

U.S. Mass Media and Thai Society

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Abstract

This study investigates the effects of U.S. mass media on three major dimensions of Thai society: life-styles, social problems, and value conflict. One hundred questionnaires were distributed to Thai students in the U.S., and sixty-eight were returned. Results reveal the U.S. mass media variously affect Thai life-style, social problems, and value conflict, in that order of importance. Further, female and male respondents view the effects similarly in all of the three dimensions. Length of stay of the students in the U.S. also affects their perceptions of social problems, but not their perceptions of life-styles and value conflict. TV and video are perceived as the U.S. media that most affect Thai society and the respondents themselves. Detailed discussions and recommendations for future research are included.

Introduction

Thailand is a developing country which plays a recipient role in mass media transfer from the U.S. and western European countries. News, films, TV programs, magazines, and music are examples. A major reason why the foreign mass media are growing so rapidly is the open, absorptive, and adaptive nature of Thai society (Blanchard, 1958; Indorf, 1982). These mass media have an impact on Thai society in several ways: new life-style, new fashion, and new leisure activities (National Identity Office, 1984); or as expressed by another study, the imported media affect Thai society in terms of social structure, traditional values, and life-style changes (Moerman, 1964; Virasi, 1981).

During the Vietnam war, when the number of American personnel reached the highest peak and when the U.S. and Thailand had strong political and economic relations, American culture influenced the Thai people directly through contact of the personnel, the flow of information between two countries, and the influx of U.S. mass media demanded by the American personnel (Dhiratayakinant, 1975; Indorf, 1982; Klausner and Klausner (nd); Morrison and Suhrke, 1978). When the war ended, the number of personnel declined, but the U.S. mass media continued to play a significant role in changing Thai values and attitudes.

The present movement of U.S. mass media to Thai society is further facilitated by the Thai government which actively participates in acquiring international news and information such as financial and scientific information. Private business firms also import films, news, magazines, and other types of media from the U.S. Furthermore, AP and UPI, the leading U.S. international news organizations, have subsidiary offices that offer daily news services in Thailand (UNESCO, 1975). Recently, television networks in Thailand have begun to receive foreign news directly from NBC via satellite with broadcasts every morning and evening. The importation of U. S. films is also expected to increase; in fact, the Thai government has reduced the foreign film tax to meet the demand of advancing U.S. film technology which, in turn, serves as a model for the development of the Thai film industry (Foreign News Division, 1985; Klausner and Klausner, nd; Lent, 1984).

Even though the language used in the U.S. mass media is English, the language barrier is overcome by translation. Busch (1964), for instance, makes the following statement concerning U. S. film in Thailand and its translation:

Meanwhile, film imports of all nations, especially the U.S., enjoy great vogue in part because of a typically ingenious Thai system for overcoming the obstacle of foreign language dialogue. Instead of disfiguring the film with marginal subtitles, this system, known to American film distributors in Bangkok as "Adam-and-Eving", consists of eliminating the alien sound track entirely and substituting "live" Thai dialogue which is read through a loud-speaker by one or more Thai actors concealed near projection booth or behind the screen. (p. 144)

Overcoming the language barrier has been one of the main factors to facilitate the rapid flow and popularity of the U.S. mass media in Thailand. Pocket books and magazines are also translated and printed in Thai. A U.S. television program, for instance, that is popular among Thai youths and children is the "Muppet Show" (National Identity Office, 1984).

Given the rapidly growing exposure to Western media, the general purpose of this study is to investigate the effects of U.S. mass media on Thai society as perceived by Thai students in the U.S. The study is designed to survey broadly the opinions of the

students in terms of three main effects: life-style, traditional value changes, and social problems. More specifically, this study proposes to answer two closely related questions: what are the media that most affect Thai society? and what are the media that most affect Thai people? The results and findings of this study will hopefully generate implications for future study. The findings may also reveal trends of the impact and problems of the U.S. media on Thai society, so that better understanding may lead to proper communication planning in Thailand.

Rationale

One characteristic of a culture is its resistance to penetration of foreign cultural elements so that society can preserve its national and cultural system, and identity (Hamelink, 1983). Mass media can be viewed as an outgrowth of culture, but more specifically media products represent a number of cultural aspects of the society which produced them. Such cultural components are behavioral patterns, beliefs, and values (Carpio, 1985; Chu, 1983; Middleton, 1980). Satawedin (1982) identifies three functions of the mass media in a society: contributing information concerning events in the environment, transmission of the social heritage, and entertainment. In addition, Oh (1982) states, "With the recent proliferation of communication media and methods, mass communication now plays an immensely active role in the exchange and adaptation of cultural values within and between countries" (p.9). One implication that derives from Satawedin (1982) and Oh (1982) thus concerns the capacity of the mass media to induce change in social patterns across national boundaries.

Mass media from foreign nations act as cultural representatives capable of creating change in the social structure of a recipient nation. Generally, the impact of foreign mass media may have both negative and positive influence on social change. Viewed positively, the U.S. mass media provide the Thais with entertainment and knowledge which is necessary for national development (National Identity Office, 1984). Foreign media can also reinforce cultural identities and reconcile diverse values in society (Middleton, 1980; Mowlana, 1986; Satawedin, 1982). However, the negative consequences are also tremendous: social problems, conflict, and unnecessary political, economic and social dependency. Further, Mowlana (1986) mentions the negative impact of foreign mass media stemming from their unsuitable content for many recipients. Davis (1957), Fargen (1964), Middleton (1980), and Mowlana (1986) are among many scholars who urge proper mass media planning in a developing country so that the media will primarily generate benefits to a society.

Presently, and more negatively, a great and genuine concern of some Thai people is the "Americanization" of Thai society, a situation that may damage traditional aspects of Thai culture (Anderson and Mendiones, 1985; Morrison and Suhrke, 1978; Sivaraksa, 1980). Obviously, some American values, attitudes, and behavioral patterns are

incongruent with traditional Thai ones; other patterns slip insidiously into Thai life. The impact of U.S. mass media on Thai society as a whole and on individual Thais will, however, vary depending upon age, sex, and location of their residency. Regardless of the variation, the increasing "Westernization" has become a major contemporary problem, especially among Thai youths, and the Thai government has attributed such problems primarily to the foreign mass media. Klausner and Klausner (nd) provide a good illustration:

A recent Thai film, "The Hunt", modeled on the U.S. movie "Lipstick", portrayed the revenge against their assailants by some girls who had been raped. As violence becomes more a part of modern urban Thai society, life and film may merge. Shortly after the showing of both "Lipstick" and "The Hunt", a group of girls, arrested for assault and battery on some Thai boys, told the police they had gotten the idea for their revenge from these two films. (p .82)

Another example comes from Dhiratayakinant (1975) who wrote that the influx of mass media from western countries leads the Thais to depend on material values and individualism. These values have proliferated and acted to suppress traditional spiritual Thai values. Because many Thais remain traditional, these personal value changes signal future societal value conflicts. Similarly, Dr. Jeradechhakul, a faculty member of the Department of Education, at the Pisanuloke campus of Srinakharinwirot University in northern Thailand, has expressed strong concern about how U.S. materialistic values may destroy the traditional Thai values and belief system which have sustained the society for many generations (Miller and Jeradechhakul, 1982). What makes Dr. Jeradechhakul's expression so important is that he reflects the conservative position of the northern provincial Thai residents who possess strong religious beliefs and traditional values as compared to the rest of the Thais (Burr, 1978; Pruess, 1976; Ramithanondh, 1976; Swearer, 1976). Therefore, in 1977, the government passed a law concerning the residents' mass media consumption habits. For example, media containing sexual behaviors and abuse (e.g., kissing publicly), drug taking, and narcotic addiction are prohibited. Also, youths under 18 years of age are not allowed to view certain media content (Lent, 1984).

Anderson and Mendiones (1985) have documented the increase of social problems, especially among Thai youths, who have rapidly absorbed the U.S. and/or western values and behaviors through the use of mass media and the application of the U.S. educational system. The problems, which are in crisis stage, have caused Anderson and Mendiones (1985) to identify some Thai youths as "non-Thai Thais" because their behaviors have so deviated from those of the traditional Thais. Within a broader framework, Virasi (1981) has observed that social change in Thailand is moving toward the greatest stress and strain of its 700 years of existence as a nation. The causes of such change are the

need for development, the application of international telecommunication systems, and industrialization.

Focusing on causal factors, Wang (1982) has suggested that the domination of American TV programs in developing Asian countries leads to cultural imperialism rather than promoting cultural exchange and understanding among nations, unless each nation develops the appropriate policy concerning the application of U.S. TV programs. Unfortunately, Chu (1983) has concluded, the mass media in developing Asian nations are not yet sufficiently developed to respond to the demand of the societies. Therefore, this may lead to a complete dependence on the western media. He further noted, the nations should develop their own media, political, and news values suitable for their own social, economic and political conditions in addition to designing a central mechanism to control dysfunctional effects of western media.

Government action must not be piecemeal and symptomatic; these are not satisfactory substitutes for proper management and prevention of social problems that arise from the foreign mass media. Often, the nature of the regulations on mass media passed by the Thai government are outdated, based on immediately perceived crises, and are not well defined in terms of responsibilities and obligations of the media organizations (Kyu-whan, 1971). Rather, systematic communication planning will be required to conduct or direct the impact of foreign media on the society in meaningful and beneficial directions so that cultural disintegration, severe social problems, and conflict among the Thais in the future can be reduced. This can be done better with deeper understanding of the Thais' awareness of the media impact and their perceptions of the media; both concerns require empirical study.

Methodology

According to literature reviewed for this study, the increase of social problems, of value discrepancies, and of life-style change toward western styles are the critical concern of many scholars of Thailand's development. They further believe these concerns largely result from the introduction of foreign mass media. In the World Opinion Update (1985), these same three categories are emphasized to describe social change or Quality of Life around the world. Accordingly, our questionnaire will be organized and grouped around the changes in life-style, social problems, and value conflict.

Questionnaire. The questionnaire employed in this study is divided into two parts: The first part is composed of 15 items; responses for each item employ a 6-point Likert scale which indicates the degree of the respondents' concern with issues of life-style, social problems, and value conflict (see Appendix). Six items (see questions numbered 2, 5, 8, 11, 14, and 15) reflect the life-style change, five items (see questions numbered 1, 4, 7, 10, and 13) reflect social problems, and four items (see questions numbered 3, 6, 9, and 12) reflect value conflict. Table one shows the breakdown of the

three categories of changes. The second part consists of two questions which require the respondents to rank the five types of U.S. mass media in terms of the most to the least effects on Thai society as a whole and on the respondents themselves. The selected five media are radio, TV, film, newspapers and magazines, and video cassettes. To facilitate the respondents' understanding, the questionnaire was translated into Thai (copy available upon request). To ensure the consistency of the meanings of the questionnaire, back translation was undertaken by three Thai graduate students.

Sample. One hundred questionnaires were distributed to Thai students at public universities in the southwestern U.S. during October 15 - October 31, 1986. Sixty-eight questionnaires (68%) were completed and returned by 40 males and 28 females whose length of stay in the U.S. varied between 2 months to 15 years.

Two qualifications of this sample should be identified: Most of the respondents are Bangkok residents who constantly live under the influence of western culture (Blanchard, 1958; Busch, 1964; Fieg, 1980; Department of Interior, 1986; Sternstein, 1976). This might lead them to perceive a high impact of foreign media on life-style and to be less concerned with value conflict if Bangkok society changes harmoniously. It will be interesting to replicate this study using non-Bangkok residents from whom different results would not be surprising.

Although this study was conducted outside Thai society, the reflections of the subjects are meaningful. The impact of the foreign mass media can be understood by comparing the differences in perceptions of the newly arrived and previously arrived students. The differences in their perceptions may reveal the trend and speed of the impact and can be useful in the development of a mass communication policy for Thailand. Often, Thai students returning from the U.S. are surprised, because Thai society has changed so much in their absence toward western styles; in fact, these returning students find other Thai people less aware of the nature and speed of change.

Analysis of the data. Because this was an exploratory study, instead of hypotheses three research questions (RQ) were formulated:

RQ 1. What are the subjects' perceptions of the U.S. media influence on Thai life style changes, social problems, and value conflicts?

RQ 2. Will differences emerge between male and female respondents regarding perceptions of the effects of U.S. mass media on social problems, value conflicts, and lifestyle changes ?

RQ 3. Will differences emerge regarding perceptions of the effects of U.S. mass media on social problems, value conflict, and life-style changes among the short-stay, medium-stay, and long-stay respondents ?

Our analysis of the data and the subsequent discussion of our results are organized around these questions.

Sex difference and the respondents' length of stay in the U.S. are two primary criteria for analysis of the data. The length of stay is divided into three categories:

short-stay (0-2 years), medium-stay (2-4 years), and long-stay (more than 4 years). The number of the respondents who completed the returned questionnaires are classified by their length of stay as follows: 32 respondents for the short stay, 19 respondents for the medium stay, and 17 respondents for the long stay.

More specifically, means of each questionnaire item and the dimension within which the item falls are used for comparisons. T-tests were used for testing of significance. The ranking of the five media types showed the perceived degree of importance of the impacts; e.g., a medium that has the highest frequency in rank #1 is regarded as the most influential medium, and so on.

Results and Discussion

Table 1 on the next page reveals the subjects' responses to each item in the three categories of change. The items are organized in the table from most to least effects by the U.S. mass media. Some interesting patterns surfaced in these data: In the first category, life-style, subjects believed the media affected four of the six items strongly. Cost-of-living and relaxation were perceived to be less influenced, perhaps because these items are more dependent on social constraints and contexts than the others. Also, Thais regard the media as an information source rather than as a means for relaxation. In the second category, social problems, we were surprised to observe the lower rating of crime and violence, and drug and alcohol abuse; perhaps these two items are so widespread and commonplace that the subjects tended not to attribute these conditions directly to U.S. mass media. In the third and final category, value conflict, we were once again surprised to observe that subjects believed retention of traditional values and friendliness were not influenced strongly by U.S. mass media. Perhaps this is a result of the general tendency of people not to perceive their basic values as alterable. Despite this somewhat unpredictable result, the categories did reveal several items which subjects perceived as significantly affected by the U.S. media. Subsequent research should address the surprises by securing more detailed subject explanations.

Analysis of the data also showed a significant difference between male and female respondents' views of the effects of the U.S. mass media on social problems, $t(66) = 4.91727$, $p < 0.05$. No significant differences were found between male and female respondents' view of the effects of the U.S. mass media on life-style, $t(66) = 0.65363$, $p > 0.05$, and on value conflict, $t(66) = 0.63679$, $p > 0.05$.

Table 1: Means of each time from the highest to the lowest of each dimension.
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No significant differences were found on the relationship between the length of stay of the respondents and their perceptions of the effect of the media on value conflict, for short-stay and medium-stay $t(49) = 0.27002$, $p > 0.05$; for medium-stay and long-stay $t(34) = 1.88778$, $p > 0.05$, and for short-stay and long-stay $t(47) = 1.8929$, $p > 0.05$. That is, the length of stay in the U.S. of the respondents does not influence their perceptions of the U.S. mass media's effect on value conflict in Thai society. For the life-style dimension, significant differences were not found between short-stay and medium-stay $t(49) = 0.44003$, $p > 0.05$, between medium-stay and long-stay $t(34) = 0.13028$, $p > 0.05$, and between short-stay and long-stay $t(47) = 1.05088$, $p > 0.05$. That is, the length of stay of the respondents does not affect their perceptions of the impact of the U.S. mass media on Thai life-style changes. With regard to social problems, significant differences were found between short-stay and medium-stay respondents $t(49) = 2.49616$, $p < 0.05$, and between medium-stay and long-stay $t(34) = 3.73063$, $p < 0.05$, but not between short-stay and long-stay $t(47) = 0.51235$, $p > 0.05$. The conclusion is that, to a certain extent, length of stay in the U.S. affects the respondents' perceptions of the U.S. mass media effect on social problems, but not on value conflict and life-style changes.

As Table 1 indicates, the respondents perceived that U.S. mass media most affect Thai life-style ($x = 4.2339$); almost as important was the effect on social problems ($x = 4.21826$), and least affected was the value conflicts ($x = 3.64338$). These perceptions of media effects make good intuitive sense, because media effects would obviously or explicitly surface first in the everyday activities and behaviors, for example the way they dress and shopping styles. In contrast, more time is necessary to perceive value conflict as an urgent crisis, and it might take generations to correlate such conflicts with media influence. This may also explain why no significant differences were found between the respondents' length of stay and their perceptions of value conflict, whereas significant differences were found in social problem perceptions of short-stay and medium-stay and long-stay respondents.

Thai society has a loose structure which means that Thai people allow a high degree of behavioral deviation from traditional behaviors, as opposed to a tight social structure like Arabic culture (Evers, 1969). This may explain why no significant differences were found between the respondents' length of stay and their perceptions of life-style changes, although this dimension shows the highest mean. Even though Thais have a high tolerance for deviant behaviors or life-style, such behaviors may not be satisfactory to them. However, they do not use direct, sudden, or overt behavioral means to oppose the deviations. Instead, they try to suppress unsatisfactory social behaviors more subtly and over longer periods of time. Because of delayed and less conspicuous corrections of social deviations, the emergence of change in behavioral patterns may be a prime indicator of subsequent value conflicts and social problems.

Our subjects and some writers about media effects in Thailand disagree. Because Thais adapt well to the western life-style, social problems and value conflict appear to our subjects as less prominent or presently remain at a tolerable rate. To other observers, such as Lent (1984) and Sivaraksa (1980), social problems mostly originate with Thai youths or students who acculturate western life-styles and values through foreign mass media. These observers argue further that the current increase of youth magazines has led Thai youths to depend more on material wealth and luxurious life styles; these new goals have, in turn, led to more street gangs and unwanted pregnancy among Thai youths, two critical concerns among Thai social workers (Thairath, 1987). Despite this disagreement, the lack of sustained and consistent reinforcement of public awareness of social problems and value conflict by the persons and organizations involved causes these issues to surface only occasionally and later vanish. In contrast to social problems, the fashion item (question #5) had responses with the highest mean ($x = 4.70532$) because it is one of the most immediate and obvious effects recognized by the respondents, as well as other observers.

Regarding the respondents' length of stay in the U.S. and their perceptions of the effects, the longer the respondents stay the less they perceive the impact of the U.S. mass media on their mother society. The data in Tables 2, 3, and 4 on the following pages reveal a general decline in the means of the three dimensions as the length of stay increased. Because of the accelerating influence of the U.S. mass media on Thai society during the past few years, the respondents who have been separated from their home society for a period of time do not have clear ideas of what the effects are, as compared to the newly arriving respondents. For this reason, significant differences were found between their length of stay and their perceptions of social problems and life-style.

Female respondents showed higher concern for the effects of the U.S. mass media on life-style ($x = 4.33849$), and social problems ($x = 4.58277$), but lower concern on value conflict ($x = 3.47619$) than the social problems, and value conflict, respectively. This can be interpreted in two ways: first, female Thais are more conservative than their male counterparts; therefore female respondents expressed greater concern for social problems and were more sensitive to the obvious effects in life style. Second, female Thais are better in adapting to the changing phenomenon than the male Thais. Because in Thai culture female roles are reserved, indecisive, and passive compared to the male roles (Blanchard, 1958; Busch, 1964; Klausner and Klausner (nd); Mulder, 1985; Sternstein, 1976), the first reason is likely to be the better explanation. Further in depth and empirical studies are recommended to seek out more explanation of this matter.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics of life-style dimension.
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Table 3: Descriptive statistics of social problems dimension.
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Table 4: Descriptive statistics of value conflict dimension.
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Regarding the relative importance of U.S. mass media on Thai society, the respondents ranked television to be the most important, video cassettes as the second. Radio, film, and newspapers and magazines were closely ranked. However, male respondents ranked video cassettes as the second most influential medium that impacts Thai society, whereas female respondents ranked it as the least influential medium. Similar findings were found on the degree of importance of the U.S. mass media types that affect the respondents themselves. Television was regarded as the most influential medium; newspapers and magazines, video cassette, and film were ranked in the second, third, and fourth positions, respectively. These discrepancies should call attention to the need for further studies regarding the effects of new communication technologies on Thai society. Also, these findings support the previous claim that Thai women tend to be reserved, passive, and indecisive. Therefore, male Thais seem to be more open and adaptive to those social changes which result from the application of new communication technology, than female Thais tend to be. [Tables 5 and 6 are on the following pages.]

Although this study reveals some useful findings about the effects of U.S. mass media on Thai society, limitations still exist. First, the respondents' socioeconomic background place them mostly in the middle and/or higher classes which can afford the latest communication technologies. This may be the reason why they view TV and video as the most important U.S. media in terms of social effects. Differing results may arise if the samples were taken from non-Bangkok residents and/or lower socioeconomic class Thais. Second, this study investigated whether the subjects' length of stay in the U.S. influenced their views of the effects; we assumed that the longer they stay, the greater the differences in perceptions and knowledge between them and the newly arrived respondents. Because many respondents are studying in masters' degree programs and intend to return after they acquire their degree, the number of the respondents who live in the U.S. more than 2 years is low. This will affect the strength of the results and findings, and may suggest the need to alter the length of stay categories.

Finally, directions for future research and limitations of this study have been mentioned throughout this report. Perhaps most important, however, is the increasing, apparent complexity of foreign media effects on Thai society. This exploratory study provides only a broad conceptualization of these effects and Thai perceptions of them; this should serve to encourage more intensive studies. According to our literature review, almost every facet of Thai society is currently integrating western values. Because this study only addresses some limited and broad dimensions of the media impact, future study is necessary to expand these dimensions to capture better more of the diverse impacts of western media on Thai society.

Table 5: Rank order of U.S. media sources on Thai society.
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Table 6: Rank ordering of U.S. media influence on the respondents.
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APPENDIX

Questionnaire

Sex _____

Length of Stay in U.S. _____

Part 1

Directions: Please circle the number that indicates your concern about the results of the use of the U.S. mass media to the Thai society that are listed below:

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 6 = Strongly agree | 3 = Somewhat disagree |
| 5 = Agree | 2 = Disagree |
| 4 = Somewhat agree | 1 = Strongly disagree |

- | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Increase of crime and violence. | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 2. Increase the need for entertainment. | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 3. Increase conflict between traditional values and contemporary values among people. | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 4. Increase of child delinquency. | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 5. Increase of new fashion business. | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 6. Increase friendliness among people. | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 7. Increase of drug and alcohol abuse. | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 8. Increase of cost of living. | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 9. Increase of motivation to retain traditional values. | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 10. Increase of pornography. | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 11. Increase of relaxation for people. | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 12. Increase of dependence on material possessions. | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 13. Increase of homosexuality. | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 14. Increase of competitiveness in life-style. | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 15. Increase of changes in social and family life toward western style. | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Part 2

Direction: Please rank each of the following U.S. mass media which appear in Thailand in terms of how much you think they affect Thai society. A rank of 1 means most effect, 2 means second most effect, etc.

Radio _____ TV _____ Film _____
Newspapers and Magazines _____ VDO _____

Direction: Please rank each of the following U.S. mass media which appear in Thailand in terms of how much you think they affect you. A rank of 1 means most effect, 2 means second most effect, etc.

Radio _____ TV _____ Film _____
Newspapers and magazines _____ VDO _____

