Riverine Commerce in Thailand: Tradition in Decline

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by

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"The water is the true home of the Siamese, and it is on this, their native element, that their real character and genius are best exhibited." Young, 1898; 25

There is little question, certainly, none raised by historical accounts, of the importance of inland water transport for agricultural and commercial activities in central Thailand. The impression this vast network of canals and rivers made upon such early chroniclers as Bowring, Palllegoix, Vincent and others is clearly manifest in their accounts of Siam in the 18th and 19th centuries. Seldom, however, as Young's statement suggests, have commentaries on the inland waterways been more than subjective observations.¹ Even today little is known about the internal structure of the water transport industry, the mechanics of riverine commerce and commodity flow, or the socio-economic and ethnic composition of participants in riverine commerce.

Contemporary transport and development planning in Thailand have largely ignored the water transport industry, except to acknowledge its contribution to bulk commodity shipment and irrigation in the ecologically homogeneous wet-rice landscape of central Thailand. As continued emphasis has been placed on developing land transport systems there has been a corresponding decline in water transport activities, the subsuming of traditional water transport functions and services by land transport systems, and an increasing displacement of riverine traders. This displacement involves more than simply the subsuming of traditional trade and transport functions performed by participants in riverine commerce.

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¹ The few notable exceptions to this situation are found in the studies by Van Der Heide (1903), Thompson (1941), and more recently in the work of Skinner (1957) and Ingram (1956).
commerce. The manner in which these individuals perceive of changes in transport conditions, the range of cognized occupational and investment options open to them, and their capability to pursue these options have significant implications for the continuation of riverine commerce and the success of any coordinated transport planning in Thailand. One participant in riverine commerce and trade which typifies the extent of this displacement, the diversity in cognized and operational alternatives among riverine traders, and the increasing decline of traditional water transport in central Thailand is the storeboat merchant.

The Ecologic Context

The central plain of Thailand is a broad, flat alluvial flood plain extending inland from the Gulf of Thailand for several hundred miles. Superimposed over this alluvial plain is an extensive network of natural and manmade waterways which exceeds 5,000 kilometers in length (Fig. 1.) Historically this inland waterway network has served as a medium for transport, commerce, and administrative control in this dominant region of the country. The ecological requirements of wet rice agriculture, the characteristic economic activity in this region, have stimulated a trading and commercial system inherently linked to water transportation. To the extent that the wet rice economy is seasonal so also is the character of local trade and vessel movements on the inland waterways. Distinct seasonal fluctuations in the type of commodities, numbers and types of water transport units, and even the distribution of these units can be identified. This interdependence of transport, agricultural, and commercial activities is an essential feature of this region of the country.

The cultural component of this ecologic system is also unique in that several distinct cultural groups participate in riverine trading activities. The Thai, traditionally characterized as non-commercial in orientation, engage in the less heavily capitalized and more common forms of riverine trade such as movement of bulk agricultural produce, minerals, and construction aggregates. Other ethnic and cultural groups like the Mon are confined essentially to the production and trading of earthenware pottery. The Chinese, long a dominant factor in Thai commerce, appear
to be most prominent in the highly specialized and capital intensive areas of rice trade, wholesale and retail trading of consumer goods, luxury items, and marketing of fresh produce. It is this range of commercial activity which has made the Chinese merchant such an essential element in the Thai economy and so ubiquitous in rural Thailand.

Origins of the Store-boat Merchant

The evolution of riverine retail and wholesale trade cannot be precisely defined, however, it appears to have emerged from the period of rapid economic interaction between Thailand and the West in the nineteenth century. Skinner (1956; 106) states that "the retail trade in Siam was dominated by the Chinese both before and after the impact of Western economic influence," with the prominent Bangkok markets for imported goods at Sampheng on the Chaophraya river as focal points for Chinese junks and local traders.2 There were also numerous Chinese houseboats which traveled rivers and canals while "most retail trading was done on the water ...." (Skinner, 1957; 108). It should not be assumed though that the Chinese as a prominent ethnic minority in Thai commerce existed without some stratification of occupational activities. Various Chinese speech groups, particularly the Hainanese, appear to be the most likely early participants in riverine commerce outside of the areas immediately surrounding Bangkok. While the Hainanese lacked capital and social status which excluded them from the profitable import-export trade, it was no hinderance to their activities in the collection of local products for sale to exporters. Their role in trade along the inland waterways in central and lower Siam may have been further facilitated by their resistance to malaria which reportedly was a major factor in prohibiting the entrance of Teochiu's into riverine commerce in these areas (Skinner, 1957; 86).

By the 1880's the 'junk bazaar' along the Chaophraya river in Bangkok began to decline with mounting imports of Western goods, expanding foreign trade, and the shift of commercial activities to New

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2) The role of the Chinese in retail and wholesale trade clearly predates the 19th century as Wales (1934) points out. It is also quite possible that the development of the store-boat trader may have been linked to the system of tax-farming which evolved after 1780 (Wales, 1934; 205-06).
Road which linked the palace with trading firms and consulates further down the river. The situation in the rural interior after 1855 saw the Chinese rapidly subsume the expanding middlemen functions which arose out of the growth of the exchange economy, especially the services performed by itinerant Chinese paddy dealers. The introduction of new taxes (*bhasi*) farmed out to Chinese enabled inland traders to increasingly become agents of Chinese tax and revenue farmers as well as money lenders. Skinner (108) adds a final note to these developments by indicating that increases in internal trade, losses of village economic self-sufficiency, and changing Thai peasant demands made rural settlement in markets and towns increasingly attractive for Chinese retailers. And, as Ingram notes, by the beginning of the 20th century it was impossible to estimate the value of any single function since they were all so extensively intermixed (Ingram, 1956; 72). Capping this complex of developments has been the contribution of the rapidly developing irrigation-communications canal system. New canals, programs to canalize portions of existing rivers, and various navigational improvements added immeasurably to the accessibility of rural consumers and mobility in rural areas. It therefore seems likely that during this period of economic and transport development the Chinese store-boat merchant cum trader emerged as a prominent participant in rural trade and marketing networks.

Whatever the origins of this unique commercial and trade institution its contribution to rural trade and marketing have been substantial. The extent of these contributions has dwindled, however, as road transport and road-expansion programs have developed in this region within the past twenty-five years.³ Competition from road transport and the advent of merchandising and distribution by trucks affiliated with large commercial firms in Bangkok has increasingly diminished the retail and distribution functions of traditional store-boat traders. The character of this displacement and the general inability of riverine transport and trade institutions to make competitive adjustments to road transport can be conceptualized in terms of perceptions of occupational and investment alternatives, patterns of trading activity, and spatial and temporal dynamics of riverine commerce.

The Store-boat Merchant: A Profile

The store-boat merchant is unique among the many small-scale entrepreneurs engaged in riverine commerce in that he manifests numerous linkages between the agrarian population, the market centered retail and wholesale community, and the urban centered Chinese commercial sector of the economy. These links are manifest in both the scale of his capital support and the range of activities he engages in. While there is no homogeneous socio-cultural base from which these merchants developed, the vast majority appear to be linked through kin and marriage bonds to the Chinese community in Thailand.

Whether through marriage, as children of "pioneering" store-boat traders, or as recent immigrants to Thailand, this trade and occupational specialty is clearly a family activity. Frequently store-boat operators were of the third and fourth generation engaged in this occupation, a pattern resulting in continuity of routes traveled and contacts with established customers. This maintenance of established trading circuits also appears to have served to minimize the initial impact of competition from road transportation.

Characteristically, the economic assets of the store-boat merchant are somewhat more extensive and diverse than those of other participants in riverine commerce. These individuals frequently owned in addition to their store-boat, a retail-wholesale shop in provincial markets, homes and land in urban centers, and in several instances were part-owners of rice mills and trucking firms. Irrespective, however, of the variety of their assets or occupational alternatives, there was almost unanimous agreement that the future would require a progressive expansion of shop and market centered activities at the expense of riverine commerce. The primary reason given for this change was the increasing competition from the rapidly expanding road transport industry.

The store-boat as one type of vessel used in local trade and commodity movement on the inland waterways is in some respects not easily distinguishable from other boats. The type of boats used by these merchants are usually small capacity (20-40 tons gross) cargo barges made of local hard woods such as teak and powered by outboard gasoline.
engines (Figs. 2 and 3). Structurally, the major differences lie in the construction of bins, racks, and shelves in the cargo hold for storage and display of merchandise. A wide range of goods are also tied, hung, or piled around and on the fore and aft decks, super-structure, and gunnels. The boat, like many others, also serves as the home of the merchant who lives in the small (6' x 12') stern platform over the rudder, where personal possessions, cooking equipment, water containers, and bedding are kept.

Dynamics of Trading Activity

The volume and variety of locally traded goods and the participants in riverine commerce follow rather clear seasonal patterns. Like many other aspects of Thai society, trade and commodity movement on the inland waterways can be related to a variety of agricultural, economic, spatial, and hydrologic factors. In an agricultural landscape dominated by wet-rice production, the seasonality of this cropping system produces a strong influence on the type and volume of trade activity. Fluctuations in farm assets and credit, patterns of labor utilization, variations, in field or farm-lot focus of agricultural activity, rural consumer demands, and harvesting-planting cycles all impinge on the character of riverine commerce. Of all the different participants in riverine trade, however, the store-boat trader is the least affected by these factors and is the most capable of adjusting his activities to maintain a reasonably consistent trading pattern throughout the year.

The store-boat trader is a diversified contributor to local trade in that he can and does engage in retail and wholesale activities. This diversity is related to the breadth of his resource base through his links to the larger ethnic Chinese commercial community and the different scales of his commercial enterprises. His supply of goods and services is essentially unlimited although in practice is confined to basic consumer staples, canned goods, rice, condiments, soap, assorted housewares, cloth, blankets, clothing, and various luxury items. Aside from goods the

4) Cargo barges may be grouped into categories by capacity. These categories are: small, 20-50 tons; medium, 51-80 tons; and, large, 81-190 tons. The mean capacity for all cargo barges falls in the lower range of the medium category.
store-boat trader may also offer services ranging from retail functions to money lender, rice broker, middleman, wholesale distributor and transport broker. The manner in which this diversity in goods and services benefits the store-boat trader can be conceptualized in terms of several factors.

Capital and labor components of the rice production cycle attain specific peak or optimum periods throughout the year. Farm assets, derived primarily from the sale of paddy stocks after harvest, reach a peak during the months of January-March, Figure 4. Prior to this period of peak farm assets are two seasonal peaks in agricultural labor inputs for the planting and harvesting of vegetable crops and paddy respectively. Concurrent with the period of optimum farm assets is a time of minimum activity among riverine traders. Several reasons can be advanced in clarification of this pattern. With farm assets at a seasonal peak and farm labor entering a period of lower utilization and greater mobility goods and services of local riverine traders are both in less demand and more difficult to distribute. Greater farm population mobility means, (1) some labor will be employed in off-farm activities, and (2) consumer needs are met through purchasing items in local markets and other locations rather than at or near the farm. A second factor is the sales pattern of riverine traders. A substantial number of small, local part-time and seasonal traders appear to operate primarily on a credit basis, thus supporting the greater intensity of riverine trade which occurs later in the year when (1) farm credit is at its peak and (2) farm populations are resident on farms or engaged in transplanting and other chores associated with this period of the rice cultivation cycle. Mobility on the inland waterways is also of some importance and conditions are less satisfactory during and after the rice harvest than they are later in the year after the seasonal rains have begun. Restrictions on navigability impose a relatively greater hindrance for small local traders who travel the small canals for full-time traders who stay primarily to the larger canals which are navigable year-round.

5) While vegetable and similar garden crops grown in the lower central plain are planted and harvested almost continually, available data suggests a period of more intensive planting of these crops from October-November.
Fig. 2 - Storeboat, moored on a secondary canal near Bangkok.

Fig. 3 - Storeboat, awaiting lock passage at the Chainat Dam, upper Chaophraya River.
FLUCTUATIONS IN AGRO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES AND RIVERINE TRADE ACTIVITY

UNITS

JAN  FEB  MAR  APR  MAY  JUN  JUL  AUG  SEP  OCT  NOV  DEC
In contrast to this overall pattern of seasonal fluctuations in riverine commerce is the pattern of trade activities for store-boat merchants. As Figure 4 suggests, these riverine traders maintain an almost uniform level of activity throughout the year. While some of these merchants indicated that their sales declined somewhat during the period of optimum farm credit when farm purchasing power was low and stocks of goods in local shops were moving slowly, the majority found this not to be a significant problem. This fact is not difficult to understand when one considers that a large volume of store-boat sales are on a wholesale basis. No clear pattern of credit or cash sales is evident for store-boat merchants, the predominance of one form of sales over the other is dependent upon the type of trade they engage in, the character of their customers needs, and whether they trade primarily on a wholesale or retail basis. The ability of these individuals to move through various levels of commerce from retailing to wholesale distribution of consumer goods to serving as middlemen for transactions involving agricultural produce provides them with considerable freedom from the kinds of economic and commodity restraints which inhibit other riverine traders.

All traders, however, including the store-boat merchant are subject to certain spatial limitations based on functional and ecological factors. Throughout the evolution of the store-boat traders activities, they have established a distinct and regular trade circuit or route. The point of origin, regular trading stops, and terminal point on the trade route is clearly defined. Seldom does the trader deviate from this prescribed route. Customers along trade routes are able to identify the time of arrival of the store-boat trader, often as precisely as the hour of the day. The length of time spent at each trade stop varies with seasonal demands for goods, navigational conditions, and the whims of the merchant himself. He may remain in one market for as long as a week if business is brisk and opportunities for retail or wholesale transactions are plentiful, although this is normally a maximum limit for any one location. Scheduled movements along trade routes are influenced by seasonal climatic conditions and hydrologic factors. Low water levels, irregular currents, and various navigational obstructions can influence the regularity of his movements along his prescribed route. The effect of these factors are
most severe in the tidal areas within 50-60 kilometers of the Gulf of Thailand, and because of these seasonal navigational factors store-boat traders have made an effort to consider year-round navigability in the selection of their trade routes.

The location and length of store-boat trade circuits also reflect certain functional limitations imposed on the trader. The linear extent of trade circuits varies between 100 and 190 kilometers with the average round-trip distance approximately 150 kilometers. The smaller store-boat trader with lower sales volumes, smaller capacity boats, and less powerful engines fall at the lower limit of this distance continuum. These traders usually handle low value, high turn-over consumer goods such as candies, fresh produce, pastry, toys, tobacco, cloth, and matches which are essentially retail or low volume wholesale goods. Since their stocks are depleted quickly and boat capacities are small, the length of their trade circuits is short. This fact is further supported by the low percentages of unsold goods (5-10%) remaining after each trip. At the other end of this continuum are the more diversified store-boat merchants who require 20-25 days to make a complete circuit of their trade area. Larger boat capacities, more powerful engines, and more diversified trading activities contribute to this pattern. Where the small store-boat merchant may make three full circuits of his trade area per month, the larger volume traders make no more than one. In addition, the volume of unsold goods after each trip is also higher, often exceeding 40 percent of the original volume. Economically this pattern is reflected in a broad range of incomes and profits although profit margins are limited to between 8 and 10 percent. Over the past ten years there has been a sharp decline in store-boat income, especially among traders in areas where there has been an increase in competitive road transport services. Route selection then, while initially a matter of tradition has in a number of cases been modified to exclude markets where competition from road delivery has made store-boat trade increasingly unprofitable.
Displacement Patterns

The progressive displacement of traditional store-boat merchants from the system of riverine commerce by the development of road transport is a relatively recent development. Traders working on the Chaophraya river between the provincial capitals of Chainat and Nakhon Sawan indicated that in the 1930's one Chinese family owned over seventy store-boats which operated between these centers. As road transport improved in the immediate post-war period this family withdrew from riverine trade in favor of commercial activities centered in the provincial market at Nakhon Sawan. By the late 1950's the number of store-boats in this area had dropped to around twenty and in 1967 had further declined to six. The universal complaint of the existing traders was that there had been an increasing loss of customers as road development was followed by more direct and regular truck delivery and distribution of consumer goods. A similar pattern can be found in many other areas of the lower central plain; dominance of retail trade/marketing by riverine traders—road development—loss of customers to road distributors—declines in riverine traders. In the canal network extending east from Bangkok a similar decline in store-boat trade has occurred, but other riverine trade and transport units have suffered as well. Tow-boat companies operating along these waterways once utilized over twenty tow-boats to pull cargo barges carrying agricultural produce and raw materials between Chachoengsao and Bangkok. In 1967 the last tow-boat company ceased operations and only a few cargo barges now move between these cities. Although this pattern of displacement is most directly related to improvements in road transportation and the inability of the water transport industry to adjust to this growing form of competition there are also a number of secondary influences.

Improvements in inexpensive and efficient outboard engines which are easily adapted to cargo barges have also reduced the need for certain specialized boats such as tow-boats. These engines enable the store-boat merchant and many small, private cargo barge operators to structure their operations free from the cost and functional dependence which previously necessitated their use of tow-boats. This new "innovation" has also enabled store-boat merchants to reduce travel times, thus allow-
ing them to make more frequent circuits of their trade areas and operate along waterways previously prohibited to them due to tidal flows, currents, and other restrictions. To some extent the motorization of the store-boat has also contributed to a prolonging of this trade since without this flexibility of movement the effects of competition from road transport would have been more rapid and extensive.

Another secondary factor in store-boat displacement is the general improvement in mobility in rural areas. This factor is reflected in both functional and attitudinal changes. The rapid improvement in the rural highway network during the past ten years, supplemented by significant increases in the registration of small vehicles and motorcycles has provided the rural consumer with a new measure of mobility for both personal and commercial activities. This changing mobility is also reflected in the attitudes of rural residents toward a range of social, political and commercial relationships. Greater feelings of participation in the development of the country, membership in the nation state, and ability to contact local and national administrative officials has widened their traditional local perspective. This type of attitudinal change carries over to marketing and consumption patterns which are rapidly extending beyond the boundaries of the village community and its established commercial mechanisms. In summary, this functional and attitudinal reorientation is enabling the rural consumer and merchant to seek alternative sources for credit, marketing, and consumer goods to those previously provided by the store-boat merchant.

The Response to Change

Persons engaged in riverine commerce and transport identified many different occupational and investment alternatives which they perceived of as being available to them. Evaluation of these perceived options in the context of socio-economic groups within the riverine community provide some useful insights into the varying ability of water transportation to modernize and make competitive adjustments to road transport.

Among the cognized options reported there was an explicit relationship between the type(s) of options perceived and the general socio-economic status of individuals in the riverine trade community. These
cognized options fell into three general categories: (1) no options, (2) agricultural activities, and (3) market centered trade. Those individuals with no perceived options were by far the most numerous, accounting for 54.9% of all respondents. The next largest group was in the second category of agricultural activities (25.5%), and the remainder (19.6%) fell in the final category.6

Individuals with no perceived options were primarily those comprising the lower socio-economic strata in the hierarchy of riverine trade participants. Their position in this hierarchy was characterized by (1) high median age, (2) little capital or other resources, (3) strong kin ties within the water transport industry, (4) long tenure in riverine transport occupations, and (5) institutionalized attitudes toward their occupation. Independently these factors are not necessarily significant, but in combination define a group which is committed to water transportation as a life-style, has little social interaction outside of their occupation group, and has become insulated from change by their low incomes and the diminishing of occupational options through time. Their ownership and operation of older small and medium capacity cargo barges minimized their efficiency in the transport of bulk agricultural produce, construction aggregates, and similar low value, high volume commodities. Since profit per trip is small and capital accumulation difficult they are unable to make competitive adjustments by purchasing larger and more costly barges which would allow them to enter the specialized and more profitable forms of bulk commodity transport. Short-run adjustments are possible by shifting to areas not served by road transport, but even this is becoming increasingly difficult. As a group then, these individuals manifest the lowest potential for occupational modernization and will most probably be displaced entirely from effective participation in riverine trade and transport.

The second category of riverine traders with occupational alternatives in agriculture occupy an intermediate level in the socio-economic hierarchy. They are characterized by and distinguished from those individuals with no options through, (1) greater capital and fixed resour-

6) This analysis is based on interviews with 250 full-time participants in riverine trade and transport between 1966 and 1968.
ces, primarily farm land, (2) shorter tenure in riverine trade and transport, (3) lower median age, and (4) few attitudinal commitments to water transport as either a life-style of occupation. As a group they also own and operate the larger capacity barges and engage primarily in specialized transport of selected farm produce, and construction aggregates. The rather widespread ownership of farm land among this group emphasizes a characteristic link between riverine transport and agriculture; a linkage which diminishes with time. This agrarian link through land ownership as an occupational alternative was markedly absent among individuals who perceived of no options to continued participation in water transport. As occupational tenure and age data suggest these people are relatively recent entrants into this occupational field and consequently their agrarian ties, manifest through land ownership, provide them with occupational alternatives as yet undiminished by time and a hardening of attitudes and their economic position. Although they constitute a relatively small percentage of the entire community of riverine traders they appear to have the best potential of pursuing modernization of their occupation and making competitive adjustments to road transportation.

The greatest variety in cognized occupational alternatives was found among individuals engaged in specialized retail and wholesale trade on the inland waterways. Foremost among this group were the store-boat merchants. Their perceived options included such diversified activities as rice milling, saw milling, and operation of trucking firms.

7) In a homogeneous agrarian landscape like the central plain few occupations are entirely unrelated to the wet-rice economy. Changes in the conditions of agricultural employment may have at various times induced farmers to seek alternative employment on the inland waterways, an area not unfamiliar to them. The average occupational tenure among the older, no option riverine trader corresponds to a period in the late 1930's when the expansion of rice cultivation had ceased and rates of pure tenancy in agriculture were at a maximum. More recently, agricultural tenancy has again risen from a postwar low in 1963 which suggests similar conditions may have effected the movement into riverine activities by the younger trader who still maintains occupational options in agriculture. (See Ingram; 1971 : 268).
however, they considered market based trade as their primary occupational alternative. This option is both logical and economically sound considering the extensiveness of their resource base, diversity of economic activities, and their ties to the wider urban marketing and trade networks dominated by ethnic Chinese. Implicit in their anticipated shift from riverine to market trade is the recognition of a continued decline in the competitive position of riverine traders and transporters of bulk commodities. This situation is also indicative of the differential abilities of riverine traders to exercise their occupational and investment options. The store-boat merchant, unlike the small cargo barge operator, has the economic capability of pursuing options which are viable alternatives to his traditional activities. Economies of scale are also important in influencing this ability to make occupational changes. The full-time trader finds it unprofitable to operate below a minimum profit margin and his flexibility in remaining competitive is minimized by fixed economic limits. Less profit oriented individuals do continue to operate even under increasingly unfavorable conditions. These two extremes are representative of the store-boat merchant with multiple options on one hand and the small cargo barge operator with no options on the other. This differential ability to pursue occupational alternatives outside of riverine commerce and transport is linked, therefore, to both social and economic factors which variously condition an individual's ability to respond to the growing competition from an expanding road transport system.

Participants in riverine commerce and transport are almost unanimous in their perception of the changing structure of the transportation system in central Thailand. Competition from trucks has diminished the traditional riverine monopoly on back-haul trade, improved rural merchant flexibility in merchandising, increased the numbers of urban merchants using trucks to sell and distribute goods in rural areas, and reduced the relative proportion of total commodity

8) Riverine commerce at many levels is highly seasonal and irregular, therefore opportunity costs are low since there are few alternatives for the use of free time. A low profit is consequently preferable to allowing free time to be wasted or used for unrelated or low-preference activities. (See, Alice Dewey, Peasant Marketing in Java, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1962; 4-12).
shipment by water. Only the small-scale, local vendor and hawker of seasonal luxury goods and prepared foods seems to be unaffected by improvements in road transport. Their immunity from these problems is representative of conditions which prevailed throughout the entire water transport industry prior to the transport revolution which has occurred during the last twenty years. While these problems are best exemplified by the difficulties confronting various riverine traders they extend beyond the inland water transport industry and solutions can only be found at the level of development planning.

The task now facing development planners in Thailand who must draft and implement transport investment programs has many dimensions. First, they must acknowledge the need for more effective coordinated transport planning, especially with regard to the contribution of water transportation. To date this fact has shown little evidence of being accepted. Secondly, they must show a greater understanding of the patterns of transport interaction and complimentarity if investment funds are to be used effectively and optimum transport services provided. The provision of optimum service assumes a continued role for water transportation and greater support for this industry from the public sector of the economy. With capital and organizational support many essential low cost services which cannot be duplicated by road transport will continue to be displaced. The rural population will continue to bear the economic and convenience costs of this displacement. A final dimension of coordinated transport planning involves making greater provisions for the social and human displacement engendered by transport development. Individuals who lack viable occupational alternatives must either be provided with initially subsidized options within water transportation or given assistance through occupational re-training. Coordinated transport planning, judicious investment of development funds, and provisions for the human and social dimensions of transport development and change should contribute to the achieving of a modern and efficient transport system which is one goal of Thai development planning.

9) Rural marketing and merchandising by trucks is an increasingly common phenomena in rural Thailand, a development described in a recent study of marketing in Thailand. (See, Dole A. Anderson, Marketing and Development : The Thailand Experience. East Lansing, Michigan : Michigan State University Press, 1971; 136-42.)
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