

CHAPTER 2

EVOLUTION OF HIRED-MOTORCYCLE SERVICE INSTITUTION

Number of motorcycles, both public and private, has increased by 20 percent per annum during 1978-88 (Table 2.1) which is the highest growth rate among that of motor vehicles. The first question, hence, is how the hired-motorcycle service has emerged as an institution serving demand for transport and become a popular transport mode inspite of other legally accepted public transport modes. Accordingly, this chapter attempts to identify the macro environments that give rise to the role of the hired-motorcycle service on the one hand and the evolution of the institution itself on the other.

2.1 Macro Environment Perspective

2.1.1 Demand Side Investigation.

Urban growth without a city planning is the important factor that generates the demand for hired-motorcycle service. Along with the urban growth, higher income of Bangkok people is another factor stimulating the demand.

The urban-biased development policy promoting industrialization has led to the increase in population as well as in price of lands. The increases in land prices in inner areas of Bangkok have resulted in the change in city boundaries to incorporate previously rural places and even the boundaries to vicinity provinces so as to absorb the increasing population and economic growth beyond that of the Bangkok Metropolis. Population density, hence, has

Table 2.1

Motor Vehicle Registration by Type in Bangkok Metropolis: Fiscal Year 1978-1988

Year	Total	Passenger Cars			Vans and Truck			Motor-Cycles	Tractors	Others	
		Personal Cars		1	2	Motor Tricycles					
		Seating Less Than 8 Persons	Seating More than 7 Persons	Taxi	Buses	Private	For Hire				
1978	522316	189695	59152	14512	10892	65058	6145	6886	149078	17099	3799
1979	545249 (4.4)	201309 (6.1)	67573 (14.2)	14681	12884	76666	6427	6886	136266 (-8.6)	18538	4019
1980	571267 (4.8)	219990 (9.3)	77817 (15.2)	14468	301*	55377*	-	6942	172008 (26.2)	19930	4434
1981	733920 (28.5)	242861 (10.4)	88932 (14.3)	14468	301*	63984*	-	6942	289702 (68.4)	22296	4434
1982	849588 (15.8)	267473 (10.1)	106810 (20.1)	14468	301*	85032*	-	6942	338846 (17.0)	23387	6329
1983	942635 (11.0)	285970 (6.9)	122604 (14.8)	14468	301*	89218*	-	7406	390752 (15.3)	22623	9293
1984	1071664 (13.7)	392357 (37.2)	124056 (1.2)	14501	301*	65435*	-	7406	435516 (11.5)	22752	9340
1985	1185004 (10.6)	420110 (7.1)	142670 (15.0)	14501	301*	78267*	-	7406	485486 (15.5)	21866	14397
1988*	1760167	570000	219343	14501	N.A.	112101	-	7406	775538	29997	30679
Average 1978-1988	(13.7)	(12.3)	(14.8)						(20.1)		

Note: (1) Includes cars for hire commuting between changwats and cars with seating less than 8 persons for services.
(2) Includes special type of buses for hire and cars with seating more than 7 persons for services
(3) Includes rollers, trailers, international cars, diplomatic cars, etc
* Excludes data that registered at the Land Transport Department.

In Brackets are growth rates.

Source : Registration Division, Police Department, Ministry of Interior (in National Statistics Office, Statistical Yearbooks) Thailand No. 33, 1981-1984 and No. 35, 1987-1988.

*Department of Land Transport, data up to September 30, 1988.

rapidly increased in these areas. Further, the higher price of land in the area which is closed to the main roads has pushed a lot of population to live in sidestreets or Sois far from the mainroads. These create the possible extent of demand for the service as to enter or leave the Sois occur time cost to the people. The 1986 total population of Bangkok Metropolitan Region (BMR), consisting of Bangkok Metropolis Area, Nonthaburi, Patumtani, Samut Prakan, Samut Sakhon and Nakhon Pathom, was 8.2 million (Table 2.2) of which 6.7 million people or 82 percent was classified as urban.¹ This represents an urban growth rate of 4.4 percent per annum since 1970 compared with 3.9 percent for the whole Kingdom. Nonthaburi accounted for the highest growth rate of 8.0 percent followed by Patum Thani and Samut Prakan accounting for the growth rate of 7.4 and 5.7 percent respectively (Table 2.3). Definitely, migrants have partly explained the population growth. The ratio of natural increase of population to net migration between 1970-1980 was about 5:4 in the BMA; in the vicinity provinces, a higher share of population growth was due to natural increase. Moreover, migration out of Bangkok to vicinity provinces seems to have accelerated since 1975. These three provinces, hence, have come to serve as suburban part of BMA.²

Changes in population density during 1975-85 can be compared by Figure 2.1 and 2.2. (See also Appendices 2.1 and 2.2 for the

¹The urban population is defined to include the population of municipal areas and urban sanitary districts.

²Teera Ashakul, "Economic Analysis of Decentralization and Appropriate Urbanization Policy : Case Study of the Bangkok Metropolitan Region," paper presented for the Conference on Urbanization and Urban Policies, Bali, Indonesia, December 9-13, 1985.

Table 2.2

Total Population of BMR by Province, 1970-1986

Unit: Thousand

Province	1970	1980	1986	1970-1986 Growth Rate, % p.a.
BMA	3185	4852	5773	3.8
Nonthaburi	278	383	473	3.4
Pathum Thani	242	332	406	3.3
Samut Prakan	341	503	625	3.9
Samut Sakhon	208	256	294	2.2
Nakhon Pathom	434	545	614	2.2
Total BMR	4687	6871	8185	3.5
Whole Kingdom	35633	46718	52654	2.5
BMR/Whole Kingdom %	13.2	14.7	15.5	

Note: Totals do not add up due to rounding

Source: Office of National Economic and Social Development Board,
Bangkok Metropolitan Regional Development Proposals: Recommended
 Development Strategies and Investment Program for the Sixth Plan
 (1987-1991), June, 1986, p.9.

Table 2.3

Urban Population of BMR by Province, 1970-1986

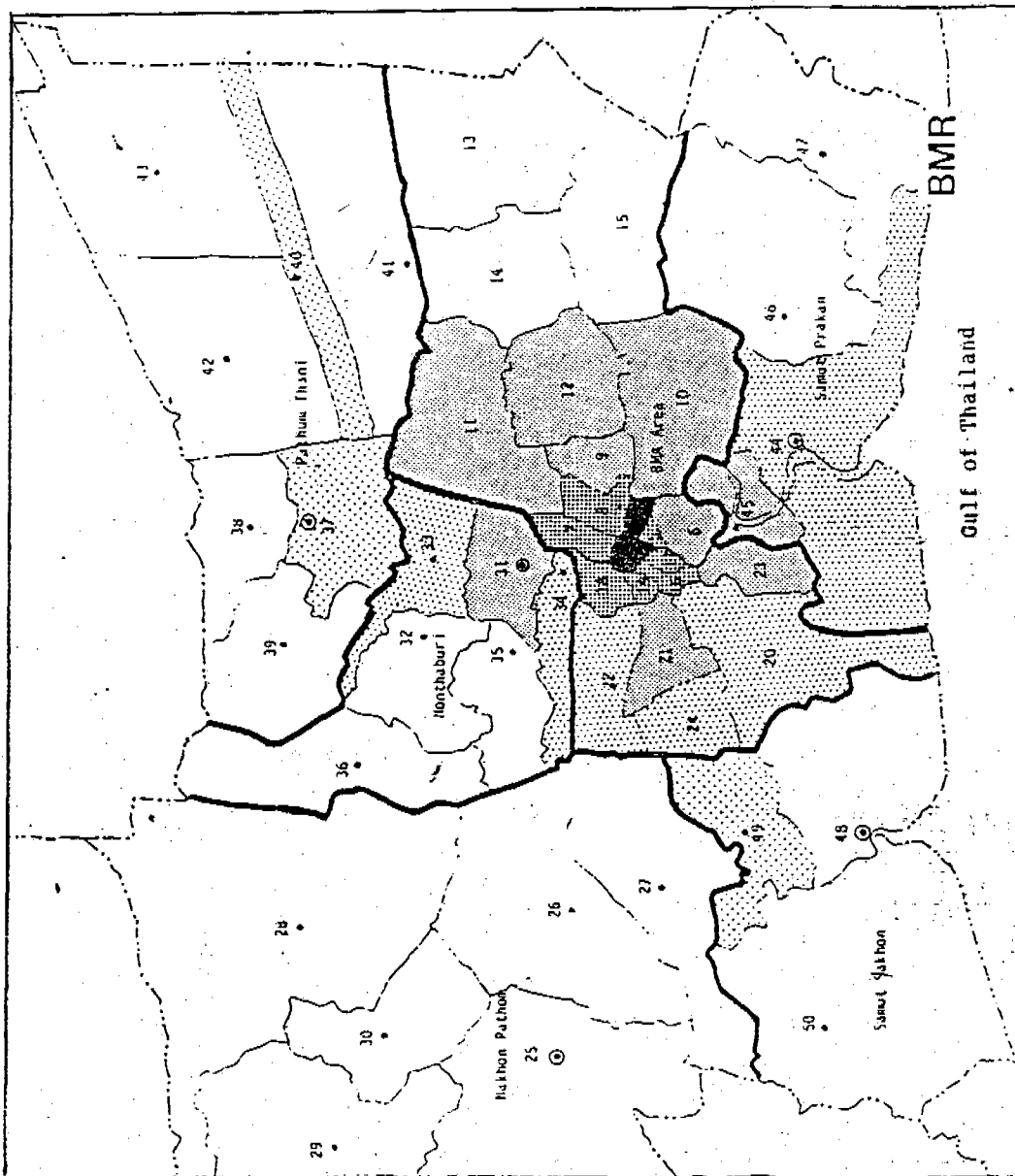
Unit: Thousand

Province	1970	1986	1986	1970-1986
			Urban/Total %	Growth Rate, % p.a.
BMA	2953	5773	100.0	4.3
Nonthaburi	51	176	37.3	8
Pathum Thani	54	170	41.9	7.4
Samut Prakan	133	322	51.4	5.7
Samut Sakhon	79	113	38.5	2.3
Nakhon Pathom	80	119	19.4	2.5
Total BMR	3350	6673	81.5	4.4
Whole Kingdom	8017	14848	28.2	3.9
BMR/Whole Kingdom %	41.8	44.9		

Source: Office of National Economic and Social Development Board,
Bangkok Metropolitan Regional Development Proposals: Recommended
 Development Strategies and Investment Program for the Sixth Plan
 (1987-1991), June, 1986, p.10.

Figure 2.1

Population Density 1970



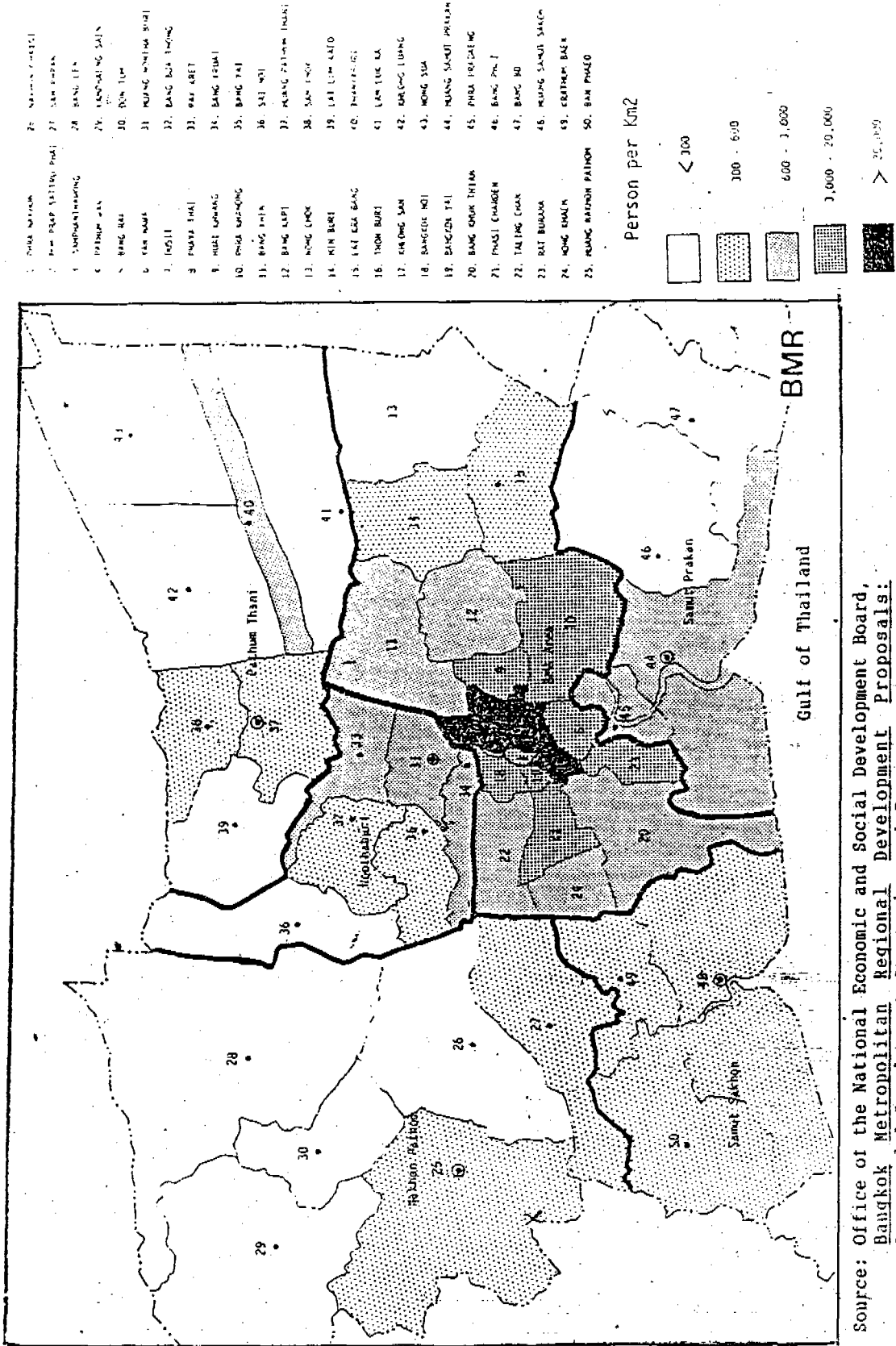
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Legend for Population Density 1970:

- Saturated Urban
- Slow Growing Urban
- Fast Growing Urban
- Transitional
- Rural

Source: Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board, Bangkok Metropolitan Regional Development Proposals: Recommended Development Strategies and Investment Programmes for the Sixth Plan (1987-1991), p.8.

Figure 2.2
Population Density 1985



Source: Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board, Bangkok Metropolitan Regional Development Proposals: Recommended Development Strategies and Investment Programmes for the Sixth Plan (1987-1991), p.7.

classification of stage of urbanization.) The fast growing urban and the transitional urban areas have highest growths of population density respectively which that of the inner city areas is opposite. (Table 2.4) In other words, a lot of people are living far and far from the city center as shown in Figure 2.3. This can be explained by the further expansion of modern housing projects to suburban areas in order to avoid the problem of high price of lands in inner areas.

This evidence can be confirmed by Table 2.5 and 2.6 showing number of units of modern housing villages in BMR (except Nakhon Pathom and Samut Sakhon) and number of moderning housing projects in Bangkok Metropolis respectively. Table 2.5 indicates that the average growth rate of unit of modern house of 42.4 percent per annum during 1968-84. Table 2.6 shows that the fast growing urban of Bangkok Metropolis becomes the most important part of Bangkok in absorbing the population growth.

In addition, the change in pattern of land use in some fast growing urban areas reflects the increase in land price. For instance, many detached houses in various Sois of Sukhumvit Road have been replaced by condominiums because the price of lands have increased from less than 100,000 baht per Wa-square in 1988 to the level of 100,000-200,000 baht in 1989.³

Residential locations of population relate to the road system development. Lack of appropriate city planning, road system development is characterized by a very low proportion of space devoted to roadways: 2,785 kilometres with 4,517 routes and more than

³Prachachat Business, Vol. 14, No. 2083 (1283), 31 December 1989 - 3 January 1990, p.21. (in Thai)

Table 2.4

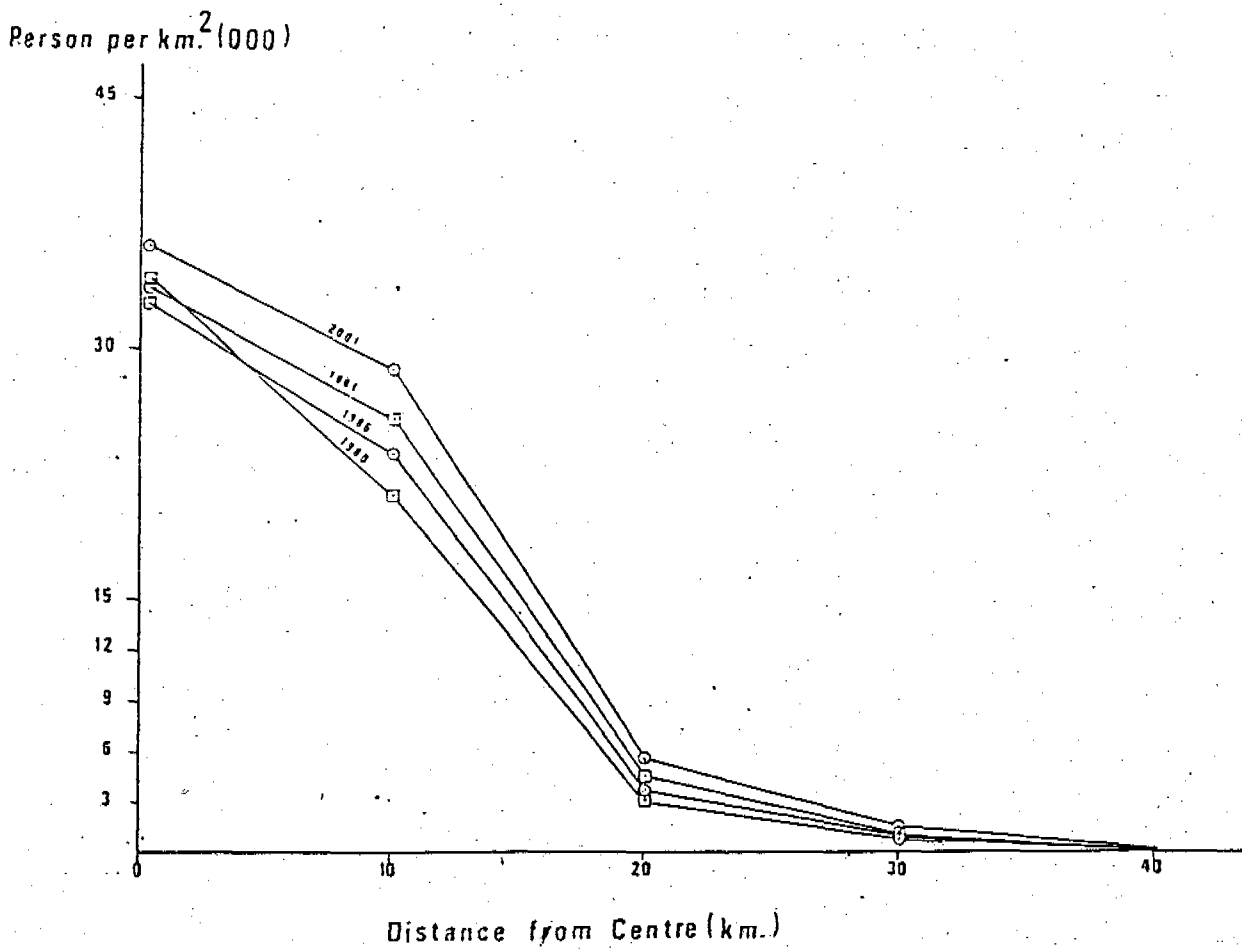
Average Population Densities in the BMR

Unit: person per squared kilometres

	1980	1986	Growth Per annum (%)
BMA			
Saturated Urban	33654	32261	-0.69
Slow Growing Urban	21250	23811	2.01
Fast Growing Urban	3152	4138	5.21
Transitional	965	1234	4.65
Rural	265	311	2.89
Outer Provinces			
Nakhon Pathom	252	285	2.18
Nonthaburi	585	723	3.93
Pathum Thani	218	266	3.67
Samut Prakan	560	697	4.08
Samut Sakhon	315	362	2.49

Source: Office of National Economic and Social Development Board, Bangkok Metropolitan Regional Development Proposals: Recommended Development Strategies and Investment Program for the Sixth Plan (1987-1991), June, 1986, p. A-3.

Figure 2.3
Population Density vs Distance from the
City Centre in Various Years



Source: Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board,
Bangkok Metropolitan Regional Development Proposals:
Recommended Development Strategies and Investment Programmes
for the Sixth Plan (1987-1991), p.52.

Table 2.5

The Number of Modern Housing Villages in Bangkok Metropolis,
Nonthaburi, and Patumthani

Year	The Number of Modern Housing Villages each year	Annual Growth Rate (%)	Cumulative Sum	Annual Growth Rate (%)
1968	275		275	
1969	380	38.2	655	138.2
1970	572	50.5	1227	87.3
1971	1536	168.5	2763	125.2
1972	3890	153.3	6653	140.8
1973	4529	16.4	11182	68.1
1974	1734	-61.7	12916	15.5
1975	4272	146.4	17188	33.1
1976	5600	31.1	22788	32.6
1977	7500	33.9	30288	32.9
1978	9157	22.1	39445	30.2
1979	18315	100.0	57760	46.4
1980	22893	25.0	80653	39.6
1981	15104	-34.0	95757	18.7
1982	13775	-8.8	109532	14.4
1983	14075	2.2	123607	12.9
1984*	13500	-4.1	137107	10.9
Average 1968-1984		42.4		61.5

Note: * preliminary

Source: Bangkok Bank Economic Journal 19 (November 1986): 690.

Table 2.6

The Number of Modern Housing Villages in Bangkok Metropolis
Classified by District, up to July, 1985

District	The Number of Projects
1. Saturated Area	
Phra Nakhon	1
Pom Prap Sattruprai	-
Pathum Wan	4
Samphanthawong	-
2. Slow Growing Urban Area	
Bang Rak	5
Dusit	47
Phaya Thai	23
Thon Buri	-
Khlong San	1
Bangkok Noi	64
Bangkok Yai	12
3. Fast Growing Urban Area	
Yannawa	34
Kuai Khwang	75
Phra Kanong	235
Bang Khen	244
Bang Kapi	262
Phasi Charoen	55
Rat Burana	16
4. Transitional Area	
Bang Khun Thian	38
Taling Chan	23
Nong Khaem	6
5. Rural Area	
Min Buri	7
Lat Krabang	5
Nong Chok	N.A.
Total	1,157

Note: (1) N.A. means data from air view photos
are not available
(2) figures presented in this table are
assumed to be the minimum figures
See Appendix 2.2 for the detail of district
classifications.

Source: Bangkok Bank Economic Journal 19 (November 1986): 691.

10,000 lanes,⁴ which is only 9 percent of total municipal area, compared with the recognized level of adequacy at about 20 percent.⁵

Furthermore, the development of distributor and access road are neglected. The road system in BMA, as a result, composes of major roads or Tanons mostly more than 4 lanes, and dead-end narrow local streets (Sois) mostly less than 4 meter wides (Figure 2.4). Therefore, it is not economical and facile to operate the BMTA bus service.

According to UN-ESCAP (1987), it is reported that, low-income and high density living areas are found along and behind Tanons while low density residential development for the middle to high income class is found along Sois. Low income residential areas are also found along poor-condition Sois mostly without pavement.⁶ The people living in those Sois who have to spend time if walking to mainroads may need a transport means. Up to an extent of demand, it is beneficial for hired-motorcyclists to operate their services.

Increase in people's income also generate the demand for hired-motorcycle service so as to facilitate their transport activity. The average growth rate of BMA total household income

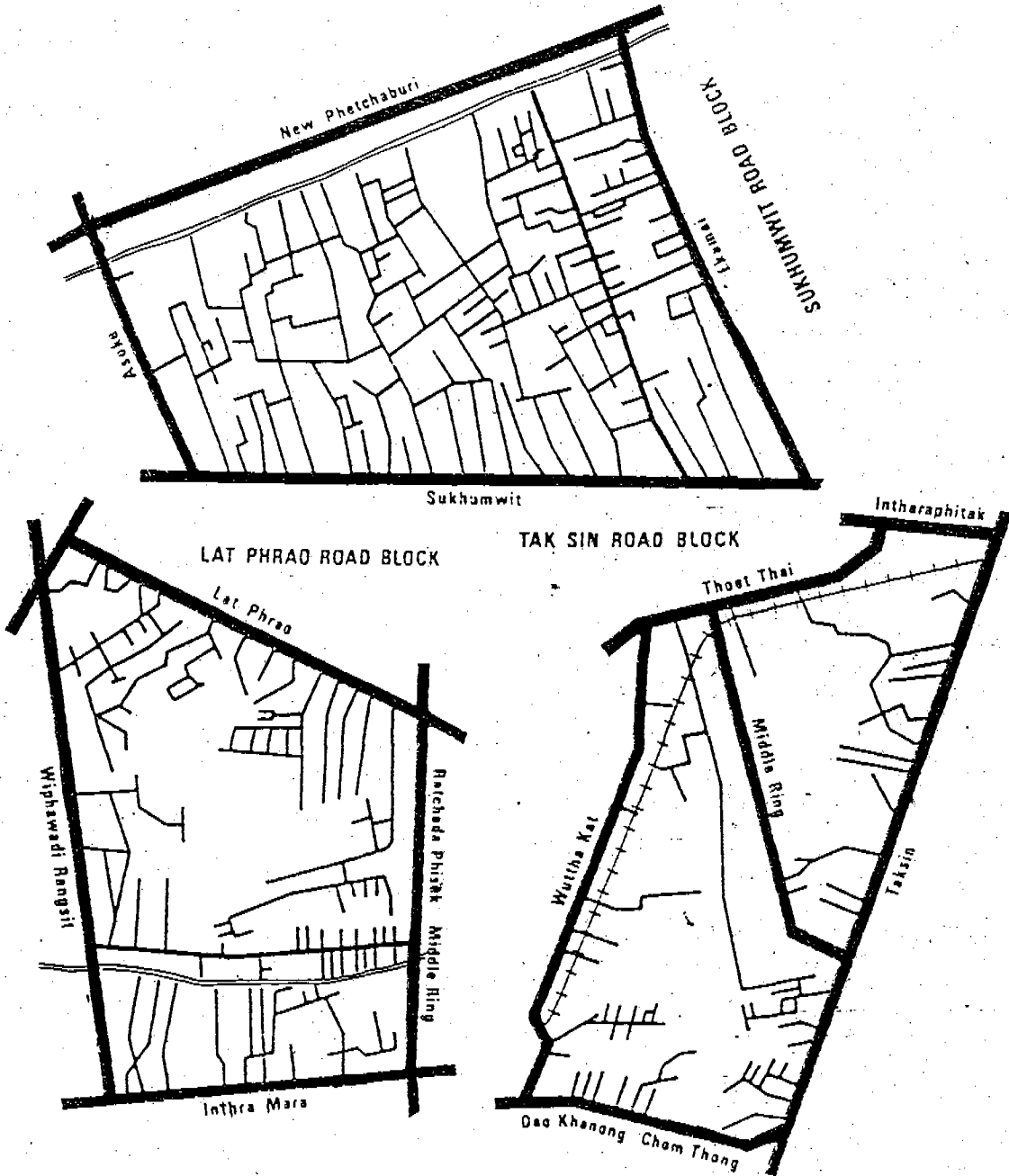
⁴Metropolitan Police Bureau, "The Role of Hire-Motorcycles in Urban Areas; and Control and Supervision of the Royal Thai Police Department," August, 1988.

⁵Ksemsan Suwarnarat and Associates, "Role of the Informal Transportation in Bangkok with Some Significant Examples."

⁶United Nation Economics and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific Study on the Roles of Informal Paratransit in the Socio-Economic Development of Urban Areas, 1987, p.29.

Figure 2.4

Unplanned Local Road Development in Bangkok



Source: Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board, Bangkok Metropolitan Regional Development Proposals: Recommended Development Strategies and Investment Programmes for the Sixth Plan (1987-1991), p.32.

between 1975/76 and 1981 was 5.1 percent per annum.⁷

Besides, the increase in income particularly of the higher income class relates closely to the increase of car ownership, which has worsen the traffice condition.

Because of lacking mass transport system, we can observe the increase in number of personal cars. Table 2.1 shows that, during 1978-88, there were annual growth rate of 12.3 percent for the cars of seating less than 8 persons and of 14.8 percent of car seating more than 7 persons. In addition, a recent study shows that 75 percent of main passenger using the public buses are government employees and the other 25 percent are student.⁸

The increase of private cars worsen the traffic condition. The travel speed has accordingly declined. The World Bank reported that "typical car speeds are only 12 Kilometers per hour (km/h) and bus speed 9km/h during the heaviest travel hours in the central of the city"⁹ In 1989, the Bangkok Metropolis Authority reported the worse condition. That is, the speed reduced to between 3.5-7.7 kh/m per hour depending on the area in Bangkok.¹⁰ Furthermore, congestion continues with little respite throughout the day. The

⁷Office of National Economic and Social Development Board, Bangkok Metropolitan Regional Development Proposals : Recommended Development Strategies and Investment Program For the Sixth Plan (1987-1991), June, 1986.

⁸Chanchai Changsignha, "Bus Users Characteristics Study in Bangkok," (M.A. thesis, Asian Institute of Technology, 1988).

⁹The World Bank, "Bangkok Traffic Management Project", Document of the World Bank, Report No.2105a-TH, November 30, 1978.

¹⁰Prachachat Business, Vol.14 No.2084 (1284), 4-6 January 1990, p.2. (in Thai)

congestion makes the time cost of timeliness of people increases. This, therefore, supports the role of hired-motorcycle even in the inner area of Bangkok. The service helps a passenger to cope with the traffic condition particularly in such area of business activity as Silom Road and Suriwong Road.

2.1.2 Supply Side Investigation.

The above presentation ensures the possible extent of demand for transport. As it is noticeable that the hired-motorcycles generally gather at the entrance of Sois, the question is why the hired-motorcycles has been selected instead of other legalized competitive modes such as Two-row, Sam-lor and Silor-lek which are also possible to operate the services in the Sois.¹¹

The answers are, firstly, the supply of Samlor and Silor-lek has been controlled by the state, (Table 2.7). New Silor-lek registration for hiring has been prohibited since 25 August 1983. Similarly, the number of Samlor has been fixed in advance to be not greater than 8,000 since April 12, 1961. At present the number of 7,461 also implies the increases possibility.¹² However, the issuance of new license quota is subject to the government consideration. That is, the market mechanism is excluded. The proportion of the number of vehicles per 1,000 population in case of Samlor and

¹¹Bus, minibus and taxi are excluded from the investigation due to the reason that the regular service of these three modes are on main-roads. In most dead-end or narrow Sois, to operate BMTA bus is not economical and facile due to the disadvantage characteristic of the Sois and the inadequate extent of demand.

¹²So.Klongdan (An Alias), "Opinion : Motorcycle,"The Daily Trade News, No.7038, Wednesday, 19 May 1966, p.5. (in Thai)

Table 2.7

Number of Vehicle of Public Transport Mode
and Method of Operation

Mode	Date of	Number	Number of Route
Bus1/	1989	4865	n.a.
Minibus1/	1989	2194	60
Two-row1/	1989	2753	178
Taxi2/	1988	13493	-
Samlor2/	1988	7406	-
Silorlek2/	1988	7874	-
Hired- Motorcycles3/	1988	16051	479

Source : 1/ Bangkok Mass Transport Authority (BMTA)
 2/ Department of Land Transport,
 3/ Metropolitan Police Bureau, "The Role of
 Hired-Motorcycle in Urban Areas and Control
 and Supervision of the Royal Thai Police
 Department." August, 1988.

Silor-lek may decrease eventually which reflects their declining role as the alternative transport mode (Table 2.8).

This is not, however, the case for Two-row or in-Soi minibus which is under the BMTA responsibility. There still is no limitation on the new license. Nonetheless, when compared the number of 2,753 of the total 146 routes in 1989 with that of 2,872 of the total 178 routes in 1985,¹³ the decreases in the extent of service is observed. This may reflect the comparative disadvantage in some areas when compared with hired-motorcycles. According to my survey, out of the total 48 sample groups of motorcyclists surveyed, 13 groups who are at Soi-entrances compete with other informal transport modes (see Table 2.9) Out of these 13, the owner of 3 samples established hired motorcycle business inspite of having already other transport mode. In addition, two of them finally wound up the other mode business. These imply the out of date or comparative disadvantage of Two-row in some areas.

Secondly and seemingly to be more important, there also exist disadvantages for these modes compared with the hired-motorcycles. For instance, hired-motorcycles can reduce the waiting time of passengers who are ever transported by Two-row, Sam-lor, or Silor-lek in the Soi because these modes require some minimum amount of passengers per trip. Though changing higher price, they provide faster and door to door service. In addition compared with Samlor or Silor-lek which provide door to door service and do not wait for an required minimum amount of passengers, they charge cheaper price.

¹³The data are got from Bangkok Mass Transport Authority (BMTA).

Table 2.8

Provision of Road-based Public Transport
by Vehicle Size in 1986

Mode	No. of vehicles per 1,000 population
Bus	0.77
Minibus	1.21
Minibus (pick-up)	0.43
Taxi	2.59
Samlor	1.38
Silor-lek	0.95

Source: United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, "The Study on the Role of Informal Paratransit in the Socio-Economic Development of Urban Areas," New York, 1987, p. 13.

Table 2.9

Samples locating in the area having other informal public transport mode

Win	Other informal Public Transport Mode	The modes are established		Note
		before	after	
JS4	Two-row		/	
JS5	Two-row	/		
PRS2	Two-row	/		same owner
LP1	Silor-lek	/		same owner
LP2	Two-row & Silor-lek		/	
PHYT1	Two-row		/	Finally, the owner is the same person.
SS1	Samlor & soldier welfares' Two-row	/		
TS2	Two-row	/		
SV7	Two-row & Silor-lek	/		
SV8	Two-row	/		
SNKR1	Two-row, Silor-lek, Tricycle	/		
PCH3	Two-row	/		
RKH3	Silor-lek	/		
Total = 13 Samples				

Source: Survey

Further, in very narrow-wide Sois, it is still possible for the hired-motorcycle service while it is not the case for other modes.

Up to now, it has been pointed out the urban growth, the increasing land price, the income increase of Bangkok people as well as the disadvantage of other transport modes in favor of the role of hired-motorcycle service. The further question is that, as an institution, what is the evolution in the institution itself and whether there is any external factor that makes the service become conceded business and makes the business grow rapidly inspite of lacking accepted legal status.

2.2 Evolution of Hired-Motorcycles.

2.2.1 Former Pattern of Motorcycle Uses.

Initially, in Bangkok, motorcycles are always used for personal proposes as an consumption good particular for those living in long-length Sois. For instance, one may ride his motorcycle to office or use it for the family activities such as transporting family members going to market places. However, in business, motorcycles have been used long before as a capital good responsible for sending message and small products but not for public hire. Using motorcycles as a means of transport is generally accepted for its unsafety compared with other means. It is in upcountries that hired-motorcycles taking passengers are generally observable as the public transport service is not enough or may not be available because of the bumpy and/or narrow road face.

2.2.2 Origination of Hired-Motorcycle Service as Business.

Those patterns of motorcycle uses in Bangkok as well as in

upcountries have been developed to be the hired--motorcycle service in some Sois by originators to serve demand for transport of people living in the Sois. In the case of previously using motorcycle as an consumption good, it is found that the process of development began from a few motorcycle owners living in Soi who ever help taking their familiar people in and out the Soi without charge. Later, it is developed to be part-time work and finally become commercial business. The upcountry hired-motorcycle model is followed by some originators who are migrants. Later the successive model has been followed by a lot of new entrants. However, in the previously rural place of Bangkok such as Donmueng, Bangkapi, where are far from mainroads is found from the survey that the business was set up before the inner areas.

Soi Ngam-Duphli on King Rama IV Road is found to be important origination of this business. According to Lt.(at that time) Somboon Boonsuckdi, the ex-administrator of Ngam Duphli motorcycle transport service had ever explained about the settlement that

...there are a large number of residents in this Soi (300 families living in Navy Flats - 0.8 kilometers off Rama IV Road - and 200 families in the community 1.2 kilometers off Rama IV Road). Most of them have low incomes, and are unable to pay for taxis or Samlors to go in or out of this Soi. In the evening, they previously had to walk along the dark road, which was dangerous because of so many crimes committed in this Soi. Each family had to take care of its own members. For instance, a father had to wait for his daughter in front of the Soi at night in order to act as a bodyguard. At that time, there were three or four

personal motorcycles in the Navy Flats offered by the owners to take familiar people in and out the Soi free of charge.

Later, most people felt that it was not fair for the owners to use their gasoline without compensation. In June 1981, the naval officials called for whoever had motorcycles to join the Navy Flats Motorcycle Club - operating a motorcycle transport service for the Soi's residents in the morning and evening and charging 2-3 baht a person. In only a short time, this service became very popular and motorcyclists made a lot of money. And since more people, wanted to join the club, it became a real business.¹⁴

It should be pointed out that those who originally received service without charge themselves revealed willingness to pay to the motorcycle owner and they stimulated the setting up of the hired-motorcycle in this Soi.

Later the idea has been followed by residents in navy flats ...we had some problems with other groups around here who operated their service after us. But now, we have agreed with the other groups where we can pick up and take passengers. Soi Saphan Khu, Soi Tak Sin, etc. - originated from here since their leaders are residents in Navy Flats.¹⁵

¹⁴"Soi Bikes", Thailand Business 6 (October 1983):7.

¹⁵Ibid, p.8.

According to the survey, the business has been expanding beyond navy flat area to many Sois of Jaran-Sanithwong Road, Petchburi Road, Sukhumvit Road and Sathu-Pradit Road by warrant navies.

The dominant role of the navy in the beginning period of business is hypothesized here because of the following advantages. Firstly, the navy have flexible working hours. They can enter the office late in the morning and leave the office earlier before 5 p.m.. Therefore, compared with civil government officials the navy have an advantage to work part-time during the traffic rush hours. Moreover, they may spend time out of the active service period to operate the service. Secondly, they may easily find the source of capital borrowing from their office as a welfare. They, hence, can afford the initial capital investment to buy motorcycles. Lastly, they may be respected by the police and , hence, are not disturbed. Along with the experience from their Soi, these factors may be able to explain the important role of the navy as an business originator in Bangkok.

This becomes, finally, the model followed by local residents in various Sois or unemployed person owning motorcycles. That is, the business is no longer limited to only the navy.

2.2.3 Factors Stimulating the Business Growth.

Up to this point, we came up with how the service become the business. There are also at least 2 factors stimulating the growth. One, the external factor, is recognition by the police as law guardians. The other, the internal one, is the regulation within a hired-motorcycle group.

(1) Recognition of the Police

According to the law, vehicle registration can be divided into 2 groups, vehicles for personal use and for public hiring use. It is the former group that motorcycles are classified into. However, the law does not specifically say that motorcycles cannot be used for public hiring. This kind of business is in grey area. Due to the unclear legal aspect at that time, there is possible obstruction from some policemen who may interpret that the hired-motorcycles break the law in charge of wrongful use of vehicle.

Regarding possible problems with the police, Lt.Somboon disclosed that:

Although the police refused us when I first asked permission to operate our service, I didn't care. I started the service and ... nothing happened to me ... maybe because I'm also a government official. You know, the service is accepted by people now, for we serve people and take responsibility whenever there is a accident. We pay all medical expenses and compensation. I think this business -- especially here -- still remains because it is an honest profession.¹⁶

Though the police responsible for the area could not stop this growing business, a self-protecting behavior had been practiced whenever motorcyclists take passengers outside the area. That is, they do not wear uniforms (waistcoat or jacket) so that they could avoid the arrest on that charge.

¹⁶Ibid, p. 8.

It was at least in 1983 that the hired-motorcycles have been indirectly generally recognized as a honest profession by the police. This is because the Bangkok Metropolitan Police ordered all the police stations in Bangkok to keep an eye on the motorcyclists and do whatever is necessary to control them.¹⁷ As a result, motorcyclists' details about address, domicile, citizen card also including motorcycle license plate, waistcoat number, and driving license in some areas are taken down at the police station responsible for the area. These things help the police to follow them easily whenever something happens. For instance, if a motorcyclist were to flee the scene after an accident causing passenger injured. Besides, these things can prevent the motorcyclist from suspicious of involvement with any passenger who carries contraband goods and of being theft or spy for theft. This acceptance implies inability to obstruct the operation. In addition, the acceptance became the solution to the initially unclear legal aspect affecting their operation out of the area. The hired-motorcycles no longer have to worry about their status though they have not yet legally accepted. On the other hand passengers feel more confident to use the service because they can be sure of not being taken for theft or rape if they are women. Hence, the recognition stimulated the growth, indirectly. Unsurprisingly, from the survey, 29 out of 48 sample group were set up in 1983 and after that (Table 2.10). Besides, it is not necessary, since then, for the motorcyclists to take off their waistcoats when taking passengers out of their regular route.

¹⁷Ibid, p. 10.

Table 2.10

Year of Business Setting Up by Surveys Sample

Year	Number of Sample	percent
1969	1	2.08
1972	2	4.17
1976	1	2.08
1978	1	2.08
1979	2	4.17
1980	3	6.25
1981	2	4.17
1982	8	16.67
1983	10	20.83
1984	7	14.58
1985	1	2.08
1986	3	6.25
1987	3	6.25
1988	4	8.33
Total	48	100.0

Source: Survey

(2) Rule and Enforcement within a Group

The hire-motorcyclists themselves set rules for the group so that they could create as well as maintain the market since the good image or reputation can induce new passengers. On the other hand, regulation can be social enforcement among motorcyclists so that they could operate the service together peacefully. This is due to the reason that one's inappropriate behavior can affect the others' income and the reputation of the group. That is, the institution has developed itself to become professional supplier so as to provide service efficiently. For instance, in case of Soi Ngam-Duphli, once the Navy Flats Motorcycle Club was established, rules were also set. For instance, motorcyclists have to queue up and to be polite to passengers. Further, the minimum fare was reduced from 3 baht to 2 baht and tariffs have been set to prevent price cutting problem. The motorcyclists also have to take responsibility whenever there is an accident. Besides, initially, the group tried to provide 24 hour service by serving special food such as boiled rice to those operating the service all the night.

From the survey, general rules for motorcycles in a group are conceded as follows:

1. charge the standard tariff set by the group in regular routes,
2. queue up for a passenger,
3. drive slowly when taking a passenger,
4. do not drink during operating the service,
5. be polite to passengers.

The first rule, standard tariff, is necessary so as to prevent price cutting among motorcyclists. The other four are to

regulate the motorcyclists' behaviors. The second rule, queuing system, is to prevent scrambling for a passenger among the motorcyclists which may lead to a quarrel within the group. The last three can ensure the security of passenger. Disobeying any regulations could be punished like not being permitted to operate for few days or even told to quit. Along with the condition that motorcyclists' detail kept at the police station as mentioned earlier, motorcyclist has to pay all medical expenses and compensation if he causes a passenger getting an accident.

In addition, some groups also have regulation on motorcyclists' dressing, so that they would always be in neat clothes. That is, they cannot wear shorts except during rainy season. Some groups, further have the rule that the motorcyclists cannot have long hair. These regulations definitely can create good will for the group.

(4) Types of Hired-Motorcycle Operation

Up to this point, it is clear that urban growth along with unplanned road system stimulate the demand for hired-motorcycle service as an access to mainroads. Indirectly, advantage over other possible in-Soi transport modes has stimulated the emergence of hired-motorcycles. On the other hand, the institution has developed itself to be a professional supplier to serve the passenger efficiently by setting up rules and punishment system. Similarly, the police's regulation gives the passenger more confidence on responsibility of motorcyclists. As a result, now a lot of people especially those living in sois become customer of the hired-motorcycles. However, the menu of service is not only to serve people

leaving or entering a Soi. Those accumulating enough experience or specialization on the road way also take passengers along mainroads even to upcountry. As a result of the worse traffic condition, the business is also needed in inner area of Bangkok. At present, the service has, therefore, extended to message or good sending and lunch purchasing service or thing buying service for regular customers. However, only good performance or reputed motorclists trusted by the customer are hired for these special services. These kinds of motorcyclists' need some time to create their special market. Some motorcyclists told that, in the first month, their homework were to study road ways in Bangkok from map as well as from senior motorcyclists. As time passes, they will dare to take passengers to destinations on mainroads more fare away from their regular routes. Those who have endurance and diligence and are punctual can get their own customers. Furthermore, surprising, in some special areas, they can also take passengers to their destination very fast by breaking some traffic regulation such as "retracing traffic arrow".