The Unfit Puzzle: Archival Value and Society in Contemporary Thailand

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Declaration

I, Naya Sucha-xaya, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

This thesis is an examination of archival value and its compatibility with social values held in Thai society, under the research question: *How might an improved understanding of Thai values help to address the problems facing archives in Thailand?* The research was prompted by a desire to understand problematic situations at the National Archives of Thailand by which archives are accessed by only a limited group of users, little impact is made on the wider society and there is a lack of support from the government.

Through a literature review in sociology, psychology and archive studies, the research explores different cultural entities – namely value, attitude and worldview – in the Thai archival milieu, with special comparative reference to these aspects in British society. The research found that the modern archival system, which is largely based on Western models, does not support prominent Thai values and even conflicts with them, while the traditional Thai archival system is a closer fit. Archives are not widely understood; often they are associated with the traditional sense of archives, which focuses on archives as heritage or high art that is distant from ordinary life.

Comprehensive treatment of these issues also requires analysis of perceptions on topics such as history, knowledge and education, identity and rights. All of these are uniquely shaped by the Thai Buddhist worldview and old social structure, which values hierarchy and social harmony over the concern for rights and identity that is more prevalent in the British context. Nevertheless, the thesis also notes the relatively recent growth of more horizontal, democratic values. This thesis provides recommendations emphasising archival value that fits into Thai society. At the same time, the evidential value in archives is shown to have the potential to build on new societal values that are well adapted for the globalised world.

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ARM	Archives and Records Management
DPA	Data Protection Act
FOI	Freedom of Information
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
IAT	Implicit Association Test
ICA	International Council on Archives
ISAD(G)	General International Standard Archival Description
IT	Information Technology
NAT	National Archives of Thailand
NICs	Newly Industrialised Countries
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
Thai PBS	Thai Public Broadcasting Service
PRO	Public Records Office
RVS	Rokeach Value Survey
SAA	Society of American Archivists
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
SVS	Schwartz Value Survey
TNA	The National Archives of the UK
UCL	University College London

Citation style

The citation system used in this thesis is MLA (Modern Language Association) style. Thai resources in Thai have been transcribed and the translated titles are in square brackets.

Transliteration from Thai to Roman alphabet is based on the system published by the Office of the Royal Society of Thailand. Some proper nouns (e.g. people's names) though are written according to how the names are originally written.

Chapter 1 Introduction

This research studies society and its relationship with archives by investigating how archives are valued in two different societies: Thailand and the UK. Thailand is the focus of the research due to the problematic situations in its archives management. This thesis will examine if it is related to the lack of archives awareness and a low regard for the value of archives in the society.

1.1   Describing the problem: archives management in Thai society

This study is inspired by reflection on problematic situations in Thailand and their causes, and a desire to solve the problems. It is found that problems of archives management in Thailand are caused not only by practical problems in Thai society but also by social and cultural factors that affect the entire process of archival practice. Thus, this study starts to look at these problems from the broader perspective of society as a whole.

First of all, problems in archival management have been recognised among archivists and users at the National Archives of Thailand (NAT). The National Archives can represent, to some extent, the position of archives management and the level of archives awareness in the country. (This is because it manages all public records and its policies are supposed to be an example for other archives in the country.) The NAT lacks a system that is considered effective by practitioners and users. This shortcoming is part of a cycle of interplay that includes the low social opinion of the value of archives, their weakened roles in the society and the impact of this on the effectiveness of the archives management process.

From the beginning, appraisal at the NAT has been problematic, as the records are not regularly transferred from government departments to the archives due to a lack of awareness of the continuation from records management to the archival process and even a lack of trust in agencies' ability to gain efficient access to the NAT after the transfer. Next, users report that finding aids – paper inventories only – are hard to use and inconvenient as they do not allow them to search more freely or remotely. Lack of knowledge regarding what is available at the archives is another problem for users

and those who are curious about what can they find in the Archives. Therefore, the Thai archival experience was described by one of the interviewees as "another world" (Rungsawang). This was not an isolated view; the point that archives are mysterious and inaccessible came up as a common opinion.

As for access and use, users pointed to the lack of necessary search tools, inadequate publicly available information about available collections, and overall inconvenience in using archives as significant problems. As one user stated simply, "Inconvenience is one of the reasons why people do not want to use archives" (Pongsripian). Additionally, outreach programs as a part of access in the NAT have been unable to increase recognition of archives in Thailand. Outreach activities consist of additional activities archivists lead when there are enough resources (Taweta "Focus Group"). It seems that the NAT needs more structured outreach strategies.

When these weaknesses in the archival system are combined with the lack of awareness and appreciation of archives' values, the result is a limited group of users. That is, only academic users, historians and history students have experience in using archives, because they need to use the records despite the inconvenience of doing so. Accordingly, the NAT focuses the majority of its services on academic users. Part of this aim of the NAT to serve only researchers is due to attitudes towards archives and heritage in Thai society. On the one hand, this exclusivity can engender pride among users and even archivists themselves for being part of something that most people do not have the opportunity to experience. However, on the other, being used by a small number of people for a limited set of specific purposes underplays the records' power and potential. Hence, archives are not seen as having much influence in the country, and their functions are accordingly limited. Apart from these more direct consequences, the fact that the NAT does not have a big impact on society negatively affects budget and human resources allocated to the NAT.

The NAT is an office of the Department of Fine Arts in the Ministry of Culture. It is placed in the cultural sector with other institutions such as The National Library, The National Museum, performing arts, archaeology and so on. The NAT is the one that receives the least financial support according to several personnel there; some other

institutions, for instance, receive comparatively high budgetary support because they serve the public while the NAT serves only researchers.[1]

A more serious problem than finance is the issue of staff. Many archivists working in the Archives are employees who did not have prior training in archives and archival processes. They have more typically been assigned to do particular tasks without seeing the big picture of archival work. Moreover, the archives profession is not recognised or understood as an academic profession by the executives. For example, the national archivists expressed in the focus group that the archives profession is not thought of as academic work, while library work is. Staff at the records centre of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs revealed that though the nature of their jobs is to function as archivists and records managers, staff feel the need to use the title "librarian" to be able to progress professionally in a bureaucratic structure where archivists are not accepted (Chaijindasut).

In summary, lack of awareness in archives and low estimation of the value of the materials causes the NAT to be undeveloped in terms of both access and public relations about their archives, resulting in lost opportunities for archives to have a greater impact on the whole society. Consequently, the financial resources allocated to the NAT are inadequate, and the archives profession's status is not considered as acceptable as other jobs in the same sector. Lack of support hence produces a negative feedback loop that impedes the development of the field.

1.2 Archives awareness

Before discussing further, it is necessary to define the word "awareness" and other relevant terms. If the core cause of archival problems in Thailand is the lack of awareness, how could these terms be analysed and studied?

Awareness means the quality or state of being aware, consciousness; (also) the condition of being aware (*of* something or *that* something is)(O. E. Dictionary "Awareness"). And, being aware is defined as the state where a person is informed, cognizant, conscious, sensible; to be aware (of, that) is to have cognizance, to know

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[1] These participants asked to remain anonymous regarding this issue.

(O. E. Dictionary "Aware"). Consciousness is sometimes used synonymously for awareness, though it can be simply referred to as self-awareness (Nunn 7). Perception is another word that is close to these terms. It refers to "the process of becoming aware or conscious of a thing or things in general; the state of being aware; consciousness; (spiritual) understanding" (O. E. Dictionary "Perception").

"Awareness" is sometimes used together with archives in the phrase "archives awareness". The phrase, considering its linguistic structure, thus refers to the state of knowing archives and understanding or holding knowledge about the value of archives. Lack of awareness or knowledge leads to a lack of appreciation, followed by a failure to be engaged with the materials.

Awareness in people has to do not only with the materials but also with the individuals who manage, use, and judge the value of the objects. The word *'consciousness'* plays a part here. How much the material can be related to the self implies that how things are valued is also determined by the objects' connection with the evaluators. For example, archival use is involved with the use of history. It leads to the question: how high is historical consciousness in a given group of people? Or, from the Western perspective where archives are involved with transparency in organisations: How much do people care about transparency in their own behaviours and others? Hence, one's consciousness towards different things related to the objects is also involved in a value judgement. In other words, for our purposes, it is important to understand a person's *'perception'* towards different elements involved in archives.

The problem about oneself steps into sociological and psychological part of people when it comes to **values**, which are a hierarchy of belief people use to arrange their priorities in life.

A place and its background directly influence how perceptions, attitudes and values are shaped. Archives can have different meanings and functions in different societies. Plus, individuals have their own selves, but these inner selves also interact with and are influenced by the society and culture they are part of.

1.3   The aims of the research: archival connections with culture

The assumption of this research is that the way archives are part of the public consciousness and are valued cannot be divorced from socio-cultural factors.

The aim of the study is to truly understand the different situations and seek possible solutions in accordance with the social and cultural conditions that contribute to the problems of records and archives management in Thailand; again, these are not limited to archival problems but include the perception of archives in the wider society. One important problem of records and archives management as well as other information systems in the developing world is that such systems may be implemented by stressing the technical side but neglecting the cultural and social side of information. For instance, China invested in information technology for the advancement of the country. However, the government overlooked the need for citizens' information literacy and skills to be improved first (Zheng and Heeks 11). Similarly, this kind of situation occurred with Thailand in archival management. In Siam (The old name of Thailand is Siam. The government of General Plaek Pibulsongkram changed the name "Siam" to "Thailand" on 24 June 1939. Thai is the ethnonym for the inhabitants of both Siam and Thailand), the modern recordkeeping system was adopted in the nineteenth century due to the pressure of imperialism, but the system was not well run in the long term. This thesis proposes that the main reasons for the poor long-term performance and upkeep of modern archival systems are cultural factors. The Western recordkeeping system adopted from Europe has never blended well in Thai society, for deeper cultural reasons. It is necessary to trace any deficiencies down to the level of sociological values and attitudes, and to understand how those values and attitudes have been formed in history. It seems that that the main reasons for the poor long-term performance and upkeep of modern archival systems are cultural factors.

1.3.1 The UK case

Examining how the values of archives are manifested in the UK provides insight into options for Thailand's archival development in Thailand. Modern recordkeeping practice is aligned with Western bureaucratic systems, such as those fully entrenched

in the UK. At a deeper level, this practice supports Western ideas and values which also underline other related issues in society such as the way people find knowledge, organisational culture, social justice and cultural management. The UK certainly cannot represent the whole Western world since Western recordkeeping systems are varied. Also, it is impossible to claim that the modern Thai recordkeeping system was directly influenced by Britain because the two countries never had an actual colonial link, and the modern recordkeeping practice in Thailand has been a mixture of many Western countries' practices including from the UK. The relationship between Thailand and European countries during the time of King Rama V (1868–1910) was the motivation for introducing a modern bureaucratic system to Thailand.[2] Nevertheless, for the purposes of this study, the UK can provide a suitable specific example of how archives are valued generally in Western culture.

Archives, as material or as institutions, serve the society they exist in differently according to that society's culture. The general character of archival management is such that, although practices around the world are recognised as various, professional best practice and standards are Western-world dominated. This is also an influence of organisations that are now globalised and transformed along Western models. On the one hand, modern organisations and their management practices have been globalised in the changing world. On the other hand, original and local cultures have played a part in developing records and archives management. This study seeks strategies that help to deal with challenges that arise from social change and that exist in the existing local culture. It attempts to determine information culture strategies for Thailand for this time of transition.

The study attempts to understand the contexts focusing on how societies look at the value of archives and how the value relates to their natures. This evaluation of archives' value in different groups of people and societies will be discussed throughout this thesis. The socio-cultural aspect of value was selected for the study because I ascertain that archival management in Thailand is still stuck at fundamental level of understanding and awareness. Archival awareness and development on the management side also support each other in further steps of development. Hence, the

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[2] This period receives extensive consideration in this thesis as Siam was influenced by European countries in the age of imperialism in King Rama V's reign, leading to reformation of the administration of the country, including the recordkeeping system as a part of bureaucratic reform (please see 4.2 History of Thai Recordkeeping).

study will have an important role in figuring out how to locate solid ground for archival management in Thailand.

1.4   Research question

For the purposes of this research, it is important to question the connection between cultural values and archives, as problems of archives management in Thailand may be rooted in a lack of understanding of archives and low recognition and appreciation of archival value. This also leads to questions about how archives are valued, managed and used. The fact that this is varied across different contexts forms the research question on the evaluators (individuals and institutions in society). Therefore, understanding values in the society can help to clarify the circumstances that such problems are grounded in. This then raises the main question:

How might an improved understanding of Thai values help to address the problems facing archives in Thailand?

Understanding how Thai society values archives helps to explicate the relationship between archives and Thai society. It is hoped that the insight gained from this study can help to overcome the conflicts between traditional Thai culture and Western culture from which modern archival practice is derived by highlighting ways of adapting to values and archival techniques that suit modern Thai society.

The idea that archival practice is affected by the surrounding culture helps to set the boundaries of the research to concentrate on those areas of archival management that have obvious interactions with society. In fact, all areas in archival practice can be influenced by the society, but I will select only the areas that the timeframe and resources of the PhD research project allow me to explore. Access and use are the selected areas for several reasons. Access is how archivists present archives to the society and communicate about them, while archival use is directly related to users' and the public's judgement and their behaviours towards archives. These areas of archival management are directly exposed to society among practitioners themselves, users and even members of the general public who do not directly use archives.

This main question leads the research to exploration of knowledge in other disciplines. For example, questions about how archives are valued require the study of evaluation processes where social values partly determine the value judgement. Such questions are finally combined with knowledge from archival science in the areas of archival value and archival practice.

The main research question raises four sub-questions:

The first sub-question is: *What is the nature of value?*

The first question attempts to understand the nature of value/values as well as other cultural elements working in the process of valuing. The cognitive and affective processes involved in this are studied in chapter 2, which presents the literature review.

Value, definitions of value and value judgement cross boundaries into many disciplines, including psychology, sociology and philosophy. In the relevant literature on this, there tends to be a distinction between value defined as good, and value(s) as referring to beliefs about what is desirable. The second meaning of value is studied by psychology and sociology. It is described by anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn as "a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of action" (Hofstede 5). Value definitions are connected to the idea of attitude as "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor" (Eagly and Chaiken 1).

This study seeks to deal with both aspects of value. Notions of the good and psychological aspects are dealt with in chapter 3; the role of attitudes in values in chapter 4; and an overall understanding of both aspects and their impact on archival practice in chapter 5.

The second sub-question is: *What are Thai values and how do they compare to 'archival' value?*

This is discussed in detail in chapter 3, where the concepts of value studied in the literature review (chapter 2) are used to compare Thai values and values assigned to archives.

In chapter 3, some values that have been discussed in studies of Thai values in the past are considered, and the origin of these values is explained. For example, Thai society is changing in the face of globalisation. Some social phenomena reflect changing Thai mentalities; for instance, citizens have more opportunities for participation in political activities. I compare Thai values with the values supported by the current archival system, which is predominantly Western in origin.

The study in chapter 3 shows incompatibility between original Thai values and the value framework in archival science. A psychological framework – Shalom Schwartz's universal values framework – was adopted in the comparison, which shows basic incompatibilities between archival values and the needs of Thai society. It points out that Western recordkeeping systems have never blended well into Thai society due to deeper cultural reasons.

The findings from this analysis in chapter 3 are connected to the impact of how archives are valued in practice presented in chapter 4 and 5 and the possible solutions presented in chapter 6.

The third sub-question is raised along with the previous question: *How are attitudes towards archives manifested in terms of access and use in Thailand, and how do these attitudes compare to those in the UK?*

Attitude is the second element focused on in this research. Stemming from the overall study in the literature review, chapter 4 is a discussion of Thai attitudes towards archives.

I have used the UK as a comparison country where ideas around access and use of archives are more prevalent and people's attitudes are more compatible with the value framework in archival science. This enables me to see the difference between Thai culture and Western archives culture more clearly. The distinction between the two contexts allows me to note impediments to archival access and use in Thailand.

Attitudes deal more with specifics as opposed to values, which focus on more abstract concepts. Therefore, exploring attitudes gives more room than does the study of values alone for the collection of empirical data myself from interviews in Thailand and the UK with archivists, users and archive educators. Besides, the users' and non-users' surveys on attitudes towards archives have been helpful in answering this

research question. Apart from asking people about what they think or feel about archives and what kinds of experience they have had with archives, I also asked more specific questions on the level of archival practice through the lens of access and use. Presenting data through access and use allows me to see attitudes towards archives in practice from how archivists present archives to the public (access), and how society finds them useful or valuable (use). This helps to identify differences and similarities in socio-cultural attitudes related to the archives between Thailand and the UK.

The fourth sub-question of the thesis is: *What factors appear to be important in shaping Thai attitudes towards archives?*

As attitudes are formed by information and experience perceptions on related topics, these subjects such as historiography, knowledge and education, rights and identity are discussed in chapter 4. The discussion of these topics provides a bigger picture of where the values of archives fit in Thai society and the areas where they are likely to be in the future.

One of the most significant factors that is also discussed in chapter 4 is the historical background of Thai recordkeeping. The evolution of recordkeeping practice from traditional thinking and systems to the one influenced by the West has had a huge impact on attitudes towards archives in Thai society and its practice at present.

1.5   Basic information

As this study deals with the National Archives of Thailand and the UK, it is necessary from the outset to understand some basic information about the institutions.

1.5.1   The National Archives of Thailand (NAT)

Structure

The NAT is a governmental office or "*samnak*" under the Department of Fine Arts, which is itself in the Ministry of Culture. Under the director of the NAT, six teams are responsible for different kinds of work:

1. Administration
2. Records management
3. Preservation and conservation
4. The National Archives in Honour of His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej
5. Contemporary Historical Records
6. Archives and Services

Brief history

The NAT used to be a part of the Wachirayan Library (now The National Library), which was founded in 1883. At the beginning, the Wachirayan Library was established by King Rama IV's children for the purpose of honouring their father.

Later, the institution became the first public library according to King Rama V's initiation. His intention was derived from the fact that there were not many places where the citizen could find collected knowledge. "The National Library: Past and present" states that this idea led to the formation of something of an association for elites and scholars to discuss and exchange knowledge about books and arts (TH The National Library 19). Prince Damrong, the brother of King Rama V, was interested in history and is honoured as the father of Thai history. He was the one charged with establishing archives in 1952 for the purpose of having a place that would collect records for clarifying Thai history. The establishment of the NAT was placed in the hands of historians, and it still continues its historical mission today. The focus of the NAT on history, combined with traditional Thai recordkeeping ideas, dominates people's perceptions about the NAT. (This will be explained further in chapter 4.) This perception determines where the NAT is located in the bureaucratic structure. That is, the NAT was placed under the Department of Fine Arts because it is seen to be related to education and culture.

In 2015, there are 34 archivists and 16 employees working on archival work (TH The National Archives *The National Archives Annual Report* 32). Apart from the NAT in Bangkok, there are eleven branches in provincial areas, namely: Chiang Mai; Trang; Yala; Songkhla; Phayao; Ubon Ratchathani; Suphan Buri; Chanthaburi, Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanonda Archives, Nakhon Si Thammarat; The National Archives in Honour of His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej, Pathum Thani; Hall of Banharn

Silpa-archa, the 22nd Prime Minister, Suphan Buri (TH The National Archives of Thailand "The National Archives Branches Ho Chot Mai Het Haeng Chat Sakha").

Vision

The goals of the NAT stated on its website (TH The National Archives of Thailand "Wisaitat Lae Phantakit") are:

> The staff is proud of the profession and dedicated themselves to their work to protect important records which are the nation's cultural heritage to be in complete condition as long as possible. So, they will keep the value in being evidence for research and reference for the nation's history. Also, it aims to lead the organisation to excellence and to become a leader in accepted standardised archival work among the public inside and outside of the country.

> The organisations who own the records are aware of the importance of organisations' records and trust the National Archives' professionalism in protecting these records to remain complete everlastingly. The public appreciates archives value and supports the National Archives' work".[3]

These goals, which start with archival awareness and the attendant positive consequences of this valuing, show that the NAT itself understands the importance of awareness in the value of archives. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, the NAT faces problematic situations in reality.

Mission

> The NAT's missions, as stated on its website, are (TH The National Archives of Thailand "Wisaitat Lae Phantakit"):

> 1. Searching, acquiring, appraising, preserving and giving access to the nation's significant records.

> 2. Studying and conducting research on archives for developing and disseminating the nation's important records.

> 3. Recording important national events inside and outside of the country in order to provide historical evidence of the nation.

> 4. Searching, acquiring, appraising, preserving and giving access to Thai films.

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[3] Translated to English by the author.

5. Running archival work in provincial areas.

6. Being a collaboration hub inside and outside of the country.

7. Being a records deposit centre for governmental organisations.

8. Delivering archives service.

9. Doing outreach by organising activities about archives.

10. Using technology in archival work.

These missions mentioned above are the objectives that the NAT aims to achieve. Nonetheless, it seems that the Archives has not accomplished the goals set in the vision in reality, such as those relating to the status of the profession, the public's appreciation of archives and their roles to support the NAT's work.

1.5.2   The National Archives of the UK (TNA)

The TNA is a non-ministerial government department and an executive agency of the Ministry of Justice for England and Wales (UK The National Archives *Annual Report and Accounts 2014-15* 9). The Lord Chancellor assigns the Keeper to take care of Public Records Office (or The National Archives, as it is now called) and its public records (UK The National Archives "Public Records Act 1958"; "Public Records Act 1967"). Although TNA has duties like all national archives bodies in general, its position is close to the Lord Chancellor, whose responsibilities are connected to legislation. Thus, its work covers publishing legislation whilst preserving and giving access to over 1,000 years of history.

Structure

Under the officers and keepers, different teams are (UK The National Archives "Our Staff"):

Public engagement

Digital and commercial

Corporate service and archives sector development

    Information policy and services

    Research and collections

Brief history

The Public Record Office Act was first passed in 1838, enabling the Public Record Office (PRO) to become the primary depository of public records, replacing the ancient courts and non-ministerial offices that had previously fulfilled this role (UK The National Archives "History of the PRO"). The Master of the Rolls appointed the Deputy Keeper to be responsible for keeping these records. In 1840, papers from governmental departments started being accepted by the records office; before this public records had been referred to only as legal documents. The PRO's repository was built during 1854-1856 but there was no system of transferring records from governmental departments to the PRO. This deficiency led to the Grigg Committee's recommendations. The Grigg Committee's report laid the foundation for the new Public Records Act of 1958 (UK The National Archives "History of the PRO"). PRO became The National Archives in 2003.

Vision

As for TNA's vision, the archives launched a new project called "Archives Inspire 2015-19", which attempts to change the ways people think about archives. Its current goals are to expand TNA s' focus to encourage more collaboration among governmental departments, while TNA 's role is considered more as an information expert for the government (UK The National Archives *Archives Inspire* 3). It aims to expand the groups of users by using technology in access (UK The National Archives *Archives Inspire* 4). At the same time, it aims to be the leader of the archives sector "to sustain and develop the nation's collection" (UK The National Archives *Archives Inspire* 4), advance knowledge through academic liaison and interdisciplinary research and offer "digital archives by design" (UK The National Archives *Archives Inspire* 7).

Data from the interviews reveal that archives services at TNA also went through a period of emphasising traditional use of archives, where limited groups of people

knew and used them (Moore). Researching family history as well as using information to support transparency became trends in the society. Archives have continuously grown in influence with the interest of British society. TNA itself keeps improving its understanding of the meaning of archives and its work, responding to social changes as seen in different campaigns and policies. "Archives Inspire" is another initiative pointing out the changing role of TNA to be more open to people of all ages and technological capabilities, collaborate with other departments and shift its role towards that of a consultant rather than being strictly a practitioner. In this way, the relationship of TNA to social context is dynamic.

Mission

According to TNA's website, the institution "collects and secures government records", makes them available in archives, helps people with research, preserves information for the future and advises other organisations, and helps "students of all ages" to use TNA's records in their studies. TNA also has the duty of publishing all UK legislation. Thus, TNA's roles are broader than the NAT's, specifically in the areas of guiding other organisations, trying to expand archival use to children of all ages and also working in legal areas such as publishing legislation and issuing licenses for the re-use of public-sector information (UK The National Archives "What We Do").

1.6   Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2 Literature review

Chapter 2 explores the sociological, psychological and, to a lesser extent, philosophical research on the matters germane to this research, thus providing a foundation for this inquiry. The chapter is split into three main sections: value, attitude and other cultural entities related to the valuation process. In each section, definitions of the word are discussed from different disciplines' perspectives. Then, its nature, functions, formations, relationship with other psychological entities and how the element plays a role in the value judgement process is studied. Some

knowledge is emphasised in the chapter due to its particular relevance to the research on the relationship between value in materials and values, attitude and belief systems in individuals and society. The insights from this chapter are mainly referred to in chapters 3 and 4, which discuss values and attitudes towards archives, respectively; this is followed by the examination of perception and worldview to draw broad understanding with topics related to archives in chapter 5. Ideas about value and attitude change come back in chapter 6. The research done for this chapter was also important for the research design. Lastly, understanding how value and attitude change and methods for studying values and attitudes leads to the seeking of solutions in chapter 6.

Chapter 3 Compatibility between Thai values and values found in archives and archival practices

This chapter discusses Thai social values – both their origins and the traces found in the traditional recordkeeping system. Next, different important sources of Thai values are enumerated, from Buddhism, the main origin of Thai values, to past social structures, which have led to the customary hierarchical structure. After Thai values have been considered, the values framework presented in chapter 2 is used to analyse values supported by archival systems and professions. The analyses of compatibility between Thai values and the ones in archival system and profession appears at the end of the chapter.

Chapter 4 Attitude towards archives in Thai and British societies

Based on the discussion about attitude raised in chapter 2, this chapter explores attitudes towards archives in Thai society by looking at attitudes expressed by participants in the survey and interviews. The chapter provides analysis of how these attitudes have been shaped. The main factor discussed in this chapter is the history of recordkeeping. It shows that the traditional recordkeeping system gives the main perception to Thai attitudes on archives. Next, the attitudes reflected in the interviews are examined in the detail. The interviews conducted in the UK are used to complement understandings of Thai archival practice. The analyses in the last section

of the chapter are mainly the results of attitudes expressed in the interviews and survey, connected to the actual state of archival operations at the NAT.

Chapter 5 Attitude and perception of topics related to values of archives

Attitudes on archives are not formed on their own but are related to other topics such as culture, heritage, and so on. These relevant themes are thus studied – namely historiography, knowledge and education, identity and rights. This is because archival materials are sometimes not valued by their own existence but their intrinsic and instrumental values to fitting in the bigger categories. The study shows perceptions and attitudes rooted in Thai belief systems. Again, different examples of archival use in the British context and ideologies behind them were brought in as comparators throughout all themes. The chapter also discusses social change and the role of technology in the society with changing values. The transition from traditional to modern society allows the gaps to reconsider the value of archives in contemporary Thai society, which leads to the vision for the future of Thai archives in the next chapter.

Chapter 6 Possible outlook for Thai archives

This chapter reports and discusses the findings of the study along with the focus group with the archivists at the NAT. The chapter aims to provide possible recommendations for archival strategies, especially in access and use. The focus group helps to identify how much the findings can be implemented in reality. The final recommendation consists of strategies based on the earlier analysis of values and attitudes analysis. It answers the last sub-question, seeking the right strategies for the NAT.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

The last chapter gives the final discussion of important points found in the thesis, summarising archives' functions in current Thai society and in the future, and how archives' value could be capitalised on in the future. Also included in this chapter are

notes on different areas in archival research that the NAT should be paying attention to.

1.7   Methodology

This research studies a case where archives are valued and treated differently from typical and traditional archives in Western archival theory. This investigation corresponds to the definition of case study research: "a research strategy which focuses on understanding the dynamics present within single settings" (Huberman and Miles 8).

This research can be considered multiple case study research though it has no replications of design (Yin 46-60), meaning the research explores two cases (Thailand and the UK), but Thailand is the main focus and will be compared with the UK. Thus, data collection in Thailand will be more extensive than in the UK, because the real aim of the research is to find ways to develop archives management in Thailand.

Case study research is suitable for this project because the research aim is investigating a social phenomenon, which is also the point of using case study research. Note that the research question starts with "how", indicating that this research is about finding an explanation of the current situation.

"Case studies typically combine data collection methods such as archives, interviews, questionnaires, and observations. The evidence may be qualitative (e.g. words), quantitative (e.g., numbers), or both" (Huberman and Miles 9). This research has used a number of methods in triangulation to understand the situation and find solutions to the existing problems. These are document study, semi-structured interviews, survey and focus group, the last two methods of which were not conducted in the UK because they aim to find solutions for problematic situations in Thailand.

Being a comparative case study without replication design, the study selected the NAT and TNA to represent both countries' archives business. There are two reasons for choosing to focus on the National Archives of both countries: firstly, it is too broad for the PhD research project to examine all archives in both countries; secondly, the history of Thai recordkeeping is connected to that of Europe.

The National Archives are good representatives of the countries because they represent government's recordkeeping and bureaucratic systems that impact the whole country. The National Archives also reflect the general policies of the government relating to other larger systems such as educational, administrative and cultural systems in the countries; importantly they also are closely associated with conceptions of national identity. The history of central government influencing recordkeeping systems is more viable to focus on in one research rather than studying different kinds of history from different contexts.

This research takes a cross-cultural approach rather than investigating one culture solely. Comparing behaviours, values and attitudes of Thai society to the others will help me to understand that culture, especially when it is my own culture. The contrast found between cultures of recordkeeping between the two cultures is expected to point out the causes of problematic situations in Thailand.

There are various reasons for choosing Thailand and the UK: the first reason is based on the aims of the research and suitability. The study is funded by the Royal Thai government, so its scope needs to be focused on archives in the Thai context. A pressing concern facing Thai archival management has been to determine ways of adapting Western archival principles to the local context. The Western country chosen as a representative case is the UK – first because my opportunity to study in the country allowed me to more easily study the historical background of recordkeeping and TNA and to collect data from the British practitioners, users and archives academics. A more important consideration, however, is that Thai recordkeeping during the modernisation period (around King Rama V's reign) was influenced by European archival practices – including those of the UK, which was especially active in Southeast Asia at that time. The Western recordkeeping system came in as a part of bureaucratic reformation in the modernisation period. European practices had a direct influence on the modern recordkeeping system in Thailand; the first adoption of a Western recordkeeping system was by the Thai Ministry in Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1859 (see chapter 4). One reason Siam became so open to European influence at this time is because many noblemen were sent to study abroad (usually in European countries).

I had originally wanted to add France as another archival system to study to see the influence of the West on Thai archives. However, I realised this would add too broad a scope to the thesis, and it would not fit the timeframe and funding of this PhD research project. Another consideration of choices of case studies is other Asian countries which had received similar influence in their archival history, such as Malaysia, Singapore or Indonesia. Again though this would have broadened the focus of my study. However, these ideas – especially the second one – would be worth pursuing as follow-up research projects. By limiting the scope to only the UK and Thailand, there was enough time to conduct a wide range of in-depth interviews and to understand more deeply the UK context through living and researching there.

One drawback of having the UK as the only comparator is that it cannot cover all Western culture and its influence on archival practice. More contemporary archival trends could also be de-emphasised; for example, the more recent concern with using archives to support rights in the twenty-first century did not necessarily originate from the UK but more likely the US. Similarly, data protection and privacy are more influences from the EU rather than the UK. Nevertheless, these potential concerns did not seem to overrule the greater benefits and depth of study that a limitation of scope was able to bring.

1.7.1   *Two cultures, two data collections, two journeys*

This project studies two contexts, so it requires all activities to be in two places and two languages. Though based in London, I made three visits to Thailand to collect data. The first round of data collection was made in the first year of study; during this round exploratory interviews were done in Thailand. The purpose of doing the interviews is to understand real-life situations that cannot be grasped through document study. It was worthwhile as I gained data that helped to identify problems at the NAT. Along these paths of data collection and analysis in Thailand and the UK, I was able to see that a single thing can be perceived or done differently depending on people and their ways of seeing the world and living their lives.

The second round and the main data collection started in September 2013, in the second year, and lasted until the beginning of 2014. First, interviews were held with

UK interviewees, including archivists, academics, and users. The participants were informative and willing to contribute to the research. They offered fascinating perspectives and were helpful to the research, despite language barriers sometimes making transcription of the interviews a laborious and time-consuming process.

I did my main data collection in Thailand, which consisted of interviews and surveys, over a period of two and a half months in 2013-14. Apart from information from the interviews and survey obtained, which has been used for comparison, I noticed the distinctions between the two contexts in how the archives approach people and how they give information. I realised that I was exposed to not only archives in two geographical locations but also different cultures that called for different approaches in data collection and analysis. For example, the way I approached people in the UK, though still with recommendations from my supervisors, was more straightforward than in Thailand. In some cases, as with the UK users, I randomly contacted participants from a users' community online. In Thailand, it is necessary to establish more familiarity and build relationships with prospective interviewees, as creating and maintaining relationships is an important cultural value. Most interviewees could be approached with recommendations, and I needed to invite them by phone. Some interviewees had implicit attitudes that were not stated outright in the interviews but could be detected in data analysis. This is a reflection that, in Thai culture, some things cannot be said explicitly as readily as in the UK.

A third journey was made to Thailand to do a focus group with the NAT archivists. I also studied more literature that is only available in the country. However, not all the sources mentioned in chapters 3, 4 and 5 on Thailand and Southeast Asia are from these trips. Many of them are from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. The review of literature encouraged me to use multiple libraries in the University of London. This was for me a great pleasure, but more importantly, in this cross-cultural research, I found myself among two epistemologies, with both Western and Thai scholars discussing Thai society.

This last data collection took place in Thailand in early 2015. I conducted the focus group with the archivists and conducted a few more interviews. The focus group went well, though the same issue of cultural appropriateness seemed to come back. The focus group seemed not to be so suitable for Thai culture. The use of a Western

method where discussion is expected appeared to repeat the exact problem identified in the archives management situation itself – using a Western method in Thai contexts. That is, the strength of focus group as a methodology is to investigate the dynamic of conversation and exchange of different opinions, which is not a common process in Thai organisational culture.

Translation was another task required in this study. When formulating the questions, I needed to translate all questions and questionnaires into Thai. After gaining data from Thai interviewees and participants, I translated the data from Thai to English for data analysis and writing reports. The translation was not too challenging; however, it was necessary to be careful not to change the original meaning of the participants. Thai language by nature can be less specific than English. For example, omission of the subject or other words is common in Thai, and Thai words have neither different genders nor different endings for singular or plural. The occasional ambiguity that can result needed to be clarified once the data was translated into English. In a way, it helped me to look at the data more deeply by thinking through another language.

Being qualitative research

Being purely qualitative research, it could be argued that this study lacks justification to generalise the broader social phenomenon in that it refers only to a handful of interviewees and participants. I do not claim that this research can give absolute judgement of Thai values and their impacts on the archival situation in Thailand. This research attempts to explain the phenomenon within the limitations of time and scope imposed. For example, the research focuses on the national archives of the UK and Thailand. It cannot claim that each individual would value archives in the same way nor that the whole society would think the same thing. Though the number of interviewees and survey participants is quite limited, the study tries to understand the tendency of different cultures and different groups, rather than trying to get as large a sample as possible to predict tendencies.

1.7.2   Triangulation and different types of data

These research activities were built on four qualitative methods to answer the research question: literature review, semi-structured responsive interview, survey (questionnaire) and focus group. Combined in a triangulation approach, these methods provide different kinds of data to answer the research question.

The literature review gives background knowledge and understanding of the historical, cultural and organisational contexts. It gives insights to comprehend the big picture of social values, value of archives and archival management. This knowledge has shaped questions in other methods, especially the in-depth interviews. Because the interviews were semi-structured, I needed to be able to promptly discuss and ask more questions according to the information the interviewees provided. Data received from the interviews are deeper and contain more subjective points of view. The interviewees are from different groups – namely, archivists, users and academics in archives studies from both the UK and Thailand. The data acquired from this method helped to explain people's actual attitudes. Almost no interviewees are anonymised (with their permission). Further, I used all elements to understand individual's attitudes because all of them are selected from different roles relating to archival access and use. The interview data was analysed manually from the full transcription of the interviews both in Thai and English.

The third method, survey, was conducted in the second round of data collection in Thailand only. It aimed to find opinions from different professional groups that can be potential users of archives in Thailand. The questionnaire method was used instead of interviews because the participants included both those who have previous connections with archives and those with no such experience. The data gained from this method is not as deep, but it helps to see general preferences and attitudes regarding archives, which suggest potential strategies that might spur greater engagement. The comparison of information from these groups of people points out sharp contrasts among the groups, as well as differences with the interviewees in in-depth interviews. However, in this study that is concerned with how archives might not be meeting people's needs, it is particularly helpful to understand the perspectives of those who have no experiences with archives.

The last method was the focus group with the archivists at the NAT. The discussion helps to provide more realistic solutions to existing problems. The data gained from the focus group is based on the experiences of practitioners. It assists in eliminating impossibilities or impracticalities from the final outcomes of the research and shows practitioners' organisational culture and their decisions. The focus group requires information from all methods, and has helped to produce the recommendations, the secondary aim of the research.

The descriptions that follow will identify strengths and weaknesses of each method, experiences gained from the data collection and analysis and limitations of the research.

1.7.3   Literature review

This research discusses a problem related to many fields, and the fact that the subject of archives can be related to many other subjects makes it doubly important that the literature be chosen from various subjects.

This mainly meant exploring social science disciplines, particularly sociology, psychology, and archival science. Each subject has a role in answering the research question. For example, psychology gives perspectives on values, attitudes and value judgement. Sociology explains the role of values in society and social change. Archival science describes archival value and the management side of the values. Some literature is not directly from these particular disciplines but are relevant and essential to consult, such as legislation related to access and use of archives, history about recordkeeping and so on.

To minimise the risks of missing important literature in disciplines that might not be as familiar to me as archival science, I first looked at introductory texts in each field to gain general knowledge on the topic. I then tried to formulate the questions needed in the research.

The table below summarises the different types of literature that were reviewed.

Group of content	Detail
1. Historical background of recordkeeping system in each country	History about how each country in the scope of the study has kept records and their reasons for doing so; this helps to explain their archival system, users' behaviours and attitudes towards archives in the present day. I also consulted some archival materials in the NAT to better understand the history of Thai recordkeeping. This includes records created around the time of the foundation of the NAT in 1916 and their practice documented by the NAT archivists.[4] This helps to understand the background of recordkeeping in Thailand, which affects how attitudes towards archives are shaped.
2. Psychological and sociological framework	It is necessary to understand how different elements affect the evaluation of an object. Information from this part leads to an understanding of evaluation processes and facilitates an analysis of the relationship between archives and values in society. The literature reviewed in this part is from the fields of sociology and social psychology. These two disciplines study how humans interact with objects and form relationships with their society and culture.
3. Values, attitudes and practices relating to archives in the case studies	Apart from such abstract principles, the research needs to use literature about values in general, attitudes towards archives and relevant topics, and practices or "norms" for archives in order to analyse current situations and problems.

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[4] Discussed in detail and cited in section 4.2.3.

Group of content	Detail
4. Principles of archival science (especially access and use)	The principles of records and archives management, both in theory and practice, are essential for analysing problems in real-life situations and finding suitable solutions for case studies.
5. Policies on archival access and use in each country	Information on archival access and use was investigated by studying documents, policies and websites. This information is used together with data collected from the interview.

Table 1 Content in the literature review

The insights gleaned from the literature review provided the foundation for all other methods, research design and data analysis. All the bibliographical data was managed using Endnote programme.

1.7.4 Interview

Semi-structured responsive interview or in-depth interview was selected as the second kind of method used in this research. As this research is qualitative and is involved with people's values and attitudes, it is important to access individuals' points of view, which can be ascertained through conversation. Interviews in this research are "useful as a research method for accessing individuals' attitudes and values – things that cannot necessarily be observed and accommodated in a formal questionnaire" (Byrne 182). This technique also suits the research because it has an "ontological position which believes in people" (Byrne 182).

Before the main in-depth interviews were conducted, exploratory interviews were carried out with practitioners, users and academics in Thailand to explore general opinions on the topic and to learn more about situations and problems in Thailand.

Also, the interviewees were told about the research and some of them have given useful feedback that has helped to shape the research. Seven people in Thailand were interviewed in this way.

The exploratory interviews were a way to get preliminary information in preparation for the main data collection. They were informal conversation with Thai archivists at the NAT and elsewhere, archives users and an archive educator. I will not state the names of the interviewees here since I did not ask for their permission to do so, nor was their information referred to in this thesis. The information from the exploratory interviews, rather, was used more to design the questions for the main interviews.

Group	Thailand
Archivists	3
Users	3
Archives educators	1
Total	7

Table 2 Number of interviewees from exploratory interviews

The main in-depth interviews allowed me to better understand attitudes of the interviewees. I posed a predetermined set of questions to each interviewee, but I was able to go deeper by asking further questions based on their responses. In-depth interviews thus tend to yield good data but require more preparation from the interviewer, who must be ready to quickly analyse a wide range of pertinent issues, depending on where the conversation goes. However, sets of questions for different groups of people were prepared beforehand so that I could more efficiently and appropriately find out interviewees' opinions in certain areas.

I decided to interview three groups of people: archivists who provide access, users who are familiar with archives and make use of the materials and the archives educators who are able to see and analyse the situations and have roles in archival education. These groups of people are familiar with archives so worth being interviewed.

I looked for archivists who mainly have experience in giving access and the one whose work is involved with connections to outer society at both National Archives so those I interviewed in both countries are the ones responsible for access, service and outreach in the archives.

For users, I sought users who are familiar with archival use and the National Archives in each country. The regular users were approached by national archivist in Thailand. And for the UK, the archivist let me contact users in TNA online users community. Another kind of interviewees I focus on is various user groups using different kinds of archival materials. This becomes beneficial as different perspectives and needs were obtained from users who have different needs and uses. For example, most users who regularly use archives are researchers and historians but I also invited some freelancers, reporters, journalists. Some of them offered non-traditional way of thinking about archives which are different from others. As the research attempts to expand archival awareness and use to more various groups, diversity in user interviewees was quite useful.

For archives academics, the number of academics in this subject is not large in both countries so the criteria in choosing the interviewees are not as strict. The challenge in seeking interviewees in this group is more from the need to interview specified people. For instance, there are few archives educators in Thailand and the main people are needed. Lack of specified person can be deficiency of the research.

People who took part in the main interviews can be grouped as follows:

Group	Thailand	UK
Archivists	4 (transcribed), 2 (not transcribed) 6 in total	3
Users	6	3, 1 (recording sound problem) 4 in total
Archives educators	3	3
Total	24	

Table 3 Number of interviewees in different groups [5]

According to my original thinking of how I would conduct my research, the number of interviewees I aimed for was ten people for Thailand and about five to seven each for the UK and France. Once the scope of the research was limited as described above, more time could be used for data collection in the other two countries. Finally, fourteen people were interviewed in Thailand and ten people for the UK. Overall, twenty-four people were interviewed – one of the interviewees was counted in both groups.

Audio recordings were made of all the interviews; the sound quality of these recordings was sometimes an issue. For example, the recording of my interview with Dr Tony Wakeford, a user of The National Archives (UK), is partially obscured by the sound from an air conditioner in the room; it could not be fixed even with a sound-editing computer program. Nevertheless, the number of the interviewees (24) still exceeds the initial expected number (about 20 in total).

The interviews of two Thai archivists were not transcribed because they are not from the NAT but from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, so the interviews were intended to get more data but did not follow the established interview structure.

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[5] I conducted 24 interviews; however, the number in the table adds up to 25 because one of the interviewees is counted in two categories.

1.7.5 Survey

The third research method utilised in this research was survey (questionnaire). This method was selected because it corresponds with one aim of the research: to understand the conditions necessary to expand the group of archives user users in Thailand. Having learned from the UK experience, I realised that many professional and interest groups can use archives to support their jobs. Consequently, this kindled the idea of exploring opinions of potential user groups in Thailand.

Questionnaires were sent to people who work in four professions: school teachers, media, those working in organisations and people who pursue their interest in history for non-academic purposes. These professional and interest groups were selected because in the UK archives are used to support work of these groups, and these professions in Thailand seemed to have the potential to rely on archives in a greater extent. A survey of their likelihood of using archives and of their opinions on the possibilities helped to clarify their attitudes towards archives and archival use as well as predict potential future use of archives.

As the target participants were grouped according to their profession and interest, I approached the participants by contacting people in each profession and asking them to help distribute my questionnaires to people in their profession; however, for the non-academic user group I asked archivists at the NAT to help distribute the surveys.

About 30 people returned the questionnaire – at least seven from each group. Although the number is fairly low for the survey, the research aimed to obtain qualitative data from the survey, so the number is not priority for this case.

The questionnaire comprised three sections: (1) background of the users, (2) open-ended questions about participants' opinions towards archives and their experiences using archives (participants include both users and non-users), and (3) means of using archives, or preferred ways of accessing archives. The questionnaires had both subjective and objective questions. Hence, they can identify the participants' personal opinions as well as gaining general opinions from given choices. The first two sections about users' background, experience and opinions can tell me about general attitudes of people on archives and understanding of value of archives – the need to obtain this information is why the questionnaires focus on getting qualitative data.

Still, some parts asked the participants to rate different options about purposes and methods for using archives. These items were option-led, in order to ask if the options would suit the participants' preferences.

Another reason why a questionnaire was used for this case is some participants did not know about archives before. In such a scenario, an interview is not worth setting up as the participants probably would not have much information to share.

Some benefits received from the questionnaire is that it was easy to spread within professional groups. I usually approached people working in each profession and asked them to help distribute the questionnaire to their colleagues. Another advantage is that the form gave a chance for participants to say what they think freely. For example, in a part about definition of archives, some described their understandings about archives in ways that did not accord with accepted professional or academic principles of records and archives management; in situations where I was present while the questionnaire was being completed, participants tended to ask me what archives are.

The questionnaire also had some drawbacks. Firstly, many questionnaires were not returned to me. Secondly, the fact that I used a paper form and Microsoft Word document in electronic format made some participants not want to complete the forms. I did not think that a large number of people were required for the survey, and hence did not feel it necessary to create an online survey. It appeared that many participants expected to fill in the online form rather than download a document. Or they did not do the form because it could not be done on their phones. Users' expectations and the suitability of research tools is an important issue that needs to be considered in future research. Lastly, some participants did not complete the form but chose to answer only what they wanted, making the data analysis unequal (because some questions were not answered). I omitted these forms from the data analysis.

Overall, the survey gave information from the right groups of people, in an effective manner and in a short time; however, the data collection presented some difficulties. These obstacles sometimes caused the survey to be incomplete or not returned at all.

1.7.6   Focus group

The focus group, the last data collection activity used, was undertaken when data analysis of the interviews was almost finished. The focus group was done with five archivists at the NAT.

The purposes of the focus group were (1) to listen to what the archivists want in order to develop access and use at the NAT, and (2) to show what I had determined so far in my research and discuss with the archivists about possible and realistic developments at NAT. This method was selected because it fits with the need to see ideas on archives development being discussed among actual practitioners. This responds to the aim to apply ideas from the more abstract level of the data analysis to more concrete solutions from those who actually work in The National Archives.

The interaction among participants was a strength of the focus group. Again, it helped to demonstrate the real working situation in the organisation. The focus group reflected Thai working culture in which discussion was not very active but rather was respectful of the chance that one should speak. Though everyone had a chance to speak, the focus group did not take on a tone of free-ranging discussion. Showing respect to social superiors is considered important. However, it is important to note that it is the demonstration of such respect that is considered most crucial, so it does not necessarily mean that an idea will be implemented or agreed with if it is not approved by the executives.

Limitations of the methodology

As a researcher working on cultural issues, I am aware of a certain lack of efficiency of the methodology adopted in my research. The experience in using a focus group in Thailand reminded me that the focus group method is not suitable for national and organisational culture of my field work in Thailand. While the data obtained from the focus group is usable, I realise that it lacks the dynamic interaction of views and perceptions for which focus groups are prized. I think researchers working on different cultures must design and perhaps adapt their methodologies to suit the context.

Participants

The focus group population was five archivists from different teams, but the topic discussed had to do with the part of their work that is related to archival access and use. Most people (three of them) are from the archives and service team. The rest represent records management and contemporary historical records.

How the focus group was conducted

First of all, I gave a short presentation of my research project so the archivists could understand the background and purpose of the focus group. Next, the archivists were asked to look at suggestions made by participants and the researcher in different areas relating to archival access and use. In each area, different potential developments were proposed to the archivists. Some suggestions were already being implemented in the NAT, so in those instances the archivists were able to talk about the pros and cons from their experiences. If the ideas had not yet been put into practice, the archivists were asked their opinions on the feasibility of those ideas. The archivists were also encouraged to comment on other possible solutions in each area. Each recommendation was rated by each archivist on a paper form, and related questions were asked to gain more detailed responses (see appendices I and J). The focus group lasted two hours and twenty minutes. There was a small break in the middle, and some refreshments were provided.

1.7.7 *Reputation of the interviews and focus group participants*

From the beginning, I decided to include the interviewees' names if permitted in the thesis because of two reasons. Firstly, the research partly seeks insights and solutions from the experienced practitioners, users and archives educators. At an early stage, I considered using the Delphi method to brainstorm suitable strategies for the Thai case, but this changed during the course of the research. However, the answers to many questions raised in this thesis are connected with their insights into problems and possible solutions. I purposively invited each interviewee because of unique features of their person and experience, and I hence wanted to give them credit for

their ideas. Additionally, many such figures are widely known in Thailand, and their involvement is hence likely to bolster the authority of my research. Secondly, the archives sector in Thailand is tiny, and even if I did not name interviewees in my thesis, it would not be hard to surmise who they were. This is why I decided to reveal their names on condition that they give me permission.

To be able to name the participants, the UCL ethics committee's approval was required. All required supporting documents (e.g. consent forms, interview questions, questionnaires) that were in Thai had to be translated into English for the committee's review. These documents informed the committee about my research methods and how they would be carried out; the goal of this process was to ensure that the research would respect the rights of the participants. The committee finally approved my application. I used the consent forms accepted by the committee in my data collection, and have complied with what has been written in them.

However, the negative side of this is that interviewees fear the thesis can harm their reputations or lead to negative consequences. I received requests to remove some content when I asked the participants to look at the transcription. Their requests must be fully respected and complied with, which meant that I could not publish some information raised in the interviews. In addition, one of the interviewees did not wish to be named. When I refer to the information this person has given, I always respect the person's request to stay anonymous.

1.7.8   Data analysis

Data collection from the interviews and focus group

Qualitative data analysis was done with data obtained from the interviews and focus group. The data analysis actually started before the formal transcription. That is, I created field notes after each interview. The field notes help to record what I considered outstanding ideas after the interviews. Also, they serve as an aid to recording what I *see* as well as what I hear from the interview (Silverman 140). They serve as reminders of something that might not be explicitly said and transcribed afterwards. The field notes also help to note interviewees' profiles, which sometimes

help to clarify the information the interviewees provide while considering their background and context.

The interview and focus group recordings were all transcribed by myself. I chose to transcribe all interviews (except the one with sound problem and the extra ones with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) as it facilitated the data analysis. The transcription includes the remarks of non-verbal language. I decided to operate the qualitative data analysis manually instead of using a data analysis programme because I personally enjoy coding and thinking with physical paper more than on the screen. I printed the transcriptions out and numbered all lines, coded transcriptions with key words on paper and also noted them in an Excel spreadsheet. I coded the same ideas with the same key words. The final spreadsheet product shows ideas with the name of the interviewees and the number of lines for referring back to the transcription. The ideas were presented in different categories arranged in columns. The categories were firstly created by the structure of the interview questions. However, some ideas and categories were developed during the course of the coding.

After data collection, I always wrote reports highlighting the main points of the conversation as well as starting to find connections to important points of data collection experiences. Revisiting these reports was helpful in the data analysis phase. Part of the data collection entailed categorising and summarising concepts in a spreadsheet where the different ideas were then assigned specific codes. The relationship of these coded ideas and their hierarchy were drawn out in the form of mind maps and diagrams. I finally wrote my thesis based on these materials. All of the processes, from the transcription to the final writing, took about two years. Hence, I also revisited some recordings and transcriptions to refresh my memories on data collection especially while writing up the thesis.

The qualitative data and data analysis methods proved to have both strengths and weaknesses. Coding and analysing data manually was straightforward, but it could be that using the data analysis program would have helped to categorise things more conveniently. When all interviews had been transcribed, I sometimes experienced "information overload". For another thing, I wrote many reports from the same data in different periods of time.

Data collection from the survey

The data obtained from the survey in the first part, in which the questions on background of users and attitude towards archives were asked, is qualitative. In contrast, the parts on the purposes for and means of using archives was done by rating, so it can be studied numerically. I noted data in the first part from the questionnaire in a word processing programme. I highlighted important features of the data for each group of potential users.

As for other parts, which were done by rating, I calculated the score of different options divided by the number of participants in each group. Then, I compared the average score to one another to see the tendency of the purpose of using archives and the means of using archives among potential groups of users.

1.8   Conclusion

This introductory chapter provides an overview of this research and is the starting point of the research, explaining its rationale and how the research questions are formulated. It has sought to introduce different ideas of study that will be elaborated upon throughout the rest of the thesis. The research question involves archival science, sociology, psychology, history and, to a small extent, philosophy. Different sub-questions concerning these subjects are discussed in the subsequent chapters of the thesis by using various research methods in triangulation.

Understanding archives in their context is an important aspect of the study. The aims of developing archival awareness and archives management in Thailand led this research to contemplate Thai society and its connections to archives by looking into the historical and cultural background of the values and attitudes towards recordkeeping in the country. The UK has been selected as a case study representing archives in a Western context in order to more clearly understand the situation in Thailand, where the Western system is being used in the broader context of Thai culture.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a review of literature relating to the research question of this thesis. The study of prior academic work helps to clarify the research question. Moreover, it aims to help define and interpret important key words used in this thesis, such as 'value', 'attitude', 'world view' and others, as well as roles of these elements in the valuation process, which affects the archival profession.

This research aims to understand how archives are valued in Thailand where the cultural context is different from the West. It speculates that the society in which the archives are valued is of no less importance than the value of the object itself. Thus, the valuation process is worth studying to understand how the question of the research should be tackled. This includes knowledge from other disciplines, namely psychology, sociology and philosophy. This study of knowledge in non-archival studies disciplines is beneficial as the information will clarify archival problems. Moreover, it allows archives to be considered partly outside the archival perspective, which is important, especially in the areas where archives are exposed to users and society.

2.2 Value

Value is the primary and main concept considered in this research. It is also an important concept in archive studies, which has defined archives as records that are kept because of their enduring value (Schellenberg 13). Hence, whether or not something can be considered an archive depends on the value that the materials possess, and that the archive as a whole possesses. The archival processes of appraisal, preservation, arrangement, description and access are designed for the purpose of keeping or delivering this archival value to wider society. The whole archival process can thus fail if the value of archives is understood differently than the way archival work is administered.

Evaluation, or value judgement is the central process for determining value. It is composed of the evaluated (which can be a person, materials and so on) and the evaluator. For this research, the research question focuses on the idea of how archives are evaluated, and when evaluators and contextual factors have changed (such as when archival principles derived from Western societies are adopted to non-Western ones), how do they affect the value of the evaluated object. Is it something to do with value in archives, values held in society or any other psychological or sociological variables? This evaluation process and related concepts will be discussed in this chapter.

2.2.1 Definition of value

A wide range of disciplines offer different definitions of the word 'value'. General meanings of 'value' given by the *Oxford English Dictionary* are:

1. Worth or quality as measured by a standard of equivalence.

2. Worth based on esteem; quality viewed in terms of importance, usefulness, desirability, etc. In other words, belief or things that people believe valuable. This is varied according to cultural and social context (values studied in sociology and psychology).

3. Economic value. This is used in quantitative terms to measure the worth of things such as monetary value.

According to these general definitions, the word value can refer to both quantity and quality. It also has specific meanings in other disciplines, such as the second meaning mentioned above.

In philosophy, the word 'value' is especially significant because it is related to moral judgement and the concept of the 'good'. Philosophers can refer to different things when they talk about values. For example, Z. Najder (42) quoted Bernard Berenson's concept 'tactile values' which enumerates three basic senses of value:

1. Value is what a thing is worth; something translatable into or expressible by some units of measurement or comparison, frequently definable numerically.

2. Value is a valuable (a) thing or (b) property (quality); something to which valuableness is ascribed.

3. Value is an idea which makes us consider given objects, qualities, or events as valuable.

Then again, W. Tatarkiewicz's "On the concept of value" declares a triple ambiguity of the term as used in philosophy (Najder 43):

- It designates either a property of a thing, or a thing possessing that property

- It designates either a positive quality, or a quality which may be positive or negative attribute

- It has either a specialised, 'economic' meaning, or a broad, 'philosophical' one.

In Thai, the word "value" (*"khun kha"*) means benefits and value. Similarly, the word "value" in English means worth or importance (Oxford Dictionaries "Value"). However, value is a rather ambiguous concept, and can refer to different things. This meaning can be translated in Thai into the word *kha niyom*, which literally translated means the value that is well regarded or appreciated (*kha* = worth, *niyom* = pleased or popular). The Thai language implies that this kind of value is not self-contained but depends on individuals or societies that bestow their admiration. This demonstrates the congruence between value that inheres in materials and people's subjective ascription of value in their valuation of a thing. The range of meaning in Thai is wide, but has less overlap than in English. Both languages imply that value exists, but also that not all kinds of value are admired by particular individuals or societies.

2.2.2 *Value in philosophy*

The complexity of value has led to it being devoted a branch of philosophy called axiology, which studies value in both the ethical and aesthetic senses. Axiology is a wide body of knowledge and discussion that cannot be described in full in this thesis. However, one prominent theme in the philosophical literature on value is a distinction

between objectivity and subjectivity. Evaluation can work in either or both ways. Philosophers have explained that evaluation is subjective because, when asked to judge something, evaluators relate their own experiences to the situations or objects being evaluated. The person's pre-existing knowledge and values play a role in their judgement, such that it is said that beauty (or in this case value) is in the eye of the beholder. In contrast, many philosophers have suggested that there is value in an object that does not depend on the beholder, that is *intrinsic* to the object itself as it is inherent in the materials and exists independently from the judgement of any particular evaluators.

The focus of this research is on values connected to evaluators. Philosophers have claimed that in the valuation process, things are judged based on *a priori* knowledge of those who judge (Najder 6). This means value does not usually exist alone but depends on the evaluator; as it is said, "Beauty is in the eye of the beholder". Even specific intrinsic values may be emphasised to varying degrees in different contexts. Therefore, this research has to look into different kinds of values, both those found in archives and the values held by those who judge them (especially in the case study: Thailand). The review of literature will thus explore the question of value based on this relationship between the value of materials (archives) and value ascribed through belief, in a sociological manner, considering various groups of people that impact the whole process of archival practice and use.

In archival studies, Elaine Penn's PhD thesis "Exploring Archival Value: An Axiological Approach" examines the value of archives through the application of axiological theories. The study attempts to solve the problem of the value of archives being vaguely defined. Although Penn finally concludes that archives do have intrinsic value and a specific property called 'archival value' in the sense that they hold value from the organic whole of the records and its parts which creates more value than looking at each part individually (Penn 245), one interesting result of her work is her description of the link between evolving notions of archival value and the emphasis of different values in wider society. For example, modern ideas on memory, accountability, power and so on have shaped how archival value is conceived of within appraisal theory (Penn 241) and other related fields of study such as material culture and collective memory also shape the perception of archives' value (Penn 242).

As for this research, both kinds of values can be seen in value judgement. Archives have values in the materials that have been used in different cultures in many ways. While these can represent different uses, there is still a common ground in the essence of value. Archives are created and used to help people to remember important information or for communication. Yet, they are kept for the purpose of evidence and memory though they can serve different purposes, human beliefs, or values. Although Elaine Penn claimed in her doctoral thesis that she believes that archival value exists, will it be the same result in non-Western contexts? If so, in what ways?

Emotional elements also play a part in evaluation. Najder (23) described that Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz's judgements of the value of objects are based on the grounds of both feelings and reasoning. Valuation that is based on logical thinking includes practical reasons. For instance, in this research, some people wishing to learn about archives might not take action to go to an archives building because of inconvenience in access or distance from home. This thus shows the importance of studying as lying not only in users' values but also constraints and practicality in actual situations such as archives access and use in reality. The philosophy discipline also looks at how language is used in evaluation. The reason why values have been seriously studied is that though they are not facts, they can influence decision making and behaviour.

In sum, knowledge about value in philosophy helps to understand value in the meaning of 'worth'. It helps to clarify perspectives of evaluation as a logical and emotional process. Philosophers use deduction in reflecting on value; however, they do not try to measure or explore standards of evaluation processes empirically. This became the work of social scientists.

2.2.3   Value in sociology and psychology

Sociologists and anthropologists are also interested in value and they see values as core elements of culture, which are used to explain cultural phenomena in different places or contexts comparatively.

For example, Geert Hofstede referred to the definition by Clyde Kluckhohn, an anthropologist, who stated that, "A value is a conception, explicit or implicit,

distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of action" (Hofstede 5). Similarly, Hofstede defines value as "a broad tendency to prefer certain states of affairs over others" (Hofstede 5). More explicitly, Hofstede, whose study is a comparative study of culture among many nations, defines culture as a programming of mind, in which values are a part of the software. His definition focuses on the fact that values are hierarchical and ranked by human's preference.

Robin Williams, a sociologist, indicated that values are the core conception of the desirable in every individual and society and serve as standards to guide not only actions but also judgement, choice, attitude, evaluation, argument, exhortation and so on. They are "pre-codings" affecting not only priority but also extensiveness, universality of application, and consistency (Rokeach *Understanding Human Values* 2). From the sociological perspective then, values are a particular way people have of prioritising and choosing something over other available options, and they can identify individuals or groups of people. Sociologists study these tendencies to explain culture and social phenomena and to make predictions.

In contrast, psychologists have a similar definition of value as a tendency to choose something over another thing, and similarly consider how values can explain conduct, but they focus on the process and characteristics of values and how they influence human behaviours. From the psychology standpoint, Milton Rokeach, has written many important publications on values, defines a value as an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally and socially preferable to an alternative mode of conduct or end-state of existence (Rokeach *Understanding Human Values* 16). The clarity of this definition has led to its being widely quoted, even beyond the field of psychology. The straightforwardness also makes it worthwhile definition on which to base this research. In section 2.2.6., we will look at the subsequent work of Shalom Schwartz, who studied definitions provided by many psychologists and defined the nature of values.

Broadly then, these perspectives see values as one element of the human's mind functioning. They are core beliefs and important influences, working along with other elements to form patterns of behaviour in individuals and society. Functioning, as many psychologists characterise them, as software of the human mind, they can

determine mental functions though they are not factual. Other elements also play a part, such as attitudes and worldview. These elements will also be explored in section 2.3 and 2.5 in this chapter.

2.2.4 Distinction between value definition and value

From the summaries above, it can be seen that value is defined and examined differently in philosophy and in other disciplines in social science. The first focuses on worth or goodness and the latter is the study of the evaluators and how they evaluate things. Similar to this investigation, Glenn M. Vernon explained value in these circumstances as follows (Vernon 122-3).

Value definition refers to value that evaluators/ humans identify. The evaluator is an important actor, as how values are defined depends of the evaluators. Such value has a lighter weight than other kinds of value, since the existence of the value is limited to the views of individuals or a group. It is thus not always true and has subjective validity. However, this kind of value can be investigated empirically utilising scientific methods in sociology. In other words, it is the kind of value sociologists and psychologists study, usually called individual or social values. The question Vernon raised is whether it is sufficient to consider only *value definitions* and behaviour that depends on evaluators. He pointed out the distinction between the two, as social mores should not be assumed to be good or moral (because they may not be) (Vernon 122-3).

Another way to look at value is *value* as the evaluated sort. For example, it refers to goodness or beauty themselves, and hence makes a bigger claim than the other kinds of value. Scientific methods could not be used with this kind of value. Because of its abstract nature, philosophical reasoning is the method used to study this kind of value.

According to this point of view, this thesis needs to be aware of this distinction. However, it aims to study value with the focus on the evaluators and the evaluated: society and archives. The research looks at different societies and how they value archives. Vernon's argument would imply in this case that value of archives in each context is not always absolute value. Neither it can be said that one context holds

better values than others. It is essential to understand value according to each context, then seek for values that archives can offer. However, it is a problematic quest insofar as good can be different in different contexts, though the society can also be wrong about its judgements.

2.2.5   *Nature of value definition*

Using Vernon's distinction we can now identify that those who see values in the way explained in 2.2.4 can be associated with the approach he terms 'value definition'. In this section, the meaning of and perspectives on values this entails will be further explored.

Many scholars have studied how values work. Different perspectives from many disciplines help to explain the concept of values more fully. Psychologists and sociologists are the leaders of these studies. Shalom Schwartz and Wolfgang Blisky claimed that values exhibit the following qualities. 1) Values are beliefs. They are infused with feeling when they are operated. 2) Values refer to desirable goals. They are the motivation for actions. 3) Values transcend specific actions and situations, and they are thus expressed in many kinds of actions. This is a characteristic that distinguishes values from attitudes. 4) Values are ordered by importance. Although people have many values, especially the more basic ones, in common, the distinction between individuals or groups is that they prioritise values differently. 5) The relative importance of multiple values guides action. One action is probably motivated by several values underlying it (Schwartz and Bilsky 551).

The list provides most of the significant characteristics of values – namely that they are enduring beliefs (so they embody consistency), and that they are transcendent rather than specific and thus are different from attitudes.

In his article on the study of value in society, Robert Wuthnow summarised sociologist Robin Williams's discussion of the nature of values (Wuthnow 334-5):

1) Social behaviour is purposive, meaning that it is goal oriented.

2) Values are a conception of the desirable: Williams described values as "things in which people are interested – things that they want, desire to be or become, feel as obligatory, worship, enjoy" (Wuthnow 334-5).

3) Values influence the selection of means.

4) Values are not always consistent with one another, but some values typically become dominant in society and shape it or give it a distinctive character.

5) Dominant values tend to be enduring and shared, and for these reasons provide stability and integration to a society.

His explanation of the concept resembles those of Rokeach, Kluckhohn and Hofstede (outlined in section 2.2.3) in the way that he emphasises values as desirable goals that encourage the means (behaviour) to attain them. Apart from indicating that values have a hierarchical order, he further posits that some values are more dominant than others, and thus form patterns in societies.

Another characteristic addressed in this list is the affective component of values that distinguishes them from facts. Values are beliefs, so they are related to emotions in individuals. Rokeach provided a rich explanation of values. He compared values and norms and found that values are the 'criteria of desirability' while norms are 'specific obligatory demands' (Rokeach *Understanding Human Values* 15). Similar to Williams, he found that they are found "appearing in various admixture with knowledge and beliefs" (Rokeach *Understanding Human Values* 16). Rokeach explained that values can be explicit or implicit. They are criteria of behaviour when explicit, and can be expressed in individuals' decision making when they are implicit (Rokeach *Understanding Human Values* 16) In sum, his explanation addressed very clearly the nature of values in the sense of obligation, visibility and diffusion to other elements.

A great contribution of his explanation is how values are related to other elements, and the roles they play (components of psychological processes, of social interaction, and of cultural patterning and storage) (Rokeach *Understanding Human Values* 17).

2.2.6   *How are values studied?*

Many frameworks have been created in accordance with the various definitions proposed by psychologists. These frameworks enable one to understand values systematically. They are used in value surveys. Several well-known frameworks will be discussed here. Each framework has strengths and weaknesses that will also be discussed.

Rokeach Value Survey

The first and the most original values framework is the Rokeach Value Survey (RVS) created by Milton Rokeach. In his book *The nature of human values*, Rokeach identified 36 values within two categories (8). One group is terminal values consisting of 18 values. This group of values contains values referring to a desirable end-state of existence. In contrast, the other group is instrumental values, which are modes of conduct leading to desirable end-states.[6]

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[6] There is no suggested relationship between two values in the same row.

Terminal values	Instrumental values
1 True friendship	1 Cheerfulness
2 Mature love	2 Ambition
3 Self-respect	3 Love
4 Happiness	4 Cleanliness
5 Inner harmony	5 Self-Control
6 Equality	6 Capability
7 Freedom	7 Courage
8 Pleasure	8 Politeness
9 Social recognition	9 Honesty
10 Wisdom	10 Imagination
11 Salvation	11 Independence
12 Family security	12 Intellect
13 National security	13 Broad-mindedness
14 A sense of accomplishment	14 Logic
16 A world at peace	16 Helpfulness

17 A comfortable life	17 Responsibility
18 An exciting life	18 Forgiveness

Table 4 Rokeach's values

This values framework was designed according to Rokeach's definition of value describing desirable conditions of existence and modes of behaviours leading to them. RVS has been widely used in empirical studies on values. However, some scholars identified as a weakness the framework's using one question to identify a value, when one thing linguistically can refer to many values (Debats and Bartelds 48). Also, the distinction between terminal and instrumental values is not always clear because some values can be both in different situations. For example, pleasure can be a terminal value or a value that is instrumental to the achievement of a comfortable life (Debats and Bartelds 48). Using component analysis to examine the correlations between terminal and instrumental values, scholars found instability between the two.

For the methodology, RVS requests participants to rank values. This may correspond to the fact that values are hierarchical in nature. However, this does not necessarily mean that the subject will be unable to value some values equally. RVS is used widely and it has strength in managing ends and means systematically, which is useful in studies on motivation and marketing.

Schwartz Value Survey

The Schwartz Value Survey is another framework employed extensively by social scientists. Many researchers and scholars have developed this framework. The framework is developed from the basic human values, the values that Schwartz believes universally held by all human beings. He grouped different small values into groups and obtained ten values reflecting basic human values for the individual level. The ten basic values have been arranged in a circular diagram, revealing relationships and conflicts among ten fundamental values (see Figure 1).

Schwartz calls the diagram a quasi-circumplex model, meaning each value space in the circle is not equal since the position of each value is placed statistically in relation to its proximity to other values. The distance between each value is not equal, and the spaces do not actually form an exact circle. (Although in his simplified diagram shown below, the values are illustrated equal.)

The positions in which the values are placed in the circle have meanings. Values are located according to their motivational goals. Values that have similar motivations are placed next to each other, while values whose motivations are incompatible or conflicting with one another are placed at the opposite side of the circle. Again, the breadth of some values are big while others are small. For example, universalism and security are conceptually broad, whereas hedonism and stimulation may be conceptually narrow (Schwartz and Boehnke 253). Some values have very similar motivations, and share the same positions in the diagram e.g. conformity and tradition. However, they are not considered the same value because they have differences (Schwartz and Boehnke 253). (Tradition focuses on complying with rules of religions or institutions, but conformity focusing on avoiding what will lead to other's dissatisfaction. Tradition is a variable that can distinguish voters into many groups while conformity cannot (Schwartz and Boehnke 251)).
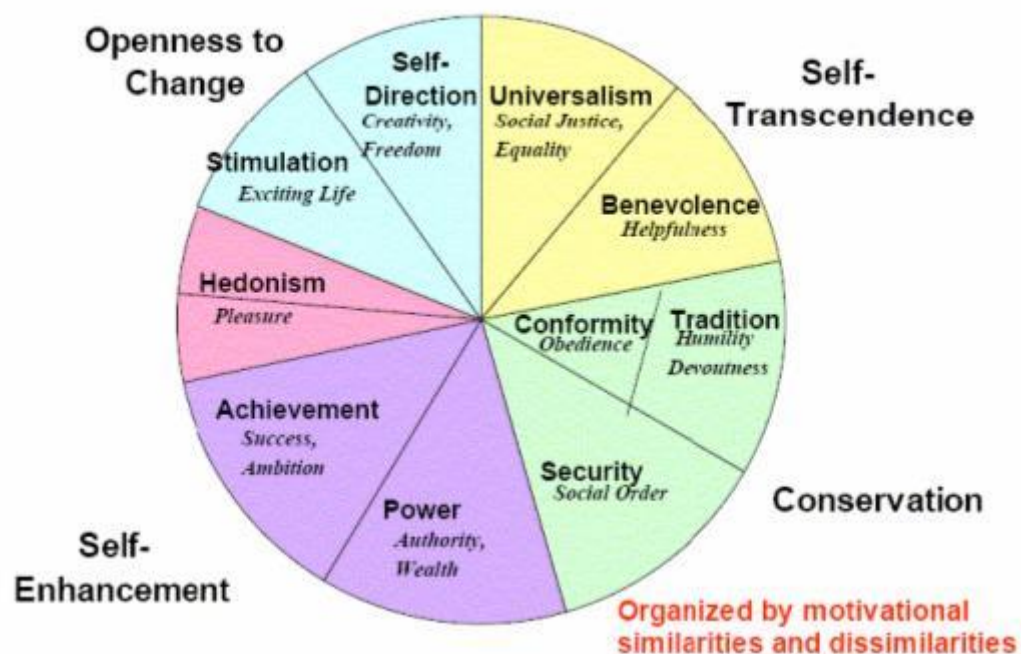
Figure 1 Schwartz' s values diagram (Schwartz "Basic Human Values: An Overview" 3)

The obvious advantages of Schwartz Value Survey (SVS) is that its categorisation is well arranged and probably covers all aspects of humans' values. Values are also classified into different groups: openness to change, self-enhancement, self-transcendence and conservation. The four motivations conceptually provide higher motivational goals, and group values in different areas.

For methods used in measuring values, the Schwartz Value Survey uses a Likert scale where the participants are asked to rate the importance of each value. Rating is used instead of Rokeach's ranking method and Schwartz believes that he has solved problems of Rokeach's ranking problem. The arrangement of the Schwartz values diagram still deals with means and modes of values, as well as the priority of values Rokeach's system addresses. However, it expresses the relationship of all values in the model.

Though the framework is widely accepted, its weaknesses appear when the framework is practised in reality. A Likert scale asks people to give a preference level to each value. The problem is that people taking the survey have their own standard in rating values. For example, some people tend to give quite high scores to all values while another person may tend to rate all low. Schwartz has a technique to balance these participants called 'balancing the scale'. For a person who rates high for every value, his or her scale will be adjusted. One person's 5 might be another person's 3.

Another measuring method is called the best–worst scale. A scale can help to solve the above identified problem by asking participants to assign their best and worst values. The statistical data from a best–worst scale survey was analysed by computer to assess relationships among values. This was found to provide a more accurate circle form than the original SVS method (Lee, Soutar and Louviere 335-47). It can be concluded from this study that, despite the SVS appearing very complete, it can be developed.

SVS represents basic human values at the individual level. Schwartz's ten universal values are achievement, power, security, conformity, tradition, universalism, self-direction, stimulation, hedonism and benevolence. SVS will be used in the next chapter to analyse the compatibility between values in archives and Thai social values. Further details on each value is available in chapter 3.
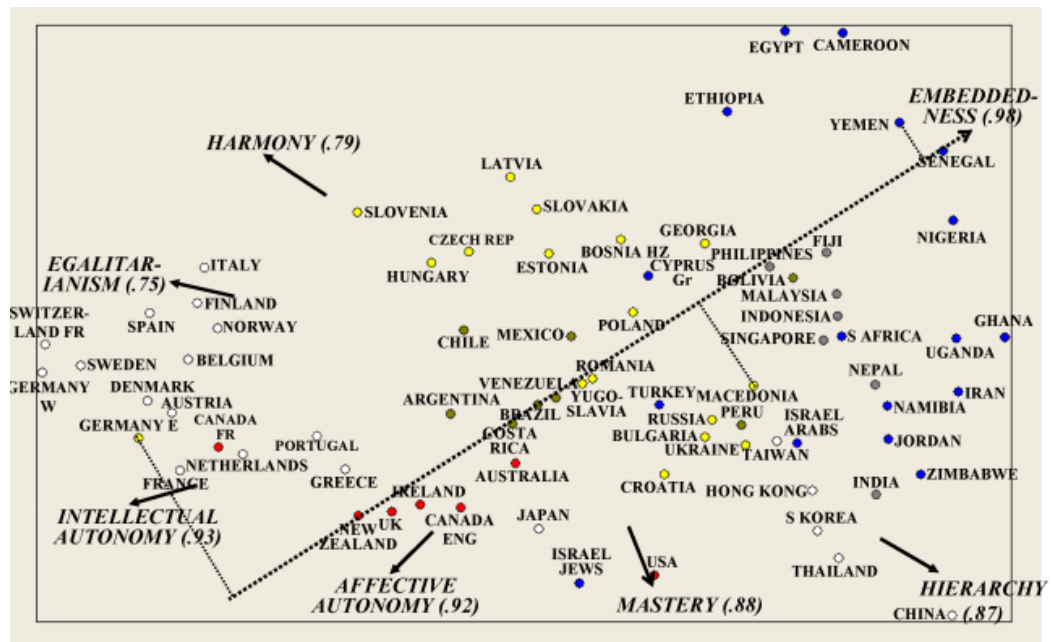
Figure 2 Schwartz's cultural orientations (Schwartz and Sagiv 181)

Schwartz's work does not stop at a taxonomy of value found in individuals. Each individual does have his/her own individual values; however, as a cultural territory, each country as a social unit to some extent possesses a shared culture. These commonly held values have been studied by many scholars. Schwartz's one is called cultural orientation, suggesting different tendencies of cultural orientations in different national cultures.

Schwartz also studied prevalent social values across cultures by designing seven cultural dimensions to compare values in various parts of the world. The survey he carried out was conducted with 60,000 individuals in 64 nations from all continents in order to avoid biases ("Schwartz Values Survey"). The cultural dimension framework consists of conservatism, intellectual autonomy, affective autonomy, hierarchy, egalitarianism, mastery and harmony ("Schwartz Values Survey").[7]

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[7] Further values surveys include Morris' 'Ways to live', Klimann's 'Insight Test' and McClelland's 'Personal Values Questionnaire'.

2.3   Attitude

Attitude is another main element that this study will explore and use to find an answer to the research question. Attitude is much valued in social psychology because it can determine behaviour. When one takes into account the definition of attitude, its nature and applicability to a wide number of topics, attitude formation as well as measurement techniques, attitude change produces a large scope of research.

The main focus on attitude in this thesis is how attitudes are formed, and their roles in evaluation of archives, including how existing attitudes can be changed, or if there is none, how can positive attitudes be formed.

2.3.1   Definition of attitudes

A pioneer in the study of attitude, Gordon Allport in 1935 defined attitude thus:

> A mental and neural state of readiness, organised through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related (Schwarz and Bohner 2).

According to this definition, attitudes are an individual's state of mind or reaction towards particular persons or objects. D.W. Rajecki described that an attitude is a personal psychological entity that no one but the attitude's owner can experience directly. The closest we can come to a direct observation of attitudes is by directly asking the person, but this can provide very limited insight. Secondly, Rajecki also explained other attributes of this definition, specifically, that attitude is learned by experience. Some attitudes are formed from when the person is young, through family and schooling. Thirdly, attitude directs individuals to act in certain ways. Lastly, attitudes are the individual's response to all related objects and situations. Due to attitudes, one can have consistent behaviours in decisions related to specific objects (Rajecki 4-6).

Gerd Bohner and Michaela Wänke defined attitude as "a summary evaluation of an object of thought" (Bohner and Wänke 4-5). This definition shows that attitude always comes with evaluation. Also, the evaluation is specifically about good or bad

(R.Maio and Haddock 2). In other words, attitude is what individuals use to judge the objects to guide their behaviour towards them.

Unlike values, attitude is more specific. It can be called an attitude towards specific events or objects. However, values and attitudes work closely with each other because how one can judge specific things is linked to one's broader enduring beliefs, namely values.

However, attitude shares some similarities with values in terms of endurance.

Eagly and Chaiken defined attitude as "[a] psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor" (R.Maio and Haddock 4). Similar to the previous definition that expresses the evaluative nature of attitude, this definition identifies the liking or disliking, or approval or disapproval aspect of attitude.

2.3.2 Attitude functions

The importance of attitude in human life has largely been connected to its functions (especially in the functionalist perspectives). Psychologists studied attitude's functions, and found that they have a relation to attitude's influence on action. Attitude can facilitate or complicate human life. Daniel Katz proposed a list of attitude functions (Katz 170-6). This should be considered to understand why people need to evaluate.

Knowledge function

This function helps humans to "structure [their] universe" (Katz 170). Attitude helps individuals to organise the world by categorising different things to likes and dislikes. This is the mental activity in information management.

Utilitarian function

Attitude enables people to maximise pleasure and minimise pain.

Ego-defensive function

This helps an individual to protect their self-esteem by understanding themselves and the external world, which can be difficult to perceive (Katz 170). Smith et al. talked about the same concept but used the phrase 'externalisation function' instead (Hogg and Vaughan 150).

Value expressive function

Attitude can also express an individual's self-concept and values. This function of attitude shows the connection between attitude and value. However, there is a balance in the expression of value. That is, a person has to consider the compromise between social adjustment[8] – which stresses correspondence with social norms – and self-expressiveness – which emphasises the self and involves less self-monitoring. This points out that the attitude of expressiveness is in control of being with others and standing up for one's identity. One point of this research is to investigate the weighting between the individual's and social values.

2.3.3   Attitude: compatibility between the evaluator and evaluated

Deborah Prentice contended that people have different orientations in their attitude. "The functional orientations toward their valued possessions indicate the functional orientation of their attitudes more generally" (Fazio and Olson 146). This means that the objects an individual values clarify their attitude functional orientation. One may value the practical function of objects more than the symbolic function and vice versa.

On the other hand, each object has a different functional orientation. For example, a wedding ring has a symbolic functional orientation while a washing machine has practical functions. Advertisements need to have the right functional orientation in their message in order to respond to the function that their target groups need. Sharon Shavitt explained that, with attitude objects, attitude functions 'inhere' in them (Fazio

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[8] This concept has been raised by Smith at al.

and Olson 146). As for archival materials, it is worth considering what attitude functions archives have, and how to apply this knowledge to access strategies.

Many parts of this research involve the contemplation of this relationship between evaluators (users, archivists, the public) and the evaluated object (archival materials) in both values and attitude functional orientations. To consider this, many variables surrounding people and materials have to be considered, such as people and their contexts, and objects and their nature. However, objects could be used in different ways according to how they are emphasised. The ways they are presented may be as important as their functions.

2.3.4   How attitudes are studied

Attitudes can be studied directly by asking participants questions for their opinions on the topics or on other relevant topics. However, people also have implicit attitudes. People sometimes say that they are unprejudiced but they can conceal biased attitudes within, so there are both direct and indirect methods to study attitudes.

Direct and indirect survey

Attitudes can be studied by directly asking participants for their opinions. Just like values, attitudes can be expressed explicitly when subjects are asked. Nevertheless, researchers might not be able to get real answers, as participants probably adjust their answers to fit their environment before giving the answers. Various kinds of scale can be used in the direct attitudes survey, such as semantic differential, Likert scale and Thurstone scale.

In contrast, in indirect attitude measurement, questions are disguised in the form of indirect questions but the answers can be linked to needed answers.

How to study implicit attitudes

Psychologists use two methods that are believed to help the expression of hidden attitudes: priming and Implicit Association Test (IAT) (Bohner and Wänke 39-45).

Firstly, the priming procedure can provide access to implicit attitudes. The participants are asked to match the target words as quickly as possible by pressing a 'good' or 'bad' response key. The time used in matching can imply hidden prejudices in participants.

In some studies, participants were not asked to express opinions towards prime pictures but to categorise some adjectives as quickly as possible after the prime pictures appeared. It is believed that the prime picture affects the feelings of participants.

A bona fide pipeline research using priming methods interestingly pointed out that participants with implicit racist attitudes towards Black people were rated as behaving in a less friendly manner to Black experimenters.

Secondly, IAT measures the differential association of two target concepts. The participants are asked to press the left hand key every time pleasant words appear and right hand key every time bad words appear. Then the participants are asked to do combined tasks. One target word will appear at the same time as the adjective 'pleasant' or 'unpleasant'. The studies showed that tasks are done in less time when an appearing target word corresponds with right adjective in participants' mind. For example, 'flower' is matched with 'pleasant' and 'insect' with 'unpleasant'. Participants did the task more slowly when dealing with mismatched words. More importantly, a person showing themselves to have no bias in respect of race used more time when their own nation was matched with unpleasant and performed better when their own race was matched with pleasant than when other races were matched in such a way.

2.3.5   Attitude components

Psychologists consider attitude from various perspectives. Some view attitude as an interaction with the evaluated object; others see several components in the attitude. This section will enumerate these different points of view.

In 1931, Louis Leon Thurstone created one component attitude model. He revealed a simple scale of 'the affect for or against a psychological object'. Allport offered the second component, 'a state of readiness', making the attitude a more complicated subject. Finally, the most widely known model is the 'Multi-Component Model' created by Eagly and Chaiken in 1993 and Zanna and Rempel in 1988. This model presented three aspects in attitudes, as follows.

Firstly, the cognitive component refers to the content of the attitude: belief, thought, information received about the object. This part is the information people gain to have positive or negative attitudes toward that object.

Secondly, the affective component is emotion in attitude. Various kinds of feelings affect one's evaluation. The fear of the teacher might give a pupil a negative attitude towards schools. Cognitive and affective components can interact with each other. Good affective components can help to adjust negative cognitive components and vice versa (Maio and Haddock 25).

Thirdly, the behavioural component is past experiences one has towards the object. Daryl Bem indicated that sometimes attitudes are not easily accessible, so people tend to refer to their past experience with the object to articulate the attitudes (Maio and Haddock 25).

These components tend to correspond to one another; however, the studies show that they are different. Attitude change happens when inconsistency occurs among these elements.

2.3.6   Attitude formation

No one is born with an attitude, but they are rather formed at some moments in an individual's life by different means. In other words, attitudes are not static but consist of multiple changeable components. Therefore, understanding the ways these components can come together, or form attitudes, is important to this thesis in understanding the phenomenon of attitude change. Michael A. Hogg and Graham M. Vaughan explained the formation as involving behavioural and cognitive methods.

The behavioural method forms an attitude when a person has direct experience of the object in question. Individuals become familiar with different attributes of the object, gain an attitude and are able to make judgement on the specific object.

Robert Zajonc described the Mere Exposure Effect, which revealed that the more experience individuals have of an object, the more positive their attitude towards the object will be (Zajonc 1). Different behavioural learning forms different kinds of attitudes:

1) Classical conditioning

This kind of conditioning involves the combination of a neutral stimulus and other stimulus. Individuals can have a positive feeling towards the first, neutral stimulus merely because it occurs in conjunction with the other good stimulus. Some studies asked participants to read persuasive messages while soft drinks were served. The participants felt persuaded by the pleasant feeling they got from soft drinks (Hogg and Vaughan 170).

2) Instrumental conditioning

This kind of conditioning is in relation to reinforcement. The person learns that the object and action will lead them to reward, so they have positive attitude towards it. This can happen in both adults and children.

3) Observational learning

Observation can form attitudes without direct reinforcement (Hogg and Vaughan 171). This kind of learning is also called modelling (Hogg and Vaughan 171). Attitude is learned by investigating good or bad outcomes experienced by others.

The other kind of attitude formation which is from cognitive development perspective is indirect. It is processed by information obtained from various sources. The sources can be external or internal (self-perception). Parenting and teaching in schools are the main sources of this kind of attitude formation in children. Mass media is another source of public persuasion, involving not only the broadcasting of opinions but also the shaping of public attitudes (Hogg and Vaughan 173).

2.4   Value and attitude change

Though values are identified as enduring belief, they can be changed slowly. Value changes are believed to lead to behaviour changes, so many researchers have been interested in this topic. In social psychology, more effort has been dedicated to studies of attitudes and their links to the change of human behaviour. In this study of value and attitude, it is essential to consider these processes as it can be applied to the main research questions of how the improved understanding of values can mitigate underlying archives challenges. However, Rokeach, quoted by Reich and Adcock (93), stated that the change of value is more central and more effective than attitude in behavioural change.

2.4.1   Consistency theory

Both values and attitudes changes can be theoretically explained by the change of different mental elements in individuals, including value and attitude. Once one of the elements has (been) changed, other elements will automatically change.

Rokeach's view on this is that values change is related to self-conception: whether the values and attitudes will be changed or not depends on consistency among values and the conception of oneself and others. Values will change at the point that dissatisfaction with the values occurs. In terms of attitudes, inconsistency among different components and the self will lead to changes. The change thus does not happen per se but is an interaction with one's perception of self because values (and attitudes) are used as standards for one to judge behaviours and one's environment. At the same time, when values and attitudes "are compatible with each other but … not compatible with the self, there will be pressure to change" (Reich and Adcock 88).

Marshall B. Rosenberg is another psychologist studying attitudes changes but he did not involve the concept of self in the phenomenon. According to him, the change is derived from inconsistency among different components. There can be different possibilities: attitude acquisition occurs if no attitudes previously existed, or it can be attitude change if the new consistency of components creates new attitudes that replace the old ones. The inconsistency and interaction among components is Rosenberg's theory called 'symbolic psycho-logic theory'(Reich and Adcock 93).

If the feeling towards an object has changed, one's mind will develop a cognitive component to support the feeling. The change will be successful once this forms a new attitude towards a person or an object, and leads to a change in one's behaviours. It is possible for attitudes and values changes to fail if they are not strong enough to replace the old ones, which is rejection. Or, it can establish a new attitude that never previously existed. In addition, fragmentation between cognitive and affective components can occur (Reich and Adcock 93).

Contrarily, some psychologists from the behaviourist school would deny the roles of values and attitudes. Instead, they see behaviour changes as taking place due to reinforcement by different stimuli. In this view, how people identify their values and attitudes is due more to social interaction than the reflection of actual elements in one's mind. Examples of such behaviourists are B.F. Skinner and Daryl Bem.

Value is harder to change because it involves belief change. It can take so long that the changes can be investigated through generations. This change occurs according to changing environments. That means all components will adjust and change values and attitudes to be compatible with changes. An example of values change is the changes

in belief around the world because of the White frontier or White races' evangelisation and colonialism. This caused changes in people's beliefs, such as Buddhist socialism representing the combination of Buddhism and Marxism. The Buddhist Sangha looks up to Christianity for the missionary endeavours of its adherents (R. N. Smart, "Religions and Changing" 23). Another example is China, which accepted Marxism from the West but mixed this with nationalism, to create the doctrine of Maoism (R. N. Smart, "Religions and Changing" 23). At the same time, some beliefs do not change, e.g. Islamic beliefs in the Middle East (R. N. Smart, "Religions and Changing Values" 24).

Attitudes change can occur by different means. The basic principle is that new information can shape attitudes. A message that is persuasive and logical will be more influential in convincing attitude formation and attitude change. Moreover, messages that are more relevant to individuals and their cultural context will be accepted more easily (Bohner and Wänke 39-45).

Nevertheless, many studies have found that attitude changes depend on many variables, and many of them are not sensible. For example, one can be affected by moods and make decisions on the basis of them. Or, one can be more likely to be persuaded by attractive people. It is notable that individuals' specific preference is relevant to what they believe and their culture.

2.5   Other elements

Value and attitude were chosen as the main focus of this study because they could be systematically examined within the timeframe of the research. Nevertheless, other elements also play a role in the value judgement process.

2.5.1   Perception

Perception, as explained earlier, is defined as "the process of becoming aware or conscious of a thing or things in general; the state of being aware; consciousness;

(spiritual) understanding" (O.E.Dictionary "Perception"). The perception depends on those who perceive, and does not necessarily follow the truth.

It is also defined as "[t]he faculty of acquiring sensory experience" (J. Scott). What people cognitively receive also affects motivations. So, though perception is not always based on information and thorough analysis, it also has influence on people's behaviours.

2.5.2   Worldview

Worldview is another ambiguous concept that has been referred to but not adequately defined. It is more or less a framework that individual's use to see the world, make sense of it and determine how they see themselves in the world. With its broad boundaries, the term overlaps with other words such as ideology.

The concept of worldview perhaps first appears in the German *Weltanschaung* (worldview). This notion appeared in the literary world to mean "the basic presuppositions that an investigator brought to his work" (Laudan). The concept was heavily studied in anthropology, but this has come to be seen as outdated and disappeared from the field. Today, the idea of worldview is more frequently used in religious studies or philosophical contexts. Compared with other sociological elements mentioned earlier in this chapter, worldview has less clear definition and scope. However, some define it as follows:

 "Worldview refers to the total system of values and beliefs that characterize a given culture or group" (*Dictionary of the Social Sciences*).

"A largely unconscious but generally coherent set of presuppositions and beliefs that every person has that shape how we make sense of the world and everything in it. This in turn influences such things as how we see ourselves as individuals, how we interpret our role in society, how we deal with social issues, and what we regard as truth" (Park and Allaby).

"Max Weber's term for the overarching belief system of a particular social group" (D. and J. Jary "Worldview" 738).

"The system of values, attitudes and beliefs held by a specified group" (Seymour-Smith 291).

According to the definitions mentioned above, worldview is a total system of beliefs that includes value and attitude. The study of worldview focuses on particular culture or groups. In other words, it is a study of a cultural system of particular cases.

Worldview tends to be used when talking about belief systems or religions. It is the broad system of thoughts people use to see the world. To understand worldview is to understand the framework people use to categorise things and people's behaviour tends to comply with the interpretation of their worldviews and expectations in their lives. An example of how the worldview can explain humans' behaviours or similar phenomena is Max Weber's interpretation of the rise of capitalism. He commented that Protestantism encouraged capitalism as Protestants' faith emphasises substitute inner worldly world to monastic experience emphasised by other faiths (N. Smart 18).

The study of worldview seems to overlap in many disciplines. It has been an interest in religious studies, and used to flourish in anthropology along with the study of values (Keesing and Strathern 339). Worldview is also widely used in non-Western culture and in comparative cultural studies. According to the history of the study in this area, the study of religion in the West has been dominated by Christianity. Until the eighteenth century when the colonial period started, there were interests in studying other religions though it was with superior feeling and the willingness of some groups of people e.g. missionaries for evangelical purposes. Then, in the late nineteenth century, the social sciences grew, and a comparative study of religion emerged. The study became increasingly equal and cross-cultural (N. Smart 15). During the 1940–50s, American anthropologists were interested in the concept of worldview along with values. They made a serious effort to portray other cultures' philosophies or worldviews. During World War II, the studies flourished due to an eagerness to understand enemies and allies' cultures or "national characteristics" e.g. those of Japan or Germany (Keesing and Strathern 339). However, the more serious study became the study of non-Western worldview and values of non-Western people such as the studies of Clyde Klukhohn and others. Some studies focus on understanding worldview and thought found in different languages (Keesing and Strathern 339). This has expanded to another branch of anthropological linguistics.

2.5.3   Ideology

Ideology has a similar definition and scope to worldview but it tends to be more specific. This term is usually used in politics while worldview tends to be used with religions. This is because it has a connotation that leads to action. Ideology is defined as follows.

> 1. Any system of ideas underlying and informing social and political action. 2. More particularly, any system of ideas which justifies or legitimates the subordination of one group or another. 3. An all-embracing encyclopaedic knowledge, capable of breaking down prejudice and of use in social reform (D. and J. Jary "Ideology" 306).

These definitions obtained from a dictionary of sociology point out that ideology is a system of ideas underlying movement and action of particular groups (definition 1 and 2). Another definition, which represents the origin of this word, is 3. It refers to French philosopher Destutt de Tracy's "science of ideas": de Tracy believed during the Enlightenment period that the systematic way of thinking would help human beings to achieve and organise the optimal social and political order (Thompson).

In journalism, ideology is described along with communication and an attempt to spread ideas as stated that "A set or system of beliefs that are disseminated, reinforced, and/or reproduced by means of communication" (Harcup). This connotation corresponds with the usage of this word in the negative way. Some theorists regard ideology as a false or illusory concept while others see it as the connection between symbolism and power (Thompson).

To sum up, ideology refers to a system of thoughts though it can have various connotations. The concept shares some similarities with worldview. However, ideology is linked more to action both in diffusion and expression to movement while worldview is used to explain how individuals or groups see the world and themselves in it. The function of ideology is to support behaviours whereas worldview is to understand and make sense of the world. Thus, the study of worldviews and ideologies would aid in the understanding of the pattern of behaviour of a group holding particular beliefs or system of thoughts.

2.6   Relationship among different cultural elements

The chapter has studied different cultural elements to understand the valuation process and found that each element has its role in the process. Each functions in a way that relates to others resulting in behaviours towards the objects.

First of all, value is a core belief in individuals. They are beliefs held by individuals and social groups on what is good and desirable. Values turn into actions as they influence people to select to behave or react according to the values they hold. In the process of value judgement, values as core belief interact with the value (worth, goodness) of the object. If the value the objects hold is compatible with values (the belief of what is good) in individuals or social groups, the objects would be valued and individuals would engage with the objects. On the contrary, if the values conflict with values individuals hold, rejection and abandonment can be expected.

Secondly, attitude is an opinion towards objects. So, it is more specific and superficial than value. Attitude is connected to value as judgement towards specific objects is also based on belief. Attitude is shaped by information and experience individuals receive, and when processed with the core beliefs or values the individuals hold, it determines what the attitude is like. So, it can be said that attitude and value collaborate in the process of the valuation.

Thirdly, perception is a state individuals can be aware of and which can be personalised, so it does not need to be accurate nor reach the state of attitude. However, perception can be influential especially in subjects to which individuals do not pay attention such as archives, the case of this research. The vague perception of archives can impact the level of engagement towards the materials. That is why this research also looks at perception because, for many people, the word 'archives' gives them only some feelings or limited understandings. Perception is how individuals are aware of something, and so it works at a similar level to attitudes but is not necessarily as clear.

Fourthly, the bigger framework where all entities mentioned above are situated is belief system or worldview. It works as a lens individuals use to see the world, different things and themselves inside. While worldview is the system of beliefs, ideology is the system of ideas. These frameworks influence people's values and

attitudes. Different systems of ideology or worldview reveal how values are set as norms or patterns of behaviours for people to live together. They help the valuation process to be more predictable though it does not mean that individuals holding the same religions or culture would make the same judgement.

All elements are concepts defined and studied by psychologists, sociologists and anthropologists to understand how the human mind works. For this research, these concepts are treated in an instrumental manner and will be applied to the actual situation of how archives are valued in societies.
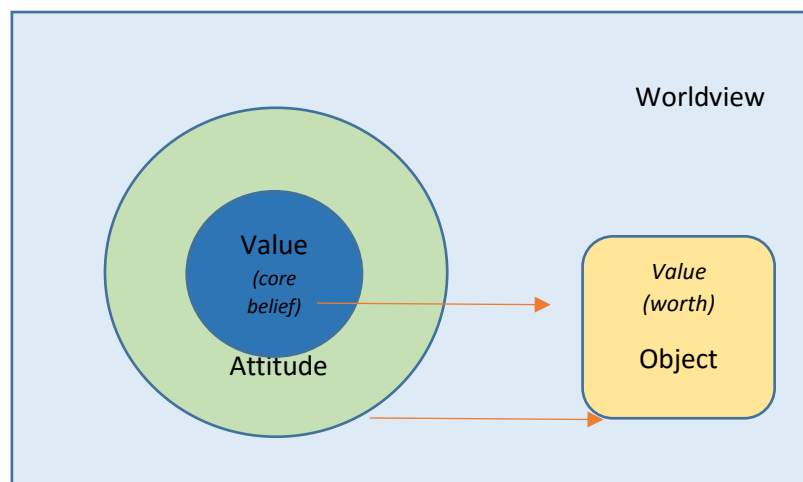
Figure 3 Different entities working in valuation process

2.7   Conclusion

The literature review has explored different elements in the valuing process, namely value, attitude, perception, worldview and ideology. Their definitions, nature and how they are studied have been discussed. These elements were defined and studied to understand the work of the human mind and its influence on resulting behaviour. In the scope of this research, value and attitude are the main entities of the study. This is because value is necessarily the core belief in one's mind that could or could not be compatible with values supported by the objects. In the same way, attitude plays an important role in the valuation process as it is directly involved with the object. The chapter has discussed the possibilities where these two entities can change. The

understanding of value will be used in the discussion in chapter 3 to further examine the compatibility between values in Thai society and archival value. In chapter 4, knowledge from this literature review on perception and attitude will be used to examine survey participants and interviewees from the data collection. Then, other entities involved with the valuation are considered, namely perception, ideology and worldview. In chapter 5, ideologies and worldviews will be studied in different aspects relating to archives. Also, I will consider value change which takes place as social change. In chapter 6 and 7, value and attitude change theory will be discussed for potential change in the Thai context.

Chapter 3

Compatibility of Thai Values and Values in Archives and Archival Practices

3.1   Introduction

In chapter 2, values are identified as core beliefs. Values are held by individuals or mutually held in societies. As a part of culture, these values determine decision making and patterns of behaviour. Thus, it is worth examining how they influence people's behaviour as well as their perceptions and reactions towards objects (which may also culturally have values attached to them). There is a congruence between values as belief or preference of individuals and social groups and values supported by archival systems, because the ways archives function and are designed depend on individual values and societal structure.

Archives are materials encompassing the acts of records creation, recordkeeping and use. These are put into practice to support different values and have different functions in a society. Although the practices involving the materials are similar, the purposes and designs of archival systems are culturally made by humans to serve culture.

According to the preliminary study in chapter 1 where some problems in the Thai recordkeeping system are identified, Thai values in general are of questionable congruence with values found in archives and Western archives management systems, which are universally accepted as forming the basis of standards for professional practice. This analysis will proceed by identifying Thai values and their origin, looking also at social change and its effects on values. Values originate in how individuals look at their lives, how they see the world and how they see their positions in the world. The study of values is thus related to worldview, religious belief, and philosophy as well as different factors including personal experience. Thus, examining this issue will also benefit from the application of the Schwartz's Value Survey (SVS), the psychological value framework discussed in the previous chapter.

In addition, to examine the values attached to the Western recordkeeping system, Western (specifically British) values in the system will be identified. I will focus on social values rather than individual values. Certainly, it is difficult to assume that different groups of people in a society all hold certain values. One society can have

many different types of value systems or patterns, but there is definitely a dominant pattern accepted as the main value system, which most people agree on for living together due to shared historical background, belief, and ways of life. These values have been expressed in each society's standards such as norms, folklore or even laws (Phongsaphit 78). The different social norms point out that in one society some behavioural patterns are accepted and some are not; this can be different in another society.

That is why the context needs to be considered before any system is implemented, but Thailand for one has failed to examine the value congruence mentioned above. The values examination in this chapter aims to provide one such understanding of the different systems and of the Thai cultural context.

3.2   Values framework

Turning to value in the sense of a core belief that affects a person's behaviour, this study examines these values in archival materials and in archival practice according to the psychological theory that materials have certain value orientations in them that will attract some groups of individuals but not others, because objects can be more or less compatible with values held by different groups. Building on the understanding of values outlined in chapter 2 – as core beliefs that affect a person's behaviour – this study will seek to construct a rich description of Thai values. It will also introduce and expand the concept that is called archival values (and what is meant by that will be explained in more detail later).

The Schwartz values framework is used in this research as it attempts to cover universal values of individuals across different cultures. This framework categorises values into ten values and four dimensions. The related study is another work of Shalom Schwartz's cultural orientation where ten values were measured in different countries around the world. They found that each culture emphasises different dimensions from this framework. Hence, this framework is appropriate for studies such as this one, where main features in culture and differences between cultures are the main focus.
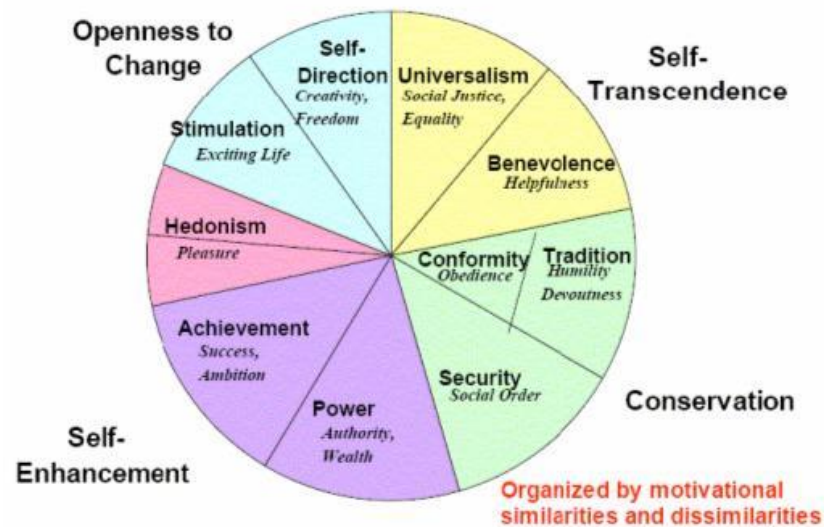
Figure 4 Schwartz's universal value framework (Schwartz "Basic Human Value: An Overview")

The ten universal values can be applied to archival value and function as follows:

1) Achievement

The value of achievement aims for success or having competence according to social standards (Schwartz "Basic Humans Values" 4). It involves defining goals and accomplishing them. Individuals obtain social approval once they achieve according to social standards (Schwartz "Basic Human Values: An Overview" 5).

 2) Power

Power aims social status, prestige and control or dominance over other people and resources. This value comes from the need of individuals to control others and objects. It is similar to achievement though power focuses on obtaining or keeping dominance while achievement seeks concrete excellence in performance (Schwartz "Basic Human Values: An Overview" 5).

3) Security

Security is motivated by the need for safety, harmony and stability in society and to self. It helps individuals to be able to focus on other needs without the need to be alert. The value come from requirements of individuals expressed in individual preference e.g. hygiene or group's needs e.g. national security, family happiness (Schwartz "Basic Human Values: An Overview" 6).

4) Conformity

The goal of this value is to follow norms so that others will not be upset. Schwartz described that the value's goal is to avoid disruption so it is reflected in self-restraint in daily life such as obedience, honouring the elders, polite and so on (Schwartz "Basic Human Values: An Overview" 6).

5) Tradition

This value involves the respect for, commitment to and acceptance of customs and ideas in one's culture (Schwartz "Basic Humans Values" 5). It represents the ideas of the groups and expressed in the form of respect in tradition, devoutness, humbleness and so on (Schwartz "Basic Human Values: An Overview" 6).

6) Benevolence

This value is about nurturing those who are in social groups by enhancing and supporting others. Schwartz stated that this value is related to conformity because both support social relations. Being generous, forgiving, loyal are characteristics of this value (Schwartz "Basic Human Values: An Overview" 5).

7) Universalism

Universalism as a value falls under the self-transcendence category. It includes the love of art, aesthetics, peace and welfare for broader society and the world, including unity with nature. The world is becoming increasingly concerned with this value, in the form of initiatives such as sustainable development, attempts to save the environment and so on.

8) Self-direction

This value is related to an individual's independence in actions – choosing and creating things. It derives from the need for control and mastery.

9) Stimulation

The value of stimulation relates to facing an exciting and challenging situation in one's life. It can be found as not being afraid of threats but being positive and active (Schwartz "Basic Human Values: An Overview" 5).

10) Hedonism

This value has its goal in pleasure. The value is found in the activities aiming to give happiness and comfort to oneself (Schwartz "Basic Humans Values" 4).

3.3 Thai values

The topic of Thai values seems to have been popular in sociology and anthropology during the 1960s–1990s.[9] However, very few researchers have contributed to this area in more recent years – a gap of thirty years, and Thai society has changed significantly during this time. Despite the limitation of literature on values, there have been numerous and frequent studies done on culture, social changes, beliefs, and so on, which can be used in discussing Thai values. Apart from the original work done in the past from a sociological and anthropological point of view, more up-to-date literature will be used to investigate the changes. The older group of literature, though written about twenty to thirty years ago, indicates that there is a gap between peasant and urban values, and this gap is increasingly widening due to social changes.

3.3.1 Thai values: past and present

Thai values share characteristics of Asian cultures which stress harmony, relationship and gentleness (Wun'Gaeo 204). Thai culture has its origin from Buddhism mixed with animism and Hinduism, but Buddhist teaching can be considered the most important source of traditional Thai values. However, while these sources originate the values, they are rooted in the past. Thai society has much been changed due to capitalism, and values have become more clearly divided into rural and urban sets of values (Komin "The World View" 225-8).

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[9] For example, Suntaree Komin and Sanit Samakkarn's "Thai Value Systems: A Differential Measurement Instrument" (1979), Sanit Samakkarn's Mi Ngoen Ko Nap Wa Nong Mi Thong Ko Napwa Phi: Rabob Krobkrua Lae Kreau Yat Kong Thai [Thai Family and Kinship System] (1976), Supatra Suphap's Sangkom Lae Wattanatham Thai Khaniyom Krobkrua Praphenee [Thai Society and Culture: Values Family and Customs] (1993), to name but a few.

3.3.1.1   Buddhism

Buddhist beliefs have informed Thai traditional beliefs and worldview. A large number of Thai values are rooted in Buddhist teaching. Theravada Buddhism diffused into Thailand under the Mon civilisation when Thailand was mainly the Dvaravati Kingdom during the 11th century (Wun'Gaeo 206). At the beginning, Buddhism focused on *Dhamma* (Buddha's teaching about natural truth).

Later in the Sukhothai period (1238-1583), under King Lithai, Buddhism in Thailand was heavily influenced by Sri Lankan Buddhism. More popular Buddhism was significant in Thailand, including belief in the Pali Canon. For example, *The Three Worlds* is a treatise on Buddhist cosmology composed by King Lithai. Thai perspectives on time and life have been identified with this Buddhist worldview. *Traibhumikatha*, or "Three Worlds" points out the cycle of life throughout many births, or *sangsarawat*, and how to improve one's life or future lives by collecting merit.

The impact of this Buddhist worldview informs some Thai characteristics and affects the formation of values:

Belief in karma

The current and future status of individuals depends on what they have done (now and in past lives). Hence, it is important to do good deeds, for the sake of one's karma. (Karma is a neutral religious word meaning "action" but is used popularly in Thai to mean "sin".) An important practice for the Buddhist believer is merit making, which can work against sinful karma to lead one's life to a better place. Traditional Thai life is attached to temples. Temples were involved even with secular activities such as education, festivals, and life ceremonies, from birth to death. As a result, merit making was part of all activities, and temples functioned as the centres of community life. Recordkeeping itself was involved with all religious activities.

Some scholars contend that belief in karma also leads to fatalistic values among Thais (Komin "The World View" 211-2). The belief in determinism does not encourage one to fight to improve one's life but to serenely accept the condition of it. It also leads to

acceptance of inequality and different status as it is traditionally believed that differences in status are the result of the unequal amounts of merit people have made. Continued belief in Buddhism and related values are clearly seen in provincial areas but less so in urban areas (Komin "The World View" 225-6). This traditional value helps the society to maintain peace despite inequality found in original social structures. However, it is also an obstacle to development defined in modern terms as individuals are taught to be satisfied with their status and property and not to desire further learning or change. However, it is not necessarily true to say that this belief has negative consequences as, on the contrary, it can help one to develop a belief in self-determination. Thus, the effects of belief in karma in Thai society can have contradictory interpretations.

<u>Being generous and forgiving</u>

According to Buddhism, one should be merciful and forgiving. Thai people tend not to remember faults, as it is believed that forgiving is the greatest act of almsgiving (Sompong). Thai people value forgiving and forgetting what has happened. Combined with the Thai cultural environment that values relationships and harmony in society, people generally try to forgive one another. If they cannot rationalise injustice in their life, they might refer back to the rule of karma and rely on it to punish the wrongdoers. Besides, "cool heart" or calmness is considered a virtue for Thai people. If people can tolerate disturbances, they are considered spiritually advanced people who have trained their minds through meditation (Podhisita 48-51). Most Thai people do not like taking things seriously, or even if they think something is serious, they will tend to express it in playful ways. In times of conflict, Thai people will often respond with *thi len thi ching*, a half-serious, half-joking kind of reply (Ekkachai 42). Another indication that Thai people like fun and avoid tension is that they always smile. The purpose of this gesture is to tone down the situation. Thai people frequently smile, whether they are in good or bad situations.

The effect of this belief can be found in the Thai saying, "Thai people easily forget". When it comes to negative experiences and pain, a widely accepted way to deal with tension is to forgive and forget. The unwillingness to remember in this sense may partly be the cause for the lack of a culture of recording things for the sake of

historical memory. What has been selected to be remembered has tended to be things deemed useful for supporting the stability of the society. What is passed on is sometimes inaccurate because people do not wish to remember it in the first place. This obviously affects recordkeeping as a means of approaching experience.

<u>Believing in uncertainty</u>

Theravada Buddhism teaches about the impermanence of all things. This habit makes people not like to keep things as souvenirs or memories. Furthermore, they typically aim to forget bad memories and be forgiving (Podhisita 12). Again, the Buddhist teachings on impermanence and forgiving do not support the actions of keeping memories or recordkeeping, especially for social justice.

The idea of keeping things in daily life – like the Western world does in the institution of the museum – was not common in Thai society until Western influence modernised the practice of recordkeeping. If "collecting" activity is done for educational or aesthetic purposes, it is evidently an idea from the Western world and is contradictory to the local belief.

<u>Independence</u>

In Buddhism, salvation is a matter of personal responsibility and experience. No one but oneself can bring about separation from or neutralisation of sins (Podhisita 51). One needs to conduct oneself with ethical merit or commit good karma to attain a better stage of life. In actuality then, the Thai life and worldview, despite the emphasis on many relationships, is actually individualistic and wishes to be independent from rules and norms. This leads to various traits such as indiscipline and pragmatic behaviour (Chomchuen 14).

3.3.1.2   Thai social structure

The evolution of society over time has created some particular characteristics of Thai culture. One significant characteristic is that the society is dominated by hierarchy.

Through the influence of Indian traditions, Thai culture adopted a God-King cult in its governance. Thai society in the Ayutthaya period (1351–1767) had a system called *Sakdina*, which was similar to Middle Age European feudalism. This system lasted through the beginning of the Rattanakosin period (1782–) until the abolition of slavery in 1905. This was the main governing system in Thai society, especially during the Ayutthaya period till the abolition of slavery under King Rama V – no less than 500 years. Not surprisingly, even after the official patronage system was abolished, unofficial and traditional culture has remained fundamental in the society.

In this patronage system, on which Thailand's original system of governance was based, the king was the one holding the utmost power, and different noblemen and people were under him hierarchically. The different social statuses had different numbers – representing amounts of land – assigned to them. Though Siamese feudalism indicated people's ranking with quantity of land, the amount of land was mostly symbolic. Akin Rabibhadana, an anthropologist, maintains that real power depended on the number of people under one's control (Rabibhadana 141-6).

Hierarchical social systems have been studied by anthropologists. Louis Dumont explained from his ethnography of the Indian caste system that the hierarchical system is a stratification or a system of unequal distribution of resources. The relationships in the hierarchical system are between persons – unlike in Western hierarchies where relations are between person and property (Smedal 14). He argued that the Indian caste system is involved with religious values rather than economic concerns. This system is based on inequality but how it works in practice is that those on higher levels of the hierarchy give resources to lower classes, which compensates for the feeling of injustice in the society. The same practice applies to the Thai case, where the patron who receives more resources needs to give alms and take care of poorer people. Some see that Dumont took an orientalist view, as this kind of social mechanism does not work for India as a British colony. The debate between Indian and British cultures emerged due to the incompatibility of ideologies or sets of values (Smedal 23).

Sakdina society left traces in Thai values as follows.

Materialism and honour

Power is an important concern in the Thai worldview. Better status in the society will lead to better opportunities. Thus, people like to have things that can signify their financial and social status. These can be material belongings, such as housing, cars, and luxurious items – after all, money is desirable for all classes (Suphap 7). This can also be intangible considerations such as honour, prestige or other types of social capital.

Sometimes things that can signify social status are intangible. For example, in the past, being a civil servant was considered honourable. People left their family jobs to work for the government. Today, this value has changed towards emphasising the materialistic side more than the honour side. Education can also be regarded as a symbol of social status. The higher the degree, the more respect one will receive. However, it should be noted that knowledge itself might not be as valued without a certificate (Settho 80).

Objects whose value cannot be materialistically seen tend not to be popular in society as they do not reveal or boost one's social status. Another factor that devalues efforts for self-development do not guarantee that he or she will be successful as other things like relationships are important for one's success. In extreme cases, it can be more important than an individual's performance.

Importance of relationships

Thai society emphasises the importance of relationships. To be successful, one needs to have strong support from people around one. Relationships are sometimes considered by certain groups or professions (e.g. civil servants) to be more important than one's actual capacity (Komin *Psychology of the Thai People* 242).

The dominance of the *Sakdina* system was formational of the current hierarchical society in which many patron-client relationships are formed. This is also called the "patronage system". In this system, a patron gives his clients protection and various kinds of help while his clients provide recompense for this in the form of resources and respect. For example, the king would assign his noblemen to govern the cities that were located far from the centre of power (J.C. Scott 77-8).

Patrons and other people depended on each other. All citizens had to be patronised to get necessary help. If they wanted to sue somebody, they had to ask their lord to bring them to the court. At the same time, they had to give products and services to the patron. This encouraged corruption in the contemporary system because it forced people to rely on unofficial help rather than respecting official rules.

Respecting seniors

Age is also important in the hierarchy. The younger always need to pay respect to the elders. Moreover, if the older person's social status is higher, it is necessary to give him or her adequate amounts of respect, whether they be parents, teachers, employers or others in positions of authority. It is necessary to be careful while communicating with these elders, especially when one has different opinions from them. People are unlikely to offer contrasting opinions in order to avoid conflict.

At the same time, the concept of *bunkhun*, or assistance one provides others, is significant. Recipients need to pay back those who have helped them as it is believed that "gratitude is the sign of good people".[10] Senior figures are usually the same people who have helped the young, so it is important to repay them with respect and any assistance or care that might be needed.

The positive side of this value is that it helps people to be respectful to one another, being humbled and thankful for those who come before them. The negative side of it is that it impedes creativity and new ideas from those of lower status. Also, outdated or flawed ideas can be accepted or overrated in order to show respect to and honour seniors. This has been reflected in the following interviewee's experience.

Pirasri Povatong, an academic in architecture, explained that, in his experience in academic life, people tend to believe what has already been justified without trying to do research themselves or looking for new information. His teacher is a senior figure in the field, and people always cite his one old, well-accepted book. His teacher even told him that now not all the information in it is still correct, because new information

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[10] A proverb composed by Somdet Phra Ariyavangsagatayana Somdet Phra Sangharaja (Archbishop Sa), the ninth Supreme Patriarch of Thailand 1893–1899. This proverb is widely memorised as Buddhist proverb in Thai "ความกตัญญูเป็นเครื่องหมายของคนดี" and in Pali "นิมิตฺตํ สาธุรูปานํ กตญฺญูกตเวทิตา".

has been found. Povatong concluded that "Thai people like to be justified". He also added that "[they] believe in the seniors" (Povatong). So, despite its benefits – such as encouraging gratitude – this Thai value is not a good fit with the Western way of learning, where discussion and exchanging knowledge are required.

This could be discussed at an epistemological level. How people acquire knowledge is cultural, and such methods of acquisition differ according to cultural contexts. The traditional Thai epistemic goal is to acquire the body of knowledge from predecessors. Understanding is not expected to come out as the result of study but via the transmission of knowledge. However, once scholars are senior and strong in their intellect, they may produce new knowledge that would be accepted, partly due to their experience. Niels Mulder explains the epistemic goal of Thai people's knowledge creation (Hongladarom 84)

> Knowledge is a thing to possess, an arsenal of rules and recipes that are formal and static. The quest for knowledge is not motivated by the desire to understand or by the curiosity to explore; on the contrary, knowledge is a thing to display and, to most recipients, has primarily a social function. To have relatively more knowledge entitles one to equivalently more respect and position, and, correspondingly, people in higher positions are thought to have knowledge – or at least they are expected to behave as if they know. Knowledge is a personal attribute that is beyond research or discussion.

A significant distinction of Western epistemology, by contrast, is that its goal is the search for (and arrival at) a truth, which can be obtained by applying different methodologies, such as examining existing knowledge, collecting data, analysis and reflection. So, the accumulation of knowledge is there, but it has to be combined with reasoning to get closer to the truth (or at least, that person's truth). The concept of deference to seniority does also exist in the Western academic world; however, it is rarely so important that it can stop people from contributing new ideas.

It can be seen that an atmosphere in which knowledge can be shared without the fear of offending someone or disrespecting one's seniors contributes the exchange of ideas and learning.

Fun-loving

Traditionally, Thais did not have time set aside for fun. Instead, Thai people put playing into their work. For example, Thai farmers traditionally secured labour for cultivating their products by inviting neighbours to help with the harvest or other agricultural tasks and would then reciprocate by responding to similar invitations from other farmers in the village. An important part of this tradition is singing and dancing while reaping the products. This type of music is called *phleng kiao khao* (reaping rice song). Although urban life in Thai society is now largely industrialised, mixing work and play together remains deeply rooted in Thai life. Buddhist teachings about the impermanence of things also encourage people not to be attached to temporary things and helps them to get over losses and disappointments in their lives.

Traditionally, Thais did not conceive of leisure and work time as separate because of the Thai traditional worldview rooted in their Buddhist faith. Buddhism teaches that life is temporary. According to this belief system, the time of this Buddha is 5,000 years; then the world will be destroyed with the dawning of the era of the next Buddha (Sattayanurak *Kan Plienplang Lokkatat* 11). Activities in Thai society during the past all related to temples and making merit. Temples were the centre of community life: education, ceremonies, and even entertainment relating to merit-making rituals. Although nowadays many other institutions have taken the place of many traditional functions of temples, the fun-loving element is still prevalent in Thai life.

Leisure for relaxation as in Western countries is a concept that grew with the influence of the West, over a hundred years ago (Srisuwannakit 34). Elites were the first group to adopt this practice because their worldviews were the first to be subjected to these influences.

Indiscipline

Paradoxically, Thai people are individualistic and undisciplined even though they have to comply with norms defined by hierarchy. Despite giving the appearance of compromising with others for the sake of social harmony, they tend not to comply with regulations or commands if they do not want to, and instead do what they want.

They will revolt behind a person's back rather than make their dissent known (Department of Sociology and Anthropology Thammasat University 32).

This trait can be seen when regulations or rules are ignored if they do not affect the individuals personally.

3.3.1.3   Influence from the West

The Western world is another source shaping Thai values, especially in modern times. Westerners came to Siam starting in the Ayutthaya period. However, Siam remained quite tied to its conventional state until partway through the Rattanakosin era. Starting under King Rama III (r. 1824–1851), Western influence was increasingly intense and raised threats to the country during the reigns of the next two kings. Under King Rama V (King Chulalongkorn), the king had to fully respond to Western influence by reforming the country to modern and Western systems.

This reformation entailed reorganisation and restructuring in every aspect of public life, from infrastructure, education, and the legal system to the abolition of slavery. This development was deemed necessary by King Rama V and others in power in order for the country to be seen as civilised, as the colonial ambitions of the superpowers of the day (e.g. France and Britain) were a threat to Thai sovereignty. In the end, the country escaped being a colony of the West, though it had felt the need to adopt westernised systems. Elites and scholars were also sent to European countries during this time; this also had the effect of changing their worldviews, and subsequently the country's administration, to follow Western models.

Another wave of Western influence was American, during the Cold War. The educating of Thai students in the US caused later Thai developments to more closely follow American models. Western influence was continuously adopted among the Thais, especially those residing in urban society. The Western values have come to support a new lifestyle in the globalised world. In general, Western culture has been seen in Thai people's eyes as representative of superior culture because of more advanced technology and knowledge. The new urbanists try to imitate Western lifestyles. Western practices have been adopted in the society; however, not every

practice has been adopted successfully. Some have clashed or been incompatible with the original culture. At the same time, new values have been formed and some Western values have been assimilated with local values.

Modern Thai society and changes

Thai society is a part of the worldwide phenomenon of globalisation. With the more visible presence of international culture and greater connectedness among different countries in the world, diversity in culture and society has been more funnelled into the same direction. Alex MacGillivray (5) discusses the ideas of economist Paul Krugman who said that from the start, globalisation was marked by the growth of world trade and connections between financial markets in different countries, making the world a smaller place. The economist Joseph Stiglitz said that globalisation consists of increase of economic collaboration among countries around the world, including the minimising of obstacles to free trade (MacGillivray 5). Though the economic side is the obvious one, some scholars say that globalisation is actually broader than that. Manfred Stager (13) defined globalisation as "a multidimensional set of social processes that create, multiply, stretch, and intensify social interdependencies and exchanges while at the same time fostering in people a growing awareness of deepening connections between the local and the distant".

Globalisation paves the way for economic co-operation but at the same time is criticised as Westernisation – especially Americanisation – whereby Western values can be dominant in non-Western societies; so it is interpreted by scholars as a new form of imperialism (Owolabi 75). Value, a cultural element, is of course in close contact with this mainstream Western culture. These new values or sets of values create various reactions in the form of both harmonies and struggles. Globalisation has been partially an impact of technology which has changed information behaviour such as information sharing, access, exchange. From the old perception of time and space in the past where space was physical, information technology allows people to have 'space of flows', meaning information in the virtual world and all communications flows everywhere and is no longer based on physical space (Ritzer 8).

Sociologists and anthropologists have investigated this phenomenon in Thai society. Anan Ganjanapan explained that there is both dynamism and contradiction in Thai society, and these can be investigated in emerging reformed religions and supernatural cults in the society (Ganjanapan 127-32). He raised examples of two cults, based on Buddhist doctrines, which emerged to serve the new middle class: Thammakai and Santi Asoke. The first one is pro-consumerism and teaches adherents to live in conjunction with capitalist life. For example, it teaches that the more donations people make, the more they will be successful in life and business. In contrast, Santi Asoke is against globalisation and teaches followers to strictly practise Buddhist teachings by pursuing a simple life as well as maintaining political awareness and being politically active (e.g. participating in protests). This is partly caused by American influence, which started in 1980s, offered Thai society intense consumerism and capitalism. These new values came with the emerging new class in the society: the middle class. The development and importance of the capital city Bangkok in industrialised society led to heavy migration to it and other big cities of the country. New religious practices were created amid the changing environment.

The changing identity

Due to opening to globalisation and new values that come with social and economic changes, these new classes of people (i.e. the middle class and migrants to big cities) have lost their sense of self and identity. For example, a recent phenomenon that surprised many inside and outside the country was a trend of middle class people purchasing and taking care of baby -like dolls as if they were actual children, believing that would bring good luck. While this behaviour may seem shocking on the surface, it is a modern reworking of an old traditional Thai superstition in a supernatural baby-spirit that will bring protection and bestow favour to the possessors. Modern-day uncertainty and insecurity has led these people to bring old beliefs such as this into the modern more consumer-driven lifestyle.

At the same time, they would like to understand themselves through deeper meanings. For example, some seek to collect things that have cultural and personal value. Some local communities look for their identities in the changing environment, resulting in nostalgia-oriented local museums and activities, such as old markets where old style

food is sold, old toy shops, and so on. This is a reaction people have adopted to cope with the changing identities.

Thai values and recordkeeping history

The Western influence on modern Thai society has not changed Thai values completely, but selection and adaptation have occurred. Western culture has been naturally selected and adapted to fit in the context. The values underlying different Western systems are important factors in these processes.

This research focuses on modern recordkeeping and archival materials representing the use of records as evidence to support bureaucratic mechanisms. They stem from modern Western concepts that came to Siam as a part of the modernist reforms during the reign of King Rama V. Nevertheless, this archival practice deteriorated quickly because the values around the system did not fit in the society, particularly around that time. The archival system ended up serving almost exclusively researchers with Western methodologies and epistemology. Similarly, the purpose of historical research was to have a historical legacy to respond to British and French ambitions to expand their colonies in Southeast Asia. The historical school in Thailand using Western methods was growing due to archives still mainly being kept and used for the purpose of historical research, but they lack connections with other functions of modern recordkeeping. Under the new bureaucratic system, such functions have been ruled out as irrelevant to Thai society – both in the original and the latter uses.

Records and archives management in the West was designed to work with values in Western life. Apart from the application of Western techniques in Thai life, which have not been so successful without top-down pressure, the adaptation of these have been done only to a small extent – for example, the use of archives among collectors, or archives used with other kinds of materials for educational purposes within larger activities. There is still unfulfilled potential for archives with respect to both traditional and changing Thai values.

3.4   Archival values and professional values

This second part will consider the value(s) of archives since the concept of value is significant in archival science. In a way, value defines archives' existence. Archives by their basic definition are records kept because of their ongoing value. The records were appraised to be archives for this attribute.[11] This type of value corresponds with the first meaning of value discussed in chapter 2, the worth or the good of the archives themselves. On the other hand, the term value appears repetitively in different points in archival work. In appraisal, records' value is assessed in the selection of those to be kept or destroyed. Archival materials are preserved because of the value they have. Many elements in the archival process are about being able to transmit that value to the wider society, including the whole process of making them accessible to users. This archival practice and all activities related to archives create another layer of value for the archives. They determine archives' value by preserving, keeping and disseminating them in particular ways, which causes archives to be used in certain ways and to support certain kinds of individual and social values – that is, what users demand.

For this research, I would like to explore the value of archives studied by archival scholars. Then, I will look at social values archival systems support. This is because archives and archival practices were created in society and function in society. They are influenced by their socio-cultural contexts and tend to support prominent social values in their social contexts. For another thing, the archives profession also has professional values practitioners hold while the professionals live in the society and share values with the rest of the society. Next, I will look at the congruence of social values supported by these values (archival practice and professional values) and the values held by individuals and society. Nevertheless, the intangibility of value makes it complicated to understand. Elaine Penn noted that archival value has been ill-defined, leaving a gap in knowledge on the topic, despite many values having been frequently named, such as historical value, cultural value, evidential value and so on

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[11] This becomes even more significant in an age when electronic records need a preservation strategy from the beginning, so the concept of archives needs to start even before records creation.

(Penn 12). Therefore, it is beneficial to start from theories in archival science and then apply them to the contexts.

3.4.1 Value taxonomy in archival science

The value of archives is mostly studied in the context of appraisal, the process of selecting records to be kept in the archives. The most common value taxonomy in the subject is T.R. Schellenberg's archives taxonomy. It categorises archival value into two main groups: primary and secondary value. The first value, primary value, refers to value for those creating records, and the latter for other users of the records, especially after the records become archives. The second kind of value is called archival value, which can be separated into evidential and informational value (Schellenberg 139-42).

Evidential value refers to the utility of archives as evidence, such as for activities or business. Informational value is about the utility of the archival content for information purposes – for example, researchers using archival data in writing history. These two kinds of value were categorised as being distinct; however, they also overlap, as informational value in fact stems from the information's function as evidence. First, archival value cannot be clearly enumerated. Second, the taxonomy was designed for an administrative environment in organisations, so it may not be entirely applicable to different kinds of archives. Nevertheless, this classic taxonomy is useful in thinking about archives.

Thinking beyond the classic

Archival scholars do not limit their thinking about archives to Schellenberg's taxonomy. Archival value can be subject to other value frameworks such as historical, business, aesthetic, symbolic, legal, intrinsic, and instrumental, to name but a few. However, Penn suggested that a significant characteristic of archives that makes them hold archival value is that they obtain value from being an aggregation of records. This could be a unique archival value in modern archives because they are recording what happened as an organic whole (Penn 245). Again, this sense depends on the

Western archival system. This reveals that culture in records creation and recordkeeping cannot be separated from the archives. Documentation of society is a human creation, culturally shaped and designed to suit people's needs. Consequently, in this research I will look at the values of archives in specific contexts, and how the nature of the materials is partly created by culture and systems.

3.4.2 Intrinsic value

A set of value inheres in archives themselves regardless of the uses to which they are put, which can be called intrinsic value. One main reason is that they are old. Being historically significant is an attribute of archives, and in my data collection, no one denied this value; the value of the age of the material is self-evident.

Intrinsic value includes the value of archives as historical evidence: they hold information from the past. This refers back to evidential and informational value in Schellenberg's taxonomy, though the values themselves are not used. They can refer to other frameworks, for example being thought of as historically iconic or symbolic. In this sense, they are valuable in themselves regardless of any use to which they might be put. I encountered this situation in both my Thai and British data collection. Archives are generally judged positively (if they are known) but not as valuable – deserving of financial support or other resources. As some archivists expressed in the focus group, they feel that the government sees their value but does not support them.[12] In today's society, value of objects is assessed by instrumental value more than intrinsic value. The fact that archives in Thai society are reliant on intrinsic value alone is not sustainable for the archives sector.

3.4.3 Instrumental value

On the other hand, the reason for keeping archives are that the materials will be useful again. Instrumental value is about archival use. It is defined according the utility of

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[12] The focus group with the national archivists in Thailand

archives in each society, depending on how archives function in each particular context. This is when socio-cultural factors become important. Archival values would function differently according to different needs in the contexts influenced by social values. So, the archival practice or system shaped in one context does not necessarily correspond to values in another. In Thailand, the reasoning behind the traditional system of keeping records is totally different from the rationale behind Western and new recordkeeping systems at the level of values, and that sometimes causes conflicts when applying a Western system to the Thai context.

Instrumental value of archives in Western recordkeeping system

Records have benefits in themselves. Their instrumental value, however, depends on what value each society selects to use to serve their existing social values. Archival systems vary across different contexts; however, archives management in the world is dominated by the Western world. For example, the basis for the International Council on Archives (ICA)'s international standards and guidelines for archival practice is Western recordkeeping. ICA's ISAD(G)[13] is based on traditional Western archival idea emphasising importance of provenance or *respect des fonds*. One reason is that modern organisations have Western pattern. Thus, social values supported by the system are naturally prominent social values in the West. Schellenburg's secondary value generates two main value in Western traditions:

Archives as evidence

I group the instrumental value of archives into two main categories. The first value falls into what Mark Greene called the recordkeeping paradigm. This value of archives comes from the fact that the materials represents traces of activities. T.R. Schellenberg's manual also mentioned this kind of value, calling it evidential value: the value of records as logs of production, business activities, or transactions.[14]

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[13] General International Standard Archival Description

[14] However, Schellenberg categorised the value slightly differently. His evidential value is a part of secondary value. I view this evidential aspect of archives as an instrumental value.

<u>Informational value</u>

Archives are selected to be kept in archival institutions for research purposes (Schellenberg 153). Moreover, archives play an increasingly important role in providing information in contemporary society. Values present in the use of archives as information can vary according to the aims of research.

These two instrumental values can be found in other cultural contexts; however, they obviously function in the Western modern bureaucratic and intellectual worlds. This preliminary study in instrumental value of archives from archival theories shows that archives do not possess only what they are (intrinsic value) but they are also valuable for what they can do, and this depends on the context they are in.

3.5   Value of archives in context

I will direct the lens of this research at archival value – or in other words, consider value within its context. This perspective corresponds with that of Hans Booms, the German archivist working during the 1990s who did not believe that archives have intrinsic value. Booms also thinks that archivists can "free themselves from the social value of their own time, to which they are unconsciously subject" (Trace 53). I think in reality, that this is unlikely. On the other hand, I think it is useful to be aware of the effects of social values and contexts in order to design and implement archival practices that are relevant to the society.

As stated earlier, there appear to be two different kinds of value combined in archives. Firstly, there is intrinsic value, or the value in the archives themselves. This may not be related to how archives are used or their utilities. Noting that the act of record creation can determine intrinsic value in archives, I do not think universality exists even in the intrinsic value of archives. The second kind of value is instrumental value, which is involved with potential uses of the materials, and so it is directly related to archival access and use.

Considering these issues of archival value in context, I will examine different kinds of value in archives shaped by practice in the two archival systems (modern/Western archival system and traditional Thai system). Then I will examine what kinds of social

values the value found in archives is compatible with. The question I consider here asks to what extent an archival value varies according to culture and the function of archives in the society. Do certain types of archives and recordkeeping value support some particular kinds of values (which would mean that recordkeeping is suitable for some cultural contexts but might not be for others)?

3.5.1 Intrinsic value in Schwartz's value framework

Linking oldness which can be considered an intrinsic value of archives to Schwartz's value framework, social values supported by the intrinsic value of archives are **universalism** and **tradition**. Archives are appreciated for their value as archival materials, regardless of their use, because archives in themselves represent aesthetic and historical value. As for tradition, archives can be considered the legacy of the country, community or individuals.

In the Thai case, archives are valued prominently for their intrinsic value – especially among the public – which can be linked to the tradition value. Archives are appreciated as they represent what should be respected according to norms, despite not being valued as a part of ordinary people's lives. The result is that they are considered valuable heritage that should be kept but not used. For example, archives with past kings' signatures are traded at a high price and worshipped by collectors (Povatong). This practice also shares the value of universalism as archives are seen as artefacts and heritage. At the same time, this represents the application of archival value in a local context. There are needs in the society to gain spiritual reassurance, uphold the faith of those who admire the kings and satisfy the desire of the collectors to keep special objects; archives that are valuable as objects themselves can fulfil these needs. The use of archives in this way does not seem to be a problem; however, it does not change the distance between the public and archives. The use confirms the idea of archives as object of high cultural belonging to the upper classes.

This compatibility of values should be capitalised on in introducing archives to the public because it is a strong, existing value. At the same time, the archives sector should not limit archives awareness to this level but needs to try to encourage use by wider groups of people.

Western interviewees also showed a recognition of intrinsic value in archives, as interviewees reported that the materials have power and value in themselves. For example, Nick Kingsley, a British archivist, talked about his experience that archives were able to surprise school children who had chance to see them. He talked about archives' power, which in this context seem to elicit different reactions than is the case among Thai people. That is, he talked about curiosity, which he believes exists in most people. Archives occupy a place that answers this curiosity in people's hearts (Kingsley). This value he talked about is universalism, and the dimension of self-transcendence.

The universalism value has been used and archives are appreciated for their intrinsic value in both the UK and Thailand, but the ways the two cultures appreciate and react to these types of value differ because of the disparate positions and functions that archives assume in each society.

3.5.2   Instrumental value in Schwartz's value framework

Evidential value

This value is applied in a variety of uses ranging from organisations creating records and using them for their work to researchers or secondary users accessing the evidence for formulating and supporting their arguments. The Western world has a long tradition of keeping records to establish and safeguard rights. Ancient records such as charters and documents showing ownership have long been kept. **Self-direction** is the social value that supports this practice.

After Western bureaucratic and legal systems were adopted, the sense of records in the West came into the society, and uses built around this sense of recordkeeping emerged. Modern recordkeeping is still relatively new in Thai society, so people, according to my survey of potential user groups in Thailand, tend to relate it to the bureaucratic system. It is very seldom seen to have any connection to personal recordkeeping. However, it is worth mentioning that though both traditional and modern practices are derived from the self-direction value, the idea of protecting one's rights has been understood in different ways.

For this thesis, the value of records or archives at this level is used by records creators or people within an organisation and also secondary users. This idea of recordkeeping is important in Western practice and has increased in importance in the information age. This may be because modern recordkeeping and its manuals have been created in environments where the preferred communication method is writing. The evidence left from activities can be used to support an organisation's business. This practice reinforces **achievement, security** and **self-direction** values in organisations. This nature of Western institutions has also been prevalent in bureaucratic systems. Thus, written, paper records became important in different processes, from general business activities to legal processes.

There was also recordkeeping in this sense in traditional Thai recordkeeping. Values reflected in Thai traditional recordkeeping practice are also related to evidence but have supported rights in different ways. Ancient *kalapana* inscriptions exemplify how records were used to support individual rights – but more focused on religious practice. *Kalapana* inscriptions (on stone or other materials) recorded the donations made by individuals to temples. Unlike in the West, these records were used for evidence to proclaim one's merit and virtue. In other words, such a record helped to confirm that a person deserved the status they held or the rankings they wished to gain. Here the values present can be categorised into **self-direction** and **achievement**.

In later periods, notably Ayutthaya (1351–1767), this type of record was secondary and not emphasised in the traditional Thai bureaucratic system. Evidence of this practice found in ancient times is *bai bok*, paper with messages noted on it, and *bai chum*, textile or fabric with messages on it. These records were kept on bamboo (Chaijindasut "Records Retention" 68). The practice represented a secondary purpose of recordkeeping, and the values required in organisations as described above were secondary values in the working style of ancient times. It is hard to know what the Thai bureaucratic system would be like if it were not influenced by the West. Though it makes sense for a culture to adjust itself when it becomes more open to other cultures, the kind of unnatural and forced growth of the modern recordkeeping system in Thailand has not allowed enough time for the culture to experiment and insert its own values or to develop its own modernised system.

A significant change in Thai recordkeeping came about with changes in the bureaucratic system due to reformation during King Rama V's reign. William J. Siffin analysed conflicts between Thai values and ones attached with the Western bureaucratic system. He contends that although the bureaucratic reforms changed the whole working system, the changes in official working procedure were unable to "strike change into the heart of the system's values" (Siffin 161). The modern bureaucratic system is incompatible with existing values for different reasons. Instead, some customary Thai values play a role in the new system.

Power again shows its significance in the new bureaucratic system. It came to be that the system was "organised and operated to give meaning and support to status" (Siffin 162). Another value emphasising relationships is reliance on persons, or personalism. The concern about relationships became more important than official rules and regulations. Lastly, the bureaucratic system became a source of **security** consisting of not only a professional way of working but also a way of life and personal identity. Additionally, Siffin emphasises that respect for rule of law is "no central value of the system" (Siffin 162).

Recordkeeping is a practice attached to Western systems. It can be seen as rules or regulations designed to support the operation of the system. However, if this practice is not enforced by executives or high-ranking people, the system tends to be unsuccessful. That is the reason why only some ministries have maintained systematic records management while others neglect this work. Recordkeeping is more needed in the work of some ministries, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is in contact with foreign countries. Those dealing with financial records are other examples. This also explains why modern recordkeeping declined after the Western influence abated – the evidential value of archives is not widely relied upon by the Thai bureaucracy in reality. The system relies on executives' decisions and relationships among different parties. Values emphasising rules and egalitarianism (instead of person and relationship) has been regarded as unimportant in the Thai context, and this bias has been reflected in recordkeeping.

Evidence that recordkeeping is not considered important in Thai bureaucracy is that the criteria for the assessment for ministries do not cover recordkeeping. Ministries

having good records management are those who themselves see the work's importance and are willing to invest their money in it; these cases are rare.

Another point raised by many people I talked to informally – and my own point of view – is that the lack of emphasis on the rule of law and checks and balances in the country is supported by the patronage system. The values of hierarchy and personalism encourage corruption, and good recordkeeping is an obstacle to that; this is another reason it is not desirable in Thai bureaucracy.

After more than a hundred years of adoption of Western bureaucratic models, it seems that Thai bureaucracy has been realigned but the values in it have not. That is, the modern bureaucratic system has operated with Thai values which value hierarchy and relationship over the systems and rules themselves. Thus, the system has not been able to function in accordance with Western standards but has depended on unwritten local practice instead. Today, it can no longer be resistant to the organisational system of working. An important thing is to be aware of cultural difference. A fix is needed for the mismatch between the values and the system, which is responsible for degrading the efficiency of the system. Two points need to be fixed, and recordkeeping can offer a viable means to address the flaws in Thai organisational culture.

Firstly, recordkeeping needs to be an efficient tool in documentation. Good governance in the Thai bureaucratic system needs to be improved as it has been a critical shortcoming in many different Thai government administrations, and it has led to failure. Recordkeeping can play an important role in maintaining proper checks and balances. This can be achieved if the government creates transparent mechanisms of documentation and recordkeeping and enables the public and media to examine these records. One recurring problem of Thai democracy is that the military has intervened in elected governments throughout Thai political history (since the end of absolute monarchy in 1932), often purportedly to combat corruption. Trustworthy recordkeeping and open government will help to strengthen democracy in Thailand – both by reducing corruption and by lessening or removing the potential for this justification of military coups, which historically have excused themselves as necessary to combat corruption.

Secondly, the culture of Western bureaucracy focuses on the system rather than people, while Thai organisational culture values persons and relationships. The work flow thus does not value records management. The problem can be solved if culture can be separated from professional activities. While this is impossible in reality, practical steps can be taken to move in this direction; the changes suggested to archives and recordkeeping and attitudes to them are one important dimension of this.

Informational value

Values that might be shared in the use of archives for research purposes can be **achievement** (if the research is a professional nature), **stimulation** (many interviewees reported excitement while using archives), **universalism** or **power**.

Certain characteristics of archival use **can go against tradition**: archival use requires creativity and critical thinking from researchers. The information one gets from archives can be unique. When a person wants to find information and chosen to look into archives, he or she does not merely have a passive role in obtaining information from the archives. Along with archivists who have worked to select, describe, and make sense of archives and provide them to users, users need to use their knowledge and capacity to read and understand archives. Reading primary sources is not an easy task. Users have to search, read and interpret content in the documents (Shepherd). The result is the finding of new knowledge or information that can fill a knowledge gap.

This pattern of archives use for historical research reflects values connected to intellect. It corresponds with Western epistemology in using logic to acquire new knowledge. In contrast, the Thai epistemic goal is to acquire knowledge from older generations – not necessarily to create any new knowledge (Hongladarom 84).

The methodology for acquiring knowledge is based on the seniority system, which favours obtaining knowledge from members of older generations who know more than oneself. This value is very significant in shaping learning culture. It leads to a lack of enthusiasm in doing research or arriving at new knowledge, which is a common use of archives.

The use of other kinds of information also holds similar kinds of values: curiosity and intellectual appetite. The difference is that access to information is not limited to academic knowledge or information for research purposes. Seeking information has been made easier by technology. This phenomenon also happens in Thailand, but it was commented widely that news and rumours are sometimes believed too easily (Pongsripian; Towinus). This weakness of the society can be traced to the culture that teaches people to believe rather than to think. So going beyond information in archives, a new way of obtaining information in general is now needed in the Thai value system. Archives can be one of the tools that help to increase this value in the search of knowledge.

3.6 Traditional Thai recordkeeping and traditional Thai values

The traditional recordkeeping has been shaped by the Thai lifestyle, so it squarely supports Thai values. In the traditional system, the whole process, from records creation to archival use, corresponds with Thai beliefs and worldview.

As described in the chapter 4 on recordkeeping history, official records creation has occurred mainly to serve political (which traditionally meant related to the king) and religious purposes. In a way, records creation related to the king is how history was recorded daily by the royal secretary in the court. This means history was controlled and created subjectively. Traditional Thai archives were made to underpin political security and solidarity, which centred on the king's political position since the king was the centre of power. Records creation and archival use supported the most significant part of the feudal system. It supported the **power** value in the society. The value of archives in the traditional sense was thus their potential for telling stories (or history) and evidence justifying the reign and actions of the king.

As for religious purposes, recordkeeping has been for keeping moral teachings and other kinds of knowledge and passing it on to another generation. Religious recordkeeping has reflected **tradition** and **power** values in the hierarchical transmission of knowledge.

Both main purposes of traditional recordkeeping emphasise the hierarchical social structure and harmony and solidarity in society. This also represents the **security** value in practice.

The traditional recordkeeping, which was influenced by culture received from India, was truly compatible with Thai culture. It functioned in the society and is difficult to abolish. For example, traditional recordkeeping in Thailand that focuses on recording events is still practised. It is still perceived to be the main function and goal of archives by the public, especially people in authority. The archivists at the NAT reported that top officials think of the work of the National Archives in this sense because they see archivists recording important events they have attended, such as royal ceremonies (Taweta). Therefore, when they have important occasions, they like to call the NAT to record their events as they want to be recorded in social memory. From this example, it can be seen that the traditional archives system still has a role in serving attitudes and values in society, both in terms of awareness about archives and the need for archives to support recognition of social status.

The following diagrams plot how the two different cultures have perceived and used archives in different ways.

3.6.1 *Thai values – Thai recordkeeping*
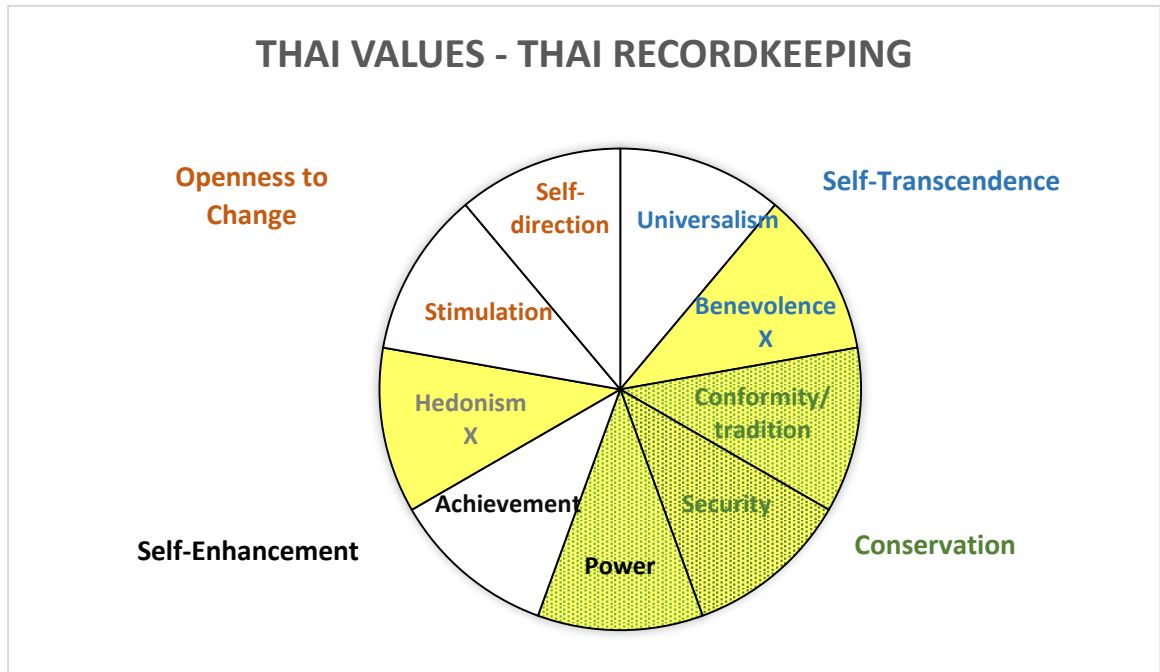
Figure 5 Thai social values and values in tradtional Thai recordkeeping

The first diagram shows Thai social values, according to the data collection and literature review, in the yellow area, and values found in recordkeeping practice shaded in green dots. The shaded areas are the areas where both social values and values in recordkeeping system are found. Tradition and power are two values supported by the Thai recordkeeping system, while some other prominent values such as hedonism and benevolence are not found in recordkeeping practice. I marked an x inside both values, which means some instrumental values should be used to fill the gaps of these social values.

There is complexity in how security value can be interpreted. Traditional Thai recordkeeping functioned to keep security in the society; however, today the system has a much less explicit role in supporting security.

The diagram shows that traditional Thai recordkeeping was designed in accordance with Thai values. Thus, it has no conflicts with Thai values, though the values it supports are conservation and established power. Thus, it is not well adapted among changes. Instead, it helps to stabilise existing tradition and institutionalised power.

3.6.2   *Thai values – Western recordkeeping*
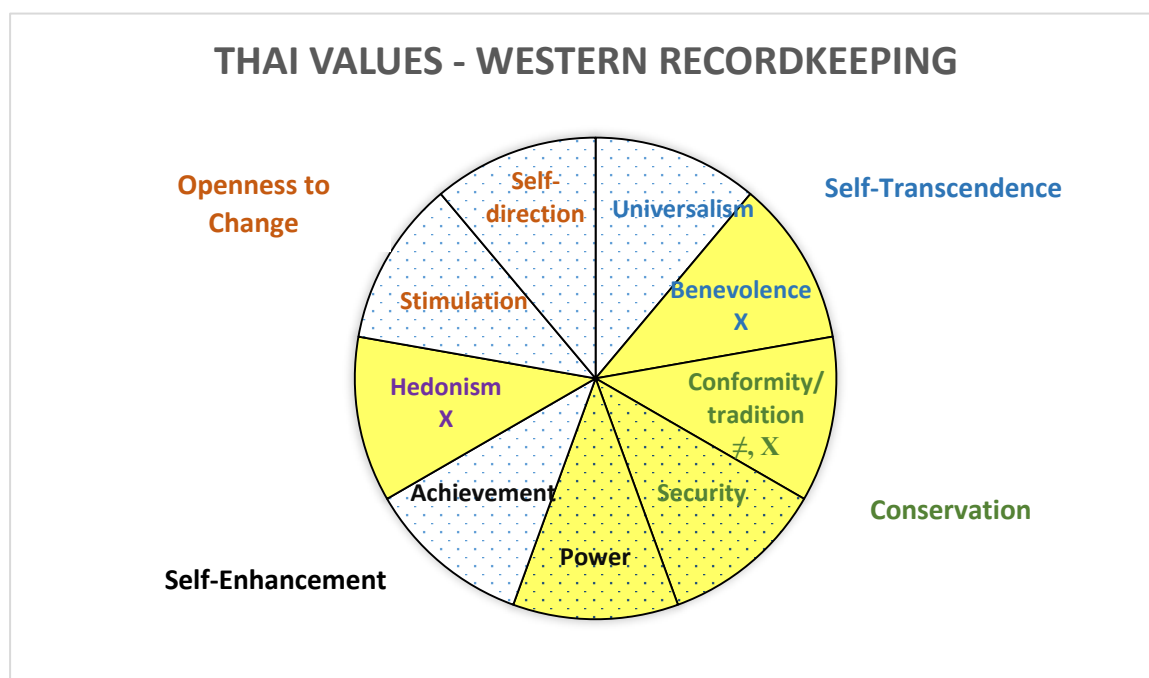
Figure 6 Thai social values and values supported by Western recordkeeping practice in Schwartz's value framework

The second diagram demonstrates Thai values, coloured in yellow, and values supported by Western recordkeeping practice, shaded in blue dots. Thai values do not correspond with values attached with Western recordkeeping practice. That is, the Western recordkeeping system reflects self-direction, achievement, power and security. These are values – except for power – that are not strong among Thai values. In terms of informational value in archival use, there can be many values involved – namely, power, achievement, stimulation and universalism. Power and stimulation are the only two values considered typical Thai values that appeared in informational use. Furthermore, tradition is a value conflicting with the Western way of using informational value (in research) as it searches for new knowledge. Lastly, a few values are not in the values attached to Western practice at all but are significant Thai values, namely hedonism and benevolence. These can be called "value gaps".

3.6.3   Value gaps

Value gaps in this case occur where archival management has not responded to certain values. This is behind questions asked to Thai archivists about how to make archives more relevant to values in the society. Archives could be changed in ways they are presented, in access, or in archival search tools. Then, archives might be able to find their place more easily in the society. For example, as people love fun by nature, archives that are successful are able to present their materials in interesting and fun ways. The Buddhadasa Indapanno Archives is an activity-oriented archives institution in Bangkok. Its main service is not providing archives in the reading room but including content from the archives in talks, exhibitions and social media. The Buddhadasa Indapanno Archives has been successful and is well known.

On the other hand, there are values in modern archival practice that are now necessary for Thai society. According to the diagram, values supported by the recordkeeping side are mostly ones that are contradictory to traditional Thai values (self-direction, achievement and security). This is because Thai values are pragmatic, flexible and against regulations. Nevertheless, these values became requirements for modern organisations to sustain their good governance and efficiency, so the government as well as people in positions of leadership should be aware of the importance of recordkeeping in these areas.

As for informational value, although innovation in knowledge is not what Thai people look for traditionally, the nature of today's knowledge is dynamic and full of exchanges between different contexts. It is necessary for Thai people to be able to retrieve informational treasures from their heritage instead of just keeping them; this will allow them to select information in the globalised world, share what they already have, and develop Thai knowledge in the modern world.

A task of this research is to explore what archives can offer in these areas. In chapter 5, the perceptions around value gap areas – historical research, knowledge and education, identity and rights – will be explored to gain a more concrete picture.

3.6.4   Professional values

Besides values attached with archival systems, professional value is the values set held by practitioners. The professional body and work emphasises particular kinds of values that suit the work. At the same time, archivists are also individuals and members of their societies so they also have values influenced by their socio-cultural contexts. It depends on each practitioner how much they bring individual values to work (Kingsley) and how they solve the problems caused by the conflicts between professional and their personal/ social values. It can be said that archivists advocate these professional values through their work especially when professional values are not totally compatible with social values in their contexts.

Defining professional values

The business dictionary defines professional value as "Business-related beliefs or principles that guide professional behavior. Values may reflect ethics, practices, standards and other norms within a commercial environment" (Business dictionary).

Professional values are thus beliefs that support each occupation's practice. A job cannot be called a profession without professional values or code of conduct. *Oxford Dictionary of Social Work and Social Care* defines a profession in general as "[a]n occupation that has traditionally been regarded as having a number of characteristics: a code of ethics/conduct; a regulatory body; a knowledge base; and control over new entrants" (Harris and White).

Not every occupation can be called a profession, and one of the defining qualities that a profession must have is a code of ethics. In other words, it needs to hold a principle or pattern of behaviours in practicing the job. Obviously, some sets of beliefs and values need to be enshrined in the profession.

Values and information professionals

In a more specific information profession perspective, some studies on professional values and ethics have been done. Wallace Koehler suggested that values held by the

profession are related to what information is for. Taking a functionalist perspective, Koehler discussed Capurro's idea that:

> The question 'what is information for?' leads to the question 'what is information science for?' since information science, conceived as a hermeneutic-rhetorical discipline, studies the contextual pragmatical dimensions within which knowledge is shared positively as information and negatively as misinformation particularly through technical forms of communication. These are not just an instrument but a 'way of being' (Koehler 101).

Thus, the work of this discipline has been interpreted according to the context, and practical side of management. The profession depends on the nature of information and the cultural context. Values it holds can be various according to the context. This article discussed a number of studies that conducted surveys with various kinds of information professionals. Koehler mapped out the results that showed, in general, that values defined by information professionals are: intellectual freedom, protecting library users' right to privacy, confidentiality, intellectual property rights, professional neutrality, preservation of the cultural record, and equity of access. Some values were mentioned in many studies, indicating that in the practitioners' point of view they have a significant role. Professional values are usually mentioned along with ethics.

Apart from identifying values in librarianship and information professions, this study identifies variables that cause variation in values: different kinds of work (meaning having different functions in society) and culture according to different regions. For example, archivists and records managers prioritise preservation, while librarians identified it as having a much lower priority (Koehler 108). Librarians and other information professionals also have values as a part of the charter (Chartered Institute of Library and Information Professionals) of their career development.

Values and archivists

This research aims to study the archives profession's values, including related professions, as archivists are those preserving, interpreting and disseminating value in archives. Archivists have a professional code of conduct provided by the ICA.

The ICA Code of Ethics is as follows (International Council of Archives):

1) Integrity of archival materials

2) Appraisals that respect provenance and impartiality

3) Protection of authenticity

4) Continuation of accessibility and intelligibility

5) Documentation of the practice in order to provide justification of their practice

6) Promotion of the widest access

7) Respect both access and privacy

8) Using trust given to the archivists for general interest

9) Pursuing professional development

10) Promotion of preservation and use of the world's documentary heritage

Mark Greene, former president of the Society of American Archivists (SAA) gave a speech claiming the importance of having professional core values in the archives profession. He stated that it is important for archivists to know who they are, not only what they do. He stated that knowing archivists' values will help to increase their power and value in the public's eyes (Greene). He proposed the following set of values for American archivists:

1) Professionalism

2) Collectivity

3) Activism

4) Selection

5) Preservation

6) Democracy

7) Service

8) Diversity

9) Use and Access

10) History

This list is similar to that of the ICA; however, it can be seen that when it comes to specific regions, there are cultural elements attached to the list of values. That is, the SAA list has some values such as democracy and diversity. These values are important in the US context where sensitivity in terms of multiculturalism is required and freedom is desired.

It is noteworthy that many values discussed for both library science and archivists are functions such as appraisal, preservation, service, and so on. These words are ethical guidance but they are not values according to psychology. It may be true that, as Mark Greene claimed, archivists are more attached to the process but find it difficult to articulate who they are. However, the codes aim to communicate with the practitioners to practise in the ways that accord with the values. And, one practice contains many values. For example, appraisal itself is not a value but it implies the belief in impartiality and the willingness to protect materials. Similarly, providing access requires a balance with privacy.

Jeannette Bastian discussed characteristics of ethical imperatives in archives and records management. Firstly, professional ethics tend to be considered at the individual level. Though institutions or organisations have rules, archivists will have to use their personal values in making decisions (Bastian 102). Secondly, ethics in archives management is an evolving process. Each era has its own ethical challenges. She points out that in the 21st century, the challenges for ethics in archives are social justice, sensitivity for indigenous people, and the challenges of the digital age. This reveals that professional values keep changing in accordance with society. Nevertheless, Bastian suggested that though issues around archivists keep changing, the main principle of archivists remain as Sir Hilary Jenkinson suggested: to maintain the integrity of the evidence and provide knowledge to users (Bastian 102).

Values among archivists are different from those of librarians due to nature of the work. The professional principle is mainly about preservation and giving access as well as encouraging archives to be a tool in dealing with social issues. The distinctive status of archivists is to be those who have information that interacts with justice, education and heritage at the same time. The profession's relationship to information gives it the nature of service and organisation values while its content makes information professionals accord with current ideas.

Information professionals and archivists' values and Thai values

Applying Schwartz's value framework with archives and information professionals, the values the professionals hold are clearly in the areas that support their roles.

The first evident role is **universalism** which emphasises the role to promote scholarship and knowledge. The areas of information that educational and cultural institutions like libraries and archives promote are on the intellectual search for truth and beauty which is also included in this value. Universalism also appears in giving access to all equally. This role can be found in both information practitioners in general and archivists. The second value which is traditionally considered by those outside information professionals is **self-direction**. The professionals work on arranging and controlling information to be promptly used. It can be found in the nature of the work. For example, the SAA professional values list archival work that involve this value e.g. selection, preservation and so on. **Benevolence** is another value needed in information professionals who work in service. Their work is to support others (information users). The nature of work that contributes to others is connected to benevolence value which aims to enhance others' wellbeing. Additionally, stimulation is a value stated by some practitioners in the interviews in that they can be exposed to new knowledge which make them feel fascinated and privileged.

As for the archival profession in particular, extra values that are added to information professionals in general are **tradition** and **power**. Tradition is distinctive in the sense that archivists have duties to preserve materials the past. Advocacy for these materials sometimes can bring people to perpetuate what has been inherited though arguably that can also lead to changes. I include power value for the archives profession as their materials when regarded as evidence can take control of rights, property and political power.

Comparing these values to Thai values described earlier, some prominent values in archives are not important ones in Thai social values e.g. universalism and self-direction. The lack of appreciation of these values in Thai society make the archival mission more challenging. And, some archivists see promoting these values that are not of interest in Thai society as their mission. For example, promoting value for educational purposes, supporting recordkeeping practice and documentation (more detail can be seen in chapter 4). In contrast, the ones that exist in both professional

values and Thai values are benevolence, tradition and power. These values have been reflected in Thai archival practice but with the expression in Thai culture. For example, benevolence can be seen in delivering service. Tradition is especially shown in the materials they provide and their presentation. Power is used to support power and stability. (More detail in chapter 4). So, some values in the profession correspond with Thai values in the professional areas but also interpreted in Thai context.

Values and historians

Apart from the archives profession and information side of the work, history is a twin discipline the practice of which directly influences archives.

On the relationship between social values and historians, Jörn Rüsen discussed the standpoint of a values system with empirical methodology in historiography. He referred to the contradiction between social values, which is about preferences, and the impartiality of classical historiography. He stated that historians hold the standpoint that narratives are formed by their own beliefs and opinions but all have to provide empirical validity to prove their points of view (Rüsen "Historical Objectivity" 57-62).

Historiography is closely related to social values and changes in them. Just like archivists, historians have to face the conflicts of objectivity and subjectivity in their methods. Despite each historian's personal standpoint that shapes history, all of them have to follow the solid ground of their methodology: to provide evidence to sufficiently support their points of view.

I will not go into much detail in Schwartz's value framework like professional values for archivists in the previous section. However, the point of view of historians has to be examined from their historical methods, which again appear not perfectly to fit in the Thai context. This will be discussed further in the material that deals with perceptions of history in 5.2.

3.7   Conclusion

This chapter mainly examines archival value and Thai social values by employing Schwartz's value framework which attempts to categorise basic human values into ten groups. Conventional literature describing Thai values and their origins identify some outstanding values, such as benevolence, power and hedonism, while more recent literature shows changes in Thai society. As for archives, they are usually considered materials with value attached to them because of their authenticity, age or importance as heritage, but this is culturally and socially determined depending on how society makes use of them. This chapter has shown that values supported by a modern (Western) archival system do not align as closely with Thai social values, and the main values even contradict prominent Thai values. For example, some significant values in Western archival notions (e.g. self-direction, achievement and universalism) are not prominent Thai values. Conversely, the traditional Thai recordkeeping system supports Thai values. However, both archival systems still have what is called in this research "value gaps". Hedonism and benevolence are not supported by either archival system. Some professional values required in archivists correspond with Thai values such as tradition and power; others can add challenges for Thai archivists since the mission of their work is to promote what is not culturally valued in a society that is not strong in the values of universalism and self-direction.

In brief, the exploration and analysis of this chapter shows how modern archival values are not culturally compatible with Thai values. This issue is at the heart of many of the challenges facing the provision of Thai archives today.

Chapter 4

Attitudes towards Archives and Archival Practice

4.1   Introduction

After the previous chapter's discussion of archives and recordkeeping systems and social values, this chapter will consider attitudes towards archives: what different groups of people think of archives and how they feel or take action towards them. This chapter will explore Thai people's attitudes towards archives and archival institutions in Thailand. Firstly, history of Thai recordkeeping and the development of the NAT will be explored. It is necessary to have understanding in this background as it is influential in shaping perception and attitudes towards archives in Thai society. Secondly, Thai perceptions and attitudes will be explored by looking at the data given by the survey participants who mostly hold general traditional Thai views on archives and the ones given by interviewees who are more involved with archives in the modern sense (archivists, users and academics). Their views on archival practice will be examined to explain the culture in archival practice and the service in reality. For interview data, some opinions from the British interviewees will also be offered for comparison and contrast. Finally, some psychological understanding discussed in chapter 2 will be used to analyse attitudes towards archives and archival practice in Thai and British contexts.

4.2   History of Thai recordkeeping

According to attitude theory, attitudes are shaped by information, emotion and behaviour (Munoz). One important factor that shapes attitudes (or if they are vague – perception) is history. History is experience and memories shared in society that can explain the attitudes of different groups in society despite the fact that social groups may not know how their attitudes have been shaped.

Though other factors also influence attitudes towards archives, the history of Thai recordkeeping is an important factor in explaining the general Thai view on archives since it traces the development of the information and responses that form the

attitudes. Thai recordkeeping history can be divided into two phases: an era of traditional recordkeeping systems and one with Western-influenced recordkeeping systems. Although the traditional recordkeeping system is no longer considered the main practice at the NAT, the general sense of archives in the country is strongly influenced by perceptions of traditional "archives" or *"chotmaihet"*. This traditional understanding of archives creates perceptions, attitudes and expectations that are different from those assumed by modern Western systems.

4.2.1 *The traditional Thai recordkeeping system*

The period of the dominance of traditional Thai recordkeeping practices covers the longest amount of time in Thai recordkeeping history. The old materials and almost all practices have been supplanted over time, yet the traditional practices and use of records and archives were designed in accordance with Thai beliefs and ideas.

Before Siam received influence from the West in the midst of its imperialist ambitions, the notion of keeping records was more to record events than to keep records created in daily life. The evolution of this recordkeeping system can be traced through historical evidence in Thailand as follows.

Prior to and during the Sukhothai Period (1238–1583)

According to Thai textbooks, Sukhothai is considered the first capital of the Thai kingdom; however, the fact is that Sukhothai is not distinct from other kingdoms that existed before. The land that is now Thailand used to be occupied by various kingdoms in different parts of the territory. Despite this reality, Sukhothai is considered the first 'Thai' kingdom because of the continuity of the dynasty from Sukhothai to the Ayutthaya kingdom – something emphasised in Thai historical chronicles. This thesis will thus mention recordkeeping in Sukhothai as well as traditions found in other kingdoms.

The Sukhothai kingdom was not big and its political system was not highly bureaucratic. Having been liberated from Khmer rule, Thai people founded a kingdom

with a small administration. In the early decades of this period, the kingdom had simple administration that sought to reflect the patriarchal ideal of a father governing his children. The population was small enough for it to be feasible for the king to judge trials. Subjects were entitled to use the word "father" in referring to their sovereign. After three kings, another type of king became prevalent: the *Sommuttithep*, or godlike king as posited in Hinduism, whose functions were better suited to a more complex society and expansive territory. However, the *Sommuttithep* system was not yet extensive compared to what is understood as the "next" Thai capital city and kingdom, Ayutthaya, which left many chronicles that were composed to support the kings' sovereignty.

A typical kind of recordkeeping found before and during the Sukhothai period is the inscription on a stone tablet. With inscriptions, the security of the information was guaranteed by the endurance of the material. This longevity is also one of the reasons why inscriptions are one of the oldest kind of record that has been found in the territory of present-day Thailand. Some inscriptions were created to record heroic deeds for political purposes. Others were created for religious purposes. A notable example is the Ramkhamhaeng stele which is partly autobiography of King Ramkhamhaeng, his family, his heroic battles and expansion of territory, along with descriptions of social life in the Sukhothai kingdom (1238–1583). Another example of this type is the No.2 inscription, which contains a biography of King Ramkhamhaeng's son, who was a monk. The inscription describes his brave and virtuous biography. Other inscriptions, called *kalapana*, recorded evidence of donations associated with Buddhism (Chalitanon 17-9). Throughout Thai history it has been customary for people to record evidence of their meritorious acts such as when they donate objects or people to temples. This evidence did not work like records of property or daily business in the modern Western sense (Jenkinson 4).[15] In contrast, recordkeeping as evidence in traditional Thai thinking has been related to religion (Pongsripian). It was written as evidence of good deeds or merit made by the donors, which is very important according to Buddhist beliefs. Those who make merit

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[15] This is the first definition of archives provided by Sir Hilary Jenkinson in his book. However, Jenkinson also gives an example of another kind of archive which is closer to traditional Thai practice: newspapers whose contents are related to history. He concludes, "It would seem, therefore, that our definition must include both documents specially made for, and documents included in, an official transaction". Still, there is a distinction between archives in this sense and Thai archives since the Thai archives were specially created for keeping.

are thought to reincarnate in a better life; it is also believed their merit can improve their lives now. In the world in which Buddhism is the centre of life, recordkeeping in this way is necessary. Another practice that is found in inscription writing is to curse people who want to steal donations from the temple (In-on). Some of the oldest inscriptions record Buddhist teachings. Inscriptions of this type date especially from before the Sukhothai period; Sri Lankan Buddhism heavily influenced the quality of knowledge and philosophy in the inscriptions. The *Ye thamma* inscription, found in the territory of the former Dvaravati Kingdom,[16] is an example of an inscription with these characteristics (Na Bangchang 19). The written characters used before the Sukhothai period were from other alphabets, as the Thai alphabet was not developed until the time of Sukhothai.

Songsan Nilkamhaeng has hypothesised that Sukhothai may have also made use of *khoi* paper (paper made from bark of the *khoi* tree), which was used later in daily records during the subsequent Ayutthaya period (Nilkamhaeng 22). However, no evidence of this has been found.

Another way to record information was in *tamnan*, or myths, which are generally more prevalent in oral traditions. These were written down and kept as evidence of history relating to religion. *Tamnan* were particularly popular during the fifteenth century in the north of present-day Thailand. They were transmitted in both speech and writing. As these myths' authors were monks, *tamnan* are always related to beliefs and typically include some supernatural stories. The actual history is mixed in with these fictionalised accounts. Other texts with religious content, such as the *Tipitaka* (the Buddha's and his disciples' teachings) and canons were also kept. Palm leaf was usually used for the inscription of the sacred text. They were more highly valued than other kinds of manuscripts.

Besides these religious purposes that dominated the early period of Thai recordkeeping, political purposes were also expressed, typically in heroic stories or glorification. The use of archives as evidence was intentional, in order to justify some rights and to be kept to publicise one's good deeds. If the records were related to religion, they would be considered sacred and worthy of the best preservation.

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[16] The ancient kingdom flourished in Thailand from the sixth to late thirteenth century.

Ayutthaya period (1351–1767)

Ayutthaya was the second Thai capital city and remained so for a prolonged period of 417 years. Its governing and administrative systems have had great influence on Thai systems and mentality. Traces of its polity and customs can be seen even at the present time. The social system in this period was influenced by concepts from the Khmer and from India. *Sommuttithep*, or godlike king, and the feudal system formed the basis of recordkeeping and other administrative systems.

Due to Khmer influence on governance and administration, kingship became central in all processes, including the recordkeeping system. In fact, the Thai word for archives, *chotmaihet*, is a legacy from this period. This practice is materials used in the making of chronicles, or *phongsawadan*. In the production of chronicles, many kinds of records are gathered to form a comprehensive view of history. This leads to the tradition of recording events and keeping them as diaries. Chronicles are made from *chotmaihet* (the word used for archives today) and *chotmaihet hon* (astrologer's archives).

Chotmaihet would be comprised of the historical records the *alak,* royal secretary would make daily. This particular person recorded important activities of the king. The records were kept in the *Ho Satrakhom*, which is considered by scholars to be an ancient archives repository (Nilkumhaeng 32). The *Ho Luang*, which functioned as The National Library, was where literature and manuscripts were kept, whereas the *Ho Satrakhom*, which can be compared to the current National Archives, was where the information about the time and date when kings were born,[17] and stationery were kept (Prudtikul "Records and Archives Management" 2). Staff working in the *Ho Satrakhom* were *Nai Saneh* and *Nai Suchinda Humpraeh*, who "can be regarded as Thai traditional archivists" (Prudtikul "Records and Archives Management" 2). They are the first known professional archivists in Thai history.

The *Ho Satrakhom* was also responsible for recording important daily events. The diary was then used by royal astrologers, and became very important historical evidence afterwards. These documents had several names, such as *kotmaihet khong*

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[17] The time and date when kings were born were recorded and kept for astrologers to tell the future. These were considered important records.

phra hora (astrologer's archives) and *het sang mi nai phrarachaphongsawadan* (chronicles) (Nilkamhaeng 68). These documents relate personal history, particular history and historical events. The material used in recording important events was *khoi* paper, or, if durability was required, a stone stele was used.

There were several kinds of records used in communication, namely *phra ratchasan* (royal letters), *thong tra* (royal orders), and *bai bok* (message written on paper). *Khoi* paper was used for records in general such as letters and royal orders. For *bai bok*, the thinner *khoi* paper was used. The papers were sent by being rolled in bamboo, and they were tied with rope after use. Such recordkeeping was for the purpose of politics in the court, and literacy was clearly an important factor.

As mentioned, the Ayutthaya period was long and influential; traditional Thai recordkeeping practice has followed the practice of this period. Even now, the recording of events is still practised in the NAT as a traditional part of archival work.

Thonburi (1767–1782)

The Thonburi period lasted for only a short transitional period after Ayutthaya was defeated by Burma. The administration still maintained the practices from the Ayutthaya period. It was a short period of only fifteen years, so there were no significant changes to recordkeeping.

Rattanakosin (1782–present)

Rattanakosin is the name given to the period during which the Thai nation has had its capital in Bangkok (which has remained the capital until the present day). During the early period, the polity closely adhered to the governance structures of the Ayutthaya period, including the traditional recordkeeping system. Though in the early reigns of the period (currently in its ninth reign) the strong tradition of Ayutthaya's court was consistently followed, the royal court in Bangkok eventually evolved under the influenced of the West. Though Western influence had long been present in politics and commerce, the situation intensified during Western Europe's imperialist period during the reigns of Kings Rama III and IV, finally culminating in the far-reaching

reforms implemented by King Rama V. The pressure from the period of Western imperialism urged Siam to modernise the country along Western lines. Colonisers from Europe were closing in on Siam from both directions; to the west, Burma was taken over by Britain, while to the east Indochina was conquered by France. This led Siam to modernise and westernise the country in order to be seen as "civilised" and thus survive from the threat of colonisation.

4.2.2   Recordkeeping system in the modernisation period

Nearly all aspects of the country were subject to modernisation (second half of the nineteenth century -1932). For the government system, the polity of the Ayutthaya period was changed into *monthon thesaphiban*, which divided the country into regions as in the French system. As for social aspects, the abolition of slavery was announced by the king, and basic education became obligatory for everyone.

Recordkeeping in this age was a part of these modernisation efforts and played a supportive role in the reformed political and social systems. Ministries were initiated during this period in the central government. Notable among these was the Ministry of Foreign Affairs because it played an important role in the imperialist period. A systematic, modern system of recordkeeping was initiated in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; later it was adopted by other ministries. Prince Devavongse Varoprakarn implemented a universal recordkeeping system including payroll and employees' profile systems in the Ministry in 1892 (Chaijindasut *History and Evolution* 13). Some archival documents found reveal that the Ministry of Murathathorn (the king's stationery) sent staff to be trained in recordkeeping at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Chaijindasut "Records Retention" 77). The Ministry of Interior also adopted the practice (Chaijindasut "Records Retention" 86)

Originally, four staff were responsible for records work. Later Ministry of Foreign Affairs became more complex, so the recordkeeping duty became a section in the ministry called *Kong kep* (keeping section), with the duty of assigning numbers and letters to records, creating lists of records according to the various sections, and maintaining an index so that records could be retrieved conveniently (Chaijindasut *History and Evolution* 13).

There was a particular form initiated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The first regulations on recordkeeping were the Ministerial Regulations of 1859. The regulations can no longer be found; however, we know that the contents concerned "the registration of incoming and outgoing mail, recordkeeping and a system to control and conduct duties efficiently" (Prudtikul "Records and Archives Management" 4). Somsuang Prudtikul thinks that the regulations later become the basis for government regulations on records management in the mid-twentieth century (Prudtikul "Records and Archives Management" 4) In keeping with the system emphasised by the West, each ministry had four kinds of staff who were responsible for receipt and delivery, record creation, and recordkeeping. The oldest regulations found in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Records Office were written in 1889 (TH Ministry of Foreign Affairs) (Figure 7). The regulations can be summarised that:

ข้อบังคับสำหรับศาลาว่าการต่างประเทศ

ข้อ ๑ บรรดาหนังสือที่ป่วงนี้จะรับไว้ในศาล
นี้ ต้องให้ลงตราจักรยานวันทั้งสิ้น ไม่ว่าหนังสือ
ราชการฤๅไม่ใช่ราชการ

ข้อ ๒ ถ้าผู้ใดรับฤๅส่งหนังสือในเวลาอยู่ใน
ศาลนี้ไม่บอกบาญชีแล้ว จะมีโทษเหลากลอย
เวลาหนังสือเข้าออกการโทษตามโทษ

ข้อ ๓ การนั้น ๆ ปลดกันให้ไว
ไม่ให้แบ่งการเฉพาะเวลาเหมือนแต่ก่อน
เป็นเวลาทำบาญชี หนังสือราชบาญชี
หนังสือถึงราวไว้ทาย

ข้อ ๔ เวลาอีกสามเวลาที่ไม่ได้เท่าการนั้น ให้
ช่วยกันทำหนังสือทวนหนักกันเอง ๑ เลา ไม่เลือก
ว่าการสั่งใด

Figure 7 Regulations for Pavilion of Foreign Affairs Rattanakosin Era 108

(Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

- Record sending and receiving must be documented (TH Min of Foreign Affairs *Regulations [1] and [2]).*

- Work is divided between four recordkeeping staff. One of them makes the list of sent and received records, and the other three create records. They will take turns doing these duties, and they cannot choose their work. In previous regulations, each staff member was given a single type of work to do (TH Min of Foreign Affairs *Regulations [1] and [2]).*

- Recordkeeping staff should record what letters have been received, but those who open them are to be the letter recipients in the Ministry. If the recipients are away, people with higher ranks can open them (Min of Foreign Affairs *Regulations [1] and [2]).* If it is a personal letter, the staff do not record the content (TH Min of Foreign Affairs *Regulations [7] and [8]).*

- The regulations instruct staff on how to number records in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (TH Min of Forign Affairs *Regulations [10] and [21])* and to make the descriptions of records (TH Min of Forign Affairs *Regulations [18]).*

- The staff are responsible for distributing letters to all in the Ministry (Ministry of Forign Affairs) (TH Min of Foreign Affairs *Regulations [22]).*

- Reports about records must be made for His Majesty the King.

- All records that that were sent back and forth need to be made in two copies. The original records are for keeping while the copies are for sending and keeping.

- Recordkeeping staff had the duty of arranging old records.

- Recordkeeping staff are to evaluate clerks in the Ministry every month. They also have to report their performance. Those who have good performance will get rewards (TH Ministry of Foreign Affairs *Regulations [30]).*

Although the recordkeeping system was a westernised registry-style system, making archiving efficient and passing on complete records to the present, the system did not stably settle in Thai society after this period. Such a modern practice, though it was adopted and served an important purpose at the time, was not imbued with actual Thai social values. It is not surprising then that the recordkeeping system reverted to a

decentralised and uncontrolled condition in a short time after the fall of absolute
monarchy in 1932.

4.2.3   Recordkeeping after the Siamese Revolution

The Siamese Revolution that occurred in 1932, during the reign of King Prajadhipok
(King Rama VII), was another dramatic change. As a result of the revolution, the Thai
polity changed from absolute monarchy to constitutional monarchy. The centralised
government of the *monthon thesaphiban* system was no longer used, and
recordkeeping in ministries became the sole responsibility of each individual ministry.
Records management was no longer unified in the same system.

Thai recordkeeping declined according to this change. When recordkeeping systems
belonged to individual organisations, the task came to be considered much less
important: not only were the system and records themselves neglected, but it turned
out that no staff was directly responsible for this duty. Recordkeeping became a
general task in governmental bodies where records management was hardly
understood and archives were considered useful only in the traditional sense. Records
and archives came to be undervalued because of a lack of knowledge and
understanding followed by the decline of the recordkeeping system.

The efficiency of the Thai recordkeeping system has been undermined since the
Siamese Revolution. This situation might be compared to what happened with
recordkeeping in the British Empire after the imperial period started to wind down. In
fact, many governments had weaker recordkeeping systems during the post-colonial
period (Tough and Lihoma 210-2).

The foundation of the NAT

The idea of establishing the NAT grew out of a concept accepted from the West in the
nineteenth century. Although prior to that period the palace had some recordkeeping
practice (the stationery of the kings was kept in a particular building, which was under
the care of the section also responsible for the recording of contemporary history as

mentioned above), the idea of keeping records of public administration was not widely accepted. This section will elaborate in chronological order the important stages in the foundation of the NAT, its purposes and functions in Thai society. Preliminarily, the history of the NAT demonstrates the idea of keeping archives for historical research purposes but has not been able to move further.

The Wachirayan Library

It was not until 1904, under the reign of King Rama V, that Thailand had a public library (although Wat Pho, a temple complex with a building that had served the same purpose, was built during the reign of King Rama III). The Wachirayan Library, which is now The National Library, was established on the initiative of princes and princesses under King Rama IV who wanted to found the library to honour their late father.

The Wachirayan Library brought together three different libraries: *Ho Phra Montien Tham*, where a set of Tipitaka volumes created during the reign of King Rama I were kept; *Ho Samut Wachirayan* or Wachirayan Library, which was established for honouring King Rama IV as mentioned; and *Ho Phutthasasanasangha*, founded during the reign of King Rama V, which housed a set of the Tipitaka and other books relating to Buddhism (TH The National Library 23).

The library functioned as a public library for Bangkok, according to King Chulalongkorn's initiative. At that time, Thai citizens did not have many places to turn to in order to find knowledge. In a speech King Rama V gave at the opening of the library, he said that "the country that has no books or myths is considered to be barbarian" (Department of Fine Arts 20). This was a time when a number of institutions that were modelled on Western cultural institutions, such as libraries and museums, began to be established in Siam. The motivation implied by King Rama V in his speech, to avoid being perceived as 'barbarian', must have been at least partly behind the opening of these institutions – and indeed nearly all other forms of reform in Siam.

This library made a wide range of contributions. The library was a very active and lively place for studying all kinds of subjects, such as literature, history, archaeology, and Buddhism. At that time, the library was both enjoyed by elites and valued by

scholars. For example, the library published magazines, which received contribution from many with high social status (TH The National Library 19) Writing and book competitions were held. The personnel in the library, such as Professor George Cœdès, a respected archaeologist and historian of Southeast Asia, were also well known and considered experts in their subjects (Department of Fine Arts 57) . During this time, a department of the library was devoted to keeping traditional significant books and doing traditional archives work.

Recording significant events has been a continuous tradition, but archiving public records is an activity that only came with the modern bureaucratic system. King Rama V said that some records should be kept well in archives. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab is honoured as the father of Thai history, and he was the one charged with establishing the independent National Archives in 2459 B.E. (1916). As this all suggests, the foundation of the NAT was for historical research. The prince noted that the purpose of having archives for historians was for research, explaining that

> Ministries are ordered that any records which are older than 25 years old must be sent to this place. We recruit girls (because of the low salaries – they are not breadwinners) to do filing, selecting years and subjects. Soon, we will have stories connected together as evidence" (TH The National Archives of Thailand "Prawat Kwampenma").

The archival work in a modern sense did not take place in archives section at the Wachirayan Library. It was carried out in Ministries and Office of His Majesty's Principal Private Secretary until the establishment of the National Archives. The archives was established for historical research, to serve historians such as the prince. The above quotation also indicates that archives work was not valued or recognised as an actual profession: women were chosen because they could tolerate the low salary. Thus, the archives profession in the Western sense has never been well honoured and recognised much in Thailand. According to the Royal Decree of Reconstruction of the Department of Fine Arts on 18 August 1952, the work of the National Archives was separated from The National Library in order to promote functioning like a modern national archives institution (TH The National Archives of Thailand *Krongkan Kong Ko Cho Cho [2497 B.E.]* ศธ. 0701 34/11 [3]).

In an internal memorandum about the foundation of the *Kong Chotmaihet* (the old name of the National Archives in the bureaucratic system, *kong* indicating its

ranking), archival work was seen as important because the country was growing, and international relations, e.g. affairs with the UN, were taking on an even higher profile. This document listed seven missions of the office; the first five were about the recording of contemporary events, including public events such as news in the country and the activities of Thai people outside the country – the descriptions and instructions regarding this were quite detailed. Only after this, in the last two items, was the keeping of public records mentioned. The document also gave some background, explaining how the office had previously been only a small section in The National Library working on recording important events. It was hoped that the news gathered would be used in studies and research. There was also a notion of arranging what they had recorded according to subject matter for future studies.

The traditional practice includes recording customs to preserve and promulgate them as exemplary cultural practice (TH The National Archives of Thailand *Krongkan Kong Ko Cho Cho [2497 B.E.]* ศธ. 0701 34/11 [5]) . This shows that besides archives being seen as heritage, archival practice was about preserving the tradition. The recording of customs was also used as a source of appreciation and solidarity and for the purpose of advertisement.

This document is a clear example demonstrating that Western archival ideas were neither clearly understood nor properly implemented in 1952 when this records was made. It was the Thai notions that were more prominent and obvious. This is probably because after the decentralisation of recordkeeping in 1932, the extensive Western influence on recordkeeping during the imperialist period declined. The independence of the National Archives from The National Library occurred at a time during which policies readjusted to different concepts in archival work.

Keeping public records

The keeping of public records was mentioned as "new" in the document dated in 1954 (TH The National Archives of Thailand *Krongkan Kong Ko Cho Cho [2497 B.E.]* ศธ. 0701 34/11 [4]) . This is interesting as Prince Damrong had mentioned the foundation of archival work at Wachirayan library in 1916 (TH The National Archives of Thailand "Prawat Kwampenma). It is possible that the work had been

going on in other organisations, or perhaps it had never been conducted at all as the document "The National Archives project" mentioned that records used to be "destroyed" or "burned" after use. According to the archives, the main purpose of keeping archives was for the bureaucratic system itself.

History of practice at the NAT

Two types of work were practised at the National Archives: traditional recording of events and modern recordkeeping. As for the traditional recording events, news had to be sought from different sources. Expected activities included consulting newspapers, getting news from different ministries, and sending archivists to seek for news by making photographic and sound recordings of events. The acquired news was to be arranged chronologically according to subject. Approval was needed before recording something. The information became confidential, and was to be revealed only with the consent of the director. (TH The National Archives *Krongkan Kong Ko Cho Cho [2497 B.E.]* ศธ. 0701 34/11 [14-6]. In 1965, a new building was built in the same area as The National Library. It was the first time the NAT had its own separate building solely for archival work (TH The National Archives *Kan Kosang Akan Rachabandittayasatan Lae Ho Chotmaihet Hangchat 22 มี.ค. 2505* ศธ. 23.6.3/1 [24]).

In sum, the NAT was built for recording history, which is the legacy of traditional Thai historical-archival work. The keeping of records was only a secondary job of the NAT in early times. However, there were developments and changes in the work prioritisation throughout the time. For example, in 1970s and 1980s keeping public records came to occupy much more of the workload than recording events and today, the arrangement of materials is no longer based on subjects but on the principle of provenance (Anonymous former archivist).

The progression of practice and perspectives in running the NAT has had great impact on archival policy and its presentation to the public. Among different groups of users, perceptions of archives have conflated both traditional and Western senses of archiving. This will not be resolved until the NAT can identify the appropriate meaning for itself, and practice archival work consistently.

The development of archival practice at the NAT was not something that was clearly laid out and seems not to have been systematic. According to notes and existing archival documents, the practice was determined by trial and error on the part of the staff. The archivists tried to refer to different manuals from other countries, but sometimes what resulted was confusion. Sometimes principles of archival work were written down as manuals. A note written in 1944 (TH The National Archives of Thailand *Lak Patibat Lae Krongkan [2487 B.E.]* ศธ. 0701.34/3 [27-32]). gives a snapshot of archival work from 70 years ago. These notes were retyped, and it seems that they were used as a manual for quite a while. It identifies principles of recording events, preservation and keeping public records as follows:

Preservation

Preservation was defined as an art because it is involved with how methods can be adapted to fix records. Preservation work was defined as practical work, not theoretical. However, Sir Hilary Jenkinson's definition of records was specifically mentioned. The document also gave some advice – for example, instructing that chemical substances should not be applied because they would lead to the degradation of records, according to the writer's experience. Though the note shows that they did practice preservation of records, it was practised on an experimental basis (TH The National Archives of Thailand *Lak Patibat Lae Krongkan [2487 B.E.]* ศธ. 0701.34/3 [27]).

"Keeping significant records"

The records had been gathered from different ministries from as far back as possible, starting in 1932, the year of the change to constitutional monarchy in Siam. Many of the records gathered from different places were repetitive. The manual thus suggested that practitioners rearrange them into subjects, and that the archivists read records carefully to determine a classification system by topic.

<u>Recording events</u>

The note on recording significant events is the longest of them all. It described how to select news from newspapers and send staff to record events first hand. The note also detailed the necessary qualifications of archivists tasked with recording events and how they should divide their work.

Archivists at that time tried to learn about archival work from other countries. One document found describes recordkeeping in the National Archives of the US as the writer had learned from a book. However, the archivist noted that it consisted of "recording history" in the US. So without formal archival education, the archivists tried to learn to practise from other countries but may have understood it with their own perceptions of archival practice (TH The National Archives *Reuang Ho Chotmaihet* ศธ.079.34/4 [25]). Some of the positions identified as being active in this section no longer exist today, such as translators for different languages such as English, French, Pali, and so on (TH The National Archives *Lak Patibat Lae Krongkan [2487 B.E.]* ศธ.0701 34/11 [4]).

This historical background of Thai recordkeeping helps clarify Thai attitudes about traditional recordkeeping during the transition to adopting a modern sense of records, and it can explain why most people in Thai society are attached to ideas of archives in the traditional sense and therefore do not engage with them. During the Western imperialist period, a modern (Western) sense of archives was brought to the country, and briefly flourished and then declined shortly after, and came to have an ambiguous role in contemporary Thai society. Today, the tension between these two historical trends shapes the attitudes different groups of people have towards archives according to their experiences with the material. This has been reflected in the survey and the interviews.

4.3   Attitude towards archives from survey data

As described in chapter 2, an attitude is an opinion towards a specific object (Bohner and Wänke 5). It governs individuals' behaviours towards those things. In this study, attitudes have been collected via two methods: survey (questionnaire) and interview.

The survey was aimed at groups of potential users, so the participants did not necessarily have knowledge or understanding of archives. The survey can thus be taken to represent general attitudes of people in Thailand whose lives are distant from archival materials. In contrast, the interviews with archivists, users and archives educators captured attitudes of those who are more acquainted with archives. This research uncovered a contrast or clashes in perceptions of archives between these two groups, reflecting a gap that exists among people throughout the country.

4.3.1   Survey

The survey was conducted only in Thailand by sending questionnaires to four groups of participants: teachers, media, staff in private- and public-sector organisations and non-academic archives users (or those interested in using archives for leisure). The respondents included both users and non-users. One of the aims of the survey was to understand general Thai attitudes towards archives and the potential of these groups of people to become archives users in the future, since professional or general-interest archival use is not common in Thailand.

The second part of the survey of all groups was about attitudes towards archives. The questionnaire asked two open-ended questions – firstly, about the respondent's opinions regarding archives; and secondly, if the respondent has not used archives, the reasons why not. The fact that the participants were able to give their opinions freely in the questionnaire has helped me to understand their attitudes towards archives without having actively guided their opinions. The first part asks background information of the participants, and the third part asked the participants their preferences in purposes of using archives and means of using archives which will be reported in chapter 5 (for each group) and 6 (in total).

4.3.1.1   Perceptions and attitudes towards archives from Thai people in general

The data from the survey confirms that most ideas about archives are still vague. Additionally, those who have clearer ideas about archives tend to associate the

material with traditional Thai thoughts about history and cultural heritage. On this level, opinions collected can be considered partly attitudes and partly only perceptions, as some participants are likely never to have devoted conscious thought to the word archives. One of the user interviewees commented on this, saying she does not think that attitudes on archives have been formed, since people do not even know what archives are (Towinus). Rather, at this level they should be considered perceptions. In fact, the level of knowledge about archives varies among different groups of people.

The level of perception

People in this group do not understand the meaning of the word "*chotmaihet*" at all. Some have come across the word at some point but have only a vague understanding about it. An example of one perception reported on the questionnaire that reflected such a state is, "I feel that they are old. They look hard to understand and sound like they only belong to the government". Or, "My work is not official. It is not related to the government". The general perceptions are that archives are old, related to the government, complicated, hard to access and irrelevant to modern professional life. Many other participants do not understand what archives exactly mean. When I gave the questionnaire to people in person, they tended to ask me about the real definition of archives.

The Level of attitude

People in this group can identify the definition of archives and have their own opinions towards the objects. Some have experience using archives while others do not. The understandings expressed are diverse.

Some participants were able to give opinions on archives, though they still show some misunderstandings. For example, one commented that archives are reliable primary sources (which is not always true). Some expressed conflicting ideas about what archives mean. For example, some answers refer to archives as autobiography, and that they use easier language than public records. This is because the word "archives", or *chotmaihet* in Thai, can refer to a few kinds of work: the royal secretary's diary during Ayutthaya period, a genre of literary work that records travelling experience,

and archives in the modern sense, which are records created in organisations both in public and private sectors. This kind of answer shows that the first meaning of archives remains on their mind, and they are not aware of what kind of archives the NAT provides. This confusion was mentioned by a NAT archivist who does not want to be named that students sometimes want to find *chotmaihet* (literature) in The National Library but they are sent to the NAT because of the ambiguity of the word. The lack of clarity inherent in the term is a feature among both users and information practitioners.

Another kind of attitude that was conveyed through the survey is the notion many Thais have regarding cultural heritage. That is, heritage is high culture, sacred and royal. It is there to be preserved (not used). The approach the Thai government uses is to seek to persuade people to see the value of heritage in order to pass it on to the next generations. The answers in this group reflect this view firmly. A few answers from people interested in archival use for leisure come close to following the same pattern. That is, the idea of archives as heritage for future generations and as national property that should be preserved is clearly strong. Some answers from the questionnaire are, for example, "Archives are very valuable historically. They should be preserved for the future generations", "Archives contain a body of knowledge that should be preserved for studying in the future," and, "This is keeping records that are valuable for Thai people and the country for both educational purposes and the future development of the country". All of these statements show the strong recognition of historical value of archives and the need to preserve them for their future use in education and governance. However, overall archives are not widely preserved, and this is because of traditional Thai Buddhist ideas of impermanence. If they are kept at all it would be from Thai notions of knowledge and custom transmission.

The last kind of answer illustrates that some participants understand what archives the NAT keeps and provides. This group consists of attitudes derived from the interviewees and some participants in the survey who are also archives users. As they have had experience in archival use at the NAT, they are able to point out obstacles in using archives as well as provide some suggestions for improvement.

Some participants from the survey identified archives as useful materials but made suggestions for areas where the NAT could help them search and use archives better.

These answers indicate that attitudes towards archives and those towards archival services are two different things, but one can affect the other. In this case, general attitudes towards archives are positive but some people have had difficulties with archival access, which has made them less motivated to use archives.

The survey participants in certain groups were able to list various positive opinions about archives. Teachers were able to enumerate different values clearly. For example, one participant mentioned that archives reflect the history of the country and its past events, and this is linked to how people must know their own roots. Another mentioned the value of archives in showing what old language was like. These comments, mostly found in the potential non-academic users and teachers, are more generic and show understanding and awareness of archives' values. In these statements, potential archives users and users in this group emphasise historical value (both as evidence and information).

4.4   Attitudes from the interviews: perspectives and relationships

All the interviewees were asked about their attitudes towards archives and whether they think archives are sufficiently valued in the society. The answers to the latter question, besides providing their personal opinions, also help to demonstrate how different groups see one another. The attitudes towards archives and different groups towards each other are what actually form the archival system in reality. That is, the way archival work is carried out is deeply influenced by how the archivists treat different groups of users, how users think of archives service and how educators reflect thoughts about both groups and deliver this reflection into archival education.

4.4.1   Interview

The attitudes expressed in interviews give richer layers of information. Firstly, this is because the people interviewed – namely, archivists, users and archives educators – are all more or less involved with archives (For the full list see appendix A). Some have been interested in or have worked intensively with archives throughout their

professional lives. The attitudes these people shared shed light on two important foci in this research: archival materials and archival services (at the NAT).

In the interviews, all interviewees were asked about their attitudes towards archives and whether they think archives are valued enough in the society. The questions (see the interview questions in appendix H) also help to demonstrate how different groups see one another.

4.4.2   Archivists

Attitudes towards archives

As professionals, Thai archivists share a mutual understanding of records and archives according to the modern principles of the archives profession. Their views also depend on the areas of their work. They can see the roles of archives clearly from their experiences. One attitude they tend to hold is that archives are valuable national documents that they have to keep and disseminate to the wider society. As members of a small, niche profession in the country, they desire to make different groups related to their work aware of archives and how to make use of them. However, the prominent traditional attitude found is a custodial one, which is also a typical attitude found in other Thai cultural professions, such as among curators (Purichanont). A few archivists pointed out that their attitudes have changed over the time they have worked in the NAT. They said they used to have the custodial perspective that archives are national property, and they need to do their best to preserve them rather than make them accessible to people. This shift is partly a reflection of wider trends in the contemporary world, since the same change – where priorities have moved from preservation towards providing access – can also be seen elsewhere due to a change in social values and attitudes towards information in general, accelerated by information technology. For instance, in the UK, archives are pushed to give higher priority to access because of the growth of family history interest and Freedom of Information (FOI), while preservation, though it has benefited by increased access through surrogacy, has the same or lower significance (Forde 193-4).

Archivists and their attitudes towards different groups of people

The NAT archivists realise that most people in Thai society do not understand what archives are and what archivists are doing. This makes it difficult for them to collaborate with other governmental departments, the executives, the users and the public.

As for relationships with different groups of users, the NAT archivists mainly provide their services to researchers and historians; however, they try to reach out to other groups of people, such as school students, by giving talks and exhibitions at schools throughout the country and organising public talks. Both activities have received successful feedback; however, the archivists can only do outreach based on the resources they have (budget, staff and time). This has changed from the approach the NAT employed in the past, where students were not welcome to the archives, and the archivists were determined to deliver service only to targeted groups of users (Anonymous former archivist).

NAT archivists have varying attitudes towards different groups of users. Some archivists have a very positive attitude towards academic researchers. One archivist mentioned that users at the NAT are good people who are knowledgeable – more so in their respective subject areas than the archivists – and have studied prior to coming to the archives (Anonymous former archivist).[18] Two archivists talked about a few researchers they have been impressed by. One talked about a few famous academics who used archives in the past. She also mentioned the intellectual atmosphere in the archives and how these researchers complemented it. The same archivist mentioned that each user has used archives for years, so they are familiar with the archivists. She talked about the archivists-user relationship in her career as a source of good memories (Anonymous former archivist).

The archivists have deep appreciation for the main group of users because of their profound understanding and care for the work and holdings of the NAT. A counterpart of this appreciation – in line with many traditional Thai attitudes towards archives – is that some other users could occasionally be seen as less important, or in

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[18] The word "good" in Thai is not related to ability ('i.e. being 'good' at some activity), so it means that the users are good or decent people.

the words of one of the interviewees, "superficial" (in response to the question about how different groups of people value archives).[19] Their point is that the non-researchers tend to come to the archives to get "what they want" such as old photos to add to a collection, information for their assignments to get good marks or information for commercial purposes. In these cases, the users might be thought of as not truly appreciating the value of archives. However, the same archivist said that they still treat all researchers equally, even though the service is mainly for educational and academic purposes.

This certainly does not mean the archivists think some kinds of users are superior to others. In fact, they were adamant that they welcome all types of users. Nevertheless, it is possible that these values could perhaps come across naturally in archivists' interactions with users. On one of the questionnaires that was returned, a user who used to work for a cultural magazine reported encountering some difficulty in accessing archives at the NAT, and indicated that they felt that this was because the purposes of the visit were commercial. The user further contended that students or civil servants would be more likely to receive the help they needed.[20] In another case, one visitor who wanted to attend a talk at the NAT felt mistreated, and attributed it to him not being well-dressed. Finally, he left the talk though he had travelled from another province in order to attend.

From an information culture perspective, this attitude in the archives reflects an important Thai value: hierarchy. It is not that people do it deliberately, and the belief in the value of archives and the desire to preserve them for suitable people arise from good intentions. This attitude does however need to be adjusted if the NAT is to become more open to a wider range of people, and indeed it can already be seen to have changed explicitly in archivists' attitudes.

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[19] Not named in order to protect the interviewee's reputation.
[20] A questionnaire from a survey with media

How archivists are seen

As the group of users at the NAT is not large and relatively homogenous, users tend to know and have good relationships with the archivists. Many users spoke gratefully of good service and help the archivists have provided.

Pattara Kam is an academic and a writer at King Vajiravudh Memorial Hall. He is doing biographical research on the royal family in order to write articles and books. His information needs and interests match what the NAT is able to provide (Kam). From his 25 years of archives use at the NAT, Kam expressed his gratitude to the archivists for helping him find records that he cannot find or that are not in the catalogue. His attitudes on archival use are thus linked to the archivists. Finally, he said, "I quite love this place. I have a close relationship with the National Archives" (Kam). Anake Nawigamune also reported a positive experience with an archivist when he first used archives at the NAT. Because of her generosity and the old system, which allowed users to see available photos, he got a chance to see lots of old photos. Nawigamune also mentioned that the archivist came from the same province as him, making them feel more familiar with each other (Nawigamune).

Using archives requires users to collaborate and have good relationships with archivists. (In another cultural context, British users also commented that the relationship with archivists is important for them in accessing archives.) The significant Thai value that could be underlined here is that the relationship is important in Thai daily life. For example, people address one another as relatives, such as sister, brother, uncle or aunt, even though the person is actually a stranger (Samakkarn 62). On the other hand, some users who do not fit the description of typical users can find themselves treated quite differently and alienated.

People whose work is involved with the NAT

There are many people – especially those working in governmental departments – who need to collaborate with the national archivists in transferring the non-current records to the NAT. The archivists were of the opinion that in general these people do not have awareness and knowledge of the archival process. Srijantaranit stated that the governmental departments do not understand the NAT's work and do not

understand that their own work can be important, and worth having records of for posterity (Srijantaranit). Some archivists stated that sometimes the governmental departments feel possessive of their records. In some cases, even though some may understand the archival process and would like to uphold good practices, they cannot make changes because they do not receive commands from the decision-makers.

In researching what it is that causes governmental departments to hold on to or discard their records instead of transferring them to the NAT, it was found that though there are many reasons that motivate this situation, it depends very much on personal relationships – between the departmental officers and each particular director of the NAT. The closeness of the departments to the director or the head archivists can affect the level of assistance they receive when they would like to retrieve their records back for their own use. One interviewee felt that the reason the departments do not transfer some records is they sometimes have to ask to use their own records just like normal users. However, other times, some directors would retrieve records on their behalf and facilitate their access to the old records (Chaijindasut). This emphasis on personal relationships and the flexibility (or inflexibility) they can bring about is a feature of Thai culture seen in archival practice. In its essence, this is a modern manifestation of traditional patronage culture. At the value level, the hierarchy value is outstanding in the patronage system. As for the attitude people have towards archives as well as to each other, it determines how they take action in the archival process.

In the UK, the relationship between governmental departments and the national archives is also key for the transfer of materials to TNA. The system functions with the aid of long-established relationships between the departments and TNA.[21] The difference is that in the UK context these relationships are organised through formal mechanisms, while in Thailand the relationships are fluid, informal, and not explicitly defined.

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[21] Each department has a liaison who co-ordinates between the departments and TNA. Also, the departments are the one who appraise records themselves.

Contrast with British archivists at TNA

I interviewed two archivists and one former archivist from TNA. Two of them, Nick Kingsley and Melinda Haunton, were from archives sector development. Kingsley was working on an archives awareness campaign called "Exploring archives" and Haunton was working on archives service accreditation. The thrust of both archivists' work is to encourage others to use archives and to support different British archives in developing their archives according to their type and nature to explicitly show their openness to diversity and opportunities. The third interviewee in the British archivist group was a former archivist at TNA, Susan Healy. Healy was an archivist interested in recordkeeping-related legislation. She drafted the code of practice according to the law for archivists such as the one on records management issued under section 46 of the FOI Act and under Section 51(4) of the Data Protection Act 1998.

British and Thai archivists show similarities in attitudes towards archives, such as the notions that archives are knowledge, information, and history; however, the British archivists in contrast identified archives as "the remains of people", or the shells that people leave behind, not just papers (Haunton). The distinct attitude repeatedly found in Thailand was that archival materials are national property or national heritage. Attitudes on users are also different, as British archivists seek for what archives can be applied to different groups of people; Thai archivists, on the other hand, have less resources so they need to focus only on researchers. As for the attitude towards themselves and the archival profession, archivists from both countries were likely to say that they were interested in history in the first place. However, a clear difference is that the British archivists tended to describe themselves as archivists, while the Thai archivists had a notion of universal archives professionals alongside a nationalistic perspective linking their profession with the nation and their identity as civil servants.

Kingsley's work is to raise awareness among different groups of people of archives' potential in their lives. He stated that people might not recognise how archives are used in the products in their daily life (Kingsley). For example, they are used in documentaries, films and books, but people might not recognise that the information is derived from archives. Kingsley said though archives look distant to most people, everyone has occasions where records or archives become essential. Certain archival functions and value – reassurance, trustworthiness, sources of information and

evidence – are valued in critical times but maybe not in everyday situations (Shepherd). So from his perspective, archives, though appreciated more by researchers, belong to all groups of people in different ways.

A prominent point Kingsley made that is different from the NAT archivists is that he thinks archives can be linked to all people, as humans are curious by nature. He told of the excitement of young school children that came to see the actual archives at the archives he used to work for (Kingsley). This inspiring experience is an example of how archives can be linked to everyone and need to be "making connections and telling the stories" to different groups of individuals (Kingsley). In fact, his own decision to become an archivist was driven by his fascination with historical materials. Being a curious person himself, he feels privileged to work closely with history (Kingsley).

The other archivist from the same team, Melinda Haunton, earned her PhD in history and previously worked for the Historical Manuscripts Commission (HMC) before TNA. When I interviewed her, she was working on the archives service accreditation project. She sees that developing archival services is very important in raising awareness among users and the public. The programme helps different archives to be standardised in ways that suit their contexts, since the nature of the archives in the UK is that they are varied, like patchwork (Haunton). It is important that the standards they seek to follow suit their environment. Her attitude towards archives and society shows openness to diversity and changes. She described how her project works to help archivists improve archives services in ways they have found useful. She said that there is also "a core … that cannot change" in archival practice, but her project is very much about helping archives to understand "what the users of your records might want to do and trying to meet that within the limit of reality". So although she agrees that archival practice at its core needs to keep records in a good shape and take care of them, she has similar belief to Kingsley that to promote archives is about telling the story in a way that is useful to people. She adds "It's really important to recognise that different records have different users and you probably need to provide slightly different things for different people (Haunton)".

Another way Haunton promotes archives is by publishing blogs for archivists and users. She shared that a challenge in talking about archives is that archivists can talk

too abstractly, and it can make people feel confused and disengaged. So she has tried to make it simple and approachable. For example, people did not understand when she talked about a poem in the archives, but when she put it in activities people would understand and be interested in it (Haunton). Another challenge is that her work is about managing archives, which is not something many users are interested in hearing about. Administrative skills are important for practitioners but do not necessarily matter much to others.

The interviews of the two archivists illuminate the attitude TNA has in promoting archives in the UK: desiring the materials to be communicative and wanting to offer them to people where they are. "People" here includes more varied groups than typical archives users. As represented by these two individuals, TNA archivists try to understand the expectations of these people and determine how archives fit into their lives. As the two archivists' work focuses on promoting archives in the wider society, it is not surprising that their attitudes tend to be open and user-oriented. Nevertheless, the attitudes they expressed are important to remember when considering archivists' approaches towards archival value and its dissemination.

Susan Healy had an eminently practical reason for being an archivist, seeing the archives job as useful. Her work was not directly related to access, but the former archivist reported that the work priority at TNA has changed from preservation, when she worked, to access (Healy). So it is not only the NAT that has held a custodian attitude, by which archivists emphasise the need to keep records rather than give access; in the UK these attitudes have been changing as well. Also, archivists who are responsible for different work may not have the open attitudes displayed by the first two archivists I interviewed, but there is an overall trend towards access at TNA.

4.4.3   Users

Five users at the NAT were interviewed for this study. All of them are experienced users who understand archives and archival practice well, so they were able to provide some insights from users' perspectives on archival materials and archival practice at the NAT. Noting that, their individual values contrast in some ways with general mainstream Thai social values. Their attitudes towards archives are positive in

general, though they did also note some frustration with perceived shortcomings in archival services.

Motivations in using archives

Firstly, interviewees were asked about their background and their work; their work requires them to use archives, and their backgrounds have contributed to their interest in archives. For example, most interviewees stated that they were interested in "old stuff" in the first place (Nawigamune). For example, Anake Nawigamune is a writer about old objects and Sasithon Towinus used to study archaeology and cultural management. All other people do work that requires them to use archives, and they themselves are also interested in culture and history. Some of the interviewees grew up in an environment in which reading was emphasised; for example, Nawigamune's family ran a textbook store, so he grew up with books and reading. This kind of environment is unusual in Thai society. In this way, only a relatively small number of individuals have values that correspond with archival use, while such values are uncommon in the wider society.

Attitude towards archival materials

The interviewees were asked what they think and feel about archives to examine their cognitive and affective components. Overall their attitudes were positive and expressed the shared understandings and feelings among users.

Almost all interviewees identified certain qualities of archives that motivate them to use the materials. These qualities mentioned by them are depth, accuracy and reliability, though it was recognised that the last of those attributes is not always true. The interviewees stated that they want to see these qualities in their work, and archives provide these qualities. They mentioned though that archives and their attendant qualities are not necessarily cared much about by many other book authors or researchers in the country. The NAT users especially appreciated being able to use archives as evidence that could confirm their information. Some identified archives as a repository. Povatong commented that the charm of archives is that they can "grow", meaning he can find new things as more records become available in the archives. He

has found it fun to find new things in archives, and called it "entertaining" (Povatong). Pattara Kam also mentioned that he enjoys coming to the archives in his free time to gain new knowledge. This nature of archival use requires users to be curious and patient; it suits some people but can be a challenge for others.

In addition, archives can be seen as materials for specific purposes outside academia. One of the interviewees, Rungsawang, a news editor at Thai PBS, revealed that archives are not used often in reporting news. "It has to clearly fit in with the work", she said (Rungsawang). The archives are used in two cases. They might be used for entertainment or cultural news, though Rungsawang believes that other TV channels do not use them. The other case is when work requires particular depth or accuracy. Books and magazines might use archives for their work as well – usually ones about art and culture.

At the level of feelings, one interviewee described feeling intimate with the archives. Her reading experience has made her feel like she can experience the past. She feels thankful for those documented things in the past that she is able to access today (Towinus).

Attitudes towards archival use and practice

The attitudes people have towards their use of archives at the NAT is less positive in terms of the level of difficulty they encounter. Most interviewees have been pleased with the service and archivists' advice. They stated that archivists are friendly and helpful. The problematic part seems to be the experience in searching and reading, which were described as "difficult", "tiring" and requiring time and patience. Such difficulties are another factor that prevents people from using archives (Pongsripian).

A problem with the NAT that is invariably mentioned by users is that they do not have an online catalogue to facilitate users' searches. Instead, there are only paper inventories, which makes for a time-consuming and tiring process in trying to locate relevant archival materials. Even Kam, who has used the NAT for 25 years, would welcome any tool that could make his work easier. "If possible, I ask not to consult the inventory often", he said (Kam). The tools users at the NAT have to rely on today are not electronic or mechanical but human – archivists and other users. Povatong said

that it is necessary for him to talk to many people in order to find records. He reckons that having a database and online finding aids would help him in searching and ultimately in gaining access to information he seeks (Povatong). Apart from finding aids, which all users would like the NAT to improve, other problems in reading archives such as documents on microfilm were reported as having negatively affected users' health. Some people vomited after using the microfilm due to its poor quality, which of course would not lead to a positive attitude towards archival use.

Despite all the obstacles in archival use, one user considered that these difficulties have given her a greater attachment to archives: "How I think about them [archives] – that they are important – is from how I have been with them. I've used them and I feel attached. This may be a bit dramatic, but they are like my friends" (Towinus). Towinus appreciates the significance of archives due to her experiences, not because of her prior knowledge or education. In this way, if people have opportunities to be familiar with archives, their attitudes – hopefully positive – can be built. This corresponds with the psychological theory that the more familiar people are with an object, the more positive their attitudes tend to be.

To sum up, archives users have positive attitude towards archives. They tend to start from their own interest, while the need to use archives comes from their work. Their values and attitudes are not in the majority in Thai society. This reflects the reality that archival awareness and relevance in Thailand is not widespread and explains why only limited groups of users consult archives.

Contrast with British users

I interviewed four British users to compare their attitudes with those of the Thai users. Users from both contexts had similar interests and backgrounds, valuing history, and many of them had positive experiences with cultural heritage or historical things in their childhood. For example, Cara Davies remembered that she first became interested in cultural heritage and art on a school trip to a museum during middle school. She became a dancer when she grew up and also worked as an archivist while doing her PhD, using archives of performing art (Davies).

Their attitudes towards archives are similar to Thai interviewees in that they appreciate archives as related to history. What is distinctive about the British interviewees is that many view history in more varied dimensions. For example, Susan Moore, a historian who has used archives throughout her career, explained that when she says the word "history", she means the history of the country and the people in it (Moore). Cara Davies also defined archives more broadly than records, seeing them as anything that reflects memories – even her body (Davies). This does not mean that only the UK users displayed a broad perspective about archives. One Thai user, Anake Nawigamune, defines archives as more than papers kept for research (Nawigamune). For him, archives can be anything that records society. However, the overall tendency of the two groups was that British users did not only think that archives are about the history of the nation but had more variation of ideas about archives. This difference can be explained by currents of thought about history and archives and the records provided by the National Archives. As Nick Kingsley said, the trend of historical studies in the UK has been one of expansion. Originally being history of the white, male, upper class, it has spread to include more varied groups of people (Kingsley). For example, TNA keeps governmental records, and some of these records happen to contain people's names, such as the list of soldiers serving in the World Wars. They were not originally kept for ordinary people but became for this purpose usable later. Interest in history in the UK has become more widespread with the rise in popularity of discovering family history and identity, stimulated by TV programmes. These types of records have thus attracted people to TNA and other archives. In the Thai context, however, names of ordinary people have rarely been recorded. The civil registration is not kept in the NAT, so doing history is uncommon not only because of a lack of interest but also because of limited recordkeeping practice in the first place.

As for attitudes on archival practice and user experience, the British users generally noted that the system at TNA is highly efficient; however, many of them still found areas for improvement. Like Thai users, they had concerns about search tools, singling out the search tool called "Discovery" which was seen as having been simplified for the sake of amateur researchers. This shows the drawbacks of having many groups of users, both professional and non-professional researchers. The comments of the British interviewees show that many users understand the system of

archives management very well. For example, Graham Woolgar, a lifetime researcher and family historian, investigated the appraisal system at TNA. He noticed that some papers that should be available were absent from TNA. Having formerly worked in IT, he was able to comment on IT issues at TNA, namely Discovery and digitisation projects. Graham was concerned about business opportunities TNA is attracted to. He raised an example that TNA collaborated with family history companies to digitise records in the repository. These companies digitised records at no cost, but users claimed that descriptions meeting the standards of The National Archives were not provided. TNA thus appears to be willing to compromise in order to be more attractive to commercial partners (Woolgar).

Two users out of the four were involved with the user forum at TNA. This user group at TNA has a monthly meeting where users can give opinions and comments on TNA's performance. The users claimed that initially TNA was more receptive to their opinions when the group was formed. They reported that at some point it became less willing to listen to users, causing them to wonder if their contributions might actually be a poor use of time for both TNA and the participants. Although users at TNA do not feel they are as fully listened to as they should be, the interviews with the British users show that many users are involved with TNA. They help to examine and contribute to the development of the archives as much as they can. I made contact with some of them from the user forum, and I randomly contacted others from TNA's online user community. All of them were sincerely interested in archives, history and archival systems, and it was interesting to see that TNA users are able to actively assess and get involved with the archives. Though it is not perfect, as mentioned, users do have space to think and improve their archives.

4.4.4   Archives academics

Three Thai archives educators – of only a few people teaching formally about archives in Thailand – were interviewed for this study. The subject is usually taught as a part of library science curricula. In some universities, archives are considered as a kind of resource or special collection in the library (Prudtikul). The interviews reflected on attitudes regarding archives in Thai society and the ways archives

education is delivered. Educators in this subject in Thailand are not common; however, their opinions are unique as they occupy an intermediate position between practitioners and users.

Attitudes towards archival awareness and education in Thailand

In the interviews with Thai educators, the situation on archives awareness and the educators' roles to promote archives were discussed. Somsuang Prudtikul, a former educator at Sukhothai Thammathirat Open University, argued that the definition of archives in Thailand for the public in general is that archives are historical and are used only by researchers. This limited definition of archives and failure to instil archives awareness in young people has led to breakdowns in the archival process such as the failures in records management and transferring records to the NAT. Her comment pointed to the failure in one main area: education. Students should learn to have historical consciousness and think critically, including understanding that accessing archives is one way to find new knowledge. Similarly, Nenuphar Supavej, a lecturer at Chulalongkorn University, confirmed that the first thing archives educators can communicate about archival theories is to give understanding about what archives are. Therefore, to solve the problems stemming from a lack of archives awareness, which negatively affect recordkeeping, educators see that the key is education (both in general and in archival education) and that they play important roles in this. In contrast, another educator maintains that archival use depends on information needs more than anything – so by extension, greater awareness and better education will not guarantee better recordkeeping or archival use. If people need to use archives, they have to come to the archives (Anonymous academic).

As for archival education, the Thai educators expressed views that teaching and giving academic service and training are the ways they can help to disseminate the values of archives. Supavej shared the teaching technique used in her course at Chulalongkorn University, where she starts from making students understand the value of archives (for example, watching the film *National Treasure*) and visiting archivists at the NAT who have high professional values in protecting archives (Supavej). Also, the final exam asks students to design an archives building plan, which requires the students to creatively use and integrate what they have learned

from the module into practice. However, Supavej's approach is not common in Thai archival education. Prudtikul revealed that archives are usually presented as one type of material or collection in library. It is not common for the actual principles of archives and records management to be covered in Thai education (Prudtikul).

Having been a lecturer for long-distance modules, Prudtikul's most prominent work is writing textbooks. These textbooks are considered the main Thai textbooks for archives and records management in the situation where textbooks in this subject are rare in Thailand.

Prudtikul and Supavej's interview responses also indicated that universally accepted records and archives management principles can sometimes be applicable to the Thai context, but they need to be communicated with the right approach. One of the ways of disseminating this knowledge on archives is through training. Prudtikul and Supavej are both involved in training those working in organisations along with other practitioners, and they have witnessed some promising results. For example, Supavej led a workshop on records management for university staff. Then, they used their new knowledge from the workshop to implement new practices. Prudtikul gives talks to the public as well. In the interview, she also shared her experiences in guiding a young professional regarding archives.

It seems then that the traditional definition of archives is still dominant in education and that it can work harmoniously with modern principles of records and archives management. But the crucial element is having someone to talk about it. This suggests that the traditional meaning of Thai archives may need to be upheld in order for archives to retain their social relevance, but modern approaches might be inserted in ways that allow people to initiate and design things themselves. The art of connecting the old meaning to the new modern-day life is just one challenge for Thai archives educators.

Contrast with British academics

I interviewed three academics in the UK. All of them were teaching in higher education institutions. The UK universities have programs devoted specifically to

archives, and most archivists need a degree to apply for jobs. Academics thus have important roles in producing qualified personnel to work in archives.

Similar to Thailand, the British educators differentiated the awareness of archives in different groups of people. Archives educators have roles in spreading knowledge about archives in society. The ways people are involved with archives vary according to their needs, and it can be challenging to serve these different needs properly. The difficulty though is with those who have no understanding about archives at all (Shepherd).

British academics identify two main types of value in archives that people look for: historical and evidential value. Historical value was the original value seen in archives in the nineteenth century. Attitudes on archives have developed from this use for historical purposes; archives were considered related to the concept of heritage. However, in the twenty-first century, the trend of using archives for the human rights agenda is becoming increasingly important. Procter commented that archival use in history was considered more a luxury, while evidential value can make a stronger case for archives because it is essential, though it has not always been considered important (Procter).

Throughout this research, the related question of how records management is valued often came up in interviews. Elizabeth Shepherd also offered the analysis that recordkeeping can become important when people are faced with difficult or bad situations (Shepherd). So the evidential value of archives that comes from the act of keeping records as evidence has this characteristic. Comparing to the Thai context, archival use in Thailand serves only the historical purpose of using archives. That would mean that the value of archives in Thailand is tied to the concept of being for luxury alone, which is even weaker under the condition in which historical consciousness is not strong in the country. Some British academics think that evidential value should be promoted more in their country as it can help to make the case that archives are more deserving of resource allocation (Procter). TNA itself attempted to change their work priority to correspond with where money is allocated by focusing more on the recordkeeping side of archives (Procter). This shows how archival systems are determined by what surrounds them.

As for the role of academics in promoting archives, apart from their work in education the British educators were generally of the opinion that archival theory does not help much in communicating about archives to the wider society. Archival theories are more for academics to think and talk about archives. Practitioners in the UK are said usually to not be interested in *why* they do things in particular ways but in *how* they do things (Shepherd). However, theories are still important as foundations for building practice – they just don't have a very public role. Finally, another point Dr Shepherd suggested is that archives academics should work with other disciplines to broaden the reach and effectiveness of their activities (Shepherd).

Unlike academics in Thailand, British archives educators did not mutually point to one clear area that needs improvement. This is partly because those in the British archives sector have spent years working on improving main access tasks such as cataloguing and enabling people to search online. The academics suggested that another step of development is for the archives sector to be proactive in reaching out to people. It was noted that leadership is another point that is still lacking in the sector, and TNA has not fully taken on this role (Shepherd). Another challenge is the change to the digital age, which requires new skills from practitioners to understand the nature of digital records, from creation through to preservation. So, the need for development in TNA is on the level of building further on the important services that it has established already in order to respond to rapid changes in the society.

These significant changes, especially the ones encouraged by the digital age, affect what higher education institutions teach in ARM modules; in this way, the changing practice also affects archival education. Dr Shepherd stated that the archival field needs new skills and people with new interest in computers. Digital issues have important implications for both theory and practice. However, theory has its own place in the realm of changes. Procter said that knowledge in archival management, like the records continuum concept (which she views as a model rather than theory), has come to help the field while facing changes.

The British academics all consider that the Freedom of Information (FOI) Act is a good piece of legislation in encouraging openness and staying connected to the wider society. In contrast, the Public Records Act is seen as limited and outdated. Their opinions are similar to those expressed by Susan Healy, who expressed in her

interview that having separate archives legislation is not going to work (Healy). The same situation happens in the Thai context as well, where the Archives Act is practically unknown by non-professionals. Instead, the Official Information Act has become what the civil servants are interested in and comply with.

At the policy level, the academics were asked what challenges should inform policies on archival access and use in the future, and digital records were again the first issue on the academics' lists. Electronic records need different management policies – for example, electronic records need to be taken care of from the creation phase onward. The academics also pointed to the need to make the case for archives and their value and to encourage leadership in the archives sector.

4.4.5   Reflection: traditional sense versus modern sense of recordkeeping

The history of Thai recordkeeping depicted above shows some of the roots behind the current state of Thai archives and helps explain why certain Thai attitudes towards archives persist, even among archivists and even though these attitudes seem to contradict the stated main mission of the NAT. In other words, the public's attitudes on archives, which affect users' needs and expectations, do not correspond with those of the archivists. It is not easy for practitioners to talk about the value of archives while there is no agreement between archivists and others.

Korapin Taweta, head archivist at the NAT, talked about these conflicts between the old and new meaning of archives in Thai society. The confusion is not only between the public and users but also among archivists themselves in their practice. For instance, the NAT still follows the traditional archiving practice of sending archivists to record important national events. They preserve documents such as the photos they have taken in the same manner as they do archival documents. More importantly, high-ranking officials and other significant figures tend to think of archives only in a traditional sense.

The reason many Thai people and archivists have not been able to relinquish the traditional sense of archives is because the practice responds to social values and attitudes shaped by linguistic and historical knowledge. It is not surprising that the

public refers to archives as old things, because the word "*chotmaihet*" refers to the practice in the Ayutthaya period. This refers to materials used in the process of making chronicles. Thus, *chotmaihet* is automatically related to old, sacred, royal objects. Archives in the Western sense have in contrast been used for a short time for historical research purposes, and the point has not been reached where people outside the archives realise an archival process in their life such as records management. The traditional practice fits with social and cultural contexts not only among the public but even for practitioners. In the history of the NAT, the archivists have focused on traditional practices more than modern ones. The documentation of archival practice in the NAT about 70 years ago shows that traditional archiving practice is the central practice at the NAT. However, some aspects of the contemporary sense of archives can be seen in the country.

When the archivists have been instructed through external archival education and training sessions, modern practice has become dominant in their activities. The archivists move forward to the standardised practice as the society has changed and the recordkeeping system needs to respond to modern systems such as modern organisations and education. However, the main archival practice responds to the needs of only a small group of people and struggles to achieve success because of the lack of understanding and resources from others. There is some confusion regarding the role and identity of the NAT archivists that is in need of neater adaptation and clarification.

4.5   Attitude analysis: different components and attitude changes

Attitude contains cognitive, affective and behavioural components that are attitudes in the form of thought, feeling and behaviour, respectively. In this research, I examined the interview transcripts and grouped data into different categories according to these components. This helped to clarify what components are weak or problematic in the Thai case. Also, according to the psychological attitude change theories mentioned in chapter 2, changes among components can lead to attitude changes. Once a component changes, it can influence others to change, and leads to attitude change. Attitude change can also be connected to the concept of self insofar as inconsistency

between attitude components and self-perception can lead to change. This analysis thus helps to understand where the problem comes from and how it can be solved.

Various components of different groups' attitudes towards archives and records are broken down below.

COGNITIVE COMPONENT

Archives are defined as:

Archivists

* Information (Healy, Srijantaranit)

* People – shell that people in the past leave behind them (Haunton)

* Source (former Thai archivist)

* Wisdom, knowledge (Kootiam) RM = knowledge (Healy)

* Important to society and individual (Ray)

Archivists talking about others' perceptions

*Junk (Srijantaranit talked about department officers' perception)

* Archives or library? (Taweta talked about public perception)

* Modern vs traditional archives (Taweta)

* Do not have information/ know only traditional archives (Taweta and Kootiam talked about executives)

* Archives and their stories are positive. (Haunton)

AFFECTIVE COMPONENT

Archivists

* Fascinated (Kingsley)

* Privileged (Kingsley)

* Curious (Kingsley talking about himself and others)

* Respect because the materials are old (Haunton on traditional attitude towards archives.)

Feelings towards profession

* Satisfied (Kingsley)

* Enthusiastic (Ray)

* Love (former Thai archivist)

BEHAVIOURAL COMPONENT

Archivists

* Willing to let other people know about archives because they are great and important to the nation (Taweta)

* Willing to let other people know about archives because they are priceless (Kootiam)

* Willing to solve records management problems (Srijantaranit)

* Changing attitude on openness (Taweta, Kootiam, former Thai archivist)

* Visit to museums in her childhood inspired her to be interested in art (Davies)

* Love of reading (Taweta)

* Information Commissioner and barristers do not completely understand archival work (Healy)

* Users do not understand how to do research (Healy)

*Lack of awareness (Taweta talking about departments)

COGNITIVE COMPONENT

AFFECTIVE COMPONENT

BEHAVIOURAL COMPONENT

Users

Definition of archives

* Primary source (Pongsripian)

* History (Towinus, Moore)

*Various forms; anything can be archives (Nawigamune)

* Identity, e.g. body, others (Davies)

* Make us understanding what happened (Nawigamune)

* Repository (archival institution) (Povatong)

* Archives offer detail, depth and accuracy (Rungsawang)

* Archives are fluid (Davies)

* Archives = history; they are essential (Moore)

Academics

* Evidence (Procter)

* Luxury (Procter)

Users

Attitudes towards archival use

* I like archives (Kam)

* I like old things (Towinus, Davies, Nuwigamune)

* I am patient (Povatong)

* The key is archivists (Povatong)

* I feel privileged (Povatong)

* I do special things (Povatong, Rungsawang, Towinus)

* Difficult (Towinus, Povatong)

* Intimate (Towinus)

* Excited (Moore, Povatong)

* Health concern (Povatong, Kam)

* Thankful (Towinus)

* Inefficient system, limited access

* Not satisfied with catalogue (Moore, Woolgar)

* Stressful when finding aids are not good (Moore)

* I love using original records. (Moore)

* Archivists need to understand records. (Moore)

Users

* Using archives makes me love it (Towinus)

* Inefficiency makes people not want to use archives (Pongsripian, Nawigamune)

Figure 8 Perceptions on archives addressed by different groups of interviewees

4.5.1   Thoughts: cognitive component

The three groups of interviewees shared opinions towards archives influenced by their experiences. Firstly, the Thai archivists define archives according to principles of records and archives management. Many Thai archivists firmly stated that sticking with the academic principles is the most important thing because it will help to reduce mistakes. The fact that they strongly believe in universal standards makes them feel conflicted about the traditional practice, though the traditional practice is better known among the public. Also, they tend to see archives in ways that are related to their work. For instance, those whose work is on legislation and records management tend to see archives as information, while access or outreach archivists see them as being more for educational and research purposes. The cognitive component is clearly involved with Thai archivists' status and awareness of being both archivists and civil servants. This is expressed in the awareness of their duties in keeping records, their consideration of them as national property, and the consequent dissemination of them to users. This cognitive part of the archivists' attitudes determines their actions. In the past, this awareness tended more to be that they were custodians of the materials. However, the archivists have accepted that these attitudes have changed over time.

Most users are historians and researchers who view archives as "evidence", "primary sources", "history" and a "repository". Some did identify qualities of archives. The positive cognitive component in users' attitudes could most often be witnessed in their recognition of the importance of history; in this case, their appreciation of archives depends heavily on their attitude towards history. Some less-mainstream users have a broader sense of the meaning of archives, such as Anake Nawigamune among the Thai users and Cara Davies among the British users (Nawigamune; Davies).[22] However, it became clear in the interviews that these kinds of the ideas are not recognised or supported by the government. Nawigamune stated that the government views things in museums and archives together as ancient objects. Projects like his private museum of objects from daily life in decades gone by are never supported by

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[22] As stated earlier, Nawigamune stated that archives can be anything that tells stories, and Cara even said archives are her body.

the government, and the public museums never collect things that can be related to people's lives.

Archives educators tend to think of archives within a wider society. Archives are essentially evidence, and this is their power (Procter). However, people think of their value only when they realise they have a problem and need archives to resolve it (Shepherd). Some think archives are still mainly attached to heritage and history (Ray) while others think history is still considered as luxury and is not strong enough to make the case for archives (Procter).

This is confirmed by answers from the surveys, where both users and non-users from different professional groups expressed such an understanding of archives. Archives are known only among some particular groups, in particular ways. The more distant people are from archives, the less clear is their understanding about them. Moreover, misperceptions or lack of understanding can lead to problems in the recordkeeping process. For example, the unawareness of governmental officers leads them to treat archives as "junk" – they do not understand what archives are, so they do not transfer valuable records to the NAT (Srijantaranit). Though it can be said that archival materials are considered positively, the conflicts arise when the practice comes into consideration.

Some attitudes, both positive and negative, are shared between the two countries: archives are information, history, knowledge, and evidence; a lack of understanding or confusion among the public is also a factor in both countries. However, some definitions are not shared.
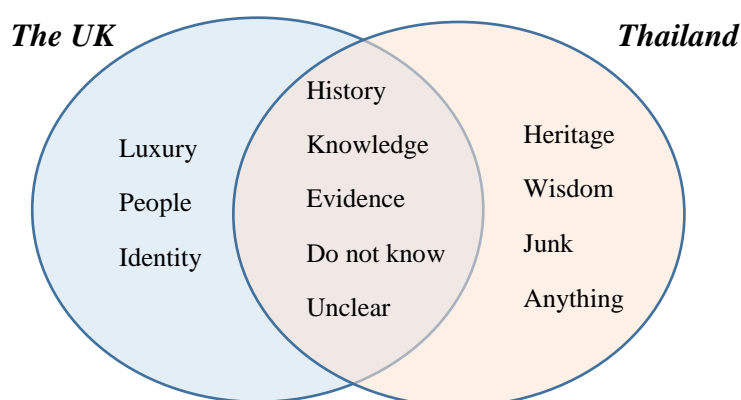
Figure 9 "Archives" defined by Thai and British interviewees

The diagram shows how archives are defined by Thai and British interviewees. It demonstrates that both contexts share many definitions of archives. This study of cognitive components highlights a couple of key points. Firstly, archives are defined as people and identity by two British archivists, but no Thai interviewees referred to archives as anything relating to the self. Also, when a British user, Susan Moore, was asked what she means by history, she explained that she refers to people in the country but not the country itself, while Thai interviewees, especially archivists, referred to the country as the state (Moore). This might help explain how family history or personal interest use has grown in the UK more than in Thailand. Thai interviewees also defined archives as national heritage, which was not mentioned by British interviewees. Though many cognitive components on archives are shared between two contexts, there are differences in details related to difference in each definition namely history, knowledge and evidence. These topics will be studied to understand the contrast more deeply in chapter 5.

Secondly, the Thai general public's perception of archives is muddled due to the differences between the traditional and modern definitions of archives. The two different definitions give rise to confusion not only among the public but also among archivists (Taweta). The two definitions need to be clarified if the NAT would like to be known by the wider society. Overall, apart from these confusions and misunderstandings, Thai attitudes towards archival materials are generally positive. The problem is rather related to archival management, which is described as inaccessible and inconvenient.

4.5.2   Feelings and experiences: affective and behavioural components

Data collected from the interviews from both countries revealed that participants have positive feelings about archives but are even more drawn to the practice, especially in archival use. Examples of such feelings among the archivists include feeling curious, privileged, or fascinated by their job. Some who have worked with archives love the profession and appreciate the value of their work. For users, they are involved with archives because of their interests. Some are originally interested in old materials themselves. Their work with archives makes them feel special, proud, thankful and

intimate with the past. Negative feelings are found in archival use, from searching to reading. Users from both countries commented that it is a difficult process. However, this difficulty makes them realise the value of archives, and one even said she has come to appreciate archives more for this challenge (Towinus). Other negative feelings tend to be related to the tools used in reading archives, such as the catalogue and microfilm. One user commented that archivists are the key factor in enabling his archival experience (Povatong). These comments express that archives can create good feelings though they can be challenging as well. This corresponds with Elizabeth Shepherd's comment that archives themselves are difficult to use because readers need to interpret while using them (Shepherd). But although they may not be the most user-friendly materials, they can still have a lasting impact on individuals – at least at the affective level, let alone the value found from the outcome of the discoveries. As Haunton said in her interview, most stories in archives are interesting though they are difficult to use (Haunton). The positive affective component in archival use thus seems to outweigh this idea that archives are difficult materials. For example, users described how they enjoyed reading archives, gained interesting knowledge or simply were thrilled by the feel of the paper. The key for archivists is to support these positive feelings by facilitating and advising when users face challenges in archival use.

As for the behavioural component, the fact about attitude is that the more familiar people are with the objects, the more positive will be their attitudes about the objects. Towinus's experience bears this out. She said that the more experience she has in using archives in her job, the more attached she becomes to the materials (Towinus). This effect proves that archivists have to find ways to bring archives to people to increase archives awareness. On the other hand, bad experiences in the archives can give the opposite outcome. Pongsripian and Nawigamune pointed out that inefficiency in archival institutions make people not want to use archives (Pongsripian; Nawigamune).

The analysis of the three components shows that general attitudes towards archival materials are positive but the ones on the management side are more problematic. The public's cognitive component in Thailand needs to be clarified, and the archivists need to find a strategy to communicate about modern and traditional archival practice in the right balance. Since all components can affect one another, and can lead to

attitude changes, the way to improve the attitudes towards archives in Thailand is by strengthening positive cognitive and affective components by providing clear information about archives to the public, and using good feelings people already have as intrinsic value to expand the positive and practical instrumental value. For the behavioural component, familiarity with the objects can create positive attitudes towards the objects. It is necessary to give people experience of archives, especially in young people's learning experience. Improvements in practice and outreach strategy at the NAT can create necessary consistency among different components, and move from the situation as it is now, in which archives are things to keep and appreciate, to one in which archives have a clearer definition for the public to use. Moreover, the change will take place even more intensely if Thai people see the self differently. Valuing history and knowledge and seeing it in oneself is the concept that should be encouraged and developed as new values.

4.5.3 Changes of attitudes on archives
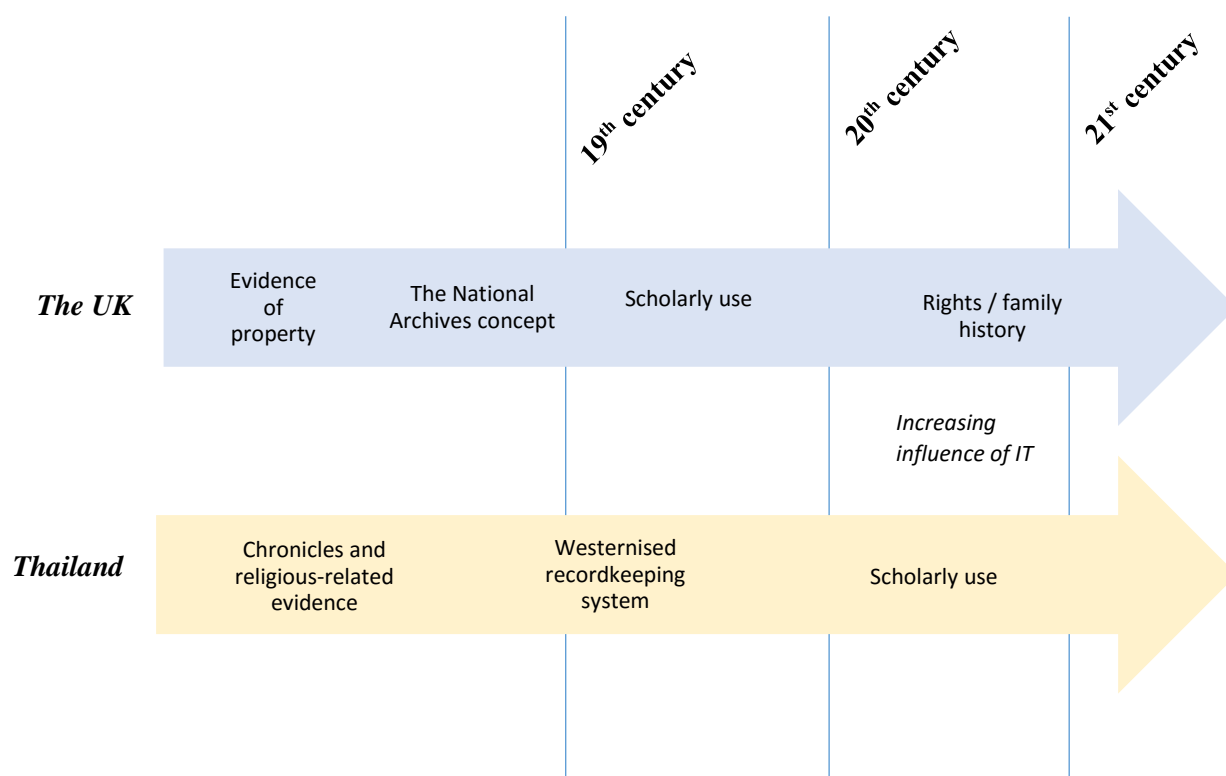
Figure 10 Evolution of use of archives in the UK and Thailand

The interviewees were asked if changes of attitudes towards archives in their society affect archives. Information given enables me to see the evolution of archival management in both countries, which obviously reflects the interaction between wider societies and archives as a part of them. Looking at history before the coming of modern archives, the UK and Thailand had quite different purposes in keeping records. Also, the preferred communication method, of the written tradition for the UK and oral tradition for Thailand, is a cultural difference affecting records creation and recordkeeping.

As for the UK, Margaret Procter said that originally, records were kept for evidence of ownership of property (Procter). In contrast, Thailand has a tradition of keeping chronicles, which might be an influence from India (Pongsripian). Traditional archives were for recording events relating to the king. This difference in perception allows for understanding of varying modes of archival use. For example, for Thailand, the traditional definition is powerful and fits more social and cultural contexts.

However, there have been periods in which both countries shared a definition of archives and archival practice. After the age of modern archives and the establishment of national archives in Europe, Western recordkeeping became the main influence on Thai archives. The westernised bureaucratic system in the nineteenth century made the Thai recordkeeping system a western one. However, the westernised practice was not stable and has had some problems till now because it does not fit the original attitudes and values. At this stage, both countries use modern recordkeeping systems, and have established the national archives for research purposes. The use of the national archives in both countries were almost taken over by historians as it is a part of their work to consult archival materials. Experiences of the British and Thai interviewees who had experiences in the national archives 30 years ago were more or less similar: archives are full of knowledgeable researchers but they were small in number. Not many other groups of people know of or use archives. TNA reading rooms used to be small, able to accommodate about fifteen people (Moore).

Then, two big changes in society changed the attitudes on archives: improvements in the availability of the internet and online catalogues allowed more people to access archives. In terms of changes from the ideas, the demand in connection with studying of the self and awareness of rights expanded archival use in the UK.

The NAT was established for research purposes. The attitudes on archives have been fixed on history, serving a small number of historians, just like TNA as described by Susan Moore and Margaret Procter. However, how archives focus on specialised historians can be problem because it does not have an impact. Consequently, they get limited resources according to the population they serve, and cannot make progress with limited resources.

Although demand in archives in Thailand has not largely increased as in the UK, Thai interviewees reported that interest in archives has been expanded. For example, many organisations want to have their own archives and need guidance from the National Archives. Or, some people are interested in old things and want to build private museums or archives. New kinds of use in Thailand are still unknown but if they will become popular, they might have to fit with traditional perceptions and Thai values.

4.6   Conclusion

From the public's opinions to different groups of people who are involved with archives, the perceptions and attitudes found in Thailand indicate that the understanding about archives is inconsistent among various groups of people. The majority of Thai people have a perception influenced by history and verbal associations. Those who are more involved with archives understand both the traditional and modern meanings, but the practitioners still struggle to communicate them, leading to lack of collaboration with people from outside the archives and limited groups of users. A comparison with the British interviews shows similarity in terms of lack of understanding in archives in public. However, the interviews show that recordkeeping and archival use in the modern sense is more firmly rooted in British culture than it is in Thailand, though they might not always be visible. Also, the archives sector and archival education have worked continuously in developing archives accessibility. The British case thus demonstrates the importance of development from the archival management side to attract people to archives. However, the archives sectors in both contexts commented that they need to be more proactive in the information age. Although negative opinions and feelings can be found towards experience in archival practice, general opinions and feelings towards

archives are positive or neutral. These represent beneficial factors that can be used to change the overall attitudes, on condition that the archives sector reaches out to users and improves their accessibility and tools. This will be elaborated on in chapter 6.

Chapter 5

Attitude and Perception on Topics Related to Values of Archives

5.1   Introduction

The previous chapters have discussed different elements impacting how archives are valued e.g. value and attitude in chapter 3 and 4. This chapter will examine perception and attitude towards topics related to archives for two reasons. Firstly, archives are not well known materials, especially among non-users or non-practitioners. For those who are distant from archives, their perceptions of archives tend to be derived from other topics related to the materials because they do not have information on archives themselves. Secondly, archival value can function in many areas in society but surrounding factors in each context affect archival practice and use. The interpretation and application of archives in each context reflect local worldviews and ideologies, as materials are applied in accordance with the beliefs. The chapter discusses four topics: history, knowledge and education, rights, and identity. The first two areas are present in both Thai and British perceptions on archives while the last two areas are more common in the UK context. The previous chapter presented a history of Thai recordkeeping and details of the views of the views of archivists, users and potential users of archives and archive educators which identified associations between archives and a number of other ideas. This chapter discusses four such related topics: history, knowledge and education, self and identity, rights.

5.2   History

The first concept discussed in this chapter is history as people's perceptions of archives often fall back on the ways they think about history. According to the interviews with Thai users and archivists, historical research is the main purpose of their archival use. The archivists themselves admitted that their target group is researchers working on history while other groups are not their main focus. Also, the majority of the survey participants especially non-users repeat an understanding that archives are related history, especially the writing of state history from public records. One interviewee suggested that "perception of archives is perception of history"

(Towinus). Though archives are not all about history, this sentence covers a great many aspects of archival access and use in the Thai context, which is followed by both positive and negative impacts as will be discussed here.

The use of archives as a historical resource is the main purpose of keeping records in the NAT. This main idea was emphasised by the development of historical methods in the nineteenth century. The idea was diffused into Thailand during that period, and became the main function of archives for the public. This perception has not grown much after its origination in the imperialist period. Thailand also received this influence, although the existing traditional recordkeeping system at that time was different due to a different origin and evolution of its epistemology reflecting on practice. Both have been intermixed, causing some confusions in people's perceptions and attitudes.

This section will discuss various perceptions of history in Thai society by considering Thai historical consciousness in comparison with other contexts, shedding light on the problematic situation of archives awareness in Thailand. Then, traditional historiography and that as influenced by the West will be examined. Understanding historical thoughts will enable us to know the nature of history in the context and its sociological functions that lead to perceptions on archives.

5.2.1   Thai perception of history

Attachak Sattayanurak analysed changes of Thai historical consciousness over time from King Rama IV until the Siamese Revolution in 1932. He explained in his master's dissertation how the way that people think about time affects historical consciousness (Sattayanurak "The Transformation").

Time perception influenced by The Three Worlds (Buddhist Cosmology)

Traditionally, the Thai worldview has been based on a Buddhist scripture called *The Three Worlds* or *Tephumitkata* (written in 1345 AD). This book describes Buddhist cosmology, incorporating heaven, earth, and hell. An important part of this book is the

world system it describes. It proposes four great historical periods, and each period consists of many worlds. Each world lasts a long time. A world is created and destroyed by fire. Once one world ends, another world starts over as a cycle. Each world has one Buddha.

Human beings are now in a period called *Traidayuk*. The Buddha of this world has come.[23] This world will last for 5,000 years. It passed its purest condition at the beginning and will be destroyed by the fire in due time. Until then, it is slowly declining. The book talks about five declinations (*Panchaantaratan*) that will happen continuously in *Tipitaka*:[24] Buddhist practice, enlightenment, disciplines, knowledge, and Buddha's relics. People in the world will become so morally degraded that they will be destroyed. After the fire cleanses the earth, a new world will start again with a new Buddha (Pongsripian).

This thought about declination influences the perception of time and historical consciousness. Siamese people traditionally saw time as cyclical. This led them to worry less about their current life because it is already determined by their past lives. Causation is seen on a very large scale. One's life condition and status is determined by past lives. The only way to secure a better future life is by performing meritorious deeds. Furthermore, people believe that overall, things are going to get worse, regardless of their contribution.

Kings are believed to be those with *barami* or high moral goodness in their past lives (that is why they were born as a king). The kings with such a condition will lead the country to prosperity and peace. (If the king is good, he will be able to deaccelerate the declination.) On the contrary, the kings with little *barami* will lead their people to difficulties. History was thus written to reassure that the kings are virtuous enough to govern the country.

Hence, history was created to be believed not to be speculated on. How it was described is also vague and fictional. For example, the history of the making of the image of Buddha was always described as having been made by the God Indra; details about the sculptor or the date it was created would not be provided (Sattayanurak "The Transformation" 51).

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[23] Siddhartha
[24] Buddhist sacred texts

This worldview does not allow people to see the continuity of past and present in their lifetime. It is commented in later periods that it is unsustainable. King Rama IV initiated a new way to describe history, that is, describing the detail of the events (Sattayanurak "The Transformation" 51). A new way of thinking about time competes with this traditional way of thinking in the modern period. Although this kind of thinking does not make sense for most people now, it is interesting to observe to what extent the belief has left traces and influences in today's culture – for example, how much people still believe information without considering much; or how history is perceived as tales and narratives.

Historical consciousness among elites changed in the middle of the Rattanakosin era due to the fact that upper class people started to do business with foreigners. International trading changed people's mind-set. Success in business and worldly pleasure became important considerations at this time. How one could be successful was no longer seen to be only about how good one had been in past lives but also about what one did in this life. So, actions done in this life became more meaningful. This influenced another way of writing history.

History in the Western sense arose during this period (late King Rama III until King Rama VI[25]). However, the history was written by the elites themselves. Although kings and noblemen in this period adopted a Western model of history rather than chronicles or tales, it was nevertheless written in such a way that the kings were the only people who could control history (Sattayanurak "The Transformation" 103). History was hence about how great the kings were and the gratitude people should have towards him.

The history in this period was made with the purpose to undermine individual consciousness. Moreover, all benefits that could happen in one's life were also because the kings gave it to one. For example, King Rama V gave rankings and names to civil servants, but the civil servants would lose their names when they retired. All their names were given by the king. Their salary was not called a salary but the king's money given to them. Similarly, King Rama VI gave family names to

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[25] King Rama III Nangklao (1824-1851)
King Rama IV Mongkut (1851-1868)
King Rama V Chulalongkorn (1868-1910)
King Rama VI Vajiravudh (1910-1925)

noblemen and made them realise that he was the one behind every name (Sattayanurak "The Transformation" 103-5).

The royalist and nationalistic history became the truth accepted by most Thai people up until the present because it has been continuously publicised by textbooks, education, and all different media. It was the only kind of history Thai people know since other points of views could not be expressed.

The changes and the realisation that the king was not the only person controlling history as well as new ideas from scholars educated abroad led to the abolition of absolute monarchy and the introduction of democracy under the king in 1932.

Thai society increasingly changed socially and economically after the imperialist period. Individuals could run their own business and had more educational opportunities. These changes led people to realise that success in one's life does not depend on the king but rather on each person's potential (Sattayanurak "The Transformation" 313) Under the influence of a perception of time that emphasised linear causation, people started to be aware of their own significance. History and fiction in this period more fully expressed individuals' stories. Characters in fictions expressed a more individual side rather than social status.

Although a new historical consciousness emerged from non-royal families or noblemen, these people interested in history were civil servants and the educated. Citizens were still considered unimportant and ignorant of politics and history. For example, having heard that some people in the country wanted a parliamentary system, King Rama VI stated that democracy would not fit with Thai people since the majority did not have an understanding about democracy. It is also found that a new kind of interest in history is about personal and family history. Even though this new kind of interest appeared in this period, it was interested only in the family history of noblemen and those with high rankings.

Overall, modern Thai history was profoundly royalist and nationalistic, and was used to support absolute monarchy (Winichakul 39).

This discussion demonstrates that the original time perception did not help people to care about their roles in history. Once a linear time perception came to society, history

was still shaped by the kings and other powerful people in different periods and occasions. Social memory has been strictly framed by history from above until now.

Although some historians have different perspectives, they cannot talk about their views directly. Thongchai Winichakul wrote, "For Thai history, scholars know that telling the truth can be a risky business" (Winichakul 20). He referred to Barend Terwiel who said that a historian needs a 'subtle craft' to write a history of Siam (Winichakul 20). Thongchai cited examples that every historian and student has to accept the "Siam-was-never-colonised" conditions. The country survived the threat of Western powers thanks to the skilful diplomacy of the monarch, which makes Thai history royalist. Thongchai claimed that the country was, in fact, under what he called a "crypto-colonial condition", where the monarchs themselves collaborate with the West politically and economically. Moreover, the West did not colonise Thailand because France and Britain agreed to leave it as a buffer state. All subsequent history has been written to aggrandise the royal institution (Winichakul 30).

Another example is the story of Sukhothai. Every Thai school textbook frames Thai history in three different eras: Sukhothai, Ayutthaya, and Rattanakosin. Sukhothai was not considered more outstanding than other kingdoms until King Rama VI. Actually, there were many kingdoms before Ayutthaya but Sukhothai was chosen as its history helped to consolidate the image of a righteous king who was close to his people like a father. Again, this can be seen as King Rama VI's propaganda during his well known nationalistic period. The king wrote a play about Sukhothai history,[26] in which he also acted.

Nevertheless, there are two sides (or many sides) to every story. It is fair to understand history from each person's point of view. Some might frankly believe in royalist history. The problem is that only one side of the story can be presented in the society, and the version that been most prevalent in Thailand has become the historical consciousness of the majority of Thai people. This makes people feel distant from history because it is not relevant to their lives.

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[26] Originally from northern Thai chronicles, the story was about a king of Sukhothai whose every word spoken from his mouth came true. He cursed a spy (Khom Damdin) of the Khmer, Sukhothai's enemy at that time, to turn into stone. The Phra Ruang myth was disseminated to promote nationalistic point of view in Thai history.

Dr. Pongsripian discussed that this affects access to archives. He himself does not have any problems with regard to access because he is considered "special", but he indicated that other, less esteemed researchers such as master's students will not easily gain access to some records. Also, as history recorded in Thailand is not 'real' history, historians have to find historical evidence outside of the country. For example, Dr Pongsripian said that researchers have to search for records on Thai history in the National Archives of France, the Netherlands, or the UK because records relating to Thai history are kept there (Pongsripian).

These situations are not desirable in democratic culture and governance; however, looking from different perspectives, Thailand was not originally a democratic country nor do any of its beliefs and culture support democracy. These characteristics can be investigated via the nature of history in the country and how history has been used, as previously discussed. The impact of this on Thai society is the success in the framing of history in nationalistic and royalist terms, and different interpretations can be expressed limitedly. The worst thing is probably the limitation of education in history which frames history in a way the powerful in the country want.

Collective memory is distributed under a particular frame. The memory might be true or untrue depending on how reliable the source of information is. In the society where people do not care much about reliability and accuracy of the source, collective memory can be shaped without the need for a primary source, and no other interpretations are allowed.

Besides perceptions about history themselves, historical consciousness patterns and levels are determined by the cultural atmosphere and some societal values. Using a sociological framework, it can be seen that some values appear to have a role in forming the Thai historical consciousness.

Forgiving

Thai people are taught to be kind and ready to give, and the greatest alms is forgiving. It is said that it is easy for Thai people to forget. Due to the emphasis on maintaining relationships in society, Thai people tend to avoid conflicts. Remembering is sometimes concerned with the act of not forgiving. However, the right approach on

this is probably to be aware and learn from the past. To forgive does not mean that we have to forget.

Towinus discussed that people in the society are more interested in thinking about the future, so if they do not think that knowing about history is useful, interest in archives will definitely be low (Towinus). The fact is that people understand the past to know how to move forward (Rungsawang). This utility of history is not well recognised in the society.

Thai credulousness is related to the epistemology in respecting seniors and following the leaders. Being curious and erudite is considered good in itself. However, new knowledge will not easily be accepted once it is discovered. This is because the new discovery may cause conflicts with prior knowledge and beliefs. Povatong, a user at the NAT, suggested that the cultural trait of emphasising seniority derives from the fact that Thai people like answers to be justified. Once the question has been answered and justified by someone, especially one with authority, it tends to be the end of the quest for knowledge. This culture does not encourage historical research and the use of archives. Moreover, this has impacted historical study to be more about remembering information rather than making connections between the past and the present or learning from history.

Another related pattern of behaviour is that of information being believed easily, which can be dangerous. Towinus is concerned about Thai society in the information age in respect of the way information can be believed without consideration of its veracity. In this case, the study of history in a more analytic way can help people to consider about information more carefully (Towinus).

5.2.2 Thai historiography

Another way to understand the perception of history in Thailand and the ideas behind it is to look at historiography – historians' views on history which actually reflect both the historians, the society they reside in and their audience. Another point is the reflection of history itself in which experience, interpretation and orientation need to be considered (Rüsen "Historical Consciousness" 79-80).

Winai Pongsripian, in his PhD thesis, stated that Thai traditional history especially prior to the 16th century (the coming of the Europeans) is an "obscure object" due to the "fragmentary" nature of epigraphic sources and unreliability of the local chronicle. As a result, not many scholars dedicate themselves to the study of it (Pongsripian "Traditional Thai Historiography" ii).

Two kinds of history, as briefly mentioned earlier in chapter 4, are worth elaborating on here, namely *tamnan* or myth, and *phongsawadan* or chronicle. *Tamnan* is related to religion and *phongsawadan* is related to the kings and their dynasties. The first type of history is religious, and was written by monks especially in the North of Thailand. The latter is related to kings, and obviously bears the influence of the Thai God-King cult, which belief was influenced by Buddhist Pali canons.

The concepts and approaches in traditional Thai history can be discussed as follows.

1) Inscription

Inscriptions are the oldest kind of historical evidence found in the land that is now Thailand. As mentioned, the evidence of merit making called *kalapana* were located with objects or places to show the dedication of the believers to their religions.[27] Apart from convention and belief in merit making which became the origin of a large number of inscriptions in Thailand, the inscriptions mostly exalt the bravery of kings or, in some cases, people and cities were described.

Natwipa Chalitanon explained that in this mode of writing, writers look at their present and the near future. The recording will not be about a distant past as is the case with *tamnan* (Chalitanon 103). The purpose of the inscription writing is thus for exaltation for good deeds for people at the highest level, such as kings and for those who are able to donate things to temples. People who are less wealthy inscribe their merit in other kinds of materials, such as brick. These actions say that inscriptions were made to announce people's good actions, so they have religious and political functions including long lasting communication to the communities. Things written in transcriptions do not relate events in the distant past. Thus, it seems more likely that the purpose is to make an announcement than to write history (Chalitanon 94).

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[27] They can be both Buddhism and Hinduism.

Inscribing on stone became less popular by the time that there were other media available such as inscribing on palm leaf, cloth and paper.

2) *Tamnan*

The content of the *tamnan* is related to religions, i.e. Buddhism. It is said to be a kind of history that can best express the life of the epoch and the everyday citizen. However, *tamnan* has its flaws when judged against Western standards because it is involved with miracles, princes, angels and hermits. As fact and actuality are mixed together in myths, it is difficult for readers and historians to distinguish fact and fiction from each other. But for ordinary people like local people and villagers, these myths are stories that touch their hearts, and they can assimilate them with their daily life.

Hence, *tamnan* is known as a form of actual public history in Thailand. It is mixed with belief, ways of life and community, and reflects the real Thai mentality. The exciting and fun elements help it to last and stand for a long time both orally and in scripts. We can see that there are different patterns of the same stories in different areas. It is also an important instrument in local history.

As for the purposes and historical ideas behind the *tamnan*, they are all about religions and its relation to people's lifestyle and communal sense. For example, *Ban Koo Kantanam*, a village in Thailand, has an annual ritual where villagers gather to meet God represented by a medium. The God *Kantanam* is from the myth villagers believe, so he is able to answer historical questions the villagers ask. At the same time, the God helps to solve conflicts in the village (Wongthet 150-60).

In comparison, the writing and oral history of *tamnan* is similar to Western history written in medieval times. They focus on religion, and are full of miraculous situations. It is not until the time that the idea about truth had an influence on historiography. Traditional Thai historiography seems to hold this shared characteristic until the West came.

The effects of such a form of writing is that history has its focus on the capital cities. The emphasis placed on national history has meant that other kinds of history have been to some extent placed in the shade. Dhida Saraya mentioned that *tamnan* or

tamnan prawatsat or myth have been ignored in the study of history (Saraya 56). Also, the government policy under King Rama IV to create only one "Thainess" led to history education ignoring local history. However, *tamnan* has both factual and fictional parts, so it is actually an important source that can tell the history of ordinary and powerful people, but this type of history is usually neglected.

One prominent characteristic of Thai historiography is the idea about centralisation. Thai historical writing and study focuses on the capital city. It focuses on kings and their dynasties, which is a real influence of historical writing since the Ayutthaya period. Such writing takes the form of a chronicle, and there are a few versions of them. Later, the tradition of writing chronicles continued to exert an influence until the Rattanakosin period, where the study of history dominantly relied on capital cities (Saraya 15). The centralist historical ideology is a part of Thai historiography.

3) *Phongsawadan*

Phongsawadan or chronicle is the origin of the perception of the word archives in the traditional Thai sense, which is "recording events". As mentioned in recordkeeping history, *phongsawadan* was written as from *chotmaihet* or archives in Thai, which are not records from activities but the diary of the royal secretary. In terms of the quality of history, chronicles are not historical writings that are based on truth and were not intended to be so, as we can see from the fact that *phongsawadan* in different versions can make completely contradictory claims depending on the political position of the writers (Chalitanon 94).

The purpose in writing *phongsawadan* is obviously to record significant events of kings and the royal family. As chronicles are dynastic, they always focus on the capital cities, centre of the government. *Phongsawadan* is an important genre of the Ayutthaya period. This focus leads to a lack of interest in local history (Saraya 19). In fact, this comment is true as the perception of Thai history is centralised, and limited to that point of view according to textbooks.

The ideas behind *phongsawadan* is to function as a tool for the kings in governing the country. The tradition of recording is supported by the God-King cult. *Phongsawadan*

and its origin *chotmaihet* are nothing to do with history and archives in the Western sense, but now the two meanings are implied by the one word.

Thai elites were the first group of people to experience Western civilisation, and this seriously impacted Siam during early Rattanakosin. Comparisons of Siam's and Western civilisation unavoidably occurred. The traditional ideas about Buddhism and the God-King cult sounded unreasonable. Thai elites tried to explain history in a way that made sense for the West, both to reaffirm to themselves, and to protect their civilisation from Western threats (Eoseewong 16).

5.2.3   History and archives in the West

Certainly, learning about the past and making history has been one of the main purposes of recordkeeping all around the world. Archives and history cannot be separated. This is supported by my research participants who associate the two very strongly. Archives are believed to be necessary materials for making history especially when the historical method emphasises the significance of records. Archives in the Western world have since Antiquity been used for different values: financial, legislative, historical value (Delsalle 153). The use of archives for history has been common as a part of Western civilisation. However, in this research, I will focus on the notion of archives and how that the impact of Western recordkeeping in the nineteenth century which makes the NAT history oriented.

Leopold Von Ranke (1795–1886) was a Protestant German historian who emphasised the importance of historical sources in writing history with the intense use of archives in the nineteenth century. With his historical thoughts based on Lutheran teachings as well as his worldview as an elite, he offered a new definition of history and historians and the methodology that can be summarised as follows.

History should be written as "what actually happened" (Krieger 4). Von Ranke's epistemology is that knowledge is documentary but it was especially "to get the truth of the facts" "to establish the particular precisely" (Krieger 4). Krieger further argues that the worldview whereby Ranke tries to view things as they really are is the result of the Protestant belief that things should be accepted as themselves. "Every epoch is directly under God, and its value depends not on what comes from it but in its

existence itself, in its own self" (Krieger 6). The desire not to be a judge but to offer that duty to be God's own is prominent in his epistemology. That worldview makes the writer limit himself to know only a part of the truth, so he will write just what he knows from evidence he has, and does not claim to know all, nor write the whole picture of the past up.

Historians themselves also have duties to pursue this work objectively. By objectivity, Von Ranke means history must not be written from the perspective of the era in which the historian is situated. Von Ranke's argument became arguable and notorious due to the fact that no one can completely avoid subjectivity in their work. However, it had a big influence on historians after him.

Leonard Krieger commented that Von Ranke did not initiate a whole new concept, as the notion of keeping sources and using them to write history had existed a long time before. Nevertheless, the originality of Von Ranke's work is to put old concepts into a new context for different purposes. That is, medieval recordkeeping used to keep history for evidence stressing on the authenticity while Ranke emphasised knowledge derived from these materials.

> …in its modern application under his [Von Ranke's] guidance,
> the combination of original sources and critical approach serve
> not only the familiar negative purpose of safeguarding
> authenticity of reports but the novel, positive method of
> reconstructing the life of the mediate past (Krieger 3).

The impact of this approach is a demand from historians to access historical records in different institutions, though state archives did not aim to provide access to historians but their internal users (Müller 28).

This function is still the main purpose of keeping records in some archives, including the NAT. This is probably because the period in which the Western notion of archives arrived in Thailand coincided with the time when the function of providing historical knowledge flourished. Also, the idea of keeping records primarily for history corresponds with the traditional Thai recordkeeping and historical practice despite difference in theory and practice. Korapin Taweta, the head archivist of the access team, identified that the role of the National Archives is that of being the place where

the nation's important history is kept. She said that it is through knowledge of history is how the nation can develop to be strong (Taweta).

Alan Munslow pointed out that the philosophy behind Von Ranke's method is epistemology and belief in the truth. Von Ranke's historical approach aims at producing history that should reveal the truth but that has to be derived from different written materials. However, Munslow argued that despite the positivistic methodology, history is distinct from the past. It may not be the truth because it is not simply the course of events but historians' writing (Munslow 19). In other words, despite the best efforts, it does not mean that history created this way will be accurate.

Von Ranke's method has been contested in the twentieth century by social science methods and postmodernism. Georg G. Iggers argued that Von Ranke's method was invented in the early nineteenth century while at the end of that century, the method was not suitable to the transformed society after important changes like imperialism or industrialisation (Iggers 5). The fact that Ranke relies on state archives cannot answer the question of more complicated society. Or, the method emphasises Western or powerful individuals as the privileged (Iggers 5). The new late twentieth century methods and approaches focusing on democratisation such as popular history, history from below, social history, oral history and so on. This corresponds to the change of use in British society addressed by Nick Kingsley, former Head of Archives Sector Development at TNA that over the past 40–50 years, British archives have become less and less reliant on a top-down approach in acquisition of materials such as papers of individuals, radical groups, political parties and so on. He thinks "that's a good thing because we are able to have more perspectives, more angles, more stories but slightly different things" (Kingsley).

Sasithon Towinus, user interviewee, contended that to understand how archives are valued in Thai society it is necessary to understand how history is valued in Thai society (Towinus). Considering her comment, it is necessary to ask if this is true in the Thai context, and if so why and how. Are archives and history actually inseparable in the Thai context? Data I have gathered support this insofar as archives are also materials used in writing history, but it does not mean that the history formulated from traditional epistemology has the same background as Von Ranke's meaning of history. At the same time, history from a non-historian's perspective is not based on

archival materials but narratives. For example, proper history written by historians might not be in people's memory as much as narratives spread by word of mouth or textbooks.

In fact, a lack of awareness of proper history is common. Many people do not link the making of history to materials behind it, such as archives. The same problem was mentioned equally in the UK. Nick Kingsley, archivist at The National Archives, revealed that though people are interested in history presented by different media, they do not always think of archives as a source behind those productions (Kingsley). That is why a programme like "Who do you think you are?" which shows the process of archival research on family history can attract many users to archives in the UK.

Both Western and Thai historical ideas have been dynamic throughout time. However, if we compare the modern historical approach and the Thai one (from the traditional Thai idea and its influence by Western historiography and ideas), we can see main points of difference. Although it can be argued that these two approaches are incompatible because they originated from different times and places, these two ideas are truly exposed to each other in terms of attitudes formed among Thai archivists, users and non-users in Thai society.

The epistemology of Ranke and the modern Western approach school focuses on the significance of truth. The method is evidence-based, and historians have to learn from primary materials. The impact of this idea on recordkeeping activities is certainly huge. The epistemological approach that is related to words such as 'precise', 'factual', and 'true' can explain Western thoughts in understanding oneself and others.

In contrast, the Thai epistemology and their original method of making and using history is totally different. One does not worry about the truth of history as long as it can provide a satisfactory answer about who one is and where one belongs in the world. Life does not need changes and conflicts, because one can certainly not reside in a society if one is not at peace with others. Truth is not as important as to live peacefully, and to maintain good relationships with others.

It is not until the Western influence came that this traditional understanding of history was contested. Values and philosophical thoughts that do not fit the majority of people

in the society reside and find a home in small groups of scholars who understand it. Archival institutions serve historians who are trained under modern Western thoughts.

Von Ranke's method is very logical in societies with a preference for written media. However, it seems irrational in most South East Asian countries where the oral tradition has been and remains a preferable medium of communication.

The archival practice itself is also the grand challenge on the new way of recording history. That is, recordkeeping in the modern bureaucratic system arrived in Thailand in the imperialist period. The only similar legacy of history making is recording chronicles, which is not considered proper according to Von Ranke's view. A new pursuit of recordkeeping and doing history started then.

The question of preferable media is a part of a broader question: "What is history?" If history needs to be written, accurate and factual, a great deal of Thai and other Southeast Asian evidence has to be excluded from being historical evidence on this basis.

Compared to other regions, Southeast Asian countries do not like recording their history in written format. History appears in the form of myths, tales, music, and so on. Informal ways of recording history are the most popular means. As for written evidence, the territory modern Thailand incorporates has the smallest number of transcriptions compared to other countries (Pongsripian). The makers of written history are only clergy and elites.

One important point is if the way history is made is due to other concepts in the society, it is necessary to understand ideas connected to the concept of history, such as perceptions of time, epistemology, and beliefs about life and social structure. While the West passed through the Renaissance and the wave of interest in Antiquity in the Enlightenment period, Siam was pacifist in the conventional Buddhist-Hindu governance. The definitions of history in the two regions are hence profoundly different. This difference in perceptions of history is not always arranged along a West-East axis. Vietnam shows different ways of recording history and keeping records from other of South East Asian countries, because Vietnam is heavily influenced by the Chinese tradition: Confucian and Mahayana Buddhist doctrine,[28]

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[28] The rest Buddhist countries in Southeast Asia are Theravada Buddhism.

which believes more firmly in the form of materials and their existence, while Theravada Buddhism believes in the impermanence of things.

Another interesting point about the lack of historical evidence in Southeast Asia is that histories of Southeast Asia prior to colonisation are rare because the West prefers using evidence created by themselves and using their methodologies (Reynolds 11). But the fact that Southeast Asia does not possess abundant written evidence does not mean that there was no history before colonisation (Reynolds 11-12). Consequently, Southeast Asian historians find that it is not easy for them using Western methodologies with local evidence. It is often hard for them to find proper evidence in writing history, and it turns out that they have to use foreigners' records to write their own history.

Considering the role of history in Thai society, it can be said that history and the materials of making history are seen in Thai society as heritage. They are there to be kept and admired but not to be used and changed, while the West see historical materials as resources to make a contribution to history, to build knowledge and to change. This difference can be seen in historiography. It is the main difference in perception that impacts archival access and use in Thailand.

5.3   Knowledge and education

Another perception that needs to be considered since it affects archival practice and use is the concept of knowledge and education, including their position in the society. One of the most important values of records and archives is their utility as a resource for educational and research purposes.

In this section, perceptions of knowledge and education and the evolution of these concepts in Thai society will be explored throughout various periods. It is worth noting that Western systems have effects on Siamese systems in a way that it impacts social conditions, so knowledge and educational systems had to change accordingly. This observation will include the systems employed to manage and disseminate knowledge and learning in society.

Knowledge systems and knowledge management can be varied in different societies. Even in the same society, knowledge is used differently at various times, which also determines the design of the educational system, and corresponds with the needs of labour in society. For example, citizens in the society that are expected to serve the governors will certainly perceive knowledge differently from those who expect to govern the country themselves. As for Thailand, different forms of knowledge are considered appropriate for those who govern and those being governed. Features of knowledge could be categorised over time in the following way.

From the ancient times until the time before Westernisation, functions of knowledge in an individual's life includes morality and knowledge of each family ranging from agriculture to craft (Tanya 1). Knowledge is mentioned and valued highly in a great deal of Thai literature. However, it refers to the kind of holistic knowledge one uses for living, as well as magic, which was counted as knowledge used in protecting one's life (Tanya 14).

Looking through history knowledge in Siam, even before it became a unified kingdom, was closely linked to Buddhism. When Buddhism spread through these territories, Buddhist teachings or *Dhamma* were the most significant part of the religion that could be seen in inscriptions (Na Bangchang 19). A prominent example is the *Ye Dhamma* inscription, a Sanskrit inscription of the twelfth to fourteenth Buddhist century on Buddhist teaching about causation:

<div align="center">

ye dhammā hetuppa bhavā

tesaṃ hetuṃ tathāgato āha

tesañca yo nirodho ca

evaṃ vādī mahāsamaṇoti

</div>

> [The Tathagata has declared the cause and also the
> cessation of all phenomena which arise from a cause.
> This is the doctrine held by the Great Samana]
> ("Verse 392 - the Dhammapada: Verses and Stories").

Knowledge is associated with philosophy and moral teachings.[29] Nevertheless, Buddhist teachings of a later period influenced by Pali canons from Sri Lanka

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[29] I refer to Dvaravati kingdom here. Nevertheless, some other areas also had influence from Khmers culture which was Mahayana Buddhism and Hinduism.

emphasises the element of faith to a greater extent (Na Bangchang 36). *The Three Worlds* or *Tribumikatha* (Buddhist literature written in 1345 A.D.) was derived from several Pali canons. This book describes Buddhist cosmology mainly about heaven, earth, and hell. It describes the origin of the world, reincarnation timeframe, and so on. It became the root of Thai knowledge and values. Some of the outstanding concepts emphasised by this book are:

- *Karma* or deeds. Karma will take an individual to the place where he or she deserves to be in this life and next lives. Karma will affect a person's reincarnation. One needs to do good deeds to collect good karma. Good or bad things in one's life can be explained by the karma he or she did.

- One of the greatest good deeds is merit making. One should be forgiving and ready to make merit. Just like Vessantara,[30] the last life of Lord Buddha before he became Prince Siddhārtha, Buddhist people should give all they have. Their giving will be most effective when alms are given to virtuous people like monks.

- Acceptance of inequality. Since people's destiny is determined by their karma, some might have better opportunities because they have collected a good deal of merit in their past life. George Coedès commented that *The Three Worlds* became a mainstream belief in Thai society because it can be blended with animism, the original belief of the society (Reynolds 168).

This literature coexisted with the complexity of the society. King Lithai (1347–1368) of the Sukhothai period (1238–1583) translated this canon into Thai, and used it as a tool for governing the kingdom which was expanding and had larger territories. *The Three Worlds* contains a belief about *Chakkapatdirat*, or the king of kings. It claims that a governor who had done merits in his past lives is reincarnated as a king in this life. In this way, the righteous king is accepted. The king must govern the country with *Dhamma*. Knowledge is closely attached with politics and power in the society.

The Three Worlds also played an important role in the formation of the Thai value system. It also predisposes Thais to be eager to engage in making merit because it will help them to be born in a better place in their next life. It also contributes to some

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[30] According to a jataka tale, Vessantara is the greatest past life of Lord Buddha. In this life, he was a prince who was good at giving alms. Vessantara the king gave all things he had, even his wife and children.

characteristics such as gentleness, forgiving, enjoying life, not being attached to the past and so on.

The Three Worlds was the Thai worldview from when it was written by King Lithai until the coming of the West in Rattanakosin (1782–present) (about King Rama III and IV reigns[31]). However, the West is not the only one that challenged Thai knowledge. It can be seen that local people in this area have selected what fits in the society since ancient times. For example, *The Three Worlds* was more popular than old philosophical Buddhist teachings.

When knowledge making practices from the West came to Thailand, the old worldview was contested. Perception of knowledge is changed according to new demands in the society. During the Rattanakosin period, especially in the middle Rattanakosin period when Western countries started colonising the countries in Southeast Asia, knowledge was seen to be less integral to the way of life. In other words, it does not stress morality but is academic knowledge.

This phenomenon happened among elite groups first since they engaged in business with foreigners more widely. More importantly, they could feel the pressure from different epistemologies such as knowledge from missionaries and new technology. Finally, The Three World worldview became more accepted only among citizens in general, while the elite class came to see it as nonsensical. The traditional Thai cosmology became knowledge of people in general but it was no longer acceptable for the elites (Sattayanurak "The Transformation" 51).

The emergence of a totally different view of knowledge challenged Thai scholars greatly. It made them question themselves about their identity and their civilisation. This created reactions in studying Thai history, archaeology and Thai studies among old scholar groups. In contrast, more modern Thais who were educated in Europe were not concerned about this phenomenon as they also shared the Western worldview (Eoseewong 16).

One feature that can distinguish pre- and post-westernisation is moral teaching in knowledge. Suphapan Na Bangchang also gave an explanation of Thai vision on education that it used to be "knowledge is virtues", while after Westernisation,

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[31] King Rama III's reign is 1824-1851, King Rama IV's reign is 1851-1868.

knowledge was, instead, "accompanied by virtues" (Na Bangchang 164). This absence of an ethical aspect to the new kind of knowledge is a result of the demand for expertise in specific technologies in a more industrial society.

As mentioned, different kinds of knowledge were available for different groups of people. Literacy and academic knowledge were not seen as appropriate for ordinary people. After the Western influence followed by the reformation by King Rama V, all citizens were forced to receive basic education. However, further academic education was reserved for those who were going to be civil servants. King Rama V had to limit the curriculum. For example, English was only for certain people who had a promising future (Teeraake). This was to prevent all citizens who wanted to become civil servants from doing so. Perception of knowledge is related to social status and power at all times.

A certain inequality of opportunity can be observed in access to knowledge. This inequality is disguised in the form of culture. The perception is that knowledge is not ordinary people's business. That is why even though there are institutions such as libraries, museums and archives, the general cultural perception is that it is not knowledge that is found in these places.

Given that, as stated above, the nature of knowledge management in Thailand is related to the class and status of individuals, knowledge was limited to elite groups. In the past the only place where citizens could learn to read and write were temples. Temples were the centre of communities and filled an elevated function.

Apart from temples, there were few places for public learning. There were only two such places in the entire country in the early and middle Rattanakosin period: Wat Pho and Wachirayan Library.

Wat Pho or Wat Phra Chetuphon Vimolmangklararm Rajwaramahaviharn is a royal monastery built during the reign of King Rama I. Later, King Rama III ordered 1,431 stone inscriptions to be installed in the temple. The purpose of these inscriptions is to educate Thai citizens in Thai knowledge and wisdom and can be seen as a reaction to Western knowledge from missionaries and pressure from the West.

The inscriptions cover language, literature, archaeology, history and medical studies. The most famous inscriptions are about traditional medical science and massage. The

inscriptions were registered as a Memory of the World collection in 2011 (Memory of the World Register).

Wachirayan Library was founded by the sons and daughters of King Rama V who wanted to honour their father in 1881. King Rama V wanted to found The National Library for the city, so he combined Wachirayan Library, Ho Prah Montien Tham, and Ho Puttasat Sankhaha (Tipitaka Library) together to serve as The National Library. In 1933, Wachirayan Library changed its name to The National Library (Memory of the World Register). It is from out of The National Library that The National Archives emerged.

Today, The National Library has eight branches in different provinces. It faces similar problems as The National Archives of Thailand, with a lack of popular reading awareness and collaboration from publishers. For example, there is legislation dictating that every publisher has to send every newly published book to The National Library. Otherwise, they will have to pay a fine of 12 THB (about 0.25 GBP), a very low amount of money. As a result, this rule does not force any publisher to give The National Library their books (Onrudee 33).

Makut, senior editor and national artist, discussed problems with the public books system and reading habits in Thailand, arguing that people always identify the cause of this problem as being upbringing in families. However, looking at the problem realistically, the minimum wage in the country is 135 baht (2.8 GBP) per day, while children's books cost about 100 baht (2 GBP). Onruedee argues that it is unrealistic to encourage all parents to read books to their children and it is not easy either to expect every middle class family to teach their children to read (Onrudee 24-25).

However, poverty is not the only cause of the problem; as mentioned above, culture can explain the lack of interest in knowledge and books. Knowledge will be of interest only when it is related to power, a significant value of most Southeast Asian countries. As described above, Thailand has had limited places and sources for lifelong learning. The deeper reasons for such limitations of such places is that studying outside the classroom is not a part of Thai culture.

Nawigamune pointed out that the solution needs to come from the government. They should provide a budget to help to improve knowledge management in the country (Nawigamune). For example, supporting institutions that encourage citizens to find

knowledge outside the classrooms, and supporting information professionals. Nawigamune has an interest in collecting old objects because they can tell stories of times past. He opened his private museum where objects from his and others' childhood were collected. His focus is contemporary history, which is beyond the government's interest. (Government-owned museums tend to collect only ancient objects, which are far from people's concerns.) His private museum has not received any support from the government, and nor do private museums. He revealed that private museums all carry their burdens with no support from the government. The government prefers to do something tangible and that can visibly be regarded as their work in the short time during which they are still the government. Consequently, when it comes to cultural work, they will organise festivals and dances but neglect more sustainable development (Nawigamune).

Also, the data collection from the interviews has shown that inequality in expertise and knowledge among user groups is marked, and the NAT has not implemented any strategies to address this. The accumulation of knowledge is not in the culture. One of the archivists recalled her childhood where she witnessed local newspapers being burnt as fuel. She realised that those stories in the papers could be valuable when she became an archivist. Finally, she stated that keeping knowledge is not a prominent part of Thai culture (Taweta).

Education

First of all, the perception of knowledge is thus concretely reflected in management of cultural and educational institutions. The clearest representation of this is the educational system which not only presents current ideas about knowledge but also has potential to influence the future through its transmission activities.

In the past, educators were monks and temples were where most people were educated. Elites were educated separately in the palace. Knowledge and education was something acquired by social status. Later, during the reign of King Rama V, citizens received more opportunities to study since many schools were founded. However, the purposes of educational institutions were to produce people to work for the newly modernised bureaucratic system. More educational opportunities were offered to citizens.

The law requires an increasing number of years of compulsory education. The current compulsory level of education is *Mathayom* 3 (grade nine).[32] Today, Thai children need to study at least 6 years in primary school (*Prathom suksa*) and 3 years in secondary school (*Mathayom suksa*). After that, they can choose to study middle school or vocational school. Those finishing middle school can continue to higher education.

Education in the past

Temples were where citizens were educated, and for the royal family and noblemen's children this would take place in the palace. However, not every child going to the temple would be educated equally. Jean Baptise Pallegoix (1805–1862), vicar apostolic of Eastern Siam, recorded that of the boys educated in temples, only two out of ten would become literate after their years in the temples. Those being educated in this manner tended to be sons of civil servants, while the boys from lower social classes would learn skills they needed in their life and serve other students (Tanya 42).

Also, only men were allowed to be educated. As advocated in *Klong Lokanit*, a work of Thai literature, men's treasure is knowledge but girls' treasure is beauty. Even in the palace, women of high social class would learn some general knowledge and subjects considered appropriate for women (Tanya 24).

However, some traits remain significant features as they are compatible with other societal values and social structure. For example, after the reformation during the reign of King Rama V, one of the main purposes of education was to produce civil servants for the new bureaucratic system. Civil service was seen as honourable and easy job. The popularity of having this job thus ensured a certain esteem for oneself and one's family. Also, educated people during the reformation period and a long time after that refused to return to what their families had done before because they considered themselves educated people. Being a civil servant fits the Thai values of hierarchy. A problem that ensued from this was that fewer people pursued vocational study, leading to the nation not have enough skilled labour.

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[32] According to Compulsory Education Act B.E. 2545 (A.D. 2002)

Attitudes on knowledge hence changed, from professional and vocational knowledge to being seen as a tool to enhance identity and social status. Apart from getting an opportunity to be civil servants, which is related to power, education gives a better chance for people to compete in society, especially when the society changed to a capitalist one. Education came to be regarded highly because it brings power. Thus, the purpose in education is not for the pursuit of knowledge itself but for more practical reasons to attain social and economic power.

In modern society, from the opening of commercial activity during the Rattanakosin era, economic value has been increasingly important. Money became the real source of power which can equally change social status. This set of values was strengthened after American influence during the Cold War. In the competition between the Soviet Union and the US, the American government tried to fund developing countries to develop their social and economic systems to prevent these countries from adopting communism. They provided funding to Thai students to study in the US. However, these grants were all focused on subjects such as economics and science, with social sciences and the humanities overlooked. This led to an unbalanced development of society, and a lack of a social dimension (Walliphodom 129).

This is related to the traditional Thai way of learning. The traditional pedagogical method that changed to support the Western system has been problematic. Thai education has been westernised since King Rama V, and again during the Cold War.

Srisak Walliphodom commented that Thai education these days (after modernisation) lacks cultivation which teaches students to live and relate to others. Instead, it focuses on how to prepare people for industry. Though the original education in temples did not provide education equally to all, it functioned in a manner analogous to society itself. Civil servants' sons were educated because they would succeed their fathers, and would need literacy for their profession. On the other hand, other children were educated in moral and professional education that would be needed in the future. Thus, the education was designed to prepare people to function in the society. More importantly, teachers who were the monks were also responsible for teaching moral studies. Another form of education came from the communities where students lived, and this had to do with relationships with others in those communities, and how to

work with each other. Once the education system was changed, the original moral and social dimensions were not emphasised (Walliphodom 25).

The strength of Thai education was undermined, then it was replaced with modern studies. The strength of Western education which emphasises individuality, critical thinking and the discovery of new knowledge cannot blend with local culture and mentality. The nature of hierarchical society does not allow individuality to be outstanding in Thailand. The cultural incompatibility between the new educational system and original values arises from the fact that the education promotes individualism (that is, students need to compete to gain social status and do not have relationships with their communities), while at the same time, the education is teacher centred. It does not encourage students to be critical. Teaching methods remained the same but cultivation disappeared. It seems that the failure of Thai education is a result of an inability to successfully adapt their education to suit their culture. Also, it destroys the strength of the original educational methods.

Povatong stated commented when he was asked about his role in promoting archives that he sometimes did not give answers of what he found in the records but he intentionally let readers think. He did not receive good feedback from such a practice. He said, "Thai people like things to be justified" (Povatong). This again can be explained by Thai culture and education emphasising hierarchy and seniority and devaluing curiosity. Once the question has been answered and justified by someone, especially one with authority, it tends to be the end of the quest for knowledge.

The results tend to indicate that culture through education has an effect on personal epistemology. A study indicated that Thai students educated in Thai schools are much less epistemologically developed than Thai students educated in international schools and abroad (Fujiwara and Phillips 115). However, it should be noted that the researchers in this study used a Western framework in measuring learning skills and understanding of knowledge. So, the result is not surprising.

Teachers' roles in promoting and using archives
A factor behind teaching methods is that the role of the teacher is imbued with much authority and honour. This social status is related to Buddhist teachings. Larry Henderson conducted a study on "Thai teachers and the concept of alms of

knowledge". It was shown that 85% teachers (who are mostly Buddhist) related their work to merit making (Henderson 59). Teaching is thus the act of giving, not to guide the students. Teaching is regarded as an elevated and virtuous deed. Hence, students need to pay high respect to their teachers because they are receivers of alms.

Also, traditional duties of teachers are also involved with moral teachings and sacrifice for students. Thai teachers are not expected only to be proficient in their subject area but to be role models for students in terms of more general conduct of life (Bunnim จ.). This expectation remains in Thai society though moral and holistic teaching in the educational system has been greatly undermined.

As the Thai educational system is very teacher dominated, one archival strategy that has been used by the NAT and Dr Winai Pongsripian (for his project on 100 important documents) is concentrating on educating teachers because they believe teachers are the ones who can effectively implant in students archival awareness. Pongsripian stated that his seminars have attracted interest from teachers studying related subjects (Pongsripian). In contrast, the national archivist still has doubts about the outcome of their seminars for teachers (Taweta).

Archives in educational system

Considering the lack of critical thinking in the Thai educational system, archives can be one of the tools that can encourage students to learn to seek for knowledge and do research. Busayarat Kootiam, NAT archivist, thinks that Thailand has a problem in archival awareness because the culture is not taught to people at a young age. She expressed a desire for archives to be incorporated into the standard curriculum so that Thai people would understand what these materials are (Kootiam). The reasons why archival documents have never been seen as things normal people come across can be both practical and cultural. So, some changes in both aspects are needed to ameliorate the situation, such as having archives in the curriculum or making archives more accessible for teachers.

Comparing the Thai case with the UK, some of the British interviewees spoke of their experience with archives in an educational context. Cara Davies, a PhD student in performing art using archives and an archivist, talked about her inspirational moments

on a school trip to a museum in her Middle school (Davies). That is how she became interested in the work she is doing. Nick Kingsley talked about his experience with school children aged about seven to nine who visited the archives he used to work for. He said though the school children who visited the archives he was working with came from ethnically diverse backgrounds, their eyes widened seeing archives at the first time (Kingsley). Archival experiences can be powerful for children by triggering their curiosity and capability of learning.

The NAT used to organise school trips to different parts of Thailand under the project "Archives tour to educational institutions". They went to every part of the country to talk about archives to secondary school children and teachers and received great feedback. Kootiam said that the children enjoyed the talk in which NAT archivists tried to make them 'think' about different stories in history. They participated in the activities well. However, this project is no longer running, as it was a seven-year project funded by an external sponsor, Siam Commercial Bank. This is an example of how the NAT can initiate programs that encourage the use of archival materials in education through the securing of external funds. The ways archives can be engaged in Thai education is a novel idea that needs initiation and support.

Surveys with teachers

I also conducted a survey of various potential user groups in Thailand. Teachers were one of four such groups of potential users, and are viewed as the most influential group for the development of education. The questionnaires were sent to Thai teachers. Most of them are teaching in secondary school. The survey asked for their backgrounds and attitudes towards archives. The teachers were also asked to rate the purpose of using archives and the means in using them.

Among the eight teachers who responded to the survey, some teachers participating in the survey have experience in using archives while others do not. The experienced users gave positive opinions about archives. Teachers answering the questionnaire mentioned the historical value of archives. For example, one mentioned that archives reflect history of the country and its past events. And, it links to how people must know their own roots. Another mentioned the value of archives in showing what old language was like. Nevertheless, there are some comments showing statements that

are not necessarily true, such as one who commented that archives are a reliable primary source. Or, some comments showed that the person has their own definition of archives, such as the participant who commented that archives are autobiography. They used unofficial language, making readers feel and understand events better than chronicles or public records.

Teachers who had no experience in using archives were asked about the reasons why they do not use archives. The reason stated most frequently is that their subjects are not relevant to archives (they teach Thai and foreign languages.) The second reason stated is that there are many other options to access information. Next, it is inconvenient to travel to the NAT. Lastly, a lack of time to study archives.

The second half of part two of the questionnaire gives a list of purposes in using archives for each user group and asks participants to rate their preference from 1 (unlikely) to 5 (likely). The diagram shows the average score for each option.
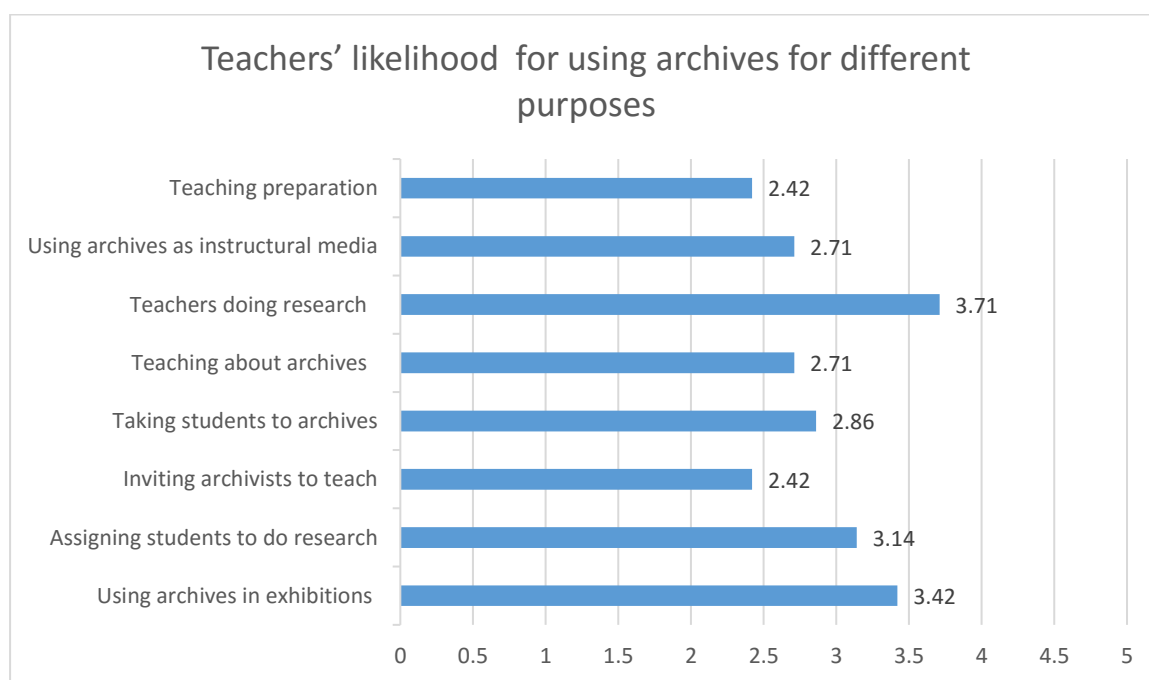
Figure 11 Teachers' likelihood for using archives

The result shows that the purposes with high scores are teachers doing their own research (3.71 out of 5), using information from archives in an exhibit (3.42), and assigning students to do research in archives (3.14), while inviting archivists to teach

or lead activities received low score (2.42). This means that archives tend to be extracurricular resources rather than having a serious role to play in education. This corresponds with what some interviewees saw as a low likelihood of archives being used in the classroom. An opinion received from the interviews and focus group is that archives should be a part of the Thai curriculum, which will help to solve the problem about archives awareness and open the students' perspectives to the materials. However, to prepare teaching by consulting archives means a great increase in the workload for teachers. Another opportunity the archives can exploit is to create teaching materials for teachers, though that would mean increased work for the archives (Taweta "Focus Group"). Nevertheless, the willingness to incorporate archives into different educational activities should be also encouraged.

From the first two themes, history and knowledge, it can be seen that originally traditional perceptions and thoughts about them have formed the ways these things have been managed in Thai society. Exposure to Western perceptions and ideas then brought dramatic changes to this management. The contrasting worldviews were significantly different enough to bring about new ways of writing history and resulted in serious challenges in education. The two topics which will be discussed next are ideas on rights and identity. These are distinct from the first two themes as there are few traditional thoughts on these topics in Thai society. Because of their foreign and relatively new origin, these ideas have not had as much opportunity to integrate into the society; however, the difficulty now is that they are nonetheless significant in rapidly changing modern Thai society.

5.4   Self and identity

This section will explore the perception of identity and personal history. In this area, there is a sharp contrast between the UK and Thailand. While using archives for genealogical research has become popular in the UK, and many archives have been established to support the identity of local communities and marginalised groups, in Thai society such a strong relationship between archives and identity has never developed. In these two societies, different factors have led to different conditions,

though there are some similarities in social changes that have occurred as the countries have embraced modernity.

The essence of my argument for why Thai society has a low level of archival use for these purposes is that the perception of identity in Thai society differs from such concepts in the more individualistic Western society. Nonetheless, there are layers of complexity to the situation. In this section I will outline factors explaining why identity is perceived as a difficult thing to express in Thai society and culture, which values harmony and has upheld historical narratives intended to unify different groups into a nation-state ever since its neighbours succumbed to colonial pressures from Europe. Nevertheless, this is not meant to condone Thai society's past or present ignorance of diversity and different identities in the country, which has contributed to both violent and nonviolent conflicts.

This following section will show that because Thailand does not embrace the idea of archival use to support identity and diversity, the lack of archival use for individuals and local community has created or deepened gaps and conflicts in the country. In comparison with Western society, where the perception of identity is stronger, Thai society faces unique pressures in its own crisis of change, and archives are one tool that can potentially better the situation.

The Western world is increasingly familiar with the idea of using archives in support of self and identity. By this I mean that archival materials have been employed in a way that helps individuals to understand and express who they are, and is claimed to encourage social inclusion as a whole. At the same time, this kind of archival use also helps individuals to understand themselves and develop their wellbeing. The forms this takes are usually different from more traditional uses of archives, and include such pursuits as appreciating art or researching family history.

The Western idea of managing and using archives to support self-awareness seems to be based on a function of archives that serves the society's democratic values. Different factors encourage this use. Firstly, Western society's adoption of democracy as its form of governance encourages individuals to make their voices heard, especially in the political sphere. Secondly, Britain, like many other Western countries, went through a period of colonising other parts of the world, significantly increasing the diversity of the country's population. Those from ethnic minority

groups have faced challenges of integration and unequal treatment. People also seek to understand themselves in relativist, pluralistic, post-modernist-influenced society. Thirdly, recordkeeping is already in the Western tradition. Collecting, keeping and telling stories from the past can help people in negotiating their social circumstances. Technology also enables individuals to have more efficient roles in developing their personal or their communities' archives.

It is the perception that self and identity need to be expressed and discovered that motivates archival practices that are outside the mainstream. Being separate from the main governmental or institutionalised archives, such archives and archive-related activities can have different definitions of archives or practice – ones that can respond to needs of particular users. I outline different types of this archival use in the UK as follows:

Family history

Genealogy is a phenomenon that has affected archives even at the national level. The popularity of researching family history and the emergence of a significant number of family historians have grown out of people's need to be in touch with their origins and understand who they are.

In more urbanised and modern society where people live more individually, many feel a basic need to connect with their past and family history. This can help people to understand their roots and feel less lonely in their solitude.

Though these needs and desires gained the prominence in at least the last few decades; the increase interest in family history has also been accelerated by internet access as well as media in the last ten years. Nick Kingsley, a TNA archivist, spoke of the influence of TV series about discovering the past, such as "Who Do You Think You Are?" and "Time Team". The former focuses on celebrities exploring their family history. It has been on the air for more than ten years, and has had a great impact on archival use. "Time Team" is a programme about archaeology (Kingsley). These programmes are valuable public relations tools that allow ordinary people to see the process of making history from their own stories.

The result of these programmes is that people are interested in doing family history. The emerging amateur user groups impacts the archives both positively and negatively. What the programme demonstrates is the process of doing family history research. Although it is not the whole picture of working in the archives, it makes people interested in doing their own research and helps to overcome the picture of archives as a mysterious world limited to professional historians. In practice, the increasing number of genealogists affects the way archival institutions operate (as mentioned in chapter 4). This demonstrates that archival practice is actually influenced by users' needs and the society they are in, and it supports the idea that archives should be flexible and responsive to their contexts.

Community archives

Another distinct way that archives are managed to support identity is when communities with mutual interests or background preserve records to document their history; these are then made use of by people in the group themselves or by others. These groups are formed by "the community or group's own self-definition and self-identification by locality, ethnicity, faith, sexuality, occupation, ideology, shared interest or any combination of the above" (Flinn and Stevens 5).

Kingsley talked about societal change and the ways archival use has been affected. He stated that acquisition and use of archives were formerly from the top down. History has since come to be approached by a wider range of people, like radical groups, ethnic minorities and communities. In this way, archives are now used more closely by people, telling the history from below (Kingsley).

History of community archives in the UK

In relating the development of community archives, David Mander noted that the origin of such practices could be found in initiatives such as a local library in Bedfordshire that started to collect records from corporate bodies and individuals in 1926 or the Walthamstow Antiquarian Society that created a local museum that had local history collections. In the 1940s, the Chingford Historical Society was founded, and it collected different kinds of records and paintings from as far back as the

seventeenth century. These early community archives were first driven by volunteers and started from collecting local history. Mander also explained that there was competition with mainstream archives since some of the records also fell under the institutionalised archives acquisition policies.

From the 1960s onwards, and especially in the 1970s and 1980s, government development projects encouraged communities with problems of poverty and destitution to engage in self-help projects. The "development of ideas of self-help contributed to the concept of communities playing an active role in their own growth" (Mander 32). More outcomes have been produced from the strength of the communities since then.

Further community development has come out of the struggles they have faced in the pluralistic society. Marginalised people and minority groups have attempted to find ways to be accepted as they are. However, such a movement is not always justified or encouraged; as Richard Cox stated, it can lead not only to inclusion but exclusion from the larger society (Bastian and Alexander xxiii).

Different definitions and practices of archives

Being outside of the mainstream traditional archives practices, community archives have freedom to rely on their own definitions of archives and archival practices. The interpretation of what archives are can be made more inclusive. This can enable communities to extend their capacity to document society. For example, items collected in the community archives might be posters, flyers, voice recordings, or other things that are not prioritised in traditional archives but are valuable to the communities for the stories that they tell. This comes back to our central argument that what is valuable and what is not depends on the eyes of those who see it. If those who look for values in records are only formal archivists working in public archives, only the kinds of archives that fit their criteria will be preserved. Archives that may be valuable through other perspectives will be left out of the memory. Thus, how average people keep and use the records they consider valuable is important in securing people's evidence and memory. This idea is prominent in the book *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory*, in which scholars discuss various definitions of archives referred to as community archives, noting that the term could cover materials

ranging from traditional records, oral history, performances and music to electronic traces. "Records can be all these things and more" (Bastian and Alexander xxiii).

New ways to perceive archives

In my data collection in the UK, it was found that archives are sometimes used as a tool to approach the arts. They can be a resource to create artworks, inspire new ways of interpretation and consumption, and even lead to an understanding of oneself and others by appreciating materials such as art objects.

An example of archives as media linking people and art is the work of Cara Davies, a dancer and archivist. For her PhD in art, she was conducting a research project titled "Body-Experience-Archive: Translating the Body through and Beyond Performance". Davies used archives in her performing arts projects. In one activity she re-exhibited works of art from the archives but interpreted them in new ways.

In the original visual art performance, Davies used archives from the past exhibits and restaged the art with performers. The result was that blind people could appreciate the art that they could not otherwise perceive. Davies said the performance was about "bringing out history from the objects" and "reconnecting objects to the new way of exhibition" (Davies). Hence, archives can not only help artists to create new work from the old but also help more people to encounter the art – a way of encouraging people's wellbeing and self-esteem.

Another project took part in her mother's loft. She created a participatory form of archival practice where participants could make decisions on the objects in her mother's loft. Participants, who were from performance background, could tell Davies what to do with the objects, such as preserving them or disposing of them. One participant even cut an object in half and took half home (Davies).

Davies's definition of archives is expansive. It encompasses not only traditional records but any objects recording history – including one's body. Her demonstration of archival practice was created in the sphere of art, and might not be done in actual archives. However, Davies's performance shows the re-orientation of the focus in archival work from archivists alone towards collaboration between archivists and users, in which both parties have their parts to contribute to the archival process and

how the materials are used. This shift challenges the way archiving is practised according to positivist, custodial concepts. In this age where technology has a greater role in every area, including archives, there is more potential for users to take part in managing their records or even to take part in some archives themselves – for example, in crowdsourcing, personal recordkeeping, or creating non-governmental archives like community archives.

This project exemplifies how the definition of archives does not have to take on a single meaning but can mean different things to different people. Archives are stories of individuals, including records creators, archivists and users. One object can have a particular meaning for each individual. Such personal interpretation and relationship with the objects can make people aware of the place of archives in their lives.

Davies's performance is one of many new ways people can be exposed to archives, or their memories, in this era.

5.4.1 Why not Thailand?

From this account of the UK context, it can be seen that many factors contribute to the emergence and growth of ways of using archives to support identity and diversity. It is undeniable that there are some similarities in Thai society shared with British society in terms of people's need to understand and appreciate their identity, especially in the face of social change. Nonetheless, it is not easy for one to have a distinct identity outside of mainstream standards in Thai society. Factors in Thai society significantly impeding the potential of records to serve individuals include Thai traditional values, political norms and historical background, while some circumstances share the same experience with the wider world community in the currents of globalisation.

The imagination of "Thainess" – the essence of Thai identity – and just what Thainess consists of are widely discussed topics in Thai studies and other social science disciplines in Thailand. The government has pushed a central national identity, hoping to achieve solidarity; this was especially prevalent during and after the era of European colonisation of Southeast Asia. Prior to the Western imperialist threats,

especially from France, Siam employed a tribute system, meaning many parts of present-day Thailand (and some parts that now belong to present-day Laos and Cambodia after being colonised by France) had their own administration and culture (and some even spoke different languages; for example, *Malai prathet* – now the four southernmost provinces of Thailand – used Malay, not Thai). Their cultures and identities could often be celebrated and practised but their governors were under the Siamese kings.

After the system of governance was modernised during the reign of King Rama V, the relationships with these different ethnic and regional identities changed. David Streckfuss found that during imperialist times – notably the conflicts with France, the coloniser of Laos – Siam tried to homogenise all ethnicities in the country as Thai, in spite of the fact that there were many communities of Lao, Khmer, Mon, and many other ethnic groups. All people with these origins who were living within the boundaries of the country came to be called Thai (Streckfuss 307-8). They were not educated properly about their own history since all schools emphasised the history of Bangkok, the capital city. Moreover, since that era, culture from the capital has often been given precedence over local ones. For example, the required language of instruction in all schools is the standard central Thai language. All of this makes people not really want to find out about their history, which might differ from the central standard Thai identity. This hierarchical structure is not only the result of the change of the governance system amid external threats but also a natural characteristic of Thai culture, where equality is not the norm.

The concept of *khwam pen Thai*, which is often translated as "Thainess", originated from a political agenda and has been successfully implanted into the perceptions of many. Kritiya Archawanichakul conducted research asking people about Thainess, during which she heard stereotypes of Thai identity from students in different regions that are similar throughout the country. The data she collected showed that students in every region had almost the same or similar perceptions of Thainess – that is, Thai identity is involved with the king and with Buddhism. They also indicated gentleness and femininity as characteristic of the culture. The inhabitants of every country probably have such stereotypes about themselves as a nation (Archawanichakul 77-103). Nevertheless, although these stereotypes are quite strong in Thailand and have fed into political and identity conflicts, people in some regions (e.g. the Northeast and

the North) have a feeling that they are ignored by the central government. For example, the Northeast is the most populated, yet it is the poorest (Chansarn). The region is often a leader of farmer protests (e.g. the Assembly of the Poor).[33] In the culture of inequality with no space to express one's local or personal identity, some feel frustration that can lead to greater fractures in society than existed even before the centralisation policy.

Though there are other contributing causes, inattention to cultural diversity and unequal treatment in policies have exacerbated conflicts in the ignored areas. The North and the Northeast, as mentioned, face problems of poverty and frequently are the base of protest movements against successive governments that come to power. Similar but more severe is the situation in the South, where the conflict is more about culture and religion. In four provinces in the far South of Thailand – Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and some cities in Songkhla province – the main religion is Islam and the main language is Malay, and the cultural difference is more obvious. Unrest and a desire for independence have long existed in this region, and were made more intense by some policies that failed to take into account the people's cultural and religious identity and unequal treatment from some local government staff. This has spawned a violent terrorist movement that aims to gain independence from Thailand.

These problems of inequality and ignorance need to be seriously raised to pacify the situation. Sometimes the concern for individuals' rights can be culturally derived from and largely dependent on Western concepts; however, there is also a fundamental human need to be accepted and respected. One way that archives can help is by promoting local history in each area, which allows everyone to have space and a story in history, and helps to ensure that people are not ignored but respected.

Besides the success of the government in creating Thai identity and its failure to include the variety of cultures in Thai society, modernity is another factor that must be considered in this regard. Social change in Thai society, as described later (see section on social change in 5.5, "Rights and records in Thai society"), has often entailed urbanisation, modernisation and Westernisation. Shigeharu Tanabe and Charles F. Keyes described crises of identity in various circumstances in Thailand and

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[33] This group of farmers, academics and students protested against destruction of natural resources and poverty caused by industrialisation and the ignorance of agricultural life.

Laos as reflecting "secularisation and disenchantment", "incorporation into a global market economy", "integration of peoples into modern nation-states" and "mediated modernity" (Tanabe and Keyes 8-13). These developments of modernised society have resulted in the frustration of those whose identities change quickly and who have seen the younger generations lost their roots. As mentioned, the new emerging middle classes have identity crises, as do those in middle age, who see social change in their lives. This leads to nostalgia and frustration.

Anthropologists have argued that this crisis of identity has led people to attempt to compensate for these resentments with such things as new cults and religious practices that respond to their new identity but are still acceptable in a society that restricts individual expressions. For example, King Rama V was worshipped even nowadays among the middle class. This cult of Sadet Po Ro Ha (King Rama V) posits the king as a symbol that helps the new class to "access the 'benevolent' Thai state" within the highly centralised Thai state (Ganjanapan 134). Anan Ganjanaphan explains that the changes in modernity are at the level of values: from collective values to more individualistic ones characteristic of globalisation (Ganjanapan 132-4).

Material culture is another significant outlet that can ease the identity crisis by reviving collective memories. Objects in this category range from buildings, monuments, and household objects to historical papers. A number of private museums and cultural centres recording and representing public memories have emerged in this particular time, though these informal cultural institutions are inspired only by individuals and receive scant government support.

The last and the most practical reason for the lack of archival use to support identity is the relative unavailability of records and recordkeeping activities, which are not traditionally Thai habits. The more academic and literary activities relate well only to the top levels of society and were of a bureaucratic nature; it is not common for most people to engage in academic activities in their free time.

At the individual level, Thai people are not necessarily uninterested in their own personal history. For example, some participants in the survey said that they would be interested in researching family history, and Kam described how he wanted the NAT to have more personal papers in the future (Kam). This hints at some other contributing causes of the lack of archival use to support identity: archival institutions

not being ready to provide access, and not having materials for these purposes. Archivists at the NAT are aware of the function of archival institutions to support people's rights, but there are obstacles to providing access. The NAT barely collects records of individuals, and they do not have the capacity to achieve this. Taweta explained that unlike archives in the West, the NAT does not have a birth-certificate or citizen registry. They are all kept by the Ministry of Interior, which she believes does not maintain a good recordkeeping system or provide easy access (Taweta). Additionally, Srijantaranit indicated that records obtained from governmental departments are incomplete (Srijantaranit). These problems are hence a chain: that is, going even further back, the lack of records is caused by the acquisition policy and the transfer process from the governmental departments to the NAT.

Identity is not always shaped from history in Thai society. Contemporary currents widely seen in Thai traditional and digital media copy elements of identity from different sources such as Korean, Japanese or various subcultural lifestyles. Again, in Thailand people tend to see culture and heritage – including archives – as static, unchanging and unified things, so it is hard for Thai people to successfully apply and adapt the traditional culture to the needs of this contemporary age.

5.4.2   *Private and community museums in Thailand*

Thai public cultural institutions serve as places to collect "national Thai identity" promoted by the state (Hirai 165–84). The drawback of this kind of institution is its lack of response to ordinary people's needs. It is the duty of the national museum and archives to collect public objects and records. This is also combined with the traditional attitude on heritage (see chapter 4) according to which heritage usually refers to high art and national patrimony. It belongs to the nation but not to the people. The need for personal and public history remains unmet and has to be filled through the efforts of private individuals.

Anake Nawigamune, who has written many books on history and old objects, owns and operates the "House of Museums" or *Ban Phiphitthaphan* wherein he collects objects from daily life from around the 1950s. He claims that contemporary objects are ignored by the government (Nawigamune). Public museums are solely interested

in ancient objects and have lost sight of the more recent past. Nawigamune had to establish the museum because of this gap of interest. He has not received any support from the government either financially or academically. This is an example of how limitations to perceptions of objects' historical value can cause failure to capture the past and its connections with people's lives.

For Nawigamune, archives can refer to many things, not only old public records.

> I often say that even envelopes can be archives in the society –
> even toys are because they miniaturise different versions of planes,
> weapons, and everyday household objects. These are all archives. It
> depends on how we interpret and make use of them. This is the
> simplest thing to say about archives (Nawigamune).

Nevertheless, such an understanding has not become widespread; the role of archives in supporting individuals' rights and wellbeing has been ignored for a very long time by the public sector. The non-traditional ways of thinking about archives like the ones of Nawigamune or the artist like Davies thus need to be overseen by community initiatives.

Community museums' growth

Despite the lack of concrete support from the government, Kyonosuke Hirai conducted his own research on community museums in the North of Thailand and sees that four factors contribute to the development of community museums in Thailand: (1) indigenous traditions, customs, and values underlying the museum practice; (2) state-led cultural policy and development discourse in 1990s; (3) "structural changes in the rural economy including increasingly unequal distribution of wealth, a decline in solidarity and integration, the corrosion of self-identity, and the fading of local tradition and values in a community"; and (4) the agency of Buddhist monks and other parties who support community museums (Hirai 165–66). Hirai found in his survey that community museums were usually not created, or at least not mainly, to cater for identity. Community museums were rather built because they could be marketed in tourism, and the potential economic benefits to the villages would cause communities to welcome the museums. Also, he found that the museums also could be a boon to temples. Temples used to be at the centre of Thai communal

life but now their functions have been replaced by other modern institutions, and more secularised society undermines the temple's traditional roles. A monk reported that people found temples boring, but once his temple had a community museum, it was seen once again as beneficial to the community (Hirai 172).

This is a good example that future community archives need to learn from. That is, the identity agenda alone will likely not be a powerful enough motivation to sustain a cultural centre or institution in Thai society. Although ignorance of differing identity causes conflicts that do need solving, stronger reasons are required, such as how the archives can contribute to tourism or community life.

In sum, exploring family and personal history is not common in Thailand. However, if more attention is given to the personal development of the citizen, that certainly contributes to the nation as a whole. With the cultural friction that can occur when the distinctiveness of identity is directly revealed or asserted, which may cause extremely uncomfortable disharmony in a social milieu like Thailand's, Thai archives perhaps needs to find subtler ways to express marginalised identity.

5.4.3   *Survey for potential archives users for non-academic purposes*

The second potential group focuses on the use of archives for leisure. Some questionnaires were sent to those who have not yet had any experience in using archives, but all thirteen participants expressed their interest in using archives. The questionnaire for this group also asked the participants to identify their interest: family history, local history, and community history. The result was that the participants were most interested in local history, followed by family history and community history, which have equal scores. This finding corresponds with the document study that local history is important in Thai perceptions of history, though it has been undermined by centralised administration in modern time.

A few participants have already used archives. A participant used archives for doing his family history. Two other participants came to the NAT for old photos such as finding Buddha photos for worshiping and the other for decorating his shop. It is notable that participants in this group are interested in photographic archives. A

participant advised the NAT to sell CDs of photographs on different topics. Non-academic potential users have various kinds of needs that may not be educational purpose at all, so it is essential for the NAT to be aware of their needs. Those who have not used archives indicated that the reason for not using archives is that they do not know where the archives are located, how they work, and so on. So, there is gap between the archives and these people, with both being unaware of each other's needs, and this will need to be improved.

Purposes of using archives

The two most common purposes, with equal scores, are transmitting knowledge to other generations (3.83) and contributing to unity in the community (3.83). Next is strengthening identity followed by social and leisure. An interesting point is that transmitting knowledge and unity in community got a high score, as expected on the basis of the literature review, but identity is ranked in third place, with almost as high a score. Social and leisure purposes have remarkably low scores compared to the rest (2.42). This finding confirms that Thai people see the concept of knowledge as related to transmission to younger generations and in terms of its contribution to solidarity. The use of archives to support identity is not common among the participants.
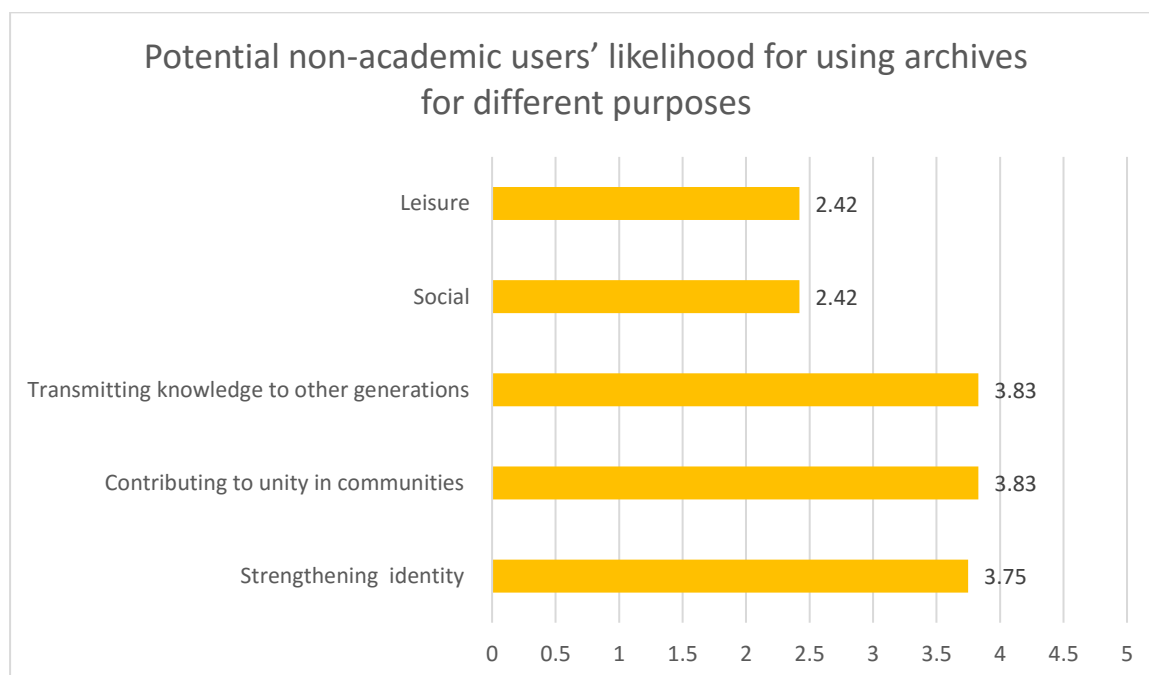
Figure 12 Potential non-academic users' likelihood for using archives

5.5   Rights and records in Thai society

A further value of records and archives is their utility as evidence for business or government and for helping to protect people's rights. At the outset of this discussion, it is very important to understand that, unlike the Western view which often sees rights as nearly synonymous with the individual, the Thai view and the focus that I will be taking in this section sees the rights more as a collective social justice issue. This is not to say the individual is ignored but the prevailing Thai emphasis is not on this singular level. Awareness of this value was reflected in the interviews with British participants. Apart from general trends in Western society about records supporting rights, TNA changed their policies from a more history focused approach to one concentrating on information management in government and personal history (Ceeney 66-68).

In Thailand, as discussed in the last section compared to the West, it is not common for Thais to use archives for researching family history. Similarly although archives have sometimes been used as evidence in court (Taweta). It is still rare for records or archives to be used in public, such as by media and in civil society. One of the main reasons for the lack of archival use in this area is that records and archives are not traditionally seen as evidence of transactions but as historical evidence only. Also, the setting down of history is considered the purview of professional historians only, so individuals are not likely to keep personal records or maintain records of their family history. The fact that Thai culture places an emphasis on orality rather than literacy also contributes to the scarcity of personal archiving.

However, culture is not static but changes over time. Since the adoption of more Western inspired democratic governance in 1932, Siam has struggled to determine the true meaning of being a democratic society. Its leaders tried to layer this system of governance on top of the existing culture. At best, these efforts have resulted in quasi-democracy. Democracy is widely considered to be an instrument that can solve problems but sometimes it has not achieved this. The emergence of the middle class and student movements in the 1970s was a big turn towards democracy as an ideology. More movements from the middle class and working class have been visible

in the past years, meaning that citizens are increasingly concerned about their rights and want to be part of democratic society.

This section will discuss Thai perceptions of rights and recordkeeping and will compare these with the UK, where citizens have greater awareness in these areas. Also, it will examine the evolution of democratisation in Thailand and the impact of this on archival access.

According to the survey conducted in Thailand, the value people look for most in archives is that of evidence. However, in reality, the value of archives from the recordkeeping side is not widely recognised and utilised. In the UK, this side of records has been more valued than in Thailand. In fact, records were known for this value long before the historical value of records was widely recognised. So how, does this value of archives function in the two societies?

How people are aware of the value of records and that of archives are two different questions. It would be going beyond the scope of this thesis to include issues relating to awareness of records, further research will need to be conducted focusing particularly on records. Nonetheless, records management and archives management cannot be wholly separated from each other. The perceptions of rights and evidential value of records are important factors in good records management, which will in turn contribute to comprehensive archives collections.

Though the UK has higher awareness of the functions of records and archives in supporting rights, accountability and transparency, records management is still not exceptionally well known in organisations. On this matter, the British interviewees expressed some opinions, which are similar to some mentioned by Thai interviewees about records management.

It was recognised by most that records management has implicit value. It is an essential and necessary activity compared to archives management, which can be considered a luxury (Procter); however, it is important in a negative way. That is, the significance of records management is recognised only when the system does not work well. When records management works well, it is quite invisible (Shepherd). Interviewees from both countries reported the same situations – that records management works as back-up, given a low priority, and records managers might find it difficult to make themselves visible (Shepherd). In Thailand, records management

is not counted as a criterion in assessment of the public sector (Chaijindasut). This undermines the importance of documentation.

There are diverse kinds of 'connections' that organisations or individuals have with records that make them manage records differently from one another. Some particular kinds of work might rely on records as evidence more than others, such as that of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Bank of Thailand, which are governmental organisations that use old records in their work, thus encouraging them to care about thorough recordkeeping. These organisations tend to have good records management, and supporting resources are provided accordingly. Nevertheless, some other organisations may not see the importance of good recordkeeping at all. The understanding of records management thus tends to be of specific aspects related to particular record types or sectors rather than of records management in general (Healy; Supavej).

As records management practices vary depending on the nature of work in each organisation, it is not easy to measure the level of awareness of records in the UK and Thailand. However, within the scope of this research, which covers the national archives of each country, it is worthwhile to consider records management in governmental organisations.

Awareness of the benefits of records among staff working in organisations (or in archival terms "primary users") is another factor that can emphasise the seriousness of management of records and their transfer to the archives in organisations. In the Thai context, some problematic perceptions affect recordkeeping systems.

Besides records management, archival access and use are also affected by social perceptions of rights and identity. Democratisation and globalisation in the modern world are currents of thought that encourage more access to archives for confirming one's rights and substantiating one's identity. This does not necessarily mean that democracy can satisfy every need to confirm one's rights or construct one's identity. The Asian values common to Thai society are often seen as obstacles for democracy; scholars point out that the forms of democratisation "taking place in Asia and elsewhere are (thus) more than just transitional processes from authoritarianism to democracy as they involve complex manifestations of identity and culture" (Kinnvall

11). Democracy needs to be considered within the context rather than as a transcendental ideology that does not vary in different contexts.

Hence, it is worth looking at the concepts of rights, democracy and identity in Thailand to understand how they were formed in the past, how they may change in the future, and how archives may function as a part of this agenda in the Thai context.

Thai perception on corruption and justice

An important factor in why corruption is chronic and serious in Thailand is the perception of corrupt actions in Thai culture. For example, corruption is always on the headline of the newspapers. Or, Thailand is ranked 76 from 168 countries and territories for transparency (Transparency International). Hierarchy is a prominent feature of Thai society. This social structure is derived from the old governance system, the *Sakdina* system, whereby classes in the society could be visualised as a pyramid shape. In this class structure, the king occupied the pinnacle of power, and royal family, noblemen, citizens and slaves were under him respectively. Members of each class were assigned different numbers, representing land, as symbols of their status. *Sakdina* functioned by the patronage system. More influential people were the patrons, and they had to protect and help people under their patronage. Those under patronage – the clients – had to give their patrons resources and respect in return (Scott 77-78).

The patronage system was also the way the government bureaucracy worked in the past. Officials earned commission from traders as a part of their income. Some people in the lower classes, who were required to provide their labour to the government, were able to pay the government in lieu of giving their labour if they could not or did not want to work according to the rota. The culture of civil servants receiving bribes from their clients bears traces of this history. Although modern law has long been used in Thailand, these traditional views make corruption more tolerable to many in the country. It is widely agreed upon that corruption is not right, but some people keep a flexible attitude about it.

Pasuk Phongpaichit and Sungsidh Piriyarangsan conducted a focus group to examine attitudes towards corruption. In it, people were asked to name various degrees of

corrupt behaviour. Some types of corruption were characterised in less condemnatory terms. This was the case, for example, with giving a small amount of money to officials after work has concluded. Most participants named it a gift of good will, some called it bribery, and others called it tea money. For someone paying for a government service to speed up the work, people use explanations such as bribery, dishonesty, and tea money. For each of the two situations, the word "corruption" was selected by fewer people (4.5% and 15.8% respectively). It is likely that this is also because these practices have been viewed as appropriate in the past, so there are many different Thai words to describe them. These words tone down the actions, making many people feel that it is not so wrong. The results of the focus group also show that people from different professions have different ideas about corruption. Businessmen and officials tend to have compromising attitudes towards corrupt behaviour, while NGO workers and academics are more sensitive to it (Phongpaichit and Piriyarangsan 135-65).

The amount of money involved also affects people's judgements of what is corruption and what is not. Some people thought that giving small monetary rewards or gifts to government officials should not be considered corruption. These criteria imply that this group of people largely tolerate corruption without considering that such behaviours are corrupt no matter how small the amount of money is (Phongpaichit and Piriyarangsan 135-65).

Despite corruption being a recurring issue in Thai society and weaknesses in many people's attitudes, anti-corruption movements in the society have only become much more active in the past ten years. Technology and social media have played an important role in supporting and publicising these efforts.

Overall, Thai perceptions on corruption show that many people do not see it as serious wrongdoing. This culture makes it more difficult to critically examine the system and make it more transparent. These challenges emphasise the social need to have strong systems and tools like good recordkeeping and information accessibility that will help to eliminate corruption.

It is sometimes challenging for different cultures to agree to employ the same concepts despite not sharing the same worldview. The concepts of corruption and

justice in a Buddhist worldview have clashed with the modern Western ones; this has had consequences for how laws have been used, especially among ordinary people.

David and Jaruwan Engel conducted research focusing on experiences of injury and legal consciousness of people in Chiang Mai. The data collected from their interviews showed that most people relied on Buddhist beliefs in decision making and conflict solving rather than only relying on laws. For example, a woman who was struck by a teenager on a motorbike decided not to continue her case in court because she was concerned about his future education. She was satisfied with his simply having to report his behaviour to the court intermittently for two years. As for her pain, she considered that it was her own karma. Conversely, the merit she accrued through her leniency to the boy is what she credited with healing her pain (D. and J. Engel 127-30). This is a good example of how Thai people use traditional beliefs in daily life. The beliefs conflict with the law because they do not come from the same worldview. Believers with a Thai Buddhist mind-set would make decisions with the goal of living together peacefully in the long term. That is, they would consider generosity to be an element of decision making.

This cultural clash influences legal consciousness in the country. That is, laws imported from other countries do not necessarily correspond with the code of morals people abide by in daily life. Those who do not have strong legal awareness might not be able to protect their rights because they apply different standards.

A lack of awareness of personal rights among some Thai people can help to explain the rarity of using archives as evidence. The lack of demand in society for such evidence has been able to take away the role of archives in protecting rights.

The use of evidential value to support accountability and rights: trends and changes in the twenty-first century

The idea of records being evidence has existed for a long time, but the idea of records underpinning transparency and accountability has been emphasised mainly during the late twentieth and twenty-first century. Evidential value in records can support accountability and transparency in organisations and governments and promote social justice in society, especially for marginalised groups. In other words, the keeping and

use of records support the protection of the rights and citizenship of individuals and strengthen security and trust in society. This trend of thought in the archival field emerged after the nineteenth century when the historical value of archives was accentuated, and it became powerful in the Western world throughout the twentieth and especially the late twentieth century.

Margaret Procter contends that today this kind of archival use can be linked to the human rights agenda. This is part of changing societal values, and today people do not use archives as much for heritage. The importance of maintaining archives to defend citizens' rights has become a strong argument (Procter), and the evidential value of archives has become widely recognised. This trend is especially pronounced in the Western world, where democracy and the human rights agenda are relatively stable and archives are used to counter inequality and racism, to name but two examples. However, this occurs not only in developed countries but in countries that are moving towards democracy and have dealt with tragic injustice in the past. For example, documentation in the repositories of human rights NGOs' in the Southern Cone (Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay) is valuable evidence detailing the psychological condition of the victims of dictatorship, along with newspapers, books, and so on. These connections to the painful past are crucial evidence supporting researchers in arguing for the injustice of authoritarianism (Bickford 160-82). This type of archival development might be attributable to necessity since the use of evidential value is essential, while historical research is supplementary (which does not mean, however, that it is unimportant). Louise Ray notes that the evidential value of archives has been used in the democratic process in everyday life, and she wishes to see more of this use. She also thinks that perceptions of archives are still very much related to culture and heritage (Ray). This perspective is still especially prominent in Thailand. Ideas about rights sometimes pose difficult questions for South East Asian countries since they may challenge the nation-state's centralised control, which is a strategy many countries rely on to maintain governmental stability (Mohamad 246). Maznah Mohamad conducted a survey of the establishment of human rights mechanisms in South East Asia. She found that more conservative political groups tend to see human rights as "neo imperialism", holding that the "Asian values school was being propounded to distance Asian cultural and political systems from those of the West"

(Mohamad 246). Some see these notions as the arguments of elites to keep their power through an authoritative style of governance (Mohamad 233).

Legislation and government policies – such as the Freedom of Information Act, the push for open government data policies, and the Data Protection Act – have become significant factors supporting these agendas in the UK. For more on this please see 5.5.1 and 5.5.3 below, in which the discussion of such legislation is provided.

Looking more deeply socio-culturally, it becomes clear that the use of archives for upholding rights and justice is linked to moral values. The value of archives in this aspect thus corresponds especially with the moral side of social structure. However, it is not true to say that robust recordkeeping necessarily results in ethical governance. In history, many have used efficient recordkeeping as a part of a system that controls and assaults others (though the incriminating truth is sometimes revealed by those records) – the meticulous recordkeeping of elements of the Khmer Rouge, for example (Caswell 25-44).

In modern democratic society, recordkeeping functions to support democratic values. Many Western archivists claim that this duty should also be remembered and upheld by archivists. Their practice must serve this higher obligation to bring to the society equality, rights and justice. James O'Toole calls this responsibility "a moral theology of archives", which archivists should recall in their archival work (e.g. transparency in appraisal and disposition of records and other kinds of archival work) (O'Toole 3-19). The most important kind of archival work supporting democracy is access, as it allows for examination of the materials by the public (Jimerson 260).

It can be argued that all these things happening in the UK and the West are based on Western concepts of democracy, which are adopted in the Thai context into current systems of governance; but again, no democratic roots existed in Thai thought before the nineteenth century. Hence, using records to support rights and democratic values is still not given high priority as it is not a part of the culture. Thai interviewees agreed that not many users access archives for this purpose, though some use them for trials in court (Kootiam). And even reporters do not regularly use records to shape their news reports. Apart from this cultural incongruity, archival use to support rights has been impeded by shortcomings in recordkeeping practice.

Social change, a common sociological phenomenon, occurs when the underlying fabric of societies reorients and shifts due to different factors, such as urbanisation, colonialism, industrialisation, information technology, and so on. Though new influences bring changes to a society, such developments need to be an interaction of different elements in the society; that is, "technical innovations, cultural shifts and changes in social organization interact" (Hamilton 111). Thus, technology is an important tool that can change society but it also depends on how it interacts with other factors.

In this research, the main social changes that impact archives in Thai society are firstly, colonialism (which was described in history of Thai recordkeeping in chapter 4); secondly, urbanisation and globalisation; and lastly, the rise of the information society. The last two topics will be discussed here.

Among these changes, Thai values have interacted with novel developments in the society. The changing factors affect both micro and macro levels. The former involves changes occurring in the everyday lives of individuals, and the latter involves structural transitions such as adoption of bureaucratic systems and so on. The values change gradually once exposed to new variations at various levels.

So far, it seems clear that many parts of Western and Thai values rooted in both cultures' ideologies are totally different from each other, leading to the fact that the Western systems adopted in Thailand have struggled to function properly according to how they were designed. However, one aspect of values' nature is that they are dynamic, changeable due to different circumstances. The most obvious social change in Thailand is that the country is moving towards globalisation and modernisation, like many other parts of the world. So while the traditional Thai values are the foundation of Thai culture, they became combined with changing lifestyles and new modern values. This leads to what sociologists and anthropologists call "translocalisation". That is, the new objects are localised to the new cultural context (Yamashita 5-6).

Though values are elements that are hard to change, they can be changed if given enough time. The society itself cannot steadily resist evolving factors such as time and circumstances with the same old values. From colonial to globalised times, Thailand has been influenced and affected by external values – capitalism, administrative

management, democratisation, changing educational system, and so on. All shape new values in the society, and sometimes require ones that are still absent.

The outstanding values relating to recordkeeping in the twenty-first century are accountability and transparency. In Thailand, the need to strengthen these values has become especially apparent in the society today, which is turning into a civil one.

"Globalisation" has been the term of choice adopted by many different scholars to explain the phenomenon whereby the world has become interconnected and the boundaries of states more blurred. This occurs because of the changing economic system that contributes to greater interdependence among different countries. A distinct concept from globalisation is that of "flow", meaning that culture has become fluid and more easily diffused to other parts of the world.

This global culture has affected Thai values in different ways. Translocalisation and relocalisation are two sociological concepts that refer to the importation (and assimilation) of cultural elements by a new place in ways that they uniquely "belong" to that new place. For example, baseball, which is originally American, is played in Japan and has become Japanese baseball (Yamashita 5-6). This kind of situation happens around the world. In Thailand, many new cultural elements have been imported and assimilated into Thai society, though some of these have not been successfully relocalised, due either to contradiction of cultures or inability to apply them to the context. Archives and recordkeeping systems are one of these imported cultural elements, which demonstrate both of these problems.

What has happened with modern recordkeeping in Thailand is that after the adoption of modern European systems in the early twentieth century, the Thai bureaucracy has been unable to fully use the records' potential as defined by modern recordkeeping criteria. The extent to which records support the government's work depends on each governmental organisation, and it is yet another aspect that is subject to the old relationship culture that has often led to corruption. Other kinds of value – such as historical – have persisted among limited groups of users. It seems then that records' value as evidence is sorely needed to strengthen the existing administrative practices and promote good governance of the country.

The unavoidable result of a more open economy is a more capitalist society. Originally in Thai society, the monarchs and their entourage used their power to

control trade. Therefore, hierarchical prestige and power were important in business. The opening of the economy undermined the importance of these patrons who held political power, and power shifted to lie with those who possessed property. Thus, patrons gradually changed from elites and aristocrats to businessmen. Teerayut Boonmee called the new system, by which money became the new patron of the hierarchical pyramid, "financial patronage *thana upatham* (Boonmee 50)".

Apart from changing relationship patterns and agencies, individuals have more freedom in the new economic system, as they no longer have to depend on patrons. At the same time, people had increased educational opportunities and because of all of this, demographic characteristics also changed. More education and independence underpin the emerging middle class, and newer, urban values have grown and increasingly exert a gradual change on traditional Thai values, which now persist mostly in rural areas. People are better educated and are more insistent on taking part in civil society. The old, more passive values that gave power to the governors progressively decreases. The change from local values to more urbanised ones make some groups of people who have migrated to the cities struggle with the shift they feel in their identities.

The new values emerging in contemporary civil society are the result of globalisation, modernisation and translocalisation. Unfortunately, while these values grow, different systems are not strong enough to support the new emerging values, frequently resulting in social and political upheaval or the frustration of identity crisis.

More freedom and opportunities for education have supported democratisation in Thailand. Although at times the growth of democracy in Thailand has faltered, there are signs that democracy is growing as a part of the new set of values. Tracing the history of Thai democracy shows that these new values are altering Thai citizens' approaches to be more participatory.

In 1932, an underground collective of mostly Western-educated elites calling themselves the People's Party staged an insurrection and after gaining control pressed King Rama VII to approve a constitution. This group, like many of the new generation educated in the West, wanted to modernise the country and bring its governance in line with Western concepts of freedom, rights and democracy. This revolution was successful in changing the system of Thai governance from absolute

monarchy to constitutional monarchy. Nevertheless, just like many developing countries that do not have roots in democratic ideology, Thailand has had a long journey to find the meaning of democracy in Thai society, and that quest still continues. In about 85 years of democracy in Thailand, the country "has wavered seemingly endlessly between the two opposing poles of military authoritarianism and parliamentary democracy" (Sukatipan 193).

King Rama VI (r. 1910–1925), who sensed the need for democracy, had experimented to a degree with concepts of parliamentary rule during his reign. The experiment ended with the conclusion that Thai people were not ready to effectively execute democratic governance. This is not surprising given that public education was still in an early phase. Even after the Siamese Revolution, citizens continued to be passive in political decisions.

A few decades after the Siamese Revolution, Thai-style democracy was promoted under General Sarit Thanarat, who was prime minister from the coup in 1957 until 1963. His policy was to integrate Thai values into democracy. His slogan was that the military takes care of "the nation, religion and the king" (Sukatipan 196). It appeared after his death that he was involved with corruption. However, when he was alive, he was considered by citizens to be a respectful and decisive leader who was loyal to the king. In many ways this kind of governance suited traditional Thai values at that time, although it fell short of truly representative democracy.

A democratic movement emerged at the same time as the growth of the middle class and the number of students educated in universities. In the '70s, the university student movement against the military rule of General Thanom Kittikajon was a significant sign of growing democratic consciousness in Thai society. Citizens were showing they would no longer allow dictators to abuse their rights. This was followed by a massacre in October 1973, when a large number of students were killed. Many others escaped to the jungle in more remote areas of the country, where they became part of the Communist Party. Another student movement occurred in 1976, when again many university students were killed. Less than fifteen years after Sarit's government, people's consciousness of their rights increased.

There was also greater citizen involvement – especially among the middle class – in political movements. Renewed protests against corruption occurred during the 1980s

and 1990s, such as in May 1992 when many people were killed in a protest against General Suchinda Kraprayoon. At that time, there were protests against the elected leader, General Chatichai Choonhavan, who had successful economic policies but also had problems with corruption. This showed that people would not support a corrupt government even though it made economic progress (Sukatipan 218-21).

The past ten years have been marked by frequent protests from different groups in Thai society. They have usually used shirt colour as a symbol of the political ideas they support. For example, the People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD) in 2005, 2006 and 2008 was a royalist group that wore yellow shirts, the colour of the king. Red shirts have been worn by United Front of Democracy against Dictatorship (UDD), a movement against elite groups that is related to former prime minister Thaksin Shinawatra. The most recent group to grow out of a movement against corruption was the People's Democratic Reform Committee (PDRC). The aim of this group was to get rid of Thaksin's influence in the country, which this group believed was continuing in the form of parliamentary dictatorship, cronyism, and corruption. However, the group was controversial as they tried to get rid of the elected government of Yingluck Shinawatra, Thaksin Shinawatra's sister, and wanted to empower a committee that would lay out democratic reforms.

Differences between political groups in Thailand have fomented political conflicts in the country, with protests and violence breaking out in the confrontations. As for the conflicts in the last ten years, the protests are mainly about combatting corruption or discrimination (between elite and working class). Despite negative impacts from the movements, the presence of these groups demonstrates that people are willing to stand up for themselves; they have political consciousness and are prepared to fight for it.

However, Thai democracy is sometimes judged as having flaws related to the culture and education of the citizens – that is, democracy in Thailand has limited capability due to a lack of democratic practice in education and in the culture in general. There is a huge gap in educational equality. Schools in urban and rural areas are very different from each other in both educational standards and available resources. In addition, a shortage of information and a lack of attention from the media have impeded the exercise of citizens' rights. Information used and disseminated among different groups is so different that it is difficult to find unbiased information. The

news media have not managed to maintain objective positions. The fact that records and archives are not commonly used as evidence by journalists and media in Thailand corresponds with the argument that culture is an important factor for a successful democracy.

Democracy in Thailand grows more robust when the citizens are more conscious of their civil rights. However, the historically predominant culture has meant the governance is considerably different than in the West. The way people go about assessing and acquiring knowledge is different due to the teacher-centred education approach in Thailand. Some might easily believe propaganda from populists while others may have more access to information and be able to sift through it more efficiently. Furthermore, lots of information in the country is not easily accessible because sometimes it is considered sensitive and not appropriately conforming with the old tradition. This is related to the lack of effective checks and balances in the country and the persistence of the old patronage system.

Democracy and elections in Thailand tend to take people in repetitive loops. That is, there is a phenomenon that has been termed "two democracies". This is an idea proposed by Anek Laothamatas, which holds that people in the countryside elect the government and people in the capital abolish it (Laothamatas 201-9). The parties voted for by people in the countryside have repeatedly won with populist policies and alleged vote buying. Eventually, people in the capital tire of the corrupt government and bring about its downfall. However, the shortcomings in this exercise of rights and in problem-solving strategies, such as military coups, against corruption has not helped the country to be stronger in the long term. Democracy in Thailand thus needs to develop mechanisms that are more effective in coping with current problems – especially the perennial problem of corruption.

Through the history of democracy in Thailand and the complex political situations therein, Thai people have been increasingly aware of and dedicated to democracy. Some people question the validity of democratic governance in the Thai context as democracy was not originally a part of Thai culture and sometimes gives power to corrupt politicians who manipulate by means of further corruption. They typically expect effective and transparent government but may care less about democracy. On the other hand, some have strong faith in the principles of democratic governance, and

they think that the country should rely on the principles of democracy despite corruption, and thereby avoid military interruptions. The only solutions that will satisfy both groups of voters is democracy supported by an effective system of checks and balances. This will be the most sustainable way to solve the repeated political conflicts. Nevertheless, it is inevitable that people will still find ways to cheat even when a good system is in place. Therefore, the system has to be developed, but the culture also needs to undergo changes.

The proper maintenance and use of records can support democracy, so if a more democratic and intellectual society is wanted, a new information culture – including recordkeeping – is needed. So, lack of recordkeeping practices that currently exist in the country is itself a part of the problem – corruption persists in Thailand in large part because Thai culture and the systems now in place encourage it to take place. In fact, "substantial documentation supports the functionalist premise that corruption maintains systemic stability and continuity by making behavioural boundaries congruent with a well-established morality" (Phongpaichit and Piriyarangsan 4). Thus, new values need to be adopted in tandem with the development of transparency and accountability in recordkeeping.

Though in its early days in Thailand it was alien to Thai culture, Western approaches to public administration have been adopted by Thai government and relocalised to the social context. Scholars have discussed the different phases of public administration history in Thailand and other South East Asian countries; the history and current trend shows that there has been a progressive call for newer and more genuinely democratic values.

Scott A. Fritzen outlined the development of bureaucratic systems and related trends in South East Asia; he classified these into three different periods. The first of these was marked by the modernised system influenced by the West, which has been localised to some extent, "coupled with extreme executive dominance in practice". In the second period, South East Asian countries aspired to be Newly Industrialised Countries (NICs), so administrative systems focused on promoting economic transformation. Lastly, the Asian financial crisis in 1997 reminded South East Asian countries of the need of good governance as their desire to make a leap towards economic progress failed because of corruption (Fritzen 74-5).

As a product of learning from these past failures, the trend since then has encouraged decentralisation and political participation to encourage more transparency and accountability from politicians and bureaucrats (Fritzen 74-5). Although these trends have not gone uninterrupted (e.g. coups have taken place in Thailand in 2006 and 2014), there have been more voices requesting greater participation, more transparent administration and nonpartisan organisations to examine allegations of corruption.

The new environment of today's modernised and globalised society is shaping new kinds of values in Thai society, most clearly in urban areas. With the new conditions and changing lifestyles, modern Thai life is moving towards increased economic freedom, political participation, and public scrutiny of governmental organisations. Some practices that have become more common in recent years include the examination of politicians' financial statements, the establishment of autonomous legal non-governmental organisations to examine corruption without interference from the government, and the enactment of Official Information Act in 1998, among others. All represent attempts to move towards being a more democratic society.

The new values that are still expanding and taking shape in society are democratic values that promote self-autonomy, security, and perhaps showing more regard for individuals. The realisation that technology has an important role in enhancing the public's access to information and rights of expression has also grown notably. For example, social media is widely used in Thai society; often such platforms are used as ways to share evidence such as sound and video recordings and documents with the public. This "evidence" can be real or phony, but either way it shows that people are more aware of their right to access information and examine accountability in society.

This does not mean that values in Thai society will abruptly change into ones supporting a brand-new democratic society. The main changes taking place have been changing for about a hundred years; the growth of new values and transformation of old ones are thus slow and gradual. These values come about because of new conditions in the society. To meet changing social demands, values that were originally alien and did not closely fit the society, like recognition of the evidential value of archives, have the potential to increasingly fit into Thai society.

5.5.1   Laws supporting recordkeeping and use for evidence

In practice, what actualises the rights, accountability and transparency agenda is legislation. However, how this is carried out also depends on the efficiency of application of the law. British and Thai contexts have similar sets of laws for supporting different kinds of rights. Some legislation adds another layer regulating recordkeeping practices that help to underpin these rights. This section will discuss the roles and impact of legislation relating to rights in both contexts in order to investigate how these laws related to archives can support individuals' rights.

Rights	British legislation	Thai legislation
Accountability, Transparency	Freedom of Information Act of 2000	Official Information Act B.E. 2540 (1997)
Privacy	Data Protection Act of 1998 Code of Practice for Archivists and Records Managers under section 51(4) of the Data Protection Act 1998	Rule on the Maintenance of Official Secrets B.E. 2544 (2001)
Recordkeeping that supports right	Public Records Act of 1958, 1967	The Regulations of the Prime Minister's office on Records Management B.E. 2526 (1983) The Regulations of the Prime Minister's office on Records Management B.E. 2548 (2005) Archives Act B.E. 2556 (2013)
Government policies supporting the right to know	Other policies, e.g. open government data	E-government

Table 5 British and Thai legislation supporting different rights

5.5.1.1   Freedom of Information Act and Official Information Act

The UK's Freedom of Information Act of 2000 and Thailand's Official Information Act B.E. 2440 (1997) are examples of legislation that functions as a mechanism to release information from the government to individuals when requested. The laws support the citizen's "right to know", which is an important consideration under democratic governance (Chaiyasan 87). This legislation supports accountability and transparency in particular as it enables the public to examine the records of the government's work. However, it is notable that FOI laws were implemented widely, even in some countries that do not have a strong democratic culture. This law is sometimes considered as decoration rather than truly effective law.

This section will examine the extent to which FOI can be a tool for Thai people to access information that helps them to support their rights. It is worth noting that originally in both countries openness was not a prominent cultural attribute, which is important to remember in considering the impact FOI has actually made.

Structure of the laws

The first four sections of the Thai Official Information Act B.E. 2540 (1997) define different terminology and as well as who is responsible for various duties according to the law. The Thai act lays out important words such as information, official information, personal information and individuals involved with them (TH "Official Information Act 1997" Section 4). Section 6 is about the information commission, whose duty is "to perform technical and administrative work for the Board and the Information Disclosure Tribunals, co-ordinate with State agencies and give advice to private individuals with regard to the execution of this Act" (TH "Official Information Act 1997" Section 6).

Section 1 deals with information disclosure. It has details on information that must be published in the Government Gazette and stipulates that citizens be allowed to request the information that is not published there. However, the act does not specify the fee or amount of time for the request to be processed (TH "Official Information Act 1997" Section 11).

The definition of "official information" in this Act is sometimes ambiguous. Some organisations such as the Election Commission, the Bank of Thailand, and the Office of the National Anti-Corruption Commission are independent and therefore not covered by the Act but their work is relevant to the government and citizens' wellbeing. These organisations are independent for the reason that it will help them to maintain transparency, but this quality can be questioned if they cannot themselves be examined by the public (Chaiyasan 87).

Section 2 deals with information not subject to disclosure. Some kinds of information are not supposed to be disclosed, such as information that may be deemed to jeopardise the royal institution (TH "Official Information Act 1997" Section 14), national security, international relations, national economic or financial security (TH "Official Information Act 1997" Section 15 (1)), the efficiency of law enforcement, and so on (TH "Official Information Act 1997" Section 15 (2)).

Section 3, about personal information, discusses the privacy of individuals and the fact that the state must not infringe this right. Section 4 is on historical records. Section 5 pertains to the Official Information Board, Section 6 is on Information Disclosure Tribunal and Section 7 Penalties.

Just like the UK's Freedom of Information Act, citizens can request government information through this law. Governmental organisations need to respond to the request by providing the information to those who request it. If the organisations do not have the information or the information cannot be disclosed, they have to inform those who made the requests. If the information is with other departments, the department who received the request may contact other departments for the information (UK "Freedom of Information Act 2000" Section 12). The UK's FOI law has a similar structure but includes much more detail and explicit categories of exempt information (UK "Freedom of Information Act 2000" Part 2).

Both acts have information commissions working on and regulating the Act. The success of the acts also depends on the work of these commissions.

Some obstacles to the work of the Thai commission include having members who are involved with politics. This makes the decision-making process less transparent because of members' considerations of political benefit. Also, some governmental organisations try to avoid releasing information. Traditional attitudes towards

information from the Thai bureaucracy are to keep most information secret and release a bare minimum.

In the UK, archivists have more of a chance to work with the Commission. The problem the archivists face is that the commission does not understand archives work, and demands that archivists accomplish too much work that cannot practically be done (Healy). The archivists need to work closely with the Information Commissioner and make him or her understand what archivists are working on. Lack of communication and understanding among different groups of people (e.g. Information commissioner or users) can make FOI work a burden for archivists. Thus, collaboration and communication are essential.

Similar problems have not occurred in Thailand, as the Official Information Act does not affect archives in terms of dealing with requests from citizens. So, the NAT archivists do not have such a collaboration with others due to the lack of a connection between records and archives in the Thai context. However, the UK experience can be a lesson to Thai archives. Again, collaboration with other parties will be needed in the future.

5.5.2   *Impacts on records and archives management*

The UK experience shows that the laws related to disclosure and access to information are unavoidably related to records and archives management.

Firstly, regarding the impact on recordkeeping practice in public organisations, prior to the Act, a fair amount of time was needed before the disclosure of the information would be completed. When the law was enacted, it seems that information could be accessed soon after creation of the records. This led to attempts to conceal the truth for fear that the information would affect staff who were still working at the organisations. The Act also affected records creation and recordkeeping. It appears that records creators noted less information in their records and tended to select records to keep more carefully for fear that the information would be disclosed to the public. So in this way, the intention of the Act to enable the public to easily access information was not entirely successful (Flinn and Jones 5).

Thus, there are adjustments in recordkeeping that still succeed in keeping information from getting out. Records creation practices can be changed to avoid examination in a short time. The transfer of records can be decreased, resulting in the "empty archives" phenomenon. The officials might record less information in the records because the records have a higher likelihood of being revealed. Attempts to avoid giving records to the archives could have a negative impact in that the records are accessible only before they are transferred to the archives (Flinn and Jones 5).

In the UK, the impact of keeping public records is that the archives services have become one of agencies that has to provide information to the public within a specified time. This law links to records because of the attitude that records are evidence. However, Thailand has had a different experience as the information cannot be linked to current records, and the Act has not had a great impact on archives. Nenuphar Supavej, a Thai archives educator, stated that people focused more on general information. Section 4, on historical records, is quite out of the public's purview. This is because the general perception of rights is not related to historical records. In contrast, she contended that the information requested is of a more general nature and is already available (Supavej). Thus, the Official Records Act might not affect archives or even records management in the significant way it has done in the UK.

Some information requests have almost met with successful results. For example, there was a case where an exam paper for the school entrance exam was requested to be reviewed. Though the case makes the public alerted about freedom of information, the information was not made opened raising questions about this act (Thaipublica "15 Pi").

Relationship with other laws pertaining to recordkeeping

One significant theme from the interviews is that citizens and civil servants are interested in information but no one can relate the Act to archives (Supavej). Prudtikul said these terminologies used in the legislation are confusing for non-archivists. The Official Information Act uses the word "information" in general. Nevertheless, the law also has Section 4 on "Historical information". Most people do not think they have anything to do with this section. The impacts from this law are that staff working

in governmental departments understand the information part but do not understand this section related to the NAT. They do not know that historical records are actually their old records after use (Prudtikul). This can be another reason why the records are not transferred to the national archives. Similarly, Supavej indicated that people are aware of information but not in historical records. The understanding about the impact on archives are limited to those who work or study in archives and records management field (Supavej). The Archives Act B.E. 2556 also defines archives as "non-current records" (TH "Archives Act 2013" Section 3), which creates more confusion to those who have no knowledge in records and archives management (Prudtikul).

Considering the law itself, it was written without understanding of the archival process. Section 4 (26) stated that:

> A State agency shall deliver official information, which it does not wish to keep or which is kept beyond the period under paragraph two as from the date of completing such information, to the National Archives Division, Fine Arts Department or other State agencies as specified in the Royal Decree, in order that it is selected for public studies (TH "Archives Act 2013" Section 4 (26)).

In fact, archives should not be the records that the department "does not wish to keep" (TH "Archives Act 2013" Section 4 (26)) but those which are transferred for the purpose of referencing and research. Such a statement leads astray the practice in records management. On the other hand, records that the department "does not wish to keep" may have more positive meaning if it refers to records that the departments no longer need to use, and which hence need to be transferred to the NAT. The law could be interpreted into different ways.

Another point is that the time for which materials need to be kept differs between the Official Information Act and The Regulations of the Prime Minister's Office on Records Management B.E. 2526. The first states 20 years while the later states 25 years. So, it is unknown which law is used when the records are transferred (Records managers I interviewed said they followed Official Information Act). This confusion makes the recordkeeping not work well and the Archives Act was required to improve situation (Prudtikul).

The Freedom of Information Act in Thailand is created and used with the attitudes on traditional archives where archives do not have a relation with the present, and are totally separate from daily life. The attitudes towards archives thus impedes the aims of this act to support citizen's access to information and Thai society to be more democratic. Archival institutions themselves have much less important roles than the UK in supporting rights through this legislation. The causes may not be completely the legislation itself but also from the lack of understanding in the relationship between records and archives.

FOI implementation

Susan Healy, former archivist at TNA dealt with FOI requests. Susan shared her experience of the ways FOI impacts archivists' work. At the attitudinal level, FOI requesters do not perceive themselves to be researchers, so they have different approaches in searching for information. They can be less patient than professional researchers, and some misunderstand that archivists would work for them though it is not actually archivists' duties (Healy). In practice, what archivists need to do is to put legislation into practice, in the form of something like a code of practice. Thus, archivists should have knowledge and ability to apply law to their work. This experience can be applied to the implementation of laws to archives in general. That is, archivists need to be able to understand the laws and make them more practical in the code of practice.

The Official Information Act does not affect the NAT at the moment but some other laws, such as the Archives Act, have reflected this problem of the lack of a code of practice.

In sum, the UK can be taken as an example of a country with a democratic system in which citizens including journalists and pressure groups use their right to request information. The problems that arise are more on the administrative side, and the side effects of these are on records creation and management. In contrast, most problems found in Thailand are on understanding and attitude of both citizen and governmental organisations. For example, the law itself, staff in the governmental departments and citizens are confused between the word "information" and "archives" (in the Thai FOI act, the term 'historical records' is used). The law separates information and historical

records from each other completely, leading to confusion in transferring and using records.

5.5.2.1   Recordkeeping laws

As discussed, as recordkeeping can support rights and accountability in society, the laws and regulations controlling the recordkeeping system are important in enhancing the law's practical bite.

The laws that are directly about recordkeeping in Thailand are The Regulations of the Prime Minister's Office on Records Management B.E. 2526 (1983), The Regulations of the Prime Minister's Office on Records Management B.E. 2548 (2005) and the Archives Act, a new act enacted in Thailand in 2013. The UK has the Public Records Act 1958, an old piece of legislation that establishes in a well-structured way the responsibility of those keeping public records in the UK.

<u>Structure of Recordkeeping laws in Thailand and the UK</u>

One distinction between the recordkeeping laws of the two countries is that the UK does not separate records and archives from each other as different legislation. In contrast, Thailand has two sets of regulations for records management (The Regulations of the Prime Minister's Office on Records Management B.E. 2526 (1983) for general records and the one in B.E. 2548 (2005) for adding more on electronic records, and one Archives Act for archives management). This may be derived from the fact that the perception of the words 'records' and 'archives' in the UK are more connected to each other more than in the Thai context. This lack of awareness in connections between records and archives appears in attitude and also in legislation. The structure of the legislation stresses this disconnection, and makes it more concrete in practice.

It makes those working with current records not see their records as involved with archives. The first regulation for records management describes records creation and use among different governmental departments. Only in section 7 is the transfer to the NAT mentioned:

Records about history, customs, statistics, evidence or the topics that will be used for research or other records with the same characteristics shall be kept as evidence for bureaucracy permanently or as The National Archives, Department of Fine Arts mandates" (TH **"**The Regulations of the Prime Minister's office" Section 7).

This section mentions the transfer to the NAT but it does not give clear instructions about what kind of records need to be transferred, and how to transfer them.

People would understand what archives are and how they work if they had a clear idea about what archives are and how their records are processed to be archives. However, this information can be found in the Archives Act, which people hardly pay attention to since they think it is unrelated to their work.

Susan Healy believes that archives legislation does not work on its own, and the findings of this research certainly bear this claim out. The more distant the law is from the person, the less awareness of the law there is and the more difficult it is to make them be aware of or comply with it, as they perceive it be something they are not involved with (Healy).

Archives are defined variously in Thai legislation. The Thai Archives Act has "non-current records" while in The Regulations of the Prime Minister's Office on Records Management B.E. 2526 (1983) they are defined either as, according to section 57.3, "Records about history, customs, statistics, evidence or the topics that will be used for research or other records with the same characteristics" (TH "The Regulations of the Prime Minister's office" Section 57.3), or elsewhere as records the departments want to destroy so they have to make a request and have the NAT's examination.

The Public Record Act covers the same ground as various sets of Thai laws. The first part of the PRA and the Archives Act (Thailand) are similar. The first part identifies who is responsible for different recordkeeping tasks and section two is about the roles and responsibilities of the national archives.

After the listing of the Public Records Office (at present TNA)'s duties, different sections of PRA go through each aspect of archival work in detail, such as, selection and preservation, place of deposit, destruction of records and so on. The Archives Act lists the duties of NAT with no further details of those tasks. Instead, the Archives Act focuses on preservation in section 3, "The Protection of Archival Document/

Records". This part discusses various situations where archives are misused, copied, etc., and includes a fair amount of detail. It reflects attitudes about archives in Thailand that archives are seen as heritage that needs to be protected (TH "Archives Act 2013" Section 3). Taweta revealed that the lawyer who drafted the Archives Act is the same one who previously drafted the Archaeological Sites and Objects Act (Taweta). Thus, the Archives Act might be able to emphasise and help the protection of archives as heritage but still lacks efficiency in enhancing the potential of records and archives management, especially empowering them together as one process.

It occupies a position of greater authority than the previous recordkeeping Act; however, the recordkeeping is not much changed in practice because not enough PR has been done, and the code of practice has not been written. It seems that the Act was announced without sufficient preparation, so it does not help to improve archival practice very much in reality. For example, the transfer of the records is still ignored by most departments despite the Act. Although the Archives Act does not help much, Prudtikul viewed that a good thing about the Act is it provides funds, especially for the national archives. Overall, the Act needs more work on making it practically applicable (Prudtikul).

Along with the laws used to disclose information and recordkeeping laws, other laws have roles to support citizen's rights in society. The law that balances the right to know is the Data Protection Act 1998 for the UK and Rule on Maintenance of Official Secrets B.E. 2544 (2001) for Thailand, which support privacy and the right to forget. Both countries also attempt to encourage more transparent government by providing more accessible information from the government, such as open government policy (for the UK) and e-government (for Thailand). The public sector is tending toward increasing openness. Information work needs to adapt itself with this trend in society.

5.5.3   Law on privacy

The UK's Data Protection Act of 1998 and Thailand's Rule on the Maintenance of Official Secrets B.E. 2544 (2001) and Personal Information Act are legislation that support privacy rights though Thailand's and the UK's laws have different scopes in protecting these rights.

Principle of the law

Apart from laws that allow people to access information, laws dealing with privacy are available to balance these two rights, and protect individual's rights in keeping their privacy and governments' to keep their stability.

According to the interviews with the national archivists in Thailand, archivists claim that the law on privacy they use in archival work is the Rule on the Maintenance of Official Secrets B.E. 2544, and the one for the UK is the Data Protection Act (DPA) 1998. However, the two laws cannot be compared because of their difference in scope. While the Thai law focuses on protecting government information (including when this overlaps with individuals' data), the focus of the UK's law is more on individuals (and including instances such as when agencies keep individual's data in governmental departments). For example, 9A is on personal data held by public authorities.

DPA covers individual's information though it is not related to governmental organisations. Closer to this aspect of the UK's DPA is Thailand's Personal Information Act, which was drafted but has not been enacted. This Act was drafted due to the need of individuals to have their personal data respected has increasingly been recognised especially in the age of technology where information can be easily created, copied, shared, and so on (TH Office of the Electronic Transactions Commission).

This fact reflects the information culture of Thailand where laws on individual's information are not being paid attention to. For instance, the Personal Information Act was just drafted. The country and the focus of the NAT have been on official information and to keep it secret for the nation. The laws express the country's priority. Also, how archival work touches on privacy issues shows the fact that archives have not been used at the individual level.

Structure of the law

As the laws are different in their scopes, the structure of the law cannot be compared. However, the basis of the law is similar due to the fact that RMO includes a section

regarding individuals involved with governmental organisations. The focus of the laws is different but they share some overlapping parts.

The first parts of the two acts are similar in their defining of various terms in the laws. The UK's DPA consists of Part I: Preliminary where different terms are defined, such as "data", "data controller", "sensitive personal data" and so on (UK Data Protection Act 1998 Part 1). Similarly, Part I of Thailand's Rule of Maintenance of Official Secrets is on General Provision. However, it can be seen that the laws have different boundaries. The Thai law focuses on governmental organisations that control secrets and various degrees of secrecy.

Part III of Thailand's Rule of Maintenance of Official Secrets is similar to the UK's DPA, which is about processes in the law is defined, but differs insofar as the UK law discusses data controllers, which can be anyone who has information, including archives. So, it includes archivists, who hence need to have knowledge about this law in order to comply with it. The difference is that the registration in the Thai rule is only on those working in governmental departments where records were created. A representative of the department will be appointed to work as the registrar for this task. So, the law is more focused on the registrar who is appointed to take care of secret records, and their working process, rather than data controllers in general.

Archives and DPA

In the UK, there is code of practice provided for records managers and archivists to comply with DPA, the "Code of Practice for Archivists and Records Managers under section 51(4) of the Data Protection Act 1998"

Records managers and archivists have roles as data controllers, so they have to be aware of DPA principles in all steps of their work. The code is comprised of three parts: corporate responsibility, which are rules that are applicable to both records managers and archivists. This shows that the two professions cannot be separate but have the same principle of privacy shared in their work. Some of these principles are:

- 2.1 Responsibilities for data protection (as they have roles as data controllers)
- 2.2 Collection and processing of personal data (Principles 1, 2 and 3)

- 2.3 Notification (how the notifications need to be given to individuals if they are data subjects.

- 2.4 maintaining accuracy of personal data (principle 4). In this case, the rule states that "A culture of carefulness should be fostered within the organisations" (Healy *Code of Practice for Archivists and Records Managers under Section 51(4) of the Data Protection Act 1998* 11). If it is information from the third party, the accuracy of the information needs to be assessed.

Privacy in archives is a sensitive issue, and archivists need to be mindful of the subjects of the data. Some issues can be tricky for archivists to do exactly right thing. For example, the archivists might not know the age of individuals who appear in historical records, which would have a bearing on the decisions they make regarding access. The code of practice provides principles that help archivists not to infringe individual's rights.

The rule shows the importance of having rules specified for professionals in order to apply the law to their responsibilities. It helps archivists to have directions, and interpretation from professional points of view. Susan Healy is a British archivist who works in this area. She drafted the FOI and Data Protection code of practice, and delivers training for archivists about FOI and DPA. It has been shown that it is necessary to the field to have someone who knows both about the law and archives to apply the law into archival practice. Otherwise, legislation and regulations cannot be successfully implemented.

For the Thai context, there is still a lack of archivists who can work on linking legislation to practice. As a result, the enacted laws are not effective in practice because there are no rules supporting them to guide records managers, archivists or people working with records about it. Or, it takes some time for the NAT to release the rules according to the laws. This makes the law look ineffective and unnecessary to comply with.

5.5.4   Survey of media and staff working in organisations

Archives have not been clarified in the Thai perception and attitude to as great an extent as they could be. Moreover, the concept on rights, especially for individuals in Thailand, is still problematic. One reason is that the society's historical and cultural backgrounds do not come from democratic values in civil society; instead, this has relied on social harmony and peace in Buddhism to balance occurring conflicts. In the current of change, I decided to conduct the survey on two professional groups as potential user groups.

5.5.4.1   Media

The third potential group is the media. In the UK, media is one of the common users of archives, as news reporters have a culture of looking for evidence in writing news. Also, other kinds of media also use archives in making TV programmes or documentaries. In Thailand, archival use in media is not common, but does play a role in art and culture.

Those who are experienced in using archives in this group are the ones working in publishing where the content of their publications requires them to use archives such as writing historical articles or editing books. Some understandings on archives are similar to those of the teachers group, such as that archives are historical evidence that help us to learn the past. It is the note of people from the past that reflects lifestyle, culture, thoughts and use different languages from today. Participants from other kinds of media, such as advertising, the film industry and marketing, think their work is irrelevant and does not need deep historical information like archives.

Purposes of using archives

Media's likelihood for using archives for different purposes

Writing articles/ news — 3
Making TV programme, news and documentary — 2.77
Editing books and articles — 3
Using archives to do projects with communities — 2
Making advertisements — 1.46
Making digital media — 2.23

0   0.5   1   1.5   2   2.5   3   3.5   4   4.5   5
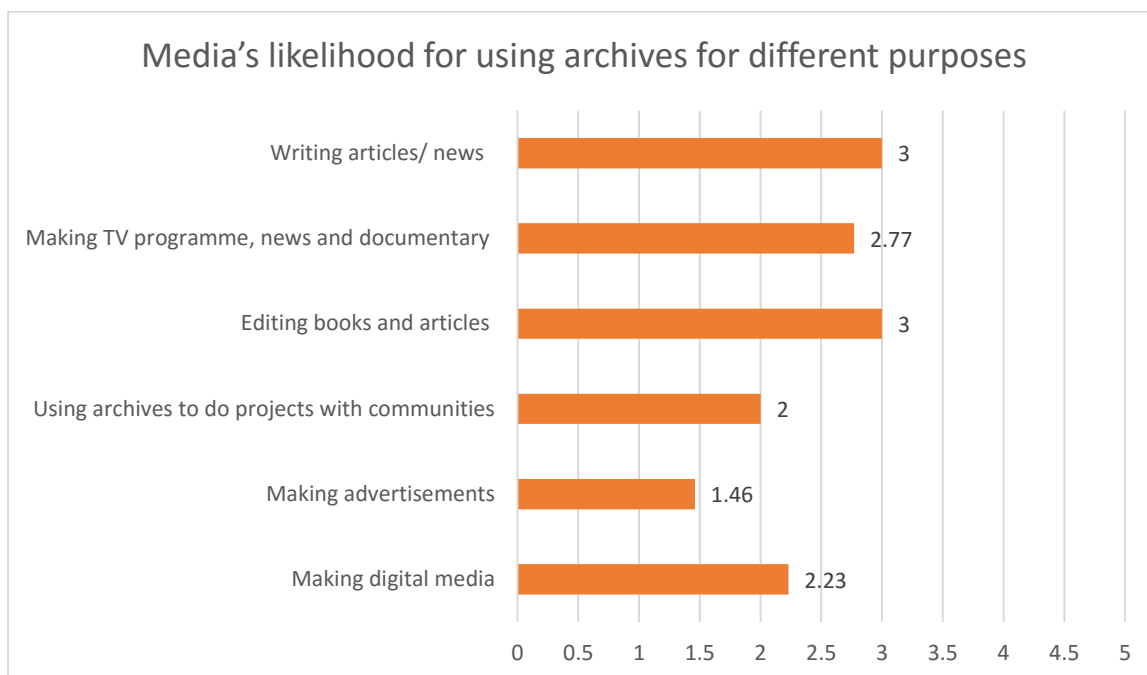
Figure 13 Media's likelihood using archives

The findings show that archives are more likely to be used in work that needs the in-depth information such as writing articles/news (3) and editing articles (3). Making digital media, though ranked the forth from six activities, still got quite a high score (2.77). It is interesting to see how archives could be used more in the digital world. Making advertisements is ranked the last in the chart, showing that are not likely to be used in such commercial work in Thailand.

Media's attitudes towards archives

The attitudes of the experienced users are similar to the teachers group, reflecting the historical value side of archives. For example, it is perceived that archives are cultural heritage and good evidence in finding historical knowledge. So, people in the country should preserve and be aware of values of archives.

The experienced users give straightforward comment on the NAT. They commented that it is slow and old-fashioned. Most staff are possessive of their information as if it

was their own, though it is actually the information of ancestors that the citizen should have the right to use and access easily.

- Openness

The comment on openness is that a participant mentioned that her experiences in using archives is that it was not easy for the private sector because the NAT staff are afraid that archives will be used for business purposes, whereas students or public-sector workers are more welcomed. The participant mentioned that this kind of attitude is an obstacle for users and makes them bored.

- Service

They stated that the service can depend on luck. "If you see an archivist who is willing to give information, suggest and give good service, that is good luck, but some might be unfortunate and meet staff who do not want to answer or search the documents for them".

- Technology

The user also mentioned about IT. It takes a long time to search for records manually: "I might have to spend the whole day or two or three days." Also, the participants commented that the NAT should be more opened to the public and the access should be easier. Some records should be digitised and uploaded to the website. One stated that, "If there was online access, it would make people more interested in accessing or doing research in archives". Several people commented that there should be more PR to promote archives.

The result of the survey shows that though archives are not widely used by the Thai media, some branches, such as publishing, use archives in writing work concerning art and history. The closeness of the NAT for non-research users and inconvenience hinder this group from using archives. The main task to attract this potential group is thus to improve accessibility and openness. Unlike the use of archives by the media in the UK, the Thai media does not use archives for news. Though it is not practice in the culture, the practice can happen in the future on condition that the notion of archives as evidence grows stronger and the archival system is efficient enough in acquiring evidence from organisations.

5.5.4.2   Survey with staff working in organisations

The last potential group in this survey is people working in organisations, both public and private sectors. The questionnaires were sent to those working for companies in the private sector, hospital, government-owned co-operations and universities. Only two people in the group have used archives. They are both from the government sector (government-owned co-operations and universities).

Experienced users

A participant working in a university uses archives in research in her office. She uses archives for academic research. She used archives from the NAT. The other participant, working for a government-owned co-operation, used archives in her organisation to study her work. As there is lots of knowledge in her organisation, the organisation provided archives so that employees can carry out their scholarly work themselves.

Potential users

Those who have not used archives talked about the reasons why they do not use archives, stating that their work is not public organisation work and their work is not official. One person said that she thinks archives are ancient, appear difficult to understand and belong to the public sector only. Such a limited understanding definitely hinders people from using archives. Three people said that archives are not relevant to their work and interests.

However, it is noteworthy that subjects that the participants mentioned as irrelevant could be relevant but they are not aware of it. For example, a doctor who responded to the questionnaire said that:

> As medical and scientific subjects focus on an evidence-based approach, knowledge is changing all the time. Archives are probably less important. Evidence in the past tended to be published in research journals. Descriptive writing that has no clear evidence will be unreliable for education in this field.

This participant's attitude towards archives is that archives cannot be used in science subjects because they are not reliable evidence but more like narratives or fictions. In the UK context, archives are used in medical research and are quite important in building up knowledge from the past. The cause of the problem of limited groups of users in Thailand is probably also caused by attitude and understanding towards archives.

Staff's attitudes towards archives

Most participants have not used archives yet. Their attitudes are related to the reason why they do not use archives. Some perceive archives as ancient objects and related to government. Those who have better understanding mentioned that archives are a tool in transmitting knowledge from one generation to another. The participant mentioned archives' strength in not changing, as oral history can be prone to.

It can be seen that very few participants can relate archives to their work. Only one organisation uses archives in informing employees of the organisation's story. Also, no participants can link current records they work with to archives. This implies that they do not have knowledge about the connection between current records and archives. As for the suggestion to the NAT, the suggestions are similar to the media group: improving the quality of microfilm, increasing the number of photographic archives in the database, and adding textual records to the database.

Staff in organisations' likelihood for using archives for different purposes

Purpose	Score
Using records and archives in daily work	1.86
Using records and archives as evidence in business	1.86
Doing public relations work for organisations	1.71
Learning company's history	2.29
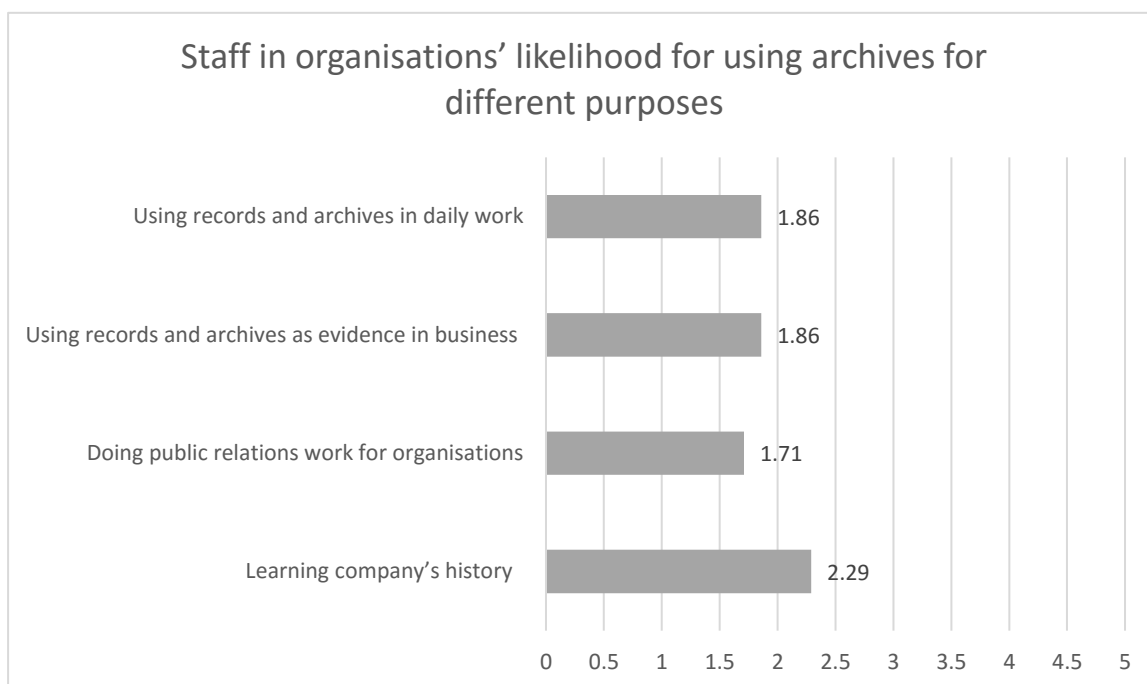
Figure 14 Staff in organisations' likelihood for using archives

Purposes in using archives

Using archives for business purposes is not common in Thailand. From all the obtained responses, the likelihood of organisations using archives was considered low (about 1 out of 5). So, people in organisations generally think that archives are unrelated to their work. The option that got the highest score is the one about history (learning company's history obtained 2.29).

In sum, staff working in organisations perceive archives to have the least relevance for themselves and their work. They do not realise that their work has connections with recordkeeping and archives. Moreover, their perception of what archives are is the most limited of all groups considered, and a long way short of what archives actually are. To approach this group can be difficult because it involves making them aware of the relevance and creating new understandings; however, the understanding can be highly beneficial since it will lead to archival use by records creators and can help to raise awareness of recordkeeping in organisations.

5.6   Conclusion

The study of perceptions and attitudes of topics related to archives reveals the relationship between different aspects of society and archives as well as the archival system. The differences in environment demonstrate the need for a new interpretation that suits the Thai context. It also poses the question of how modern archival systems should be designed in the modern Thai context with all advancement of technology and administration. The main differences in four areas, as follows, affect the use of archives in Thai context:

Firstly, it is found that the original and traditional historiography, media of communication, and epistemology of Thai historiography are different from the Western historical thoughts Siam received in the nineteenth century. This includes recordkeeping practice having as its main function that of making history. A commonality in the perceptions in the two contexts is that of archives being kept for history. However, characteristics of history, process and function are different. For example, archives support history by providing authenticity and truth while traditional Thai historiography did not require those qualities before. Or, the top-down, or centralist approach in Thai history would previously have been similar to the West but there have been changes in Western history to move away from this conservative approach. The result is that history in Thailand is for historians only. It is time to find a way to think about history that fits the contexts and transcends traditional Western ways Thais struggle to apply.

Secondly, perception of knowledge in Thai society has been gradually changed from knowledge for living a life to more professional knowledge after influence from the West. The old perception gives different kinds of knowledge to different groups of people because of hierarchical character of the society. Also, Thai education is based on a belief in karma and merit making. That makes teachers' status much higher than students'. Consequently, the focus of education is always on teachers not students. The strength in the original educational system, relations with others, disappeared, and has been replaced by an academic focus, which is not strong in Thai culture. It is necessary to develop the Thai educational system. One way to do this is to encourage individuals to study not only in classrooms but to make knowledge and education a

part of their lives. The cultural sector will have an important role to play in this positive change.

Thirdly, exploring family and personal history is not common in Thailand. However, if more attention is given to personal development of the citizen, that certainly contributes to the nation as a whole. With the cultural friction that can occur when the distinctiveness of identity is directly revealed or asserted, which may cause extremely uncomfortable disharmony in a social milieu such as Thailand's, Thai archives perhaps need to find subtler ways to express marginalised identity, which tends to be in the form of local history and community history rather than expression of individuality.

Fourthly, the value of archives as evidence is not well recognised in Thai society because of its lack of a background of keeping records for evidence and compromising attitudes on justice and corruption. The deeper underlying cause is that the country's original culture was not democratic. Due to social changes, democratic ideals have come to be appreciated, starting with educated people, the middle class and working class. Ideas of justice and corruption have changed through time. Activities supporting rights and justice, such as recordkeeping, are currently necessary. Lack of understanding and good implementation of legislation are current problems that need to be addressed. In contrast to the strong position of archives as evidence in the UK, Thai records and archives management need to be improved much more in terms of the public's understanding of records and archives and the function they can have in society. These are the spaces where records and archives are needed to fill the gaps, though more adaptations to Thai culture are needed in order to locate them in Thai contexts.

These differences in contexts can partly explain the level of achievement of archival access and use in Thailand. Furthermore, this knowledge is important for the Thai archives sector in thinking about its development. I will link this understanding of contextual factors to a possible outlook on archives in Thailand in the next chapter.

Chapter 6

Possible Outlook for Thai Archives

6.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the discussion of the research findings along with the opinions of the Thai national archivists. It aims to consider the future of the NAT and investigate possible strategies for Thai archives. In this chapter, I seek to make connections between the many societal and cultural dimensions noted in this study. From the understandings of the relationship between archives and society addressed in the previous chapters and from the insights of the national archivists who participated in the focus group (see chapter 1), I will lay out different problematic areas that would especially benefit from overhaul or adjustment, namely access strategies, archival awareness and personal development in practice. The practical preferences expressed by the survey participants will also be discussed in this chapter.

6.2 Impacts on Thai archives

This section describes the archival practice in the NAT situation, where connections with attitudes (including values explained in chapter 3) have an impact on archival practice. Ultimately, the situations demonstrate that attitudes and values affect perceived values of the archives and the materials in them. So, it is not only that archives are not valued due to the evaluators, but the records' potentiality and value has also been destroyed as a result of lack of support for the practice.

6.2.1 *Records management, accessioning and appraisal*

Archives that are wrongly structured

The first step which mostly impacts access and use is records management and accessioning since it is the first archival work in the archival process. "The result of appraisal and disposal decisions and actions shape the scope, colour, and texture of

archives" (Bettington 37). From the record creation, the evidence and information of the media are recorded. Then, it is maintained for the purpose of records creators, and its value may be seen to persist if it is able to contribute to current use. This is the point at which recordkeeping goes into the archival phase. If this understanding on the continuity of records and archives were to be missing from the conceptual system, it is hardly conceivable that archival management could function adequately.

Somsuang Prudtikul, Thai archives educator, indicated that "the most significant [aspect] of archival management in Thailand is records management" (Prudtikul). The veracity of this statement is clear if one considers the dysfunctional transfer mechanism that has resulted in the incomplete state of archival materials at the NAT.

The scope of this research does not focus intensely on Thai governmental departments' records management, but rather the problem that could be spotted from it at the beginning of the archival process at the NAT, where records are not transferred to the NAT systematically. At present, the transfer of materials to the NAT can be done in two ways. The first method is meant for the departments themselves to transfer records in accordance with retention schedules. Practically, this approach is used only by a very small proportion of the governmental departments in Thailand. The method used more often to transfer records to the archives is through the destruction of records. This happens when departments ask for permission from the NAT to destroy their non-current records. Then, the archives selects some records that they deem valuable from the disposed records (Srijantaranit). However, if these records have been selected to be thrown away, they might not be seen as very valuable by their creators. This raises the possibility of valuable records being transferred to the archives. If not, whether the valuable ones kept in the departments and are retrievable.

Reasons behind the failed transfer

When I interviewed her, Naphawan Srijantaranit had been working in the records management team at the NAT for 28 years. She sees the situation as having consistently been problematic (Srijantaranit). She said that the reason why staff do not transfer records is that they do not see the relationship between their work and NAT. She also said although some people are willing to keep and transfer records well, they

cannot do it if they are not commanded to do so by people in higher positions (Srijantaranit). This is the organisational culture in a bureaucratic system with a top-down approach.

According to another interviewee, the archivists think that departments feel possessive of their records (Anonymous former archivist). At one level, this might be because they do not trust the NAT enough to give their records to the repository. Gillian Oliver and Fiorella Foscarini noted that the level of trust could affect records management practice, meaning that if people see the efficacy of the system, they are more likely to cooperate with prescribed records management practices (Oliver and Foscarini 141). The low profile of the archives will certainly affect the decision making in transferring archives. In this case, the NAT needs to develop the practice to a level that can secure the trust of the owners of records. Also, the NAT should let them know what the archives are doing to build trust in the recordkeeping system.

Another reason may be concerns regarding convenience of access after records had been transferred. A records manager working in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that departments are not confident that they can conveniently access records after they have been transferred, and said that this is the reason why the ministries are not keen to transfer the records. She mentioned that some archivists are more helpful than others in facilitating their use of records (Chaijindasut).

Thai organisational culture and the Western recordkeeping system

In terms of level of values, looking back over recordkeeping history, it is clear that record creation and recordkeeping in current business is not the primary purpose in Thai recordkeeping. The values supporting modern recordkeeping, such as self-direction, achievement and security, are patterns characteristic of Western organisations. Thai values may lead to the creation of contemporary records that will be used over the short term, but it was not originally considered desirable or necessary to keep records for people other than the primary users. At the practical level, the organisational culture is significant. In records management in the organisations, staff will not work on recordkeeping unless their bosses instruct them to do so. Hierarchy is a prominent national value, and it may also be intensified by the organisational culture of bureaucratic departments. The ignorance on the part of higher officials can

be the result of lack of awareness and knowledge about records and archives management.

Another important phenomenon that can affect the value is the relationship between departmental officers and the archivists at the NAT. As Srijantaranit stated, officers do not feel that this work is related to their work, and they hence fail to transfer any records to the NAT other than the ones they want to do away with. Whether the departments will send their records to the NAT or not is hence determined by the relationships between people, which is again highly characteristic of broader Thai values. This was reflected in the interview, where it was claimed that the quality of access after the transfer depends on the person (archivist) rather than the set standards.

Similarly, in the UK, the relationship between TNA archivists and departments is important and has long been established. This may not be well practised in every department, but most departments comply in transferring their records to TNA after use according to the retention schedule. This relationship has been at a different level than the NAT, since the UK governmental departments appraise records themselves, while the NAT provides advice for them when needed. So, even in the UK context, the relationship between departments and TNA is important. All of these acquisition practices are the fruit of understanding, trust and collaboration.

Understandings in records and archives management: the disconnection between records and archives

This issue is more closely related to attitudes towards archives in Thai society. As stated in chapter 4, on attitudes, the general Thai perception of archives is affected by traditional Thai recordkeeping. Archives are ancient objects and were created specifically to be archived. Thus, it is illogical to make up one's mind to keep today's records to be the future archives. This phenomenon is clearly seen in the transfer of records to the NAT, as most officers do not see that their work will become archives in the future. An understanding of the records cycle has to be taught to those working within governmental departments, from the high-ranking people to staff working in the office. The value of their records and future value as archives needs to be made clear to them.

Perceptions of history, and rights and recordkeeping practice

When the Official Information Act, the best known and respected of all laws related to recordkeeping practice, mandated officers to transfer records related to history (TH "Official Information Act (2540 B.E.)" Section 4), they could not see history in the work they do because history for them is the stories that cannot be found in their daily work. Further, ordinary people tend not to experience history in everyday life. The result is that there are no records transferred to be selected as history.

As for the idea of keeping records as evidence, those working in organisations would try not to keep records and transfer them, as they can be used to reveal their work process. If transparency and accountability, as well as other practices that support them, are not a requirement for the government, the officers would not need to keep for future examination records that might have adverse consequences for them.

Thai perceptions of history and rights impede the function of a Western-style recordkeeping system and transfer process. Some new ways of thinking need to be introduced from the high-ranking people to departmental officers.

The impact of appraisal on archival value

Appraisal is an archival process that is largely concerned with the value of archives. Archives, records with enduring value, lose their values if appraisal fails. The following diagram demonstrates the decline in the value of archives along with accessioning and appraisal processes used at the NAT.

Keep or discard things?

Lack of understanding / awareness

The National Archives

Records management

Records

Departments

Ineffective

retrieval aids

Government

Users

Policy / legislation

Society

Limited resources
/ cannot find what
they want

Less impact / less
contribution to society

Have less space in society
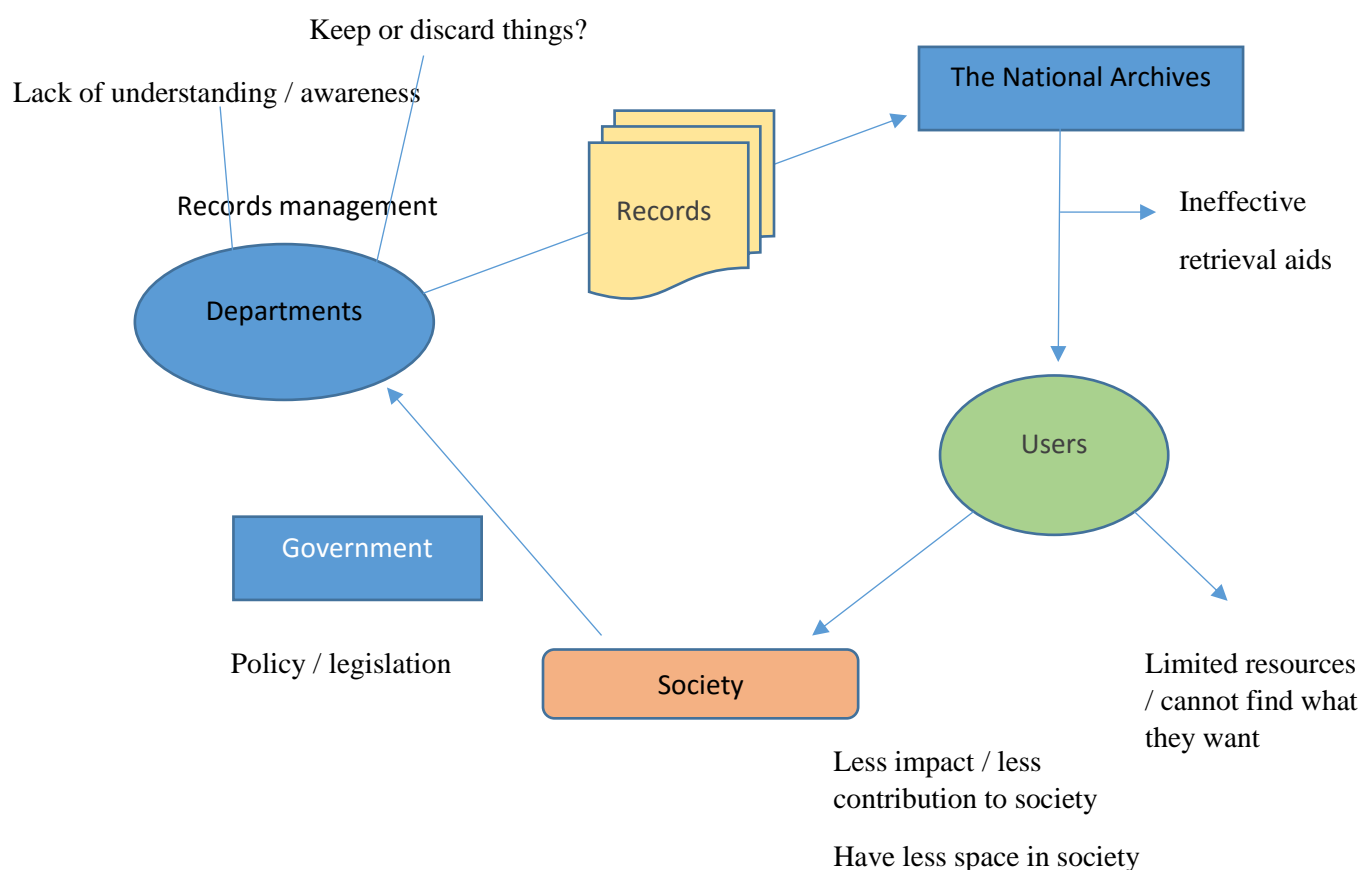
Figure 15 Impact of appraisal at the NAT on archival value

First of all, an appraisal on the basis of disposed records almost certainly decreases
the value of maintained archives, because any value they may have will be based in
those that are judged to have no values. Consequently, it limits the range of records
users can use. The lack of an efficient retrieval system also reduces the potential of
archives. Users are not impressed by, nor do they want to use the archives; or, they
need to utilise archives but derive only limited benefit from them. Since the archives
cannot fully contribute to users, a cycle develops whereby, because archives hardly
impact society, society hardly pays any attention or devotes any support to archives.

The impact of the inefficient transfer process and acquisition falls directly on the
availability of records in the NAT. Srijantaranit revealed that in her experience the
records received are incomplete (Srijantaranit). This affects the use and also how
archival work will be able to document society in general. The incompleteness of

records limits discoverability in archival use, which makes archives less useful and interesting to the audience.

The availability of records, along with users' needs, determines groups of users in the archives. Considering the variety of archival material in Thailand, there is still a problem that materials available in the archives are of interest to only limited groups of people. Thus, although new interests have emerged in society such as local history or family history, these needs will not grow stronger in terms of research interest due to lack of materials. Anake Nawigamune, discussing the problem of acquisition in his museum experience, claimed that the Thai government considers that objects in the museum should be limited to ancient objects. They do not collect more contemporary objects that are more relevant to people's lives. Nawigamune hence opened his own museum out of a desire to curate such non-conventional historical materials. Other people who "cannot stand it" try to found museums like him, but do not get any support from the government (Nawigamune).

This same acquisition problem occurs with archives. Though some users express the desire to have a greater variety of records such as personal archives (Kam), the NAT's primary duties are still collecting public records. So, there needs to be more recordkeeping apart from the NAT. Also, more diverse kinds of archives should be supported to serve different groups of people in the society.

6.2.2   Description and digitisation for access

The step following appraisal is arrangement and description. Archival description and different retrieval aids such as catalogues and indexes are essential for users to find the archives they need. "The key is them [the archivists]", stated an NAT user (Povatong). He said that the archivists are the ones who process the records such that they can be made available to users. Consequently, archives without proper description or tools that allow users to find them would not be able to make their way to the users.

According to the interviews, the NAT users unanimously agreed that the tools at the NAT are difficult to use, and they want the NAT to improve the retrieval aids. At the

moment, the NAT users mainly use paper inventories for records search. The NAT has an e-inventory, which comprises some of the paper inventories scanned on their website. Another digital initiative is an intranet database on which information about 20,000 images was stored. By mainly using paper inventories, the users need to be experienced to be able to make guesses about the possible location of the records they need.

In the digital age where people do not necessarily come to use archives on-site, and many other kinds of information is available on demand, users' expectations regarding accessibility and discoverability have been heightened. TNA is aware of more intense competition in the information age, so they try to make archives more approachable by using various digital platforms (Kingsley). The NAT is in a more difficult situation due to lack of expertise and resources. In the Thai case, the public's needs and archival practice seem to be far from each other. As for the UK, the archives are quite successful in pursuing technological progress, which still creates some conflicts with professional researchers.

This section will discuss problems in improving retrieval aids, the primary concern of the users at the NAT, which reflects the impacts of organisational culture and structure at the NAT. Also, the implications of changing expectations, users, technology and archival practice in both the Thai and British contexts will be discussed.

Organisational culture

The main obstacle to the development of the retrieval aids at the NAT is a structural problem in the Department of Fine Arts and lack of IT expertise. These two factors hinder the improvement of retrieval aids and overall technological progress at the NAT.

In almost every field, including ARM, the importance of IT skills has increased. The NAT archivists have traditionally been trained without this skill applied to archival work. In the interviews most of them have expressed concerns that technological change is too rapid for them to keep up with.

Also, organisational structure is another factor that makes it harder for them to react to changes. That is, the NAT does not have personnel with IT expertise nor have their own authority on initiation of technology. The Department of Fine Arts has an IT office that takes care of all IT work in the Ministry of Culture. The archivist revealed that this is not effective because IT people do not understand archival work. Plus, the communication between the archivists and this team is not very successful. This is another example showing that understanding in archival work on the part of the parent organisation and communication are important. The necessary archival tool has not been developed at the NAT partly because of lack of expertise, but what makes it more unsolvable long term comes from organisational culture and unsuccessful communications in the Department of Fine Arts.

The targeted users

The two national archives have different ranges of user groups. TNA has a wider range of users. This is a result of the fact that archivists in the UK have worked to make their collections much more accessible to the wider ranges of users in the last twenty to thirty years (Shepherd).

With the current changes whereby a greater variety of groups of people are beginning to use archives, TNA had to adapt their catalogue to enable a new large amateur researcher group (e.g. family historians) to search more easily. However, the new simplified catalogue, Discovery, cannot please every user group. It has received complaints from more serious researchers who expect a more precise and efficient tool for their professional research. This can be considered a risk when archivists have to respond to users with diverse expertise and experiences. The design of archival tools is impacted by some users, and can lose their efficiency for other groups of users.

In contrast, the NAT has failed to respond to users' expectations in the wider society, and chosen instead to serve mainly researchers and students. (Though the archivists expressed the willingness to disseminate the value of archives to as many people as possible, they find it difficult to do so in practice.) This group of users is small and needs to use archives anyway, so the NAT makes only a small impact by serving them, and cannot connect to society in general. Hence, despite complaints and

requests to improve the retrieval aids, archival description at the NAT has not changed much as the existing users still need to use whatever is available for their work.

Retrieval aids and their impact on use

The statement by one of the NAT users that archivists are the key for users who need to access archives is true. Archival description and retrieval aids are perhaps the most obvious tools with which to connect users to archives (Povatong). The more efficient the retrieval aid, the better and more easily users can discover what they need. Archival description, retrieval aids and tools designs are the result of many factors such as organisational culture, values and attitudes, as previously discussed. At the same time, this pathway directly impacts access and use in many ways, such as convenience, effectiveness, and brand perception. Thus, archival description and tools are not only neutral media but values that orient those practices, and tools make the difference.

Moreover, in the age of technology, the nature of the media used in archival tools has changed from paper to digital tools. Technology produces a significant difference in archival use.

It is worth investigating these situations and their cultural impact at the NAT and TNA.

Theories of media

Marshall McLuhan proposed the idea that "the medium is the message" (May 9). This means the information sent via any medium is affected by the medium itself. The medium has its own message that impacts the communication. McLuhan divided the media into hot and cool media. The former are closed, unidirectional, transmitted and complete messages while the latter are open, multi-directional and interactive. The world has changed from one primary medium to another: from face to face communication to printed media and finally the internet. What is changing is not only the ways people communicate, but also their perceptions of things, relationships and

people's identity. Mark Poster said, "each method of preserving and transmitting information profoundly intervenes in the networks of relationships that constitute a society" (May 9). He elaborated that if society is defined as people's relationships and communications, media has the power to transform society. The type of media is gradually changing in the archival world too. By using different media, the archival community can send different messages from what it previously may have done.

Archival description at the NAT: the problematic message?

Retrieval aids at the NAT have been used in the archives for a long time, and the archivists struggle to develop more up-to-date tools that facilitate archival use. This has various impacts on archival use and users.

Inconvenience

The first impact the NAT's users encounter with the NAT's retrieval aids is that they found it time-consuming, difficult and tiring to use. While they expect to be able to find records just like searching for books in the library, paper inventories do not help them much in the search for the records they need. People cannot use computers to search for records either on-site or online. This means that the only way people have of searching for records is to come on-site. "Nowadays, we are blind", said Pannee Rungsawang, a reporter who uses the NAT (Rungsawang). The public and users have no idea what records are available at the NAT. The same interviewee added, "Archives is like another world". Rungsawang described her experience of spending days searching and waiting for records, and mentioned how impractical this is for her work. She said the experience makes her feel like she imagines "being in prison" (Rungsawang). In a way, this can be put down to the complex nature of archives, but retrieval aids could nevertheless alleviate some of this burden.

The inconvenience in using archives affects the attitudes of users and the public towards archives. It is one of the reasons that makes people not want to use archives (Pongsripian). Evidence for this is provided in the survey, where a participant working in media stated that she has not used archives again because it is too inconvenient for her. Existing users thus have to be quite special (Prudtikul). Those

whose work is related to history prefer to use books first and avoid using archives if it is not necessary. Even experienced archives users do not want to use them if possible. In other words, if it is not necessary, people would not choose to use archives. The impact of people's negative experiences from unhelpful retrieval aids is a perception of the difficulty of the use of archives. It serves only those who cannot avoid using archives in their work, and others who are accustomed to rapid searches are unlikely to persist in their efforts. Additionally, the onerousness of the process runs contrary to the emphasis on fun and comfort in Thai culture.

Efficiency

More important than the reason of convenience is the efficiency of the retrieval aids. The qualities of good retrieval aids are their accessibility and discoverability. The retrieval aids at the NAT seem to be problematic in this respect. They can help users to find records, but have limitations.

Users explained of their use experiences that they need many keywords and substantial background knowledge. For example, Povatong said that if he would like to look for Si Chang Island, he needed to link it to the history of Si Chang when it was a port. In the past, migrants had to be physically examined before getting into the country. So, he would need to look into the Ministry of Public Health records to find this place (Povatong). Without such knowledge that links users to the inventory, they would not be able to find any records.

Due to lack of efficient retrieval aids, users need to rely on people. Povatong revealed that he talked to archivists and other users to gain information about records. Networking is useful, and corresponds with the Thai cultural tendency to rely on each other, and this culture should be encouraged as a potential strength for Thai archival use. A more efficient tool would be helpful for the researchers. Most users have a positive view of the computerised catalogue. They think it will help to enhance the research. On the other hand, the lack of an efficient tool means less helpful tools for doing research. It definitely does not help researchers as much as it could have, though these users are the loyal user group.

Brand perception

As stated above, the medium is not neutral. The fact that the NAT still has only paper inventories conveys the message that it is not a modern organisation or accessible repository. It confirms the idea of archives as preserving the national heritage with an outdated and boring image, and is there to "keep the treasure". This problem does not only exist in the NAT but also in The National Library and National Museum.

This image problem is particularly important in Thai society. In Thai society, external appearance is as important as inner qualities, and the ways the NAT communicates to users in their practice definitely limits people to a very niche group of individuals who care less about looking modern. Hence, the retrieval aids problem impacts both the actual use and communication with the wider society.

The problems emerging with social change are technology and user expectations. Technology affects users' attitudes to and relationship with information, leading the NAT to struggle to serve users and non-users with changing expectations. For example, researchers complained that they need to access records online. A petition was signed by 11,180 people to make manuscripts in The National Library available online (TH "Petition to The National Library for Online Manuscript"). Similar recent news, which looks like a reaction from the Ministry of Culture, is the Director of the Department of Fine Arts instructing the NAT to make photographic archives available online (TH Outreach team Department of Fine Arts).

ปรับระบบสืบค้นออนไลน์หอจ.ม.
คัดภาพเก่าหายากให้โหลดฟรี

● เมื่อวันที่ 12 พฤศจิกายน นายบวรเวท รุ่ง รุจี อธิบดีกรมศิลปากร กระทรวงวัฒนธรรม (วธ.) เปิดเผยว่า จากการประชุมแนวทาง การพัฒนางานของหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ ทั้งส่วนกลางและส่วนภูมิภาค โดยมีนายวีระ โรจน์พจนรัตน์ รัฐมนตรีว่าการกระทรวง วัฒนธรรม เป็นประธาน เมื่อเร็วๆ นี้ นาย วีระได้มอบนโยบายให้สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุ แห่งชาติปรับปรุงระบบสืบค้นข้อมูลเอกสาร จดหมายเหตุ เพื่อให้ประชาชนสามารถ ค้นหาข้อมูลทางออนไลน์และเชื่อมโยงข้อมูล ระหว่างหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติทั่วประเทศ โดยให้หอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติส่วนกลางถ่าย ไมโครฟิล์มเอกสารจดหมายเหตุจัดทำเป็น ระบบดิจิทัล และส่งไปยังหอจดหมายเหตุ แห่งชาติในส่วนภูมิภาคทั้ง 10 แห่ง เพื่อ อำนวยความสะดวกให้ประชาชนและผู้รับ บริการเข้าถึงข้อมูลได้ง่ายขึ้น ไม่ต้องเสียค่า ใช้จ่ายเดินทางเข้ามาในส่วนกลาง จะได้ไม่ ต้องเปลืองค่าใช้จ่ายในการเดินทาง

อธิบดีกรมศิลปากร กล่าวต่อไปว่า สำหรับ หอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติในส่วนภูมิภาคนั้น ให้แสวงหาข้อมูล และภาพถ่ายเหตุการณ์ หรือบุคคลสำคัญในแต่ละจังหวัด เพื่อเพิ่ม ปริมาณข้อมูลเอกสารจดหมายเหตุให้บริการ ประชาชนได้หลากหลายยิ่งขึ้น ส่วนปัญหาการ ขาดแคลนบุคลากรในการคัดแยกและประเมิน คุณค่าของเอกสารจดหมายเหตุ ในเบื้องต้น คงต้องอาศัยความร่วมมือจากเครือข่ายใน พื้นที่ให้เข้ามาช่วยดำเนินการก่อน จากนั้น จะหาแนวทางแก้ไขปัญหาในระยะยาวต่อไป

"สำนักหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติกำลัง เตรียมดำเนินการจัดแสดงนิทรรศการพระ ราชประวัติและจดหมายเหตุเฉลิมพระเกียรติ สมเด็จพระเทพรัตนราชสุดาฯ สยาม บรมราชกุมารี ในโอกาสมหามงคลเฉลิม พระชนมพรรษา 5 รอบ 2 เมษายน 2558 ขณะเดียวกันก็เตรียมจัดแสดงภาพเก่าหายาก ที่มีอยู่ในหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติแต่ละแห่ง ให้ประชาชนได้ชื่นชม พร้อมคัดเลือกภาพถ่าย เก่าที่มีคุณค่าทางประวัติศาสตร์หาชมได้ยาก มาเผยแพร่ โดยประชาชนสามารถดาวน์โหลด ฟรีทางเว็บไซต์ www.finearts.go.th" อธิบดี กรมศิลปากร กล่าว

Figure 16 News on online photographic archives in newspaper (TH Outreach team)

Despite the attempt of the archivists to change, the NAT is still unable to improve their standards. Consequently, the only active users are those who have no choice, for one reason or another, but to access records.

Archives in the digital world

The world today is in the information age, and the important factor which enables this change is technology. Users may still be aware of the value of archives, but are familiar with newer and different media, and expect the archives to change from 'hot' to 'cool' media.[34] While the NAT is behind the technology, some archives have done

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[34] According to aforementioned theory of Mcluhan

well in changing the media they use especially in archival description and digitisation. TNA is one of these. This section will describe these changes in the UK and the possibilities as to whether they could be implemented in the Thai cultural context in the future.

TNA has developed digital access substantially in the last twenty to thirty years, to great effect (Shepherd). Having incorporated new technology, and especially the internet, the number and variety of users have been increasing.

However, TNA also has to deal with the same users' expectations. A larger variety of users has forced TNA to adjust its archival practice. Some users also have incorrect expectations received from the media. For example, users think that they will find records immediately, such as in TV programs on genealogy. Or, they are misled that every record is accessible online (Wakeford). This can make users miss some records that are available only on-site. Different interests or a greater variety of values affect archives to offer more diverse kinds of values. Some cases have succeeded, but there are also situations where these changes became problematic.

The fact that UK archives have catalogued their records as well as the diffusion of the internet increases the number and groups of users. The internet, which allows people to search for archives from home or elsewhere, increases access to archives.

TNA changed its catalogue to Discovery. The new catalogue is criticised by some interviewees because it does not meet professional researchers' needs. For example, Discovery does not allow users to differentiate types of subjects, such as people or places (Moore). Interviewees criticised that Discovery is simplified for more amateur users. This can be considered a tension between different groups of users with different needs. This is the change of values attached to archives that respond to different kinds of use.

Another important change in the archival field is digitisation. Digitised archives offer an easier way for people to access archives. This means that many users do not have to travel to the archives to use archives anymore. Digitisation is clearly the result of technology, a part of the culture of openness and wider distribution. This approach can greatly help archival institutions to disseminate the value of archives to the wider society. However, this new value has also come with new challenges in the archives.

Understanding about digital archives

Archives appear to be a field which needs much more understanding from users and the public. When digitised archives are available, people can assume that all archives are available online. In fact, digitised archives are usually a very small amount from the whole archives. So, some information might be missing.

The selection of archives to be digitised is also an issue. Archives that are chosen to be digitised are usually the iconic ones or those that sponsors agree to fund. Such cherry picking runs contrary to professional values as some parts of information can be selected to present the whole picture of the archives. Archives practitioners are traditionally very aware of context for fear that presenting archives individually can distort the truth.

Nevertheless, it does not mean that digitisation projects are not justified. Archivists should make use of technology so that archives can be used to their full potential. At the same time, it is essential for archivists to communicate about possible fragmented information. Although the new values offered by technology enable people to access archives more quickly and widely, they can result in less profound understanding.

Archives and commercial business

All technology and digitisation projects require financial support from either the parent organisation (the national archives itself) or external sponsors.

This raises the possibility that archival practice can be driven by commercial purposes. Decisions archivists make might be affected by business purposes. For example, the business purpose could intervene in the appraisal process to lead to the acquisition of records that will attract commercial partners (Woolgar). Or, the risk can be that archives digitise records from the departments and do not collect the physical copies to the repository (Woolgar). Similar situations found in Thailand are libraries and organisations digitising records and throwing the actual records away.

Resolution of digitisation

The quality of the digitised materials can be debated. Different users have different expectations of the resolution of images according to their use. Archives with various purposes of use will have to deal with different demands. For example, a user of TNA said that he wants higher image resolution for his work but TNA assumes from other users that the provided resolution is sufficient for all users (Woolgar).

Impact on people who want to use the real records

The final point on the digitisation project is again when the actual records are neglected after they are digitised because digital records cannot yet respond to everyone's needs. Susan Moore stated that she needs to use real records because she works with legal records. They are old manuscripts from the sixteenth or seventeenth century. Some details can be missing during the process if she just depends on digital archives. For example, archivists can transcribe things incorrectly. Moreover, the feel of paper can give her information about the records (Moore).

TNA has employed technology and it changed archives access and use. The value attached to the new media and practice are openness. The positive impact from being opened is praiseworthy, though being opened and generic can lead to the compromise to less specialised practice, which may undermine the old values attached to research practice.

Preservation

In both countries, archival work priorities can shift to accommodate changes in social values. In the UK, Susan Healy said that when she was working, preservation was the first priority of all work (Healy). The priority has now changed to access. In Thailand, archivists revealed that attitudes change under different priorities. The comments the archivists used to receive is that they are perceived to be like a "grandfather looking after the treasure" (Pongsripian). However, an NAT archivist stated that she used to perceive herself as a guardian but now she is more willing to open the archive to users.

It is not clear from where this current of thought to be open emerges, but it possibly comes from the fact that archives are now more connected to the wider world due to the trend of openness and technological tools.

Access and use

From previous tasks in archival work, access is the last part done by archivists before the archives are delivered to users. So, it is the part that contains archivists' attitudes and professional values as well as how they are connected to the outside world. Interviews have expressed that attitudes and values impact the ways the NAT archivists give access.

In this section, the study will focus on the value that the NAT provides to users and the public and their relationship with wider social values as well as how professional values interplay with national social values.

Giving access – archivists' professional and social values

The attitudes the NAT archivists have towards themselves and the ones others have can explain some problematic situations in the NAT. Considering what the senior archivists stated, at the NAT the archivists used to consider themselves custodians. For example, they respected their users for the users' knowledge but did not want inexperienced users (e.g. school children) to enter the archives. Korapin Taweta, an archivist who has worked at the NAT all her career, said that she noticed that her attitudes have changed from wanting to keep the records to being willing to give opportunities for others to use them. Other non-archivist interviewees also expressed the same ideas that the NAT wants to keep archives, rather than wanting people to use them.

This idea of archivists as keeper is common too in the Western world. Susan Healy said that she has also noticed the trend of archivists as keeper has changed to the role of facilitators as the priority has changed from preservation to access and ordinary people have more ability in archiving their records empowered by information

technology (Healy). So, archivists are no longer the only ones who have power to give access to the public.

In the Thai cultural perspective, this corresponds to the traditional way of looking at archives and other cultural heritage. That is, heritage is there to be preserved, not to be used. Cultural resources need to be preserved as prestigious objects but have no role in daily life. This is why archives face the problem of low awareness in the society.

Also, the traditional value "hierarchy" is distinctive of the old archivists' perspectives and even in archival use. Although archivists have professional values in mind, inequality naturally interferes in the archives because archives are seen to be a place for the educated, researchers and students. This implies a willingness only to give access to qualified people who will be able to take care of valuable records, and are the targeted group according to the archives mission. However, more democratic values from the wider society that requests more openness and equality in how they give access is coming to influence professional values. So, their practice with the old values is advised to be changed. It is essential that archival practice could follow the attitudes changes. Although archivists are willing to treat people equally, with their limited resources, they still focus on researchers as the targeted group. If the NAT is prepared to welcome everyone, it is important to have strategies in the policy accordingly. (More detail about strategies can be obtained in 6.3.1.)

6.2.3   Service

Being hospitable plays an important role in Thai culture. Maintaining healthy relationships represents the network of power. In positive ways, it leads to collaboration and exchange of knowledge in the community. Moreover, users report that it creates a welcoming atmosphere and was beneficial for their research. The negative side of it is that it can make the service inconsistent and subjective.

Service in the archival community is mostly praised by users. This may be because using archives requires skills to search, read and interpret records where users need to receive help from archivists. Thus, users usually encounter archivists and work side by side with them more than some other kinds of information resources. In this

particular area, in the archival field, there are nuances among different cultures that impact use experiences in the archives. Thai culture gives an interesting case study for archives service in a particular context.

Archivists–users' relationship

It is noted that users' relationships with the archivists are valued highly regardless how good or bad the tools are. Nevertheless, archivists–users' relationships are distinctive at the NAT, which is conceivably due to the impact of cultural factors. Archivists have dual roles that are almost paradoxical: the first one is to serve and the other one is related to power.

The NAT's users reveal that the relationship with the archivists and other users is an important aspect of using the archives because the tools provided by the archives are not effective enough for users to do research effectively. An interviewee said that he needed to talk to archivists and other users in order to know what records he wants. He also mentioned that some experienced archivists can retrieve records very accurately (Povatong). For example, she can get records users want immediately by just hearing what is required; however, this expertise requires long experience of working in the archives, which depends on the person. Similarly, many other interviewees have indicated that they have a good relationship with archivists, substantiated by examples. Good research experience usually correlates with having received help from the archivists both in terms of advice and providing access to archives.

This kind of relationship is essential in Thai culture in daily life. It appears that in a situation where collaboration is important, such as archives, this culture is evident. It is the soft version of a patron-client relationship where both sides are happy to maintain the relationship for the sake of knowledge. On the other hand, the drawback of this reliance can be the failure to access the knowledge if either side fails to participate in social relations. Or, research can be affected by humans' inaccuracy in case the archivists are not experienced.

The UK interviews also reveal the importance of archivists in giving advice about the documents in the research. The British users give respect to the archivists though

some of them comment that the new generation of archivists do not have as much knowledge as the older ones. The difference is that archivists and the user community are not the main way to access archives. Archival tools are more important than humans' relations, especially the online catalogue, which is the primary tool in finding archival records.

In the Thai case, there is a need to strengthen archival access and use in the NAT by developing tools that will help to support archival search to be more accurate. Furthermore, the existing social relationship between archivists and users should not be undermined but should be developed into a community or groups that is open and welcomes various groups of people to join and share knowledge. This high point of culture should be used as a strength.

Lack of proper outreach strategies

Attitudes towards archives impact access practice in terms of outreach activities that encourage different groups of people to learn more about archives. The archivists attempt to promote archives in various ways on condition that they have resources provided. So, although they have motivation to promote archives to wider society, the overall attitude that archives are for limited groups of people remains strong. Thus, support from the government and other organisations is rare. As a result, the efforts the archivists put into outreach activities usually does not have a significant impact because the events happen intermittently. Outreach activities organised at the NAT include talks about document heritage, tours to schools, activities on children's day, etcetera. These are useful activities from which the archivists receive good feedback. However, they are usually not continuous as they depend on an unstable budget (Taweta). This is another aspect influencing attitudes towards archives and social values that does not encourage archives to be useful to the society.

6.2.4   Use and outreach

From the understanding of the abstract level of value presented in chapter 3 and the more practical reality in this chapter, the fact that the NAT has limited groups of users can easily be explained.

Firstly, in the value level, Thai culture does not encourage individuals to be educated or have an inquisitive mind. On the contrary, the cultural environment encourages individuals to follow the knowledge of the elders, which can be analysed as hierarchy value. As for recordkeeping, people do not have a need to prove things according to evidence because the traditional system values truth less. Thus, historians who need to use archives according to the values in their methodology are the prominent group of users that need archives the most.

In the attitude level, ordinary people do not consider archives part of their world but see them as being for use in governmental bureaucracy or historical research. The variety of values archives can offer are limited by users' expectations shaped by existing attitudes. Hence, it is important to change this attitude by expanding the variety of values archives can give to the society and inform the wider public of them.

The most important thing is that attitudes and values need to change to embrace more users to the archives, to make archives more impactful. It may be necessary to seek to suit this to Thai reality.

Inconvenience

As stated earlier in this chapter, the negative attitude in the archives is also shaped by experience in archival use. Besides distant feeling to the materials, negative attitudes people have heard, or lack of knowledge about the service at the NAT are other important factors that keep people away from archives. In sum, two things expressed by the NAT users as obstacles are lack of information and inconvenience in using archives.

The first obstacle hindering users from archival use is lack of information about archives collections and the mission of the NAT. As mentioned, the public has no

knowledge about what collections the NAT holds, let alone about people who do not know what archives are. This causes the problem of interest in the archives at the beginning since many people do not know what to expect from archives. At another level, those who might be interested in using archives find it difficult to ascertain whether records held at the NAT are what they are looking for. The only way to know is to come on-site at the NAT, which may cost time and money. The impact of this lack of information that the archives could have provided makes archives the last option people want to choose.

The other obstacle in archival use is inconvenience. Many users described their use of archives as difficult, time-consuming, tiring and unpleasant. These attitudes are not uncommon for those working in the archives since the materials are by nature not easy to use (Shepherd; Towinus). However, there are requests to reduce the difficulty of using archives: experience in search, reading the microfilm, finding photos, sketching plans instead of taking photos are found to be challenges in people's experience of archival use at the NAT. While some interviewees and survey participants stated that the tedious experience makes them feel they do not want to use archives at the NAT again, some interviewees still use archives and feel proud of themselves as being patient and feel privileged to use archives.

6.2.5   Other Thai archives

Apart from the NAT, the focus of this research, Thai attitudes towards archives have been shown in archival practice in other archives. These archives have even more clearly demonstrated the cultural impact on archives because they are not attached to the mission of being "the National Archives", so they have more freedom to customise archival practice in the ways they want than the NAT.

Thai-style archives

Not originating from "archives" in the Western sense, other archives in Thailand were founded for various purposes. Many of them are founded and practised differently from Western archives. For example, university archives tend to function something

like a hall of fame for the university. They have exhibits about their institutions' history but do not focus on delivering the service. Most archives were established to evidence the reputation of organisations or persons.

Archives are also dependent on many factors such as supporters, politics, how archives can respond to social agendas, and so on. It is not truly based on the international principle of archives management (Taweta). For instance, The National Archives Suphanburi branch is an archive founded on the basis of support from the former Prime Minister, Banharn Silapa-Archa since he wanted his hometown Suphanburi to flourish, and its history to be remembered. The idea has been understated in the rationale for the establishment of the archives (TH The National Archives Suphanburi commemoration 10). The reason for the founding of this branch of the National Archives was hence more influenced by the ex-prime minister than a need of the bureaucratic structure or for the region to have an archive. The function of archives in Thailand today does not differ from Thai traditional archives in respect of dependency on influential people. Archives in Thailand serve the prominent Thai societal value of power. Most of them were established for this reason.

Another example is the Office of His Majesty Royal Private Secretary Information Centre, which can be considered the best archive in Thailand (Povatong). It is intended to honour the King and the royal family. Another archive for the monarch is the National Archives in Honour of His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej. However, it does not follow the principle of archives management: its acquisition is more about gathering materials from different places, and it does not arrange records according to the principle of provenance (Prudtikul). Again, archives have their duties to promote some information for political reasons. Its name enables it to secure exclusive financial support (Prudtikul).

Figure 17 The National Archives in Honour of His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej

Source: http://www.facebook.com/narama9?ref=ts&fref=ts

However, there are more initiatives to establish archives in organisations. Most organisations wishing to do this do not have expertise or knowledge on archives management, so there is a need for ARM knowledge in Thai society at the moment. Apart from archives founded in Thai ways, there are also gaps for archives in the universal sense that can still grow in the future.

In practice, Thai values can be found. The act of recording is based on Thai religious belief, values of power and the acts of proclaiming good deeds and fame in order to acquire political power or spiritual merit. So, the way archives in Thailand are now functioning like a hall of fame is not a misunderstanding but an example of how archives fit Thai values and expectations derived from the attitudes.

6.3   Archival strategies

6.3.1   Archival processes

I discussed problems with records management, acquisition and appraisal and description and digitisation. Flaws in these areas automatically diminish the value of the archives. Therefore, successful delivery of value from the archives to the public

cannot be fully achieved. Each strategy in different stages of archival work thus has its unique role to improve archival access at the NAT.

6.3.1.1 Appraisal

Data from the interviews points out that the records management and transfer process is the main problem for archives management in Thailand. The data analysis in chapter 4 shows that governmental departments neglecting to transfer records to the NAT has a great impact on the completeness of the archival collections at the NAT. The focus group agreed more with the strategies that the records management team was working on at present but also discussed some other strategies that might be possible in the future.

Activity	Rating (Out of ten)
1. Making a manual for governmental departments to give them guidance in understanding records management and implementing a retention schedule	9.4
2. Providing training for governmental departments	9.4
3. Formulating codes of conduct according to the Archives Act	8.2

4. Appointing a records manager in each department	8

Table 6 Possible solutions for appraisal raised and rated in the focus group

As for the first strategy, making a manual for governmental departments to give them guidance in understanding records management and implementing a retention schedule, which was rated highest by the focus group, the archivists revealed in the focus group that, although the Archives Act has been enacted, not many departments transfer their records to the NAT. The records management team has started to write a manual about retention schedules and transfer and they also regularly provide training sessions for some (but not all) of the departments. A suggestion was made in the focus group that a decentralised strategy, one dealing directly with the agencies and sub-agencies in all the different regions, should be employed so that every department would be informed about the regulations (Taweta "Focus group").

The second strategy, providing training for governmental departments, was rated equally high. Though the Archives Act was enacted in 2013 and it lays down guidelines on the appraisal process for the departments, it was not able to create many changes in the transfer situation at the NAT.[35] Srijantaranit stated that the appraisal and transfer process can be difficult for those with no knowledge about archives. The task requires collaboration from all involved parties inside the department, so it is not easy to achieve (Srijantaranit "Focus Group"). The third strategy, formulating codes of conduct according to the Archives Act, is related to this area.

The last strategy, appointing a records manager in each department, was not as highly rated as other options. Taweta proposed that one way to solve the transfer problem would be to have a records manager in each department. These records managers would work like liaisons, making sure that records were managed according to approved principles and transferred on schedule to the NAT (Taweta "Focus group").

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[35] Srijantaranit revealed that few departments have been eager to know how to transfer records after the enactment of the law. The NAT is able to help them when they request, but they do not have resources to inform every department if they are not asked.

This seems difficult to achieve in reality, however, as records managers and archivists have a relatively low status in Thai bureaucracy. For example, records managers at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have to be called librarians, although they work on records in order to be able to get promoted in the bureaucratic structure (Chaijndasut). The attitudes towards records managers in the Thai government will also need to undergo some changes.

The focus group rated some strategies more highly than others. However, these strategies have been already initiated in the NAT and have not brought about very successful outcomes. Hence, based on all the research that has gone into this study, including the aforementioned focus group, I will propose more detailed recommendations as follows.

Recommendations

1. Disseminating information about the transfer process to the departments, educating them about archival concepts such as life cycle and the value of current and non-current records.

It has been suggested above that the failure to transfer materials to the NAT is caused by an inability to connect current records to archives. Hence, it is important to emphasise this idea in any workshops or manuals on appraisal. One interviewee, Nenuphar Supavej did teach university staff about the life cycle, and this secured a successful outcome as the university staff improved records management practice according to the knowledge received from her workshop (Supavej). It would be worthwhile for the archivists to further share knowledge on the whole process of archival management so that people will know how their tasks matter in the big picture.

One specific topic of archival knowledge the archivists should explain is the value of current records and archives, with the aim of helping the departments to understand the benefits records and archives can offer to their organisations and the general public. That is, effective recordkeeping will increase the efficiency of their work, and also contribute to the public's knowledge. This will motivate the officers not only to comply with the law but also to take advantage of the practice.

2. Drafting transfer regulations from the existing laws

I suggest that the NAT should provide a code of conduct or rules from the regulations and laws, such as The Regulations of the Prime Minister's Office on Records Management B.E. 2526 and 2548 and the Archives Act. It will be more effective if the Act is put into a code of conduct and its requirements published in a manual, as this will aid people to know how to put the law into practice.

3. Building motivation

As mentioned, the Archives can build motivation by highlighting how the departments stand to benefit: recordkeeping will increase efficiency in their work and help to improve transparency in the organisations. Moreover, the practice should be strengthened by focusing on a bigger agenda, because Thai bureaucratic culture and Thai culture itself has a top-down approach.[36] This strategy will be effective once it is a part of high-level policy. The government should consider including regular and transparent transfer of records as a part of an anti-corruption agenda, which corresponds with the country's development plan to promote transparency and citizens' access to information.

Some developments could help to strengthen the transfer mechanism over a longer period. Some of these ideas were raised in the focus group but got lower scores than the others. They are developments that it is difficult to see being achieved at present, but which need to be built up in the long term.

4. Having records managers in government departments

This proposed strategy is complicated but has already proved successful. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs does in fact have a liaison in each section, and this enables them to have an effective records management system.

Another long-term goal should be developing the NAT's relationships with the government departments. This thesis has analysed reasons why the departments do not want to transfer records to the NAT. Many issues are listed here with the

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[36] This bureaucratic culture is strengthened by the hierarchical nature of Thai society.

assumption that if they were solved, the relationship between the NAT and the departments would be better. As was explained earlier, relationships are given a high importance in Thai society and can often determine the success or failure of an endeavour. Therefore, good relationships would greatly boost the NAT's chances of successfully implementing and maintaining an archival system run according to sound principles. Such social relations are largely intangible, but they are nonetheless an important element of the long-term efficiency of the NAT.

One archivist mentioned that departments tend to feel 'possessive' of their records.[37] It is possible that the departments do not have trust in the system, so they do not want to give records to the NAT. From a user's perspective, Anake Nawigamune has the similar view that private donors might hesitate to give their records or objects to cultural institutions because they have no assurance as to how well the objects will be kept (Nawigamune). It is necessary to inform them clearly on how the NAT works and to develop the effectiveness of recordkeeping, but there are also things the NAT can do. For instance, records should be easily accessible by the original departments. Chaijindasut stated that the departments do not want to give records to the NAT because it is difficult to access them after the transfer. They have to search and access them like normal users (Chaijindasut). The NAT should assure the departments that they will be able to access their records. And, as is ever-important in Thai culture, the archivists will need to provide access with respect and perhaps even be prepared to make special accommodations, such as giving them expedited access to the materials they transferred. Actions such as these can build trust in the system, and satisfaction with the departments is required for the NAT to succeed in their appraisal strategies.

TNA is a good example of a system that is based on a good relationship between the archives and governmental departments. Their appraisal process is built on a solid and longstanding relationship between TNA and the departments. Their system of appraisal is quite special as the departments are the ones who select the records, while TNA plays an advisory role. It is not advisable for the NAT to rely on the departments in this way, but the relationship should be built and maintained as a strong foundation for the archives collections.

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[37] The archivist prefers not to be named.

If the NAT can consolidate its relationships with the departments effectively, this will profit the archival system greatly as it corresponds with the Thai cultural predisposition to consider good (or even personal) relationships as indispensable for successful work.

6.3.1.2 *Improving access tools: description and digitisation for access*

The next important change that needs to happen in order to provide efficient access is in the area of finding aids. The improvement of access tools was requested by most users in the interviews and the survey. At the NAT, lack of expertise is one of the reasons why the archivists have not been able to give user-friendly, convenient access through the finding aids. Other reasons are organisational culture that is slow to respond to users' needs and a lack of understanding of archival work in the Thai bureaucracy. User requests cover a wide range of things from search tools to tools used for reading records both online and on-site.

This has significantly impeded archival use. Conforming to the Thai values that love convenience and freedom, access needs to be user-friendly and offer easy access. An online catalogue would allow users to access the catalogue and digital archives freely. In this way, digital access would be keeping with individualist Thai values[38] and will encourage more people to use archives.

Search tools were the improvements most in demand in user interviews. This should start with transforming the NAT's paper inventory and database into an online catalogue, which will allow users to search for archives remotely. Furthermore, the survey indicates the need of users and potential users to access digitised archives. These changes would be expected to make discoverability at the NAT more effective than the current scanned or paper inventories. It seems likely that it would also improve the productivity and quality of research done at the NAT (Povatong). For users who like using photographic archives, a photo repository that people could access via computer or online is requested. A number of photos are already available

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[38] Although Thai culture, like most Asian cultures, emphasises harmony with others, Thais are individualists who adopt relatively cosmetic social mores to live with others. For more about these two seemingly opposing values in Thai society, please see chapter 3.

in the on-site database, whose interface allows users to browse photos and select the ones they need – a development that the users did compliment. The next step required by the users is to enlarge this database.

Activities	Rating
1. Implementing online catalogue	8.8
2. Digitisation and online archives	9.2
3. Reducing photocopying charges	6.6
4. Improving microfilm	7.8

Table 7 Possible solutions for description and digitisation raised and rated in the focus group

The archivists rated digitisation and online archives as the area for improvement they view as the highest priority, followed by online catalogue. Other issues raised by users, namely improving reading tools like microfilm readers, got a fairly high score. More minor complaints, like the fee for photocopies, was rated lower.

It can be seen that these changes are involved with digital expertise, which is an area most archivists do not have a good grasp of as they did not receive any education on this topic in their training.

The survey's means of using archives

In addition to feedback in the interviews and the focus group from those who are currently involved with archives, potential user groups were also asked for their opinions on the ways to access archives in the survey to get an insight into what

means people would be interested in using to access archives. Some options to access archives were provided, and the same options were available to all potential user groups. The result of the survey with the potential groups is as follows.

MEANS OF USING ARCHIVES

■ Teacher ■ Media ■ Organisation ■ Non-academic

Visiting Archives: 2.86, 2.3, 2, 3.38
Online Catalogue & Websites On...: 3.29, 2.85, 2.43, 2.08
Accessing Archives via Social Media: 3.57, 3, 2.43, 2.25
Visiting Exhibition: 2.57, 2.3, 2, 2.42
Accessing Digitised Archives Online: 3.25, 3.23, 2.29, 2.58
Participating Events or Activities...: 2, 2, 2.14, 2.33
Using Archives with Digital Tools: 3, 2.29, 2.14, 2.5
Volunteering in Archives: 2, 1.38, 1.43, 1.58
Donating Personal Records: 1.57, 1.69, 2, 1.75

Figure 18 Means of using archives for each group

Significant features of the score for each group

For teachers, social media got the highest score (3.57) followed by online catalogue or the National Archives' website (3.29) and using digitised archives (3.25). Visiting the archives is ranked fifth of nine options (2.86). Although this teacher group contains a few archives users, all means involving digital tools ranked higher than all those that did not.

For the second group, media, the top four means of using archives, in order, were digitised archives (3.23), using online catalogue or archives' website (2.85), social media (2.43), using digital tools to access archives (2.29). This group did demonstrate some willingness to engage in physical activities such as visiting archives (2.3) and visiting exhibitions in archives (2.3) but these received fairly low scores.

Most staff in organisations said that they are unlikely to use archives, so they mostly selected 1 (unlikely) for most options, making the overall score low. No means obtained a distinct or notable score. However, social media and online catalogue and archives' website gained the highest score (2.43) (the lowest score for the most favoured means among all groups), followed by digitised archives (2.29), participating in events or activities about archives (2.14), and using archives with digital tools (2.14). The mean with the lowest score is volunteering in archives (1.43). Again, all options requiring an in-person visit to or participation at the archives are ranked low.

The non-academic research group gave a significantly high score to visiting archives (3.38). This might be due to the fact that the questionnaires were distributed at the NAT, so many participants were already NAT users. Options that obtained middling to low scores were digitised archives (2.58), and using digital tools e.g. databases, applications (2.5). Visiting exhibitions on archives was ranked fourth by this group (2.42), which differs from other groups' low ranking of this means. This shows that this group has an interest in seeing physical archives. Social media was the sixth most favoured means among the participants (2.25), which contrasts marginally with the third group (staff working in organisations), though the score is still not low. This group is the only one for which digital means of using archives are not clustered as the highly favoured options. This means they are also interested in engaging with archives physically as well as via digital access. However, donating archives and volunteering in archives are the means that received the lowest score, as in other groups.

The result of the survey shows that each potential group, with different lifestyles and needs, have varying preferences regarding means of using archives. However, most groups rated digital means of access archives more highly than the physical ones, except the group of non-academic users that have mixed preferences including digital

and physical means. This demonstrates that potential users have strong needs for digital access to archives, which is still lacking. Considering different groups, the teacher group gave the highest score to all options. This reflects the notion that archives are related to education. In contrast, scores from staff working in organisations gave the lowest overall score for all means, indicating that they consider it unlikely that they will need to use archives. This corresponds to the findings of the open-ended part of the survey and the findings that Thai attitudes and perceptions tend to be that archives are not connected to current use in organisations.
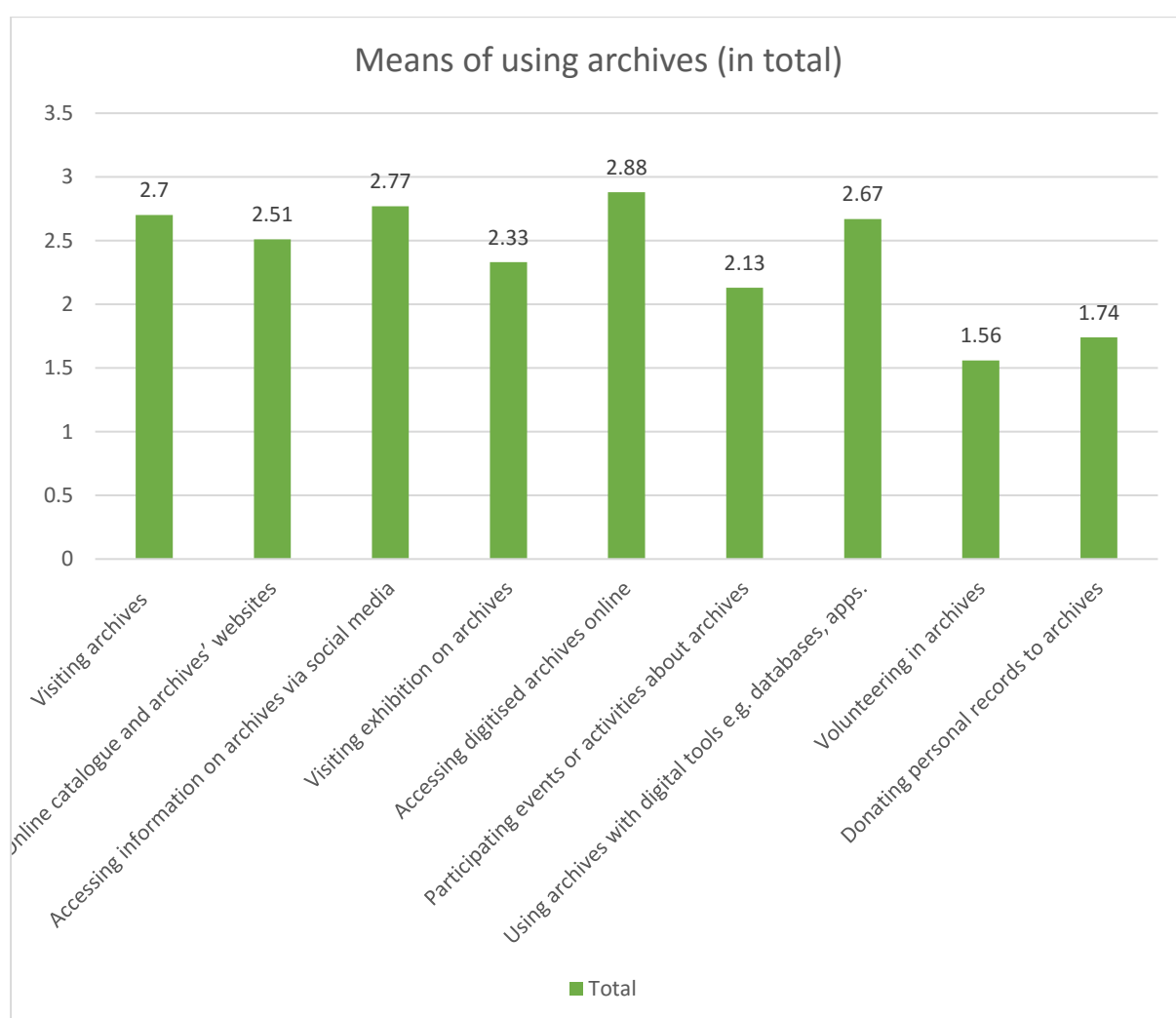
Figure 19 Means of using archives (in total)

The means with the highest overall score is accessing digitised archives online (2.88), followed by using social media (2.77) and visiting archives (2.7). The score for donating personal records to archives (1.74) and volunteering in archives (1.56) were very low.

In brief, the means with very high scores for all potential groups were those connected to digital archives, although these varied slightly among different groups. The fact that digitised archives, social media and digital tools were the three most preferred means of accessing archives show these potential groups want to explore archives conveniently. The options that help them in searching for archives were rated secondarily, which may be needed when they want to look for something in particular. The traditional means of accessing archives were rated low except in the last group. This means that, in order to engage most potential groups, the development of digital platforms is required. However, there is an exception in the group of non-academic users who still find coming on-site preferable and expressed as much interest in physical means as digital ones.

While the archivists have to rely on the IT department of the Department of Fine Arts, due to their lack of expertise and the bureaucratic structure, I surmise that some strategies that could help are:

Recommendations

That digital skills have become so important in archival work requires archivists to have both archival knowledge and IT skills. Thus, it is inadequate for archivists to depend on an IT department like the NAT does now, especially if the communication between the archivists and IT people is not efficient (as is the case at the NAT). The next step then is to send archivists to IT training or refresher courses on digital skills related to archives. Taweta noted that the Archives has attempted to send personnel for such training in the past (Taweta). However, to make a lasting difference, this would need to happen more regularly. Ultimately, it is important for the Archives to have their own IT positions, which is contrary the current structure within the Department of Fine Arts.

The fact that the Department of Fine Arts has a central IT department responsible for all kinds of IT work reflects an underestimation of the importance digital technology and the complexity of different kinds of work in the department. The high-ranking officers in the department should have the new attitudes about digital business to work more seamlessly in line with other kinds of work.

At the same time, while the NAT still needs to depend on the IT department, and too few personnel at the Archives have IT expertise, new ways of communication with IT people – ways to link archival work and IT knowledge in this field – need to be properly trained in order to foster collaboration among these groups.

The IT development should not stop only at developing finding aids and a more user-friendly website. These developments need to also take into account new records formats. Some elements of the Thai bureaucratic system now use electronic records only in their work. However, the NAT does not yet have electronic strategies that can be used to deal with them (Srijantaranit). This is an urgent challenge – one that will continue to result in the loss of a great of information until the NAT is able to address this situation.

6.3.1.3   Service

In the interviews and the survey, service at the NAT was praised for the archivists' helpfulness and for the good relationships they have formed with the users. These sentiments about the archives and the personnel are also found among the British users, though it was especially prominent in many Thai users' comments, which reflects the nature of Thai culture. These relationships between people are beneficial as they contribute to research. However, some did criticise the hierarchical culture in the NAT. This complaint was heard among those who are not academic historians or students. Furthermore, the good relationship culture in the Archives can also be seen in a negative light; the result of such cultural phenomena can stir feelings of inequality among users who are not considered the target groups.

Since a key characteristic of archival use at the NAT is the relationship between archivists and users and the relationship among users themselves, it is advisable to

take advantage of this characteristic as a strength by building up archives community. Kootiam also raised this idea of establishing an archives society or community in her interview (Kootiam). Finding ways to capitalise on this aspect is a worthwhile task because it is particularly suitable for the NAT's organisational culture. In the UK, TNA has user forums and users advisory panels for giving users a chance to voice their opinions to the Archives, though some users also complained that TNA does not truly listen to their opinions (Woolgar; Moore). The NAT may not have to go so far as to invite people to participate in making decision about the archives, but the archives group would be a valuable tool for exchanging knowledge and fostering collaboration. This could greatly benefit the Archives by aiding them in understanding users' needs.

As the data analysis shows, there is an implicit attitude among the archivists' of inequality among different groups of users. The archivists strongly denied such attitudes in the NAT. It is possible this is true now, since the archivists themselves reported that they never used user's background information to treat people differently. However, this preference of groups of users was reported by the archivists themselves when they talked about their work in the past and now the attitudes have changed. The users' attitudes could be linked to incidents that occurred before these attitudes changed.

Hopefully, the shift in attitudes will continue. Instead of the perspective that archives should be used exclusively by researchers while other groups of users should not be allowed to access the value of archives, novel ways to extend access to new groups of people should be initiated; nonetheless, maintaining strong relationships with researchers is still essential. This openness to change is the opposite of traditional Thai values in Schwartz's diagram; however, it has become increasingly necessary because, firstly, the NAT is said to be having a limited impact on the society. Because of this perceived ineffectiveness, it is not likely to be granted the increase in resources needed for the development of the archives. Secondly, more people will be able to benefit from the archives.

6.3.1.4   Use

It is clear that archives generally face an awareness problem in Thai society. This can explain the limited group of users and the small impact the Archives has. Overall, this research shows that cultural elements in the Thai context – values, attitudes, and perceptions related to archives (as discussed in chapter 3, 4, 5 respectively) – do not support archival access and use as it is generally conceived. Thai attitudes towards archives encourage the system to function to keep records rather than to give access to users. Also, traditional Thai values do not encourage people to use information to find new knowledge.

In the focus group, the archivists do not think they could reach out people in every group due to their limited resources. Their target group is academic users. This limited outreach to different groups of people brings more negative results to the NAT than positive ones. It emphasises how closed the NAT is rather than how special the institution is. This is reflected in the interviews with archivists who explained that the NAT does not obtain much funding because they serve only "adults" and those who are quite "austere", not all groups of people.[39] One way to counteract this perception is to implement an archives outreach strategic plan to continue what they have done well and add more variety for further outreach to various groups of people.

Traditional and modern archives

The first challenge to address is the confusion between the traditional and modern meanings of archives. In chapter 4, I explained that Thai attitudes towards archives in general are attached to the traditional understanding while the modern sense of records tends to be known only among those who are involved with archives. Moreover, at a deeper level, modern recordkeeping is not compatible with Thai values. In contrast, traditional recordkeeping better supports some traditional Thai values (detailed in chapter 3).

The focus group discussed how these old and new senses of archives are mixing in different circumstances in Thai society. The group indicated that archives in the

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[39] Kept anonymous to safeguard the reputation of the archivists.

traditional sense is an important part of the groups' perceptions, and is the main perception for non-academic users. By their analysis, archives in the modern sense have at least partly come into the public's and the administrators' perceptions. For example, the public do not know about textual records, but they know that they have to come to the archives for old photographs. Or, the executives understand archives mainly in the traditional sense, but they know about digital archives and encourage the NAT to have them, which often makes discussions with them confusing. There is a great deal of confusion in people's understandings about archives, and so archives remain a "mysterious" place for non-researchers (Chuchard "Focus group").

User groups	Perception	
	Western	Traditional
Academic users	Good understanding for both	
Executives	Digital archives	Recording events
The public	Photographs	Recording events

Table 8 Understanding on archives in different groups of Thai people

What this means is that there is not a clear line between different groups of users. Taweta stated that the mix of understandings has an impact on their work; for example, when they talk to high-ranking people, they do not know what they need to refer to. She concluded that people's understandings on archives "depend on the status of the users and those who know. They are not equal and are not the same group" (Taweta "Focus group"). I asked the archivists about how to deal with these conflicts of old and new recordkeeping practice and understanding.

In the end, the focus group could not come to a conclusion on how to solve different understandings for different groups but it clearly analysed fragmentation of cognitive attitude on archives and overall potentiality on how people can relate themselves to them. It is true that at the end, people will use archives in different ways according to

their needs and situations, but they need to understand the value archives can offer to them.

I propose that there be a campaign or tool that helps people to understand different roles of archives in Thai society – both the old and new senses of archives.

As for the traditional recordkeeping system, it gives a strong sense of tradition and encourages a high level of respect for national heritage. It has its own target groups, namely people who are interested in royal duties and strong supporters of the monarchy. Or, in terms of high-ranking people, they are interested in being recorded in traditional archives as it adds to their prestige. This tradition should remain, but the system should be strengthened by making it more visible and accessible. Today, the traditional archives that are records of important events during a year are published as a book; these books are distributed to different libraries and institutions (Nakpreecha "Focus group"). Publishing traditional archives online would also increase accessibility as users could search and use them without physical copies. This could potentially be a reliable reference resource for the nation.

On the other hand, the modern sense of recordkeeping should be promoted and made closer to people's lives. For this, it is important that the archivists communicate the modern definition to people who are not familiar with archives, and inform them about different types of value archives hold, how they can benefit their lives in today's world, and how to access them. (This will be elaborated on in the section on outreach strategies.)

However, the archivists believe that even if archives were to become understood correctly and valued, it would not necessarily mean that they would be supported – especially financially (Chuchard "Focus group"). They gave the example of the current Minister of Culture, who has a good understanding of archives but nevertheless does not lend much support to archives projects. This type of situation was also mentioned by UK interviewees. In researchers' opinion, these things occur because most crucially, archives need to be used in order to be truly valued. Being valued but not used does not put them in a sufficiently strong position to be supported.

There have also been instances of archives being valued only when people need them when faced with problems. Archives are considered a low priority in the Department of Fine Arts. However, they sometimes become significant when evidence or

information is needed. One archivist said, "They will value us once they want to make use of us" (Chuchard "Focus group"). A similar point was also raised by one UK interviewee: records and archives become valuable and necessary once people have a problem (Shepherd).

Different options for doing outreach were discussed. All of the outreach activities mentioned had been done before in some form. The archivists try to organise them as much as they can within their limited resources. They also have to take care of their main responsibilities, so outreach activities are given a lower priority. They also believe that the activities might not be adequate for raising awareness on archives. (Outreach activities are listed in the table below.) These activities are currently considered extra projects the Archives organises occasionally depending on their resources and availability. This probably needs to change as expanding groups of users can change the kind of impact the Archives has.

The activities supporting awareness in archives are rated on their perceived effectiveness as follows.

Activities	Rating
1. Talks at the National Archives and elsewhere	9
2. Publication (articles in magazine, papers)	8
3. Publication on websites and other digital media	8.2
4. Activities and events	8.4
5. Encouraging media to use archives	7.8

6. Publishing books about new collections	7.8
7. Promoting traditional archives	9.2
8. Collaboration with other institutions	9.2

Table 9 Possible solutions for outreach raised and rated in the focus group

Collaborating with other institutions and promoting traditional archives were scored the highest, followed by talks at the NAT and elsewhere. The data shows that the archivists consider their current outreach activities to be effective. However, the fact is the NAT is not so well known. Therefore, it appears that activities should be organised more consistently, and other outreach strategies could be worth initiating.

It is notable that the high score for collaboration with others is more about helping other offices in their projects – especially providing archival documents to support the projects. It seems unlikely that this can make archives more visible to a broader audience.

Recommendations

Thai society has particular values making the vast majority of the people especially responsive to some kinds of activities and uninterested in others. According to my research, as described in chapter 3, some traditional Thai values are supported by the traditional recordkeeping system while others have not been supported by any archival systems. Some values are not prominent in Thai society, but the Western recordkeeping system actively supports them.

1st category	2nd category	3rd category
Traditional Thai values & Thai definition of archives	Existing Thai values but Western archival system has not fulfilled	New values archives can support
Tradition Power Universalism (peace, love for others)	Hedonism (fun-loving, materialism) Benevolence	Security Achievement Self-direction

Table 10 Various Thai values from Schwartz's universal values and their relationship with values supported by Thai and Western recordkeeping system

This values table has been discussed in chapter 3 and will be developed into outreach strategies in this chapter. This study has confirmed that the traditional archival system does indeed support Thai social values, so it is strong in Thai perceptions and attitudes towards archives. The values in the first category, namely tradition and power, support the conservative part of the society, which aims for stability in government and institutions.

Universalism is naturally supported by archives as they are about knowledge, intellect and art. Thais are typically peace-loving and gentle, which is a part of this value. Archives can be a good tool for them to learn more intellectual analysis, philosophy and art, leading to a greater sense of refinement and peace in life. Also, archives were hoped to be one of the tools that help to solve conflicts and bring peace to the society (Towinus). This kind of value has already been used by researchers, particularly historians, but has not been spread to wider groups of people. Outreach strategies will need to consider the wider audience.

These values are already strong in the traditional archival system, so they should remain as strong points of Thai recordkeeping, but the challenge at present is to seek to make them more visible.

The values in the second category make up what in this research is called the "values gap" (please see chapter 3 for more detail). These are prominent values in Thai

culture that have not been supported yet in either the traditional or modern archival system. This research attempts to fill this gap between society and archives by presenting archives in a way that corresponds with what is valued by the society. This does not mean that the essential value of archives would change. Instead, the presentation method will aim to help people to more suitably consume and benefit from archival materials. One interviewee expressed this idea by saying the presentation needs to be "chocolate-coated" (Nawigamune). Also, some new practices could be introduced to Thai culture. For example, family history is a form of archival use that supports the "fun" or hedonism value in the UK. This might have to change to support more hedonism and benevolence values to suit the Thai context.

Hedonism is a prominent value in Thai society, manifested in a generally fun-loving demeanour. When combined with power, it becomes materialism. These things are not usually what archives focus on, but one guiding strategy in this research is that archives need to be presented in such a way. For example, reserving archives for research alone cannot be attractive for those holding these values. To achieve more widespread engagement with the Thai public, archives need to be incorporated into activities, events, and entertainment. For a materialistic approach, archives may have to be presented by famous people to help boost brand image. More importantly, archives will have to look more attractive and modern, with new media such as digital platforms because, as stated earlier, media are not solely tools but imply messages in and of themselves. (See discussion in *Theories of media* under 6.2.2 for more detail.) In the digital age, people generally expect information to correspond with their modern lifestyle and expectations. Again, this does not mean that the essence of archives will have to change. These methods are ways to offer the same values with new presentations that are more clearly linked to recipients' values. A beautiful and intriguing interface – though superficial – can attract people to a more valuable article inside.

The other value in this category is benevolence which is closely related to Thai Buddhist belief and practice. The traditional way of thinking about archives may not directly support this value but if one considers the modern way of thinking about archives in supporting social justice, this kind of archival use supports benevolence.

Lastly, the third category of value consists of values that are not yet strong in the society but have become increasingly crucial because of social change and globalisation. In these cases, archives can support them. Security, achievement and self-direction are values related to evidential value of archives that are particularly important in modern society. Good records management, a part of the archiving process, can strengthen efficiency and accountability in organisations. Nevertheless, simply transplanting the system into the Thai context would not be effective but would just repeat the history of Thai recordkeeping during the nineteenth century where values in organisations dominated the system.

A more successful strategy for dealing with this would need new methods in Thai organisational culture in its initial phase. The government would also have to pay close attention to the needs of the country by developing in the area of good governance. Then, they have to see the links between recordkeeping and anti-corruption agenda. This realisation should then result in more willingness to invest in recordkeeping – including human resources and adjustment of working priorities in the Thai bureaucratic system. This would need to be carried out systematically until the new values naturally assimilated into the society.

The following outreach strategy is based on these values.

This following table contains recommendations for outreach programmes for the NAT. The NAT may be unable to do every suggested activity but the aim is to encourage the NAT to open itself to new groups of users and the public in different forms. The recommendations are based on the three kinds of values in the table and described above. New target groups that the NAT should reach out to as potential users are teachers, local communities and public- and private-sector staff. Also, the recommendations attempt to ensure greater accessibility and visibility of the archives in order to give the general public a better understanding – which would ideally lead to a change of attitudes.

Old strategies (1st category of values)			
Outreach activities	Target group	Comment	Values[40]/ attitudes support
- Collaboration with other institutions	All groups/ governmental departments	Initiating more archives-led projects where other institutions are welcome to take part in the projects. Or, being more visible while joining in others' projects.	Conformity Achievement Need more power It creates good relationships with other organisations leading to good collaboration. However, archives should sometimes take a lead to create the attitude that it is not a lesser organisation in the Department.
- Publication (magazine)	Readers of *Silpakorn* magazine (scholars)	Publishing articles on archives regularly.	Conformity (The magazine belongs to the Department of Fine Arts, and publish articles from various depts in the organisation.) Achievement Benevolence

[40] Other values are also possibly being supported by each activity since values are broad and one action can cover many values.

- Talks at the NAT and elsewhere	Researchers, interested people, students	Already effective project. Need more effective PR and more resources.	Benevolence Achievement Stimulation
- Traditional archives	Traditional users	Making it more accessible (e.g. publishing it online).	Conformity Tradition

Strengthening lacking values (2nd category of values)			
Outreach activities	Target group	Comment	Values / attitudes support
- Digital platform for outreach	Old groups of users and wider groups of users	Making information from the archives more accessible to people who are not familiar with it.	The attitude of being open, reaching out people and being willing to deliver service are the underlying attitudes.
- Events and activities	Non-researchers	Making it more fun and lively	Hedonism Universalism
- Encouraging media staff to use archives	Non-users	Media can have a great impact on changing people's perceptions and doing effective PR.	Hedonism Universalism

- Publishing books about new collections	Users	Making users know more about new available archives	An accessible and open attitude.
- Educational tools	Students (used by teachers)	Creating educational tools from archives that teachers can use in teaching	Universalism Reaching out to people
- Local history	Local communities	Encouraging local communities to archive and learn their history. The NAT or academics might help them in the learning and network-building process.	Benevolence (encouraging social justice) Universalism (creating peace) Security (solving existing conflicts) Changing the attitude that history belongs to the high class only.

New strategies (3rd category of values)			
Outreach activities	Target group	Comment	Values/ attitudes support
- Manual for records management	Governmental departments, people working in organisations	Creating understanding on archival practice especially on appraisal.	Achievement Power Security

- Training for governmental departments	Governmental departments, people working in organisations	Turning regulations into more practical practice. Encouraging good recordkeeping system in governmental organisations which will encourage good governance.	Achievement Power Security

Table 11 Proposed outreach strategies

Attitude change

One main issue discussed earlier in this thesis is that attitudes towards archives in Thailand have an impact on archival practice. I recommend that the various attitudes among different groups of people should be clarified by the NAT. It is needed to inform the society about what different kinds of values archives can offer them.

The first thing to focus on is the fact that public relations needs to work in context. The archivists also need to keep an eye on changes in the society, and see the gaps to which archives can be applied.

From the result of the study in chapter 4, the affective component of people's attitudes towards archival materials is good even though the cognitive component is more problematic among most groups because understandings on archives are still unclear. The behavioural component is even more ambiguous as the majority of people in Thai society have not had experience with archives. According to attitude change theory, inconsistency among different components can prompt changes in overall attitude (Reich and Adcock 93). In this case, the affective side is a good foundation for changing other components. The enhancement is needed in cognitive and behavioural

components. So, new positive information that is suitable to each group needs to be given to strengthen the cognitive component.

As for behavioural component, acquaintance with the object can change the attitude towards objects (Zajonc 1). Thus, it is considered as a way to improve the attitude towards archives. It is advisable for the archivists to make people contact the archives as much as possible because familiarity with the objects will help in the attitude improvement.

Recommendations

Two strategies the NAT needs to implement are:

> 1. Providing information about what archives are, what kind of work the NAT does, what values archives can offer to society and individuals.

> 2. Introducing different kinds of activities and exposing archives to people's lives.

As for attitude towards the practice, the data collection in chapter 4 indicates that most attitudes are still not very positive. The development of practice is necessary for the attitude change. The strength of the Thai archival system is the relationship in the archives communities and the strong notion of traditional practice. The modern recordkeeping culture needs to find a way to mesh with such traditional notions.

6.3.2   Archives profession

Another main area discussed in the focus group was the development of archives professionals, which is crucial for the success of the NAT as efficient practice comes from having knowledgeable and skilful practitioners. Archival education and training are thus the foundation of all further development in the Archives.

Problems found in this area are quite significant. First of all, they are understaffed: the archivists are responsible for a volume of work far beyond their capacity. Secondly, there is a lack of professional recognition in Thailand; the profession is not seen as an academic one (Taweta "Focus group") but as a job that anyone can do, making it hard

for practitioners to progress, especially in the Thai bureaucratic system. Thirdly, archivists have professional values that can contradict social values – as detailed in this thesis.

The first two problems (understaffing and a lack of professional recognition) in this area are caused by insufficient awareness of records and archives and low professional status in society, especially in the Thai bureaucratic structure. This state of affairs is not surprising. If we look at Thai history of recordkeeping, the first archivists in Thai bureaucracy were women who were hired because the government did not want to pay a substantial salary for the work. This kind of attitude still persists and was reflected in the interviews. For example, a former archivist related that archival work used to be assigned to civil servants close to retirement – a putting out to pasture (Anonymous former archivist).

More substantially, archivists' work is not considered a discipline. The overall attitude towards the profession is that anyone can do archival work. Archives professionals in Thailand are not recognised as working in an academic profession, unlike other jobs in the Department of Fine Arts such as curators, librarians and specialists in literature. These posts are given the title "expert" and their title is suffixed with "ว" which stands for วิชาการ or academic. National archivists, on the other hand, are not considered to be working with academic content but are practicing staff (Chuchard "Focus group"). It is the only office in the Department of Fine Arts that has no "expert" (Taweta "Focus group").[41]

This appears to be because, in general, those who keep records in organisations are not trained records managers. They are staff in a section called "*Saraban*" who keep records from different departments but do not follow any standards in records and archives management. People working in this section usually come from a patchwork of miscellaneous, unrelated backgrounds and have a lower salary. Even at the NAT, academic knowledge or training in the principles of records and archives management is not seen by others as a prerequisite for being employed in archival practice at the NAT. Most archivists have learned by experience in-house rather than received academic training.

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[41] "Expert" here refers to the position of the civil servants.

Clearly, the field is not widely recognised as an academic discipline. The archivists believe that the reasons why archivists are not given this recognition in the system is that there is no archival programme in Thai universities and so it is not seen as a specialised job. Actually, such a programme does exist but it is very poorly known and only among professionals. Archives is also taught as a course in different universities – some are ARM courses, others focus on archives as another kind of information resource (Prudtikul). The problem of professional status will thus need to be solved at least partly through archival education development.

The recruitment process creates another challenge for archives professionals at the NAT. It does not help to change the belief that archive work can be done by anyone. Firstly, archivists can have graduated with degrees in a wide range of subjects. The focus group mentioned that it is too broad, making it look as if anyone can work as an archivist. Also, it is not required that applicants have any education or training in archives management.

Secondly, most people working at the NAT today are not archivists but temporary employees who are assigned to work on specific jobs routinely. This reinforces the understanding that archives work can be done by anyone. In fact, this has a negative impact on the NAT because the temporary employees understand neither the whole archival process nor archival materials.

Thirdly, a new regulation requires each new archivist to pass a six-month probation period before being trained. This means the new archivists are not trained properly before working. This practice conflicts with the nature of archival work, which requires knowledge in principles of archives management and experience.

Archivists working at the NAT are not obliged to have academic training in archives and records management. Archival development for staff consists of in-house training, the standards of which depend on the expertise of the individual archivist leading the training. For example, Srijantaranit thinks that archivists who used to train her were very knowledgeable, so she was influenced by their teachings to be passionate about her career. She considers the new generation of archivists not to have the same level of motivation (Srijantaranit). Some archivists working for provincial branches do not send their new archivists to the headquarters because of budget shortages.

Many other forms of training, such as increasing archives positions or sending archivists to attend conferences abroad, have been dropped from government policy.

Activities	Rating
1. In-house training	9
2. More staff	8.4
3. Limit fields of study	9
4. Studying Master's degree	6.4
5. Going to conferences	7.4

Table 12 Possible solutions to personnel development raised and rated based on perceived effectiveness in the focus group

This situation concerning the training of archivists does nothing to convince others that archivists have standardised principles in their work. However, the modes of development the archivists rated the most effective have not changed. That is, they still consider in-house training to be the most worthwhile. The other choice that has an equal score is limiting the field of study of the applicants. Although the focus group discussed requiring academic courses in higher education, this option was not considered effective because the MA course in Archives and Records Management offered at Silpakorn University does not correspond with the structure of the Thai bureaucratic system. That is, the required qualification for a new archivist at the NAT is a bachelor's degree. A master's degree in ARM is unnecessary and would not mean a higher salary. Those who study in this course are mostly archivists who already work at the NAT and want to learn more about their work (Taweta "Focus group"). Unfortunately, the degree does not help them to advance in their career in concrete terms such as higher salary or status.

This situation suggests that there needs to be greater communication between educational and archival institutions. Both should work together to provide the right degrees and requirements for archivists. The focus group felt that these discussions should be held at the ministerial level: their ministry (Ministry of Culture) should talk to the Ministry of Education about improving the curriculum on archives and educating students for the archival profession. The participants in the focus group believe that archival education at the bachelor's degree level would be more suitable for the Thai context. Also, they would like to see trained and qualified records manager positions in different governmental departments. These new positions would be jobs for graduates from the bachelor's degree in archives programmes.

Since the profession is not seen to have specialised expertise, professional growth for a records manager or archivist in the Thai bureaucratic system is stymied, and these people will be stuck in their career paths. This corresponds with what Suwanna Chaijindasut, director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives and Library, explained in her interview: people with the title "archivist" will not advance in the ministry because the bureaucratic structure does not have such a title. So, all those working in an archives job have the title of librarian instead, even though they work with records (Chaijindasut). It is therefore necessary for a new understanding of the archives profession to take root in the Thai civil service system and in high-ranking people's attitudes. Otherwise, archivists will be considered as only doing an unskilled job, which cannot be the case if the aim is indeed for an efficient archival system.

Recommendations

These conclusions of the focus group in conjunction with the research that has gone into this thesis has indicated that archival awareness is linked to recognition of the profession, and both of these are lacking in Thai society. On one hand, the society and the government devalue the archives profession due to a lack of understanding about the subject and its benefits. On the other hand, the practice at the NAT and the limited archival education in Thailand probably have not given enough evidence to show the value of the archives profession (Taweta "Focus group"). These different elements suggest the number of possible ways in to encourage reliance on archives profession.

Possible ways in which this could be done include:

1. Development in archival education

The master's programme in archival management contributes to academic and professional development in the archival field; however, it does not practically apply to the qualifications required by the bureaucratic system. There needs to be agreement between the Office of the Civil Service Commission and higher education institutions. No matter what level an archives course would be, it needs to ensure that the students have the skills needed. The skills most needed in the NAT are[42]:

- Principles of archives and records management

- Digital skills that can be applied to archival work

- Knowledge of laws

- Knowledge of specific subjects that are a foundation for understanding certain types of records, such as history, Thai, palaeography, and so on.

This research does not aim to design an archival curriculum. More research should be done to further the curriculum design and determine a suitable management of the archival programme in Thailand.

2. Training outside the university

Higher education institutions should also continue disseminating knowledge in archives. Training outside the course for practitioners can be fruitful. For example, Prudtikul and Supavej train practitioners in different organisations as a part of their academic service, which is beneficial in the wider society, even for those who do not study in higher education institutions (Supavej; Prudtikul).

6.4 Conclusion

To sum up, knowledge from the literature review and data collected via the interviews and survey helps the analysis of the impacts on values and attitudes on archival practice. This was especially the case for the discussion of access and use in the first part of this chapter. The findings reveal that culture has impacts on value of archives and in the archival practice at the NAT. This chapter also attempts to employ findings

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[42] According to the interviews, the focus group and my opinions

from the research to suggest changes for Thai archives by looking at the reality at the NAT reflected from the national archivists' points of view in the focus group. This deed is beneficial in bringing the context to the small scale of improving archival strategies in appraisal, description and digitisation, service, outreach and professional development to work better in the Thai context. Although thinking about management inside the archives is essential, the archivists will need to consider beyond to how archives fit the bigger picture of the whole society. This will be elaborated in the final chapter.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1   Summary of the thesis

The first chapter opens with a characterisation of the archival problem in Thailand: cultural issues underlie the visible technical side of archives management. It is absolutely true that a comprehensive and smart application of technology would help to improve the problem of the limited archival use at the NAT; however, this thesis has found that this would not be a complete solution because there is a significant gap in respect of the cultural and social perspective of ordinary people who are not connected to archives. Thus, this cultural issue cannot be ignored but needs to be studied and worked on hand-in-hand with other limiting factors such as the application of technology.

This thesis begins to explore this problem by considering questions around value and value judgement, which are shown to be relevant for the field of archival studies: about the nature of archives; the work related to this concept such as appraisal and the decisions on which records to select (Trace 47); preservation, and the practice of preserving enduring value; and access, having to do with the dissemination of the value to users and wider society. One of the main reasons why archives are valued differently across different societies is related to culture. The following research question helped me to consider this situation:

> - *How might an improved understanding of Thai values help to address the problems facing archives in Thailand?*

My research question helped me to think about how archives are valued in Thai society and their connection with social values as well as other cultural elements such as attitudes and worldviews. I found that these questions allowed me to think more integrally about archives. Sub-questions that followed from this were:

> - *What is the nature of value?*

> - *What are Thai values and how do they compare to 'archival' value?*

> *- How are attitudes towards archives manifested in terms of access and use in Thailand, and how do these attitudes compare to those in the UK?*

> *- What factors appear to be important in shaping Thai attitudes towards archives?*

The research was designed to understand the Thai situation, while also using a comparative study, with the UK representing archival theory and practice in the West. Though we cannot generalise about Western archives because there are such differences from country to country, the UK provides rich information to research providing a robust example of Western recordkeeping. Comparing Thailand and the UK can provide in-depth information about cultural differences between the East and the West.

Chapter 1 introduces and demonstrates the connections between humans (individuality, subjectivity and cultures) and archives as the materials that function in societies across the world. It seems that once this relationship becomes weak or distant, dysfunction can be noted. An example of this is the situation found in the case of Thailand whereby lack of awareness of roles of recordkeeping and archives makes the National Archives of Thailand a little known place that is used only by academic and professional researchers, which is a small group in Thai society. The limited impact the Archives makes leads to limited funding and support allocated to the Archives, increasing difficulties in improving technology and service that helps archives to function well.

In chapter 2 which deals with the sub-question on the nature of value, I explored literature in psychology, sociology and philosophy to gain an understanding of the phenomenon of value in order to tackle my research questions. Important findings from chapter 2 became the tools for the whole research.

Firstly, in terms of the concept of value, there is a relationship between value in objects and those of the evaluators. In other words, the value judgement process is the interaction between the *evaluated* and the *evaluators*. This demonstrates that knowledge about the context where archives are managed and used should be understood along with the implementation of the archival system. Also, each piece of material and the way it is used support some kinds of values, but possibly not all kinds.

Secondly, while studying the literature on attitude, it was found that attitudes are shaped by information and experience, which is why the study of material history within individual societies is very useful. Attitudes are composed of various components, namely knowledge, feelings and behaviour; they can affect one another, and change accordingly.

Other elements that are also considered include perception, ideology and worldview. Though they are not the main focus of the present research, knowledge of these elements has enabled me to better understand the whole valuation process.

The findings from the literature were of great instrumental importance to the research as it allowed me to think within a new framework. For example, contemplating archival value not simply through the prism of archival theory, but together with other disciplines, opened up new avenues to form the premise of this thesis' findings. To understand how archives are valued and how the recordkeeping process is connected to humans, I studied different elements involved within valuation theory: definitions, functions, how they are shaped and changed, and overall collaboration in the valuation process.

Next, chapter 3 delves into Thai values and how they compare to archival values. Thai values have their origins in and have been shaped by the Buddhist worldview and traditional social structure. These roots in Buddhism, Hinduism as well as animism provide outstanding traits: Thai epistemology, seniority systems and the importance of relationships. This clear value of hierarchy is a dominant value across the society and has a great influence in terms of archival practice as demonstrated in chapter 4.

Also in chapter 3, by applying values framework in psychology, we find that the way archival value is understood in archival sciences as adopted for the traditional Thai archival system better supports Thai values than the modern (Western) system, which actually contradicts Thai values in several ways. This finding points to an incongruence underlined in value, the level of the core belief, so it is not surprising that archives, especially in the Western sense, are less appreciated and used in Thai society, while traditional archives support Thai values but only emphasise high culture and the sacred. Since there is a conflict at the fundamental level, it implies that there need to be changes and adjustments in archival promotion strategies.

Chapter 4 focuses on how attitudes towards archives are manifested in terms of access and use in Thailand and how these attitudes compare to those in the UK. The study of attitudes towards archives was conducted by analysing data collected by a survey in Thailand and also interviews with different groups of people in Thailand and the UK. The main finding is that Thai people are more closely attached to traditional notion of Thai archives, and lack knowledge of modern archives, with their perception being that archives are objects to keep, rather than to use. The data collection demonstrates attitudes that varied across different groups. It shows that ordinary people do not understand the meaning of archives, whereas archivists, users and archive educators who are deeply involved with archives have a good understandings and close relationship with the materials. This situation seems intuitive; however, it can be explained more deeply in respect of how the attitudes are formed and their impacts on archives. The history of Thai recordkeeping was studied and found its relation to history as elaborated from traditional archives created by high class people; whereas more modern bureaucratic archives have been around only briefly, since the period of the threat of colonialism. Both do not touch ordinary people's lives.

Similarly, in the UK, archives are not highly valued among people who are not directly involved with the records, although regular people do come into contact with archival data on occasion throughout their lives while collecting evidence or conducting research. The awareness of archives in terms of evidence in the UK is much stronger than in Thailand and the culture of using archives and records is more visible through its connection with various practices in British culture, such as the use of archives in journalism, documentaries, education and art. Here, though not seemingly highly valued, records are widely used across British society. Historically, archives have belonged to people with a high status. However, a wider variation of archival use in British society has motivated more groups of people to become involved with history. Due to an agenda around identity, people have begun thinking about their own history and have pursued data to trace their family history.

Attitude is found to be linked to archival practice at the NAT. There is a lack of awareness that affects the whole archival process, thus reducing the actual value of archives due to ignorance and significant flaws in practice, such as a lack of planned or comprehensive transfer of governmental department records to the NAT. Also,

inconvenience in terms of searching and accessing data due to a lack of expertise and support from the government leads to low use.

Chapter 5 discussed what factors appear to be important in shaping Thai attitudes towards archives by exploring perceptions on four topics related to archives, history, knowledge and education, identity and rights. These topics were chosen because of their significant effects on archival awareness and use and the perceptions on each topic are closely related to worldviews and ideologies behind them, which can be studied through the historical background and current situation in each area.

A significant difference found in these topics when comparing Thai and British beliefs and practices in these areas is the willingness to pursue the truth. The research found that traditional Thai perceptions of these areas are influenced by the fact that the society was originally a hierarchical society, valuing status, relationships and social harmony more than relying on the truth, which is the crucial nature of modern archives. On the other hand, the Western worldview related to archives values truth more highly than the Buddhist Thai worldview. For example, while Western historiography (I focused on Von Ranke's school, as it believes in the making of history from evidence, and has therefore been hugely influential in driving historians to use archives) consults archives for accuracy and truthfulness of what actually happened, traditional Thai history is based more on the creation of history by recording events. Such history can be written and shaped purposively, as in the form of chronicles, and does not necessarily refer to traces from past activities. Also, the presentation of history tends to be full of fictional elements. Differences in characteristics and epistemic standpoints can clearly explain why archives can serve professional (Western-trained) historians, but are not familiar ways of studying history in Thai culture.

The second topic this chapter covers is education, whereby Thai epistemology is contrasted with the West. While the Thai epistemic goal is to transmit knowledge from teachers to younger generations, where the system of seniority plays an important role, the Western epistemic goal places more emphasis on seeking new knowledge. Though the difference is not clear cut, educational approaches in the two contexts are different and reflect the epistemic goal of each context.

The last two topics discussed in chapter 5 are the concepts of identity and rights. This area shows the most distinctive difference in archival values between Thai and British contexts. In the Western context in the twenty-first century, the use of archival data and recorded evidence supports rights, social justice and identity. The perception of rights and identity in Thailand is culturally limited because of values emphasising social harmony and peace within Buddhism. However, the research found social change, with many areas becoming more capitalist and urbanised. To fill this gap, archives and effective recordkeeping systems are essential in enhancing a civil society, such as contemporary Thai society, in this transition since they have the potential to support good governance and democratic values. Nevertheless, the findings from the research show that adjustment and adaptation are needed to transplant Western archival value to the Thai context. For example, the findings indicate that evidential value in archives that is employed to encourage rights in an increasingly globalised Thai society needs to be conducted harmoniously.

Chapter 6 starts to address how might an improved understanding of Thai values help to address the problems faced by archives in Thailand by examining the problems faced by the NAT by analysing data from the whole research and considering the NAT archivists' focus group opinions about some possible solutions. The work done in the previous chapters have given an improved understanding of Thai values that results in the recommendations in different areas of archival work. Improvements are needed in order to deliver more effective and accessible archives: appraisal strategies, archival description and digitisation, service and outreach. At the same time, professional recognition needs to be supported with more rigorous academic training.

Solving these problems in a value sensitive way will not only help the archives but also provide feedback in a way to be of value to wider society. This final chapter envisions a bigger picture of how archives may fit in Thai society. It is recommended that some archival values are presented in more creative and blended ways to be more responsive to users' values, while other values (e.g. value of the recordkeeping and the evidential side) need to be strictly managed to make a strong case for archives to be dynamic in order to change society.

The findings of the thesis provide evidentiary support for the contention that Thai archives do not quite fit in Thai society. If the whole society is seen as a jigsaw

puzzle, archives appear to be like a piece that does not fit, as they do not belong to the ways the picture was originally created. Hence, this research attempts to highlight different factors causing incompatibility between the puzzle and the bigger jigsaw picture: archival problems in terms of their value in Thai society. I wish to encourage practitioners and users to understand both archival values and social values, as well as the historical and cultural background to apply heritage and archival management techniques to fit the Thai context. This knowledge in information culture has been shown to be necessary for the growth of archives where a system created in one culture is applied to another, particularly in this research where social values are linked to archival values.

7.2   Final recommendations

This section is the revision of and reflection upon overall recommendations for archives in Thailand. In short, adjustments are needed both in archives management itself and at the level of values and attitudes in Thai society.

On one hand, it is profitable for archive professionals to reflect on the functions of archives in their societal and cultural context, given that, as discussed in chapter 2, the evaluation of objects depends not only on their intrinsic properties but is also in "the eye of the beholder". An archivist should thus consider the needs of the society in which the archives are to be made accessible and used. On the other hand, the society's overall development plan needs to be considered as well. The focus group pointed out that the issues discussed cannot be solved solely by the archivists themselves brainstorming and solving problems. These problems require collaboration from many parties. For example, that archival work does not function well in the bureaucratic structure partly reflects structural problems in Thai bureaucracy. Similarly, the lack of interest in archives largely comes from educational approaches used in Thai parenting and schooling.

These final thoughts will provide some points of consideration from this study on archives in the Thai context that will be best achieved if all sides work together, showing the relational nexus between archives and society.

7.2.1   Consideration 1: the place of archives in Thai society

The main archival system in Thailand today is not an outgrowth of local culture but the heritage of currents of imperialism in the nineteenth century, and the continued currents of Western modernisation, which shapes many other things in the country.

In chapter 6, I talked about many potential changes recommended for the Thai archival system. This is because it has not naturally developed as a part of local culture but has been forced onto it in an artificial way. More precisely, archives actually serve the minority holding these less-common values. Throughout this thesis I have often considered what is "fit" or "not fit". It would seem that modern archives are naturally the latter for Thai society considering the society's local values. Though changes are needed for archival development, Thailand will not successfully adopt an archival system by "imposing" it without a culturally insightful assimilation process.

Archives, just like any other materials or objects, will be used when they are part of people's lives, so it is important to integrate them as a part of culture. Otherwise, they will be lifeless. So far, Thai society has employed archives in the ways described in chapter 4, about Thai-style archives, but these ways are limited. This research found that there are still many gaps archives can fill. A likely way forward in all of these areas is through achieving a balance between the "poles" identified in this research.

My view on archival value in the pluralistic world is that the priority of values varies because of cultural difference, and it is necessary to adapt the presentation of archives to correspond with those priorities in the relevant contexts. Nonetheless, archivists adjust their archives management strategies not only to make archives fit in the contexts but also because they believe sincerely in the value of archives to their societies.

On the basis of the study conducted, I propose that the fundamental nature of archival materials is their quality as evidence (because regardless of whether they are true or not, archives are evidence of what people recorded). It can be true to say that archives may only suit some groups of people interested in certain kinds of information, and it happens that the general Thai mentality does not fit with the concept of truth. I argue that the archival work in Thailand is not only an attempt to move contrary to the social norms but that archival management activities (keeping, organising, managing

and disseminate records to others) touch an important value that no society can ignore: truth.

Truth or authenticity is a subject archivists in the Western world have talked about for a long time. Their duties are to preserve authenticity, or answering the call to keep the "Sanctity of Evidence" (Jenkinson 258-9). As described in this thesis, many things differ between Thai and Western society, including different perceptions of truth. Thai culture, in many circumstances, values truth less than other things such as relationships, seniority and harmony, which has led to many conflicts, including moral ones. In this case, I think archives management needs to accommodate Thai society by replacing practices that might not appeal to people in general with more attractive ones. At the same time, it needs to remain steadfast in the area of truth, thereby strengthening a less firm spot in Thai values and giving archivists a strong argument – that their archives are not only interesting but important to maintain for the good of the public.

Finding the balance

By considering the different topics in this thesis, I found that dualities emerged for different areas. The two sides are conflicting, reflecting incongruences between archives and society. To find the right place for archives thus means finding the right balance between these opposing pairs.

1. Old and new

This includes how traditional values and systems are exposed to the modern ones. It also covers local and global as well as Thai and Western values – globalisation and localisation.

2. Royal (or governmental) and public

This theme deals with the question of to whom archives belong. They used to be seen (by most people) as the property and purview of the higher-ups, whereas the new thinking holds that they also belong to people and should be known and appreciated by the public. People can now create their own records and keep their own archives, encouraged by technology.

3. Keep or disseminate

The contradictory ideas of conservative and liberal thinking are manifested in archival practice in the choice of whether keep or to disseminate materials. The original idea at the NAT is to keep records, but this has moved toward the aim of giving access. To be closed or open is also the same idea translated into access and use such as the ways archives are promoted and the service is delivered.

There are many other possible word pairs for opposing approaches, all pointing to conflicting views about archives; however, most of these boil down to the tension between conservation and openness, which represent old and new ideologies about materials in old and modern society. What I found is that the traditional approach to archives is strong in Thai society, but one of its drawbacks is the limitation in the size of user groups. Therefore, I have suggested the idea of adaptation to suit cultural context, but it is important to keep in mind that both sides have importance. On the one hand, archives are unknown in Thai society, so it needs to be more open, going beyond its typical frame, and more unconventional in reaching out to new groups of people. On the other hand, effective archival management according to principles of records and archives management is vital to maintain professionalism and ensure the reliability of society. Thus, the more "chaotic" side of opening archives up to people is needed, but professionalism and principles of archives – or the world of "order" – are also necessary to effectively disseminate the truth.

Balance needs to be maintained in particular around these areas elaborated in chapter 5:

History

In Thai society, the Western way of making history has been strong among historian groups and corresponds with the modern archival system. This group of users' access to archives should be maintained, and the tools should be developed to help them access the records better as well as to improve overall archives management.

The traditional archival system should also be preserved as it serves traditional user groups (e.g. those who are interested in the monarchs) and preserves traditional practice. This mission should continue but also increase convenience of access to

traditional archives. This tradition is already strong in Thai society, so it should be strengthened. This would help to pave the way for other kinds of use.

The third kind of history that archives have not placed themselves in is the history of ordinary people. This can be both from collecting records of daily and contemporary life, which requires knowledge of records management from organisational level to individual level, as well as presenting things in the ways that are less mysterious, more presentable to non-academic people. The presentation also needs to use different tools and languages that people with no expertise can understand: for example, using tools that people in general use in their daily life, such as infographics on a digital platform, such as social media to provide information about important records, giving historical facts, sharing quotes from the archives, and organising activities.

This history of people is powerful when it is managed by people. There is the potential for communities and private museums to be able to offer more variety of history. If it is in a form of community museum or archives, it will be able to connect local people to their communities. For example, there are projects in communities that encourage children to interview people in their community for community development projects. This kind of connection could be made by community archives or museums. It may have to be linked to tourism in order to gain both economic and educational benefits.

The role of archives in history is always the main function of archives in Thai culture but it needs to share more historical knowledge with others and encourage people to share their academic values, which may have to be conveyed differently from academic researchers. Some have initiated projects working on communication with lay people. One example is Dr Winai Pongsripian's "One hundred important documents" project, which provides books describing old language in literature and manuscripts (Pongsripian).

From all these things, it is hoped that history would be perceived in a new way by how it is made and by whom it serves. Though archives need to be communicated in a different way, the historical value they offer should not be different but more perceivable, in the hope of helping people feel less distant from history.

Education

Another role that archives can take in the current and future Thai society is being an educational tool and repository of knowledge both in school teaching and lifelong learning.

In the problematic situation of the failed educational system in Thailand as described in chapter 5, Thai education lost its strengths in holistic and integrated ways of learning and adopted the Western system, which focuses on knowledge without being able to change Thai epistemology to be more critical, and still focused on the teacher-centred learning approach because the virtuous status of teachers cannot be replaced. Moreover, the fact that knowledge was seen to be for those with prestigious status also leads to the fact that many people are not interested in increasing their knowledge if it is not a part of official education. Some recommendations for Thai archives in this area are:

More equal archival access, more equal opportunity to knowledge

The place of archives in this situation is to be the source where everyone can equally access knowledge, though they might not have equal educational levels. Being exposed to more knowledge in the society will gradually changes people's values and attitudes and make them familiar with the atmosphere that encourages learning and curiosity. So, from the past where knowledge was for some classes of people, future Thai archives need to reflect this change in their practice: to provide knowledge to people with all levels of opportunities. The current service still reflects rigid categorisation rooted in the same old thought in the past social structure. Archives can be a part of effecting this change.

Changing perception of knowledge

After the Western system, Thai education followed the new system to separate knowledge from virtues as well as tools one uses for living with others in society, or "cultivation". Thai education should bring these more human parts of its own educational heritage back. The strength of knowledge in Eastern society is how it is

integrated in people's life. Archives should be a part of that formation where people can learn beyond what is required to pass their exams and function as a part of capitalist society. As a part of education in lifelong learning education, the value of the continuous development of knowledge and personal development will help to extend the boundaries of education, enabling people to be more curious about not just things connected directly with their degrees but which serve their lives as a whole integrated human being.

Thinking and believing

Chapter 5 described the difference between Western and Thai epistemologies. It has been shown that the characteristic of Thai epistemology that encourages people to believe their elders and remember information provided by them was partly shaped by the past Thai social structure. An epistemology works when it suits the circumstances. This epistemological standpoint becomes illogical in the information age (where individuals need to be critical to select what to believe), and in a democratic society where each person's decision matters. One's life does not depend on the leaders' vision wholly just like in the past. The old epistemology needs to be adjusted to contemporary factors. In fact, Buddhism is in itself a philosophy. Its core teachings are logical and require "*panya*" or intelligence from believers, rather than belief. Hence, being critical is not to be against Buddhism but instead supports the belief. The problem is that Thai culture emphasises the cultural part of the religion and ignores the thinking method derived from its teaching to the culture. It is time to focus more on intellectual side of the teaching rather than the cultural side as before.

However, it is true that such deference to authority can have drawbacks on academic progress. This culture is an admirable part of human relationship in the learning experience, but it should not be allowed to undermine the efficiency of education. The approach used in Thai education should change from giving information alone to encouraging people to have a full learning experience. The assessment in schools should measure more than memorisation but also understanding.

The place of archives in this area is clearly to encourage more critical and analytic skills in Thai education. As archives are a primary source, they are the perfect kind of resource that require users to think, research, create their own interpretations and

share them with others. Archives can be a part of historical study in schools that encourages students to think more. Other kinds of resources and materials, e.g. books, museum objects, should also be used to practise critical thinking.

Identity and rights

According to chapter 5, identity and rights is the area that traditional Thai values (and also other Asian values) are not compatible with the Western values in a democratic system. This thesis finds that archives and good recordkeeping can be essential tools to help different groups in Thai society to obtain justice in the areas of identity and rights. The two themes are connected with the concept of self and identity, which are not originally Thai values. Again, I endeavour to find the right meaning for the Thai context, which may call for the abandonment of some old values that only suit with the past contexts.

In chapter 3 and 5, we have discussed the traditional Thai values shaped by ideas on hierarchy, which emphasises inequality and class stratification, and how this leads to ignorance of individual's rights, inequality and corruption. In contemporary Thailand, these values not only make no contributions to the country but also slow down the progress.

It is needed to set a limit to such old values contributing to the maintenance of the patronage system by building an effective system that is able to control efficiency, accountability and transparency. The existence of old values can be justified in the past because the traditional governance was based on monarchs and nobles. Classes and hierarchy as well as the balance of power and relationship between classes are based on informal relationships and benefits shared among them. Though in the light of Western ideas on human rights and equality that have been accepted widely since the French and American Revolutions they would likely seem exploitative and unjust, these relationships served specific social functions in Thai history, driving the society in its ways (Petcharamesree 12-32).

Today, there appears to be almost no justification for such old values in a modern democratic society other than being traces of the past and cultural characteristics of people in the changing society. I hence advocate that the government and

organisations need to ensure they have a reliable system of checks and balances to prevent corruption. The corruption will not immediately disappear because of the system, but the mechanism can encourage people to experience the new values, and it is hoped that their attitudes and values will change after being exposed to the new practice.

Several gaps in this area need improvement and archives can potentially enhance a new good change to the society. Though evidential value belongs more to the Western archives, I think it should not be ignored because it should be the archivists' moral obligation to stand by the side of truth and justice. Unlike recommendations in other areas, I advise that the roles of archives and recordkeeping for rights and identities be taken to the level of codes of ethics, as would follow from James O'Toole's claim that historical accountability is a moral theology of archives (O'Toole, 3-19). The area that archives can improve with their value standing for the truth are:

Archives can encourage more transparency and efficiency.

Good recordkeeping and transparent access encourages transparency and accountability in both public and private organisations. There have been obvious needs in this respect in Thai society, as can be noticed from political upheavals occurring from anti-corruption agendas and agitations for greater democratic rights during 2005–2010 and 2013–2014, or the need to have more transparent organisations due to the failed financial system in 1997 (Fritzen 78).

Good recordkeeping should be set as one of the audit criteria for organisations, especially governmental departments, because good recordkeeping from the phase of current records to archives can support the efficiency of organisations' current work and good governance. The old records should be accessible by the public, in line with the Official Information Act. The Official Information Act also needs to be linked to other laws involved in recordkeeping to support these two important issues. This will be followed by the need to then improve the whole archival system, especially appraisal and access.

Archives can help to support social justice.

Social justice and the human rights agenda are strong standpoints for archives in the West. An effective and transparent recordkeeping system and access will help to solve many unjust situations growing in Thai society such as workers taken advantage of by employers, and communities fighting against factories that destroy the environment. Such an effective recordkeeping system can thus help to counteract injustice and enable people to demand justice and stand up for their rights.

The human rights problem in Thailand might be different from the Western context in terms of culture. The problematic situations are usually from social changes and weaknesses of local communities to deal with changes. For example, the change to a freer market destroys sustainability in local communities by pushing them to be a part of capitalist society. Local communities are controlled by governmental policies that are concerned with economic progress and advantages for the industrial sector, though the majority of people in the country work in agriculture (Petcharamesree 12-32). The loss of economic and social stability indicates that fair trade might not give justice to the local working class. Such a situation needs to be solved by the government and organisations working for society but many unjust situations are corrupted by those with power. For example, the gold mine that harms local people's health in Petchaboon province is currently suspected of bribery and corruptions in the concession process (Thaipublica "Po Po Cho"). Governmental policies and agreements with all sectors needed to be documented and accessed by the public, which again requires a good recordkeeping and access system.

As for diversity, there needs to be more equality in different regions and between ethnic groups, so greater decentralisation, integration and participation can be encouraged in the society. The conflicts that occurred in history need to be healed with compensation, and understanding will be needed to promote real social harmony.

The role of archives in this area is to help secure justice for past wrongs and to strengthen minority ethnic groups in embracing their identities as a part of a greater Thai identity. To achieve the latter the perception of Thai identity will need to be changed to incorporate and include these other identities within a more pluralised understanding of what it means to be Thai. In the community development process, learning history from archiving local history encourages the community to understand

their roots. More space for acceptance of different identities can also lead to more peace in the society.

Given that, as reported earlier, Thai culture values harmony and hierarchy, it will be a challenge to express identities that are different from the mainstream. Such a willingness needs to be done in harmony to encourage a good relationship between the central government and local communities. The process needs to move in the direction that strengthens the communities.

7.2.2   Consideration 2: other developments

The outlook of archives and the ways to develop them does not depend on the archives sector alone, but society as a whole and the directions it is moving in are important to how archives will be developed. This consideration is inspired by the focus group's opinion that the problem this thesis tries to explore is more a "national-level and structural problem" than one that one group or sector could solve alone (Taweta "Focus group"). Hence, I attempt to see archives as a part of bigger kinds of development in the country.

Before talking about general development in Thailand, it will be useful to rethink the meaning of development, as what is considered good for one might not be always good for the others. Especially in terms of development, the approach taken might not lead to the same consequence in every context.

Chairat Chareonsin-o-larn has studied the application of Michel Foucault's discourse analysis to development discourses in the third-world countries like Thailand. According to Foucault, discourses are not only languages or words but also the systems which create the control of knowledge and power. For example, after the Second World War, the manipulation of the US on Thailand has been obvious since the Cold War, just as was the case in other South East Asian countries. The ideas of "development" in Thailand depend on what the US defines, especially since many Thai people were sent to study in the US. All systems have been developed towards the US standards. The first through to eleventh National Economic and Social Development Plan were issued from 1961 to the present (2016) largely affecting Thai

social and cultural dimensions but were developed within this context of US influence. In other words, Thailand does not have its own definitions of development but depends on the superpower. This is the circumstance described as "dependency theory", where developing countries become dependent on developed countries because they have to rely on the developed countries' knowledge and technology (Charoensin-o-larn 23-41).

The development in Thai history has mostly disregarded the country's own roots. This research does not deny the value or importance of development. Instead, I point out that the failure of development is due to the copying of the Western model, which is not always a successful way of developing things. The development needs both openness to change and localisation.

It would be beyond the scope of the current topic to provide recommendations for the areas outside of archives and records management. I will hence provide only recommendations in connection with education and bureaucracy fields that are related to archival development.

The focus group unanimously claimed that the NAT is situated in the wrong location in the Thai bureaucratic structure that is the Department of Fine Arts in the Ministry of Culture. The archivists believed that if they were in organisations that better fit their functions, such as the Prime Minister's office, this would allow them to be more powerful in managing records. The location of the NAT in the Ministry of Culture reflects the Thai attitude towards archives as cultural heritage but it does not give authority for recordkeeping tasks. It may be true that the NAT's position does not help them to achieve their mission. However, being in the Department of Fine Arts can be the right place on condition that the government understands each department's work clearly because it corresponds with most people's expectations. I think placing archives in the Prime Minister's office to keep evidence of the government's work might not be an effective idea for promoting transparency. However, the more important aspect of this move would be the authority the government officially gives to the NAT.

The complexity and uniqueness of each kind of cultural work needs to be recognised by the Ministry of Culture and the Prime Ministry. Ultimately, the NAT could stay in the same Ministry, but their unique task needs to be understood and collaborated with

more fully. The fact that all the departments share the same IT office shows a lack of understanding regarding the roles and duties of each type of cultural work.

For another thing, lack of collaboration in records management demonstrates that the departments do not co-ordinate enough and they have a strong predisposition to conceal information inside their departments which is suspected because of its fear for examination.

Thus, understanding of each department's work scope and relationship with other departments is needed. I cannot see any other ways that would work better than top-down approach to solve this problem according to Thai bureaucratic organisational culture. So, the archives problem will ultimately be solved by having executives who understand that their work and values help to push regulations into real practice. And, as the NAT is usually invisible unless others want to use them, the NAT needs to push the archives to its full potential.

The last bureaucratic problem is that the NAT is a part of its culture, which in most peoples' view is slow and outdated. That image also has an influence on the look of the NAT. And, the NAT culture probably shares the characteristics and attitudes from their bigger organisational culture. For example, the archivists' professional identity as civil servants is mixed up with them being archivists. It is possible that the first identity is stronger than the latter one and definitely impacts practice at the NAT. However, it is beyond the scope of this research to propose recommendations for the Thai bureaucratic system. It just indicates that the NAT is a part of the system with a particular organisational culture that affects archives in some ways. The awareness of the archivists as archives professionals can help the archivists to weigh between two sets of potentially contradictory values.

Though I have discussed education earlier in this chapter as one of the important places for Thai archives in the future, education is an important theme that emerged several times in this thesis. Thai epistemology is problematic not only to archives but also the whole learning culture, and is therefore an area that needs to be reconsidered in the changing world. Apart from some improvements of the educational system that should find the balanced approach that suits Thai culture, some improvements should happen in this area.

Reading culture should be more encouraged in Thai society. It is true that reading and writing have been activities for higher class people throughout Thai history; however, this needs to be changed to suit the modern times. If this is realised by the government, different kinds of media e.g. books, archives, internet, museums and so on, will have a role to educate citizens. There are some notable attempts to do this at the moment, such as the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration making Bangkok the book capital in 2013 (Posttoday). Though the event was not successful, this kind of attempt is needed on the part of both government and other agencies to strengthen reading culture.

Also, the perception of knowledge should be changed, from that of knowledge being for remembering information and getting a degree, to a more integrated holistic approach such as that it used to have as a strength in traditional Thai culture. This difference is important when applied to today's context with more equality among individuals.

The last recommendation is from considerations of a problem found throughout the whole thesis: lack of ability to apply external knowledge and the connection with archives culture.[43] The last recommendation is for the archivists to work more collaboratively with ordinary people. And, more initiative from people and communities should be built into archival work. According to this study, I view the likely new uses in Thai society among new groups as being: 1) local community historians, 2) the middle classes in civil society, and 3) young people and their teachers.

Thai society is in transition, leading to value changes in different parts and groups of people in the country. Some parts of the society have been developed into urban and civil society. They are fully moving towards globalised culture, with greater or lesser connection to their traditional Thai roots. On the other hand, the majority of Thailand remains agricultural based, which holds lots of traditional Thai values in the communities. My last recommendation *has to do with the outlook of Thai archives, and the way that archives approach people should reach out to both types of society*

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[43] By archives culture, I mean behaviours and habits that are involved with documenting, keeping records and using information. I propose that archives need to be a part of culture and their values should give benefits to people's lives. Otherwise, archives will be perceived to be old, lifeless materials of no immediate or practical value.

by offering archives culture for civil society and community based archives. This will complement the dominant group of researchers in the NAT.

This thesis has discussed how recordkeeping and archives play important roles in modern civil society, but it has not discussed archives culture in local communities to any great extent. In fact, the development from the community level will be a suitable approach customised for the Thai context. A group of scholars believe that the community-culture movement is an appropriate and sustainable way to develop Thai society.

Chatthip Nartsupha pointed out that communities have always been significant in Thailand. This culture in different villages throughout the country was dominant even before the *Sakdina* system in the Ayutthaya period, a system that is similar to the feudal system in Europe. He found the difference that community-state relationships in Siam were looser than the ones in India or China (Nartsupha 97). Thai communities just had to be under the monarch or the noble, and sent them money and tributes while they were quite independent in their administration and culture. However, their culture has always been looked down on by the higher institutions – in the past the royal institution, and now capitalism. The top level has consistently attempted to centralise power and control local communities, though the culture from that level is no less important.

This unequal distribution of development needs to be taken into account. Since the Thai culture offered by the NAT and other Thai archives is now only present history and stories of the high class, and most governmental policies lead to the development that brings capital to the country, Thai communities have been weakened by this condition. The mainstream discourse is that communities have lower culture, which leads them to dependency and submission to larger powers. This act does not work in the long run because it gives no strength to the communities. Instead, it capitalises and makes them lose their identities.

Giving people back power: the real development for Thai society

The best way to revive people's power is to make them realise their wisdom and understand their roots. After the failure of the Thai economy in 1997, people began to

realise the reality and culture of the country, and that it cannot flourish only by competing with other countries in industrial markets, nor grow economically without real development at the individual and community levels.

In the same year (1997), King Rama IX gave his speech on the self-sufficiency economy, giving advice to people in the country to be self-sufficient and self-reliant ("Sufficient Economy"). This demonstrates the erroneousness of the decades-long Thai desire to be powerful due to the development discourse, while most population remained dependent on agriculture. This idea corresponds with the community development notion that encourages the development from inside the communities before aiming for more ambitious development.

It is necessary to strengthen Thai communities, and to encourage the locals to realise the importance of their local wisdom. One significant element in this strengthening process is helping the communities to understand their history. Archives certainly can be a great tool for the community: helping communities to make their own history by keeping their historical records and recording their culture which may be oral tradition, rituals or customs. Local history, which has long been ignored throughout Thai history, could be more extended if one were to strengthen communities in this way. This has to be done in line with communities' needs. For example, if the communities want to make archives and museums focuses on tourism so that they can earn more money, or attach them with temples which are going to lose their functions, they should be encouraged to do so prudently. The aim is that the communities can develop themselves with what they have, and grow on the foundation of their values. How the communities help to understand their history and wisdom will help them to love and be more willing to develop their home instead of seeking progress in the urban areas alone.

Archives should play a role to develop different parts of Thai society. They can strengthen urban areas to develop into civil society and strengthen local communities to understand their local wisdom.

7.3   Reflections on the research questions and results of the study

The research aims to understand the relationship between archives and context by examining archival value side by side with societies, different groups of people, and different cultural factors. The research's approach, process and its findings make academic and professional contributions in its particular way.

I have raised the questions of valuation in this thesis; now it is time to evaluate the research questions and the research themselves. In respect of a contribution to the academic field, the project is worthwhile for the following contributions:

Firstly, it shows inseparable nature of information management system and culture in a formal study. The cultural side of information is usually considered a smaller issue than technical ones and only supplements technical problems in research. Taking a sociological point of view, this research views archival systems not only as technical system but also considers cultural elements and their impacts on archival systems and vice versa. This integral way of looking at archives is necessary for successful information management, especially in the case where cultural issues exist. This study points out that people's problems have deep roots, and the archival management problem could not be solved prior to thinking about the people involved in it.

Secondly, the research reveals that archives and their values have significant relations to different aspects in society. However, the existing attitude found in Thailand is reflected by one Thai interviewee who claimed that the archives are seen as a mysterious place, as if it was "another world" (Rungsawang). Or, many survey participants and interviewees struggle to find archives related to their lives. The research proves that this is not true. It found that archival value actually has potential to improve many important social issues both in Thailand and the UK (as shown in chapter 5). It confirms the strength of the archival field of study, not as a closed discipline but a field with the potential to connect with other fields and engage in the current situation in the society. What is lacking is more the correct presentation and language to communicate with the wider society which are duties of archivists and archival educators.

Thirdly, the research suggests the opportunities for revising the definition of archives and archival value by studying how archives are defined and used in different

societies. As for value, as the value judgement comes from two components (value in the material, and individuals or social group that judge them), this study questions what these values are for different people and how to manage them. In terms of attitude, the definition and attitudes towards archives are shaped according to historical background and other circumstances. This means archives and their values can mean different things to different groups of people and societies. Consequently, to rely on the principle of records and archives management and to successfully adapt it to the context requires creativity and understanding in archival theories.

As for contribution to practice, this research aims to provide knowledge that can be used in designing an archival strategic plan as preliminarily provided in chapter 6. The last thoughts for practitioners found in this research are their unique positions and roles in today's society, especially for those in the context where archives are not widely understood such as Thailand. Archivists' roles in these contexts can be a challenge. Some final thoughts for practitioners derived from findings of the research are:

The research found clashes between Thai values and values supported by Western archival systems. The Western archival system is the origin of what are often deemed "universal" professional values and ethics. It does not, however, take account of different attitudes and ideologies influencing universal standards that are different from the local ones. The role of archivists identified in this research is thus very important in mediating between the two sets of values. Here, what archivists in the Thai context can aim to do is to be appraisers of good and suitable values, rather than accepting the consequences of these conflicts. Certainly, wider society has more power in selecting values it needs, but the ways archivists offer them via practice can be significant in the decision making of users and society.

More importantly, archivists need to take a proactive approach in their work. As Nick Kingsley argued, the importance of information in today's world creates more opportunities for archives, but competition is also intense among different kinds of information (Kingsley). Archivists need to be the ones who have confidence in archives with creativity to apply archival theory to their local contexts. Also, they need leadership to bring archives to the society confidently and harmoniously.

This research indicates that people and practice affect each other in the value judgement process, and archivists need to be aware of both. One side or the other cannot be ignored for the development of the archival system. For example, attitudes found in users show that the lack of understanding and inconvenience in archival use make people not want to use archives. Hence, archivists need to solve both sides of the problem. Or, another example is the implementation of IT systems in archives: technology is needed as well as cultural change and IT skills among staff. In reality, the latter can be harder to change than the first one.

The findings of this research do not change the original assumption that "Western" or international standards of archival value are not fundamentally compatible with Thai social values. However, it elucidates my understandings of the connection between these two. It shows the detail of the compatibilities and the factors that caused them. So, working on the main research question and sub-questions provides better understanding in tackling the archives-society problem.

Though the finding of this research reaffirms incompatibility between Thai social values and value supported by international standardised archival system, the data collected from Thailand and the UK are not completely different. The data collection in the UK shows that archives are not highly rated among the majority of British people who have no connections with archives either. Nevertheless, the presence of modern archives as a part of British culture is much more common and natural than Thailand.

Archives and recordkeeping practice are cultural and social products intended to function as a part of people's lives and society. The finding in chapter 3 shows that the traditional Thai archives system corresponds better with Thai social values, giving importance to hierarchy. This dominant social value plays an important role in pushing archives and other kinds of cultural heritage to solely serve scholars, a niche group in Thai society. Despite the fact that archives are not extensively recognised by society, it does not mean that archives do not have value. The research also found that attitudes towards archives are positive both cognitively and affectively. Even among people who have a vague understanding about archives and do not know what archives are, they tend to link archives with the concept of value, as something to preserve and value but which might not to for use or of any connection to their lives. I

found that the last component that both societies need to increase is around the behavioural component: to get archives closer to people's values and to bring people to values archives can offer. To build up habits among people to become familiar with archives, including other resources or cultural heritage, is the most impactful way to make people permanently interested in seeking knowledge themselves. It can be seen that all interviewees who are now extensively involved with archives have spent time with these materials (art, heritage, books) in their educational background or upbringing.

The research also raised questions about the balance in letting people come to the archives. The UK case has shown an example of success of the increasing number of users and the variation of the user groups due to better access and increasing interest in archives; however, some drawbacks also occurred as a result. Among these were the issues about the design of tools to respond to different needs of a variety of groups; the decisions of the TNA being determined by commercial purposes; and more users making FOI requests but perhaps not identifying themselves as researchers, thus having different information behaviour from professional researchers. These are issues that may follow access for all agendas. The issues influenced by changing information behaviours and users' needs are interesting to be studied. Different societies will also have different issues according to their circumstances, cultural and social contexts.

The unfit puzzle: archives as dynamic to empower society

The research finding on the incompatibility between archival value in the modern sense and traditional Thai values explains the root of the problematic situation in archival management in Thailand. Western archival value can be considered as an unresolved puzzle in the whole picture of Thai society, insofar as Western archival value has been inorganically foisted onto Thai culture. The coming of modern archives was the result of the Western influence in the imperialist era, whereas traditional Thai archives were understood to tell the stories of the upper class only and distant to ordinary Thai people in contemporary Thai society. A question that is raised is: if archives contain values in themselves, why could not contemporary Thai society

open to the opportunities to make use of archival value, especially when the value archives offer is needed in the realm of social changes?

In its nature of otherness and alienation that value of modern Western archives hold, sociological theories tell us that the power of change actually comes from inconsistency and dissatisfactions between self and values. The study of social change in contemporary Thai society addresses the information needs of Thai society in new circumstances. It is different from a hundred years ago when the modern archival system was first adopted in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Thai society, especially in urbanised areas, has progressed into civil and democratic society, and conditions have been changed profoundly.

The value of truth or evidential value offered by archives in the modern sense is essential in running modern organisations. It is important for the creation of efficiency and good governance needed in the modern organisational culture. Certainly, the national culture based on relationships will still exist, but the creation of new culture is now needed for the new environment. These new values need to be brought to Thai society not as an alien and unfit culture but as dynamic new components to create a new culture with more efficiency and transparency in the changed conditions of the context. It requires that the recordkeeping culture for these purposes has to start somewhere. A more proactive approach in archival practice is thus needed in the design of strategic plan and implementation. The adoption of a Western system has been shown from experience to be unworkable, so a strategic plan by archivists and other involved parties is necessary to give the right balance of adoption and adaptation to Thai culture.

This research has addressed considerations regarding the adjustment of archival value to suit Thai culture. It has discussed that in some areas, the presentation of archives needs to be more assimilated to the dominant social values. For example, in the areas that are more adaptable e.g. archives for educational and research purpose, archives could be presented and interpreted with more fun such as archives in activities and books with simple language that corresponds with the Thai hedonism value. Yet, the archives can deliver the value that the archival materials have for ordinary people. The materials should become more instrumental in modern Thai society, where people are equal before the law and knowledge should be accessible to everyone. To

give access is not only to provide information without considering how hard it is for users, but to be truly accessible is to go to where people are, to give them opportunities to open their perspectives: starting from what they have and developing into more learning culture in the future. Sensitivity in cultural difference is needed in some cases. For example, the awareness in cultural complexity in archival use for identity in the Thai context where social harmony is highly valued. In brief, assimilation and awareness in cultural difference are necessary in archival management when the archival value of one context is transplanted to another.

The question on imposing Western culture arose in the research while considering different kinds of archival use in the British context compared to the Thai. As a researcher, I asked myself why Thailand needs to care about a social construct that is alien to the culture and without which it has successfully functioned for almost its entire history. I found the answer lay in the issue of globalisation and localisation. Contemporary Thai society is, just like most countries in the world, increasingly globalised. If archives have served humanity in different cultures since ancient times, it is always possible to customise their values by globalising and localising various processes. At the same time, many components in Thai society have changed, enabling modern archives to fit better in Thai society. Localisation is possible, but understanding of both archival management and contexts is needed.

Reviving local wisdom

This study also discusses the potential of archives to strengthen local wisdom and communities. For the whole of Thai history, those who have written history are those with power. The approach to knowledge and history is top down, from those who govern to those who are governed. It is found that though the approach Thailand has used is always top-down based on hierarchy value, the actual strength of the nation comes from local communities. Communities are an important source of Thai wisdom. It is where the majority of people are and live their lives by doing agriculture. One thing that no government has seriously done is to empower local communities. This research found that encouraging communities to know their local history can help the majority of Thai people to understand their roots and identity, and this better equip them to live in globalised and capitalist world.

Creating archives culture

The last point of reflection is the vision of seeing archives and the practice as living culture in people's lives. I found this is important, in any context, to infuse vitality into archival practice. To make archives valued is nothing else but to make them alive and integrated in daily life. It is recognising and creating archives culture in people's lives according to their cultural and social contexts.

Just like all kinds of materials, archives support some sets of values and have some functional orientations. Each context should be able to select these values to their contexts. Archives need to be brought out of the small corner of Thai society, unknown and frozen, where they currently serve a very curtailed and stunted role. Those involved with archives – archivists, users, records creators – are actually the community with the power to change. The key is that archives need to have life among people, rather than simply being frozen cultural heritage. They need to be seen, as Melinda Haunton suggested, as the remains of people (Haunton). These people involved with archives are a creative community that can positively better society and assimilate archival value with Thai lives. This behaviour needs to be constantly practised as culture is fluid and changing all the time.

Values found in archives are positive ones. They contain wisdom, truth, fun and so on. It is both a challenge and opportunity for the archives community to create archives culture.

7.4 Future areas of research

This research is only the beginning of the study of information culture focusing on archives management in Thailand. There are still gaps that future research can address, using the findings of this research for better understanding of the archives.

Information culture is not a popular area of study in archives. Moreover, as far as I am aware, no research about archives from the information culture perspective has been done in Thailand. More studies should be done in this area. For example, many layers of culture can be studied. This research focuses on national culture, which is one of

many layers of culture such as professional, organisational culture and so on. The change of focus would help to create a fuller picture of understanding in each context.

The material the research focuses on is another aspect that can be expanded. This research's focus is on archives, while overlapping with records management to some extent. More formal research should explore in detail the problem in records management area in Thailand. This research has not interviewed people affected by archival performance, such as staff working in governmental departments. This should be done in further study.

7.4.1 Putting findings into practice

This study deals with the relationship between archives and context. It is hope that the understanding gained from the research will be employed at a more practical level. Though in chapter 6 the thesis has suggested some strategies the NAT and Thai archives could apply, more research is required at the practical level. For example, standards and guidelines for Thai archives can use the findings in this research to draft practice that is suitable for Thai archives at a more practical level.

7.4.2 The study of archives in different contexts

The research is one of the studies on archives in a non-Western context. A number of studies about archives in non-Western or indigenous contexts have been done before this research. For example, studies have considered the case of indigenous people in Australia and New Zealand where the preferable method of communication in these cultures are oral, resulting in a lack of a standardised Western recordkeeping system which is based on written evidence. Different cultures that vary in many aspects – communication methods, epistemology, purpose of use and so on – can be studied. It is necessary to recognise these cultural issues, and one way of understanding them is to conduct research. Information is neutral, but how human beings manage it is culturally mediated. In the wake of the era of Western colonisation and globalisation, Western culture has been disseminated to different countries. The research conducted

today should lead to the real application of archival value and system that suits each context. More research in this environment of diversity should be continued as the dependent status of developing countries is overturned to encourage a new era of real collaboration among various societies and cultures.

7.5   Epilogue

Thai society, just like any other society, has its complexity and cannot be explained straightforwardly. Nevertheless, this research tries to explain the relationship between archives and society by using a values framework as well as by examining attitudes from different groups of people in order to obtain better understanding of Thai values and values supported by archival systems. In line with concepts that see values as dynamic and archival practice as something that can be adjusted according to the context, the findings from this research have the potential to encourage archival management in Thailand to be more compatible with traditional local values as well as new values affected by recent social change. Finally, this research indeed shows that archival materials cannot be separated from their context. The more closely people and archives are connected; the more valuable archival materials can be for people's lives.

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Appendices

Appendix A – Participants

Thai interviewees

Archivists

1) Korapin Taweta

Taweta is the head archivist of the archival records and service team at the NAT. She is responsible for search tools, arrangement, service and outreach. She has worked for the NAT for over 30 years since she graduated with her master's degree in history.

2) Busayarat Kootiam

Kootiam was an archivist on the archival records and service team when she was interviewed. She was responsible for delivering service in the reading room and disseminating knowledge on archives to visitors and interns. She also played a major role in the archives tours to different schools across the country.

3) Naphawan Srijantaranit

Srijantaranit is an archivist on the records management team. She had been responsible for appraisal for almost twenty years when I interviewed her. She worked on appraisal and collaboration with government departments on transferring records to the NAT.

4) Anonymous former archivist at the NAT

5) Suwanna Chaijindasut

She is Director of Archives and Library Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

6) Phitchanat Wayakam

Chief of records management sector, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Users

1) Anake Nawigamune

Nawigamune is a well-known writer interested in old stories and objects. He has written books on history as well as old photo books with some descriptions. He has used archives since 1976. His interest in old things also motivated him to open a museum called "Ban Piphitapan".

2) Pirasri Povatong

A lecturer in architecture whose research interest is in the history of architecture. He is a frequent user at the NAT for textual archives, maps and plans.

3) Pannee Rungsawang

News editor at Thai Public Broadcasting Service (Thai PBS) for arts and culture news.

4) Sasithon Towinus

Towinus works on archival research for researchers and companies. She has a bachelor's degree in archaeology and a master's degree in cultural management.

5) Winai Pongsripian

A distinguished historian and scholar. Dr. Pongsripian is known for his research projects relating to archives and epigraphy.

6) Pattara Kam

An academic at King Vajiravudh Memorial Hall. His field of study is on the royal family, and he has been researching at the NAT for 25 years. He is also a writer about history.

Archives academics

1) Somsuang Prudtikul

Dr. Prudtikul was an archives educator at Sukhothai Thammathirat Open University and Silpakorn University. She earned a PhD in records and archives management, which is rare in Thailand. Her textbooks in ARM are key Thai-language texts on the subject.

2) Nenuphar Suphavej

A lecturer in library science and archival management at Chulalongkorn University.

 3) Anonymous educator

British interviewees

Archivists

1) Nick Kingsley

Kingsley was the head of archives sector development at TNA at the time of the interview. He had been an archivist for over 35 years in different archives. His project at TNA when I interviewed him was on increasing public awareness on archives.

2) Melinda Haunton

Dr. Haunton is also on the archives sector development team at TNA. She is a programme manager for Archive Service Accreditation which assesses and supports British archives on their performance. She has background in history and used to work for the Historical Manuscript Commission (HMC).

3) Susan Healy

Healy is a retired archivist of the TNA, among other places. The former archivist has expertise in law and created codes of practice to help archivists and records managers to comply with different legislation.

Users

1) Graham Woolgar

Professional researcher at TNA. Woolgar was a user forum representative at TNA.

2) Susan Moore

Professional researcher specialising in legal records at TNA.

3) Cara Davies

PhD student in performing arts. Davies's research project is involved with archival concepts and performance. She also has experience working as an archivist.

4) Tony Wakeford

Wakeford is a historian and academic who is an active member of Friends of the National Archives. Unfortunately, the recording of my interview with him has sound problems.

Archives academics

1) Elizabeth Shepherd

Dr. Shepherd is an archives educator at University College London (UCL). She is a well-known expert and scholar in Archives and Records Management (ARM).

2) Margaret Procter

Dr. Procter teaches ARM at University of Liverpool. Dr. Procter is specialised in history of archives.

3) Louise Ray

Honorary lecturer at UCL and archivist. Ray is archives and records consultant and holds active roles in the ARA (Archives and Records Association), including ARA Board Member, Convenor of the ARA Volunteering Group and member of the ARA Diversity Working Group.

Focus group

Five national archivists participated in the focus group. I specifically asked the ones I had interviewed before to take part again. The participants were five archivists who represented three different teams:

Records management team

Naphawan Srijantaranit has been an archivist in the records management team for twenty years. She participated in earlier stages of the study, in an in-depth interview, and talked about accessioning and appraisal at the NAT.

Recording contemporary events team

Nuanphan Nakpreecha's responsibility at the NAT is recording important current events. Her work includes going to nationally significant events and royal ceremonies,

and writing and taking photos of those events. Also, her team is responsible for taking excerpts from newspapers and various media. These recordings are finally published in book format, which are distributed to libraries and schools.

Archival records and service team

This team is the main focus of the research. The team has a wide range of responsibilities, from arrangement, creating finding aids, delivering service and working on outreach and international relations as well as taking care of websites and digitisation. Three archivists from the team took part in the focus group:

- Korapin Taweta, the head of the team.

- Ladda Chuchard, who is responsible for arrangement and description as well as training interns and organisations' staff interested in doing their own archives.

- Suparaporn Rukdikul, who is doing the same job as Chuchard.

Appendix B – Consent Form for the Interviews

INFORMED CONSENT STATEMENT

PhD research project
"A Comparative Study of Archival Access and Use in the UK and Thailand"

Department of Information Studies, University College London

You are invited to participate in a research study titled "A Comparative Study of Archival Access and Use in the UK and Thailand". The purpose of this study is to understand the impacts of values and attitudes in different societies on access to and use of archives in the National Archives of both countries.

INFORMATION
This study involves the following procedures:
Interviewing to better understand your attitudes about archives and your view of the significance, use and access to archives in your country. With your permission interviews will be recorded and then transcribed for the purpose of analysis.

RISKS
No risks are foreseen from this research other than the potential that comments you make in the course of this research could be inaccurately transcribed by mistake. In order to minimize this potential risk, the transcription will be sent to you after the interview. Information deemed potentially damaging to your reputation will not be reported.

BENEFITS
The benefits of this research are that it will contribute to a scholarly understanding of the relationship between culture (values, attitudes and cultural background) in societies and certain archival practices (access and use). Benefits for the researcher will come from using the theory and data from this research to improve archival practices.

CONFIDENTIALITY
Unless you state otherwise, the information you provide for this research will **not be treated as confidential.** If you wish your contribution to be anonymous (and referred to by position) please indicate this on the form. If there are certain parts of the interview that you wish to be kept confidential or not identified with you then please discuss this with the researcher at the time.

CONTACT
If you have questions at any time about the study or the procedures, you may contact the researcher: Naya Sucha-xaya, 111 Gower Street London, WC1E 6AR, +44(0)7440466299, or by email at uczcnsu@live.ucl.ac.uk.
PhD research project supervisors: Dr. Andrew Flinn (a.flinn@ucl.ac.uk) and Dr. Jenny Bunn (j.bunn@ucl.ac.uk)

PARTICIPATION
Your participation in this study is voluntary and if you decide to participate, you may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.

AUDIO

Audio recordings of the interviews will be collected but this information will be used only for the purposes of the thesis, and only the researcher plus her supervisors will have access to the original files storing this information. Three years after the research is completed the recordings will be destroyed.

CONSENT

I have read this form and received a copy of it. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction. I agree to take part in this study.

Printed name: _____

E-mail: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Initial below

_____ I agree to allow voice recordings of my participation in this research to be used in presentations and output.

_____ I do not wish my name to appear in any publication associated with this research and I wish to be referred to by my position or by an assumed name.

Consent form date: 25 July 2014

Appendix C – Consent Form for the Focus Group

INFORMED CONSENT STATEMENT

PhD research project
"A Comparative Study of Archival Access and Use in the UK and Thailand"

Department of Information Studies, University College London

You are invited to participate in a research study titled "A Comparative Study of Archival Access and Use in the UK and Thailand". The purpose of this study is to understand the impacts of values and attitudes in different societies on access to and use of archives in the National Archives of both countries.

INFORMATION

This study involves the following procedures:
You will be in a group of 8-10 archivists and academics. Then, the facilitator (the researcher) will provide you a set of recommendations for archival access and use for the National Archives of Thailand. You will be asked to comment on each recommendation as a group. The discussion involving each recommendation might take place under the dynamic of the group. The conversation will be recorded in order to improve the recommendations.

RISKS
No risks are foreseen from this research other than the potential that comments you make in the course of this research could be inaccurately transcribed by mistake. In order to minimize this potential risk, the transcription will be sent to you after the focus group. Information deemed potentially damaging to your reputation will not be reported.

BENEFITS
The benefits of this focus group are that it will help the researcher to provide recommendations on archival access and use that suit the real situations in the National Archives of Thailand. The comments from the focus group will be used to improve the recommendations, the output of this study.

CONFIDENTIALITY
Unless you state otherwise, the information you provide for this research will **not be treated as confidential.** If you wish your contribution to be anonymous (and referred to by position) please indicate this on the form. If there are certain parts of the interview that you wish to be kept confidential or not identified with you then please discuss this with the researcher at the time.

CONTACT
If you have questions at any time about the study or the procedures, you may contact the researcher: Naya Sucha-xaya, 111 Gower Street London, WC1E 6AR, +44(0)7440466299, or by email at uczcnsu@live.ucl.ac.uk.
PhD research project supervisors: Dr. Andrew Flinn (a.flinn@ucl.ac.uk) and Dr. Jenny Bunn (j.bunn@ucl.ac.uk)

PARTICIPATION

Your participation in this study is voluntary and if you decide to participate, you may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.

AUDIO
Audio recordings of the interviews will be collected but this information will be used only for the purposes of the thesis, and only the researcher plus her supervisors will have access to the original files storing this information. Three years after the research is completed the recordings will be destroyed.

CONSENT
I have read this form and received a copy of it. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction. I agree to take part in this study.

Printed name: _____

e-mail: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Initial below

_____ I agree to allow voice recordings of my participation in this research to be used in presentations and output.

_____I do not wish my name to appear in any publication associated with this research and I wish to be referred to by my position or by an assumed name.

Consent form date: 25 July 2014

Appendix D – Survey: Questionnaire for Teacher

Questionnaire on Attitudes on Archival Use for Potential User Groups in Thailand

This questionnaire is a part of doctoral thesis on "A Comparative Studies of Archival Access and Use in the United Kingdom, France and Thailand"

Miss Naya Sucha-xaya, research student, University College London

Part 1 Background

1.1 Occupation _____   Gender_____   Age ____

Have you ever used archival documents?

🟦   Yes   For what reasons_____

🟦   No (Please go to 2.2)

1.2 What are your experiences with archives? How did you use them?

_____

_____

1.3 What do you try to get out of archives when you use records and archives? (You can choose more than one choice.) And, how much do you use them in archives.

	1 little	2	3	4	5 A lot
🟦 Evidence					
🟦 Information					
🟦 Inspiration					
Other (if there any, please state)					

Part 2 Values and attitudes towards archives

2.1 What do you think about archives and their values?

Describe how you feel about archives.

_____

_____

2.2 If you have not used archives, please give your reasons why not.

Part 3 Likelihood of using archives

How likely would you be to use archives for the stated reasons or in the stated ways?

(For teachers)

3.1 Purposes of using archives

	1 Unlikely	2	3	4	5 Likely
1. Using archives in preparation for teaching					
2. Using archives as instructional media					
3. Teachers doing research					
4. Educating students about archives and how to use archives					
5. Taking students to visit archives					
6. Archivists come to teach students at school					
7. Assigning students to do research in archives					
8. Using information from archives in an exhibit					

9. Other purposes (if there any, please state).

3.2 Means of using archives

	1 Unlikely	2	3	4	5 Likely
1. Visiting archives					
2. Online catalogue and archives' websites					
3. Accessing information on archives via social media					
4. Visiting exhibition on archives					
5. Accessing digitised archives online					
6. Participating events or activities about archives					
7. Using archives with digital tools e.g. databases, apps.					
8. Volunteering in archives					
9. Donating personal records to archives					

10. Other methods of using archives (if there any, please state).

Please provide your contact details if you would be happy for me to follow up on your answers and discuss them further with you.

Name _____   Tel. _____

Email _____

Appendix E – Survey: Questionnaire for Media

Questionnaire on Attitudes on Archival Use for Potential User Groups in Thailand

This questionnaire is a part of doctoral thesis on "A Comparative Studies of Archival Access and Use in the United Kingdom, France and Thailand"

Miss Naya Sucha-xaya, research student, University College London

Part 1 Background

1.1 Occupation _____   Gender_____   Age _____

Have you ever used archival documents?

🟦   Yes   For what reasons_____

🟦   No (Please go to 2.2)

1.2 What are your experiences with archives? How did you use them?

1.3 What do you try to get out of archives when you use records and archives? (You can choose more than one choice.) And, how much do you use them in archives.

	1 little	2	3	4	5 A lot
🟦 Evidence					
🟦 Information					
🟦 Inspiration					
Other (if there any, please state)					

Part 2 Values and attitudes towards archives

2.1 What do you think about archives and their values?

Describe how you feel about archives.

2.2 If you have not used archives, please give your reasons why not.

Part 3 **Likelihood of using archives**

How likely would you be to use archives for the stated reasons or in the stated ways?

(For media)

3.1 Purposes

	1 Unlikely	2	3	4	5 Likely
1. Writing articles/ news					
2. Making TV programme, news and documentary					
3. Editing books and articles					
4. Using archives to do projects with communities					
5. Making advertisements					
6. Making digital media					

7. Other purposes (if there any, please state)

3.2 Means of using archives

	1 Unlikely	2	3	4	5 Likely
1. Visiting archives					
2. Online catalogue and archives' websites					
3. Accessing information on archives via social media					
4. Visiting exhibition on archives					
5. Accessing digitised archives online					
6. Participating events or activities about archives					
7. Using archives with digital tools e.g. databases, apps.					
8. Volunteering in archives					
9. Donating personal records to archives					

10. Other methods of using archives (if there any, please state).

Please provide your contact details if you would be happy for me to follow up on your answers and discuss them further with you.

Name_____   Tel. _____

Email_____

Appendix F – Survey: Questionnaire for Staff Working in Organisations

Questionnaire on Attitudes on Archival Use for Potential User Groups in Thailand

This questionnaire is a part of doctoral thesis on "A Comparative Studies of Archival Access and Use in the United Kingdom, France and Thailand"

Miss Naya Sucha-xaya, research student, University College London

Part 1 Background

1.1 Occupation _____ Gender_____ Age _____

Have you ever used archival documents?

☐ Yes   For what reasons_____

☐ No (Please go to 2.2)

1.2 What are your experiences with archives? How did you use them?

1.3 What do you try to get out of archives when you use records and archives? (You can choose more than one choice.) And, how much do you use them in archives.

	1 little	2	3	4	5 A lot
☐ Evidence					
☐ Information					
☐ Inspiration					
Other (if there any, please state)					

Part 2 Values and attitudes towards archives

2.1 What do you think about archives and their values?

Describe how you feel about archives.

2.2 If you have not used archives, please give your reasons why not.

Part 3 **Likelihood of using archives**

How likely would you be to use archives for the stated reasons or in the stated ways?

(For staff in organisations)

3.1 Purposes

	1 Unlikely	2	3	4	5 Likely
1. Using records and archives in daily work					
2. Using records and archives as evidence in business					
3. Doing public relations work for organisations					
4. Learning company's history					

5. Other purposes (if there any, please state).

3.2 Means of using archives

	1 Unlikely	2	3	4	5 Likely
1. Visiting archives					
2. Online catalogue and archives' websites					
3. Accessing information on archives via social media					
4. Visiting exhibition on archives					
5. Accessing digitised archives online					
6. Participating events or activities about archives					
7. Using archives with digital tools e.g. databases, apps.					
8. Volunteering in archives					
9. Donating personal records to archives					

10. Other methods of using archives (if there any, please state).

Please provide your contact details if you would be happy for me to follow up on your answers and discuss them further with you.

Name_____   Tel. _____

Email_____

Appendix G – Survey: Questionnaire for Non-Academic Users (e.g. Users for Leisure Purpose)

Questionnaire on Attitudes on Archival Use for Potential User Groups in Thailand

This questionnaire is a part of doctoral thesis on "A Comparative Studies of Archival Access and Use in the United Kingdom, France and Thailand"

Miss Naya Sucha-xaya, research student, University College London

Part 1 Background

1.1 Occupation _____   Gender_____   Age _____

Have you ever used archival documents?

☐   Yes   For what reasons_____

☐   No (Please go to 2.2)

1.2 What are your experiences with archives? How did you use them?

1.3 What do you try to get out of archives when you use records and archives? (You can choose more than one choice.) And, how much do you use them in archives.

	1 little	2	3	4	5 A lot
☐ Evidence					
☐ Information					
☐ Inspiration					
Other (if there any, please state)					

Part 2 Values and attitudes towards archives

2.1 What do you think about archives and their values?

Describe how you feel about archives.

2.2 If you have not used archives, please give your reasons why not.

Part 3 **Likelihood of using archives**

How likely would you be to use archives for the stated reasons or in the stated ways?

(For users using archives for leisure)

Detail of your use

☐ Family history   ☐ Local history   ☐ Community history

3.1 Purposes

	1 Unlikely	2	3	4	5 Likely
1. Leisure					
2. Social					
3. Transmitting knowledge to other generations					
4. Contributing to unity in communities					
5. Strengthening identity					

6. Other purposes (if there any, please state).

3.2 Means of using archives

	1 Unlikely	2	3	4	5 Likely
1. Visiting archives					
2. Online catalogue and archives' websites					
3. Accessing information on archives via social media					
4. Visiting exhibition on archives					
5. Accessing digitised archives online					
6. Participating events or activities about archives					
7. Using archives with digital tools e.g. databases, apps.					
8. Volunteering in archives					
9. Donating personal records to archives					

10. Other methods of using archives (if there any, please state).

Please provide your contact details if you would be happy for me to follow up on your answers and discuss them further with you.

Name _____   Tel. _____

Email _____

Appendix H – Interview Questions

General questions for every group

1. Do you think records and archives are valued enough in British/ Thai society? How does the value in which they are held vary across different groups in society? Has the way in which records and archives are valued changed over time? How?

2. In what way(s) do you think wider societal values are linked to the way archives are valued?

3. How do changes of attitudes towards archives in British/ Thai society affect archives?

4. How does your role promote the value of archives in (or perhaps to) society? How do you think this can be done?

Interview questions for archivists

Background

1. What is your work about? What is your responsibility in (TNA/ the NAT)?

2. How long have you been working as an archivist? (Background)

Attitudes and values

3. What is the values of archives in British/ Thai society? Your personal view on the values of archives? How does your role promote the value of archives to society? What else could be done?

4. What do you think about the work you are doing and your work as an archivist? If you name the feelings you have, what would they be?

5. What do you think should be the values upheld by archivists? How have they been reflected in archival work in the past? Have these changed since Jenkinson's time?

6. In which area(s) do you think the profession should be more open to changes or trends in bigger society and in which area(s) should it resist these changes?

7. What kinds of values of archives correspond with social values in British/ Thai society?

8. What are the pros and cons of the information society for archives and the archives profession?

Particular questions about the person's work

9. Asking about interesting aspect of his/ her work

10. How is the public's feedback?

11. What are challenges in your work (or archives profession)?

12. What would be the future work you want to see to engage more with society?

Interview questions for users

1. What are your purposes in using archives? Do you use them for them for other purposes?

2. What motivates you to use archives?

3. What experiences have you had of using archives? (Do you like it? What do you like/ dislike? / What do you think about it? How do they affect how you use archives and services?)

4. What kind of value do archives offer you, your community and British/ Thai society as a whole?

5. Do you keep anything? Would you keep private archives?

Attitude towards the service

6. Do you think you have enough access to archives from the National Archives? Do you use online catalogue/ digitised archives?

7. What do you think/ feel about the service? (on-site and online)

8. What do you expect to see from access and service at the National Archives?

9. Is it hard for you to find information about TNA/ the NAT service?

10. What do you think about access at the National Archives at the moment? Is it convenient enough? Is it open enough?

11. What roles do you think archives and TNA/ the NAT should take in the future (that suits British/ Thai context)?

Interview questions for archives educators

1. Do you see it as part of your role as an archival educator to promote the value of archives to wider society? If so how do you do this? What values do you promote?

2. To what extent does archival theory help us to articulate the value of archives to wider society?

Attitudes and values

3. How do you think records and archives management/ archival science fits into British/ Thai society?

4. As you are an expert in history of British recordkeeping, what changes in society have affected records and archives management?

5. From my research so far, it seems that records management is considered more important in the UK and other English speaking countries than in France or Thailand. Do you agree with this statement? If so, how do you explain this difference?

6. In your opinion, what are the values of records and archives that are valued most by British society at the moment?

Access and use

7. Do you think legislation in the UK and TNA/ in Thailand and the NAT have supported enough democratic values in British/ Thai society?

8. What can academia do to help develop strategies on social inclusion or archives participation?

9. Are the current access and use policies of the government and TNA sufficient? What should be improved or developed?

Appendix I – Focus Group Form

Participants

Archivists at the National Archives of Thailand especially

- those who have been interviewed for this research last year; and

- those who have experience in giving access at the National Archives of Thailand.

Purposes

- To listen to what the archivists want in order to develop access and use at the National Archives of Thailand.

- To show what I have so far in my research, and discuss with the archivists about possible and realistic developments at the National Archives of Thailand.

Time

Two hours

Introduction

Telling participants about background information of my research: what it is about, its purposes and sponsor.

Questions

Opening question

1. Background information of participants: what is their position/ work? (10 minutes)

Introductory question

2. These are areas that are related to archival access. From the interviews I did last year, I tried to come up with several ideas in each area. These areas I have categorised are acquisition and appraisal, archives awareness, access, personnel development and education and legislation and structure. (Showing the flow chart)

So, I would like to show what I have and ask you to rate the idea and give comments on them but first of all, are there any areas you think I have missed?

Key questions

Methods: Rating using predetermined skills & listing

3. Acquisition and appraisal (15-20 minutes)

I learned that the first problem in our archival work is from records management in governmental departments and how they do not use retention schedule in transferring things to The National Archives which impacts the shape of The National Archives collection and use. I would like to ask everyone to discuss this. What do you think of this problem and how can we better the situation?

This is the list of what I have from the interviews, in the area on acquisition and appraisal, the first idea is to do a manual for governmental departments to understand records management and do the retention schedule. On a scale from 1 to 10, 10 being most effective and 1 being the least, how would you score each idea as an effective idea? What do you think about it? (Then, do the same thing with other ideas.) Do you have any other solutions?

Possible question: What really is the cause of the problem in your opinion?

Activities	Rating	Comments
1. Making manual for governmental departments to understand records management and do the retention schedule.		
2. Doing training for governmental departments		
3. Making codes of conduct according to archives act		
4. …Participants' idea…		
5. …Participants' idea…		

4. *Archives awareness* (15-20 minutes)

What do you think can help to promote archives awareness? Then, ask participants to the same thing as previous questions.

Activities	Rating	Comments
1. Talks at the National Archives and elsewhere		
2. Publication (articles in magazine, papers)		
3. Publication on the website		
4. Activities and events		
5. Social media		
6. Encouraging media to use archives		
7. Publishing books about new collections		
8. Traditional archives		
9. Collaboration with other institutions		
10. …Participants' idea…		
11. …Participants' idea…		

5. *Access* (15-20 minutes)

What do you think will help to improve access at the National Archives of Thailand?

Activities	Rating	Comments
1. Online catalogue		
2. Digitisation and online archives		
3. Reducing photocopy charge		
4. Developing microfilm		
5. …Participants' idea…		
6. …Participants' idea…		

6. ***Staff development*** (15-20 minutes)

Activities	Rating	Comments
1. In-house training		
2. More staff		
3. Limit fields of study		
4. Studying Master's degree		
5. Going to conferences		
6. …Participants' idea…		
7. …Participants' idea…		

5. ***Legislation and structure*** (15-20 minutes)

Activities	Rating	Comments
1. Improving legislation		
2. Working under a different department		
3. Improving standards		
4. Having the National Archives' own IT section		
5. …Participants' idea…		
6. …Participants' idea…		

Ending questions

Of all the needs that were discussed, which one is the most important to you?

1. One of the main obstacles of archival access and use in Thailand is Thai education does not encourage people to think critically, nor look for historical knowledge on their own. Do you agree with this point? If it is true, how should Thai archivists plan to handle the situation e.g. advocacy strategies? Or, if the educational system needs to be improved, how do you think archives can support the development?

2. When Thai people in general hear the word archives, they tend to think about heritage, ancient objects and chronicles. They do not think that archives are selected from records in daily life. This is the difference between Thai traditional definition of archives and Western/ modern definition we use in archives management. As an archivist, how do you manage this conflict?

3. What are the pros and cons of having more various groups of users in the future? How do you plan to deal with this change? For example, archives may be used commercially more than before. Or, if users' expertise are not equal, how will you deliver the service?

Summary question: Summarise important points of the discussion and ask the participants "Is this an adequate summary"?

Appendix J – Focus Group Questions

In addition to the form, some questions were asked as follows:

1) One of the main obstacles of archival access and use in Thailand is that Thai education has often not encouraged people to think critically or to look for historical knowledge on their own. Do you agree with this point? If so, how should Thai archivists plan to handle the situation (e.g. advocacy strategies)? Or, if the educational system needs to be improved, how do you think archives can support the development of it?

2) When Thai people in general hear the word archives, they tend to think about heritage, ancient objects and chronicles. They do not think that archives are selected from records in daily life. This is a difference between the traditional Thai definition of archives and the Western/modern definition we use in archives management. As an archivist, how do you manage this conflict?

3) What are the pros and cons of having more varied groups of users in the future? How do you plan to deal with this change? For example, archives may now be used for commercial purposes more than they were before. Or, how can you cater to the needs of users with a wide variety of experience, knowledge and ability in using archives?

Appendix K – Data Analysis Sample

Sample of coding from transcription
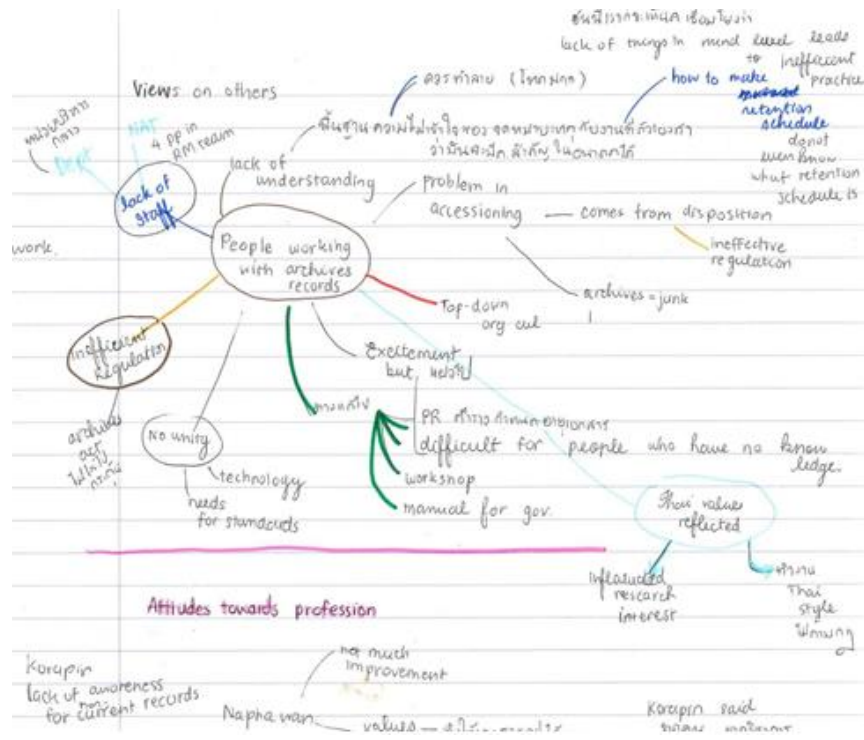
Sample of data analysis from coding