorcycles and with the area made her rest easy. “It doesn’t matter”. Although she felt at ease, she felt deep down in her heart that danger might happen. She repeatedly warned him to be careful as he took his sister with.

> “When my son rides a motorcycle, I think that it does not matter as he is not far away. When kids can ride motorcycles, we cannot stop them. If we do not let them go, they will cry. Who knows that event will occur? If we knew, we would not let them go. If they learn how to start the engines and stand on motorcycles, they will go out.”

Motorcycles were side by side in their daily lives in the community. Since people were born, they saw motorcycles. They were therefore not different or awful vehicles. Wut’s ability for riding motorcycles was not only since two weeks according to his mother. But he could ride them due to his learning and experience which was developed to be skills.

His mom told that when he could not balance on motorcycles, she would hold in her arms while she was sitting pillion. His father was the rider. Later, when Wut could balance, he would sit between his father and mother. His body would touch the motorbike’s body. He learned how to stand on the motorcycle while it was running ahead against the wind. Sometimes, he sat in front of his father. Then, he would see a view, animated picture and various activities on the road. When his arms could not hold hand grips, he would hold the front tank in order to avoid getting off. However, his father’s arms surrounded him loosely as if they were steel bars to prevent him from falling out of bed. When he grew up and could hold hand grips, his position was not different from being a rider although his legs were still not long enough to touch the lower gear of motorcycle.

Although he was not completely a motorcycle rider during that time, the entrance to the world of riders was as if it was a model world which formed a cultural capital and resulted in his ability of motorcycle riding afterwards.

Baudrillard[40] raised a question about the position and role of objects or importance of objects in terms of psychology and sociology that how we lived with objects and how we perceived the truth of objects. He proposed to consider objects in three topics of different concepts which determined the status of that object. They were concrete management of objects which was the structure of atmosphere, management of object system by personal views e.g. marginalized objectives which were not so important e.g. collection, and system caused by image. Baudrillard believed that the analysis would make us understand more the relationship between objects and us. He said that the meaning of objects was changed because the society gave them a new role. Consequently, objects had 3 functions: primary function (what purpose were objects used in daily lives?), pulsions and basic need as well as profound intimacy which was the symbolic relationship between human beings and objects. He stated that the functions of objects did not rely any more on values and benefits. But the importance of objects relied on how objects could combine with the function system and an organization. Objects were not only consumed in terms of objects but difference, for example, the bodies of cars were not designed for their functions and benefits but designed to stimulate the transmission of people's imagination caused by unconscious desire resulting decreasing rationality of the object structure.

Baudrillard presented the theory of consumption of sign. In the theory, there were different levels of relationship between people and objects. First, it was the relationship in terms of benefits to meet basic needs e.g. cars were used for travelling. The second relationship was the value and meaning of objects produced by human beings. It was the relationship of sign by relating its image with that product. Therefore, it was consumption of sign of that product to create its identity.

Charm building among teenagers was not caused by their abilities, outlook or clothes or their hobbies. But it was caused by their vehicles. What personality and value people had depended on, what brandname their cars had and what personality of their cars were. This method of thinking was caused by socialization between lifestyles of teenagers and marketing mechanism in motor industry.

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[40] Sutthiphan Jirathiwat, "Baudrillard, a thinker who took an in-depth look of consumerism in the society (Part I)", Newsletter of Social Science, (May-July 1988), pp 57-74

Teenagers built characters of motorcycles by decorating their bodies and modifying the engines. They wished that their motorbikes were different from others through the designs according to their tastes. They designed some Japanese cartoons like Doraemon, Kitty, Shinchan or some trades or brandnames e.g. Oishi, Fanta or line drawing, graphic, color and design on car bodies. Those designs were in line with the characters of drivers and their groups. This action showed that the consumption of motorcycles among teenagers was an important part of the frame of present truth. It was an action to indicate self definition and collective definition. “Suppose I paint my motorcycle in pink-white, I will not ride it but would walk instead. It’s not me, my motorbike had to be black devil” or “If it is not strong, I will not ride it.” The bodies of motorcycles and riders were not separated but they were in the same body. “Motorcycles always reflect their riders. People do not call our names but link with our motorbikes such as Khao phase, Em zx, Non Oishi and Art Kitti etc.” Non’s narration, the owner of Oishi motorcycle.

Apart from the harmonious characters between bodies and teenagers, motorcycles reflected the social status of riders. Riding high speed engines showed the powerful character of riders due to the fact that they had groups and had to fight with enemies or escaped from the police. Besides, it showed the economic status of riders which attracted the opposite sex of teenagers.

“The more we decorate our motorbikes, the more status they show. It looks as if we were rich. Beautiful motorbikes mean that we have many pretty girl friends. Sure, girls like rich boys especially teenagers.” said Tu, a teenager in Ban Sang Gang.

Teenagers modified their motorcycles to have a personality they wished. At the same time, motorcycles had power to change thinking method and lifestyles of teenagers. The proximity of teenagers and their motorcycles in their daily lives as well as attention of teenagers to their motorbikes changed the meaning of motorcycles. The relationship between human beings and objects turned to be the relationship between two lives which had to take care each other, were side by side and had emotion ties.

"If I gave up my motorbike[41], I would not be injured like this. As I loved it and worried about it, so I attached to it.**"**

5.4 Two Body Commitment: Motorcycles and Teenagers

Motorcycles in the teenager's world were not only "objects" separated from them. They were not only risky vehicles but "another body" which was soul mate or buddy going along with them even in tight or threatening situations. They could not divide the frontier between themselves which were human beings and motorcycles which were objects. The crazy in motorcycles blurred the objectivity of motorcycles. They were as if they had lives which owners had to protect. In this kind of feeling, whenever their motorcycles fell down, they put themselves to support them. They agreed to be hurt. This action did not pass the process of rationality but was carried out to avoid that their motorbikes would be damaged. Sometimes, they used the technique "give up motorbikes" which means jumping out of the motorbikes in case of motorbikes lost their balances or in case of accidents. This technique was well-known among teenagers that riders and pillion passengers were not seriously injured like Ko's story who was injured as he drove his motorcycle with high speed and driving style until he hit an old man on one night.

Black and red Honda Smile ran through darkness controlled by teenagers. The noise of engines accelerated by power and the control of motorcycles in the same way as horses were remarked by villagers along both sides of roads. They affected various feelings and accurate remembering of a story which would happen within 30 minutes. Maen narrated the story which made a vivid impression on that night to me.

> "Ko rode his motorbike to the curve. Then, he accelerated the engine to get ahead of me. At that time, an old man was crossing the road. He swerved his motorbike to avoid the man but it was too late, so he hit the man. When his vehicle fell down, it skid far away but he did not give up his motorbike.

[41]To abandon his motorcycle means to jump from his vehicle allowing it to run without a driver.

> After hitting the man, his body slipped out of the motorbike and flew toward the footpath. His head knocked against the footpath. He was affected by spasm like a fish was hit at its head. I turned back and saw him all the time. Everyone crowd around but none helped him. Finally, one old man carried him in his arms to lie him on a footbath."

That incident injured Ko and the unlucky man. Both had a brain operation to remove blood clot. Ko's affection to motorcycles was rumored among children or adults. "Since his dad left his mom, he got this motorcycle. His mom was attached to his dad while he was busy with this motorcycle." Ko's uncle talked about Ko and his motorcycle which caused an accident.

Commodity Fetishism[42] was distinguished by Marx between goods produced for one's own use and commodities which are created solely to be exchanged (for money or other commodities). Since the producers do not come into contact with each other until they exchange their commodities, they have no direct social relationships except in the act of exchange of objects. The relations of people, disguised as the relations between things, become so habitual that it seems natural. This concept was called reification where money was a media of relationship. The values of commodities were exchange values not use values.

Although Marx's theory about goods and commodity fetishism was beneficial to explain the consumption in capitalism, its explanation should not be limited only in the production sector but expanded to consumption sector. Commodity fetishism dominated all sectors, sexes and ages in the society. An understanding that commodity fetishism spread to both production and consumption sectors made a clearer picture of fascination with objects among teenagers.

A young male teenager was crying after realizing that his mother took his motorbike to a pawnshop. He asked for a financial aid to redeem his motorbike. This made me feel how much his love to his motorcycle was. Apart from cleaning and polishing it softly and unexhaustedly, a sparkle in his eyes expressing his love as if

[42] Karl Mark, "The Capital Volume One.", in The Marx – Engels Reader, second edition, edited by Robert C. Tucker (New York:W.W.Norton&Company,1978),pp.313-319.

the loved one returned. He parked his motorbike near his bed and said, “I would like to hug it as I love it. When I took drugs, I would not bring them to my motorcycle. I preferred to hide them in the park. My motorcycle would not be stained with drugs”. His act, his speech, his expression and his gesture towards his motorcycle through my observation were consistent with adult’s words in the community about his feeling toward his motorcycle.

“He loves it. He spends all day with it. If he does not go out, he is always busy with it, cleaning or polishing it. He himself does not like to take a bath but he repeatedly cleans it. Instead of using water from the river, he bought it for washing. He preferred to take a bath in the river to save tap water for his motorcycle.” said Wali, a dressmaker living next to Ko.

Cleanliness did not terminate after careful and thorough washing but included feeling and value of appropriate things to be close with his motorcycle.

Motorcycles started to involve more in Ko’s way of life when his dad left his mom and younger sister to live with his new wife and when his elder brother was in jail. Ko’s family life had been a major drive to allow a 16-year-od teen to own a motorbike before his behavior was monitored on a charge of careless driving resulting in injury to himself and other people.

An onlooker told me that none thought that Ko would survive on that night because of Ko’s condition and strong collision with high speed. His motorbike fell, overturned and rub against the road surface until there was a spark. He struggled like a fish was hit at its head. His eyes popped and plenty of blood was on the road.

“If it was not him, he would die. He did not die because he had amulet.” Taeo narrated how he survived.

In his childhood, Ko’s life was rather comfortable. He had one elder brother named Nueng and an elder sister named Song. He was the youngest son of an eldest daughter of an officer in the district. “Everyone knows her father as he is powerful.

To contact with a government office, we have to go to see him e.g. gun registration.[43] If someone would like to register a gun, he has to see Ko's grandfather who lets him sign documents without going to the district office. Ko's grandfather is responsible for this matter, so he knows a lot of people."

Mr. Nop had two daughters but Taeo was his favorite daughter. He did not want her to have a difficult life. "Taeo does nothing because she has someone do everything, so she cannot do anything and is lazy until now". With his love, he as a high ranking officer in the community, sent Taeo to study more than other girls at the same age in the community. Taeo finished her high school and intended to further her study for a bachelor's degree at Ramkhamhaeng University. But her intention was cancelled since she had a relationship with Ko's father through the management of Kaeo, her mother.

Kaeo, Taeo's mother told me that she allowed Ko's father to approach to her daughter because there were plenty men including gambler, ruffian and drug addicter etc. to fall in love with her. In Kaeo's view, Ko's father was the best. Moreover, he came from a famous family with a social network in Bang Phra. Therefore, she supported him to have an affair with her daughter to hinder other men from being infatuated with her.

"After we had lived together, his bad habit appeared. When I was pregnant, he brought a girl to sleep with. He was in the middle whereas I and the girl slept beside him." Taeo described his gallantry which she had to endure until one day he left her to live with another woman.

His gallantry was known among people in the community. It was rumored that when Ko's father[44] used drugs, teenage students came to buy drugs from him. These girls often had not enough money, so Ko's father offered them to have sex with him in an exchange for drugs.

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[43] Concerning the influence of Mr. Nop, father of Taeo, all had to refer to his ability to register guns.

[44] Being a drug dealer made Ko's father to be well-known among female teenagers who were drug dependent. He was always surrounded by girls hoping that he would give them some drugs without any payment. The exchange relationship between sex and drug still exists at present. During my data collection, the relationship took place in discotheques and entertainment venues on Phop Phra Road in the middle of district. That big discotheque was known as a meeting venue for exchange and association between buyers and seller of drugs.

When Taen who was Taeo's father and a backbone of the family was ill and partly paralyzed, muscle of one part of body was weak. He could not speak. Family conditions became impecunious. Money gradually diminished. After Nop's death, all children separated to rent a row house in the neighborhood. Each depended on himself. During Nop's sickness, Ko's parents decided to enter the process of drug trade with the participation of people in the community and their relatives.

The physical surrounding conditions of community[45], relative relationship, influence, gratitude and assistance in the past since the last generation, Taeo's drug trade grew rapidly. High income which was earned easily by drug trade made the lives of their three children comfortable. Ko had a babysitter. He did nothing except played games. In spite of this, Ko told me that nobody loved him.

"My mom does not love me. She loves Nueng whereas my dad loves Nueng. Nobody loves me."

Ko expressed his feeling to me in one part of his childhood. He felt that nobody loved him and was afraid of being deserted e.g. by his girlfriend or his friend. It was a shared feeling among teenagers with risky lives. I spent my life with them either Ban Sang Gang, Rim Ping Gang or Khon Song Mai Gang.

The hardness began when his parents had to move to other areas to escape the police. So, he had to drop his study and move to a new school. His father was arrested and his mother used a lot of money for the process. At last, his father was sentenced to 4 years in prison. His mother changed to use money not for making great effort to help him form jail but gave a bribe to prison officers in order to make his life in jail comfortable. "Buying things daily for meals of jailers and other prisoners and giving some money to him". From Monday to Friday after visiting his husband, she entered a gambling den. There she knew a lot of people. Although her husband was arrested, she did not stop the drug trade. But it was done in a network. Teenagers, adults and elderly delivered drugs all day. "Those delivered drugs were their gang and

[45] The conditions of row houses here especially at the end of market were deep, dark and tortuous with little alleys which were connected. Who knew this area could escape from the arrest of the police easily and rapidly.

relatives. That was a reason why the police could not arrest them. How many times the police came to the gambling den and could not arrest them." said Muai, one of drug dealers and a relative of Waeo's mother.

When his father died, the eldest son became a backbone of the drug trade joined with his mother and friends. Finally, the eldest son was arrested. Taeo spent her money again to make an effort to stop the case and bail out his son. However, his son was sentenced for 3 years in prison. Taeo's money ran out. Moreover, she had to borrow money from illegal loan sharks. After his eldest son had been in prison, his father left the jail. During that time, the government had strict measures to suppress drugs. Her network and intimates were arrested one by one and drug dealers were shot. Due to the drug suppression, Taeo felt a dangerous signal, which might happen to her. Finally, Taeo decided to stop selling drugs. Her only income was from gambling dens and selling food on the footpath. Ko's father did nothing but spent his time playing cards and had an affair with women.

> Ko told me that his father arrived home angrily, hit his mother and kicked Ko. "He slapped me all the way from police booth located at the entrance of the community until we reached home. Then, he kicked me. I hated him. I don't think that he is my dad. Even though we sleep together, I do not talk to him and do not want to look at his face."

While he was telling me his story, Keng who was both his friend and relative interrupted him, "He told me he had no father as his father died."

The saying of people concerned e.g. Taeo, Kaeo, Lek, Ko and other people in the community about this family made me imagine that this family had a hard time. The property they used to own due to drug trade was sold. Only an old refrigerator and 14-inch old television were left. Taeo stopped paying her monthly rent of 300 baht for more than 5 months, so she had to move to stay in a smaller room with no tap water. She had to buy water for taking a bath. She often had no money to buy water. Sometimes, she had to use water at her mother's house at the end of market. Often her electricity was cut.

> “When I was penniless, he moved to stay with that woman. He said that I had no money, so why he had to stay with me. At the moment, my foot was scalded. I had to cover my wound with a plastic bag but he did not pay attention to me. I could not stop him but let him go. However, I could seize the motorbike in order that Ko could drive me to the market in the morning. I felt hurt when he said that when I had no money, why he had to endure staying with me.” Taeo told me with a hurt voice.

After his father died, only three lives: mother, Ko and Song as well as one motorbike. The family income was only from selling food and gambling.

> “Taeo likes gambling. She played gambling so much that she became insolvent. When she had money, her body was full of gold and she never was interested in me. She associated with only her relatives. But when she had no money, nobody except me paid attention to her. I could not put up with this as I sympathized with my grandchildren. So, I invested my money for her to sell food.” Ko’s grandmother told me.

Taeo’s shop was located at the end of the market not far away from the community pavilion. It was a small zinc roof. In front of it, there were a long table, a gas stove, a firewood stove. At the other end, there was a table for coffee making equipment and a firewood stove for a coffee pot. Inside was a long table for customers to sit and eat. Beside a table, there was a bamboo litter for the owner to sit, lie down or sleep when there were no customers.

Around 3 am, an old man aged 50 who slept on the litter at night, reciprocated Taeo by getting up early to make a fire and boil water for her. At the same time, Ko was waked up after he had slept for a short time to take her mom to the market. Smoke reeked to high heaven, wind blew the odor of burnt and the noise of Ko’s motorcycle taking her mom through the morning air was a signal of a new day in the way of life in this community.

When Ko took her mom to Bo Bua market, she got off the motorbike and disappeared into the market. Ko would fell face down at his arms and fell asleep easily. After his mom finished shopping, she would wake him up to take her to her litter. The task to compensate for possession of the motorcycle was completely finished. After taking his mom to the shop, he went on sleeping at home and woke up again at eight o'clock in order to go to school.

> "I go to school around 8.30 o'clock or nearly 9 am. After I woke up, I took a bath, got dressed, rode my motorcycle and parked it near the school or sometimes at a police station or at the market in front of the school or at my friend's house as I cannot park it at school. I usually park it at a police station and climb the fence close to the police station to enter the school. A toilet cleaner[46] who was close to me, did not complain this to my teacher."

The motorcycle seized by my mom was not only a tool for earning a living but was used to open a social world of Ko. "When my dad was at home around 8 pm, I had to have arrived at home, otherwise I would be slapped". But at this moment, there is no father only my mother who is tired of selling and absent as she went to the gambling den. This enabled Ko to stay longer outside the house. "When I have my red smile, I will hang around with my friends at Bang Phra and go home at 1 or 2 am."

Ko's life was an example of the background of motorcycle teenage lovers. Motorcycles were like a friend coming to their lives when he felt lonely, neglected and lonesome. No one paid attention to them or cared them. But when they possessed motorcycles, motorcycles brought them a companion to stay side by side either when they were happy or sad. They rode motorcycles in both situations. When they were sad, they released their stress during riding their motorcycles. As they were marginalized people, nobody was interested in them. But when they rode decorated motorcycles, nearby people began to pay attention to them. Motorcycles created an identity in the society. They changed their insignificant lives to meaningful lives.

[46] Ko's uncle was a janitor who takes care of the cleanliness of toilets at school where Ko and other students used as an exit or entrance when they could not enter or leave at the door in front of school.

For this reason, they had values as they were their loved ones as Jean Baudrillard mentioned that commodities became powerful and fascinating things since they gave them happiness, health, security, safety, honor and pride. It was a fetishism of the signifier[47]. It was a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign which changed the focus on the affection of commodities in the production sector and social relationship of production and values of commodities to consumption and values of exchanged commodities by considering commodities as a linguistic sign.

> "I am the one who loves motorcycles. Those who love their motorcycles, feel as if their vehicles had lives. We give them muscle and power. When I just bought them, they were weak. We take care of them. We decorate them. Then, they have energy and strength. Those, who decorate motorcycles, love them so much. They were suitable for the riders. If I rode 110 cc, it's not me." said Rang, a young male who drove his motorcycle and hit a middle-aged woman crossing the road, expressed his feeling on motorcycles which was not different from other teenagers spending time with them.

5.5 Rites of Passage from Being Materials of Motorcycles

Motorcycles in the teenager's world go beyond being objects to living things caused by an orbit through rites of motorcycle possession and dressing ceremony.

5.5.1 Rites of Possession

Giving a definition and value of motorcycles as if they were living things is caused by the transfer of the meaning of cultural world to teenagers through the rite symbol for the possession. Teenagers spend their free time talking about motorcycles and cleaning and boasting them. Riding motorcycles is to show off their possessions. The investment in motorcycles was a symbol of time, space, status, class and lifestyle. The rites are a stage for teenagers to show off their possessions of products. The meaning of consumed commodities, and as a result, the motion orbit of meaning

[47] Baudrillard, Jean. For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign, translated by Charles Levin (St.Louis, Missouri : Telos Press, 1981), pp.91-92.

is more complete. In the rites of possession, teenagers move the meaning of commodities to their lives and make objects be human beings.[48] The meaning is changed from the personal world to commodities. Teenagers build the world of goods which reflect their experiences according to their idea and their world especially shared experience of teenagers and motorcycles both in time and space. From getting up to going to bed, motorcycles are never far from teenagers. Therefore, objects are neither objects nor goods any more. But they become beloved living things.

Self-pride takes place when teenagers possess motorcycles. Whenever they ride them and people look at them or praise them, their interest focuses on motorcycles. They are marginalized people who are not interesting as community member or student at school[49]. As a consequence, they have a lot of free time, in which they talk with their friends who have similar lifestyles and perspectives. To associate with motorcycle technicians is one of their lifestyles during their leisure time.

"All day I don't know where to go, so I sit with my group at Jiap's shop.[50] I sit there to smoke and watch the technician repair motorcycles." Man narrated how he spent his free time.

In day time especially from the afternoon to 5 or 6 pm, teenagers aged around 15 and 16 sat together at motorcycle repair and modification shops scattered in the community. Shops were row houses along the footpath or row houses in alleys. The relationship between teenagers and shop owners who were also technicians was good. A group of teenagers sitting were familiar. Sometimes, new faces of teenagers from other groups went to this shop to repair their motorcycles. As they were interested in the same thing, building of relationship went fast. Such familiar made the relationship among teenagers and between teenagers and owners be like the relationship between buyers and sellers. But it was the relationship of the same

[48] Grant McCracken, Culture and Consumption. pp.85-86.
[49] Some are not students any more or some are students but don't pay attention to their studies.
[50] Jiap's shop was a shop for repairing and modifying motorcycles. It was a one-storey building. He usually sat on the footpath to repair motorcycles, some teenagers stopped by to chat and some helped him fix them.

group which supported them to repair, exchange, borrow, search for, buy and sell second hand spare parts legally and illegally. Sometimes, it was a sale via motorcycle repair shop. Sometimes, it was a sales negotiation among teenagers who knew each other at a repair shop. Moreover, this repair shop was an information source about high speed motorcycles or professional riders in case they would like to join the motorcycle racing in terms of racing style and illegal racing.

> "We have an appointment for a motorcycle racing among teenagers in the same gang or different gangs. If we have a bet, it will be a racing among different gangs. If the members in the gang challenge other gangs to join the racing of Wave 100, we will see in our gang if we had Wave 100. Then, we select riders who are not necessary to be owners. We consider who ride fast and strong and how well they get off. If we win, we will share the money. But if we lose, we will discuss and fix it. Then, we will challenge it again. Sometimes we lost and escaped, there would be a fight later." said Rang, a young boy who was seriously injured as he hit a middle-aged woman while she was crossing the road told how he and his friends had a motorcycle racing.

An illegal motorcycle racing among repair shops was to announce power to show their skill in repair and modification and to show the power of teenagers who were in the same group as this shop. The skill was proved by the number of trophy cups displayed at the shop and reputation among riders including when other shops did not dare to accept the challenge. Not only shops would be famous of the victory, but also teenagers who were regarded as marginalized people would be mentioned under a nickname of the shop's riders[51]" Reputation from motorcycle racing and outstanding motorcycles in terms of beauty and power did not belong to some people but everyone in the relationship acknowledged pride. It was like power to strengthen their identities which they could show off. "O is excellent and cool. He used to sit at Jiap's shop." San mentioned O's capability to fix motorcycles. This statement was an example referring to a teenager who was accepted as skillful in

[51] For example, Boi, a rider for Kon Shop, Keng, a rider for Somphong Shop and Keng, a rider for Rang Shop etc.

terms of the body and engine since he used to make friends at a repair shop. In fact, he just spent his free time in the past watching the owner repair motorcycles or helped him pick up some tools and helped him repair according to his instruction or tested the repaired one.

When identity was built through the procession and riding style, normal riding without specific style reduced the above identity.

After getting up at around noon, teenagers left home to gather together and arrived home around 3 am. Some stayed overnight at their friend's houses. Being alone with family members was unfamiliar. As I had mixed with their families, I found out that they hardly talked and did activities with their family members. "When I am at home, I do not know what to do as it is very lonesome and boring. It's better to go out and talk to my friends because I feel happier." Maen cited his reason why he had to go home after all in Ban Sang community had been at home. To own motorcycles during that time could relax their loneliness and compensate the feeling of incomplete love. Riding motorcycles enlarged their world in terms of physical and social world.

> "I can't stop when I have my own motorcycle. I go to my friend's house and stay there until it is dark. I arrive home later as it is more convenient and I can go home at any time and go to any place e.g. Bang Kruai or Bo Rai. I used to ride my motorcycle to Bo Rai when I was at Mathayom 2. I went out to pick up two friends on my motorbike to school in the morning. My mom met me accidentally in Bang Kruai. I dared to ride in the dark. Everyone in my family was also afraid that I would be hit. When there was a calling from home, I turned it off. Sometimes I told them that I nearly arrived home. Even though they were worried, they just complained. Teenagers were not very obedient. After they had promised, they did the same thing. They desired to ride motorcycles. Others could ride motorcycles, so they wished they could. I thought that it was convenient and necessary. More importantly, he was talented. I was optimistic and did not think that it would be like this. Otherwise, I would not teach him and buy him a motorcycle." said mother of Nit, a female teen that looked like a boy.

Nit rode her motorcycle and hit a pick up truck. Finally, her skull hit the floor and she was unconscious at the spot.

Appadurai suggested that the values of exchanged commodities were not given from the start but they were given by people. Politics was a linkage between exchange and value, that was, objects had values in terms of power determination and status of possessors.[52] Motorcycles gave teenagers power as teenagers would be attractive among surrounding people especially the opposite sex. Moreover, they enabled them to be group leaders. As a result, it was a tool to let their friends act as they wanted. In return, they would have a chance to ride nice motorcycles.

Motorcycles made the owners become attractive in their groups as more friends talked to them and the social space was wider. They were friends with other groups in other areas and schools. In the past, they were silent and had no friends. Motorcycles narrowed the physical world immediately. Due to the power of motorcycles, they were important and protective. It was not strange after socializing with these teenagers. I found that they shouted to greet their friends riding on the road as if they knew people throughout the city.

> "We know all teenagers in the city. In spite of not knowing their names, their faces are familiar. Otherwise, how we know that they come from other areas. We know suddenly in which gang they belong to. It will not be wrong when we have a fight. As we ride in the evening, we see them and can remember them. "

Nit told that "I was a good boy when I studied at the 7th grade. After the last semester of the 7th grade, I got my motorbike. Frankly, it made me misbehave. It changed my life. I had more friends. I was happy when I was with my friends. A motorcycle made me have more friends inside and outside the school."

When Nit was unconscious in the hospital, I remarked that a lot of his friends from various schools visited him.

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[52] Arjun Appadurai, (ed.). The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective.p.16-29.

> “I have many friends as they introduce each other. When I rode my motorcycle, I met my friends. They were with them, so we knew new friends. Such grouping was aimed to feel better but without sincerity. But when our friends had a fight with others, we would help them. I used to help my friend and was beaten by a three-inch-wide timber. Someone choked me. My neck was absolutely red. What can I do? We have to help each other as we are in the same gang.”

The acquaintance among teenagers started with network introduction. Friends were introduced from this group to other groups. Knowing many friends made them be not interested in the study. Teenagers began to hang out after school and on weekends with their motorcycles which were a powerful media of friendship network.

Motorcycles opened their world and society. They made them have friends and be happy to stay with their friends. The faster they rode, the happier they were. They just thought that this kind of happiness did not trouble anyone. Such happiness made them lessen their loneliness. Beside, they felt they had someone to trust in.

When they had problems to clear with their enemies, motorcycles would be more beneficial as they helped them escape from their enemies. When they made a mistake or quarreled with their lovers or were moody or blamed by family members, motorcycles would help them relax by bringing them fly against the wind which brought cool air to their bodies. Roaring exhausting pipes made them calm. “Either I was happy or unhappy, I was always with it”. After school, I rode it to look at the girls at school. Then, I invited her to sit pillion. “To ride motorcycles, to look at girls and to drink Pepsi made me happy.” Ko talked about what made him happy.

As teenagers and motorcycles shared the social life all the time and space, the meaning of motorcycles went beyond objects and became their companion.

Motorcycles in the opinions of teenagers are not objects without mind anymore. They are magic and become attractive among teenagers since teenagers share the same experience with motorcycles. It can be said that both the body and spirit are together.

5.5.2 Dressing Rites and Retardation of Motorcycle's Age

Teenagers slowed down the age of motorcycles by modification and decoration to make them look fresh and new. It was one of the actions which made motorcycles young and attractive. Teenagers would discuss about motorcycles when they joined the group. They stopped at repair, spare part and decoration shops where decorative parts in the form of fashion goods were from time to time presented in motorcycle magazines. Both beautiful and high speed motorcycles were illustrated in these magazines. Decorated motorcycle of readers which caught the eyes were also presented in the magazines to motivate teenagers to have their motorcycles print in the magazines. Examples of chic motorcycles in the magazine were not aimed for only copying but imagining how to decorate their motorcycles to be outstanding and unique. Looking at other motorcycles and imagining them was another favorable method prior to the selection or purchase of spare parts for decoration. They often said that,

"It is very proud when someone admired our motorcycles. If other motorcycles are nicer than ours, we will think that how we will make ours to be more beautiful and elegant. Our have to be unique. When we ride them, everyone stares at them. **"**

Apart from the selection of spare parts, the selection of skillful and subtle shops is also important. "I selected this shop as they softly removed wheels. This would not damage wheels; other shops would pull out them with a bar." Each shop is skillful in the modification and assembly of each spare part.

"Specific task must be done in a particular shop e.g. paint, mirror and wheel. It is impossible to do all in one shop.**"**

The selection of appropriate shops and experienced technicians is compared to see specialized doctors, e.g. when we have eye sore, we go to see ophthalmologist or when our bone is broken, we have to see a doctor who is specialized in bones.

Specialized doctors provide us more confidence than general doctors. Not only doctors but hospitals must be selected.

Teenagers search for suitable shops through discussion in their groups. To look at repair and modification/decoration of motorcycles at their familiar shops is one method of their lifestyles. It can be mentioned that they spend most of their time to possess and decorate them through continuous consumption based on the dynamic relationship among the production, advertising, marketing and fashion systems.

> “I am the one who loves motorcycles. Those who love their motorcycles, feel as if their vehicles had lives. We give them muscle and power. When I just bought them, they were weak. We take care of them. We decorate them. Then, they have energy and strength. Those, who decorate motorcycles, love them so much. They were suitable for the riders. If I rode 110 cc, it’s not me.”

CHAPTER 6
SPEED, VIOLENCE AND SEX: YOUNG MOTORCYCLE GANG AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

At 11 p.m. on a Saturday, twenty motorcycles of which the riders were boys aged from 16-19 years with and without pillion passengers clustered together on a 4-lane main road in the town area. The sound of the motorcycles' engines through the exhaust pipes roared amidst the darkness of the night. They rode with a diversity of styles: some speed up and then slowed down their motorcycle to allow another motorcycle to pursue them; some pursued their friend after he speed up his motorcycle as if they were children chasing each other; some swerved one another for fun; some had their pillion passenger weight their motorcycle to lift its front wheel to run with a single wheel for a long distance; and some clustered together to ride slowly, each being embraced by a female pillion passenger. Their destination was a discotheque on Phop Phra Road in the town area, which was called 'The Road of Passion'. The picture of motorcycle riding of the teenagers regularly appeared on Friday and Saturday night, especially when there were special programs at discotheques, e.g. concerts of popular singers.

Ken, a leading motorcyclist of Bang Phra Gang, who rode with agility and high speed, said to me, "We, about 100 motorcycles were on the road, including Je and Puet and fight-starting riders and skillful riders were in the front. Wherever we went, people looked at us. At that time, I was very happy[1] and we were very popular."

The voice of happiness of a teenager when recalling his riding experience during a certain period and the picture of gathering in that night are in conflict with

[1] During the second semester of Matthayom 4.

the voice of adults living in the same community, showing that there were sick of riding of the teenagers, which threatened life of villagers. One of the villagers said, “They should die. They don’t do anything but ride to trouble other people. I don’t know whey they’ve got the money.” In addition, this conflicts with attitudes of experts, who are worried, stressed and concerned about traffic injury and death rate and try to seek ways to control and monitor the risk factors to reduce the rate. One of the risk factors is ‘being a male teenager riding a motorcycle from 6 p.m.’ It is wondered why the phenomenon of risky riding still exist among teenage motorcyclists that have already perceived or experienced road accidents.

Ethnographic methods were employed for data collection through involving myself in the world of teenagers who got severely injured due to motorcycle riding to create a better understanding and explanation for the phenomenon of severe injury due to motorcycle riding under a concept that the phenomenon is caused by risky riding style, which is a result of concepts and daily-life actions related to lifestyle in the socio-cultural contexts of the teenagers.

I started to enter the world of the young motorcyclists through making myself known to a 17-year-old boy, who had to undergo a brain operation and wear a splint on his leg broken after riding a motorcycle with a style described by experts as ‘risky’ so that he hit an old man crossing the road at a curve near his village at around 9 p.m. Epidemiological data suggesting that there is a high prevalence of road accidents at the curve of Ban Sang was another condition encouraging me to follow the boy into his community in order to locate myself as a community member.

The chapter will present stories of 3-year-living with teenagers riding motorcycles with a style regarded by experts as ‘risky’, among whom some experienced severe traffic injury to answer the research questions: How do these teenagers spend their life in their world? How do motorcycles take part in their world? How is their riding behaviour related to other behavior, e.g. drug use, sexual behaviour etc.?

The field data suggest that risky riding style of the teenagers is a sub-culture they utilized as a strategy for creating a social space to form their identity and empower them to free from marginality caused by social exclusion. Severe traffic injury is not merely a problem of public health or traffic engineering since it has

connection with complex social system. Accordingly, traffic injury is therefore a social problem linked to other crimes, in which teenagers are both actors and victims. Hence, a concept that teenagers are problematic actors that call for police' strict apprehension tends to reproduce violence among the teenagers.

The chapter is divided into 4 parts: 1) Young motorcyclists and social exclusion 2) Racing: Culture of constructing identity to be free from marginality 3) Violence and sex: Young motorcycle gang and social network for creating power and identity 4) A presentation that although the riding style they chose was a channel allowing them to have a social space and construct their own identity, they could not free from victimization within a risk society, where they were both actors and victims.

6.2 Young Motorcyclists and Social Exclusion

The teenagers' relationship with their family, neighbors and peer group was the primary socio-cultural context which formed their habitus and an important background of becoming young motorcyclists. These motorcyclists had agile and risky driving style. Motorcycles, which were closely related to lifestyles of people in the community, became an important instrument for constructing a social space of the marginal teenagers.

> "Boys living at a different area of Ban Sang Community are not the same. Those living at the beginning of the market are gangsters, who like fighting but those at the middle of the market are not likely to look for troubles because their parents control them strictly. At nighttime, they'll tell their children to go back home. As for those living at the end of the market, you may know that they are like current, which flows to a lower area. They behave as their parents do, which is also related to their sin." Villagers said that the teenagers at the end of the market failed to complete their education or were imprisoned because of the sin from drug sale of their parents.

A young motorcyclist I had followed lived at the end of the market. The community's market map and teenage network relations diagram revealed that teenagers living in the area were not only 'friends' but also 'relatives'.

During daytime, the teenagers living at the end of the market gathered at a pavilion within the community to play snooker, gamble or talk about stories they had heard or experienced the night before, girls or motorcycles.

At around 3 p.m., they rode their motorcycle to see girls at the market, which used to be a bus terminal, in front of the provincial school and vocational college before riding around the provincial hall and gathering again at the pavilion.

At night, there would be more teenagers gathering to do the same activities as during daytime and a new activity, which is drinking alcohol, mostly local liquor. Mostly, they were divided into 2 groups. The first consisted of men aged 14-25 years and the second consisted of the owner of the casino and his friends, who had to sit there to facilitate clients of the casino, located not over 500 m. away from the police box.

Three teenagers were responsible for driving and facilitate the clients through buying them food as well as picking up or dropping them at home. They might gain extra money from the clients, of which the amount depended on generosity and gambling results. The casino was closed at around 2 p.m. or at dawn. Some other teenagers sat talking with them or rode outside and then returned to the group. When the casino was closed, they would go back home or stay overnight at a friend's house. Not surprisingly, teenagers at the end of the market were not able to reach the school in time and always slept in the classroom and on holidays, they would not get up until noon.

"I sleep in the classroom everyday. One day, my teacher told all my classmates to shout out my name. I woke up and was stupefied and wondered what happened." said Lek, after I knew that he failed all tests and asked him why he did not understand the lessons.

Daily practices and interaction between the teenagers and people around them, including family members and villagers made them have behavior, manners and trend

of actions in line with people of the same class and different from people of a different socio-cultural context.

> "Nobody wants to employ Ban Sang's children. They know that these children are lazy, don't work had, failed to complete their study and are roughneck. Good parents don't want their children to be associated with these children. The parents of these children don't look after them; however, they mind when people talk about their children in a bad way. They always side with their children. They don't care if their children do right or wrong." said a middle-aged dressmaker in the community.

What adults said about Ban Sang Gang was in accordance with what an elder gang member said. Je said, "Ban Sang's boys neither respected nor introduced themselves to their elders. If we get familiar to them, they won't respect us. If I wasn't their relatives, they might have been punished."

Most villagers regarded that teenagers living at the end of the market had unpleasant habits, behavior and manners and ones should not be associated with them. An adult said, "As for families that make a living honestly, they look after their children closely. They won't let their children to be associated with these children. When their children grow enough, they'll send them to another place." Normally, the teenagers living at the end of the market could tolerate the negative feelings as if they did not care for such feelings. Sometimes, when they did not want to tolerate them, they would retaliate by mocking, ridiculing or accelerating their motorcycle in front of people criticizing them. Being denied by society strengthened the relations of the group members, especially if they had kinship relations, this would render stronger solidarity and power, which would reduce social resistance against their differences in habits, manners and attitudes.

"We are in the same group and the same village. Therefore, we must help one another though. Right or wrong, it was not the first priority." said Tao.[2]

The following statement is part of reflection of self-regard of the teenagers and perception of thoughts and practices of other people toward them, which shows the power of defining 'another group' by a group.

"'Hia'[3] should be kept by men. But imagine, what will happen if they live together."

"In my classroom, students hardly paid attention to studying and the teachers didn't care for them. They didn't even know that their students were playing cards at the back of the classroom."

"Hard-working students didn't involve themselves in my group and the teachers hardly paid attention to our group."

"Most Ban Sang's children don't finish Matthayom 3. Ko is the only boy finishing Matthayom 3, but he is illiterate."

When they realized that they would fail to finish their study, their actions in the school had changing goals. They still came to school late and going to school for them was only for gathering and talking with friends, seeing girls, extorting money[4] from other students or killing time due to having no place to go.

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[2] Tao said this when Ko had a fight with Dream in front of a discotheque. At that time, Ko got drunk and started the fight. When Dream was going to punch him back, Ko ran to tell this to his elder brother, who was older than Dream. Ko's elder brother hit Dream and told Dream to stop the conflict.

[3] 'Hia' in Thai means 'shitty' and 'water monitors'.

[4] Extortion was a culture of his group. They group members would walk toward to a student of the same or younger age and threaten him through manners or expressions to force him to give them money. They might say, "Give me 5 baht." If the victim said he had none, they would do a body

> "We went to school but didn't go to the classroom. We walked around in the school. We gathered to play guitar, talk, flirt with and tease women and sometimes, we climbed the school fence to play games and snooker. During lunchtime, we extorted money from younger students. If I was put off by a boy, I might take his mobile phone." said Ken, a member of Bang Phra Gang, who did not finish senior high school level.

> "During Matthayom 1, when there was a boring class or when I was too lazy to study, I would climb the school fence and rode my motorcycle to a computer game shop. At the end of the class period, I would ride back to school and climbed the fence into the school. If I was still unfinished, I would return to school after it was closed to take my schoolbag and rode back home." said Ton, a member of Bang Phra Gang, who did not finish senior high school level.

In the first semester of Matthayom 1, each group did not consist of many students but in the second semester, the number of group members would increase. A certain period after they spent their life in school, their relations with their teachers and friends became clearer with regard to mutual expectation. The students that could not adjust themselves to the school system started to exclude themselves to form their group more clearly and chose some spaces outside the classroom as their social spaces.

Informal group leaders were selected from those who acted as if they could help other members when they faced problems, especially the ones that were backed by some power relations, e.g. a grandson of 'boss' of Bang Phra Gang; a son of a lawyer, who made his eldest son innocent of a charge of shooting a man to death; a son of a man with a close relationship with a politician; and a boy who used to punch an elder boy such that he feared for him.

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search and took all the money they found from him. If the victim resisted, he would be hurt. Any student that was a victim once would be threatened everyday.

When there is a group, there will be a leader and followers with patronage, assistance, protection and definitely defining people of a different group as ‘another group’. The relations classify people as friends and enemies. A slightly unpleasant act could lead to a brawl among the teenagers. The more serious injury each gang caused to another gang, the more widely mentioned the gang’s fame and charisma was.

> “During studying in Matthayom 1, I only skipped the class but in Matthayom 2, I began to have conflicts with other groups and fight with them to build our fame. During Matthayom 4, we fought everyday inside and outside school with students of my school and another school. It seemed to be a normal matter.”

For them, becoming ‘someone’ means being popular, which resulted from being in a gang with a lot of members and winning fights with other gangs? During the period, their epithets were created alongside their fame. Some teenagers were called with their nickname plus the name of fathers, who were well-known hooligans, e.g. Je Chai, Piak Yai or O San or nickname plus some features or behavior, e.g. Puet Dam or Ti Ba. In addition, their epithets might consist of the name of place with which they were affiliated, e.g. Samphinong (three brothers) of Khonsong Mai (new bus terminal), Dek (children) of Bang Phra Gang, Dek of Khlong Yai Gang, Dek of Kao Yot Gang, Dek of Wangweng Gang and Dek of Lueakho Gang, which reflects the existence in power network of the teenagers.

Having no place to stand on according to the standard of ‘good children’, they therefore created their own social network. Their fame and self at school appeared alongside being driven out of educational network. While the gangs’ new identity was being formed through power relations in the peer group with creating their own culture, most key informants failed to finish their studying. Boys of Ban Sang Gang did not finish Matthayom 3 and boys of Bang Phra Gang did not finish Matthayom 6. All of the teenagers had risky riding style and most of them experienced traffic injury due to motorcycle riding. They spent most of their life from the afternoon to 3 a.m. They did social violence with other groups of teenagers: some conducted sexual violence and most had drug use experience. Next, the process of

constructing their identity through motorcycle riding related to their lifestyle to liberate themselves from marginality will be presented.

6.3 Racing: Cultural instrument of Constructing Identity of Marginal People

Due to a failure to create an identity of typically good and hard-working children as well as worldviews influenced by their experiences of socialization, their relationship with people around them were internalized in themselves, which made them have habits, behavior, manners and concepts according with those of people of the same class and location but different from those of people of a different class and location. The distinction, which was a consequence of internalization of sets of perception and evaluation of the world through socialization from their childhood so that they had actions under a unique social frame of their own class as mentioned, made them try to seek a new social space empowering them through creation of their own culture. In this respect, their motorcycle became an important 'capital' for opening a new social space for them.

The riding styles varied to time, space and groups, which were an instrument for relaxation in daily life and compensation for their loneliness[5] and missing love.[6] It can be suggested that motorcycle riding was a path of happiness not loudness as indicated by experts. In this regard, riding styles seemed to be their cultures of competing for social space for creating their own identity to release themselves from marginality.

Field data show that life of the teenagers during Matthayom 1 was the transition period of their life allowing them to have more involvement in motorcycle riding. Their riding experiences made them ride faster and more

[5] The group of teenagers avoided being alone quietly. They preferred to listen to pop or dance music with arousing rhythm with loudness and speed.

[6] Most teenagers understood that no one loved them. They grew in a family where parents separated or parents with a bad relationship.

powerfully. Their high-spiritedness occurred during when they studied in Matthayom 2-3, in which they started motorcycle racing.

"My friends drove fast and I had to do as they did. I started to ride fast from Matthayom 2-3. At that time, I was high-spirited."[7] said Khaep, a student in Matthayom 5, who was mentioned as riding powerfully.

Riding at high speed with powerful acceleration, changing lanes fast, running through the red light and riding on the wrong way are labeled as risky riding behavior that should be avoided and strictly controlled. Authorities expected to control the behavior are police. For them, 'strict law enforcement can reduce injury rate caused by traffic road accidents among teenage motorcyclists' and a possible measure is setting checkpoints to arrest riders who do not wear a helmet, have no riding license and have motorcycles modified. Working hours of traffic police start from the morning to nearly 6 p.m. Setting checkpoints during nighttime occur occasionally during special days, e.g. consecutive holidays. Even fast driving, (running through the red light), it is a difficult task for authorities. Some authorities admit that 'it is impossible' to deal with the case.

While the government tries to suppress motorcycle the riding behavior of the teenagers, the statistic of causalities from motorcycle riding among teenagers tends to increase and the age of causalities is lower. Epidemiological data dominating the field of knowledge indicates that the prevalence of traffic injury is mostly from 6 p.m.-2 a.m. on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, which are indicated as days that must be specially monitored.

The information is reaffirmed by a large number of research studies based on epidemiological framework and has influenced formulation of policies, strategies and measures concerning road safety. It cannot be said that they are satisfactorily successful since traffic road injury has been analyzed based on epidemiological concepts alone without connection to other psychosocial factors and socio-cultural contexts, which leads to superficial resolution and a failure to tackle the core or root

[7] Some were not longer students or some were students but did not like to study.

of the problem. Furthermore, consideration of traffic road injury alone may result in inaccuracy of violence estimation. The following field data will reveal the root of injury from motorcycle riding with styles described by experts as 'risk' and a connection between severe road traffic injury and other violence-related problems in the society of consumerism.

6.4 Motorcycle: Vehicles Opening Social World of Young Motorcyclists

When Ko's father left his family to live with a new woman, Ko's mother, called Taew tried all ways to make him return, including meeting superior persons like his mother and elder brother, of whom Ko's father was afraid the most or depending on the supernatural by, e.g. tying her picture and his picture and putting them under her pillow according to advice of a medium. However, this could not make him back. While Taew was trying hard to make her husband back, Ko had a different feeling. He said, "If my father had stayed with me, I had had to arrive home at 8 p.m. and couldn't go anywhere. Without him, I can do anything."

Ko felt that without his father at home, he had more freedom and could do anything and go anywhere he wanted. He could come back home anytime; he just had to return home to take his mother to the market at 4 a.m. Furthermore, absence of his father expanded his social life since he was able to spend his social life outside Ban Sang Community and did not have to return home by 8 p.m. as he shall do when his father stayed with him. Since when he abandoned his family, Ko started to spend more nightlife with his red Smile Honda with his close friend, Khe, the owner of a black Smile Honda.

Khe was his closest friend in the community, whose handsomeness is equivalent to a star. Educational life of Khe was not different from other teenagers in the group. That is, he was dismissed from the provincial school when he studied in Matthayom 2. He lived with his mother, called Chaew and his stepfather in a rented room opposite to Taew's shop. His mother separated from his real father when he was studying in Prathom 2. His father was an officer at the Provincial Juvenile Court.

His mother reasoned that she could not bear his father's flirtatiousness and his father reasoned that he could not bear his mother's gambling and lack of attention to him. Later, Chaew decided to have a younger husband, called Net. Net was a quiet man and was not sociable. He worked as a mechanic at a nearby petrol station within the community. He left home to work in the morning and arrived home at dusk. All people in community said that he loved Ko rather than Ko's mother did. Once, when Ko had an accident after lifting his motorcycle's wheel so that he got out of control of his motorcycle, making his finger broken, Net was the only person that looked after him. He saw many people to pawn his mobile off to gain money for Ko's medical treatment whilst Chaew was not paying attention to him. She was playing cards at the casino although Khe told his friend to tell the matter to her mother first. Khe had relatives at Suksan Community, located around 3 km. away from Ban Sang Community, the community where he was living.The Social World to Khe and Ko was Opened in the Community

One day, while Ko and Khe were riding at the entrance of Ban Sang Community, Khe persuaded Ko to visit his relatives at Soi Suksan, which was not much far from the provincial school. Soi Suksan was congested with people, including native inhabitants and people from other communities, who were students from other districts or provinces renting dwellings in the community. In the community, there were many computer game shops, snooker-table shops, casinos and houses where teenagers of all ages gathering to bet on the football results, play the lottery and use drugs.

While they were riding, Khe led Ko to Soi Suksan. Here, Khe met his school friends, who rented houses around there. Some walked out from the computer game shops or gathered at the snooker tables. This made him learn where many of his friends spent most of their life after school time. During daytime, their friends often skipped the class to gather here apart from the computer game shops around the school, which were monitored by teachers of Administration Section to arrest the students here during school time.

When Ko and Khe stopped their motorcycles to talk with their friend in front of a computer game shop, they knew new friends from a different community and school, which made him have more members. Since then, Soi Suksan was another

place where Ko spent his life apart from Ban Sang Community. His motorcycle expanded his physical space as well as social space and allowed him to have more friends from a different place.

Since when Ko possessed the motorcycle since he had to take his mother to the market in the morning, he had been absent from school more often. As Ko had a close friend, Khe, who was no longer a student, he could spend more free time with Khe. They rode motorcycle to many places to play computer games and snooker and to visit discotheques on Phop Phra Road. At the moment, he had not only friends of the same age but also younger and elder friends. Spending social life in Soi Suksan and entertainment places at night allowed Ko to have a relationship with a group of teenagers mentioned as a powerful teenage group, which was 'Bang Phra Gang'.

Teenagers of Bang Phra Gang were famous for their 'virtuousness'. They always gathered at an arbor they had created with bamboo framework and nipa palm roof in a street behind a discotheque. They called the place 'gang' and other teenagers called them 'Bang Phra Gang'. Knowing members of Bang Phra Gang and being a relative of a leading member of the gang changed Ko's life.

Daily, Ko rode his mother to the market at 3 a.m. and then came back home to sleep and wake up to reach the school by 8-9 p.m. During daytime, he left the school to play computer games or snooker outside school. From 4-5 p.m., he rode his motorcycle to watch girls and after all the girls went back home, he would ride with his friends. Next, he sat talking around his house or went back home to take a rest. He got up at 8-9 p.m. and then rode to see his friends in Bang Phra Gang. From 11 p.m. to midnight, he visited a discotheque and left there around 2 a.m. Next, he talked with his friends or exchanged phone numbers with women he knew that night. Many times, he had sexual relations with the women he knew at entertainment places. Later, he rode his motorcycle with his friends for a while before arriving home at nearly 3 a.m. Throughout the period, he had his motorcycle beside him.

Ko defined himself as a boy of Ban Sang Gang with a root at Bang Phra because his father's family was natives of Bang Phra Community and his uncle's son was an elder teenager accepted as having power next to 'boos' of Bang Phra Gang.

"Without 'boss'[8], Tom will look after the gang." said Ken, revealing hierarchical power relations of teenagers in Bang Phra Gang.

Ko's relationship with teenagers of Bang Phra Gang rendered him charisma to some extent. He became a leading teenager of Someone Gang and the leader of Khifun Gang.[9] Whilst each teenager's self was formed through being affiliated with a group, which has its own identity, he created his own identity. Each of them was changed from a person with no self or features into person who was interesting and talked about[10] as, e.g. a teenager of Bang Phra Gang, rider of a beautiful motorcycle, rider with powerful style, fight starter, skillful rider, fashion leader, dancing leader and drug-use leader. Knowing a lot of people, especially elder gangsters, was regarded power and self-esteem when they talked with other teenagers in community.

There were few members that had no motorcycle. Those without a motorcycle needed to have a close friend that had a motorcycle to take him to places. As dependents, they had to do all things according to the motorcycle owner, who became a powerful person, especially if his motorcycle was more attractive than his friends' or others' on the road. Gathering and sharing an interest in motorcycles made them eager to show off their motorcycle to people in general, especially among other teenagers and women, which was done via decoration and modification through sharing experiences among his peer group, elder teenagers and mechanics mostly at the motorcycle-fixing and modifying shops, which sent their participants to legal and illegal motorcycle racings.

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[8] 'Boss' was an elder teenager, who was a son of a person who was influential in the community due to being a gunman with a close relationship with a local politician.

[9] Ko said that 'Khifun', which means dust came from fighting style of his gang. That is, when the fight starter of the gang started attacking a victim, other gang members would braw the victim and would disappear rapidly. The name was carved on many desks in the classrooms in his school.

[10] One night, I searched for Ko after getting his name and address from an officer in a hospital at a market located not much away from Ban Sang Community. When I asked a 15-year girl about Ko, she said, "Both Ko and Ken ride fast. Everyone knew them. They are chick and high-spirited. They ride around here every night. They come here to tease me and then go." "On that day, when I stopped my motorcycle, a boy asked me if I was Ko and said he had heard my name for a long time." said Ko, with high self-esteem while pulling the edge of his shirt and stretched his chest.

Each teenager's motorcycle was decorated based on his economic, social and cultural capital. Some equipment and engines were exchanged within the group for decorating their motorcycles according to their own imagination and views of gang members. Each teenager's motorcycle had a unique style; however, their motorcycles shared common features of the gang, e.g. a particular pattern of sticker. The modification rendered each rider's more location. Many riders were recognized and mentioned through their name connected to their motorcycle, e.g. Billy…the one riding a yellow Nuvo with black stripes; Em, a white and blue Click; Bird, a black Click; Khiat, a red-eye Sonic etc. When their identity existed in line with the appearance of their motorcycle, they avoided motorcycles with some features that made them loss their identity and they viewed that looking after their motorcycle was essential.

> "Now, I don't dare to ride my Mio as it has been rotten. The sound of its exhaust pipe isn't as beautiful as Khe's. His is very loud. When he speeds up his motorcycle, he can lift its front wheel easily. The sound of my exhaust pipe is extremely ugly." said Maen, who modified the exhaust pipe of his motorcycle so that it had a strange sound.

Apart from their motorcycle, their riding style was unique and attractive. "All Bang Phra's boys rode fast and powerfully. Otherwise, they aren't Bang Phra's boys." said Ken, a member of Bang Phra Gang or "The riding style of Puet is right. He's very cool." said Dam. Motorcycle riding of other groups of riders may be merely traveling but for the teenagers, riding from 6 p.m. to 3 a.m. means something that creates their happiness, self and location, which made them interesting for the public. The identity was not able to be constructed via other mechanisms.

6.4.1 Motorcycle Riding Style of Teenagers

Riding styles of the teenagers varied to space and time and their lifestyle. Field data relating spending free time in their social life were synthesized, which show the following findings:

As for teenagers that were still students, they got up around 7 a.m. Mostly, they took a bus and rode a motorcycle to their school respectively. During daytime, they left school to gather with their friends dismissed from school, who mostly got up around noon. They always gathered at the gang, computer game shops or snooker tables and made an appointment via phone.

Their school was closed around 4 p.m., during which the front of schools and bus terminals were crowded with male and female students, who clustered to wait for time to go back home. One of the activities the teenagers commonly did was riding to watch and flirt with girls and picking up and dropping the one with whom they had a relationship. The activities would end at around 6 p.m.

After they finished dropping their girlfriend, they would ride their motorcycle to their gang or other gangs, to play snooker, football, game or skateboard until 7 p.m. From 7-9 p.m. they would gather at their gang to take a rest, talk, drink or smoke. Some might stay at home and return to their gang at around 9 p.m.

From 9 p.m. to nearly midnight, they gathered to drink and ride their motorcycle to a discotheque. At around 2 p.m., they would leave the discotheque to have a talk in front of it and created a relationship with a woman they met around there. Careless sexual relations among the teenagers partly occurred in the social context.

6.4.1.1 Riding to See Women: Road is a Stage to Show the Identity of Masculinity

The surrounding and interior of their house were dirty and untidy and they did not pay attention to their face-looking and dressing when they were at home or within the community. They often woke up in the afternoon and walked out of the place they had slept to gather with their friends in community with clothing they had worn the night before or a boxer shorts without washing their face or combing. Some had food without brushing teeth. Nonetheless, before they rode their motorcycle out of the house at 4 p.m. they would wash their motorcycle, took a bath, and got dressed in the way they commonly did. For instance, teenagers of Ban Sang Gang always wore a black or white sheer T-shirt with knee-length slack pants or a jean. Their dressing style hardly changed according to fashion. As for teenagers of Bang Phra Gang, they got dressed in a fashionable way, e.g. with a fashionable shirt

or hip-hop style clothing as popular singers or stars did, especially foreign ones they saw in CD. Some teenagers preferred to wear clothing of a popular brand name, e.g. Levis, Jaspal, Polo or Hass.

After finishing washing their motorcycle and getting dressed, they clustered to ride out. They did not prefer to ride alone, especially when their destination was the front of a school or college where there were female students they were interested in. The girls were students at the commercial college, vocational college, provincial female school or provincial secondary school. In the context, they would ride slowly along with 2-3 motorcycles of their friends.

"Just riding and watching girls, it makes me happy." said Ken while he was riding me along the route which he always passed to watch these girls, from the front of the provincial school through the intersection where there were provincial female school and vocational college. After that, he turned to the river bank behind a department store to the van station, where there were a lot of female and male students waiting for going back home in another district. Next, he rode to the outer road headed to a commercial college near Bang Phra Gang.

Riding slowly, they looked at girls on the roadside, teased them or rode fast toward them. If liked a girl, they would talk to her to create a relationship and ask her phone number to continue their relationship. If they really liked her, they would wait for her on the following day and seek ways to carry on their relationship. "Riding makes me happy. With breeze, I watched keep an eye on girls on the roadside." said Non, a teenager with speedy and powerful riding and a beautiful motorcycle, who was known as Non Oishi.

Apart from riding to see girls in the evening, gathering around the shops at the old bus terminal, where there were a lot of girls, was another activity they normally did. If any girl accepted to have a relationship with them, their motorcycle would be responsible for riding her after school time before the bus left and when she did not need to go back home. Later, a motorcycle would become an important vehicle for dropping her at home.

Apart from making a rider who had unattractive face-looking to become interesting for girls, a motorcycle was a sign recalling ones to who were

lovers and which teenagers had or had no girlfriend. That is, the girl sitting on a motorcycle was the girlfriend of the rider.

"I fail to create a relationship with some girls because they used to see me ride another girl. The more attractive my motorcycle is, the more easily I am recognized" said Ken.

Riding to see girls in the evening was not much risky since they rode slowly along with other motorcycles, which obstructed the traffic route. A teenager compared riding a girl to 'pedaling a boat in a park slowly without hastening but with happiness.' As the aim of riding was showing off themselves to the public, wearing a helmet was an obstacle and something they had to avoid.

"I don't spend much time taking a bath. I waste a lot of time getting dressed, applying sunscreen cream, powdering my face and combing my hair, which lasts almost 1 hour." said Ken.

Attaching great importance to their body, clothing and motorcycle as important things to charm girls, they spent almost all money the gained by whichever methods on sunscreen cream, clothing and parts for decorating their motorcycle.

Care for good-looking image, possessing a motorcycle and having a group made them become interesting and have self and location in society. Their status at the moment was different from that stamped by their family, community and school.

"I may look unattractive but when I dressed up and ride my motorcycle to flirt with girls, they got crazy about me. Some girls used to fight at the market to compete for me." said Boi.

6.4.1.2 Powerful, Fast and Exciting: Proof of Leadership

From 5 p.m. to 3 a.m., the teenagers rode their motorcycle according to their group identity. Powerful, fast and exciting riding was adopted in the context.

When I became a member of Bang Phra Gang, they taught me to ride with the gang's style, starting from holding handlebars with slightly bent elbow, sitting with bent waist instead of straight back, lifting both feet with slightly bent knees to press against both sides of the motorcycle instead of placing both feet close in the front and more importantly wearing no helmet, making the body comfortable instead of sitting straight all time and lying down during turning the motorcycle.

Riding styles of the teenagers are related to riding manners and speed usage. Riding manners varied to each rider. Using high speed and changing lane or dodging hindrances without reducing speed varied to each gang. Riding at high speed was very important for fighting with other gangs.

Engine modification commonly practiced among them made their riding speedy and powerful. The sound transmitted via the exhaust pipes would arouse them to speed their motorcycle as pleased. Being accustomed to routes they regularly used enabled them to ride without decelerating or stopping to wait for the traffic light and avoid the permanent and temporary police checkpoints.

Riding to reach the destination quickly with skills and familiarity with the road condition and routes made them ignore conformity to traffic rules, especially riding in a wrong way and running through the red light. Both academics and road safety experts regarded that some u-turns had a risk of accidents and devoted their utmost effort to improve them, e.g. those at the foot of a flyover bridge, which was the joint of the secondary road. If the teenagers rode out of the secondary road and wanted to make a u-turn to another side of the road, they had to turn left for about 500 m. to make a u-turn. However, they chose to make a u-turn at the foot of the bridge, which was located only 200 m. away from the officially provided u-turn. If a car ran downward from the bridge at high speed, they might have a high risk of accidents. Apart from convenience, fastness, confidence in their skill and familiarity with riding at the point, a reason why they made a u-turn on the foot of the bridge instead of a safer point, which was not much far from the spot they regularly used, was that there were police officers regularly stationed there.

"We've rode so long that we know where the police are stationed. If we didn't stop our motorcycles, they would not be able to arrest us." said Maen.

Riding to escape the police was challenging, exciting and fun among them. The experience started when they violated traffic rules, e.g. carrying no riding license and wearing no helmet or when they wanted to incite the police to arrest them.

> "It's very fun to make the police angry. Once, they pursued us and fired to the sky. We rode away from them so that my wheels exploded. On that day, Bang was my pillion passenger and hold fast a sword. If the police had arrested us, they would have beaten us. However, none of us was arrested. If we ride, they can't catch us." said Maen.

Sometimes, when they saw a police checkpoint, they would ride a motorcycle with a modified exhaust pipe past the police to arouse them to pursue them or overtook them. They said they did not like police because they always lay in wait for arresting motorcycles and after they confiscated motorcycles, they would take off all decorative parts and returned them only the chassis. This dissatisfied then and stimulated them to defy the police[11]. A police officer argued that after the police arrested and confiscated motorcycles of teenagers, if the teenagers did not pay fine and show related documents, the police would keep the motorcycles behind the police station, which was an open area with a risk of stealing of the parts. Due to limitation of budget and places, the police were not able to keep the motorcycles efficiently.

The teenagers knew that the police worked as a team and used radio for communication and detection; however, their experiences in routes as well as confidence in their speed usage reassured them that they would not be followed and arrested by the police. Nonetheless, they said if they had been arrested, they would have used their existing social capital, that is, their friends that were relatives of some police officers to take the motorcycles back from the police station without paying. But if it was impossible, they would have asked a friend that looked pathetic to plead to the police for returning the motorcycles. Da said, "I pretended to be sad

[11] "I test how cool they are by speeding up my motorcycle and riding around. Sometimes, I tease them by calling them, ride very near to them or call them impolitely and when they walked to me, I'll pretend to call my friend behind him or turn my motorcycle away," said Keng.

and told the police that I had only 200 baht and that since I had sought money the morning to pay for the fine and this was all I could gain. Only this, they reduced 400 baht to 200 baht." said Da.[12] Some police stated that they did not want to reinforce the law too strictly and would reduce the fine case by case. Detailed data show that most charges the police officers gave to the adolescents related to modification of motorcycles rather than riding behavior. By doing so, the number of charges of risky riding is lower than the actual number and the reason why they chose to reduce or ignore fining related to the Traffic Act with regard to riding behavior was that the share they would gain from the fine in this case was lower than that according to Road Vehicle Act.

Being arrested by the police made the teenagers lose their face and mocked by their friend as incompetent. Therefore, between having an accident and losing face, they chose the first alternative.[13] That is, if they were arrested, apart from losing face, they might have no motorcycle temporarily.

6.4.1.3 Play: Not Traveling but 'Performance' on the Road

The teenagers rode with consciousness, semi-consciousness or sub-consciousness.

"While I'm riding, I'm always abstracted. Riding makes me happy and then abstracted." said Ket., a boyish girl who was a member of Ban Sang Gang. She preferred to ride with high speed and power.

Therefore, for the teenagers, riding a motorcycle is not taking themselves from one place to another place safely as stated by an expert but roaming with joy and happiness, which reflects that 'risk' or so-called 'danger' for experts was not always established in their consciousness while they were riding.

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[12] Da said about a tactic for bargaining the fine. One morning, after riding back home, he was arrested and charged of riding without carrying a license and riding a motorcycle without a mirror. And the night before, he used drugs with his friends.

[13] "While I'm escaping the police, I think that I may have an accident but it is better than losing face. Sometimes, there are a lot of passers-by…I feel ashamed and then I choose a risk."

6.4.1.4 Relaxation through Riding during Happiness and Sadness

Riding a motorcycle was a method for relaxation when they were stressed by their mother's grumbling and scolding or when they were angry, sad and resent after having a dispute with their family and girlfriend. Riding at high speed and power eased these emotions.

One day, at 1 a.m., I was still riding with a group of teenagers to many roads in the town area. I passed Ket, a 13-year girl, who was riding a Kase with a 12-year boy as a pillion passenger. She lifted the motorcycle's wheel and then they laughed happily around the City Hall.

> "…I like riding a motorcycle. I enjoy it, especially nighttime in the breeze. My father doesn't blame me for doing so because I have to wait for clients that will play cards at the casino near my house. Sometimes, I must buy things for them and they give me some money. Sometimes, I ride my neighbor to see his girlfriend on Prayunwat Road around Chomthian Department Store at 11 p.m. and picked him up at 5 p.m. I do this everyday. I'm not sleepy during nighttime. During waiting them them, I will ride... I'll become sleepy in the morning and am not able to go to school. If I get up late, I don't want to go to school because my teachers will scold me…"

After I bought a motorcycle of a popular brand for teenager at that time, I joined riding for pleasure, a common activity among teenagers of Ban Sang Gang and Khonsong Mai Gang rather than Bang Phra Gang or other gangs.

Riding of Ban Sang Gang occurred twice a day, that is, from 6 p.m.-8 p.m. and 11:30 p.m.-1 a.m. They would ride out when all members were ready. The routes they regularly passed included a route along the river behind the department store, public park in front of the City Hall, Phop Phra Road and outbound roads. While they were riding, they teased one another by accelerating their motorcycle, chasing, zigzagging, overtaking on the right or left and lifting their motorcycle's wheels. According to my experience as one of the members of the young riders, while riding in the breeze, I relaxed and my loneliness was lessened

and had joy through teasing one another and the sound of engine and exhaust pipes aroused their excitement. Showing off through presenting dominant characteristics of a motorcycle created high self-esteem of the owner. The more there were gang riders, the more reckless and overconfident they felt. It was noticed that while doing the activities, their happiness was expressed through their face, smile, speech and continuity of the activity despite with the same members on the same routes. Their delight might be their positive experiences, which relaxed them and relieved their loneliness and boredom. Meanwhile, they might be their negative experiences in some context, which will be presented as follows:

The first round of riding ended at around 8 p.m., which was followed by gathering at the gang. As for teenagers of Ban Sang Gang living at the end of the market, they chose to gather at the community pavilion to drink alcohol or play snooker, which were joined by elder teenagers. They were interested in narrating stories of gangsters and exchanging their life experiences.

After they ran out of alcohol, some of them had to go back home. The members that always remained there included Ko, Keng, Ke, Maen, San and I. Maen was 14 years old and the youngest in the group, who was characterized by preference for riding after drinking alcohol.

“For Maen, the crazier and drunker he is, the flightier he’ll be and the more, he wants to ride. Sometimes, he rides alone.” Ko talked about Maen when he saw him alternately sat drinking and rode out. He said when Maen got drunk, apart from riding, he liked throwing glass bottles on the road but when he was not drunk, he was shy, spoke little and was softhearted, likely to pity anyone mistreated or weaker.

The lifestyle involved all gang members in experiencing traffic injury from motorcycle riding.

The first member experiencing severe injury was Ko. One day, at around 3 p.m., he rode with Khe and Maen. Ko alternately rode plainly and rode with lifting the motorcycle’s wheel.

> “At around 8 p.m., I wanted to drink fresh milk and then I asked my friends to ride out to Tha Yai Market. Three of us rode 2 motorcycles.

> At first, Maen wanted to be my pillion passenger but when I told him that I'd alternately ride plainly and ride with lifting the wheel, he decided to ride pillion on Khe's motorcycle instead."

On the way back, Ko rode with high speeds to race Khe with Maen as the pillion rider. While Ko was speeding up his motorcycle to pursue Khe, an elderly man walked across the road. Ko tried to swerve but because the spot was the curve and he rode fast, he failed to do so. He snagged the elderly man and overturned his motorcycle so that his head knocked the ground. He had to undergo a brain operation due to brain hemorrhage and wear splints on his broken legs. The elderly man had to undergo a brain operation and his neck bones moved and he stayed on the bed near to him at the hospital. Ko was charged of riding carelessly such as to injure another person and his behavior was monitored by authorities.

In case of Keng, he rode at high speed and power in a reckless manner. One day, at about midnight, the group of teenagers was still gathering at the gang behind Ban Sang Market. When the casino was closed, Pu, an elder relative of Keng, told Keng to drop him at his apartment, which was about 5 km. away from the community. Keng and his friends took this opportunity to ride for pleasure. Five motorcycles, with and without pillion passengers ran slowly to drop Pu. On the way back, San[14] rode Keng's motorcycle, which had just been bought by his father and Keng was his pillion passenger. The road on which they were riding was a 4-lane concrete road with good surface. For a certain distance, San lifted the motorcycle's wheel and had Keng weight it. Due to using excessive speeds and lifting the motorcycle's wheel, his motorcycle leaped forward and overturned so that it sparked. San left the motorcycle whilst Keng fell from it from such that his arms were broken.

As for Maen, he used to ride a motorcycle with Ko as a pillion passenger. At that time, he rode at high speed on the road along the riverbank he was accustomed to. His goal was to buy a thin saddle at a famous shop in the town area. While he was riding at high speed with concentration on a new saddle, he did not

[14] San was regarded as rider with speedy, power and daredevil riding style.

notice that there was a car leaping from another side of the road at the junction. His motorcycle crashed the car severely so that Keng flew over Maen and the hood of the car flew to another side of the road.

6.4.1.5 Relieving Loneliness and Boredom

When they felt bored, they would adjust their emotion by creating excitement or agitating villagers. The more members were there in their gang, the more they were brave and reckless. Annoying and irritating other people made them have fun, relieve their loneliness and made them lively.

Riding during nighttime involved them in not only the risk of road accidents but also in destruction of other people' assets. For instance, they stole a fire extinguisher from a petrol station that was closed and played it while they were riding, destroyed public utilities, e.g. overturning bins on the road, rode their motorcycle while lifting its front wheel, played ski by jumping out of the motorcycle to catch its rear part and drag their feet on the ground and threw alcoholic drink bottles to 24-hour open shops.

Riding was also a means of showing their power in the public by, for example, riding while having a pillion passenger drag a sword on the ground to make it spark, throwing alcohol bottles to the police boxes or enemies, riding and shooting the lamps of the roadside electric poles, riding and firing a real or counterfeit gun to the sky or even riding in group and shouting out their gang's name while speeding up their motorcycle, "Wiang Tai Wiang Tai Wiang Tai." Wiang Tai was the name of a gang, which was named according to the sub-district where they lived.

While I was living in the community, it was often seen that their riding at night caused them unpredictable danger, e.g. during mid-October at around midnight, while a 17-year boy and his close friend were riding, there was an elder boy riding close to them and shouted out that they had swerved him. Both boys tried to clarify that they had not done such thing and 'wai' him but he did believe him. Finally, the 17-year old became the victim. His neck was cut so that it was almost fell off; however, the pillion rider could run away to see the police, who saved his life.

The teenagers' clustering to ride motorcycles is compared to a ritual as stated by Durkheim (1976 : 215-216), asserting that during a rite, the members will perform some activities different from daily activities, which he called collective

effervescence or emotion, which may causes unexpected acts with severe emotion, which may not be able to be controlled. However, the members have full consciousness and feel that they have to position themselves above the ethical sphere in daily life.

According to Durkheim, the feeling in a ritual will occur only when people gather to perform it but will not occur when a member stays alone. The collective concept is therefore determined by society.

Among the young motorcyclists, happiness, fun and excitement from riding could occur when they rode alone but these feelings would increase when they clustered.

6.4.1.6 Alcoholic drink: Medium in the Ritual of Creating Friendship and Leadership

The campaign and legal measure on restricting sale of alcohol to people over the age of 18 years failed in the community. The field data suggest that alcoholic drink was easily bought from people with a familiar relationship within the community. “The vendor at Seven Eleven, I knew them and we are familiar to each other. They are nice.” said Maen. And then, he entered the shop to buy three bottles of beer and a pack of cigarette. “These are all I’ll buy. If they are not enough, I’ll buy more at Tik’s shop… It is 14-hour open.”

Tik’s shop was a grocery shop in the community, which was a 1-unit rowhouse and was 24-hour open. Most teenagers in the community bought alcohol at this shop due to familiarity with the shopkeeper. They mostly drank at a pavilion or pier within the community, which was joined by elder teenager.

For them, alcohol was a medium in the ritual of creating a relationship. Giving an alcoholic drink to someone was giving them friendship and respect and refusing to drink meant refusing friendship. Drinking all at once immediately after receiving it showed a close friendship. The ritual of drinking tightened their friendship and solidarity. Furthermore, being proposed more drinks reflected more power, friends and acceptance.

The heroes of mid-teenage members were their elders, who were their model and refuge when they had conflicts with other people. “Pu doesn’t have much money because he doesn’t work but we regard him as ‘boss’ because he has

a gun and is an elder boy." Sitting drinking with their elders made the teenagers happy although sometimes, they had to pay and serve them.[15]

"He sits with us until 11 p.m. before he goes to see his girlfriend. When we have nothing to do, we talk and drink. It is fun."

The lifestyle made them pay less attention to their study. Going to school whist they and not been relieved of the alcoholic potency and lack of sleep was a major factor influencing their failure in education and severe injury and death from motorcycle riding.

Not only cigarettes and alcoholic drink, methamphetamine was easy to buy in the community. Methamphetamine could be bought on the roadside in front of Seven-Eleven in the community. "Give me money. I'll show I can but it. It is easy to buy it. We know from whom we'll buy it. The seller has regular clients… Just riding for a moment, I can get it."[16]

On Friday in late October at around 10 p.m., we, including Maen, Ko, San, Kha, Bang, Bot, San's mother and sister and I sat at Ban Sang Gang. While we were talking, Em rode a motorcycle to the gang with tipsiness and alcoholic smell. He parked his motorcycle near to me. A while later, he rode San's motorcycle and sped it up powerfully. The motorcycle roared in the darkness and disappeared quickly on a straight road connected to another district. San ran out to see him while his mother shouted out alarmingly so to why he did not stop Em. San said to his mother, "He is able to ride." with smiling as if nothing happened and it was a normal matter.

Not over 3 minutes later, Em returned to the gang and rode his motorcycle out again speedily and powerfully. "Why didn't you stop him? He gets

[15] e.g. doing housework, picking-up or dropping their girlfriend, buying things, doing some businesses or even assaulting people they disliked.

[16] Ko boasted about his ability to buy methamphetamine. At that time, it resumed being widespread in the community after strict and severe suppression of methamphetamine of the government from 2003-2004.

drunk." said San's mother. "Believe me that he is able to ride." said San again with smiling and laughing.

Em rode with lying on the saddle and high speed. In a wink, he vanished and left only the roar of the engine amidst the silence of the night.

He returned to the gang again and took my motorcycle to ride with same style. He sped up it with loudness. "Whose motorcycle did you take?" said San behind the sound of the motorcycle that had run away. All members looked at my face. I just nodded and say, "I don't care for my motorcycle but him."

When Em returned, he parked my motorcycle at the same place and gave me 'wai' and said, "I am sorry." and prayed to redeem his sin as in Christianity. After I said that I forgave him, he rode his motorcycle at high speed as he had done. On the way back, he passed the gang and lay on the saddle headed to the curve of Ban Sang. All members stood up to look at him. Reaching the curve, he lifted himself to sit instead of lying but his Honda JR moving at extremely high speed could not enter the curve. Finally, it hit a steel fence on the side of the road. His body bounced off 20 m. away against the ground on the roadside. His head was tucked at an old jar and became immediately unconscious.

"Em…" All shouted out his name alarmingly and walked to the incident spot. The loud crash in the silence of the night caused villagers living around there to come out of their house to se what happened. I rode my motorcycle to inform a foundation, which was about around 800 m. from the incident spot to take him to the provincial hospital. All his friends followed him to the hospital and Em's mother cried as if he was dying and embraced me. She said she could do everything to save his life. On that day, he was put on a ventilator and stayed at the hospital. He had to stay there for 5 days. His doctor said that he had brain hemorrhage and had to take drugs to dilute his blood and his bones were not broken.

In the traffic accident that almost made him die, apart from not being blamed of riding without readiness due to alcoholic potency, he was said to have good luck and be smart.

"Em had good luck. When he flew over the motorcycle, he was like Superman. His heartbeat stopped but finally he was alright. He is so smart." said San.

Whereas there is a concept that accidents cannot be prevented or inhibited because they are caused by the supernatural, the group of teenagers reasoned that surviving from an accident is influenced by the superiority of human power to the supernatural power. That Em was able to be against the supernatural power rendered him praising and admiring and made his friends forget that 'alcohol' was the cause of his accident.

"It is said that the spirit of three girls that died at the curve are still there. They are trying to seek a representative but Em is so smart that they couldn't take him away." said Chok, a member of Ban Sang Gang.

None of the gang members said that if Em had not drunk and rode adventurously, he would not have experience the accident. It seems that of all them did not realize that riding during being drunk cause the risk of accidents. Even Em, he thought that the accident was caused by high-speed riding, which made him not able to change riding from lying to sitting on the motorcycle in a timely manner so that he could not control it at the curve.

One week after Em left the hospital, he rode the motorcycle again. The reason why he was not afraid of further accidents was that when he had an accident, he was unconscious so that he could not feel or remember anything.

"I can ride again. I won't ride fast. I'm not afraid. I can't remember the incident." said Em.

Two days before Em passed the sharp curve, Tao[17] crashed a steel fence on the roadside at the same spot of Em. At about 11 p.m., while some teenagers and I were sitting at Ban Sang Gang, three friends of San showed off their motorcycles to us. The gang members asked them about modification of their

[17] Tao was an elder teenager of Ban Sang Gang. His father used to be a gangster and gunman but he had already stopped the career path and did fishing instead. Tao liked drinking, using drugs and glue sniffing. After he drank and used drugs, he was likely to become pugnacious. What he always said when he got drunk was "I used to be a boy scout."

motorcycle with a strong interest. A moment later, San asked to try one of these motorcycles and he rode it at high speed. Later, Tao tried the motorcycle that San had tried and later he rode his own Honda Wave 100 at high speed. When he came back to the gang, he challenged the gang members.

"Any of you wants to race me? Any motorcycle with mine." said Tao and then he rode at a high speed to the straight road and then returned to the gang. "Do you dare, Ko?" As soon as the challenge ended, Ko took my motorcycle to race Tao and shouted out to me before speeding up my motorcycle, "It's not serious. I'll ride on the straight way. I want to try." Tao on a Honda Wave 100 and Ko on a Yamaha Mio raced on the straight road. On the way back, Ko returned to the gang and say, "I couldn't win him as his motorcycle is powerful." My motorcycle was modified to be beautiful not to have a powerful engine.

While Ko was talking with me, Tao still showed off us by riding at extremely high speed and lying down on the motorcycle to the curve of Someone. A moment later, we heard Tao moan and cry out in pain after the sound of collision on the roadside.

"Oh! I have pain. My arms and legs are broken. Please call my mother. She is selling milk. I have pain. Oh!"

An interesting issue is that the ethnographic study was primarily aimed at studying key informants, who were motorcyclists riding in a risky manner and seriously injured. However, during the first period of study, when my relationship with the key informants was developed, they introduced me to their peer group comprising teenagers of the same, younger and older age living in the same or different community in Mueang District. The field data led to a conclusion that the teenagers had similar lifestyle and riding style described as 'risky' by experts.

Their past socio-cultural context was compared to the background of their riding style and their existing socio-cultural context sustained their riding style, which was related to other social actions reflecting negative impacts of consumerism and led to maintenance of their risky riding styles inherited from a generation to another generation.

6.5 Violence and Sex: Young Motorcycle Gang and Social Network in Construction of Self and Identity

The young motorcyclists were able to maintain their riding styles and nightlife that resisted against the police's control by seeking power through forming a gang, which depended on the power system of 'big men' by means of constructing patronage system, which empowered them to compete for social space as powerful people.

The field data show that their riding styles did not occur alone or were free from their socio-cultural context but occurred through using motorcycles as an important instrument for competing for more social space, in which a motorcycle was connected to other things like alcoholic drink, guns, mobile phones, drugs, women and gang.

"Shit, Bang Phra's boys again." said a police officer after he learned that both teenage motorcyclists he had arrested were from Bang Phra Gang. When police officers arrested teenagers of Bang Phra Gang, they would be asked by high-ranking authorities to release them.

On a Saturday, at 3 a.m., teenagers of Bang Phra Gang gathered in front of a discotheque, which was open beyond officially determined time. Some of them, including me, clustered on motorcycles at a roadside-food shop[18] or at the noodle shop located opposite the discotheque. While groups of visitors were leaving the discotheque to go back home, a group of teenagers walked out of the food shop in front of the discotheque, where they drank after leaving the discotheque, to ride 4 motorcycles, each having 2-3 riders. They rode in the middle of the road and sang loudly amidst the silence of the night, which interested people of both sides of the road. While the group of teenagers were riding past the noodle shop, some elder teenagers of Bang Phra Gang stood up and lifted one of their hand and shouted out,

[18] The signboard showed that this was a soft-boiled rice shop. Nonetheless, it especially sold alcohol to night-goers. Mostly, the regular clients had food and drink here to kill the time before entering a discotheque in the late at night. Some of them had food and drink here after leaving the discotheque until the morning. The owner of the food shop was also the owner of the discotheque.

"Damn!" and "If you dare, come back." After the shouting ended, the group of teenage motorcyclists turned to curse him back and accelerated their motorcycle such that their motorcycle's engines roared amidst groups of night-goers and vendors on both sides of the pavement before they gathered about 1 km. away from the noodle shop where Bang Phra's boys were.

As soon as the teenage motorcyclists rode back with high speed and loud noise, members of Bang Phra Gang stood up and picked up some stones, pieces of wood or knives from the noodle shop to fight the teenage strangers. When the 4 motorcycles reached the discotheque, some members of Bang Phra Gang ran to them to hit them and some threw stones to them. Meanwhile, there were 3 shots to the sky, of which the first two came from the teenage strangers and another one from a member of Bang Phra Gang. The shotgun bullets from the teenage strangers scattered into hundred bullets to Bang Phra Gang two times. A .35mm bullet from a teenager of Bang Phra Gang, who stood on the pavement passed to the center of the head to a teenage stranger while he was riding pillion in the middle. While the last bullet was being fired to the teenage strangers, the victim turned his face to see the event behind. He died immediately while he was being transported to a nearby hospital. The bullets also scraped the feet of a member of Bang Phra Gang and the forehead between eyebrows of a dancer of the discothque, who sat beside me.

After knowing that the enemy died, the process of reconciliation took place through the help of 'big men'. Those having a close connection with politicians, government officers (police officers)[19] and gangsters (gunmen and canvassers) were responsible for coordination through negotiating with the relatives' victim by paying 70,000 baht in exchange for closing the case by weakening the case record[20] and

[19] "We must send the police to talk with police. We can't send a gangster to talk with the police," said Je about settling down illegal actions.

[20] I was asked to take side of the alleged teenager. Mai, the father of Je, the alleged teenager said to me, "Please help me. I don't know laws. I can't read or write but I can shoot or beat people. I can't do something that needs knowledge," said Mai, the father of the alleged teenager.

the wrongdoer was asked 80,000 baht[21] in exchange for his innocence. Finally, all was completely ended although there were obstacles related to time, that is, the case had to be settled quickly because it was near the period of shift among police officers.

"You'll see that after the story becomes quiet, Je will be famous. He'll grow because he experienced killing a man by gun without being putting into jail." said Tom to other teenagers. Many teenagers talked about Je in the same way.[22] During the time, they knew that there were 'big men' helping Je become innocent. It seemed that experience in shooting people to death or in jail was compared to a ritual bringing legitimacy of claiming that one 'grows', implying power and charisma. Clustering to ride motorcycles and inciting anger of other groups among the teenagers often occurred in the community and fighting or doing violence took place almost every week, especially during when there were special programs in discotheques.

'Motorcycle' was a medium involving the adolescents into association with their group and new friends. The place where they always gathered was their gang.

For them, 'gang' contains both physical and social meanings. In term of physical, it means a place where all teenagers gathered, which might be a community pavilion, an arbor they built themselves, marble table in deserted land in the community or vacant area near any member's house. Generally, each gang was not too open and not located away from a grocery shop.[23] In term of social, gang is gathering of those having similar economic and socio-cultural background and taste and living in the same area.

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[21] "He said that he could no longer wait. I must have given him 80,000 baht by tomorrow because the new superintendent will arrive soon, unless, they will summon me. Now, I can't ask for help from anyone. They forced me a lot," said Je. Mai told Je to borrow my money.

[22] "He comes from Nia's line. Therefore, he becomes an elder member because he experienced killing a man by gun."

Ken said, "Je is like Nia."

"Je was good at shooting. He fired only a bullet but it passed to the middle of his head although he did it at a distant spot."

[23] An activity they always did when gathering was drinking, smoking and using drugs.

The relations of members gathering and doing activities together as routine[24] made the identity of each member become an identity of the whole group. For example, teenagers of Bang Phra Gang looked indifferent in front of people to whom they were not accustomed, loved their groups, were hot-headed, crafty, flirtations and respected senior members but teenagers of Ban Sang Gang, they were lazy, had low patience and did not show respect to their elders.

The name of the gang might be set by the members or according to the location of the gang. Some gangs had no name but were named according to the person who was the center of the gang, e.g. Lueakho Gang, Motngam Gang, Formalin Gang, Dek[25] Khai 24 Gang, Dek Khlong Na Gang, Wangweng Gang, Khonsong Mai Gang (new bus terminal), Khiang Mu Gang, Ban Sang Gang, Non Gang, Pratunam Gang and Bang Phra Gang.

"Bang Phra Gang is a big gang, which has over hundred members. When our members go out, the road will be full of our motorcyclists…We're therefore confident and reckless and aren't afraid of anyone even police. We're a big group."

Je Mai was a member of this gang. Riding a motorcycle, he sometimes confronted another gang. Sometimes, he was an attacker and sometimes defender. Due to a having a lot of members and their daring characteristics, the fame of the gang of fighting was rapidly widespread. Furthermore, their tight relationship with elder teenagers due to in living the same community, kinship relations and being children or grandchildren of people that respected one another as relatives rendered them confidence in gaining protection from elder teenagers. They called a senior teenager, a son of a gunman that had an intimate relationship with a politician, 'boss'. When they had problems, they would tell 'boss' to help them. For serious matters, some senior members would back them. Sometimes, when their gang had a fight with

[24] "I'll gather with my friends at the gang at 3 p.m. We talk and help one another when we have problems. At night, we gather to ride out. It's fun when we gather."

[25] 'Dek' in Thai generally means 'children' in English. In here, it means 'members'.

teenage strangers in an entertainment place, the owner of the place would apologize to their gang, which increased their pride with feeling that their group was powerful.

In the community, there were many gangs, which were allies and enemies. For example, Khiang Mu Gang had a conflict with Bang Phra Gang but allied to Dek Khai and Dek Khlong Na Gang. Ban Sang Gang was allied to Wiang Thai Gang.

A gang did not exist alone but was backed by some powerful people, who reinforced their power by exploiting their subordinates. The young motorcyclists gathering and creating the identity of their gang to be different from that of other gangs organized their relations for living together. The main relations were those between teenagers of different age (elder, middle and younger under the protection of 'big men'). Among teenagers of the same age, there were leader-follower relations. The power among teenagers of the same age was not constant but varied according to situations and context.

Power relations in the patronage system resulted from proposing and responding between 2 people having a different status due to difference in access to social resources. A leader helped his followers to free from jail or have something to eat, drug or work (collecting loan and football bet and guarding a casino) whist the followers compensated him by helping with working or fighting with gangsters from another area. The response had no clear or strict rules; however, it was attachment that would never end until when the status and social status of both parties changed.

Teenagers of Bang Phra Gang accepted Piak Yai as 'boss' because he was a son of a gangster, who had a close relationship with a politician and when any boys of Bang Phra Gang caused troubles, Piak Yai could manage it. Apart from PiakYai, Tom was another elder teenager accepted as a leader who had power and was respected by the gang members next to PiakYai. Settling down disputes between groups of teenagers was an important context showing power and charisma of the big shots, especially when they could deal with these disputes such that there were no conflicts and questions about rightness and justice. In this context, legitimacy to deal with problems was given to those accepted as their leaders. The relations among the teenagers were similar to those of 'big men' that were gangsters in their community.

"When we have problems, we'll go to see Bang Chat. He looks after Ban Sang. He'll judge who is wrong and who is right. When he says that something ends, it must end. Everyone must believe him. Police can't deal with him." said Mi, an elderly man in the community.

The field data as presented above reveal that power and charisma of elder teenagers or gang leaders was higher not only than that of members in their gangs but also than other gangs. In fact, many teenagers of a different gang had kinship relations as their parents were natives of the province and had a lot of relatives. When there were conflicts between 2 gangs, they could find a person with charisma that was respected by teenagers of all gangs to clear the problem. For serious problems, they could be settled by relations of 'big men.'

"Although some problems are serious, we can negotiate with one another because our parents are friends and natives of the area. We are in the same group. All roads lead to a big house." said David, a gangster in the community.

Many violent cases in the community were not reported to the police and many times, victims did not testify in front of the police, which made the police unable to close the cases. They might be settled down through reconciliation via an intermediary who had informal authority as mentioned and through revenge (in case the victim used to do wrong with the culprits). Act of violence among teenagers of different gangs became sub-culture that had been successively transmitted and an important condition that forced members of each gang to have a patron, who was powerful and influential and had resources for supporting his members. Paying respect to a 'big men' or patrons were therefore a culture and a kinship term 'Na' was commonly used as the title of those they respected, e.g. Na Mai, Na Yai, Na Keng and Na Kai.

Some members of Bang Phra Gang greeted their elders with 'wai' and talked with them politely as their culture. For them, overfamiliarity with their elders was deviant behavior.

"We are younger and they are older. We should not be overfamiliar to them. Those do that won't grow."

Power and kinship brought about a tighter relationship within the group. Furthermore, the gang members shared some concepts that helped with maintaining their relationship, which include: 1) Mutual assistance 2) Mutual repay 3) Trick and self-esteem

1) Mutual Assistance

When a boy had a conflict with another gang, other members in his gang would help him without asking about its causes or rightness or wrongness. Their first priority was helping their gang members and viewing that he was not wrong. They would not care if he used to help them or not since what they considered was being the same gang.

"I'll help all members in my gang, especially if they are my friends, I'll help them as much as possible. When a member calls me, saying that he has troubles, I'll go to see him to give him the gun. But if he is my friend, I can fire a gun for him."

The intensity of solidarity varied according to intensity of a relationship. A person they knew through introduction of other members or drinking together was accounted that of the same group. The concept of 'mutual assistance' expanded their network, which is in line with creating political groups.

An interesting message behind a pick-up truck I saw while pursuing it in the study site area read 'I don't care which party to which you belong, but my group is Thais Rak Thais'.[26]

2) Mutual Repay

The concept of 'mutual repay' helped with maintaining a relationship among the group members, involving doing something for someone in return for doing something to them in a particular subject and quantity.

[26] A Thai political party

"I must help him because I used to injure him." The statement is an example of mutual repay.

The concept was not restricted to positive side since it also means retaliate in an equivalent manner. Furthermore, it was applied for members within and outside their group.

3) Tricks and Self-Esteem

Having tricks and self-esteem was one of the ideologies of the young motorcyclists whose life depended on grouping. Being taken down a peg was unbearable for them.

During a night, after a discotheque was closed, over 30 members of Bang Phra Gang clustered on their motorcycles parked in front of a discotheque as they normally did when visiting the discotheque. That day, teenagers of all ages gathered and I was a member of Bang Phra Gang. While we were sitting, Tom, the 'vice boss' of Bang Phra Gang walked to tell other members to prepare themselves to tempt 'Mat' and tell me to separate Nueng, an elder member of Ban Sang Gang and some members of the gang from Mat to allow members of Bang Phra Gang to brawl with him, reasoning that Mat was the behind the scene of slashing Mei, a boy in Bang Phra Gang, so that his fingers were cut.

On the day in which Mei was slashed, a group of motorcyclists were headed to Bang Phra Gang. A teenager said, "On that day, they were hunting Jack but they didn't see him at the gang but Mei, who was phoning at the telephone cabin. They thought that Mei was Jack. Then, they slashed him. I heard them say, 'Yes, this is Jack.' '' After that, one of the motorcyclists raised a sword to cut Mei's head but he lifted his hand to protect his face so that his fingers were cut to the ground.

Mei said he could not remember the boy hurting him. The reason why Tom referred to 'Mat' was that at that time, he and Jack had conflicts with Mat and the target of attack was not Mei but Jack and Mei was a victim by accident.

Because Mat was a school friend of Nueng and Tom and used to be in the same group and his back was a public prosecutor, who was also a back of Tom and Mat visited the discotheque with Nueng, an elder boy of Ban Sang Gang and a relative of Tom, Tom acted as if he had known nothing about the brawl for taking

revenge for Mei (in fact, for Him and Jack). That night, although the number of Bang Phra members was higher, they did have any weapon whist Mat had a gun. Being at a disadvantage and advantage was another reason why Tom was merely a planner behind the scene instead of participating in the act. What he did was using tricks in association with teenagers of a different gang, which brought him positive effects. By doing so, Mat could not say that Tom 'broke' a relationship with him; he did not make Nueng feel uneasy and decide to side with Mat and be at odds with him; he could take revenge on Mat since Mat used to be in conflict with him and his younger brother; and he would be admired by members of Bang Phra Gang for having concern for Mei, a member of Ban Sang Gang, which increased their respect on him.

Relationship based on seniority intensified oppression and exploitation among them. Living in the society caused them a need to learn using tricks to save themselves and gain acceptance from other group members

In trivial activities, e.g. refusing to go to a place with a friend, they had to use tricks. Straightforward refusal might make them lose their power and members or in serious activities, involving benefits, e.g. buying, using and sharing drugs, they had to use tricks to manage their relationships as well.

Most gang members preferred boarded-minded and daring people. With survival instinct, all of them loved themselves and feared to die. Therefore, in a critical situation, showing fear for death was showing coward and weakness. Learning tricks was therefore essential for them.

"Boi is my 'boss'. When I'm with him, I'm not afraid of anything. Boi won't abandon me and he doesn't fear to die." said Ken.

Apart from tricks, the concept of self-esteem was another important thing directing acts of teenagers of each gang.

Disparagement was unacceptable for them. self-esteem for them is not ethical value. For them, the value of self-esteem is not generated within their mind and self-esteem does not mean stopping doing wrong things. For instance, for them using words to lure a girl into having a sexual relationship and giving financial support

would not make them lose self-esteem but if the girl told this to other people, they would loss their self-esteem. Protection of their 'self-esteem' was likely to be expressed through violent acts. Self-esteem of the teenagers was involved with other people's act upon them, not their act. If their 'self-esteem' was affected, they would lose face, which was an intolerable thing for them. Brawl is an example of acts for conserving their self-esteem. They invested indirectly and indirectly to make themselves or group have a good image.

Extortion and stealing are examples of unacceptable acts in society. For them, stealing was an offensive act and made them lose self-esteem but extortion was acceptable and commonly practiced so that it became their culture. The gang members were likely to extort money from boys of other groups or younger boys in their gang with a thought that it was a way to gain money among gangsters, which does not cause losing self-esteem. Furthermore, if their extortion was mentioned by other people, they would feel their power over their victims, showing tricks in finding money. Using tricks to make girls give them money was commonly practiced and adopted as a tricky method, which was different from stealing, which they regarded disgusting and making them to be outsmarted and lose self-esteem.

"We are gangsters, not bandit. We extort but don't steal money. All dislike bandits and are afraid that they'll steal our assets." said Ti.

The places where they gained a lot of money were schools. Near the close time of schools, they would ride their motorcycle to the school where they used to study and joined with friends who still students there to extort money from other students passing them and clustering. After that, they would ride their motorcycle in front of an old market in front of the school or bus station to extort money from students waiting for the bus or buying things around there.

Self-proofing in front of their friends by showing their tricks and self-esteem is compared to a ritual that all gang members shall perform. Any of them who did not dare to stay beside their friends when they had conflict with another gang would be looked down upon and regarded underling and coward.

6.6 War on the Road among Young Motorcyclists: Linking Risks in Everyday Life

Spending life of young motorcyclists mostly at night with their motorcycle made them prone to violent actions from other teenagers.

6.6.1 Throwing Stones and Wood Sticks

"Hit them." Immediately after San shouted this out, members of all ages of his enemy gang standing on a mound threw stones on the railroad and wood sticks to members of Ban Sang Gang, who were on the road. All these things were thrown as the falling rain. "We rode at maximum speed. They followed us to the end of the route. And then I jumped to the river." said San. Later, he learned that both gangs had the same 'backs', which made them become allies in the following time.

6.6.2 Slashing

Using some rude words seemed to make them outsmarted and loss their self-esteem, e.g. 'Khuai'[27], which they could not accept if it was released by a boy of a different gang.

At around 4 a.m., after members of Ban Sang Gang finished drinking, they went out riding. Each motorcycle consisted of 3 riders. They rode straight on the road and when they passed an ice factory, San shouted 'Khuai' to a group of boys gathering around there. When these boys heard the curse, they got angry and snatched their knives to slash members of Ban Sang Gang, who ran away to a different direction. On the following day, Ko's mother had to take him to the ice factory to mediate in the conflict with the boxers and told them that her son did not say the word.

6.6.3 Firing

Expressing power though using a gun made them proud of themselves. They could occupy a gun with 5,000-7,000 baht, which were mostly without registration. At 2 a.m., a group of teenagers with almost 30 motorcycles went to

[27] ' Khuai' in Thai is equivalent to 'fuck' in English.

the row houses at the end of Ban Sang Market after they were defied with the sentence: “Do you dare to fight me individually?” of a boy of Ban Sang Gang. Being followed by over 30 teenagers, he ran away to a house. While he was closing the door, the teenagers kicked the door and shot inside the house. The gun bullets scattered into small hundred bullets, of which some hit the legs of Keng and Kla. The force of the bullets made their legs bounce. Later, the teenagers pushed the motorcycles parked in front of the house with their feet and rode away. While Keng was staying at the hospital, he said with bright eyes and pride that almost 20 boys of Wiang Tai Kang had visited him and said to him, “ We won’t let you hurt without retaliating.”

Retaliation among the adolescents maintained the cycle of violence. Furthermore, it expanded and aggravated it. Often, the police could not arrest the culprits because the culprits and victims did not want to depend on legal process to resolve their conflicts. When ones became victims, they would wait for an appropriate time to take revenge.

“Putting them into jail won’t satisfy me. I must shoot them. After I shoot them, I’ll present myself to the police. I was lower than 18, the punishment for boys of my age isn’t severe.” said Keng.

6.6.4 Brawl on the Road

In a night, some members of Bang Phra Gang rode to kill the time before visiting a discotheque at 11 p.m. While they rode a little away from the discotheque, they met an enemy gang. Boi, a leading member of Bang Phra Gang punched the face of a teenager of the enemy gang. With fastness and unawareness, there was a brawl in the road. There were fewer members of the gang; therefore, they ran away and there was only the teenage victim left. After Boi opened the fight, he did not pay attention to the consequences and rode away whilst other members ganged up on the teenage victim. An elder teenager on the gang decided to throw a stone from the roadside to the victim’s face, which was closing the scene of revenge in the night. The victim lay on the road with a blood clot in the middle of the road with a motorcycle near him. The revenge was in accordance with the concept of mutual repay.

The lifestyles forced the teenagers to learn to live with utmost safety. Even while they were eating something at a food shop, they had to turn their face out of the shop to see their enemies. They would not go out alone unnecessarily.

Apart from physical assault, they had other risks to their health. They smoke, drank, used drug and had sexual relations carelessly. They started smoking first when they joined the group, reasoning that they wanted try it after seeing their friends doing so. When they got bored, they shared their money to buy beer or liquor.

Next to smoking and drinking, they tried using other types of drugs, starting from marihuana and methamphetamine. A teenager said, “Marihuana makes me fun and happy according to my imagination. If we imagine in a funny way, we’ll be happy.”

Ko said that the day before he crashed the old man, he used methamphetamine. He said, “On that day, I might get drunk. I was anxious and upset. I just wanted to ride motorcycle all day.”

Sexual relations with a woman as a spouse or with many partners for pleasure became normal in their life. They often used physical violence to each other, which was more likely to be started by men. Physical violence was something common for some of them. Some girls concealed the fact that they stayed with a man as spouses from their parents and spent money given by their parents as tuition fees and dorm rental on living with their lover. Some of them lived together with acknowledgment of their parents, who mostly earned a living themselves. The male teenagers mostly worked in a factory, where they worked hard with risks to their health conditions, e.g. wielding lead and cutting steels. As for female teenagers, they worked as beer vendors, dancers or waitresses. Some of them did not use any contraceptives so that some girls became pregnant. That is to say, they might become parents when they were just 16 years old. Some of them decided to have an abortion.

When the number of the gang members increased and time made experiences and interests of the members more clearly distinct, sub-groups were formed according to their personality, interest, and lifestyle and the path selected by each group was increasingly different. The sub-groups are divided in 1) Group walking into crime 2) Group walking into labor force exploitation 3) Group starting to have a weak and vulnerable family 4) Group of night-goers with medical risks and 5) Group

announcing itself as gangsters and gamblers working as debt and illegal lottery collectors.

6.6.5 Either being Dead or Imprisoned

Following the path paved by senior members made the teenagers become victims in the society of risks unconsciously and they also created risks to other people in society. Having social networks as gangsters made it easy to buy drugs, starting from liquor, cigarettes, marihuana, methamphetamine and methamphetamine hydrochloride.

Drug use was developed into drug sale: selling separately or being a middleman. Those interested in the path would become close friends. Their relationship with other members with a different interest would become superficial.

When they would like to use a more powerful drug, they had to change the places for using it. They used marihuana and methamphetamine at their gang. But as for methamphetamine hydrochloride, the elder teenagers would take younger teenagers to use it at a hotel or if they did have money, they would use it at anyone's house which they thought safe.

The drugs they used were also the sign of superiority and location in society.

"I don't use Ya Ba[28] but Ya Ice,[29] It is cooler."[30] said Boi.

Drug use made them have less interested in other matters. Some might stop riding a motorcycle. For them, flirting with girls was merely aimed at gaining money to buy drugs. They paid s strong interest in talking about the network and stories of drug users and creating familiarity through having relations with elder teenagers that had an intimate relationship with them and other people.

Ti and Frank were elder teenagers who were models of drug users, who had a closer relationship with members of Bang Phra Gang than other elder teenagers. Ti's

[28] Methamphetamine

[29] Methamphetamine hydrochloride

[30] Ya Ice is more expensive than Ya Ba. Therefore, consuming Ya Ice makes ones shift their social status.

epithet was 'Ti Ba'[31], which came from his daredevil characteristic. Once, he defied his enemy, who had a gun whilst he had no gun. The incident made his belly fired.

On day, at 2 a.m., after leaving a discotheque, Ti, Frank and his 3 friends were planning to check in at a hotel in outbound area. They intended to use Ice to celebrate after they finished drug sale. While they were riding in front of the hotel, Ti fired 3 shots in the sky high-spiritedly and happily. They entered the hotel and used drugs. At moment later, someone knocked the door of their room and told them to open the door. The elder teenagers prepared their gun and kept the drugs. As soon as the door was opened, many police officers swarmed into the room and pressed against the teenagers' head with guns and told them that they had already encircled them and were armed with guns. Realizing that the police officers were famous for narcotic suppression of the province, the teenagers surrendered to them. While all denied using drugs and requested testifying in the court, Frank admitted it and then he was sent to Citizen Development Project in a military camp for 3 months whereas Ti was sentenced to 2 years and 4 months in prison on a charge of possessing drugs and a gun in the public without license.

"For me, either dead or imprisoned."

6.6.6 Entering to the Exploited Labor Process

Another groups of teenagers of Bang Phra Gang failing to finish high school education due to failing many subjects and ignoring registration decided to enroll at Non-formal Education Center, where they studied only one day a week. They had more free time and started to have insufficient money as their family no longer supported them and they had no power to extort money from students as they could do in the past and they still used drugs at sometimes, depending on the amount of money they could earn and if anyone gave them drugs. Having economic need, they applied for a job in a factory by doing shift work in production process. Working made them distant from drug use for a certain period. They told me that they were under stress due to working under disciplines and punctuality, working in production

[31] In here, 'Ba' means 'daredevil'.

line for many hours due to being forced to work overtime as well as traveling to work. They were not certain until when they could bear the situation.

Another group of teenagers chose to work as sellers at a convenience store because they thought that working here was more comfortable than in the factory, the store was located not much away from the community and they were more accustomed to environment of the store than in the factory. But because of a lack of carefulness, what they always did was reimbursing the store for money loss.

"I feel discouraged. It seems I work for free. I'm always fined." said Ken.

Sometimes, they had to get up early. Due to inadequate sleep, they had to take a nap during working. Sometimes, they did it under the counter, pretending to checking goods stocks to prevent their head from blaming them.

6.6.7 Creating Weak Family

Another group of teenagers chose to have spouse life. Some stayed with their girlfriend, who concealed this relationship from her parents and spent money given by their parents as tuition fees and dorm rental on living with their lover. Some of them lived together with acknowledgment of their parents and they needed to earn a living themselves. The male teenagers mostly worked in a factory, where they worked hard with risks to their health conditions, e.g. wielding lead and cutting steels. As for female teenagers, they mostly worked as beer vendors, dancers or waitresses. Some of them did not use any contraceptives so that some girls became pregnant. That is to say, they might become parents when they were just 16 years old. Some of them decided to have an abortion.

6.6.8 Night Goers: Medical Risk Group

The relationship of the gang members seemed not tight as before; however, on Friday, Saturday and Sunday night, they would meet one another at a discotheque on Phop Phra Road. Drinking and dancing were a method to relax themselves apart from creating a relationship with female night out-goers. Having a careless sexual relationship still existed among adolescents who defined themselves as playboys. Most teenagers who were still students studied at private universities or government universities in special program. Although most of them studied in a nearby province,

they came back to visit the discotheques on the days mentioned in an area to which they were familiar.

"I prefer to visit here. I get familiar to it and here, I feel more comfortable because the visitors are mostly my friends." said Thaen, Thaen was the only member that passed the entrance exam to study in a government university in a normal program.

Smoking, drinking alcohol and careless sexual relations became their main interests. Daily pocket money their parents gave them for education was spent on buying clothing. For outgoing, their female partners mostly paid for it.

6.6.9 Announcing Themselves as Elder Gangsters and Gamblers

There were not many leading teenagers that announced themselves as elder gangsters and spent their life in the casino with 'big men' who supported them and encouraged them to possess a gun and show off it to other teenagers. Walking on the path occurred after having experience in firing someone to death without being imprisoned because of reconciliation, which depended on money they gained from gambling. Since that time, they had walked on the path of gangsters and gamblers and worked as their elders did, e.g. collecting loans and demanding payment of a debt.

Thaen talked about Jack after his charge of firing a person to death was ended. "During this time, Jack is not likely to pay attention to anyone. He is always at that casino. In the evening, he goes out with a gun and woman."

While the relationship among Bang Phra Gang's members became looser, the new-generation teenagers imitated the lifestyle of their seniors but with more daring, riskier and more violent life than their seniors.'

"They aren't simply daring. At just 14-15 years old, they have a gun. They fire in the road." said Kham, a gunman and a fight-staring rider of Bang Phra Gang.

One night, while I was eating noodle on the pavement, I saw a big group of teenagers aged around 15 riding at high speed and loud noise. Some lifted their motorcycle's front wheel and some raced with their friends. A teenager sitting with me asked me if these riders were cool though his facial expression. The teenage riders were of Khonsong Mai Gang, who followed the footstep of their seniors. The leader of the gang was the youngest son of a notorious lawyer in the province, who was said to side with and help his three sons free from legal charges of assault, stealing, robbery and attempt to kill. Every night, Toi, the gang leader would take his followers to ride motorcycles in such a manner.

Apart from daringness and high-spiritedness, drugs or liquor made them behave in such a way.

Recently, Toi was injured from a road accident. At that time, he and other members extorted money from younger students. They spent all the money on buying 18 bottles of beer to drink at a school. After they ran out of beer, they rode to the provincial hall. The motorcycle he rode had 2 pillion passengers and while he was turning his motorcycle at the curve, he shouted to his friends to stretch their body as their seniors did to show off in front of girls. However, the middle pillion rider decided to stand on the saddle so that his motorcycle running with a high speed hit the wall and slipped under a parked pick-up truck. The accident made Toi's legs and the pillion passengers' arms broken. Although he had just left the hospital, he resumed riding while his legs were wearing splints.

"I think my gang is terrible but these boys are much extremely worse than mine. He thinks that he can be protected by his brothers and father." said Dam.

CHAPTER 7
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

Consideration of severe traffic injury through social science views will allow us to see that motorcycle riding among teenagers is a surface phenomenon that has a connection to social violence among them, e.g. using act of violence in fighting on the road between different gangs, drug use, careless sexual relations and crimes.

The process of becoming motorcyclists of the teenagers started when they grew and lived in a marginal community of social norms. Daily actions between the teenagers and their family, peers, community members and teachers marginalized some of them so that they had no social space and restricted their identity expression. However, they tried to seek a new social space empowering them through creating culture with a unique riding style of a group, which is linked to each rider's identity and motorcycle's style, an important instrument for shaping his identity.

Different riding styles were integrated to form the group's identity, which varied according to space and time throughout the period in which they spent their social life together.

Riding a motorcycle compensated for their loneliness and a lack of love via opening (constructing) a social space and seeking power though grouping, relying on power system of 'big men' via creating patronage relations, which empowered them to competing for more social spaces.

Therefore, motorcycle riding among the teenagers was not riding to take themselves from one place to another place safely as ideally stated by experts but roaming with joy and happiness, which reflects that 'risk' or so-called 'danger' for experts was not always established in their consciousness while they were riding. In some contexts, what regarded 'danger' by people in general became a 'challenge of self-proving and sign of a tasteful person' for the teenagers.

Unable to create their own identity in accordance with the standard social norms, rules and traditions constructed by adults, they therefore created a new identity and culture for their own group. For them, motorcycle riding became an important

instrument in their cultural ways, which rendered them happiness, fun, challenge, which were their ultimate goal and pride so that they ignored death or other health impacts that they might face.

The province that is my study site is one of the provinces with the most prosperous economy of the country and traffic injury and death rendered it great loss. It can be seen that the phenomenon, especially that among adolescents reflects crisis of problems relating family, school and administrative system, which are dynamically connected. Therefore, reducing efficiently the rate of injury and death due to motorcycle riding among teenagers must be done based on not only epidemiological views, which suggests that the phenomenon deals with traffic accidents but also a concept hat the phenomenon reflects social problems, which are increasingly severe and bring about sexual health problems and social violence.

Accordingly, stipulation of policies and measures relating traffic road injury and death should be focused on the 'cause.'

Consideration and research on particular dimensions may easily lead to a conclusion that people experiencing the problem become 'problematic people'. An analysis that is conducted without considering socio-cultural contexts makes these people regarded as 'causing' the problem whereas in fact, they are more likely to be the 'end result'. An analysis of processes forcing them to be involved in the problem reveals that they are excluded and integrated into politic, economic and socio-cultural processes. The structural processes are not completely separately developed but superimpose and interact one other profoundly and continually. Therefore, to formulate relevant policies, surface phenomenon should be deeply scrutinized.

The recommendations in the research study are as follows:

1) Strong and interdisciplinary academic knowledge should be developed and applied to explain and analyze traffic road injury and death in a profound and well-rounded manner based on medical epidemiology, social epidemiology and engineering.

2) Patronage system, which contributes to violent acts in youths of all levels should be reconstructed, from family, peer group, community and especially, justice system comprising police, public prosecutors¸ lawyers and courts.

3) Family, community and educational system should be efficiently strengthened to promote social and cultural capital to youths equally without discrimination such that they can create an identity that is useful for themselves, society and country.

4) Guidelines for formulation of strategies and measures for preventing and solving the problems of marginality of teenagers should be formulated thorough opening social spaces and promoting ‘capital’ that can be used as cultural instrument among teenagers.

5) Participation and responsibility of commercial entrepreneurs for constructing negative cultures and impacts on health and society should be promoted.

6) Participation of all sectors and parties should be strengthened, especially in youth group to prevent and resolve road traffic injury and death in all processes, including thinking, planning, plan implementation and evaluation.

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APPENDIX

แบบสอบถาม

งานวิจัยเรื่อง

ลีลาการขี่รถและความเสี่ยงต่อการบาดเจ็บรุนแรงจากอุบัติเหตุจราจร

ในมุมมองเชิงจิตวิทยาสังคมและวัฒนธรรม

: กรณีศึกษา กลุ่มเยาวชนที่ขี่รถจักรยานยนต์

แบบสอบถามชุดนี้จัดทำขึ้นเพื่อเก็บรวบรวมข้อมูลเกี่ยวกับปัจจัยที่เกี่ยวข้องกับลีลาการขี่รถที่เสี่ยงต่อการบาดเจ็บจากการเกิดอุบัติเหตุจราจรในกลุ่มเยาวชน

การวิจัยเรื่องนี้จัดทำขึ้นตามเงื่อนไขของหลักสูตร ปริญญาเอก สาขาสังคมศาสตร์การแพทย์และสาธารณสุข ผลจากการการศึกษาวิจัยจะทำให้เกิดการพัฒนาองค์ความรู้ใหม่ในการอธิบายปรากฏการณ์การบาดเจ็บจากอุบัติเหตุจราจรที่เกิดขึ้นจากการขี่รถจักรยานยนต์ในกลุ่มเยาวชนซึ่งจะก่อให้เกิดประโยชน์ต่อการป้องกันและแก้ไขปัญหาการบาดเจ็บรุนแรงจากอุบัติเหตุจราจรในกลุ่มเยาวชนต่อไป

หากท่านยินดีให้ข้อมูล เพื่อให้ผลงานวิจัยเป็นที่เชื่อถือได้

จึงขอให้ท่านตอบคำถาม<u>ทุกข้อ</u>ตามความคิด ความรู้สึก และการกระทำที่ท่านคิด รู้สึก และกระทำ ตามความเป็นจริง

ผู้วิจัยขอรับรองว่า จะไม่นำข้อมูลที่ท่านตอบไปเปิดเผยเป็นรายบุคคล

ขอขอบคุณในความร่วมมือ

ผู้ช่วยศาสตราจารย์ ปนัดดา ชำนาญสุข

นักศึกษาปริญญาเอก

สาขาสังคมศาสตร์การแพทย์และสาธารณสุข

มหาวิทยาลัยมหิดล

ตอนที่1

แบบสอบถามข้อมูลส่วนบุคคล

คำแนะนำ โปรดเติมข้อความลงในช่องว่างหรือทำเครื่องหมาย √ ลงใน ☐ หน้าข้อความที่ตรงกับข้อมูลเกี่ยวกับตัวท่าน

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1. เลขประจำตัวนักเรียน.....เลขประจำตัวผู้ป่วยใน.....
2. ที่อยู่ปัจจุบัน
   - 2.1 อำเภอ .....
   - 2.2 จังหวัด.....
3. เพศ
   - ☐ หญิง
   - ☐ ชาย
4. ปีพศ.ที่ท่านเกิด.....
5. ระดับการศึกษา
   - ☐ ม.1/…….
   - ☐ ม.2/…….
   - ☐ ม.3/…….
   - ☐ ม.4/…….
   - ☐ ม.5/…….
   - ☐ ม.6/…….
6. ระดับคะแนนเฉลี่ย(เฉพาะปีล่าสุด).....

7. คุณลักษณะเบื้องต้น

ขอให้ท่านกาเครื่องหมาย √ ลงในช่องทางขวามือของคำถามแต่ละข้อที่ตรงกับคุณลักษณะของท่าน

ข้อ	คำถาม	ใช่	ไม่ใช่
7.1	ท่านอาศัยอยู่ในจังหวัดนี้มานานเกินกว่า1ปี		
7.2	ท่านขี่รถจักรยานยนต์มานานเกินกว่า1ปี		
7.3	ท่านขี่รถจักรยานยนต์เป็นประจำในชีวิตประจำวัน		
7.4	**ภายใน 6 เดือนที่ผ่านมา**ท่านขี่รถจักรยานยนต์เป็นประจำ		
7.5	ท่านขี่รถจักรยานยนต์มาโรงเรียน		
7.6	ท่านเคยได้รับบาดเจ็บ**จากการขี่รถจักรยานยนต์**(ท่านเป็นผู้ขี่)		
7.7	ท่านเคยได้รับบาดเจ็บ**จากการขี่รถจักรยานยนต์**(ท่านเป็นผู้ขี่)และนอนโรงพยาบาลด้วย (โปรดระบุ**เดือน พศ.**ที่ท่านได้รับบาดเจ็บและนอนโรงพยาบาล.....		

8. ท่านขี่รถจักรยานยนต์ยี่ห้อ.....รุ่น.....

9. ท่านเริ่มหัดขี่รถจักรยานยนต์ตั้งแต่อายุ.....ปี

10. ผู้ที่สอนให้ท่านขี่รถจักรยานยนต์คือ.....

ตอนที่2

การได้รับข้อมูลข่าวสาร

คำแนะนำ โปรดกาเครื่องหมาย √ ลงในช่องทางขวามือที่ตรงกับท่านมากที่สุด

ข้อความ	มากที่สุด	มาก	ปานกลาง	น้อย	น้อยที่สุด
เด็กได้รับ**ข้อมูลเกี่ยวกับลีลาการขี่รถที่เสี่ยง** จากแหล่งใด					
1. แผ่นพับ โฆษณาของบริษัทขายรถมอเตอร์ไซค์					
2. โฆษณาทางโทรทัศน์					
3. รายการแข่งรถทางโทรทัศน์					
4. ดูการแข่งรถบนท้องถนน					
5. ดูการแข่งรถในสนามแข่ง					
6. หนังสือรถต่างๆ					
7. การพูดคุยกันระหว่างกลุ่มเพื่อน					
8. การพูดคุยกันกับคนในครอบครัว					
9. การพูดคุยกันที่ร้านแต่งรถ					
อื่นๆ (ระบุ).....					

ตอนที่3

แบบสอบถามการรับรู้ความเสี่ยง

ตอนที่3.1 การรับรู้โอกาสที่จะเกิดอุบัติเหตุ

คำแนะนำ

ขอให้ท่านอ่านข้อความแต่ละข้อและ**ประเมินว่าหากขี่รถมอเตอร์ไซค์ตามข้อความดังกล่าวแล้ว<u>จะทำให้มีโอกาส</u>ที่จะเกิดอุบัติเหตุจราจรและได้รับบาดเจ็บมากน้อยเพียงใด**

โดยกาเครื่องหมาย √ ลงในช่องทางขวามือที่มีความหมายตรงกับการประเมินตามความคิดของท่าน

ลีลาการขี่รถ	**โอกาสที่จะเกิดอุบัติเหตุ**						
	มากที่สุด	**มาก**	**ค่อนข้างมาก**	**ปานกลาง**	**น้อย**	**น้อยที่สุด**	**ไม่มีโอกาส**
1. ขี่รถเลี้ยวโค้งหักศอกโดยไม่ลดความเร็ว							
2. ขี่รถเลี้ยวเข้าซอยโดยใช้เกียร์ว่างและไม่ลดความเร็ว							
3. เร่งความเร็วเพิ่มขึ้น**เพื่อฝ่าไฟแดง**							
4. ขี่รถแรง							
5. บิดคันเร่งเพลินโดยไม่ดูว่าเป็นโค้งหักศอก							
6. ขี่รถออกทางแยกโดยไม่ลดความเร็ว							
7. ขี่รถแซงรถคันหน้าด้วยความเร็วไปกินเลนฝั่งตรงข้าม							
8. หันมามองท่อไอเสียในขณะขี่รถ							

ลีลาการขี่รถ	**โอกาสที่จะเกิดอุบัติเหตุ**						
	มากที่สุด	**มาก**	**ค่อนข้างมาก**	**ปานกลาง**	**น้อย**	**น้อยที่สุด**	**ไม่มีโอกาส**
9. หันมาคุยกับคนซ้อนในขณะขี่รถ							
10. หันมาดูหนุ่ม/สาวข้างทางในขณะขี่รถ							
11. ขี่รถบนถนนที่มีหินร่วงหล่น							
12. ขี่รถบนถนนที่มีทรายร่วงหล่น							
13. ขี่รถบนทางที่มีระดับไม่เท่ากัน							
14.ขี่รถหนีมาดูสุนัข							
15. ขี่รถเร็วบนทางลูกระนาด							
16. ขี่รถซิกแซก แซงซ้ายแซงขวา เปลี่ยนเลนไปมา							
17. ออกตัวแรง บิดแรง							
18. ขี่รถปาดหน้ารถคันอื่น							
19. ขี่รถแซงรถคันอื่นในที่คับขัน							
20. **โมโห**รถคันอื่น และ**แสดงท่าทาง**ให้คนขับรถคันอื่นรู้ว่า**ไม่พอใจ**							
21. ใช้แตรบ่อยมากด้วยความโมโหในขณะขี่รถ							

ลีลาการขี่รถ	โอกาสที่จะเกิดอุบัติเหตุ						
	มากที่สุด	มาก	ค่อนข้างมาก	ปานกลาง	น้อย	น้อยที่สุด	ไม่มีโอกาส
22. ปาดตอบรถคันที่มาปาดรถตนเอง							
23. ขับจี้ท้ายรถคันหน้า							
24. ขี่รถด้วยความโมโห							
25. ขี่รถด้วยความตึงเครียด							
26. หงุดหงิดอารมณ์เสียในขณะขี่รถ							
27. กังวลกับความโชคร้าย ที่อาจเกิดขึ้น							
28. กระวนกระวายใจในขณะขี่รถ							
29. ขี่รถด้วยความประหม่า							
30. ขี่รถด้วยความกระสับกระส่าย							
31. รู้สึกอึดอัดใจในขณะขี่รถ							
32. ขี่รถด้วยความกังวลใจ							
33. ขี่รถด้วยความรู้สึกตื่นตระหนก							
34. รู้สึกผ่อนคลายในขณะขี่รถ							
35. ขี่รถด้วยอารมณ์มั่นคง							
36. ขี่รถด้วยความรู้สึกสดชื่น							
37. ขี่รถด้วยความรู้สึกสบายๆ							
38. ขี่รถด้วยความมั่นใจ							

ตอนที่3.2 การรับรู้ความรุนแรงจากการเกิดอุบัติเหตุ

ขอให้ท่านประเมินว่าท่านมีความคิดเห็นอย่างไรกับข้อความ โดยกาเครื่องหมาย √ ในช่องทางขวามือที่ตรงกับความคิดของท่านเพื่อให้เกิดความเข้าใจตรงกันผู้วิจัยให้ความหมายของระดับความคิดเห็นดังนี้

เห็นด้วยมากที่สุด หมายถึง ข้อความทางซ้ายมือเป็นผลกระทบจากการเกิดอุบัติเหตุที่ท่านคิดว่า**มีความรุนแรงในระดับมากที่สุด**

เห็นด้วยมาก หมายถึง ข้อความทางซ้ายมือเป็นผลกระทบจากการเกิดอุบัติเหตุที่ท่านคิดว่า**มีความรุนแรงในระดับมาก**

เห็นด้วยปานกลาง หมายถึง ข้อความทางซ้ายมือเป็นผลกระทบจากการเกิดอุบัติเหตุที่ท่านคิดว่า**มีความรุนแรงในระดับปานกลาง**

เห็นด้วยน้อย หมายถึง ข้อความทางซ้ายมือเป็นผลกระทบจากการเกิดอุบัติเหตุที่ท่านคิดว่า**มีความรุนแรงในระดับน้อย**

ไม่เห็นด้วย หมายถึง ท่าน**ไม่คิดว่าข้อความทางซ้ายมือเป็นผลกระทบจากการเกิดอุบัติเหตุ**

ข้อความ	ความคิดเห็น				
	เห็นด้วยมากที่สุด	เห็นด้วยมาก	เห็นด้วยปานกลาง	เห็นด้วยน้อย	ไม่เห็นด้วย
1.อุบัติเหตุจากการขี่รถจักรยานยนต์นำไปสู่ความตาย					
2.อุบัติเหตุจากการขี่รถจักรยานยนต์ทำให้สูญเสียทรัพย์สินเงินทอง					
3.อุบัติเหตุจากการขี่รถจักรยานยนต์ทำให้เกิดความทุกข์ใจ					
4.อุบัติเหตุจากการขี่รถจักรยานยนต์ทำให้เกิดความรู้สึกว่าเป็นภาระที่ต้องให้ผู้อื่นดูแล					
5.อุบัติเหตุจากการขี่รถจักรยานยนต์ทำให้เกิดความพิการทางร่างกาย					
6.อุบัติเหตุจากการขี่รถจักรยานยนต์ส่งผลกระทบต่อการเรียน หรือการทำงาน					

ตอนที่3.3 การรับรู้ความเสี่ยงในมิติอารมณ์ความรู้สึกที่แสดงถึงความกังวลและ**ให้ความสำคัญ** (worried and concerned) กับพฤติกรรมหรือสถานการณ์ต่างๆที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการขี่รถเนื่องจาก **คำนึงถึงว่าตนอาจจะได้รับบาดเจ็บจากการเกิดอุบัติเหตุในสถานการณ์ที่ระบุทางด้านซ้าย**

ขอให้ท่านประเมินว่าท่านมีความคิดเห็นอย่างไรกับข้อความทางด้านซ้าย
โดยกาเครื่องหมาย √ ในช่องทางขวามือที่ตรงกับความคิดของท่าน

ข้อความ	**ระดับการให้ความสำคัญ**						
	ไม่ให้ความสำคัญเลย	**ให้ความสำคัญน้อยมาก**	**ให้ความสำคัญน้อย**	**ให้ความสำคัญปานกลาง**	**ให้ความสำคัญค่อนข้างมาก**	**ให้ความสำคัญมาก**	**ให้ความสำคัญมากที่สุด**
ท่านให้ความสำคัญกับสิ่งต่างๆเหล่านี้ในระดับใด 1.ขี่รถในเลน							
2.สังเกตสภาพแวดล้อมต่างๆบนถนน							
3.คิดถึงเส้นทางที่จะไปก่อนที่จะขี่รถ							
4.ไม่ใช้ความเร็วมาก							
5.ไม่พูดคุยกับผู้อื่นขณะขี่รถ							
6.มีสมาธิในการขี่รถ							
7.ระมัดระวังเมื่อขี่รถในสภาพแวดล้อมที่ไม่ดี							
8.ระวังเวลาเข้าโค้ง							
9.ระบบเบรคที่สมบูรณ์							
10.การปฏิบัติตามสัญญาณไฟจราจร							
11.ขี่รถที่มีสภาพสมบูรณ์							
12.ดื่มสุราและมาขี่รถ							
13.การขี่รถย้อนศร							

ตอนที่4 ความคิดเห็นและความรู้สึกที่มีต่อการขี่รถจักรยานยนต์

<u>คำแนะนำ</u>

โปรดอ่านข้อความแต่ละข้อทางด้านซ้ายและพิจารณาว่าท่านมีความคิดเห็นและความรู้สึกตามข้อความแต่ละข้อในระดับ“เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง” “เห็นด้วย” “ไม่แน่ใจ” “ไม่เห็นด้วย” หรือ “ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง” ขอให้ท่านเลือกเพียงตัวเลือกเดียวในแต่ละข้อความ

ขอให้ท่านขีดเครื่องหมาย ✔ ลงในช่องด้านขวาหลังข้อความแต่ละข้อตามตัวเลือกที่ท่านคิดว่าตรงกับความคิดเห็นของท่านมากที่สุด คำตอบของท่านไม่มีถูกหรือผิด ขอให้ท่านตอบตามความคิดและความรู้สึกของท่านที่แท้จริงโดยอิสระ

เพื่อให้ทุกท่านได้เลือกคำตอบที่ตรงกับความรู้สึกของท่านมากที่สุดโดยมีความเข้าใจเกี่ยวกับตัวเลือกที่ตรงกันผู้วิจัยจึงให้ความหมายของคำว่า

“เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง” “เห็นด้วย” “ไม่แน่ใจ” “ไม่เห็นด้วย” “ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง” ดังนี้

เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง หมายความว่า ท่านมีความคิดว่า**ข้อความทางด้านซ้ายนั้นตรงกับความคิดเห็น ความรู้สึก ความเชื่อและการกระทำของท่าน<u>อย่างมาก</u>**ในขณะที่ท่านขี่รถจักรยานยนต์

เห็นด้วย หมายความว่า ท่านมีความคิดว่า**ข้อความทางด้านซ้ายนั้นตรงกับความคิดเห็น ความรู้สึก ความเชื่อและการกระทำของท่าน<u>บ้าง</u>**ในขณะที่ท่านขี่รถจักรยานยนต์

ไม่แน่ใจ หมายความว่า ในบางครั้งท่าน**ก็มีความคิดเห็น ความรู้สึก ความเชื่อและการกระทำตามข้อความทางด้านซ้ายแต่บางครั้งท่านก็ไม่เห็นด้วย**กับข้อความทางด้านซ้ายในขณะที่ท่านขี่รถจักรยานยนต์

ไม่เห็นด้วย หมายความว่า ท่านมีความคิดว่า**ข้อความทางด้านซ้ายนั้น<u>ไม่ตรง</u>กับความคิดเห็น ความรู้สึก ความเชื่อและการกระทำของท่าน**ในขณะที่ท่านขี่รถจักรยานยนต์

ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง หมายความว่า ท่านมีความคิดว่า**ข้อความทางด้านซ้ายนั้น<u>ไม่ตรง</u>กับความคิดเห็น ความรู้สึก ความเชื่อและการกระทำของท่าน<u>อย่างมาก</u>**ในขณะที่ท่านขี่รถจักรยานยนต์

ข้อความ	ความคิดเห็น				
	เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง	เห็นด้วย	ไม่แน่ใจ	ไม่เห็นด้วย	ไม่เห็นด้วยอย่างยิ่ง
1.เมื่อดื่มเหล้าแล้วมาขี่รถจักรยานยนต์จะทำให้มีความสุขในการขี่รถเพิ่มขึ้น					
2.ถ้าฉันขี่รถตามกฎจราจรจะทำให้ฉันช้าเสียเวลา					
3.การขี่รถจักรยานยนต์**ไม่จำเป็น**ต้องเปิดไฟขอทางเมื่อจะเปลี่ยนเลน					
4.การขี่รถบนถนนในหมู่บ้าน**ไม่จำเป็น**ต้องเปิดไฟเลี้ยวเมื่อต้องการจะเลี้ยว					
5.ฉันคิดว่าการขี่รถไปตามซอกเล็กๆ ระหว่างรถแต่ละคันบนถนนเป็นสิ่งท้าทาย					

ตอนที่5 พฤติกรรมการขี่รถจักรยานยนต์

คำแนะนำ

โปรดอ่านข้อความแต่ละข้อในช่องทางด้านซ้ายและพิจารณาว่า**ในขณะที่ท่านขี่รถมอเตอร์ไซค์ใน 6 เดือนที่ผ่านมานั้น** ท่านกระทำตามเนื้อหาที่ระบุไว้ในแต่ละข้อความบ่อยเพียงใด

ขอให้ท่านขีดเครื่องหมาย a ลงในช่องทางด้านขวาหลังข้อความแต่ละข้อตามตัวเลือกที่ท่านคิดว่าตรงกับการกระทำของท่านมากที่สุด โดยเลือกเพียงตัวเลือกเดียวในแต่ละข้อความ

คำตอบของท่านไม่มีถูกหรือผิด ขอให้ท่านตอบตามการกระทำที่ท่านกระทำจริงโดยอิสระ

เพื่อให้ทุกท่านได้ตอบโดยมีความเข้าใจเกี่ยวกับความหมายของตัวเลือกตรงกัน ผู้วิจัยได้ให้ความหมายของคำว่าบ่อยที่สุด บ่อย เป็นครั้งคราว น้อยครั้ง ไม่เคยเลย ดังนี้

บ่อยที่สุด หมายความว่า**ภายใน6เดือนที่ผ่านมาจนถึงวันที่ท่านตอบแบบสอบถามนี้**ท่านขี่รถในลักษณะตามข้อคำถาม**เป็นประจำจนเป็นนิสัย ความเคยชินในการขี่รถของท่าน**

บ่อย หมายความว่า**ภายใน6เดือนที่ผ่านมาจนถึงวันที่ท่านตอบแบบสอบถามนี้**ท่านขี่รถในลักษณะตามข้อคำถาม**บ่อยแต่ก็มีบ้างบางครั้งที่ท่านไม่ได้ขี่รถในลักษณะดังกล่าว**

เป็นครั้งคราว หมายความว่า**ภายใน6เดือนที่ผ่านมาจนถึงวันที่ท่านตอบแบบสอบถามนี้**ท่านขี่รถในลักษณะตามข้อคำถาม**บ้างบางครั้งแต่ไม่บ่อยนัก**

น้อยครั้ง หมายความว่า**ภายใน6เดือนที่ผ่านมาจนถึงวันที่ท่านตอบแบบสอบถามนี้**ท่านขี่รถในลักษณะตามข้อคำถาม**นานๆครั้ง**

ไม่เคยเลย หมายความว่า**ภายใน6เดือนที่ผ่านมาจนถึงวันที่ท่านตอบแบบสอบถามนี้**ท่าน**ไม่เคยขี่รถในลักษณะตามข้อคำถามเลย**

ข้อ	พฤติกรรม	บ่อยที่สุด	บ่อย	เป็นครั้งคราว	น้อยครั้ง	ไม่เคยเลย
1	ฉันเร่งความเร็วในขณะที่เลี้ยวโค้ง					
2	ฉันไม่ลดความเร็วลงเมื่อขี่รถบนถนนลูกรัง					
3	ฉันไม่ลดความเร็วลงเมื่อขี่รถบนถนนที่มีหลุม					
4	ฉันเลี้ยวโค้งหักศอกโดยไม่ลดความเร็วลงก่อนที่จะเลี้ยว					
5	ฉันเลี้ยวเข้าซอยโดยไม่ลดความเร็วและปล่อยเกียร์ว่าง(ปล่อยไหล)					
6	ฉันขี่รถฝ่าไฟแดง					
7	ฉันบิดคันเร่งเพลินโดยไม่ได้ดูว่าเป็นโค้งหักศอก					
8	ฉันบิดคันเร่งแรงจนล้อหน้ายก					
9	เมื่อถึงทางเลี้ยวแล้วฉันไม่ลดความเร็วในขณะเลี้ยว					
10	ฉันขี่รถเร็วในขณะที่มีรถบนถนนเยอะ					
11	ฉันขี่รถตีคู่บังเลนและคุยกันกับเพื่อนที่ขี่รถที่ตีคู่กันมา					
12	ฉันขี่รถเป็นกลุ่มโดยรถของฉันอยู่ในระยะใกล้ชิดกับรถคันอื่นมาก					
13	ฉันเบรครถแรง					
14	ฉันขี่รถบนถนนที่มีหินร่วงหล่น					
15	ฉันขี่รถบนถนนที่มีทรายร่วงหล่น					
16	ฉันขี่รถเร็วบนทางที่เป็นลูกระนาด					
17	ฉันขี่รถซิกแซก					
18	ฉันขี่รถเร็วบนถนนมืด					

ข้อ	พฤติกรรม	บ่อยที่สุด	บ่อย	เป็นครั้งคราว	น้อยครั้ง	ไม่เคยเลย
19	ฉันขี่รถปาดตอบรถคันอื่นที่มาปาดหน้ารถฉัน					
20	ฉันแกล้งขับรถจี้ท้ายรถคันหน้าที่ขับอย่างน่ารำคาญ					
21	ฉันโมโหในขณะขี่รถ					
22	ฉันขี่รถด้วยความสบายใจ					
23	ฉันรู้สึกสบายในขณะขี่รถ					
24	ฉันขี่รถด้วยความรู้สึกมั่นใจ					
25	ฉันรู้สึกประหม่าในขณะขี่รถ					
26	ฉันรู้สึกกระสับกระส่ายในขณะขี่รถ					
27	ฉันรู้สึกผ่อนคลายในขณะขี่รถ					
28	อารมณ์ของฉันมั่นคงในขณะขี่รถ					
29	ฉันรู้สึกกังวลใจในขณะขี่รถ					
30	ฉันรู้สึกตื่นตระหนกในขณะขี่รถ					

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