

Rural women who move to Bangkok for employment confront significant social and economic constraints as low-wage, low-status migrant labor; yet experiences of exploitation in the workplace are widely mediated by aspirations for and participation in new patterns of commodity consumption. In this article, I examine these consumption practices as important sites of cultural struggle in which young women seek to construct new identities and contest their marginalization within the wider society, albeit with conflicting and often ambivalent results. Consumption, discourses of modernity, rural-urban migration, gender, identity, Thailand

It is important to note that these efforts at self-constitution do not necessarily involve an explicit, self-conscious choice between clear and distinct identities. Rather the experiences of aspects of gender identity.

In this brief passage a young Thai labor migrant gives an account of how she left home to begin urban employment at the age of 16. Central to this narrative is the moral impetus of a daughter's obligation "to help my family"—that anchors Khem's story in the affective world of village kin and agricultural poverty. But this return migration migrant with her "beautiful clothes" and teasing disdain for the sorry existence of her rural friend, Khem's thoughts, which propel her rapid departure, are anomalies of her project of virtue and self-sacrifice is parallelled by an alternate vision, that of the confident self-sacrifice of a young Thai woman who moves into Bangkok to negotiate a shift in a physical location. As young Thai women move into Bangkok employment they engage in a process of self-constitution, laying claim to, negotiating, and at times contesting these different and modern style. Consequently, rural-urban migration involves much more than a shift in money to assist family at home, or spending it to acquire the commodity markers of urban status they are also potentially at odds with each other. Each rests on a different set of priorities; saving self-images are desirable and both play a key role in their decisions to migrate to the city; but urban society. For Khem and thousands of other young women working in Bangkok, both these and the "modern woman", whose independence and mobility are tied to her experience with daughter, who is motivated by emotional ties and a deep sense of responsibility to rural family, partly Thailand. In these few sentences Khem constructs two potential selves: the "good community-based display, highlights widespread themes within rural-urban migration in central-Khem's narrative, which places kinship-based morality alongside desires for autonomy and parity.

A friend who had been working in Bangkok came back to visit [our village]. She wore beautiful clothes, When she saw me, her breathing was, "Oh ho! How did you get so run-down looking? Want to come work with me?", ... [that night] I lay thinking, "I ought to go give it a try", I dreamed that I would go to the city, work really hard, and save money to help my family, I lay unable to stop thinking about this until I slept. I got up early in the morning and at once rushed to find my friend. I was so happy that I could go with her. I got my clothes ready and said good-bye to my brothers, sisters, father and mother [khem], Bangkok texture work, age 21

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contesting the margins of modernity: women, migration, and consumption in Thailand

young Thai migrants illustrate what Henrietta Moore has identified as the necessity of theorizing identity—including that of gender identity—is an ongoing process of negotiation and contestation between and within a modern identity—“internally differentiated subject” (1994:58). In this sense the lived experience of individual contrast, has been conventionally much more restricted, especially before marriage; yet over activities that have long been more accessible for men. Women’s geographic mobility, by within institutions of power and knowledge located in urban centers (Connor 1987, 1995), standing cultural ideals concerning the acquisition of status and social influence through contact traveling salesmen (Kirsch 1996). City-bound migration by men is also consistent with long-traveling travel (pay thaw), or as practiced by itinerant Buddhist monks, cattle sellers, and other with proletarian labor, still parallels historical patterns of male mobility in the form of adventurous migration by rural men, while involving them in new activities and social relations associated my attention here on the experiences of women for several reasons. Contemporary labor in Thailand and young men are also important participants in these migration circuits, but I focus globally dispersed production sites.<sup>4</sup>

repetition of textile and electronics manufacturing, industries that have dominated the shift to and skills are seen by employers to be particularly well-suited for the fine detail and endless dexterity required for such domestic chores as weaving and sewing. Women’s character a workforce already schooled in obedience to (parental) authority, hard work, and the patience to put up with low pay, limited benefits, and job insecurity. Their youth and consequent suggestion—working for a few months or years before marriage—and gender also suggests to underscore working-class assumptions within international capital: young women without the to undermine working-class dynamics of late 20th-century capitalism and what is commonly called the New International Division of Labor. These developments are linked focus of a growing literature on the gendered dynamics of rural women within the central experiences of industrialization have been identified around the world and constitute the central and relatively inexpensive workforce (Harvey 1989:153–155). Similar patterns in contemporary economy of “flexible accumulation,” has targeted young, rural women as an easily controlled At one level, this exodus represents yet another example of how an expanding global to ask any rural household, not whether adolescent children will go to Bangkok, but when.

employment; the high rates at which they are leaving, however, often make it more meaningful little children.” It is by no means true that all young people leave the countryside for urban it is a virtual cliché to observe that “there is no one left [in the villages] but the old people and (isan), remain untouched by this youthful outflow. In towns and villages throughout the region communities in rural Thailand, and especially in the economically disadvantaged Northeast twentines—now constitute the preferred workplace of many Bangkok employers. Few, if any, and Lim 1987). Indeed, women like Khem—unmarried and in their late teens and early force, thereby allowing urban employers to pay lower wages and offer fewer benefits (Porpora workers and their village homes bear part of the cost of maintaining and reproducing this labor of labor through out-migration while, at the same time, the continuing economic ties between the rapid expansion of Thailand’s urban industrial economy. They provide a highly flexible pool holds practicing small cash and subsistence crop production have played an essential part in celebrated “newly industrializing countries” (Bell 1992; Chilling 1981:178–79).<sup>2</sup> Village house-manufacturing and service jobs has sustained Thailand’s drive toward the ranks of Asia’s everyday life (Moore 1994:58–60).

select between and maneuver within these potential selves or self-images in the course of individuals perceive as the subject positions available to them; nevertheless, people continually discuss courses that exist in any society. The hegemonic effects of these discourses may limit what woman,” in the case at hand). These subject positions are themselves constituted by the multiple action between and within available “subject positions,” such as “good daughter” or “modern identity—“internally differentiated subject” (1994:58). In this sense the lived experience of individual the “internally differentiated subject” (1994:58). In this sense the lived experience of individual

Cyndia Ercole makes the obvious but often overlooked point that young women around the globe enter and stay in new types of employment—but often for the wages, harsh labor discipline, and unhealthy working conditions—not solely for the money earned but also to achieve more complex social goals: “Without women’s own needs, values, and worries, the global assembly line would find no ‘hat’” (Ercole 1989:16–17). As local arenas of social and cultural production and workers’ and women’s own needs, values, and worries, the global assembly line conveysed through technologies of mass communication. In this article I explore how the “needs, values, and worries” that promote the movement of rural Thai women into wage employment conveyed not only by local gender and household relations but, no less significantly, by values, and women’s and workers’ needs and possibilities.

In Thailand and young women like Khem almost always take the decision to leave the village and find urban work, sometimes with the active support of their parents, sometimes against their will. The economic returns to rural households from daughters' employment are not always clear; parents with whom I spoke often complained about inadequate wage remittances. Furthermore, women's out-migration is not limited to the more impoverished segments of a community but involves families across social strata; young women who leave for Bangkok come from poor, middle-range, and even quite prosperous peasant households. It is thus essential to examine the entry of young rural women into urban labor as a product of complex motivations. As Khem's words reveal, labor mobility is embedded in social and cultural tensions within households and within the individual herself. Female labor mobility reflects not just dominant ideals of filial obligation (to "save money to help my family") but equally powerful perceptions of status lost to already mobile peers and desires for "beautiful clothes" and other commodities of urban glamour and sophistication. The movement of young women into Bangkok has as much to do with aspirations for particular kinds of personhood as with

Knowing that young women in Thailand and elsewhere appeal to employers as a presumptionability quiscent and inexpensive labor force tells us little about why women themselves take up wage work, nor does it tell us how they construct their experiences of it. In Thailand, as in many other parts of the world, explanations of labor migration have usually pointed to the effects of economic disparities between urban and rural sectors.<sup>5</sup> The concentration of capital investment in cities along with widespread conditions of indebtedness, cash dependency, and scarce sources of credit in rural areas fosters patterns of labor out-migration from peasant communities over the world. In such contexts the deployment of sons, or unmarried daughters, labor can be one option available to peasant households seeking to increase their cash income. But current thinking about households as sites of conflict, competing interests, and contested authority (e.g., Wolf 1992) makes it increasingly difficult to accept interpretations of women's employment and migration that presume the functional, strategizing unity of the household. Models that account for the varied dynamics of migration decisions and practices in actual situations (Diane Wolff's recent compilation of household economic strategies and the pressures of rural poverty fail to direct the labor and control the wages of daughters is an empirical question), the answer to which may vary widely both between and within specific cultural settings (1992:174-178).

the past two decades women (particularly young unmarried women) have begun moving into Bangkok at rates that generally equal those of their male counterparts and at times have exceeded the latter by as much as two to one (NSO 1983, 1992; Wilison 1983:58; see also Aphichart et al. 1979). While I do not wish to argue that urban employment has had no transformational effects on Thai men or on cultural constructions of masculinity, the greater historical and ideological discourses surrounding women's mobility reveal in sharper detail some of the structural and ideological tensions at work in contemporary Thai society.

motherhood.<sup>9</sup> Although women's authority may increase with age and the responsibilities of cultures in other parts of Asia—but these conditions are consonant with marriage and cultures in Thailand—least in comparison to women in more rigidly patriarchal households decision makers—at least in high degree of autonomy as economic actors parents and other elders. Thai women enjoy not to unmarried daughters subordinate to women within the village setting in Bangkok convey a level of independence largely unavailable to status.

The prospect of working in Bangkok conveys a level of independence largely unavailable to urban employment are intricately bound up in desires for enhanced personal autonomy and to be by others".<sup>10</sup> For young Thai women, the imagined possibilities of migration and about the kind of person one would like to be and the sort of person one would like to be seen geographic mobility is informed by what Moore has called "fantasies of identity"; that is, "ideas production of these imagined possibilities in the dominant Thai culture," in effect, their modern styles and attitudes. Women's rural-urban labor migration is closely tied to the display of commodities with dominant meanings about "progress" and the desirability of imagination in Thailand; these now pervasive forms of cultural production invest accumulation technologies of representation—television and other forms of mass media—over the popular one of the most salient aspects of their time in the city. In part this reveals the power of new Among Thai migrant workers, participation in Bangkok's mass-market commodity culture is of capitalist hegemony.<sup>11</sup>

Value or social status appears as a particularly insidious form of false consciousness in the race labor for the profit of capital. Consequently, the pursuit of commodities as markers of symbolic complicity in their exploitation, for they are consuming the products of their own alienated actors, however necessary for the daily reproduction of their labor power, entails a kind of is due, at least in part, to the lingering sense that commodity consumption by working-class sumption as social practice in this wider literature on women's global entry into industrial labor these processes of social transformation. The general absence of sustained attention to production, it can also be useful to examine the role of new experiences of consumption in but rather to suggest that in addition to the impact of encounters with new relations of Lumphere 1987; Safa 1995; Wolf 1992). My goal here is not to dispute these important findings household divisions of labor and authority (see, for example, Benítez and Roldán 1987; and places have provided some room to maneuver within and potentially rework the Philippines (Rocha 1994:90–91). In addition, experiences of wage labor at different times South Korea and Mexico (Ogle 1990:80–86; Trade 1994) and Free Trade Zone employees in including cases of organized labor protest—such as those among groups of textile workers in possession in Malaysia electronics factories (On 1987)—to explicitly class-based confrontations, latter may range from expressions of discontent couched in precapitalist idioms—such as spirit constraining women's choices, may also open up avenues for contestation and resistance. The research has explored the ways in which encounters with capitalist labor discipline, while often experiences of proletarianization in societies around the world. Some of the most exciting Over the last two decades scholars have begun to document women's new and varied

### commodities and consumption as social practice

about themselves and about the world around them. Some of the ways their experiences both promote and constrain the construction of new ideas confliction and often ambivalent dimensions of labor migrants, choices as consumers reveal newly industrialized workers, engage in novel patterns of commodity consumption. The women's diverse and often ambivalent responses to the urban sojourn. In particular, focus on motivations as they converge and collide in the course of migration can turn illuminate dominant cultural discourses about Thai modernity and progress. Attention to these complex

When young migrants like Khem speak of their decision to go to Bangkok, their stories almost always invoke the gendered imagery of "good daughters" and "modern women." In the former image, women's labor migration invokes obligations of respect and gratitude owed by all

## migration and discourses of modernity

migrants may pursue new forms of autonomy and agency and the construction of socially satisfying and valued identities.

Viewing migrants as consumers, rather than solely as producers, reveals more complex other—that the tensions and contradictions of the migration process are most keenly felt, as much as on the job—although these fields of action cannot be wholly separated from each many migrant women assess their time in the city. Rather it is in new forms of urban consumption that workers do not provide the only or even the most compelling framework through whichences as workers pose serious constraints throughout women's urban employment. Nevertheless, their experiences deny that workers, encounters with capitalist labor relations are a significant aspect of the necessarily the production of open critical or oppositional beliefs and practices. This is not to and contradictions that underlie their status as urban wage laborers; the result, however, is not commodity consumption—both of material goods and of commodified images and events—presents an arena within which they may confront and attempt to rework the tensions commodity consumption by subaltern groups is read as evidence of "everyday resistance" (Miller 1995: 271–272; see also Orlow and Rutz 1989).<sup>12</sup> For women working in Bangkok, Danièle Miller (1995) in arguing for a contextual and critical analysis, a middle ground contested field of inquiry. By approaching consumption as a form of social practice, I follow The recent emergence of consumption as a focus of ethnographic research is itself a highly struggle.

The consumption aspirations and practices of Thai migrants as precisely such a field of cultural the consumption aspirations and practices of Thai migrants as precisely such a field of cultural goals" in the context of women's new employment (Ong 1991:281).<sup>13</sup> In this article I examine people receive, negotiate, and potentially rework dominant "cultural meanings, values, and relationships requires attention to localized patterns of "cultural struggle," the varied ways that characterize new encounters with capitalist wage-labor relations. A clear understanding of these resilience cannot always encompass the conflicting tensions and frequent ambivalence that assessments women's reactions to new forms of wage-labor in terms of classical models of proletarian ambivalent consciousness, they are just as likely to result in more fragmentary, limited, or oppositional consciousness, argues that attempts to stand between dominant discourses and lived realities may lead to a critical standings.<sup>14</sup> But if tensions between dominant discourses and lived realities under-groups with crucial openings to contest hegemonic forms and provide subordinate such breaks between dominant cultural meanings and lived experiences of proletarian of opportunities between dominant meanings and lived experience, and between imagined possibilities and limited opportunities. William Roseberry (1989:45) argues that the recognition of disjunctions between dominant meanings and style she might otherwise only see on television, urban life that invoke images of glamour and style fit with the lived realities of Bangkok. Her friends bring back cash and other gifts on their visits home and tell tales about raising a family, this is small consolation to the adolescent whose peers are all working in

(than samy)—help to shape migration aspirations, they do not always fit with the lived realities of Bangkok. The potential exists for the production of new meanings and practices in the resulting of Bangkok.

Bangkok is the center for the production and dissemination of meanings and symbols of Thai culture throughout the country—most notably television and radio, a development in which the progress (khwam charoen) and Samay styles. The spread of communications technologies throughout Thailand presents rural audiences with images that equate personal fulfillment with urban-based identities and commodity consumption. Moreover, the availability of mass consumer standards a presence even in remote communities. In turn these sights and sounds of the modern remittances of migrant workers have played no small part—has made Bangkok styles and throughout the country—and than Samay styles. This is especially significant in which the migration can observe and pursue these standards of modern womanhood.

Most rural youths, then, see the move to Bangkok at least in part as an opportunity to be increasingly valued as symbols of modern success and social status throughout Thailand. Increasingly valuable are symbols of modern success and social status throughout Thailand. In particular, the ownership and display of new technologies and consumer commodities are standards for defining this status. Moreover, city life provides a multitude of settings and social billboards, television advertisements, serial dramas, and in many other formats—set powerful a strikingly gendered form: throughout Thailand and images of the beautiful than Samay, selfhood in young rural women contrast these seductive attributes of "modern," than Samay, selfhood in to earn the cash necessary to purchase the commodity emblem of a than Samay identity.<sup>14</sup> The center of contemporary Thai society—to "open their ears and eyes," *poer huu poer taak*—and

increasingly valued as symbols of modern success and social status throughout Thailand.

At the expense of what are claimed to be traditional values. To rural producers the images of urban wealth and commodity progress that prevail popular culture pose models of consumption and social status that, however difficult to achieve, are impossible to ignore. In is, at the expense of what are claimed to be traditional values. To rural producers the images whether national political and economic development has meant too much modernity—that cultural change.<sup>15</sup> For example, the urban elite, scholars, and policy makers frequently debate (khwam pen than Samay, literally "being up-to-date"), "new times" (Samay may) and "progress" (khwam charoen) to discuss and at times criticize perceptions and experiences of social and contemporary Thailand, discourses of modernity permeate much of everyday life. People at all levels of Thai society are familiar with and frequently employ a language of "being modern" provokes named responses across time and space. The result is what Michael Watts (Fred and Watts 1992:18) identifies as the "production of . . . new, local modernities" out of the historical provokes named responses across time and space. The result is what Michael Watts (Fred and increasingly global capitalist economy that manifests itself in different forms and provokes named responses across time and space. The result is what Michael Watts (Fred and production. In Thailand, as around the world, ideas about modernity are closely linked to an refers not to an objective social reality but to a powerful field of popular discourse and cultural just as powerful in shaping migration decisions is an explicit desire to be "up-to-date" (than Samay) and to participate in Thai modernity. Let me be clear that here the term "modernity" concrete and highly valued by family at home.

present an opportunity for young rural women to fulfill these expectations in a form that is both they know where there's not enough rice. Women have to look after the family." Urban wages "Men don't see, they don't pay attention. But women are responsible, they see what's missing; in the temple or at a friend's house, she claimed; they do not see what the family needs or lacks. Bangkok wages as a maid in a tourist guesthouse paid for the care of a seriously ill father, young men in the village only "play and run around." They may spend days, weeks, or months sleeping more industrious and responsible than their brothers in such matters. According to Nid, whose loyalty by attending to the day-to-day needs of household members. They are expected to be over economic contributions. Daughters, however, are raised to express their gratitude and important obligations a son has to his mother and father, one that can often take precedence religious merit for their parents. Spending a few months as a monk remains among the most significant for young women who, unlike their brothers, cannot serve as Buddhist monks to earn children to their parents; from this perspective migration to Bangkok is an important means for

Two young women in their early twenties face each other across a cafe table in downtown Bangkok. Casually sipping coffee and laughing at each other's stories, a soundtrack of lively pop music renders their conversation inaudible. These are caffeine and dopamine, and the young women have left the cafe and are strikingly handsomely dressed. Both sport fashionable earings and blue jeans. Also the menu, which they are clearly aware of it. The next moment the two women have left the cafe and are dancing along with the music. Soundtrack seems to match the dynamic pace of the women's motion—long hair bodily across the mad traffic of a Bangkok road, laughing and holding hands as close friends do. The first cut to a changing room lined with leather bags bumping against their determined hips. Now the view flowing out behind them, stylish leather shoulder bags bumping against their determined hips. Now the hair rhythmic motion of the music. Soundtrack seems to be the two common technique of changing under neithers has sought the privacy of a separate cubicle or the more common technique of changing under a strong wrap. Suddenly the pop-rock soundtrack changes to the sedate, classical sounds of the kinn—a Chinese cembalo—a low, flat stringed musical instrument played by striking the strings with two delicate felt-covered mallets. Simultaneously, the visual images switch to the kinn players; they are the same two women, but now clad in demure though no less stylish skirts and long-sleeved blouses. They sit formally on the floor behind their instruments at slightly oblique angles to each other; they are playing in what appears to be a spacious, modern performance hall. The two smile knowingly at each other as the logo and picture of a scented deodorant fades in on the lower half of the viewer's screen.

In the slick, sophisticated packaging of Thailand's media, whether television commercials and movies or printed posters and magazines, women and women's bodies provide a predominantly female source of visual imagery. Feminine beauty has become one of the most powerful symbols for representing Thai progress and modernity. In advertising and the entertainment media, the beauty woman is celebrated and promoted as an example of "up-to-date," style and individuality and independence. The fashionably dressed, stylishly coiffed, carefully made-up "modern woman" is parades her beauty at work and leisure in the city setting. Although the than samay woman may be identified with the urban context, and especially with Bangkok, national young than samay) parades her beauty at work and leisure in the city setting. Although the than samay of district and provincial towns have made images of modern femininity increasingly familiar to the entire population.

Than samay beauty is not defined primarily through conventional images of maidens in modesty and interpersonal restraint—ideal standards of behavior for unmarried women in the countryside—although, as in the final scene to the deodorant commercial, these qualities may be invoked to establish the essential "good girl" characteristics of a modern woman. Instead the modern woman is defined, on the one hand, by her sophisticated use of fashion and other market commodities of bodily display, and, on the other, by the ease with which she negotiates the diverse scenes and dynamic pace of urban life. Like the young women laughing over their coffee or dashes across a busy street, the than samay woman's beauty is linked to her active, mobile participation in urban society.

Part of what draws young rural women into the city is an unspoken but powerful suggestion

[white] skin," play with white. While some offer these comments as a disavowal of youthful systems. Older villagers often describe women and men moving into Bangkok as "going to get the sun. White skin is a crucial marker of physical beauty in both urban and rural Thai aesthetic that urban employment allows them to work indoors, away from the skin-darkening effects of the sun. And independence of modern city life, indeed, one of the most valued benefits for migrants is enhance their own beauty and modernity; they can participate in the adventure, excitement, that there can be at once beautiful, modern, and mobile. With an urban income they can Part of what draws young rural women into the city is an unspoken but powerful suggestion

products in commercial markets throughout the country provides tangible means for appropriating these symbols of up-to-date selfhood—only, of course, if one has access to sufficient cash income. Migration for urban employment not only offers village youth the opportunity to earn money they need but also allows young women and men to participate in this culture of modernity at its most dynamic core, the Bangkok Metropolis. Let us examine a television commercial:

participation in than samay society (higher—even if highly repetitive tasks—that involve ized work performed outdoors), urban factors in themselves carry an attractive aura of decidedly old-fashioned associations of peasant production (hard, heavy, largely unmechanized work). In Bangkok's booming manufacturing sector, in contrast to the undesirable and employment in Bangkok's booming manufacturing sector, itself, especially when they find be up-to-date can be addressed through the work experience itself; however, young women's desires to for most migrants, aspirations to modernity; in some ways, however, young women's desires to urban wages, or more particularly what those wages can buy, provide the primary vehicle to have lots of money, money to send home and to buy things for myself as well.

wanted to work in Bangkok because "at home there was no money and nothing to do. I wanted and amenities of a modern identity. This, a textile worker who left her village home at age 19, important, Bangkok is also where they can earn the money needed to actively enjoy the style excitement. As one young textile worker explained, "I had to go see for myself." Perhaps more broadcasts and hear about from friends is, by contrast, a place of boundless novelty and of boredom: "in the village there's nothing to do." The Bangkok they see on nightly television when describing their experiences before coming to the city, many migrants alluded to feelings of than samay identity compelling and the prospect of remaining at home dull by comparison. The young women that I knew both in Bangkok and in rural communities found these images

### **being up-to-date: migrants and commodity consumption**

Migration decisions, then, involve a fragile convergence between young women's sense of duty and her desire for adventure. Working in the city offers women the chance—before marriage and motherhood—to pursue a level of personal autonomy unavailable to them in the village, while at the same time allowing them to uphold their obligations to their families.<sup>16</sup> In Bangkok lies the possibility to be both a modern woman and a good daughter. Once they have arrived in the city, however, the realities of low wages, minimal benefits, and often harsh working and living conditions mean that daughterly responsibilities and the pursuit of than samay ideals of autonomy and material display frequently come into conflict.

disseparable consequences that being too modern and too up-to-date may entail for the to a darker side of modern Thai womanhood. The prostitute stands as a reminder of the association of commercial sex work with popular and counterculture images of femininity points of modern female beauty to the actual sale of women's sexual services (Van Estrik 1988). This salons, nightclubs, discos, massage parlors, and go-go bars—many of which link the celebration reinforced in urban settings by the proliferation of commercial enterprises—shopping malls, women's bodies, already familiar to villagers from television. Highly sexualized images of availability, just as physical modesty is equated with virginity. Highly sexualized images of carries a strong suggestion of sexual freedom: nudity is associated with sexual experience or commercial is a case in point. The loose abandon with which the two women begin to disrobe ideas about beauty predicated upon women's sexual propriety and modesty. The deodorant linking beauty with modesty and active sexuality, links dangerously with equally powerful mobility. The portrayal of women and women's bodies in the dominant urban-centered culture, household-based values of maidenvility, virginial beauty, and contrasts sharply with pendence and mobility. Nevertheless, aspects of than samay womanhood contrast sharply with women might retain and enhance their youthful beauty while exercising their own independence vanity, migrants on return visits are frequently compelled on their pale skin. At the same sending money back to parents and siblings they can maintain their standing within the home time that they acquire such signs of modern attractiveness, young migrants also hope that by community as good women and daughters.

impressive new technologies and are performed indoors, away from the sun and rain). Migrants express pride in the acquisition of technical skills such as the ability to run complex textile factories, management-sponsore sports—such as special uniforms, or, most common in machinery. Other aspects of the work process—such as the ability to escape from the shop floor, if not unsafe, working going to department stores, entertainment parks, and similar sites of modernity. For many young migrants still offer the chance to escape from factory gates, that migrants are best able to explore and yet they still offer the chance to escape from the shop floor. It is here, at the end of the shift and outside the factory gates, that migrants are often able to explore and hours. Company dormitories or rented rooms in the slums are often crowded, hot, and dirty, conditions, many of the migrants interviewed appreciated their relative freedom after working while acknowledging the hardships of long hours and often unpleasant, if not unsafe, working respiratory infections from poorly ventilated work sites, and so on.

Wages acknowledge the hardships of long hours and often unpleasant, if not unsafe, working cycles and gases, accidents caused by impropriety maintained machinery or worker fatigue, immediate physical threats to which women may be exposed in the workplace—toxic chemicals and insomnia, and intestinal problems such as ulcers, not to mention some of the more headaches and insomnia. Even without the strains of overtime, this constant upheaval in daily routines frequently results in health problems such as menstrual cramps, cycle of sleep and eating every seven days. Even with the strains of overtime, this constant operate in three shifts around the clock. Shiftsrotate once a week, forcing workers into a new anywhere from two to eight additional hours of work.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, the largest factories tend to enterprises have standard eight-hour shifts; however, can be frequent and may involve operate 12 hours or more each day, especially when an order is due. Larger manufacturing Bangkok's large garment industry, usually pay employees on a piece-rate basis and frequently pline of urban work. Small shops that subcontract for larger companies, especially common in wage limitations are often compounded by women's encounters with the rigid time-discipline of production quotas, or minor infractions of shop-floor regulations.

Wages already low wages could be further depressed by fines for lateness, failure to make that their already low wages earn after paying for lateness, failure to make domestic servants.<sup>19</sup> Even when an employer paid the legal minimum, many women reported less than minimum wages was the rule for those employed in street-side restaurants or as shops; less than minimum wages working in small garment factories or piece-rate sweat women interviewed, especially those working in small garment factories or piece-rate sweat months and sometimes years. Earnings lower than minimum wages was frequent among the contracts, an arrangement that until the passage of legislation in 1990 could be probationary (U.S.\$2.00-2.50) was not an uncommon wage for workers on temporary or probationary above this.<sup>18</sup> Many women in Bangkok earn even less. In the late 1980s 50 or 60 bath per day under U.S.\$4.00 per day in 1990), but even after many years of service wages rarely rise much benefits. Employees in large manufacturing companies generally earn the legal minimum just for employees to sustain, especially as migrants struggle to cope with low wages and limited project an image of "up-to-date" agency and status to employers, this image is not always easy contest added to an overall atmosphere of excitement and modern style.<sup>17</sup> But if factories can microphones for announcements and cheerleaders, and trophies for the winners of each many migrants would otherwise have little contact. A sound system providing loud music songs of university and college students, an arena of than samay prestige and status with which sitting on the sidelines participated in animated chants and cheers modeled on the cheering activities were required to purchase these items out of their own wages. At the same time workers marked with company insignia; in one case those who wished to participate in the day's modality. Players donned new shirts, hats, and other items printed in special team colors and aimed, in not very subtle ways, to promote worker identification—printing groups from different production departments or different factories owned by the same parent company against each other—the events also incorporated a wide array of commodities and other emblematic "Sports Days," that I attended at two Bangkok textile factories were good examples. While each quets—can be invested with a positive sense of than samay style. The employer-sponsored larger factories, management-sponsore sports competitions, beauty contests, or annual ban-machinery. Other aspects of the work process—such as special uniforms, or, most common in

Consumption behavior of many migrants. Working side-by-side, sharing a rented room or living in the common quarters of factory dormitories, young women find themselves in an intense world of peer-oriented communication—the village setting. Friendily pressures to participate in common activities—such as shared meals and outings—place steady demands on the cash earnings of young workers. Many of the young women that I knew in Bangkok described themselves as “great spenders” (chay ngroeen keng, literally, “good at using money”). Money, they said, is hard to keep, not because of large flamboyant purchases but because of the everyday demands of urban existence, including the desire to hang out and have fun with friends. In my experience these interactions rarely took the form of competitive consumption in the form of having better or more expensive items than others, or treating friends to meals or snacks. Instead, the factory workers I knew were quite scrupulous in their attempts to even out expenses, to pay their own share of meals eaten at street-side restaurants, to repay small debts (such as money borrowed during a trip to the market) to coworkers, and so forth. The galitarian emphasis of these interactions nevertheless supports a constant focus on consumption: whether gatherings revolve around purchased meals,<sup>23</sup> trips to local markets, or, more rarely, spending a day off at one of the city’s commercial amusement parks (such as “Happyland” or the part-zoo, part-rock concert venue, “The Crocodile Farm.”).

In addition to acquiring particular mass-market commodities, participation in new commodity fields patterns of sociality is equally attractive to many rural-urban migrants. At home a young woman is enmeshed in an intense web of social relations with parents and siblings, neighbors, and friends, all of whom can observe, comment upon, and potentially influence her behavior. As factory workers in the city, migrants enjoy the most intimate social interaction almost exclusively with friends and coworkers, the majority being of similar age and background. The expectations and interests of their peers play an important role in shaping the group.

women, these ventures into urban consumer culture are valued aspects of their time in the city and it is the opportunity to engage in these new consumption practices as much as concerns over difficulties on the job that preoccupy them on a day-to-day basis.

The young women to whom I spoke were often reluctant to reveal exactly how much they spent in the city, especially on nonessential items; yet any visit to the rooms of young workers reveals the importance given to commodity purchases and display. Ut and Tw's small lodgings is a case in point. From May to November of 1990, I regularly visited the two sisters at their rented room, one of four tiny partitions on the second floor of an old wooden house. It measured about two and one-half meters across and four meters long. One corner was walled off as a tiny bath and toilet area and another was used as a makeshift kitchen with a few pots and dishes, an electric rice cooker, and a small gas ring. The rest of the room was furnished with a few blankets and cushion along with Ut and Tw's prize possessions. An electric fan sat in one corner, usually idle unless the sisters were entertaining visitors. On a set of shelves by one wall a small tape deck stood next to a row of cassettes. These included recordings by well-known Thai performers of popular "folk" style vocal music,<sup>21</sup> as well as recent albums by Thai pop-rock groups. A half-dozen small photo albums and a camera occupied another shelf, while yet another held a haphazard collection of cosmetics—a bottle or two of deodorant, powder, and lotion—along with combs, brushes, small novelty items, hair clips, and ribbons. Not long after I first began to visit Ut and Tw, I arrived one week to discover that a small color television had been added to their belongings, the culmination of nearly three years' effort. The sisters had saved the 7500 bath (U.S.\$300) purchase price out of their wages and by taking on occasional piece-rate assembly work given out by Tw's company for those wanting to earn extra money.

## Urban dilemmas: confronting ambivalence and marginality

would really pay off in the end. Moreover, young women who plan and work toward a this goal is difficult—and even Maeaw and Lek wondered whether their educational investments just “rice and upland crop farmers” (*chaw naa chaw ray*) when they left the city. Achieving to ignore parental expectations so consistently. Nevertheless, they too hoped to be more than migrants that I knew either had less concrete plans for their future or were unable or unwilling did so on at least one occasion) to get the money from Maeaw in person. Most of the rural-urban contribute money to the rural household and periodically trekked to travel to Bangkok (and specific long-term goals. For Maeaw this decision resulted in an ongoing conflict with family members in the village—particularly with her mother, who regularly requested that Maeaw leave and Maeaw were somewhat unusual in their ability to marshal their resources for such hairdressing shop in a nearby town.

make a living in this way in her village, she thought she might be able to find a job in a the skills of hairdressing and cosmetic application. Although Lek did not think that she could at a Bangkok beauty school. On her days off from the factory she attended classes and practiced the same village as Maeaw, saved her wages until she could pay the 7000 baht (US \$280) tuition be able to continue her education at the provincial teachers' college. Lek, a textile worker from was also saving money in a bank account, so that when she left Bangkok to go home she would previous two years; she expected to complete her diploma in another two or three years. She education. When I met her she had been taking adult education classes every Sunday for the both her expenditures in the city and her remittances home in order to pay for a high school training. Maeaw, an employee in a leather bag factory, decided at age 19 to reduce drastically to open a small shop or food vending enterprise. Others who are able to marshal their resources will preserve some of their hard-won samay status and autonomy. A common ambition is One response among migrant women is to plan for a return home but to do so in a way that family.

young women as they contemplated leaving urban work for the burdens of raising their own then on she would be “only a mother and housewife.” Her sense of loss was shared by many with her prospective husband, but their union would put an end to her time in Bangkok; from was quick to identify the unfortunate consequences that this move would have. She was happy worker in her mid-twenties, having returned home to prepare for her marriage to a local man, and collective earings that characterize household agricultural production. A former textile steady and individualized source of cash income, unlike the more irregular, often unpredictable, and autonomy. The wages they can earn in Bangkok, limited though they may be, provide a concerns. These are linked to migrants, ongoing aspirations for than samay forms of success difficulty, going home to a future of rice farming and motherhood raises a different set of prospect of a return home is without problems. If the idea of settling in the city is fraught with But this generalized perception of long-term vulnerability in the city does not mean that the exactly that.

country. And, with few exceptions, those migrants of my acquaintance who later married did preferably from their own village or region, with whom they would then return to live in the own. Yet when they did marry, these women said, it would be to men of rural background, women were not willing to forego the pleasures—and sacrifices—of having a family of their Bangkok until their late twenties or older—that they would prefer not to marry at all, but most women I know responded to these circumstances by deciding—usually after working in familial supervision but she is also no longer within easy reach of familial assistance. Some economic support of relatives and neighbors.<sup>26</sup> In the city a young woman may be free from that the consequences for women were less severe because of their access to the moral and and neglect occur in village families, most women believed both that it was less frequent and women. A good man, one to trust, is hard to find. You've got to be careful.” Although abuse

This was Noi's predicament during her sixth year of urban employment when—in part for reasons of kin ties with the prospective in-laws—her parents pressured her into becoming engaged to a man she did not want to marry. Immediately after the engagement was formalized Noi fled back to Bangkok and refused to see or talk to her parents or fiancé when they followed her. Spending time with sympathetic friends, Noi took to drinking herself into a stupor at regular intervals. She was eventually able to break off the match, but only after several months of anguish and self-destructive behavior. As she said at the time, she felt trapped and did not know what to do: "How can I live with someone I don't like if I don't like him now, I'm not going to like him later." Significantly Noi argued that her fiancé had "never even been to Bangkok," in other words, he would appreciate neither the kind of experiences she had enjoyed there nor the person she had become as a result.<sup>27</sup>

Accident on the job, factory layoffs, a family crisis, or, as in the following example, the competing demands and expectations of parents—such events can quickly force a woman into an unexpected return to the village may find that circumstances intervene. A sudden illness, an

Such feelings are aggravated by a perceived—and often actual—difference between men's and women's respective consumption behavior. Both in the city and the village, Thai men are allowed more discretionary use of their personal income. Parents and kin usually expect young men to bear considerable expense for entertainment: cigarettes, alcohol, gambling, and women. While parents generally view a certain amount of personal expenditure as unavoidable for young men's urban consumption practices. Accordings to some women in the city, daughters migrant daughters, it should not be of the same type or on the same scale as that demanded by their parents. Several spoke of migrant brothers who had "never" or only infrequent home visits; their parents "never said anything about it."

If the demands of urban consumption styles jeopardize the fragile balance of migrants, desires to be both "modern women" and "good daughters," there are moments when migrants can confront these tensions and rework them to their own benefit. Here the importance of maintaining ties to rural kin can be seen as not only a matter of migrants' pragmatical concerns for the future but also because through trips home—which include bringing money, learning new clothes, and being accompanied by new friends—migrants can resolve, however briefly, the disjunctions of urban life and project a solid identity of both than samay success and filial respect and gratitude. This is a crucial aspect of one of the most popular activities in which rural-urban migrants engage: the organization of, and participation in, elaborate ceremonial trips to make ritual donations to village temples. Although framed within the merit-making language of popular religiosity, the enthusiasm with which migrants participate in these events often has less to do with the desire to add to their store of karmic merit (although such events are by no means irrelevant) than with the opportunities that these trips provide to resolve, if only temporarily, some of the tensions encountered during the course of their urban experiences. Specifically, these merit-making trips are occasions when migrants, than samay, experience.

On these occasions several people, usually from the same village, plan an excursion, rent a bus, and recruit friends in the city to come along. Passengers pay a fare for the bus trip and contribute to a merit fund that will be offered to the community temple. These trips are organized by a donation of several baht may be collected, usually for a particular purpose such as the construction of new temple buildings.

Buddhist Lenten season; a short kathin, the ritual presentation of new robes to monks at the end of this season, or, most often, a *thothi phraa paat* ("offering of forest robes"), that may be held at almost any time of year. All involve rituals during which, in addition to the presentation of robes and other items to resident monks, significant offerings can be made to the host temple. In this way a donation of several thousand baht may be collected, usually for a particular purpose such as the construction of new temple buildings.

But organizing a merit-making trip, as the women I knew quickly pointed out, means much

name is printed on official invitations and any other documents acknowledging key participants. In return for this honor, however, the committee member is expected to contribute a significant sum of money, usually at least 100 baht (about U.S.\$4.00)—the equivalent of a day's pay or

members) is really hard." This latter category is largely an honorary position; the incommittee's but it may only be ten baht (U.S.\$0.40). And finding people to be *kamakhan* (committee to ask her friends to contribute to yet another one, "if you ask them they try to give something cotton factory complained that every year so many ceremonies took place that she was reluctant printed, and donors solicited. This last task is often the most troublesome. One worker in a large

opposite ends of Bangkok and seldom have access to private telephone lines. A rented bus must coordinate the project among themselves—not an easy task when they may live and work in many participants. Migrants from the same village, including both women and men, must

work. A successful trip, one that raises a substantial amount of money, depends on recruiting cotton participants to invitations to participants and envelopes for their contributions be reserved for the occasion, invitations to participants and envelopes for their contributions

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temple possible—and by extension of the community as a whole. The congratulatory atmosphere in the nation's capital had made their contributions to the prosperity of the village however temporary, as good daughters and sons whose successful journeys as modern wage workers in the family and introduced the friends who had accompanied them from Bangkok. Fresh from the family and finally relaxed, migrants visited with their hosts.

When the ritual itself was finished the merit makers could finally relax. Migrants visited with

pillows.

The largest contributors were awarded special recognition in the form of gifts of cloth the final amount of money donated had been tallied and was announced for everyone to hear. The ceremony ended with speeches by community leaders and the most senior organizers of the thohot phaa pa, and with ritual chants and blessings led by the temple leaders. Meanwhile the thohot phaa pa, that has been standardized by urban stores specializing in such ready-to-go formats such as Valentine. These were presented in elaborate celophane wrapped bundles, a format resident monks: robes, bath and laundry soap, toilet paper, packaged drinks, and drink mixes focus of the ritual but it also included offerings of commodity items for the personal use of once the monks had consumed their share. The presentation of money for the temple was the which had been prepared in large quantities by villagers so that everyone attending could eat phaa pa presentation before the daily offering of the monks, late morning meal, the food for pa to a village in the Northeastern province of Khorat, we arrived in time to complete the The ceremony itself took place soon after reaching the host community. On one thohot phaa names for the final offering at the temple.

had filled with cash contributions. The amounts would later be recorded along with participants passed through the bus collecting envelopes they had distributed earlier and that passengers cymbals bought along by the celebrants. Sometime during the night the organizers of the trip the aid of a microphone hooked into the bus's internal sound system and backed by drums and catching a little sleep were loudly serenaded by their more energetic companies, usually with festivities. Those who tried to rest their heads against seat backs and windows in the evening with soft drinks and other treats purchased by passengers in anticipation of the evening's fueled in part by a steady flow of alcohol consumed mostly but not exclusively by men, along journey began in an atmosphere of celebration and revelry that continued throughout the night, night, arriving at the host community by the middle of the morning or earlier. Each time, this usually took place on a Saturday at the end of the afternoon shift. We traveled all proclaiming the destination and ceremonial objective of its purpose, let Bangkok in the evening; a large passenger bus, packed with people and decorated on one side with a long banner claims to than Samay autonomy and urban success. On the several merit-making trips I attended, however, migrants enact the close convergence of ongoing ties to kin and community with their that arise in the course of migration experiences; in the actual performance of these events, it is clear from such comments that these ceremonial trips do not in fact erase the tensions be worth all the time and effort.

"last year," several told me, "and already they want another one!" They were not sure it would near the full amount, the women were clearly reluctant to take on the task: "We just did one thousand baht (U.S.\$10,000). Although the thohot phaa pa was not expected to raise anywhere saala (meeting hall), the full cost of which was expected to be close to several hundred from Bangkok, they were less than enthusiastic. The village was planning to build a new temple approached in the fall of 1990 by their community's leaders to help organize a thohot phaa pa amount. For example, when Ut and her friends—all from the same Northeastern village happen, I was told, the organizers would lose face at home for bringing in a dispossessing kamakhan, the chances of collecting a respectable donation are seriously reduced. Should this more for most migrant workers, Kamakhan should also attend the ceremony in person, although

politicicians sponsor, usually at famous temples in Bangkok and provincial towns. Although none strongly reminiscent of the prestigious ritual offerings that wealthy patrons and ambitious excursions from Bangkok—the long distance traveled, the participants from many different parts of the country, the drama, and (at least potentially) the large sums of money donated—are monetary offerings are not features common of most village ceremonies. Many aspects of these excursions from Bangkok—the home village and the substantial

are quite unusual for people of their age and social status.

Contributions out of their own pocket are thus engagings in activities that, in the village setting, people in Bangkok who organize the hot pha pa or other ceremonies and make sizable contributions to monasteries that they are not usually involved in the organization and planning of these events.<sup>30</sup> Young people by community elders, young women and men living in rural communities may help organize preparations for major rituals, give food offerings to monks, and attend temple ceremonies, with preparations also. Religious duties and daily support for the monks are tasks supervised and also Leffers n.d.). Religious duties and daily support for the monks are tasks supervised and trips are qualities normally exercised by their parents and grandparents (see Tambiah 1970; and control over material resources that migrants demonstrate in the course of these merit-making trips regularly be experienced by young people who remain in the village, where attending temple festivals and other ritual events, just as they have in past, but the responsibility they are considered dependents in their parents, households. Rural youth make merit by sacrifice that would not usually be experienced by young people who remain in the village, where making trips require—and demonstrate for all to see—a level of organizational skill and material appreciate the opportunities for worldly entertainment that the trips offer. In addition, merit-earning merit in this way is acknowledged by organizers and participants alike, even as they viewed as among the most meritorious acts to which a person can contribute. The value of raised by a hot pha pa is often earmarked for new temple construction or renovation, widely earns spiritual merit for all participants and especially the organizers. In addition, the money Thai social and moral order: Buddhist merit making. Offerings of money, robes, and other items Moreover, the migrants achieve this balance by acting in the most prestigious arena of the pursuit of than samaya identity appear to coincide.

one of the few moments when fulfilling one's filial obligations as a good village native and the opportunity to display success and to show off urban friends to people back home, as well as to renew and affirm solidarity with the rural community and its moral focus, the example, it is opportunity to display success and to show off urban friends to people back home, as well as means to village family and community. Hot pha pa and other ceremonial trips provide an for achievement within the dominant culture of urban modernity and their continuing attachment to spiritual purposes in merit-making ceremonies is central to the power of these ritual events to help defuse ongoing conflicts, at least temporally, between migrants, aspirants of spiritual but often accord more emphasis to their entertainment value. This combination young people working in Bangkok acknowledge the religious merits that participants earn on hours before the bus turned toward Bangkok once again.

local delicacies were purchased. The passengers became modern tourists for a few whirlwind to visit the site of a major hydroelectric power dam. Cameras clicked; souvenirs and samples from the hot pha pa ceremony in Khon Kaen, for example, we detoured nearly two hours architectural sites when recruiting their friends to participate in a merit-making trip. Returning archaeological ruins. Organizers frequently play up the attractions of these natural and attractions. These may include famous temples, caves, waterfalls, national parks, dams, or organizers choose a route that will include at least one (and sometimes several) sightseeing missing a day's work). On most merit trips the return journey is a chance for yet more excitement: Bangkok on the same day, having spent only a few hours in the host village, in order not to risk holiday, making it possible to stay away for an extra night. (The merit makers usually return to hired by the host community for the occasion. The next morning it was time to get back on the bus and return to the city. This trip had been planned to coincide with a national long-weekend here continued well into the evening with a performance by a folk-opera (*moh lam*) troupe

This highlights the importance of examining the specific and culturally contingent motivations—or, to return to Enloe's phrase, "needs, values, and worries"—that help to shape local temporality, the limits of their subordination within the wider society.

Temporality dominates symbols and meanings to serve their own interests and to stretch, if only slightly, the conventional boundaries of the labor market. Women can identify. Attention to workers' commodity consumption points not only to some of the cultural forms of social practice serve as important vehicles for the construction and contestation of desires linked to rural kin and community. As a result, market commodities and personal migrations sense of themselves as modern women, but the latter is sharply constrained both by and Thai constructions of modernity. Urban consumption practices are constitutive of young men's lived experiences of Bangkok employment and by cultural discourses about family relations, gender roles, engagism powerful if often conflictive culture of discourses about family relations, gender roles, and migration decisions of material interests or economic need but is also a cultural process, goal in migration decisions and an important feature of the urban sojourn. Migrants, consumers in Thailand through their consumption practices. Commodity consumption is a central

## Conclusion

In this article I have focused on what can be learned about women's experiences as laborers in Thailand through their consumption practices. Commodity consumption is a central commodity fashion—their material and ideological marginalization within the dominant, urban temporary fashion—despite the structural and ideological marginalization within the dominant, urban consumption of these Buddhist rituals, young migrants contest—if only in veiled and proletarian wage-earners. By mobilizing the signs and symbols of a than sawan identity within prestige that they had hoped to gain through migration to Bangkok but that is denied to all such everyday life. Merit-making trips allow village youths to assert some of the social authority and workers find room to maneuver despite the structural and ideological constraints they face in consumerism, merit-making trips emerge as an important cultural arena in which migrant context of women's migration experiences of and participation in urban employment and five audience—perhaps the only such audience available to them. Seen within the broader also demonstrating their claims to personal autonomy and material success before an appreciative audience, young rural women are able to affirm their connections with kin and community while Thailand, but this would only be a partial reading. By organizing and participating in ceremonial discourses above might simply demonstrate the extent to which hegemonic discourses of acknowledging, young rural women must defer in everyday life.

Merit-making trips for young villagers lies in this vicarious association with the elaborate style of my informants made this connection explicitly, it seems likely that part of the attraction of merit-making trips for young villagers lies in this vicarious association with the elaborate style of merit-making practices practiced by the powerful and wealthy, groups to whom migrants and their contributions that are expected of them by people at home and that the women themselves within the dominant Bangkok culture; moreover, by pursuing styles and standards of urban commodity consumption, women can quickly diminish their ability to make the economic within the dominant Bangkok culture. By pursuing styles and standards of urban commodity consumption, women can quickly diminish their ability to make the economic contributions that are expected of them by people at home and that the women themselves families must defer in everyday life.

shaped not only by the structural disparities of the contemporary Thai and global political desires for autonomy and urban adventure on the other. The choices they make, however, are in Bangkok are often torn between duty and affection for rural kin on the one hand and personal maintenance of meaning and purpose despite the many difficulties they face. Young women maintain a sense of meaning and purpose despite the many difficulties they face. Young women they encounter. Throughout their time in the city, young women make very real efforts to themselves, this ambivalence cannot be taken as passivity or as a failure to recognize the inequities should experience the movement into urban employment in highly ambivalent ways. Never-

In the midst of these structural and ideological contradictions, it is little wonder that women community.

images with equally compelling concerns for, and moral commitments to, rural kin and to be modern in contemporary Thai society and attempt to reconcile these aspirations and survival or accumulation; it is also a vehicle through which migrants struggle over what it means in this context, rural-urban mobility must be recognized as more than a strategy for economic young migrants encounter these images as seductive but largely untenable, potential selves, modernity, including the symbolic deployment of women's mobile and commodified bodies, in Thailand's recent economic boom. But while the Thai media celebrate national progress and highly flexible labor force mobilized through rural-urban migration, has been a key component are also evocative symbolic resources in present-day Thailand. Women's labor, a cheap and women must negotiate not only shifts in space but also shifting identities and social relations, struggle" (Ong 1991). In the course of moving between rural and urban settings, young Thai lived experience that they must face as a result, offer little ground for migrants, "cultural domination and hegemonic representations, and the gaps between dominant meanings and many migrants—within the urban consumer culture. These encounters with new forms of modernity and lived experiences of city life sets up a fundamental tension in the daily lives of rural-urban migrants. Young women moving into Bangkok confront seductive images of women into the heart of Thai modernity, but working and living in Bangkok merely confirms are constituted by their low-wage, low-status employment. Rural-urban mobility brings young consumers to oriented lifestyles, yet their ability to achieve these desired than many standards consumption and lived experiences of city life sets up a fundamental tension in the daily lives of rural-urban migrants. Young women moving into Bangkok confront seductive images of modernity and lived experiences of city life sets up a fundamental tension in the daily lives of

In contemporary Thailand, the gap between hegemonic cultural constructions of urban (Olive and Ruiz 1989:39).

consumption is thus linked to the constitution and transformation of hegemony" others . . . confirm certain social orders and can be a key arena of contestation and change of powerfully affirm certain social orders and can be a key arena of contestation and change of responses to global processes vary. It thereby becomes clear that "consumption . . . can into daily life. Examining specific consumption patterns may illuminate how and why local exist alongside the rapid—and even enthusiastic—incorporation of capitalist forms and relations parts of the world, popular confrontations and resistance to wage labor and commodity markets and more complete understanding of local experiences of change (1989:6, 14–15). In different can help avoid reductionist views of social and cultural transformation and may provide a richer attention to the complex agency underlying consumption practices, beliefs, and motivations received and even appropriated by people on the ground. As Olive and Ruiz have argued, encounters with capitalism, it is important to see how new structural relations are actively permitted more complete understandings of consumption practices broadens the framework of analysis and may processes and meanings of consumption practices broaden the frame of analysis and may generally within the contemporary global economy. At the very least, sustained attention to the broader implications for the study of newly proletarianized groups both in Thailand and more call to the experiences of young Thai women involved in rural-urban labor migration, it holds

transform existing social discourses about appropriate roles and (gendered) identities. 8. Moore argues that such "fantasies of identity," because they are "linked to fantasies of power and agency in the world" (1994:66), play a significant role in the way individuals confront and potentially consume such as lotteries.

While any claims for the human imagination as a fundamental new creativity can easily be overdrawn, the new and increasingly global technologies of mass communication have certainly had important and wide-reaching effects on how people think about themselves and the world around them. For a useful application of these ideas see Seven Keppens (1993) reading of Appadurai's social production of national(s) imagination in Sri Lanka through the practice of new forms of mass consumption such as lotteries.

[The imagination has become an organized field of social practices, a form of work (both in the sense of labor and a culturally organized practice) and a form of negotiation between sites of agency ("individuals") and globally defined fields of possibility . . . The imagination is now central to all forms of agency, is itself a social fact, and is the key component of the new global order. (Appadurai 1990:5)]

7. This phenomenon is not unique to Thailand; similar effects operate in societies around the world, anthropologically as a whole, see also Miller 1995.

6. For a more general discussion of the place—or dearth until recently—of consumption studies in a more extensive review of this literature see Mills 1993:234–244.

For a more extensive review of this literature see Mills 1993:1984, 1992; and Texier 1961. Although notable exceptions include Anchalee 1981; Juen 1983; Muecke 1984, 1992; and Texier 1984; Popova and Lin 1987). Relatively little of this work has taken an anthropological perspective, 1984; Popova and Lin 1987). Relatively little of this work has taken an anthropological perspective, 1984; Popova and Lin 1987). Relatively little of this work has taken an anthropological perspective, 1984; Popova and Lin 1987). Relatively little of this work has taken an anthropological perspective, 1984; Popova and Lin 1987). Relatively little of this work has taken an anthropological perspective, 1984; Popova and Lin 1987). Relatively little of this work has taken an anthropological perspective, 1984; Popova and Lin 1987). Relatively little of this work has taken an anthropological perspective, 1984; Popova and Lin 1987). 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5. There is an extensive literature on rural-urban labor migration in Thailand. For the most part this research has focused on demographic and economic policy-oriented questions of identity-ing population

Nash and Fernandez-Kelly 1983, Ong 1987, Safa 1995.

6. For a more extensive review of this literature see Mills 1993:234–244.

7. This phenomenon is not unique to Thailand; similar effects operate in societies around the world, anthropologically as a whole, see also Miller 1995.

8. Moore argues that such "fantasies of identity," because they are "linked to fantasies of power and agency in the world" (1994:66), play a significant role in the way individuals confront and potentially consume such as lotteries.

9. This article is based on research conducted with the permission of the National

Science Foundation and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada doctoral studentships, and Social Science Research Council and FutureFit-Hay's doctoral dissertation research grants.

10. Acknowledgments. This article is based on research conducted with the permission of the National

Science Foundation and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada doctoral

11. Kham is a pseudonym, as are the names of all informants cited in the text. Her statement is translated

from a short autobiographical narrative that she wrote during the time I was interviewing her in 1987–88.

12. Thailand's National Statistical Office (NSO 1992:38) reported that between 1990 and 1992 more than

272,000 women and 281,000 men moved from rural to urban areas, while 1,149,000 people in 41% were women) moved in the opposite direction. The excess of rural-urban moves in 1987–88.

13. Friends of it have been published in the monthly newsletter of Friends of Women, a Thai women's rights organization. See Friends of Women 1988.

14. A brief follow-up visit in 1993 was aided by grants from the Social Science Division and the International

Studies program at Colby College. Final revisions were made while on a postdoctoral fellowship at the

University of Michigan Studies in Yale University. I am grateful to Michael Herzfeld and three anonymous referees and colleagues have helped me to sharpen my analysis. Arun Agrawal, Jenny and Paul Alexander,

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## notes

they seek to understand who they are and who they wish to become. economy but also by the cultural resources that are available to them—resources through which

remains very poorly paid. The greatest earning potential for migrants is often in the sex trade, although this in the late 1980s and early 1990s is unavailable, anecdotal reports by migrants indicate that domestic service jobs averaged 1,200 baht (U.S.\$48) per month (Pawadee 1982:103). While similar survey data on income earned a mean monthly income, including payments in kind, of 800 baht or U.S.\$32 while those with factory board are counted. A 1980 survey of non-household workers in Bangkok found that domestic servants receive limited protection under Thai labor laws. Even so, industrial jobs are among the best paid women find in Bangkok, such as those available in small-scale sweatshop operations and domestic service simply ignored. The necessities of urban employment are exacerbated by the fact that many of the jobs 19. In some cases legal loopholes may support the payment of lower wages; in others, wage laws are some other regions of the country.

18. Bangkok minimum wage rose to 110 baht (U.S.\$4.40) as of 1994; somewhat lower rates apply in repromanned and fined for wearing a company soccer team shirt on the shop floor.

17. It is important to note that workers, especially soccer players, argue that cash earnings were unfulfilled. In another example, one male worker was moved to consider union membership after he was participated in a confrontation with her employer because she wanted the factory to institute a system of and the before became points for consideration. For example, in 1987 I met one young woman who had eight or a act of patronage toward employees, but the same acts can be perceived as rights or benefits owed distribution of uniforms and housing events and benefits may be represented by managament as a informal means of labor control. But these events are occasions for different effects. The workplace makes these potential enjoyment of "up-to-date" styles and events associated with the replacing mainly as their main source of social value.

16. Urban migration from rural and coastal areas associated with the

work among them involved in construction labor; she argued that cash earnings were which few can aspire to remain in their home. Muecke (1984) found similar patterns at 1982). Labor migration offers young rural households (see Keys 1984; Kirsch 1985; Van Seterk would deny that method has historically been an important—basis for women's Although the relative status of women in Thai Buddhist culture has been the focus of some debate, few hope to experience later in life as mothers, and without the burdens and sacrifices that motherhood entails. suggests a degree of personal autonomy for young women than what they can

1994 and Muecke 1992.

15. Prostitution is not new in Thailand. The country's present-day sex industry, however, is connected less developed marketeering female beauty in many ways—not only by a shared imagery and excitement; this, she argued, is a factor working against policy toward the cultural contradictions that frame the experiences of some women sex workers in Thailand, see Lytleton, however, common assessments of the risks involved in sex work are not likely to decline. For disease among most migrants; as public education campaigns increasingly remains relatively limited themselves sex workers viewed sex work as desirable option. Awareness of AIDS remains strong of such occupations and within the wider society. For the industrial laborers whom I have worked the linkages between prostitution and notions of modern sex workers remain problematic for migrants in economy, including modern display and widely Lytleton 1994:272-276), the sex industry and continue their work at least partly because of its particular opportunities that some women in for recruiting high-class escort and call girl services. Indeed recent research indicates that some areas of the commodity sexual body. For instance, popular beauty contests are commonly believed to be arenas to the more commodified female body, only by a shared imagery

14. Similarly, Juree Vichit-Vadakan (Juree 1983) observed that young people migrating to Bangkok did so for economic purposes but also, and just as importantly, for the experience of modern, urban comforts

13. An interest in the constitution of Thai modernity is also an underlying theme in academic debates, one of the most current contributions on this subject.

12. These concerns about the study of consumption echo recent calls for more complex and nuanced approaches to the analysis of hegemony and resistance in anthropology as a whole. See Ornter 1995 for Williams 1995 and Rouse 1992.

11. Such an analysis need not apply only to women's newly industrialized labor but can also illuminate formations (Williams 1977:121-135).

10. Rossberry's work is informed by the seminal insights of Raymond Williams (1977), specifically Williams's concept of "structures of feeling," arising from the interplay between dominant cultural formations and alternative understandings (i.e., "residual," or historically rooted and traditional meanings, and "emergent" or new and innovative ideas) that exist within and can potentially challenge hegemonic cultural

9. The extent to which Thai women do in fact enjoy a high social status has been the subject of

Australian National University.  
Southeast Asia and the Pacific. Gavin W., Jones and Hazel V., Richer, eds. Pp. 137-166. Canberra:  
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Anchalee Singhapera-Renard

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22. In addition to occasional industrial homework of this sort, some migrant workers attempt to earn extra income through small-scale sales activities—for example, purchasing goods (e.g., jeans or tee-shirts) at Bangkok wholesale markets for resale to friends and coworkers or becoming agents for pyramid sales outlets (e.g., Avon, Amway), which are increasingly common in Thailand. Relatively few of the women interviewed engage in these meals—often featuring special regional cuisines, seasonal fruits, ready-made sweets and soft drinks consumed either in local food shops or purchased in the market and taken back to be served during laundry and other chores and generally reselling. Reselling, however, often includes visiting with friends, a northerm Thai community. She observed that villagers did not measure the strength of continuing migration by membership but by the distance of a move but by the degree to which mobile community members travel to their relatives' homes. This finding parallels that of Anchalee Singhapera-Renard (1981) with respect to out-migration from long periods because of childbearing responsibilities or for fear of theft (Thorbeck 1987:61).
23. Food is a basic consumption item needed and not all meals involve peer-based sociality. The extent to which migrants engage in these meals—often featuring special regional cuisines, seasonal fruits, ready-made sweets, carbohydrates, soups, and desserts—varies greatly depending on what they eat at home. Some migrant workers eat at home, others buy their meals at local food shops or purchase them in the market and take them back to be served during laundry and other chores and generally reselling. Reselling, however, often includes visiting with friends, a northern Thai community. She observed that villagers did not measure the strength of continuing migration by membership but by the distance of a move but by the degree to which mobile community members travel to their relatives' homes. This finding parallels that of Anchalee Singhapera-Renard (1981) with respect to out-migration from long periods because of childbearing responsibilities or for fear of theft (Thorbeck 1987:61).
24. Of course not all leisure time is spent on such outings. Many migrants spend much of their time off chaunting or watching television, and perhaps sharing a meal. Activities that incorporate aspects of more elaborate consumption-oriented leisure.
25. This finding parallels that of Anchalee Singhapera-Renard (1981) with respect to out-migration from a northern Thai community. She observed that villagers did not measure the strength of continuing migration by membership but by the distance of a move but by the degree to which mobile community members travel to their relatives' homes. This finding parallels that of Anchalee Singhapera-Renard (1981) with respect to out-migration from long periods because of childbearing responsibilities or for fear of theft (Thorbeck 1987:61).
26. Their perceptions parallel Suzanne Thobek's analysis of women's lives in a Bangkok slum. She points out that urban women's economic vulnerability is rooted in the transformation of the household division of household activities, urban income is earned outside the household through home for over labor by gender. While rural income and social ties through work. Men have greater access to such employment than married women, especially when the latter cannot leave the home for外出访问者们在他们的日常生活中经常可以看到他们对家庭的重视。他们通常会花时间照顾家庭成员，包括孩子和老人。他们可能会在家中准备饭菜，或者在工作之余帮助家人完成家务。这种对家庭的承诺反映了他们对传统价值观的坚持，同时也体现了他们对家庭责任的重视。
27. When I returned to Thailand for a brief visit in 1993, I found that Noi was married and pregnant with her first child. She was still living in Bangkok but was going to return to her home village "to become a maid from [housewife]" a few weeks before her delivery. Her husband, however, was not the finance of three years earlier; Noi had successfully avoided that match by remaining in Bangkok without returning home for over a year, until the young man and his family gave up and withdrew their offer. Instead she had married another man from her village, a successful owner of a contract laborer. They lived together for about a year and then made plans to go on a new work contract to Taiwan. Noi confided that he was not her romantic ideal but that she liked him well enough. "And anyway," she said, "it's better to marry the one who loves you rather than the one you love." Moreover this own past travels made him sympathetic to Noi's urban experience, while his absence abroad would give her considerable day-to-day autonomy in his absence.
28. Interestingly, very few migrant women I met participated in "share games," a kind of informal credit circle. These are prevalent in many parts of urban Thailand and are an important mechanism for saving among industrial workers in other parts of the region (e.g., Wolf 1992:188-189). Several women mentioned fear of being cheated if the share game organizer could not keep control of the participants. Migrants were most likely to accumulate savings in the form of gold jewelry or bank accounts.
29. In fact, few of the migrants I knew made regular monthly remittances to village families. Those who did were usually working to support a child left at home in the care of grandparents.
30. Rural youths often look forward to Buddhist ceremonies and festivals, although, as for many migrants, this is frequently less from devotion than because these occasions have historically been opportunities for young people to mingle more or less freely and perhaps meet lovers or potential suitors.

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