

**IDENTITIES AND COMMUNICATION NETWORK OF THE
MIDDLE-CLASS UNDERGROUND LOTTO GAMBLERS**



Wachirarat Nirantechaphat

**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Communication Arts and Innovation)
The Graduate School of Communication Arts and Management
Innovation
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Wachirarat Nirantechaphat
**The Graduate School of Communication Arts and Management
Innovation**

..... Major Advisor
(Associate Professor Asawin Nedpogaeo, Ph.D.)

The Examining Committee Approved This Dissertation Submitted in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
(Communication Arts and Innovation).

..... Committee Chairperson
(Professor Patchanee Cheyjunya)

..... Committee
(Associate Professor Asawin Nedpogaeo, Ph.D.)

..... Committee
(Associate Professor Somsuk Hinviman, Ph.D.)

..... Dean
(Professor Yubol Benjarongkij, Ph.D.)

_____/_____/_____


ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation	IDENTITIES AND COMMUNICATION NETWORK OF THE MIDDLE-CLASS UNDERGROUND LOTTO GAMBLERS
Author	Wachirarat Nirantechaphat
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This research has the objectives to study the identities of middle-class underground lotto gamblers and the subsequent development of the communication network. The study examines the connection among major dealers, small dealers, sellers, and middle-class underground lotto gamblers. It is a qualitative research utilizing in-depth interview for data collection from 15 respondents from Nakhon Ratchasima Province. The respondents have more than 5 years experience with income more than 18,000 baht. Consideration would be made based on the occupation, family reputation, and lifestyle. Snowball sampling was used to access respondents. The 10 months period of study was August 1, 2019 to May 2, 2020. The researcher analyzed the text and context with supplementary field observation as a gambler to gain the insider view. The research findings are presented as follows:

- 1) There are 8 underground lotto gamblers, who are involved in the gambling habit because they want the thrill, entertainment, and networking with others. Middle-class underground lotto gamblers prefer to place bets with people they know, who generally have a good social standing and modern lifestyle. These people have graduated from both local and international institutions. They regularly join social activities and have a limit on the bets between 300-10,000 baht/draw. Most of the people started the gambling habit as a consequence of economic problems arising from political conflicts. As a result, they turned to gambling as a means for entertainment to help them through tough times. In addition, middle-class underground lotto gamblers depend on the supernatural for success. Fortune seeking becomes an important part of the characteristics of the gambler as successful business people, who have honor, status, and good education. Those, who can guess numbers accurately, are considered as lucky, having high merit with expansive

social connections, and difficult to access. The presentation of underground lotto gamblers in media is different. They are presented as fortune seekers, who are fun loving, have stable business, always lucky winning lottery, help society, have a good heart, love merit making, have friends in many places, generous sharing good numbers, not affected by gambling, and willing to reveal themselves in the real and social media world within limited circles.

2) The 1 dealer, 2 sellers, and 4 gambler and sellers, started the business by absorbing the behavior from people around them. There are both old and new sellers. Some of them gamble and sell underground lotto. They are careful not to make it affect their profitability. The financial circulation in the past was as high as 30 million baht. The children generation of dealers would make about 10 million baht. Sellers have sales volume of about 3,000 – 50,000 baht/draw. Dealers and sellers can openly receive bets when they have a good relationship with police, which facilitates small-time dealers. They can contact the major dealers easily on their phone at anytime. Technology has replaced the stringers. The relationship in the network both in reality and virtual world are done openly. Thus, the underground lotto business is a means of accumulation of power and influence. This is the identity of the dealer that cannot be passed on.

This research provides the direction for the development of understanding about the phenomenon of the middle-class underground lotto gambling in the context of the culture of fortune seeking in the digital age. It has developed knowledge about the creation of gamblers' communication network, which is beneficial for development of knowledge in various fields. This reflects the underground business phenomenon in Thai society.

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CHAPTER 1

GENERALITIES OF THE STUDY

1.1 Background and Research Problem Significance

Gambling has always been part of human societies since ancient times. It has evolved over time. In terms of criminology, gambling is not a crime in and of itself, *Mala Prohibita*. However, it was the cause of other crimes affecting life, physical body, and property. In some countries such as Australia and United States, gambling was legal in order to control gamblers in a small circle. Gambling has its benefits in terms of entertainment, employment, and is a main source for tax revenues for the government. In Thailand gambling is illegal. However, there are some types of gambling operated by the government such as lottery. The government has a policy to allow placing bets on above the ground lottery. In addition, the government gives permission for certain types of gambling such as betting on fighting cocks. Although the government allows certain types of gambling to be legal, it is a known fact that gambling is prevalent in many areas. This is particularly true in communities, where gambling dens were operated. Gambling was played with those who were closest to them. Police officers were always arresting gamblers, which is a testament to the popularity of gambling among a certain group of people in society. This is preferred to engage in A-list (Kor) gambling as defined in the Gambling Act of 1944, which includes high-low and 8-key. Gamblers often played in secretive places such as forests, in their homes, in communities that are difficult to access, or public places such as funerals. Gambling dens are big business with large monetary circulation, thus it has the impact on the national economy (Mingmontri Siripong, 2007).

Gambling has a history dating back for thousands of years. There is historical evidence indicating the migrant Chinese community brought gambling to Thailand in 1817. In ancient China, bets were placed on images of flowers, “huay” is the Chinese word for flowers. The symbols for placing bets changed from flowers to names of

important Chinese people and characters. When this game of bets came to Thailand, it started to use Thai characters to become “Huay Kor Koh”.

In the early days the migrant Chinese gambled among themselves. In 1831-1832 a major draught swept through Thailand resulting in high cost of goods. The Thai government was forced to import rice. King Rama III had a problem because of the draught resulted in reduced collection of taxes. It is was during this period that a rich alcoholic drinks merchant proposed to the King that money did not disappear. Rather people were not spending. Some people even stored it away in jars buried in their lawns. Thus, the solution was to get people to spend again. King Rama III agreed with the merchant and in 1835. The merchant received the concession rights to collect revenues from placing bets for the government (So Plainoi, 1987, pp. 56-57, as cited in Phasuk Pongpajit, Sangsit Piriyarangsan, & Nuannoi Treerat, 2000).

Gambling has a long history. It could be said that it is in the Thai blood. Thus, it is difficult to totally abolish it from Thai society because of the high circulation values. In addition, gambling serves human needs in terms of entertainment. It is a behavior that is present in every society, ethnicity, and culture. Therefore, it can be said that gambling is a part of life and culture of people of all nationalities. Gambling is interesting because once people try it, they want to keep continuing. In psychological terms gambling is special because it is continuously attractive to players. It creates excitement in the entire process thus maintaining attractiveness for the gamblers. Also, it is challenging players through reinforcement. There are wins and losses, making it exciting for players, who want to know what would happen next. For instance, in playing cards, the excitement starts with receiving the cards, seeing what cards have been dealt, and wanting to know how it compares to other players and the dealer. Gamblers expect to win and they have other desires such as excitement. This is one type of happiness resulting from gambling (Lottery News, 1999, p. 13, as cited in Nisachon Leeratanakorn, 2004, p. 1).

Fortune seeking through gambling affects people of all groups, ages, occupations, and level of education. The study conducted by Laphthanont, Social Research Institute, Chulalongkorn University studied the situation, behavior, and impact of gambling. The study collected data from 5,042 respondents aged 15 and above from 16 provinces in all regions. Findings indicate that a majority of the

respondents (64.2%) have experience in gambling. About 63% of the respondents reported that they had started gambling in their youth (aged not more than 24 years). The youngest gambler is 7 years old. The most popular type of gambling is underground lottery. There are 19,923,643 people, who place bets on the underground lottery. This is followed by the government lottery (19,211,727), third illegal gambling dens (3,125,705), football gambling (1,067,418), local sports gambling (883,592). There is about 100 billion baht in circulation per year followed by 76,770 million baht, illegal gambling dens, football, and local sports accordingly (MGR Online News Team, 2013).

The Government Lottery Office Annual Report (2017) and the audited financial report for the fiscal year ending in September 30, 2018. When compared to data from the past 7 years from 2012-2018, the Government Lottery Office has an income of 597,795.57 million baht (2012-61,589.39 million baht, 2013-64,299.21 million baht, 2014-64,498.72 million baht, 2015-65,016.06, 2016-92,222.79 million baht, 2017-113,725.60, 2018-136,443.80 million baht). The earnings after the expenses result in a total profit of 15,138.15 million baht (2012-1,360.61 million baht, 2013-1,366.55 million baht, 2014-1,149.95 million baht, 2015-812.4 million baht, 2016-2,694.83 million baht, 2017-3,955.28 million baht, 2018-3,798.53 million baht). Customer Insights by TMB Analytics studied the behavior in purchasing government lottery and underground lottery. It is found that 1 out of 4 Thais placed bets (government and underground lottery). The total value is 250,000 million baht/year, which is 3 times the value of investment in LTF and RMF. The value is equivalent to the cost of the train linking the three airports (TCIJ News Team, 2019).



Figure 1.1 Income and Profit of the Government Lottery Office (2012-2018)

Source: TCIJ News Team, 2019.

The Government Lottery Office has a significant income thus driving the support for above the ground lottery. There are many research works studying legalizing gambling by Nisachon Leeratanakorn (2004). The opinions regarding the legalizing underground lottery as presented in the following table.

Table 1.1 Comparison of Arguments Supporting and Against Legalizing Underground Lottery

Against Legalizing Gambling	Support Legalizing Gambling
1. Gambling is a bad thing and the government should not support or help those addicted to gambling.	1. Underground lottery is prevalent and cannot be controlled.
2. Creates poverty because if the poor gamble more they would be poorer.	2. Government can collect taxes and use this revenue to improve society.
3. Gambling is against Thai-Buddhist values.	3. Government can control problems from gambling.

Against Legalizing Gambling	Support Legalizing Gambling
4. Creates poor spending values.	4. Stop the circulation of money to powerful people thus impacting economics, society, and politics.
5. Creates family conflict and destroys families	
6. Increases crime	5. Reduce circulation of money in gray market.
7. People seek fortune from gambling rather than hard work.	
8. Increase cost of living unnecessarily.	

In February 2018, the State Enterprise Policy Commission collected 13.9 billion baht from state enterprises. This is 1.9 million baht more than the expected goal. In the first 5 months of the fiscal year 2018, the Government Lottery Office made 1.59 billion baht or 24.77% (Government Lottery Office contributed highest 1.59 billion baht, 2018). It is the state enterprise that makes the highest contribution. Thus, this reflects the reason the government cannot remove gambling. Consequently, the government can only make it illegal because it is a major source of income. The government, therefore, considers gambling as a source of income as an unseen tax that the populace voluntarily pays (Sangsit Piriyaangsan, 2005, p. 203). Revenues from government lottery is significant and other banks would like to make earnings from issuing the prize money. For instance, Agriculture and Cooperatives Bank has issued policy for issuing prize money on March 1, 2020 and Krungthai Bank on May 2, 2020. The policy is to charge 1% and 0.5 for tax stamp, which is a better offer than the 2% charge when the prize money is issued from lottery sellers. In addition, this provides more convenience for prize winners so they do not need to go and get their reward at the Government Lottery Office.

Today the Thai government has plans to issue “online” lotto to make it more convenient and legal. They can also control the price of the bets. In addition, it would be fairer for the consumer. According to NIDA Poll (2018) study, “What do Thai People Think about Online Lotto?”, about 75.20% agreed with online lotto, while 24.16% did not agree. In addition, it is found that respondents wanted a means to deal with the middle man, which would reduce their income.

Thus, in the long-term it is expected that better education should reduce the number of people placing bets on underground lottery with dealers. However, totally getting rid of underground lottery is impossible. This is because underground lottery has become a part of Thai society and education cannot do anything to change it. Placing bets on underground lottery is a major source of income for people in all groups, therefore it would be difficult to abolish it. Every group that gains benefits keep supporting underground lottery. Gambling also has its value in entertainment, thus it cannot be totally removed 100% from society (Phasuk Pongpaijit et al., 2000, pp. 176-177).

The question is why Thai people still like to place bets on underground lottery, when they know they stand to lose more than to gain anything. Gambling results in relaxation while impacting society through addiction when gamblers fail to manage their money. In another perspective gambling builds relationships with people in the same environment through excitement, information seeking, conversations, and reaching joint conclusions. In placing bets on underground lottery, there are relationships before, during, and after the results of the draws are announced. Thus, this has resulted in “huay pah”, where gamblers can place bets and pay later. This is viewed as gaining trust of the dealer to be able to do so.

Nuannoi Treerat et al. (2014, pp. 39-40) explained that “huay pah” is not simply an economic transaction. It is the reflection of the social relationship. When sellers have higher volumes, they are granted the permission to sell “huay pah”. They feel honored to do because it contributes to their social capital in their community. Therefore, people with no cash, would bet on “huay pah”. However, this is a risk for the sellers. If the gamblers do not pay up, the sellers have to pay to the stringers. When they get fed up from trying to collect debts, they would simply give up. Thus, it can be said that those who can bet on “huay pah” have to have a relationship that is more than financial terms.

Placing bets on underground lottery depends on the government lottery results with a set of predetermined rules. Gamblers do not need to invest in a lot of money. They can bet with 5 or 10 baht. There are many different types of bets making it easy to buy. The gamblers feel that underground lottery provides more prize money than the government lottery. The gamblers might choose to bet on only the underground lottery or bet on both underground and government lottery. Mass media take the role in

reporting high probability numbers such as three-legged pigs, license plates of politicians, and news about those winning the government lottery. The news reports include strange aspects and the outstanding characteristics of individuals. However, mass media have not conducted their role righteously. Some of the media audiences are curious about the trustworthiness of the news.

1.1.1 Underground Lottery and Mass Media

When considering the ideal role of mass media, there are many aspects to be considered such as surveillance monitoring social movements. In addition, mass media has to report the truth. However, sometimes the mass media do more than their ideal role, which is supporting the culture of placing bets on underground lottery. Thus, the underground lottery that started from poverty has arisen to become a part of national character (gambling is not particular to any group but is a habit of Thais because fortune seeking is in the blood). This has become a habit that is part of the daily life (placing bets on underground lottery is a habit) making it a part of culture (Kanchana Khawthep, 1996).

Gamblers placing bets on underground lottery seek information from newspapers, online newspapers, and becoming members of groups such as above the ground lottery group, lottery lovers' group, and dealers' group. Today, gamblers engage more in information seeking behavior and use statistics for their decision-making.

The analysis of the name and content of magazines giving hints about placing bets revealed that underground lottery is the traditional way of Thai thinking. It is a means of fortune seeking that has taken a more modern twist with scientific elements such as probability. It is observed that underground lottery has evolved into two streams. The first is the belief that the numbers come from some divine power and cannot be controlled. The second belief is the numbers result from certain rules such as mathematics based in probability. There is a trend that the second belief is growing. This means the reduction in the role of superstitious power in pulling out numbers based on their will. As a result, numbers are drawn based on fixed criteria (Kanchana Khawthep, 1996).

Mass media support underground lottery betting indirectly. They present news about prize winners on a regular basis. When audiences learn of this news, they would

like to win such rewards as well. They have expectations that one day they would become rich as well, for instance, the news, “Wow Sunaree Ratchasima, Wins makes a 200,000 baht win from 80 lotteries” (Entertainment News Team, 2020).



Figure 1.2 Wow Sunaree Ratchasima, Wins Makes a 200,000 Baht Win From 80 Lotteries

Source: Entertainment News Team, 2020.

Another news story is about actress, Bella, does not win the lottery, Bella Pays Her Mom after She Misses First Prize by One Number (Entertainment News Team, 2019). The audiences would feel the loss and excited to learn about their favorite actors/actresses fortunes. The news stories would feature different people.



Figure 1.3 Bella Pays Her Mom after She Misses First Prize by One Number
Source: Entertainment News Team, 2019.

Reporting news about lottery in mass media continuously is about the winner of the 30-million-baht prize. It has news value in terms of human interest and suspense. The mass media has been following the news of the first prize winner of November 1, 2017, number 533726. “End of the 30 million-baht Lottery Saga, Money Goes to Uncle Charoon as Court Gives up on Kru Preecha Pleas” (Local News Team, 2020). It has captured audiences for two full years.

Most people view underground lottery as gambling for the poor. There are numerous studies that aim to solve the problem of gamblers because it has a negative impact on the economy, society, crime, and family. Sangsit Piriyarangsan et al. (2007, as cited in Parliament Secretariate, 2007, p. 6) explained that a proportion of underground lottery gamblers are distributed among groups of low, middle, and income groups, which are those, who have income less than 5,000 baht per month (16.4%), 5,001-10,000 baht per month (27.9%), 10,001-15,000 baht (34.3%), 15,001-20,000 baht per month (32.5%), and those with income more than 20,000 baht (27.615%). This shows that placing bets on underground lottery is more than hope for the poor. Today it is also a symbol of hope for the middle-class, who have income more than 20,000 baht.

The government has the idea to bring underground lottery above the ground. The mass media has analyzed the benefits and problems through opinions of academics,

who made the comparison to determine the similarity and differences with government lottery during the government of former PM Thaksin Shinawatra and PM Gen. Prayut Chan-ocha. The Thaksin government used the earnings from above the ground lottery to help the poor through the 1 fund for 1 amphoe, to provide children with equal education opportunity as the privileged children.

From the court case black number 1/2551, where the National Anti-Corruption Commission sued Thaksin Shinawatra for misconduct based on the violation of the Penal Code 147, 152, 153, 154, and 157 and Criminal Code 83, 84, 86, 90, and 91. This is based on the Government Official Act of 2502 (1959) clauses 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, and 11. The joint defendants are the cabinet ministers in Thaksin's government in 2006 along with 47 Government Lottery Office employees, who have been making the draws for 2 and 3 digits since August 1, 2003-September 16, 2006 (Team, 2019b).

PM Gen. Prayuth Chan-ocha had the idea of presenting the jackpot prize of 100 million baht, if the lottery sales reached 2 billion baht. Pochara Anantasilp, former Excise Department Secretary General, as the President of Government Lottery Office, revealed that the meeting on June 24, 2019, there was a recommendation to introduce new lottery products. There were studies that investigated the 2 and 3 digits and lotto, as possible options for implementation in Thailand. This includes the possible launch of 2 and 3 digits online and through smartphone applications (Politics News Team, 2019a).

The revision of the benefits of above the ground lottery would increase the earnings from the government lottery. Dr. Sapon Pornchokchai, Managing Director, Research and Assets Assessment Data Center, explained that during 2004-2007, the 2 and 3 digits above the ground lottery had contributed a 100% growth in the earnings for the Government Lottery Office. When it was first launched in 2003, it was not very popular. In 2004 the revenue was 76,429 million baht, a growth of 108%. In 2004 the revenue was 82,718 million baht and in 2005 the revenue was 92,764 million baht (AREA Vol. 331/2019, June 26, 2019).

Above the ground lottery during the government of former PM Thaksin Shinawatra, is a populist policy that was revoked because its operations violated the law. Many governments have come and gone, however, there is no real effort in abolishing government lottery and arresting the highly prevalent online lottery

gambling. The online network even openly gives away calculation formulas through applications such as Hanoi Lottery, Laos Lottery, and Yee-ki Lottery.

In terms of the underground lottery, there are hints on Facebook and Instagram. In addition, there are more benefits than buying government lottery. The convenience in placing bets has led the government in an effort to bring underground lottery above the ground making it legal with the aim to solve the problem of illegal practices. This is because buyers can be assured to get their reward money. However, there is not study that can guarantee that bringing underground lottery above the ground would really abolish such practices. However, getting rid of above the ground and underground lottery at the same time is very difficult since it is the breath of Thai people. It is a major revenue for the government that is supported directly by the mass media.

1.1.2 The Middle-Class and Underground Lottery

Categorization of social classes for business analysis could be done using the objective method. The most popular methods use income, occupation, and education. The upper-middle class are defined as those who have a fairly high level of income. They are successful in their careers and business. However, they may not have the acceptance in terms of reputation or family connection as those in the high status. These people are the new rich, who have achieved wealth in the previous 1-2 generations. They have improved their status but they have yet to be accepted by those in with high status. This group includes employees or management of mid-sized to large organizations or mid-sized business owners. They are also the main target for the Thai real-estate in the past 20-30 years. The good economic situation in Thailand has led to the growth in the number of the middle-class, who have upgraded to upper-middle class. They have to change their residence in line with their new social stature. The upper-middle class are the core target for residences in the suburbs, three floor town houses, and home offices that have value over 3 million baht. A majority of the middle-class are office workers, middle level government officials, and small entrepreneurs. These people have limited access to loans for purchasing real-estate. Thus, they would by value home offices or town houses in the suburbs with price less than 2 million baht. Due to the limitation of in availability of land in the city, most of the people live in the

suburbs or regional urban areas (Thio, 1986, pp. 196-198, as cited in Witthawat Rungruangpol, 2013).

The ASEAN definition of the middle-class is based on the Socio-Economic Class-SEC, which uses the monthly family income as the criteria. Most of the people in SEC of B - C are defined as middle-class.

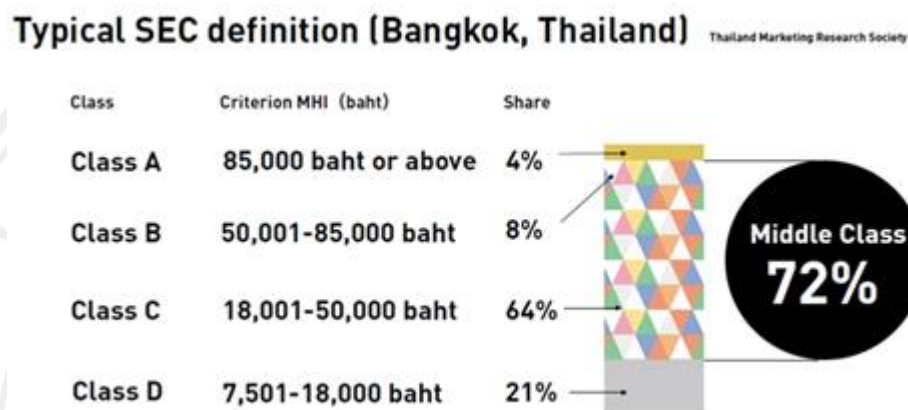


Figure 1.4 Typical SEC Definition

Source: Marketing Oops!, 2015.

There are other indicators regarding class other than income. In the research titled, “High-end Middle-Class: New Perspectives of Middle-Class in ASEAN” (2015), people who have high income want to lead the middle-class. In Thailand categorization based on family income revealed that middle-class makes-up 72%. About 80% are middle-class, while only 72% indicate that this is their status because they do not consider their income but rather their lifestyle. They explain that they have their own lifestyle but need to work to be able to purchase products that they need. The factor that influences the perception of an individual as being in the middle-class is social media.

Sarit Thanarat, the successful initiator of the cult of the leader, explained that, “The best way to create a strong nation is to ensure that the middle-class is larger in number than any group. The goal is to have middle-class proportionate to being a small nation such as in European countries such as Denmark, Holland, Sweden, and Switzerland. I believe that the more middle-class citizens we can create, the country

would have a happy society. The structure of the economy, thus would be developed to achieve this goal.” (Phewnual, 1990, p. 40, as cited in Thiranat Kanchana-aksorn, 1993, p. 282).

A study of the political struggle in Thailand revealed the role of the middle-class that is always sandwiched between the rulers and those, who are ruled. Preecha Piempongsarn (1993, pp. 75-76) used the Neo-Marxist frame to analyze the middle-class, defined as the white-collar, laborers, and small producers in the new capitalist society. This group of people is sandwiched between the investors, laborers, and farmers. Nithi Eiewsiwong (1993, pp. 49-65) did not agree with the academics, who replaced sociology with Marxist Class Theory. Nithi Eiewsiwong explained that the middle class created a new page for history. The middle-class are the impetus for change in society through the lenses of a new group of people in society. In Europe this included land owners, clerks, soldiers, priests, and merchants. However, this is not limited to serfs of the land or those are under the care of the ruler (including slaves, prisoners of war, homeless, wandering artists, and artisans). There are many factors during the Middle Ages in Europe that led to the birth of this new group that were not members of the existing groups. The middle-class in Thai society historically came into existence for a few decades. There are two main groups, which are rich merchants, who are controlled by market demands, and white-collar and skilled artisans, who have their unique skills that lead to their career development (Warawit Charoenlert, 1993, pp. 133-139). The middle-class includes merchants, freelancers, academics, government officials, state-enterprise and private enterprise employees. These people have homogeneous characteristics and have grown significantly powerful in the market. In the new capitalist society, the middle-class demand democracy for political stability (peacefulness). This becomes a critical condition for the development of the economy to reduce uncertainty and confusion through clear political policies.

It is clear that every group would have the political power thus it is critical for the development of relationships that would influence the economy. Each of the groups would have to maintain their own benefits while integrating cooperation among one another. The middle-class would support this system to maintain smooth operation of society.

The middle-class in Thailand comprises of merchants and government officials. In other countries, merchants are regular people, who conduct business in accordance to the laws. Those selling illegal goods, gamblers, casino and brothel owners are all considered criminals engaging in illegal acts. In these countries such businesses do not exist or need to be in the dark. However, in Thailand since 1947, officials have been lax. This led to the rich being powerful mafia in various regions and in almost every province. They became “irregularly” rich. Such a situation could not be positive to the country because the state business would be in the hands of the rich, who have questionable conduct. Thus, Thailand does not have regular middle-class, who are not engaged in illegal dealings. There are few, who earn an honest living. These people go about their life and tend to be a silent power (Khamnun Sitthisamarn, 1992, p. 174). The instigation of the middle-class to stand up to engage in political conflicts is prevalent from the past to the present. This is a temporary situation since underground lottery has survived every government because the middle-class are engaged in this activity.

Observation of the underground lottery business structure revealed that changes occurred in the past two decades. The new generation of dealers inherited their business from the older generation. They are younger, aged between 30-40 years and have good education from well-reputed schools. In addition, they have earned degrees from the well-known Thai and international universities (both public and private). These people have good reputations and are well-accepted in society. They are an integral part of city society (Sangsit Piriyaarangsarn, 2005, p. 191). The dealers maintain a good relationship with high-ranking officials, who provide protection. Payment could be made to police as monthly payments. The small dealers pay less. Usually, the payment is made on the day of the government lottery drawing (Phasuk Pongpajit et al., 2000, p. 160).

The study of behavior in purchasing government lottery and underground lottery in Thailand by the Customer Insights by TMB Analytics revealed that 50% of the salary man and business owners. About 12 million people place bets on the underground lottery. Three groups can be categorized based on the gambling behavior. It is found that 26% play for fun. They are not serious in hoping to win the prize. There are 63%, who like to place bets because they like fortune seeking activities. They enjoy the thrill of winning. The remaining 11% are addicted to placing bets. They believe that

the value of the prize money is worth their investment. Thus, they buy without thinking. It could be concluded that salary man and business owners (about 9 million people) like to place bets because of the thrill all the way to those who hope to win in order to become richer.

The role of mass media in presenting high probability numbers or news stories that highlight number interpretation for gambling or congratulating those who win the government lottery, is more than its expected role. Placing bets on the underground lottery is reliant on the government lottery, thus the mass media presentation despite simply reporting the news entices people to gamble. This is because the owners or shareholders of the mass media are from the underground lottery network, who presently are from the middle-class.

Social mechanisms among the middle-class includes the mass media, which is a tool for changes or the fight for ideology. However, mass media has limitations in terms of freedom. This is because news is controlled indirectly by the government, business operations, and self-regulation of news presentation to the public. Mass media has to be flexible to change to maintain its role in presenting content to suit the thoughts and needs of the audiences at that particular time (differences in class/ occupation/ ideology). Mass media in particular newspaper has been dubbed as the voice of the people. It provides the opportunity for people from various groups to play a role in influencing social thoughts (Passanai Nutalai, 1997, p. 22). Thus, there are some in the middle-class who do not have ethics. They operate and support illegal businesses both directly and indirectly. The political and economic system in Thailand needs this group to support the benefits from ideology to hold them together. "When news is involved with mass media, it changes its status, as public service to have a new status. From relying on the divine spirits and holy trees, news is a new product, that people can access. Thus, it has certain costs, the new generation of gamblers have to be proactive. They need to access news sources, because it could be done easily. In this scenario the cost of travelling to search for a good number is replaced by the cost in buying news, which becomes a new product defined by the new information technology society (Kanchana Kaewthep, 1996).

The search for good numbers by the gamblers could be as easy as typing a message, the word "huay", on Facebook or Instagram. There would be numerous results

for instance top numbers every draw VIP, green list numbers winning every draw, and sharing best numbers for every draw. These pages play the role in consolidating the presentation of news through mass media such as television, medium, Buddha images, monks, birthdate of celebrities, scratching on trees, car license plates, and major accidents. These news contents could be presented as still and movies images. Some of the pages have members reporting from their own location to present on social media for other gamblers to see. Viewers use their own discretion in believing and making the subsequent purchase as presented in the following examples.

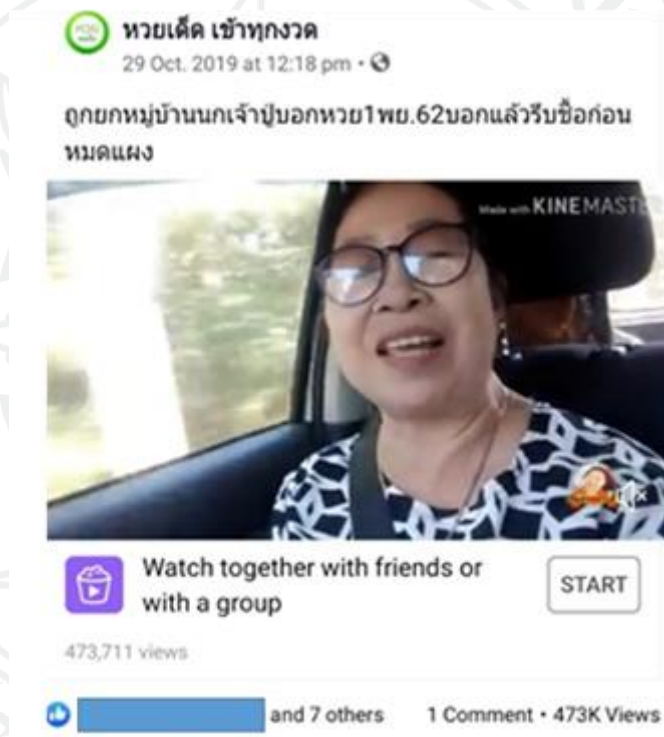


Figure 1.5 Top Numbers Page for Every Draw

Boudier's consideration of taste and class is made based on political economics in line with economic determinism. He explained that taste is the result of income. For instance, a poor person, who wins the lottery and becomes a millionaire, cannot change his/her personal taste immediately. Thus, income is not a direct cause of taste but rather it is a mediator, habitus, which leads to appreciation of culture capital. Taste can be improved and reflected through the choice of products used rather than the use of cost-

benefit analysis as indicated in terms of economics (Kanchana Kaewthep & Somsuk Hinviman, 2017, p. 574).

Communications network of middle-class underground lottery gamblers includes the dealers, sellers, and gamblers. This relationship is determined by social, cultural, economic, and symbolic capital of the people, who share common characteristics such as way of life, occupation, beliefs, income, perspective, education, experience and common preferences. For instance, some people like risk-taking, thrill of the game, and engagement or absorption from close acquaintances. The gamblers might regularly get the numbers from mass media (television and newspaper) or online social media (Facebook or Line). In addition, gamblers select top numbers from their experience, statistics, and dream interpretation. These inputs are used to communicate with their own network, exchange, and fortune seeking behavior. This leads to the development of middle-class gambler's social network. The benefit is not always financial, because the government lottery has very low opportunity of winning. The government lottery has 6 digits. It means that in every round there are 1,000,000 different numbers with 14,168 that have the chance of winning. This means that the gambler has 1.4168 odds in winning the reward. However, the opportunity has a high chance to lose money (98.5832%). In terms of math, gambling is based on probability. The gambler can calculate the numbers in advance in the hopes of long-term profit. No matter how good the player is, inevitably they would lose their money (Center for Gambling Studies, 2018).

The middle-class are constructing the underground gambling as their own identity supported by mass media that provides an opportunity to exchange news. This also creates network with strong ties such as the phenomenon from the series, "Love Destiny", "People Rejoice, Winning Number from Mae Karaked" on April 16, 2018 with the winning number 739229. The three ending digits of this winning number is 329 years, which is the length of time that Mae Karaked travelled back in time (Hot News Day Team, 2018).



Figure 1.6 People Rejoice, Winning Number from Mae Karaked

Source: Hot News Day Team, 2018.

Search for numbers through actors without having to seek on their own. This is disseminated through mass media and social media, where excitement is created as statistics through applications and pages.

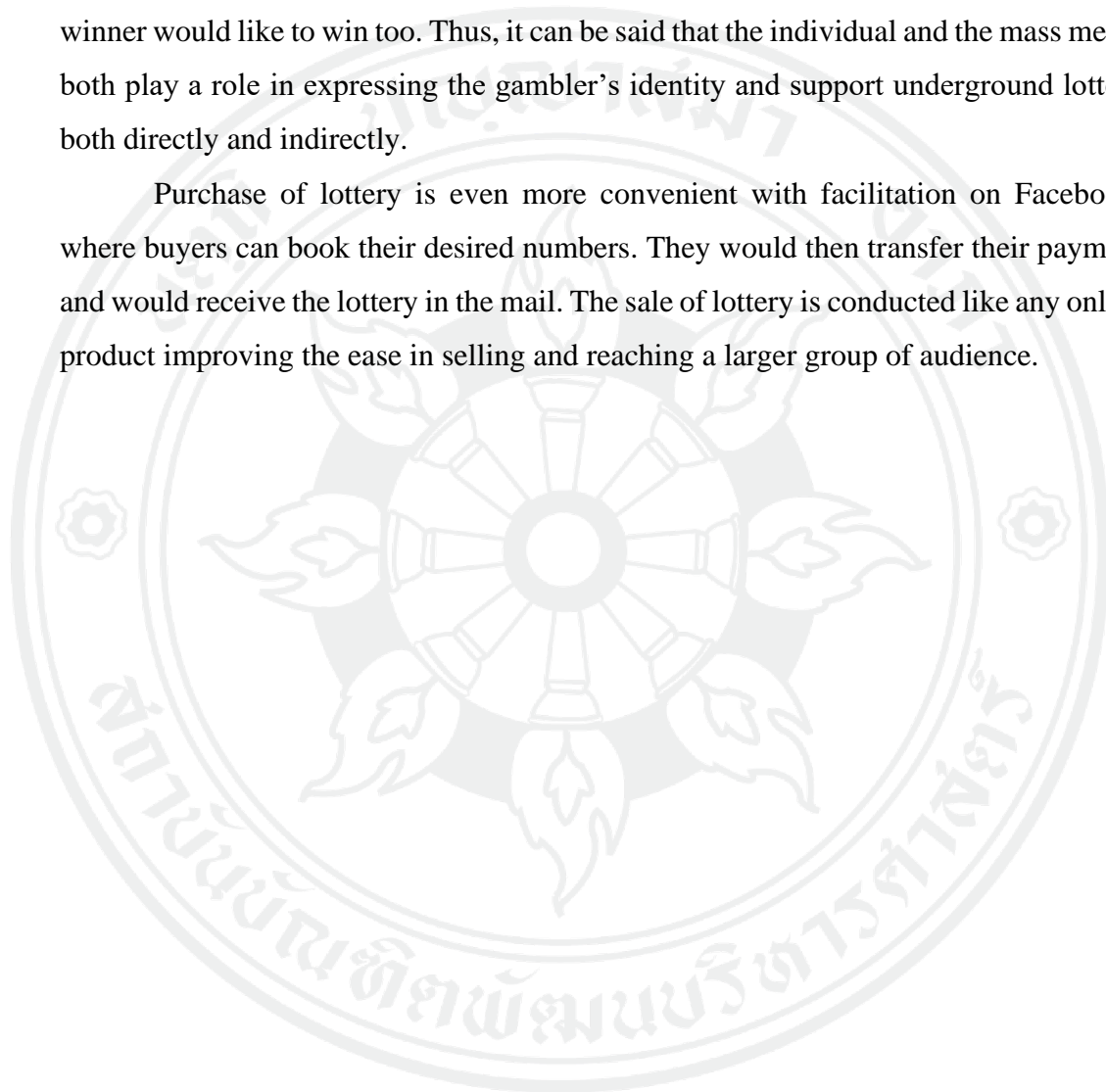


Figure 1.7 Post on Facebook Reflecting the Identity of Lottery Winners

Source: Kwongtung Pokdeng, 2019.

Observation of the presentation of the identity of the lottery winners on social media such as Facebook, shows that the winner would announce their results. Their friends would come in to congratulate them and celebrate with joy. In addition, when the winners present their victory on mass media, they become the role model for success in achieving their dreams with pride. There is a feeling of joy and the friends of the winner would like to win too. Thus, it can be said that the individual and the mass media both play a role in expressing the gambler's identity and support underground lottery both directly and indirectly.

Purchase of lottery is even more convenient with facilitation on Facebook, where buyers can book their desired numbers. They would then transfer their payment and would receive the lottery in the mail. The sale of lottery is conducted like any online product improving the ease in selling and reaching a larger group of audience.



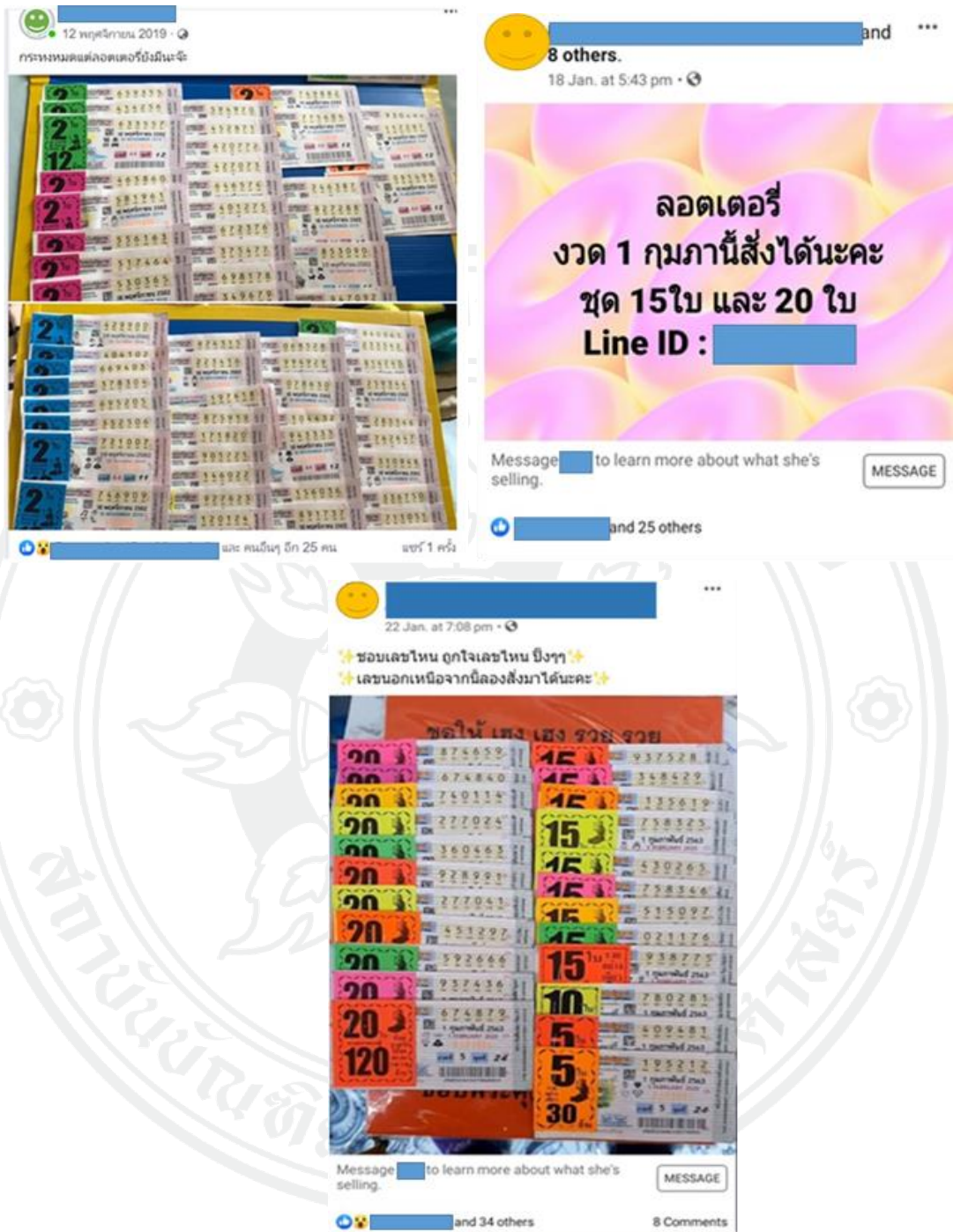


Figure 1.8 Posting Lottery Number Sales on Facebook

Presentation of the roles of the gambler and sellers on social media was also studied during the Covid-19 outbreak during March-May, 2020. The Government Lottery Office postponed the drawing. Gamblers anticipate the results of the lottery

purchase they made for the August 1, 2020 drawing. This is because the Government Lottery Office postponed the drawing, “Gamblers Need to Wait for 2 Weeks, April 1, drawing is postponed to May 16” (Finance News Team, 2020) This is because the sellers as to postpone the drawing, “Sellers Demand the Finance Ministry to Postpone April 1 Lottery Drawing” (Business News Team, 2020a). This is because the sellers cannot sell all of their lottery because people do not get out of their homes due to the government local down order in response to the Covid 19.



Figure 1.9 Government Lottery Drawing April 1, 2020 was Postponed because Sellers Complain They Cannot Sell all of the Numbers in City District Nakhon Ratchasima

Note: Image by Researcher on May 2, 2020 at Lottery Retail

The Government Lottery was not drawn on April 1, 2020. It was postponed to May 2 and May 16, 2020, while the economy is facing a significant threat. It is the first time in history where the draws were postponed two times in a row. The Government Lottery Office stands to lose 5.4 billion baht. This is why it was adamant not to postpone the May 16, 2020 drawing (Business News Team, 2020b).

Middle-class gamblers express their self, online and shift to make underground lottery bets on numbers based on the government lottery as presented in the examples.



Figure 1.10 Posting on Facebook about Government Savings Bank Lottery

Note: Image by Researcher on May 2, 2020

Middle-class gamblers placed their bets on other types of gambling when the government did not draw the lottery on May 2, 2020 (government lottery is not announced on Labor Day May 1, 2020). This shows that the middle-class gamblers are highly adaptive and would place their bets on other types of gambling. They posted on their Facebook, “Wow! Wow! Ha ha ha so cool!”. When the government announced the drawing of the lottery on May 16, 2020 as usual, the underground lottery market returned to its normal state.

From the literature reviewed, it could be said that underground lottery has been a symbol of hope dating all the way back to the reign of King Rama III. This type of has its origins among the poor and has come a long way, leading to the saying, “The poor gamble on underground lottery while the rich invest in the stock exchange.”. Therefore, the researcher would like to investigate the reason middle-class gamblers

engage with underground lottery despite it being illegal since the middle-class has always been negotiating with political powers. Their goal is to create a righteous society, politics, economics, and culture. In addition, the middle-class have taste, education, and good economic status. Therefore, the researcher would like to understand why this group has decided to invest in underground lottery. This is in line with the lecture, “Changes in Rural Societies: The Move towards Democracy”, by Prof. Dr. Atthajak Satayanurak (ThaiPublica, 2015), Department of History, Faculty of Humanities, Chiang Mai University. He concluded that the structure of feeling has changed. There has been no previous systematic research to study emotions except in terms of individual emotion. In other countries there are discussions about the regime of emotion to explain that human emotions are created by society. These emotions have class based on social values. Changes in society shifting from capital ownership to a network. This results in transformation of thoughts and way of life in the community. Profit and loss are part of the framework of emotions. We can no longer be attached to the traditional image of the rural community. For instance, we would not accept it if people in the rural communities try to charge a profit without any good will. However, this anger should not occur, because people in the rural communities like the us have the fear of falling. People want to improve their status. They want to have success in their work to send their children to better schools, while the school expenses and insurance are increasing. This results in changes in the perception of self. The desire to success based on the family fortune and future becomes the core value. Placing bets on underground lottery among middle-class people, who are addicted to gambling, results in the creation of networks. This is reflected in the culture of middle-class underground lottery gambling in the capitalist Thai society.

1.2 Research Question

- 1) What are the characteristics of middle-class underground lottery gamblers?
- 2) What are the characteristics of the communications network of middle-class underground lottery gamblers? What is the connection among major dealers, minor dealers, sellers, and middle-class underground lottery gamblers?

1.3 Research Objectives

- 1) To study the characteristics of middle-class underground lottery gamblers.
- 2) To examine the characteristics of the communications network of middle-class underground lottery gamblers including the connection among major dealers, minor dealers, sellers, and middle-class underground lottery gamblers.

1.4 Scope of Research

The study, “Identities and Communication Network of Middle-Class Underground Lotto Gamblers”, would collect data from 15 respondents consisting of 1 dealer, 8 gamblers, 4 sellers and gamblers, and 2 sellers. Respondents would from the selected area of Nakhon Ratchasima province. All of them are from the middle class and have been in the business for no less than 5 years with income of more than 18,000 baht. Respondents were selected based on their occupation, reputation, and family in order to use the snowball technique to find more respondents. Data collection was conducted for a period of 10 months from August 1, 2019 to May 2, 2020 for the data collection (Government Lottery Office did not have drawing on May 1, 2020 and again due to the Covid-19 outbreak). Analysis was conducted based on text, context, observation, and insider view about gambling.

1.5 Definition of Terms

Gamblers are those defined as people, who place bets on every underground lottery round or at least have a regular betting behavior for at least 5 years.

Underground lottery is defined as a type of gambling that relies on the winning numbers from the government lottery and provides rewards based on the agreement between the dealer and gamblers, which is illegal.

Information seeking behavior is defined as the accessing of information to serve the needs of gamblers. This search for information could be made from mass media or personal media.

Identity is defined as the ability of the middle-class gamblers explain, who they are. It is rooted in the relationship with the underground lottery network. This includes

communications through various channels such as online media, personal media, as well as activities and conversations through phone, fax, and Line. Identity is the result of the relationship between “I” and “others and society”. Being able to say who a person is depends on power in negotiating with others and society. In this study the creation of identity is focused on middle-class underground lottery gamblers based on the perception of others. The presentation of gamblers through media and the way gamblers view themselves, are connected to the culture of middle-class gamblers, which might be different from behavior of gamblers from other classes.

Taste is defined as the result of habitus or the choice to gamble on underground lottery through communications network, which expresses the self of the individual.

Middle-class is defined as the group of people who have good education, can read and write, have good social economic status and cultural standing living a good life. They are consumers, who attempt to be modern in the sense accepted in society. They can be categorized as upper-middle class with income 50,001-85,000 baht and middle-class with income 18,001-50,000 baht.

The upper-middle class are defined as those who have a fairly high level of income. They are successful in their careers and business. However, they may not have the acceptance in terms of reputation or family connection as those in the high status. These people are the new rich, who have achieved wealth in the previous 1-2 generations. They have improved their status but they have yet to be accepted by those in with high status. This group includes employees or management of mid-sized to large organizations or mid-sized business owners.

The middle-class are those who have middle-level income in society. Most of them are company employees, mid-level government officials, small business owners, white-collar workers, and top-level blue-collar workers. Most of them have vocational degrees. They want to be accepted by society living in townhouses or apartments. They try to do what is appropriate and consume products improves their status to be more modern.

Ideology is defined as the way of thinking or values that form the basis for the determination of class behavior. It includes the acceptance of certain benefits that result from the guidelines set as part of the ideology. Therefore, the maintenance of the

ideology requires the transfer of beliefs to others. This could be achieved through learning and conditions through the use of social mechanisms.

Communications is defined as the process of exchange of knowledge, opinions, and experiences to create a common meaning between the source and receiver. This becomes part of the taste in gambling on underground lottery.

Communications network is defined as the process for dissemination of information or relationships among group members. The relationship can be categorized in three types-strong tie, weak tie, and no ties. There are both formal and informal networks that determine the coordination in the groups. It starts with the sales of underground lottery, number of years selling underground lottery, circulation of money/period, bribery, other expenses, location for placing bets, and other fortune seeking behavior. Furthermore, it includes the relationship between the seller and the dealer, communications channel between middle-class gamblers and sellers, techniques in selling numbers, experience, payment of rewards for dealers and sellers, the payment period, dealer beliefs, and middle-class gamblers, who also sell numbers.

Dealers are defined as those who engage in the underground lottery business and payment to winners.

Stringers are defined as those who get the bets from the gamblers and pass it on to the dealer. In some areas these people are called “delivery” people. Sometimes these people are also dealers.

Drawing is defined as the issuance of lottery every 1st and 16th of the month (There are two draws in each month.). There are some days that there is no drawing on the 16th such as January 16, which is Teacher’s Day. The drawing would be on 17th of January instead.

Hints are defined as the presentation of high probability numbers through words, actions, or through other media, where the gamblers interpret themselves.

Eat is defined when money or benefit agreed upon is gained by either the gambler or the dealer.

Teng is defined as placing bets on the last three digits of the winning lottery number in the exact order.

Tote is defined as placing bets on the digits from the winning lottery number with no consideration to the order.

Run is defined as placing bets on either the 3 digits of the winning lottery (above) and 2 digits (below). Getting any number right is considered a win but the gambler needs to indicate above or below.

Pah is defined as placing bets verbally and making payment later.

Biew (Default) is defined as not making the agreed payment.

Making numbers is defined as the action to get the numbers for placing bets such as candle drops, calculations, and statistical methods.

Wholesaler is defined as the small-time dealer.

Above numbers are defined as the 3 ending digits from the first prize lottery.

The two ending digits from the prize lottery is also considered as above.

Below numbers are defined as the 3 ending digits of the lottery.

The two ending digits from the 2 ending digits of the lottery are considered as below.

Top numbers are defined as the numbers on which many people place bets. These numbers might come from sources that are known to be accurate in giving such numbers.

No-buy numbers are defined as the famous numbers that many people want to place their bets on.

Locked numbers are defined as the numbers that the gamblers believe have been locked to win in a particular drawing.

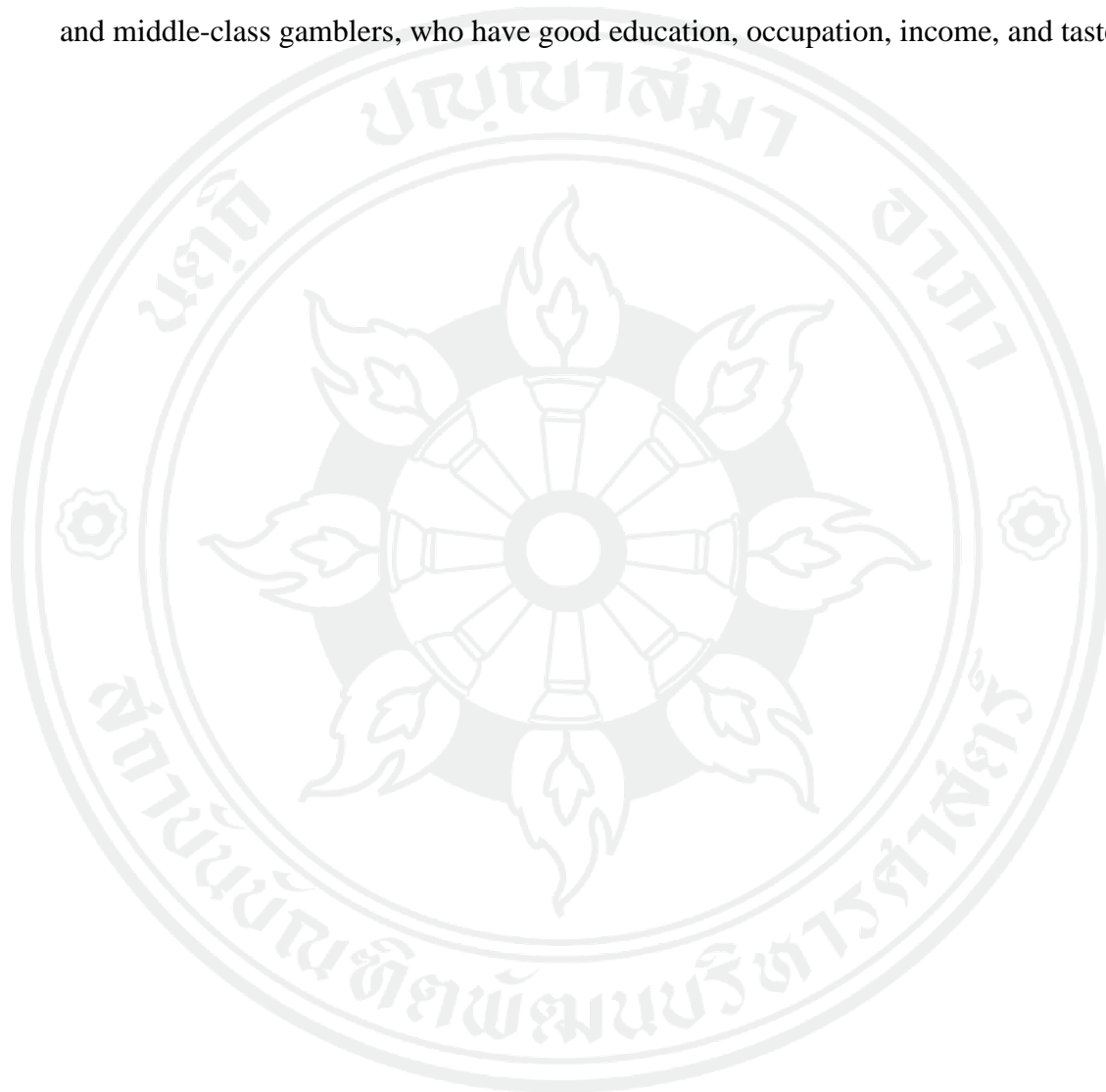
Number list is defined as the printed publication of the winning numbers from the government lottery. The order of the winning numbers would be presented from the highest winning numbers to lowest. These are usually published after the numbers are announced almost immediately. Today the winning numbers can be checked on application on the smartphone and website.

1.6 Significance of the Study

1) To develop the guideline to create an understanding about the phenomenon of the news presentation about underground lottery gambling and the subsequent middle-class gambler's identity in the fortune seeking culture in Thai society in the digital age.

2) To create knowledge about network communications used by underground lottery gamblers. This would provide benefit in terms of knowledge in various fields of studies such as communication arts, economics, law, and political science.

3) It is the reflection of the gray business (not in the formal system) in Thai society, which examines the relationship between major dealers, minor dealers, sellers, and middle-class gamblers, who have good education, occupation, income, and taste.



CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND RESEARCH FRAMEWORKS

The study titled, “Identities and Communication Network of Middle-Class Underground Lotto Gamblers” used the following theories to develop the research framework.

- 2.1 Literature Related to Underground Lottery
- 2.2 Literature Related to Identity
- 2.3 Literature Related to Communications Network
- 2.4 Literature Related to Information Search
- 2.5 Literature Related to Taste
- 2.6 Literature Related to Middle Class
- 2.7 Relevant Research

2.1 Literature Related to Underground Lottery

2.1.1 Historical Background

The concept of “Placing Bets” reflects the relationship among people in society. It is a type of entertainment that might end up creating social, economic, and family problems. Many proponents in society view placing bets as a form of gambling that entraps the populace. However, placing bets has long been a part of Thai culture that has its roots in history.

Placing bets is rooted in the Thai culture resulting from the desire to know the future. This comes in the form of predictions regarding the climatic impact on abundance to seeking marital partnership. These fortune oriented rituals to predict the future changed its form to include gambling as a form of entertainment. In time this too evolved to be gambling for life (Kanchana Kaewthep, 2002).

Placing bets in Thailand started with the selection of numbers or alphabets. These were originally called “Huai Huay”. This practice originated with the Chinese and appeared to be limited to this ethnic group. The gambling was done privately with no government intervention. In the early days there were 36 characters with Chinese names created from characters in Chinese legends including male and female protagonists, emperors, aristocrats, priests, scholars, thieves, and others. However, Thais do not know Chinese. They could not even distinguish the characters by looking at the pictures. Therefore, Mistress Sho Hong, developed the system to translate the characters to make it easier for Thais to understand. In addition, a short poem was added to make it easier to remember. Such development was created to cater to fantasies of the people resulting in animal characters, which were easier to remember. For instance, “S” was paired with the poem, “O big frog, High Ho, Oh Son of Som Huay is so splendid. The first-born son, who became a government official.” (Sangsit Piriyarangsan, 2013, pp. 171-172).

Evidence indicates that the migrant Chinese brought placing bets to Thailand during the period of 1817. In ancient China, the practice came from guessing the name of the flowers written on the paper. In Chinese “Huay” means flower. Later the name of the flowers was replaced by the name of important characters in Chinese legends. When the Chinese introduced placing bets to Thais, they replaced this with Thai alphabets, thus gaining the name “Huay Kor Kho” (Phasuk Pongpajit et al., 2000).

In the early days, placing bets was a practice that was limited to the migrant Chinese community. However, in 1831-1832, there was a major draught. There was a shortage of grains leading to the import of rice. King Rama II was worried that the situation would result in a bad economic condition thus resulting in lower tax collections. One of the Chinese merchants, who was selling alcohol, had the brilliant idea that the money did not dry up. Rather people were saving up. Some people even buried their money in water jars. Therefore, he proposed that the government open betting opportunities. King Rama II agreed with the idea. In 1835 the king granted the concession to the Chinese merchant, who doubled as the collector of funds for the government and sold alcohol. This merchant made a very good income by offering bets in the morning. Later Phra Sriviroj, requested the king for another concession. Thus, there were two daily bets. However, later Phra Sriviroj’s concession was revoked

because of some problems. The Chinese merchant then ended up having the concession to run two bets daily. From 1835, money from the bets became a significant part of the income of the government for 80 years. By 1902, earnings from placing bets amounted to 4.28 million baht or 27% of the government revenues (Ingram, 1971, p. 185 as cited in Phasuk Pongpajit et al., 2000, p. 150). Members of the public, who could predict the numbers accurately become very rich. For instance, the clerk, Poom, who wrote poems predicting the winning numbers, is very famous and rich. In 1887, King Rama IV wanted to stop income from gambling but he was afraid that there was no source of income to replace it. As a result, in 1916, gambling became restricted and was eventually abolished during the reign of King Rama IV (Plainoi, 1987, pp. 56-57, as cited in Phasuk Pongpajit et al., 2000).

“Huay Kor Kho” had numerous side effects. This is because Thais of all social levels were involved in the game. Some of the people stopped working. Some put their wages into the gamble in hopes of winning more money. When they lose, they seek for more funds in an attempt to win back their money. In the end they might have to sell their possessions or resort to stealing. Some people even steal the items from the temple to sell for money to gamble. Monks and decent people were affected. As a result, officials deployment became a high expense for the government, which part of revenue comes from the tax levied on the bets (San Wichayan, 2002, pp. 24-25). King Rama VI had the vision to improve the livelihood of the people. The King often spoke that the people and the nation are one and the same. It is the King’s idea that a nation built upon the plight of the people would eventually collapse. Therefore, the King decided to get rid of bets gambling. He used his own personal funds to pay the sum that was previously earned from gambling. The King had to save, endure, and sacrifice his personal assets for the people until 1915. After 6 years on the throne, King Rama VI abolished the “Huay Kor Kho”. The people knew about the order only 15 days prior to its enforcement (Muen Amon Darunurak Jamsunthornvej, 1962).

Gambling on bets in the past depended on Khun Bal to communicate to the players, thus stimulating the excitement about the high probability numbers. This resulted in some people investing in gambling without much thought. It was the King, who regulated the gambling to solve the problem of the people.

2.1.2 Government Lottery

During the reign of King Rama V, the English advisors suggested that the government issue lottery for charity. Before the Siamese Revolution of 1932, the government did not regularly issue lottery to increase revenues. In 1939, Phibulsongkram established the Government Lottery Office to issue lottery once a month. This was increased to twice a month in 1989. In addition, the Government Lottery Office would issue charity lottery as approved by the cabinet as requested by charitable organizations. In 1995 the Government Lottery Office consolidated to twice a month. The revenue from lottery sales would be distributed to various agencies based on the objectives. Of this 28% is allocated to the government, 9% sellers' discount, 3% operations, and 60% reward (Phasuk Pongpaijit et al., 2000, pp. 153-154).

Once the bets gambling that had its roots in the Eastern culture, primarily China, ended. A new era of Thai gambling started once again. This time it had its origin from the West. The European concept of "lottery", which is the type of betting we are familiar with today. It was first originated in Italy and spread to other countries. The government would print number tickets that would be sold during special occasions or on a regular basis. This is because a large revenue could be collected from the bets made by the public. Therefore, countries have enforced laws that supported this practice. There are two distinctive characteristics. Firstly, while the traditional bets in Thailand were operated by the private sector, the lottery is issued by the government. The second characteristic is the short-term goal for charitable purposes. This later evolved as a means of collecting revenue for the government as a form of tax (that people are volunteering to pay). In 1874, the first European lottery was issued for the first time in Thailand for the celebration of King Rama V's birthday. From that point onwards, lottery was issued during special occasions. During the reign of King Rama VI issued lottery to support the Red Cross and Scouts. The underground lottery grew as a consequence of the government lottery. This is because betting on numbers of the government lottery became a prevalent behavior (Once it became illegal, the practice went underground, hence the name "underground lottery"). The practice of underground lottery has no official beginning; however, it is expected that it started around the same time as the government lottery. The first dealers, were the original "Huay Kor Kho" dealers (Kanchana Kaewthep, 1996). The government lottery

allocates 60% of the revenue to prize money, government income (28%), and operations (12%) (Miracle of Savings, 2013, p. 13).

2.1.3 Above the Ground Lottery

Issuing 3 digits and 2 digits above the ground lottery, is one of the policies during the government of Thaksin Shinawatra. The goal is to legalize the practice and bring the income to the government. Also, the government aims to get rid of the underground lottery dealers as a means to stomp out “influential” people, while using the revenue to benefit the nation. The main recipient of the revenue was supposed to be the ODOS project. However, after the coup of September 19, 2006. The National Reform Committee under Gen Surayuth Chulanonda aimed to continue this policy. The goal was to reform the Government Lottery law of 1974. However, it was not successful. Therefore, the above the ground lottery was stopped, until the government could justify the benefits to society. Thus, the inability of the government in explaining the situation to the public resulted in the failure of implementation. This is because Thailand is a Buddhist society, thus gambling is considered a vice (Phra Samunatchai Thanakaro (Chandra), 2012, pp. 42-43).

The legal gambling conflict reflects the perspective of Thai society, while, functionalism questions the role of gambling in Thai society. Both views ignore the study of the political power structure, which could expand Thai society’s perspective. This would connect economic and political factors. Thus, some would see that this policy is the government’s display of power in support of international investors and local monopolies. Legal gambling results from the relationship between investors and politicians/government officials. The government has large expenditures thus, it needs a source of income from the “unseen taxes”, that people are more than willing to pay (Sangsit Piriyarangsan, 2005, pp. 202-203).

Today the government has plans to launch online lottery or lotto to solve the price hike problems. In addition, the online sales channel provides more convenience for the buyers. This shows that the government is interested in collecting revenue from this business. However, the government does not seem to be serious in solving the underground lottery problem. It is only another channel for gamblers to make bets that might replace underground lottery.

2.1.4 Underground Lottery Business Network

The business of underground lottery has an established network to facilitate sales and collection of revenues. The structure of the network as presented in this study is based partly on the in-depth study in one northeastern province (Niljit, 1991 as cited in Phasuk Pongpajit et al., 2000, p. 156). The structure in other provinces are usually similar but may vary depending in minor details. Phasuk Pongpajit et al. (2000) interviewed dealers and gamblers in the northeastern region and developed the framework that the underground lottery business has four levels. At the top most are the major dealers. They might control all of the underground lottery business in the province. Some of the dealers might only control a specific area in the province. On the other hand, some influential major dealers might control more than just one province. In each province, there would a mix of both large and small dealers.

One level down in this hierarchy are the wholesalers. In Thailand there are hundreds of these wholesalers, who operate in similar fashion. The size of the business depends on the source of finances, wealth, and ability in attracting clients. The wholesalers would operate with a cash flow ranging from 2-10 million baht per time the lottery is issued. The income increases in proportion with the number of customers as well as the profitability. At the same time, as the business expands, the risk also increases. Therefore, wholesalers would form a network under a dealer, who has strong financial resources as presented in Figure 2.1.

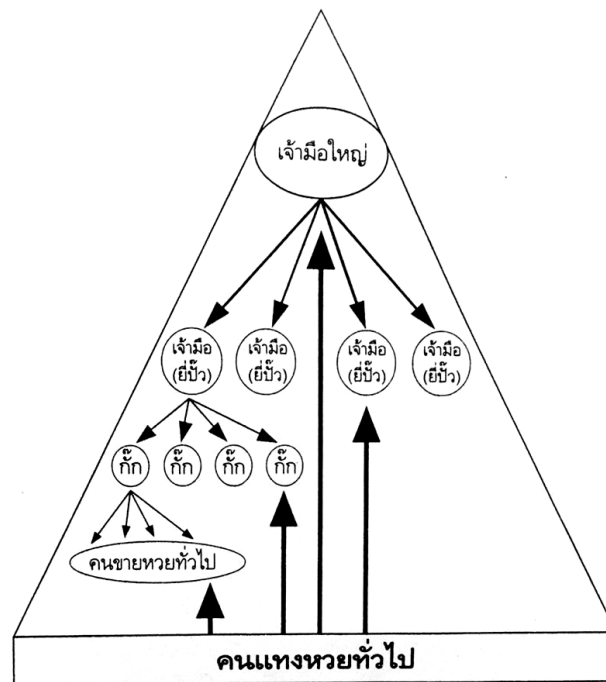


Figure 2.1 Underground Lottery Network

Source: Phasuk Pongpaijit et al., 2000.

At the third level are the sellers (they are sometimes called kack). These people sell the numbers and pass the earnings up the hierarchy. They earn a commission from the sales or discounts received from those higher up in the hierarchy. Kack would usually be in the communities, markets, slums, factories, and offices (both private and government organizations).

At the fourth level are the small agents. They form a relationship with the kack and wholesalers. Sometimes they would be office mates or live in the same community. These people would collect the money and give it to the kack or wholesaler. In the cities, underground lottery gambling has evolved to accept payment by credit cards. Gamblers can directly contact the wholesaler or through fax. Those who spend a large sum and contact the kack or wholesaler directly might even get a discount.

The results of the analysis of the communications network of underground lottery gamblers could be summarized in the following figure.

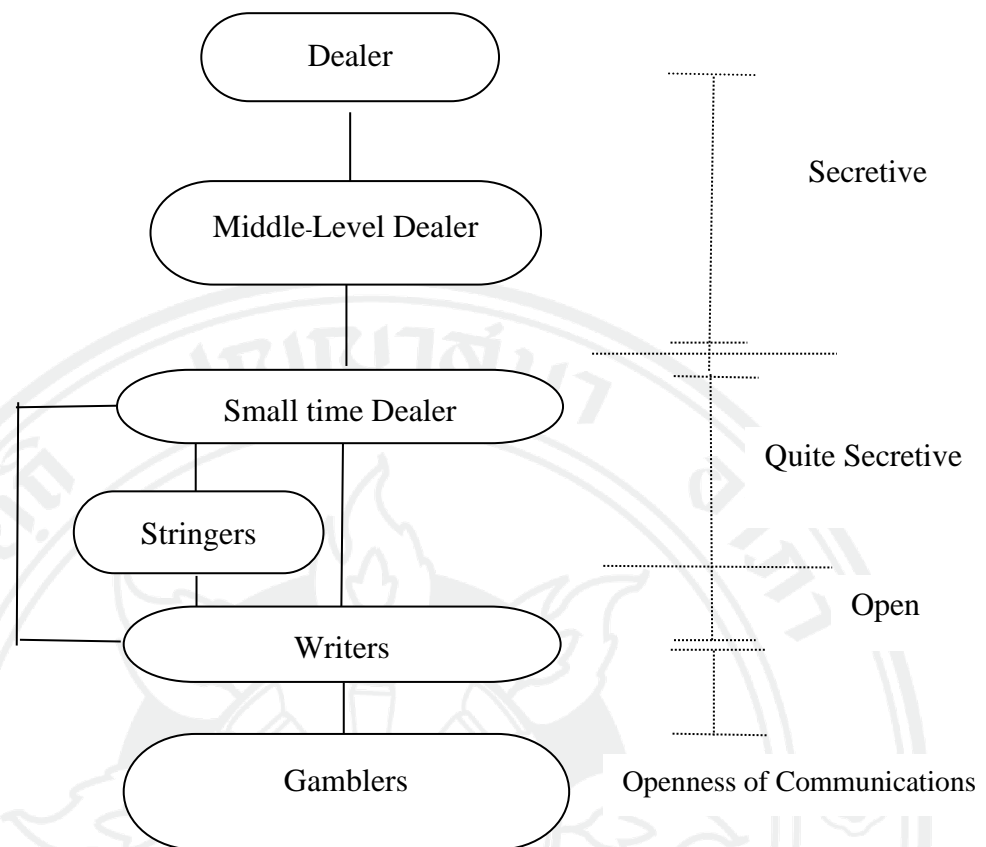


Figure 2.2 Underground Lottery Communications Network

Source: Chawanuan Kananukul, 1999.

Chawanuan Kananukul (1999, pp. 152-154) explained that the income of the stringers comes from 2-3 % cut from the payment made for each time the lottery is issued. The income would depend on the location the stringer is responsible for collecting. Considerations are given to the distance of travel, size of area, and performance (vigilance and errors made) in collecting the money. In some areas, stringers do not receive any payment, they only get the 2-3% commission from sales. There are cases where a certain number might have a very high demand. These numbers would be hard to find and as a result the stringer would be told not to allow bets on them. Usually, if one dealer stops accepting the bet on a certain number, those in the same area would follow suit. As a result, some of the gamblers would have to contact other dealers, who might be in another district or province, in an attempt to bet on that number. This is because the dealers usually collude with one another. In addition, dealers have to regularly pay high level police officers. The writers also have to pay

minor police officers, who often come to ask for protection charges. Payment made to the police (inspectors, detectives, and crime suppression units) is not a fixed payment. It depends on the request made. However, such payments do not ensure that the dealer, stringer, and writer would not be arrested. Sometimes the police need to make arrests to demonstrate their performance to the superiors. Therefore, an agreement would be worked out among dealers along with police, local politicians, and other influential individuals to determine their course of action. The dealer would entrust the writer to coordinate the negotiations on their behalf. The dealer does not usually come out to expose themselves. It is, however, known whom the writers work for. The relationship between the dealer and the gambler follows a hierarchy as demonstrated in Figure 2.3.

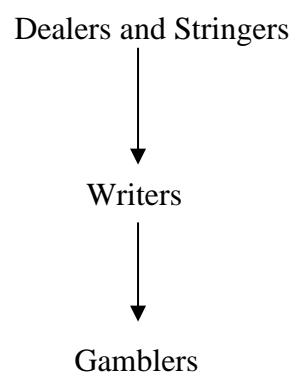


Figure 2.3 Relationship between Dealers and Gamblers

2.1.5 Underground Lottery Betting Procedures

Tara Meeboon (2003) explained the procedures for betting and the criteria for winning as explained in the following section.

A. The two digit above and underground-The gambler can bet on the last two digits of the first prize lottery winning number. This is called above bet. The two digits number issued by the government is called underground. The highest winning would be 70 times the amount of bet placed (sometimes only 60 times is paid).

B. The three digit above-The gambler can place the bet on the three last digits of the winning lottery number. The prize money is 500 times the bet placed (sometimes 550 times the amount of bet place is paid).

C. Tote (Not based on order)-To attract more gamblers the dealers would allow a bet to be placed on the three digits of the winning lottery number. The gambler would win without consideration of the order. For instance, if the winning number is 952, those who win would have bought the numbers 952, 925, 592, 529, 259, and 295. The winner would receive 100 times the amount of the bet. There are other prizes as well. Most of the people prefer to play above 2 or 3 digits because it has a higher level of prize money. The two digits bet is more popular. The elderly like to play running numbers.

Chawanuan Kananukul (1999, pp. 7-8) explained that there are many ways to place bets. The running bet is based on the 3 digits from the first prize lottery number or the 2-digits winning number. The bet has to be placed on one of the two numbers for instance the first prize or the 2-digits. In this case supposed the bet is placed on the first prize lottery number, which is 273429, the bet on 4, 2, or 9 would win. The chance of winning is 3 in 10.

Nuannoi Treerat et al. (2014, pp. 19-18) explained that in order to study gambling it is important to study it from different perspectives that are interconnected.

1) Scientific perspective views gambling as “risk”, winning or losing depends on “probability”.

2) Supernatural perspective views gambling as an issue of luck. Winning is a lucky stroke.

3) Business perspective views gambling as being controlled by certain rules. Winning or losing depends on the mechanical process such as the program for gambling.

4) Economic-social perspective views gambling as a way to rise above poverty. Women generally allocate part of their income to place bets in the hopes of improving the family’s social-economic status, which would mean being able to afford better education for the children.

5) Political perspective views gambling as a source of revenue because it is unable to tax the rich. Therefore, gambling is the voluntary payment the people make to the government and most of the people who engage in this activity are poor.

6) Legal perspective views gambling as illegal and those involved need to be arrested.

The fact that the underground lottery is based on the government lottery leads to its popularity because it is easy to play. There are various ways to place bets. Gamblers can choose many of their favorite numbers and there is no minimum bet. With only one baht a bet can be placed. It is different from the government lottery which is expensive for the average person. People who buy underground lottery also feel that they have a better chance of winning when compared to the government lottery. It is a way to distribute the risk. In addition, it is easy to place bets on the underground lottery. It can be bought in the community with trusted individuals. Therefore, the underground lottery is accessible to people of all ages, gender, and even poor people can bet on it. As a result, it becomes an integral part of the daily life of the community within the network of relatives and those deemed as being in the same group.

In this chapter, the researcher would present the various dimensions about underground lottery. This would include financial, political-social, culture, and mass media. All of these dimensions are interconnected and critical for the study.

2.1.6 Underground Lottery Financial Dimension

The money circulated in the underground lottery more than 70% goes to the prize money. From the remaining 30% about 5 to 7 % is the net income of the major dealers. The remaining 5 to 10% would be used in the management and protection of the major dealers. About 20% would be allocated for commission given to stringers, minor dealers, and sellers. The amount of money received would trickle down the hierarchy. The dealers, second to the major dealers also take a cut for their operations. Thus, for every 100 baht the gambler bets on underground lottery, there is no way they can regain their investment based on the rewards structure. Thus, it has gained the name of loss-lottery because in the long-term the gamblers with small amounts of money or small-time players would lose all their money. These small-time gamblers believe that they can take risks because they have good luck. The people, who have more money look at it as a game to challenge the dealers. However, at the end of the day all of the gamblers have to pay to the dealer and their people, who end up making a regular profit. They hardly have to make any investment. In addition, gamblers play a role in encouraging corruption. This is because some police officials and politicians are involved. Underground lottery becomes a mechanism in transferring money from

gamblers, who are usually poor, to the rich and powerful dealers (Phasuk Pongpajit, 2000 et al., pp. 176-177).

Underground lottery organizations have evolved to an era of convergence. It has become innovative, modern, and more flexible. The bets can be placed by phone, fax, Internet, and computers. There is also the use of marketing techniques such as giving credit to gamblers, allowing them to place bets and pay later. It is becoming more like online gambling. For gamblers, placing bets is a means of risk taking. It is an opportunity to boost their socio-economic status if they win. However, the gamblers usually don't get rich. It is the dealers, who get rich. There are also those, who profit from screening the numbers before sending the bets of to the major dealers. Thus, in a society that has a high level of income discrepancy, with a large part of the population base in poverty, small dealers have grown exponentially. They have become a part of the way of life of the poor resulting in economic problems for the people continuously (Noppanun Wantheesakul, 2011, p. 14).

2.1.7 Underground Lottery Political and Social Dimension

The underground lottery revenues serve as a major support for money politics in the provinces. As a consequence, some of the MPs in parliament have been elected by the dealers or local influential people. Some of the MPs have even admitted that they themselves or family members are dealers. For these type of MPs politics is a form of investment to gain future business prospects. It can thus be said that underground lottery is the foundation of wealth and power including influence in politics. Underground lottery plays a role in determining, who gets to be MPs. These people take part in passing laws and might even become ministers managing the country. Thus, abolishing underground lottery might be equally important to reforming the constitution in the long term. Hopefully, better education would reduce the number of gamblers and dealers. However, it would be impossible to totally eradicate this business because it has etched itself into the fabric of Thai culture. One important finding from the study is the fact that underground lottery is a source of income for people at different levels in the hierarchy, thus it would be hard to disband it totally. Every party has benefits and support one another. In addition, gambling is a form of entertainment. When

considering all of the arguments, it can be said that there is no way to eradicate placing bets on underground lottery totally (Phasuk Pongpajit, 2000 et al., pp. 176-177).

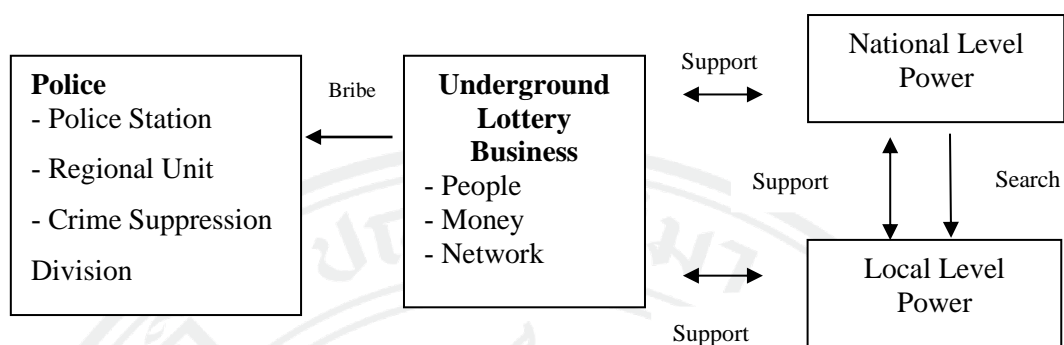


Figure 2.4 Relationship between Underground Lottery and Politics

Source: Sangsit Piriyarangsan, 2003, p. 219.

The study of relationship between underground lottery and present-day politics revealed that many of the dealers are under the patronage of the local or even national politicians. Some of the dealers even entered the local politics arena. Others send their children or grandchildren to enter local or international politics (Sangsit Piriyarangsan, 2003, p. 219).

2.1.8 Underground Lottery Cultural Dimension

Kanchana Kaewthep (1996) explained that placing bets on underground lottery is a form of cultural artifact that has been developed. However, for a cultural artifact to last it has to be supported by a social mechanism. Without the support of the social mechanism, that cultural artifact would disappear. One of the social mechanism support is the mass media, which plays a role in supporting placing bets on underground lottery. In fact, it plays a role in the growth of (or at least maintenance) of this behavior. In addition to supporting the bets, the role of mass media also has an impact in promoting the culture of gambling, which started as a reaction to poverty to become a national character (it has been observed that gambling is in Thai blood regardless of status). Thus, placing bets has become a daily habit, which makes it a part of the cultural fabric as reflected in the saying “For Thais today, the poor place bets on underground lottery, while the rich invest in stocks”. Cultural studies usually divide the development of

culture in three stages. It starts with the folk culture leading to the popular culture eventually becoming mass culture. Although placing bets had its roots in China, it has gone through the process of Thainization. When it started the chips had the images of animals and Chinese characters. However, Thais could not read Chinese, therefore the Thai alphabet was used leading to the development of “Huay Kor Koh”. Later renditions had poems attached to the pieces. With the government earning significant revenue, the betting houses were opened in many places. Since “Huay Kor Koh” was legal its popularity spread rapidly. In fact, it was too popular. From its humble start within the Chinese community with no regular schedule, the money in circulation started to grow. The people involved sought to profit from it. Placing bets shifted from its entertainment focus to become a short cut to wealth. Huay Kor Koh became part of popular culture. King Rama V realized the problem of gambling but he could not abolish it entirely because the government earned a significant amount from the business. It was only during the reign of King Rama VI, who shifted his personal funds to replace the earnings from placing bets, that such gambling became illegal in 1916 (it was legal for almost 100 years).

2.1.9 Underground Lottery Mass Media Dimension

Kanchana Kaewthep (1996) explained that the ideal role of mass media includes many aspects such as the duty to serve as a watch dog or surveillance. Mass media has to be like a guard, who monitors the movements in society and report it to the people. Sometimes they play the role of the teacher because they have to promote understanding. Also, the mass media has to play the role in creating harmony in society (like the abbot in the local community). In addition, the mass media plays the role of the entertainment. Despite having many ideal roles, in reality mass media does more than is required of it. There are two observable instances. Firstly, mass media has become an opiate for the people. When there is paid, the opiate helps to alleviate the suffering. However, every suffering has a source, the opiate does not solve the problem. Removing the opiate would only leave the pain making the situation worse. The second observation is the mass media promotion of gambling and vices both directly and indirectly. Gambling does not come from the source of the pain. However, it comes from the human desires and dreams of having a better life. The problem is how to give

hope and help the people make their dreams a reality. If someone pulls out the final straw that the drowning person is holding to, what would happen. Without a new lifesaver thrown in to help, mass media behavior in promoting gambling is a mistake for the people and academics regardless on the accuracy of giving hints to the numbers that win.

Sangsit Piriya-rangsarn (2003) explained that placing bets on underground lottery is one of the most popular forms of gambling today. There are as many as 23.7 million people or 51% of the population aged 15 and above (46.5 million people). It is found that 65.6% of the population in Bangkok place bets on underground lottery. In the regional level in the city district about 76.7% and outside of the districts about 84.8% place bets on underground lottery. In addition, it is found that most of the gamblers have primary school level education (82.6%), high school (73.8%), vocational school (69.7%), bachelor's degree (64.1%), and others (40.5%). Communications gamblers use in finding information about the numbers, interpretations, and personal decisions comes from dreams most (25%) and followed by supernatural sources (20%). These supernatural sources include Buddha images, spirit houses, shrines, ancient relics, termite hives, and big trees (takien and bodhi trees). About 15% interpret numbers from strange occurrences such as cow with 6 legs, lizard with 2 tails, pig with 2 heads, banana bearing strange fruits, rocks that look like people, cave crystals shaped like Buddha images, and monks. The remaining 10% get information from publications and advertising which range in price from 2 baht to 1,000 baht. The final 5% if from newspaper and television.

Underground lottery is related to people in society through a network that is not trustworthy because of its secretive nature. In order to get information about numbers, people depend on the mass media that promotes the cycle of placing bets making underground lottery a part of Thai society. Based on the relevant studies about placing bets on underground lottery, the researcher has developed the research problem, selected the target respondents, defined the terms, and designed the data collection tool in order to explore the understanding of identity and communication network of gamblers.

2.2 Literature Relevant to Identity

Communications in the age of globalization could be examined using cultural studies, which explores the power and negotiation through communications and culture. Representation is related to identity and the creation of otherness. The question is how an individual's identity is created. Representation through communications creates similarity of differences. It is the strategy of representation through the use of binary oppositions such as we vs them, white vs black, modern vs ancient, and civilized vs uncivilized. The decision would then be made regarding what is superior through the decision of value/meaning of the relationship such as white is better/smarter/more powerful than black (Asawin Nedpogaeo, 2018, pp. 131-132).

Identity has its roots in the Latin word "Identitas". The original term is "Idem", which means same. The word identity used in the 20th century has its origins in the Symbolic Interaction School (George Herbert Mead 1863-1931, as cited in Natapong Jitnirat, 2010). The "Self" reflects the human potential based on the nature and society through the lenses of communications and language. The self is influenced by two factors namely direct social and personal influence. The process has two aspects. "Me" is constantly interacting with society while "I" is the idiosyncratic behavior. "I" and "Me" are constantly interacting. "I" has to connect with the various aspects of "Me" (Popenoe, 1993, as cited in Natapong Jitnirat, 2010, p. 19). The self is flexible depending on the boundaries of interactions, which flows in accordance with factors such as social factors including gender, age, nationality, and society's expectations (Apinya Fuengfoosakul, 2000, as cited in Natapong Jitnirat, 2010, p. 20). This is in line with the explanation of later identity concepts (Dorothy et. al., 1998, as cited in Natapong Jitnirat, 2010, p. 20).

The definition and explanation in the previous section differs in details, yet have corroborating issues. Identity is related to self and subsequently self-positioning, which is defined as the meaning of self and positioning relevant to the understanding of others in society and oneself. Thus, identity is the intersubjective negotiation of meaning of self and society. The definition of self depends on the negotiation between self and society. Therefore, based on the definition and explanation identity is related to the following issues:

- 1) Identity about knowledge and understanding, “Who am I?”
- 2) Identity about the definition of “Who am I?” with consideration of similarity and differences between self and others
- 3) Identity is the process of meaning creation for self, which can be adapted and has variety.
- 4) Identity is about categorization in society and social selection for positioning within a social group.
- 5) Identity is about the social life of humans. It is about the presentation of social interaction.
- 6) Identity is about idiosyncratic and social self, which is the negotiation of self-definition.

When identity is based on the definition of self and social interaction, language is thus an important component of identity. This is because language is the tool of interaction and communications to determine the role of interaction among people in society.

E. Goffman, symbolic interaction theorist, proposed that there is a distinctive difference in personal identity. This is based on social status such as occupation, status, gender, ethnicity, and religion, which defines the individual (Kanchana Kaewthep et al., 2012, p. 46).

Karl Marx, classical social theorist at the end of the 19th century, reiterated the importance of tradition. Importance is given to the structure more than the individual. The social structure defined by Marx is based in the production process. Understanding of the individual is based on their relative position in the production process-“who are the owners of the production factors?”, “who are the direct producers?”, and “management of labor”. Thus, it can be said that class determines individual identity connecting the person to the structure. However, the individual in Marxist view makes a political stand to change the social structure. Marxism proposes the view of class-in-itself and class-for-itself. This points to the importance of human conscience in creating meaning when the individual realizes their identity in their respective class (Apinya Fuengfoosakul, 2003, p. 23).

The creation of identity is like a production process for products/objects/everything. Thus, it can be said that capital is used and it would eventually return to the

base of political economics or capital ownership, which is the source of power. However, classical political economics considers capital as object/product (such as land, machinery, equipment, and raw materials). The new communications paradigm has expanded the definition of capital. P. Bourdieu explained that social capital is part of the cultural capital (Kanchana Kaewthep et al., 2012, p. 50).

Communications and creation of identity explained by De Fina (2011, as cited in Kanchana Kaewthep et al., 2012, p. 50) concludes the relationship between communications and identity in a simple way. Humans exchange and pass along information to create knowledge and understanding. Humans communicate with the goal to explain “who we are”. This includes ethnicity, gender, age, and birth. As humans communicate about “who we are”, we also communicate about “who they are”. Then we can decide if we were the same or different. The relationship between communications with identity was explained by De Fina. Communications is the tool to construct, maintain, and negotiate identity all the time. This is because the creation of identity could be diverse, “both us and them”. The continuous relationship between communications with identity during the 1980 was explained by M. Hecht et al, with the development of the Communication Theory of Identity (CTI). The theory explained that identity and self should not be studied merely from the perspective of the individual separate from the environment. However, the consideration of the identity is based on the fact that humans are social beings that are bound together to the environment through communications. Humans interact with the community all the time. The identity therefore is diverse and can be changed all the time, known as multiple shifting identity. This diverse and shifting identity as explained by CTI, presents identity as the frame/layer, which could be classified in four types.

1) Personal Frame-The frame/layer is based on the self that is explained by the Symbolic Interaction Theory. Identity/methodology/conclusions that explain “who we are”. This is in the line with the identity research about the Mon people, which indicated that some groups view themselves as Thai with a Mon heart.

2) Enacted Frame-The frame/layer is based on the performance or expression of the identity. It starts with how we define others through identity markers. For instance, the way the Mon wore the *sabia* as part of their ritual. People of other races might also join them. Another example is the signage on the buses with reserved

seats for children, monks, and the elderly. Therefore, in the view of CTI communication is identity. The communication is not the cause. It influences identity in the view of the Symbolic Interaction Theory.

3) Relation Frame-Identity imbued in the relationship with others (some people) is based on the awareness of identity. Within this frame identity was created through relationships. For instance, the identity might be based on roles such as parents would be related to their children (some other people). The identity of teacher is related with students whereas the elderly would relate to the youth. Thus, the identity is created through the relationship with others (some groups).

4) Communal Frame-Identity within in this frame is defined as the collective identity with others in the same group. For instance, the Mon people could be classified into smaller groups such as those from Phra Pradaeng, Bang Kradi, and Pakkred. The four frames could be explained with the following figure.

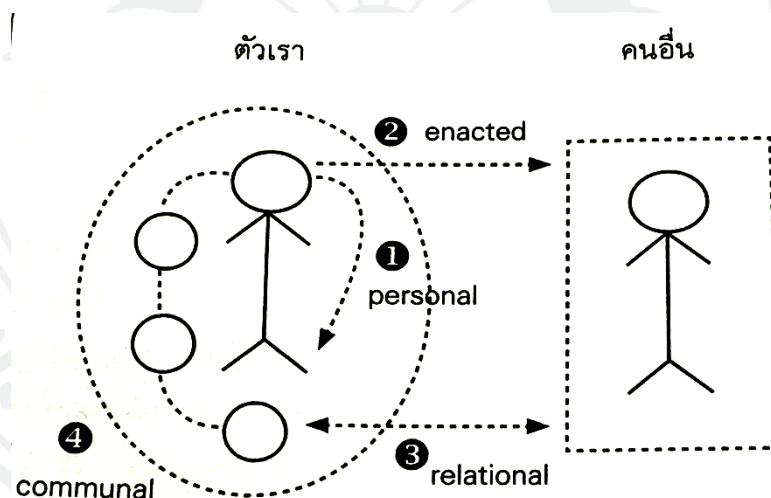


Figure 2.5 Four Frames of Identity

Source: Kanchana Kaewthep, 2011, p. 47.

The 4 frames of identity were explained by CTI. The interesting question is how the owner of the identity would manage the four frames (identity management). The concept of identity management is based on the core of CTI. The question that needs to be answered is does the person know their own identity, how it is enacted, and viewed communally by others. The four frames do not always agree; thus, identity negotiation is an important process of identity management. The CTI theorists studied the

relationship between insiders in a group. The strength in the enactment might not be too obvious. There are both positive/negative identity that can be expressed freely. However, in the presence of others, the strength of the enactment has to be stronger. For instance, when the Mon are among themselves, they did not have to dress in their traditional costume. However, when there are tourists, they would dress in their traditional costume to clearly show their identity. They would feel the need to project the positive aspects of their culture (Kanchana Kaewthep, 2011, pp. 50-54).

Placing bets on the underground lottery examined a variety of gamblers. The researcher focused on the middle-class gamblers and their creation of identity in order to pass along the gambling culture in this digital era. In addition, the choice of communications channel and network reflects the taste of the middle-class gamblers such as social media and online application.

2.3 Literature Related to Communications Network

This study aims to examine the identity and communications network of the middle-class gamblers, which included dealers, sellers, and gamblers. Some of the sellers are also gamblers. The respondents were selected from those who have no less than 5 years experience in gambling or engaging in the business.

Chawanuan Kananukul (1999, pp. 21-23) explained the communications network as the means for information dissemination through the relationship among group members. There are two types of dissemination as explained in the following section.

1) Radical personal network-An individual would have a relationship with many people. However, members in the group did not have much communication. The people in the group have a weak tie for instance, they are only acquaintances.

2) Interlocking personal network-An individual would have a relationship with many people. There is a strong tie through communications with people who are their close friends or relationships. These people have common characteristics. The two communications network can be explained using the following figures.

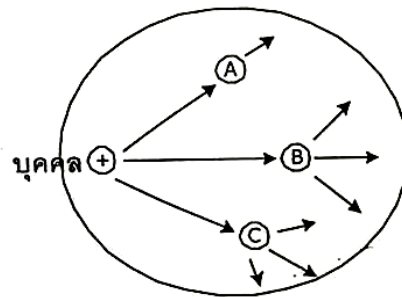


Figure 2.6 Radical Personal Network

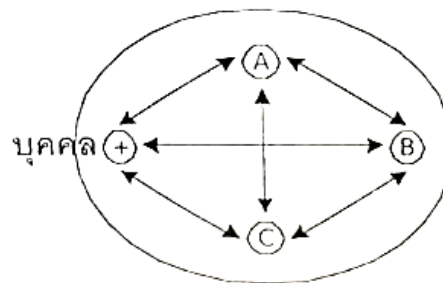


Figure 2.7 Interlocking Personal Network

The communications network between individuals has three characteristics.

- 1) Strong ties
- 2) Weak ties
- 3) Absent

The strength of the relationship depends on the following:

- 1) Total number of interactions
- 2) Intensity of the feeling and familiarity of the interactions
- 3) Familiarity and trust with the communication partner
- 4) Assistance given to communication partner

In each of the communications, the relationship is based on the knowledge of the characteristics of the communication partner such as belief, values, education, social status, and preferences. This would define who would transfer the information and its effectiveness. Communications would be effective and smooth when the communication partner has similar characteristics.

Leavitt (as cited in Jarunee Patcharapimansakun, 1999, pp. 30-33) explained that communications could be classified into two types, which are centralized and decentralized communications.

1) Centralized communication is the communications wherein a person is in the center of the communications by other members, who do not directly communicate with each other. All communications passed through the central person.

(1) Chain network is the communications wherein members communicate only those, who were next to them. This is due to the limitation of the cooperation and communication between group members. This is difficult for the group to successfully complete their task because of the lack in communications freedom. The members only contact 1 or 2 individuals in the group, thus the satisfaction in the group is quite low.



Figure 2.8 Chain Network Communications

(2) Y network is the communications network, where two members in the center of the communications coordinate and pass information received from other members, who were surrounding them. This type of communications is more suitable than the chain network, thus, it is more successful. The information is passed from various directions not just those who are next to them. In general, the one or two people in the center are the only ones, who are satisfied with this type of communications. The rest of the members in the group or the other outlying members have lower satisfaction. This type of communications would happen when 1 or 2 members are responsible for the task. They are responsible for the success of the work, while the remaining members are not responsible.

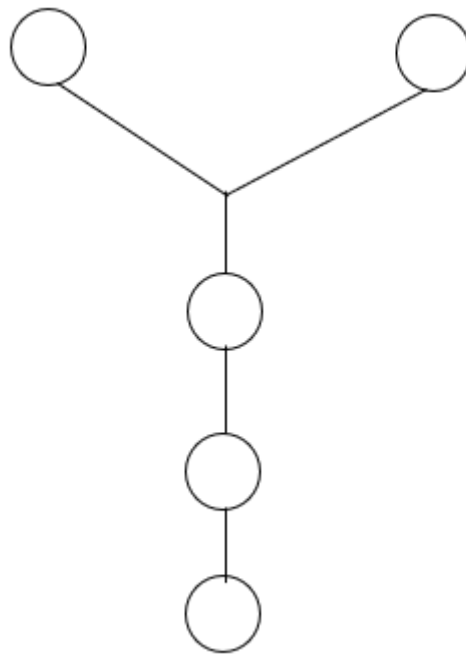


Figure 2.9 Y Network Communications

(3) Wheel network is the communications network wherein one of the members in the group disseminates news to other members. The person in the center of the group is the one with the power. This person is the group leader, because he/she is responsible for the success of the task.

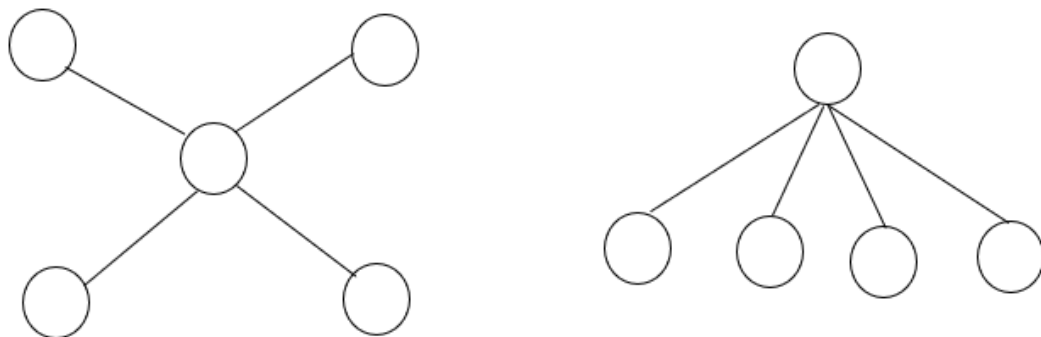


Figure 2.10 Wheel Network Communications

2) Decentralized communication is the communications where members could communicate freely. There is no one person making the decision but everyone takes part in the problem solution. Everyone interacts with one another. This impacts the production and the work process in the group, which means the communications cares about the people and environment. It serves to encourage the group members.

(1) Circle network is the communications network where members in the group contact those, who are next to them on both sides. This depends on the status of the people, who are considered equals. However, there is a problem about responsibility. There is no one who would take responsibility because they were all equal. Thus, there is no one, who is the center of the group.

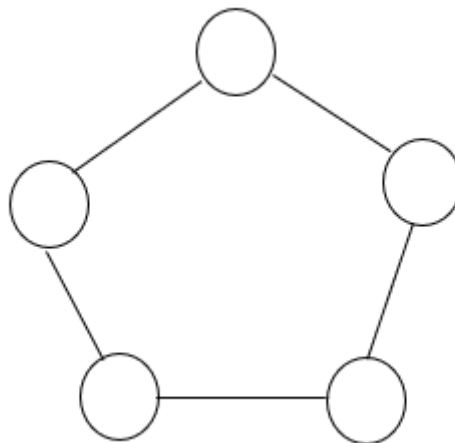


Figure 2.11 Circle Network Communications

(2) All channel network is the communications network. The members communicate directly with one another. The communication does not need to pass other members. They receive and disseminate information most effectively. This is because there is no limitation in the communications among members. Thus, this is the most effective and interactive communication network.

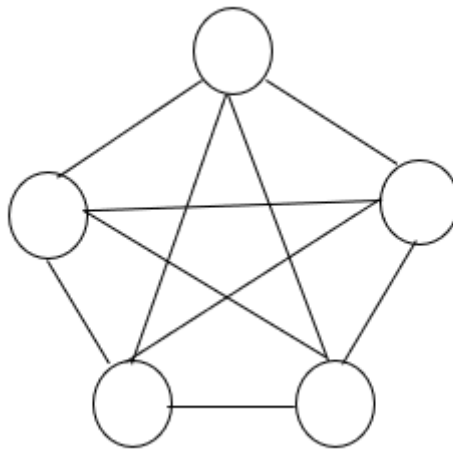


Figure 2.12 All Channel Network Communications

The gamblers form groups using communications network to show their taste and lifestyle. The members in the group communicate with one another to create their self and group identity. Thus, the gamblers form social groups having their own culture. Most of them are from the middle-class. The resulting behavior is based on their tastes, culture, and lifestyle members have in common. This results in the behavioral pattern of the group, thus it is considered the creation of middle-class gamblers group identity.

2.4 Literature Related to Information Search

Based on the Uses and Gratification Theory explained the use of media. Information Acquisition is considered the action of an active audience. This is because those who are involved with information acquisition, thus the order of the sender and receiver can be presented as follows: 1) Traditional Model 2) Information Seeking Model.

Information seeking initiated by receivers show that in the analysis of the communications model, the source is not always initiating the communications. However, it appears that the receiver is the initiator of the communications in this era of information. There is more news content created than can be consumed from every source and type. In this situation, the receiver is faced with information overload.

Therefore, it is not easy to seek information that serves the needs of individuals easily and quickly. The receivers in this new age need to develop skills in seeking information. Thus, there are many interesting conclusions that can be made about this group as explained in the following section.

1) News is important in ensuring the smooth daily life in accordance to the desired lifestyle. As a result, individuals who are in unstable situations or need to change in accordance to environmental factors such as in response to accidents or need to change workplaces need to use and search for information more than usual. This is based on the capability of news in reducing uncertainty in assisting the news receiver to control the situation.

2) From the first point Atkin (1973, as cited in Kanchana Kaewthep, 2002, p. 313), explained that individuals, who are open to various news sources and have the skill in processing large amounts of information (know how to use information types and search information from various sources), tend to be more literate in dealing with their respective environment.

3) Information seeking strategy as explained by Schramm (1973, as cited in Kanchana Kaewthep, 2002, p. 313) states that the media user must expend required effort in the expectation of reward. For instance, if an individual wants to find a friend's phone number but does not have a phone directory at home. This person would have to walk out of the house to borrow the directory from a neighbor. After doing so the person has to spend time to find the number. It can be said that this process has multiple steps. However, the person has the choice to call 13 to ask for the phone number. Ideally the person should use the second option, which is much simpler and effective. Yet this decision depends on the skill and ability of the individual in seeking out information (must know that one can call 13 to get phone numbers).

Information Seeking Strategy = Use the least effort

Has the result closest to expected outcome

The researcher used Information Seeking Theory to explain how gamblers sought out information about winning numbers from mass media and dealers. In addition, it explains how they use technology to seek out relevant information and news

in order to interpret the numbers, which is part of the decision making process of middle-class gamblers.

2.5 Literature Related to Taste

Bourdieu studied taste by conducting a survey in French society. He studied the preferences people had for music, sports, food, apparel, and leisure. He concluded that status was defined by the cultural norms that formed the economic structure that gave rise to taste preferences. Each status was distinctive in their consumption. The higher the status, the individual would consume superior products that had more refinement within the conditions of their daily defined by their status. At the same time this situation serves as the capital and the cultural space for the respective status. Thus, the consumption is critical in the determination of taste. In the process of distinction between each of the status groups, taste is the foundation of capital, which is idiosyncratic to the individual. While, we as individuals seek to distinguish ourselves from others, we are also being distinguished apart from others (Mattakan Boonruang, 2014, p. 30).

At first Bourdieu explained taste in the same way as other academics. Taste resulted from the relationship between individuals and objects. It is developed through the creation, production, and consumption of objects in order to reflect the status of the individual. Bourdieu believed that taste played the role in driving individuals to want to achieve a higher status, which results in more refined tastes. Social roles are used as tools to control the competition in terms of family and consumption. The present day society is characterized as a consumer society driven by tastes in the selection for consumption of objects (Kanchana Kaewthep & Somsuk Hinviman, 2017, p. 574).

The core of the concept of taste explained by Bourdieu regarding status was used to maintain the culture of differences between the classes. The rich would look down on the poor as those who live through life with no taste. They are often overlooked. The taste they have results from the limitation in terms of the objects owned by the poor. On the contrary, the poor admired the lifestyle of the rich. It is a standard of living that they cannot hope to achieve. The knowledge the rich and the poor have is the result of social mechanisms to create symbolic power. The result is symbolic power

from the taste of the affluent, which is surrounded by the myth that they came to have such privilege due to their past merit, knowledge, and talent of the rich. These wealthy people were free from the economic needs. However, in the present consumer society, taste is defined as the selection for consumption (Mattakan Boonruang, 2014, pp. 30-31).

Taste is not a natural issue and it is not dependent on the individual. Bourdieu denied the general belief that taste and aesthetics was born with the individual. He concluded that it is the result of society faculty mechanisms (conscious level). It is combined with the way of life (unconscious) such as some would prefer wearing jeans, others want to wear traditional Thai clothing, some like to visit museums, while some like to listen to classical or jazz music. There are those who want to watch television while some like indie movies. These tastes and aesthetic preferences all have their origins and development (Kanchana Kaewthep & Somsuk Hinviman, 2017, pp. 374-575).

Bourdieu explained that individuals come to hold various tastes based from the bias of habits that are lifestyle choices as explained in the following figure.

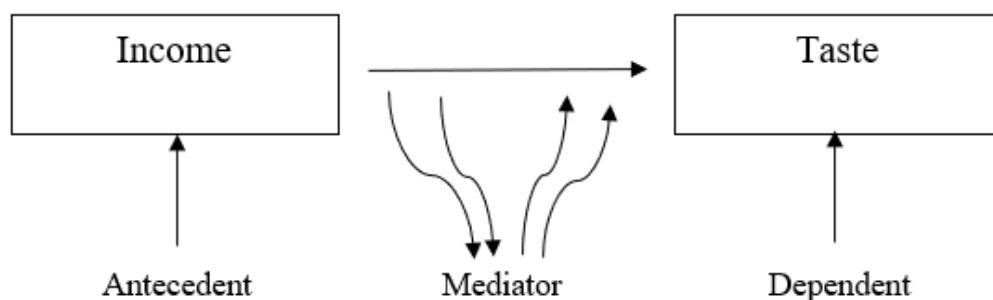


Figure 2.13 Relationship between Income and Taste

Source: Kanchana Kaewthep and Somsuk Hinviman, 2017.

The core of Bourdieu's two types of taste is used to maintain the cultural difference between those of different status. The people with lower status of class admire the lifestyle of those in the middle or high class. They use this as a standard way of life that they cannot attain. On the contrary, the middle class or the rich view those

in the lower classes as having a life without taste. They often forget that taste results from the limitation of those in poverty. Thus, taste is used as the criteria to differentiate between social classes. Those in the high status by birth and economic status can express their tastes in a variety of ways through consumption of goods and services in their lifestyle. This is expressed in various periods in particular during leisure time (Mattakan Boonruang, 2014, p. 33).

The researcher used this concept about taste as the criteria in selecting the respondents and analysis of the gamblers' identity. It is an activity that the middle class do in their leisure time.

2.6 Literature Related to Middle Class

This study categorizes the middle-class based on their income and occupation. In addition, there is consideration about the education, residence, lifestyle, reputation, and family. Mass media has an important role in creating the communications network and identity of middle-class gamblers.

Marx (as cited in Kanchana Kaewthep & Somsuk Hinviman, 2017, p. 74) explained that status or class was reflected in the ownership of the production resources. It is the most important criteria used by Marx, who emphasized the production process as critical in the economic cycle. Thus, Marx posited that the owner of the production resources would be the owner of the economic capital.

In the latter half of the 20th century capitalism solved the problems regarding the production process resulting in a surplus. The main problem in capitalism is the problem of consumption. The latter critical theories of Bourdieu (as cited Kanchana Kaewthep & Somsuk Hinviman, 2017, p. 550), explained that the main problem in capitalism is not in the production process as evidenced in the 19th century. However, the problem is in the consumption. This is because in the 20th century, capitalism has created a surplus far beyond demand. Thus, the challenge is to consume all of the products quickly. Thus, the criteria proposed by Bourdieu shifted to consumption. Therefore, maintenance of the variety of consumption behavior is an important tool for differentiation between the classes.

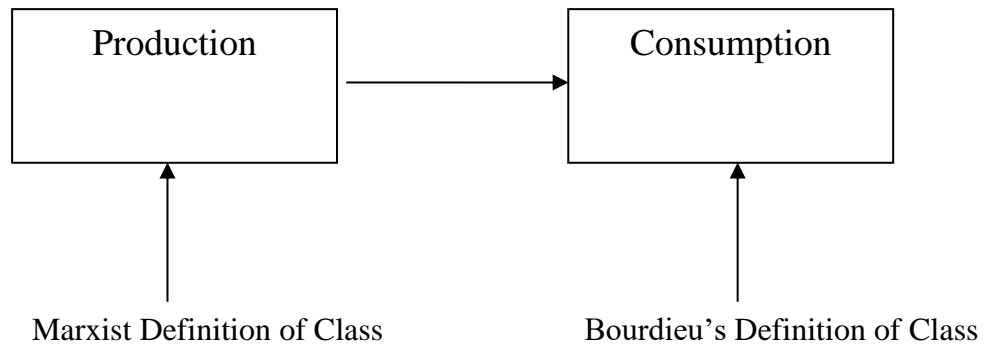


Figure 2.14 Definition of Class from Marx and Bourdieu

Source: Kanchana Kaewthep and Somsuk Hinviman, 2017, p. 550.

The definition of classes based on Bourdieu is reliant on 2 criteria, which are ownership of economic capital and ownership of cultural/symbolic capital. Bourdieu explained that using these two criteria can categorize classes in many ways as explained in the following section.

1) Vertical categorization-Classes were divided based on wealth or poverty, who did not have economic and cultural capital.

2) Horizontal categorization-Classes had wealth and were categorized in 2 groups. Some of the wealthy have economic and cultural/symbolic capital. Some of the wealthy had either one type of capital. For instance, the economic players, the new rich, might have financial resources but did not have cultural/symbolic capital. Another group might be the old families (have family/education) or artists.

The two horizontal groups would try to accumulate or expand the capital that they lack. For instance, the new rich need to improve their lifestyle tastes. The old families/artists try to marry or have economic ventures with the new rich. Both groups have capitals that the other lack. Thus, the exchange/collect/expand different capital. Mass media play an important role in the exchange, collection, and expansion of business.

Bourdieu (as cited in Somruk Chaisingkanont, 2001, pp. 13-14) classified class in industrial societies based on father's occupation, education, and social capital of individuals. In addition, other factors are economic opportunities (income, age) that determine social class as explained in the following section.

1) Bourgeois are the intellectuals, businessmen, and freelancers. This group is dominant in the economy and culture.

2) Petty Bourgeoisie are the artisans, owners of small businesses, middle level employees, technical staff, and teachers. This group are a mix. Some have the dominance while some are dominated.

3) Labor are the unskilled workers in agriculture, supervisors, and factory workers. This group are dominated.

Bourdieu posited that people in each class could be divided into smaller groups that have conflicting values. For instance, the bourgeois have the position of power. They are the intellectuals, who prefer independence, not wanting luxury. They like to visit museums, while the businessmen and freelancers, who like luxury, convenience, jewelry, and joining social events. Each group has their own collective history; thus, they are in conflict over the temporal and spiritual powers. There is a struggle to define righteousness in objects and behavior. It is a way of life based on objectification combined with social structure to produce habitus. The structures control other objects including categorization of other objects, behavior, and the perception of taste. This would impact the lifestyle of the individual, who accumulate cultural and economic capital. It depends on the status and position in the individual's class. Thus, the most important point made by Bourdieu is the struggle to attach meaning to objects and the social world. This is one type of struggle between the classes, which aim to create a standard for righteousness, through social and cultural reproduction. It results in symbolic violence in education, media, and organizations that gave out art awards.

“The middle-class are those, who could exhibit radicalism in different forms and methods. This might include joining groups or organizations. It is reflected in their aspirations and interests. Some of the people might be liberals, who demanded democracy, as a means to stop the conflict under the parliamentary system” (Warawit Charoenlert, 1993, p. 133).

Theory about the middle-class explains the status and power from Weber's view (Mattakan Boonruang, 2014, pp. 23-24). He is a modern theorist and social scientist, who conducted stratification research as well as problems experienced by the middle-class as concluded in the following section.

1) Middle-class defined in the Weberian class analysis is defined as those, who are in the middle of the social structure. They are usually white-collar employees. The distinction between the classes is based on the manual-nonmanual criteria.

2) The labor class are manual and nonmanual. These individuals do not have production factors and might have equal income. Both groups have awareness of the world. Thus, both groups belong to different classes. They have different awareness resulting from many different factors. Based on the Weberian class analysis there are three groups of factors.

(1) Market situation is defined as the source of income, job security, and opportunity to improve their status.

(2) Work situation is defined as the relationship in social systems, job description, and work position.

3) Weberian class analysts explained that the modern capitalist society has three groups, which are capital owners, labor, and middle-class. This is determined by 3 conditions, which are distinctly different and do not mix. Each class has their own lifestyle. This is particularly true in the modern capitalist society. The middle-class are knowledgeable, educated, and have the technical ability. Without this class, capitalism could not survive.

4) Middle-class include people with different occupations. There is a tendency to have a variety of characteristics. One group would have a higher social economic status, while another had a lower status. This group of middle-class are always aware of their difference from the labor class.

In this present situation, it could be expected that the middle-class created their own conditions and processes to initiate changes in society in accordance with the ideology of their class. They want their ideology to be accepted by others in society, thus this defines their political ideology. At the very least they would like to see adjustments in the way of thinking or agreement about the distribution of benefits in society (The struggle between different thoughts does not always mean the fight over economic resources. Sometimes it is the struggle for culture and politics.). The objective is to have people in other classes in society aware and accept the benefit of their own social class, which is defined as the consolidation of benefits with that of the

nation's interest. Thus, the prosperity, success, and victory of their social class also transferred to other groups in society. It is not only prosperity for their own social class getting over the corporate interests. It is critical to create unity by aligning the benefit between one's social class and that of the nation (Kasian Tejapira, 1994).

Plung Phupha (2014, pp. 74-75) explained that the Thai middle-class grew from the change in government administrative power starting in 1927. This group studied at Assumption and Bangkok Christian. They worked as clerks, journalists, merchants, accountants, and these people started their own business. In 1929 there were about 20,159 merchants, 12,738 coal sellers, 7,053 wild goods sellers, 3,709 rice millers, 1,651 tax collectors, 786 consumer products sellers, and 457,601 agents. These people were the middle-class during that time. They were critical in pushing for the changes in 1931.

The main social mechanism for the middle-class was mass media. It was the mechanism for change or fight for ideology. However, mass media has its limitations in freedom of speech, since it is indirectly controlled by the government, business, and self-censorship in determining content. Mass media also maintains its flexibility in changing its role to fit the thoughts and desires for the various groups. At that time, it meant differences in class/occupation/ideology. Mass media in particular the newspaper was known as the mouthpiece of the people, opening opportunities for various groups to express their views to society. The Gramzie became an influential group with strong ideology representing the middle-class. They captured the attention of people leading to changes in economic, social, politics, and culture. Each of the conflicting classes had their own ideology held to maintain their own benefits. The newspaper became the social mechanism that coordinated, reflected, and responded to the desired benefits for the various social groups in different ways (Passanai Nutalai, 1997, p. 22).

2.7 Relevant Research

2.7.1 Research about Gambling

Thitinan Wathanasin (2001) conducted the study, "Football Results Prediction in Daily Newspapers and Gambler Behavior". The research found that demographics

(gender) had a relationship with objective in reading the content, benefit from reading, and selecting the column from various newspapers at the significance level of 0.05. The column in Sport Pool has a relationship with benefit from reading. The readers talked about the content with their friends. They also used the information in deciding to make their bets. Some used the content as information for enjoying the match. The study found that the three newspapers offered different benefits to the readers, who chose content to serve their own needs. Kick-off readers usage of content for gambling did not appear to have any relationship. This might mean that Kick-off does not serve the needs of readers like the other three newspapers studied.

Nisachon Leeratanakorn (2004) studied the behavior of Thai gamblers. The factors that statistically (significant) affected the decision to gamble such as gender, marital status, level of education, and income. It is found that males gambled more than women. Those, who have higher income, gambled more than those with lower income. However, in terms of proportion those with lower income would spend more than those with higher income. Higher education resulted in less gambling behavior. It is found that those who were married tended to gamble more than those who were single, widowed, divorced, or separated. Those aged between 23-50 years tended to gamble the most. In addition, the study showed that those who liked to bet on numbers the most were those with high income, less education, married, aged between 36-50 years. Those who were likely to gamble in casinos or gambling dens were male with high income, less education, and single.

Pattaraporn Jamsai (2006) conducted the study “Factors Related to Gambling Behavior in Teenagers in Bangkok”. The study identified 5 independent variables from 8 that have a relationship with gambling behavior. These factors were results of study, friend role model, parents’ role model (parents gambling), source of self-control, and lack of discretion. These factors predicted the behavior at 69%.

Mingmontri Siripong (2007) studied the acceptance of legal gambling behavior of police training program. The study revealed that 1) most of the respondents accept legal gambling; 2) demographics including gambling experience has the acceptance of legal gambling; and 3) environmental factors such as age of gamblers, government policy, and presentation of news from media. These factors have an impact on the acceptance of legal gambling.

Achira Smuthkochorn (2007) conducted the study, "Presentation of News Content about Football Gambling in the European League of University Students". The findings indicated that news about football in Thai media have changed. In the past the news reports only included the match results. Today the presentation includes all sort of details. The information could be used for gambling promoting such behavior. In addition, there are more sources of information that could be accessed through various mass media, which served the needs of the people and business benefits. Also, news about football gambling is presented in various activities in a joking way in particular during major matches. Most of the information tended to be a means to reduce the gambling behavior rather than providing in-depth information.

Varidhi Onoparatvibool (2006) conducted the study, "Decision-making Process and Impact of Personal and Mass Media on Gambling Behavior. The results of the study indicate that there is a decision-making process in gambling consists of 4 stages. The first stage is awareness of problem leading to change. The second is awareness, third behavioral guideline, and finally, action. The next finding is the identification of 7 factors, which are losing and resulting financial problems, effect on life, religious beliefs, problems in study and work, seeing bad experience from others, law enforcement, and no convenient channel to gamble. The third finding is that personal media does not have an impact on deterring football gambling behavior among most of the respondents. However, parents did have impact on some of the respondents. Mass media had an impact in reducing the football gambling behavior in 4 ways - 1) reflecting the reality of football gambling; 2) supporters; 3) direct influence; and 4) influence from various conditions. Movies influenced gamblers in two ways-stimulation of awareness and reflection of the reality. Mass media in particular newspapers provides information dissuading football gambling behavior in three ways, which are seeking more information behavior, direct effect, influence depending on conditions, and content that had an impact on stopping gambling behavior. The content tended to present the direct experience of others, create awareness, showing care, love, and support, showing sorrow, point out the risk of football gambling, and anger.

2.7.2 Research about Underground Lottery

Tara Meeboon (2003) conducted the study, “Factors Contributing to Underground Lottery Gambling in Bangkok”. The objective of the study was to identify factors affecting gambling behavior in Bangkok. The research hypotheses were supported. Female gamblers tended to place underground lottery bets than men. Older gamblers tended to place bets more often than younger gamblers. Gamblers with lower education tended to place bets more often than those with higher education. Gamblers, who had lower income, gambled more than those with higher income. The laborers tended to place bets more often than those who were not blue-collar. Finally, the gamblers, who had gambling friends, tended to gamble more than those who did not have such friends. The hypothesis that was no support is gamblers, who are exposed to more gambling news, tended to gamble more.

Chawanuan Kananukul (1999) conducted the study, “Gambling Behavior and Communications Network of Underground Lottery Gamblers”. The findings indicated that the information seeking behavior for gambling depended on the beliefs of each individual. Gamblers information searching behavior had four levels-personal communication, interpersonal communications, group communications, and mass media. Factors that impacted the gambling behavior included group of gamblers and mass media. Gamblers explained that their network included gamblers, writers, stringers, and dealers. They are related in a secretive way. Thus, the communication is restricted only to members in the group. The gamblers prefer placing bets on underground lottery because it had a high reward. They loved the thrill. As a result, underground lottery is a profitable business for the proprietors. In addition, the sustainability of the underground lottery business depended on assistance from the police. This led to the prosperity of the underground lottery business even though it is illegal.

Nuannoi Treerat et al. (2014, p. 41) explained that knowledge about underground lottery in the view of women, who knew full well that it was illegal. They had to place bets in secret. Also, they knew that the major dealers were investors, who had a relationship with government officials. The dealers were able to “clear” their problems smoothly. Thus, the people could place bets on the underground lottery without any fear of being arrested because they trusted the backing the major dealers

had. Gamblers would hedge their risk by buying from many sellers just in case they do not get the prize money from certain dealers. This means of hedging the risk is also used by many sellers (Nuannoi Treerat et al., 2014, p. 43).

2.7.3 Research about Identity

Thanyakorn Boonmee (2018) conducted the study titled, “Virtual Identity and Relationships on Social Media Networks”. First, it is found that there are diverse ways in the creation of virtual identity, which is similar to their identity in real life. The diversity means that there is no fixed format or rules in the creation of resulting characters and identity. Secondly, some of the gamers might create a virtual identity that is different or similar to the real self. This is because there are limitations in the creation of identity within the game. The use of virtual identity in online games create the relationship with others on the gamers’ social network. They communicate through the system within the game. The identity is the attractive feature that starts the relationship. This is because the players could choose their conversation partners and determine the relationship between them. This includes the development or ending of the conversation in the online game. Finally, relationships on the gaming online social media resulted in the creation of groups and small communities. Thus, it is the foundation for friendship.

Ditthapong Prasertpitoon (2015) conducted that study about communications in creation of identity in the subculture of cover dancers. The research findings could be categorized in two issues. The identity creation among the subculture of cover dancers-traditional and modified. The cover dancers would create their own identity from their like of K-Pop culture. They chose to use the K-Pop culture for their cover dance. It is their way to rebel against those who viewed that K-Pop fans were just crazy about idols. The cover dancers used their preference to create their new identity. There are two type of cover dances. The first one is the same as the original version. The second is a modification of the dance. The cover dancers choose the type of dances depending on their goal. There is also a conflict of identity within the subculture between those who did traditional and modified as well as with the pop dance and traditional dance groups. The cover dancers attempt to communicate with other cultural groups. They want their style to be accepted widely in line with cultural communication. During the cultural

era, cultures deemed as equals need to consider, which better served humanity. Culture and arts became the battle field in creating new meanings and interpretations of the people. The paradigm of viewing a variety of cultures in the traditional and new depended on the changes in the world. This would lead to different interpretations of culture from the past.

2.7.4 Research about the Middle-Class

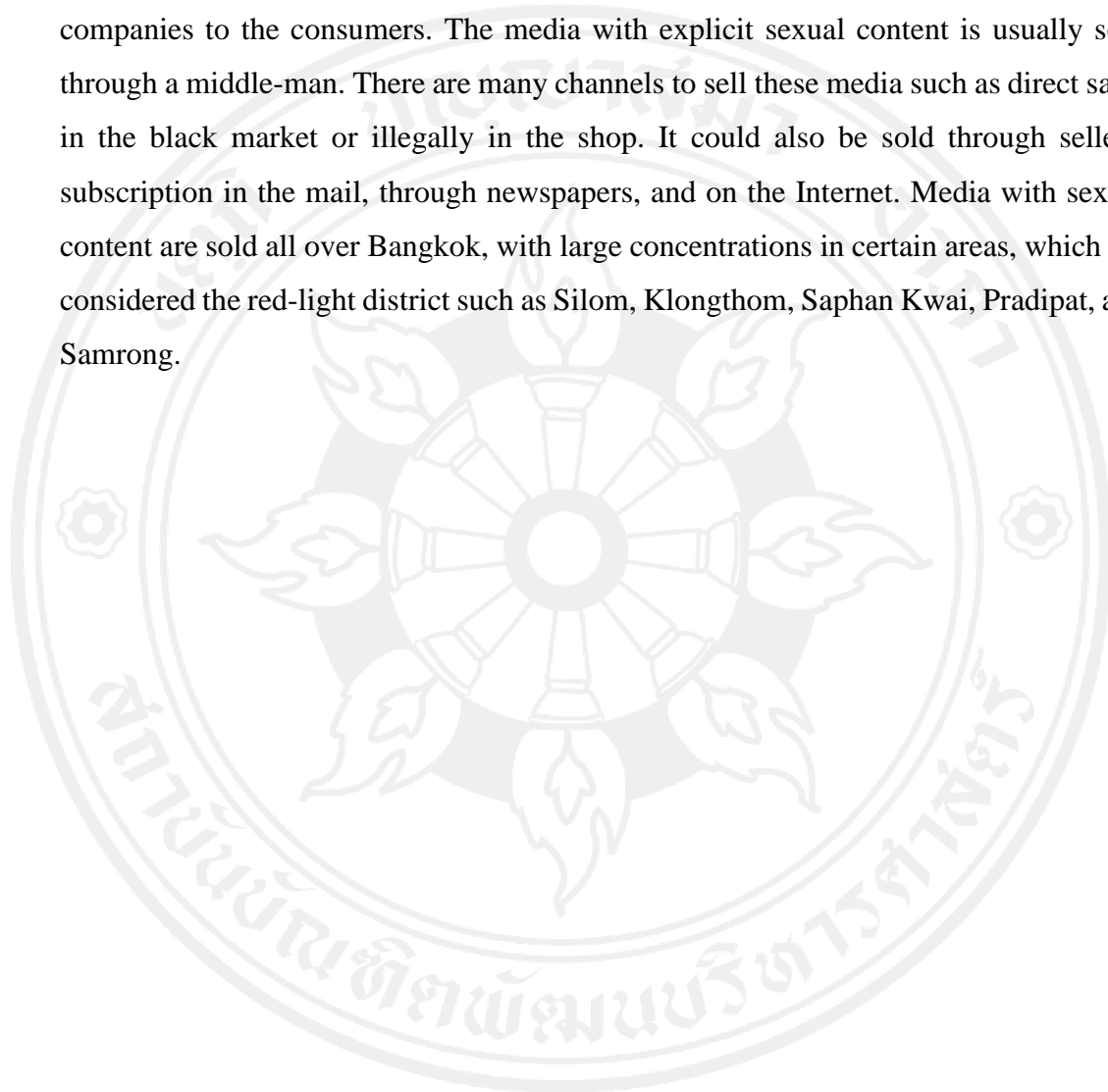
Passanai Nutalai (1997) conducted the study, “Political Communications in the Middle-Class Culture”. This group has the potential to use various communications to spread their ideology for their benefit effectively. However, there are doubts about the middle-class in the midst of the conflict of ideology in society. The objective is to explore political communications among the middle-class in newspapers. The ideology of the middle-class is varied and comprised of joint benefits in society, joint benefits only for a group, benefits for an occupation, and connection among those of the same occupation.

Mattakan Boonruang (2014) conducted the study titled, “Communications Taste in the Consumption of Beer in Thai Society: Middle-class Drinking Beer Behavior on Phra Arthit Road”. The study indicated that the taste in consuming beer is the result of cultural communications. The researcher categorized the explanation of taste. The consumption culture of middle-class beer drinkers was the result of logic of symbolic exchange value to create social relationships. The background of the beer drinkers on Phra Arthit Road reflected the consumption communications of the middle-class beer drinkers in Thai society. These three parts are critical in determining the characteristics of the taste. The beer consumers have 3 different and rather vague consumption between city and nature, modern and vintage retro style, international and Thai, and personal and public. This created the identity and social relationships in meaning development of taste, which led to distinction of other consumer groups in Thai society.

2.7.5 Research about Communications Network

Sunee Vaewmanee (1999) conducted the study titled, “Communications Network of Media Dissemination and Presentation Sexual in Bangkok”. The research

findings indicated that there are media presenting sex content in Bangkok. The network is “curbed” to prevent being arrested by government officials. This is because the media presenting sex content, which is taboo product in Thai society. The purchase of such media has to be done carefully. The purchasing of media presenting implicit sexual content could be sold openly in the retail stores. These media are distributed by companies to the consumers. The media with explicit sexual content is usually sold through a middle-man. There are many channels to sell these media such as direct sales in the black market or illegally in the shop. It could also be sold through sellers, subscription in the mail, through newspapers, and on the Internet. Media with sexual content are sold all over Bangkok, with large concentrations in certain areas, which are considered the red-light district such as Silom, Klongthom, Saphan Kwai, Pradipat, and Samrong.



2.8 Conceptual Framework

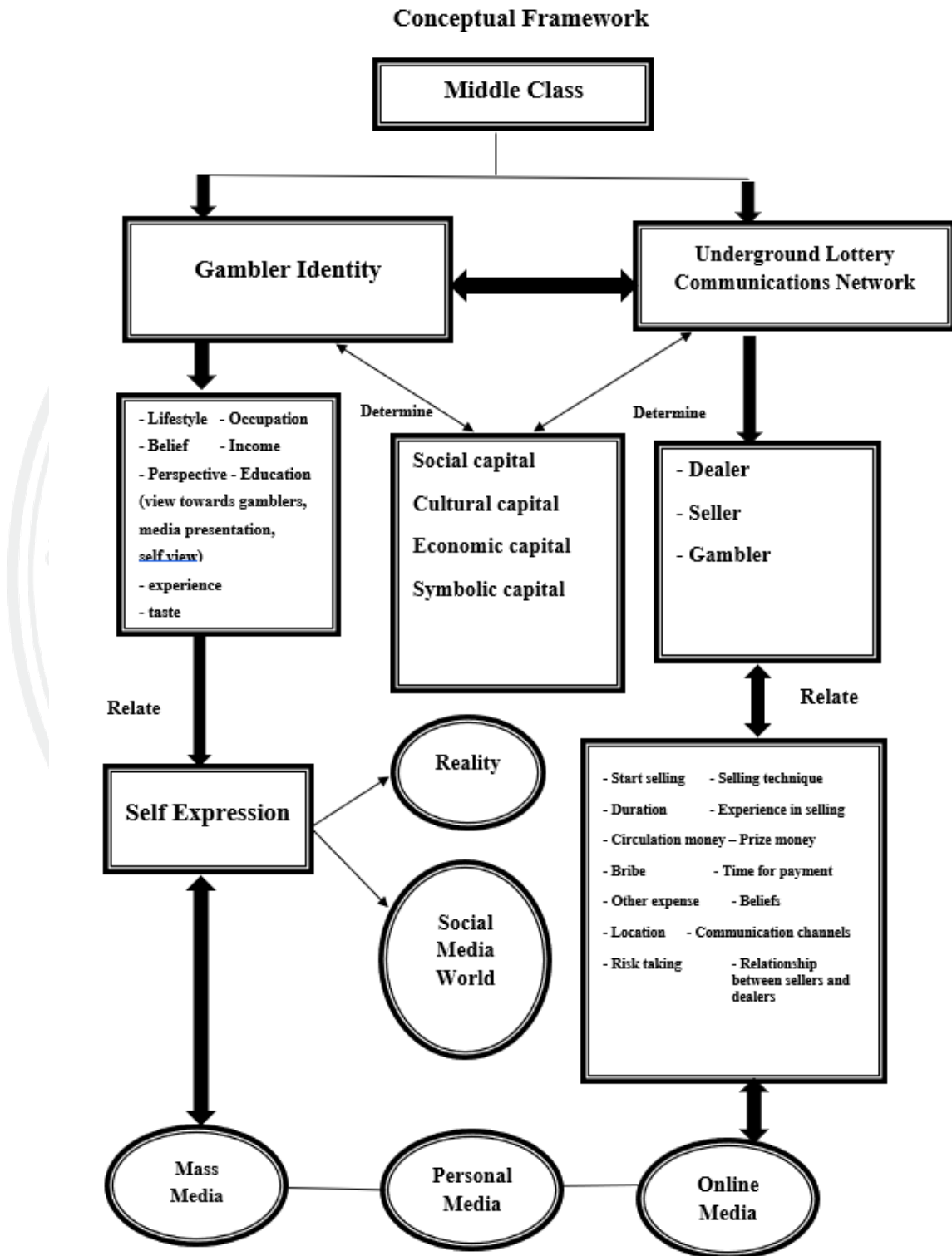


Figure 2.15 Conceptual Framework

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study, “Identities and Communication Network of Middle-Class Underground Lotto Gamblers”, have the objectives to study the identity of middle-class gamblers and to examine their communications network. The analysis would connect the major dealers to minor ones, those, who sell underground lottery, and middle-class gamblers.

3.1 Research Methodology

The researcher used qualitative research methodology as follows:

- 1) Field Observation
- 2) Participation Observation
- 3) In-Depth Interview
- 4) Snowball Sampling Technique

3.2 Information Source

The researcher has categorized the information used in the study, “Identity and Communications Network of Underground Lottery Gamblers” into two types. The population of study could be divided into two groups as follows:

- 1) Study of the identity of middle-class gamblers
- 2) Network of communications used by middle class gamblers regularly.

The gambler must have purchased underground lottery for no less than 5 years and have knowledge about the network of the dealers, sellers, and other gamblers.

The sampling frame of the study examining the identity and network of gamblers could be divided into two parts as explained in the following section.

The in-depth interview would be conducted to study the identity and network of middle-class underground lottery gamblers. In addition, for the data collection, the researcher would conduct the interview and record the conversation using the unstructured question guide. This would ensure the coverage of the topics of study. The data would be collected from the following groups:

1) Middle-class underground lottery gamblers would be selected from those who have been involved in the gambling for no less than 5 years. This is because people in this group have a consistent behavioral pattern. They can be categorized based on income and occupation as well as economic status. There were 15 respondents from the middle class with income over 18,000 Baht per month. In addition, consideration is education, occupation, lifestyle, and family reputation.

2) Underground lottery network data collection was made using interviews of 1 dealer, 8 gamblers, 4 sellers and gamblers, and 2 sellers. All of them are from the middle class and have been in the business for no less than 5 years.

Selection of Respondents is made using the nonprobability sampling. The purposive sampling and snowball sampling techniques have been used to select respondents from the people or family members they knew. This is because these people have the insider's view. It is crucial for this study because underground lottery purchase is illegal and most people involved do not want to reveal themselves. Therefore, the respondents have to be approached step by step in order to reach the desired respondents. In addition, the researcher used observation and participation in order to join the conversation in the Medium Line Group and underground lottery gambling, without revealing the researcher's identity.

3.3 Topic of All Interview Groups

1) Demographics, status and designation, age/gender, period of time gambling/selling, marital status, occupation, monthly income, and education.

2) Objective in gambling/selling and the trend of gamblers

3.4 Topic for Underground Lottery Gamblers

- 1) Gambling behavior of middle-class gamblers-what was the start of the habit, what was the amount money spent, and other gambling habits.
- 2) The relationship and communications channels between middle class gamblers and sellers to examine the selection of sellers, the relationship, the number of times sellers are changed, experience with sellers/being cheated, and communications channels.
- 3) Experience in winning, the reward, and the period necessary to get the payment (two digits, 3 digits, and 3 related numbers).
- 4) The source of the number from the statistics, media, and highly probable numbers.
- 5) The belief of middle-class gamblers, belief in luck/prayers, getting lucky numbers from the temple or scratching trees, and money gained from winning.
- 6) The expression of the identity of the middle-class gamblers and expression of underground gambler identity through social media.
- 7) The opinion of the middle-class gamblers towards underground lottery business.

3.5 Topic for Underground Dealers, Gamblers and Sellers, and Sellers

- 1) The source of the business for the dealer and the middle level sellers, start of career, cash flow from selling the numbers, cost for maintaining security, other expenses, sales location, and other gambling
- 2) The relationship between sellers and the dealers, selection of sellers, number of times sellers were changed, communication channels between middle class gamblers and sellers, and techniques in selling underground lottery
- 3) Experience in selling underground lottery, winning/being cheated/mistakes, reward received by the dealers and sellers, period in receiving and making payments, and determination of high probability of numbers

4) The beliefs of the dealer and sellers, who are middle class gamblers, the source of winning numbers, budget for gambling, experience in winning, beliefs, statistics, and winnings

5) Expression of the identity of dealers and sellers, who are middle class gamblers, expression in real life and social media

6) Opinions of the dealer and sellers, who are middle class gamblers, regarding government lottery

3.6 Data Collection

The researcher spent the period during August 1, 2019 to May 2, 2020 for the data collection (Government Lottery Office does not have May 1, 2020). There is a total of 10 months for data collection from documents and individuals as follows:

1) Initial research from documents that the researcher collected about the history of underground lottery in Thailand. In addition, there are documents about lottery such as application to check the winning numbers, Facebook pages that give out winning numbers, formula for calculating numbers, and interpretation of dreams.

The documents about the history of underground lottery in Thailand was collected from libraries in Chulalongkorn University, Thammasat University, and NIDA. This includes research works, academic papers, and online news. In addition, information was collected from seminars, which provided the researcher knowledge about the history, way of playing, impact, and gambling trend.

The access to online media through applications, interactions on Facebook, conversation on Line, interpretation of dreams, number calculations, report in the news media, understanding the identity, network, and gambler behavior such as calculation, dream interpretation, news stories interpretation, or events during that period for better odds in the gambling.

2) Data collection from individuals would be made from the selected area of Nakhon Ratchasima province, because the researcher is a local resident. In addition, it is a location with a large number of gamblers and winners of the prize money.

(1) Lucky Korat Girl wins 12 million after buying the ticket near Grandmother Mo Monument (Matichon Online: February 1, 2019).

(2) Prathai Korat Resident wins the first prize of 12 million again (Thairath Online: August 1, 2019).

(3) Korat Grandma wins first prize of 6 million baht (Inn news online: August 16, 2019).

(4) Department store sales rep and farmer from Korat win 6 million to rid their debts (Daily News online: November 23, 2019).

(5) Boxing Stadium Fan wins 30 million. His life takes a huge turn (Khao Sod online: December 1, 2019).

It is not easy to reach and interact with dealers and gamblers. As a result, the research has to create a level of trust through personal relationships enabling snowballing of new respondents. There were a total of 15 interviews consisting of 1 dealer, 8 gamblers, 4 gamblers and sellers, and 2 sellers. All of the respondents are from Nakhon Ratchasima, which is where the researcher is from. Respondents came from the city district (City, Hua Talay, and Ban Kho subdistricts), Pimai and Nonthai. The location of the interviews included residences, shops, and coffee shops. The interviews were conducted out of working hours to maintain the privacy of individuals. This allowed them to express their views and feelings freely. In addition, this enabled the observation of the gambling behavior clearly. Also some of the interviews were conducted using video call. The details are presented in the following table.

Table 3.1 Respondents Profile Summary and Basic Information

Status and Designation	Age/Gender	Period of Time Gambling/Selling	Marital Status	Occupation	Income/Month	Education	Location of Interview	Date
Gambler 01	59 yrs/F	10 yrs	Divorced	Furniture Business (Family Business)	100,000 Baht	High school abroad	Furniture store City district Nakhon Rachasima	Aug. 11, 2019
Gambler and Seller 02	50 yrs/F	19 yrs	Single	Hairdresser (Personal Business)	40,000 Baht	Vocational certificate	Hair salon City district Nakhon Rachasima	Aug. 11, 2019
Seller 03	38 yrs/F	30 yrs	Single	Online Merchant	50,000 Baht	Master's degree	Coffee shop City district Nakhon Rachasima	Aug. 12, 2019
Seller 04	38 yrs/F	10 yrs	Married	Government Official	200,000 Baht	Master's degree	Residence City district Nakhon Rachasima	Aug. 12, 2019

Status and Designation	Age/Gender	Period of Time Gambling/Selling	Marital Status	Occupation	Income/Month	Education	Location of Interview	Date
Gambler 05	41 yrs/F	5 yrs	Single	Retail	60,000 Baht	High school private institution	Retail Nonthai district	Aug. 16, 2019
Gambler and Seller 06	22 yrs/F	6 yrs	Single	Retail	200,000 Baht	Studying bachelor's degree	Video call	Aug. 20, 2019
Gambler and Seller 07	23 yrs/F	5 yrs	Single	Personal Business	20,000 Baht	Studying bachelor's degree	Video call	Aug. 20, 2019
Seller 08	58 yrs/F	30 yrs	Married	Garage	1,000,000 Baht	Bachelor's degree	Residence Pimai district	Aug. 16, 2019
Seller 09	47 yrs/M	27 yrs	Single	Watch Service	19,000 Baht	High school	Retail Nonthai district	Aug. 16, 2019
Dealer 10	37 yrs/F	30 yrs	Single	Factory Owner	2,000,000 Baht	High school	Coffee shop City district Nakhon Ratchasima	Aug. 22, 2019

Status and Designation	Age/Gender	Period of Time Gambling/Selling	Marital Status	Occupation	Income/Month	Education	Location of Interview	Date
Gambler 11	38 yrs/F	10 yrs	Married	University Professor	30,000 Baht	Doctorate	Canteen City district Nakhon Ratchasima	Aug. 23, 2019
Gambler 12	39 yrs/M	7 yrs	Single	Fabric Retail	100,000 Baht	High school	Residence Ban Koh district	Aug. 25, 2019
Gambler and seller 13	25 yrs/F	5 yrs	Single	Private Company Employee	20,000 Baht	Vocational certificate	Restaurant Hua Talay district	Aug. 25, 2019
Gambler 14	26 yrs/F	9 yrs	Married	Private Company Employee	19,000 Baht	Bachelor's degree	Restaurant Hua Talay district	Aug. 31, 2019
Gambler 15	39 yrs/F	10 yrs	Single	Charms Business	500,000 Baht	Master's degree	Residence City district Nakhon Ratchasima	Aug. 31, 2019

Data Analysis The interviews were conducted to answer the objectives. The data is presented based on the categorization of content. The names of the respondents are made-up to maintain the privacy of the respondent. There is no identification of the individual providing the information. In case personal content on Facebook or Line is used the identification is blacked out. Only content and messages that have enabled public status would be used in the analysis.

Data Collection Instrument The researcher has the role as the analyst, observer, and interviewer. All of the interviews were recorded and field notes were taken.

Taking field notes is a means to record the observations. This depends on the necessity to expand on certain issues that are made after the interview in order to avoid making it a point of interest or focus. This is necessary to ensure that the interviewer would not forget and it helps to summarize the information. The conversation might sometimes be carried away, therefore the researcher would later record the interview in the notebook to avoid tweaking the interest of those in the data collection area.

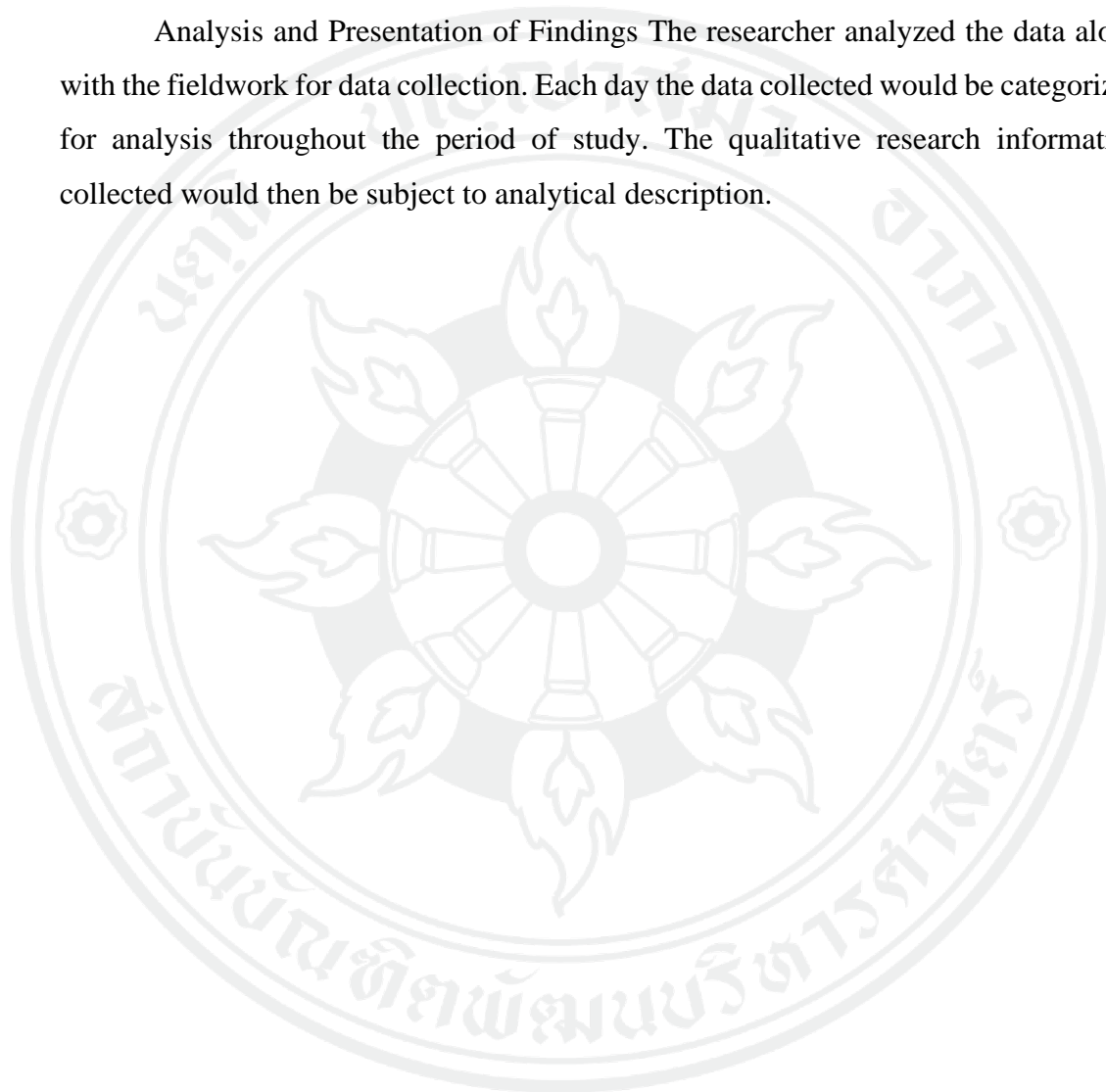
The researcher requested permission to record the interview using a mp3 recorder. The respondents were informed regarding the objective of the study and were ensured that their identities would not be revealed. However, they were informed that the contents of the interview would be used in the study. In addition, the researcher used participation observation by taking part in the Line group, engaging in personal conversations, and observing the creation of identity and network of sellers and gamblers on Facebook. During the interview the researcher used data collection methods in participative and non-participative observation. The researcher also observed the respondents and networks through various channels such as telephone and Line. The sound recording enables seamless data collection because the interviewer does not have to be concerned about writing the notes. In addition, it helps to clarify the issues being asked and helps the data analysis and verbatim report.

The mobile telephone was used in case the respondent cannot conveniently provide information due to limitations of time and location. As a result, the video call was used. In addition, the video call also used when additional information was needed from respondents. However, the interviewer always requested the respondent to record the conversation. The researcher also used the mobile phone to collect information about the underground lottery such as location, people, and objects. Screen shots were

also made from posts on the respondents' Facebook status, participation of the researcher, and conversations on Line and Facebook. This also includes collection of data from applications and websites related to the underground lottery.

Data Collection Instrument Evaluation The researcher analyzed the data based on the question guide, which was developed and evaluated by experts.

Analysis and Presentation of Findings The researcher analyzed the data along with the fieldwork for data collection. Each day the data collected would be categorized for analysis throughout the period of study. The qualitative research information collected would then be subject to analytical description.



CHAPTER 4

IDENTITIES AND COMMUNICATION NETWORK

The study titled, “Identities and Communication Network of Middle-Class Underground Lotto Gamblers” is a qualitative research. The researcher used field observation utilizing the participation observation together with in-depth interview. The respondents for the in-depth interview were selected using the snowball sampling technique. The goal is to study the identity and creation of network of middle-class underground lottery gamblers. The middle-class is the largest population group in Thailand, with good economic status, social reputation, stable career, and inherit business from family. In addition, they have the power to drive and develop the country in terms of economics, society, and culture.

The research results regarding placing bets on underground lottery into two group. The first is the people making the purchase, the gamblers. The second are the sellers, which include the dealers and sellers. They use technology in the globalization age to facilitate communications between dealers, sellers, and gamblers. Each party would coordinate and build relationships rapidly. Communications could be used to form groups in Line or Facebook to give lucky numbers and exchange experience about finding numbers from various locations. This includes selling government and underground lottery through social networks online. The selling/buying of underground lottery can be made freely. Society is used to this behavior and do not placing bets on underground lottery is something to be hidden. There is no strict fear of the police as in the past. The freedom to choose to join various groups can be done openly, when people want to buy underground lottery. It can be done easily just by picking up to phone and sending a message to the dealer within the time limit. In case the client wins, money would be transferred in the online account immediately. Underground lottery is considered hope for the poor, as the saying goes “the poor bet on underground lottery, the rich bet on the stock exchange”. It is the people of the lower classes that are viewed

by society with concern since they are at risk of accumulating significant debt and might result in social problems. The middle-class gamblers have a stable economic status. They have good career and reputation in society with a modern lifestyle. The choice to place bets on underground lottery enables the cycle to go on. Although the expectations of this group are not as high as the lower class, they are the force that drives underground lottery business today.

The researcher collected data from 15 respondents who live in Nakhon Ratchasima province using the snowball sampling technique. The respondents were willing to provide information because they are people in the same community and family members. They are well acquainted. The sampling methodology used was purposive sampling. The interview was conducted in a fun way. The respondents talked about their gambling behavior animatedly. As a result, they were willing to provide information and did not mind being recorded despite the fact that gambling is a taboo. They trust the researcher, since the data would be used as part of the dissertation with suitable means to protect the privacy of the respondents. In addition, the research was conducted based on the suitable ethical guidelines. The researcher thus presents the research findings in 2 parts based on the research objectives – identity of middle-class underground lottery gamblers and communications network of middle-class underground lottery gamblers.

4.1 Part 1 Identity of Middle-class Underground Lottery Gamblers

The researcher has classified the status of the research respondents as follows:

- 1) There is 1 dealer, who is one of the major dealers in Nakhon Ratchasima province inheriting the business from the father. This dealer has an expansive social network making 2,000,000 baht/month. There is a possibility of quitting as dealer to conduct business of interest. Most of the earnings from gambling is used to open a factory because it is more stable. This dealer does not really like underground lottery like the previous generation. The dealer is a female with a strong personality, who is open to winning and losing. Later, she has decided to find a stable business that is “white”. Therefore, she decided to open a factory of her interest.

2) There are 8 gamblers, who place bets because gambling is in their blood. They have full-time jobs with income ranging from 19,000-500,000 baht. Their education level ranged from high school to Ph.D. They like fortune seeking from underground lottery starting their gambling habit from people in the family and friends. There is also a trend to try gambling online because it has higher rewards, which is riskier.

Gambler 01 has a furniture store family business that has been operated for generations owning many real-estate. There are clients in the district and other districts, thus the gamblers network is wide and well-known.

Gambler 05 owns a retail store in Nonthai, who gamblers for fun and bets on a few regular numbers, which come from car license plates. This gambler regularly places bets for every draw, while making a wish to quit gambling in case of significant win. She is a tough woman, who is very active in doing her business supported by family in helping to find clients.

Gambler 08 owns a garage in Pimai District, who has many social engagements. He has a talkative personality, daring to show his opinions, and loves to join social functions. Today he gave the business to his children, therefore he does not place as much bets as he did when he ran the business. The day of the interview is the day of the lottery draw, making the conversation even more interesting.

Gambler 09 fixes watches in Nonthai District. The interview was conducted in the afternoon before the lottery draw. He showed off his calculation formula with great pride. The gambler places bets out of passion. On the day of the draw he is restless and contacts the dealers to check, which numbers are not sold so that he could distribute his bets. He has to analyze the offers in order to buy the numbers, he wants.

Gambler 11 is a university lecturer, who likes to post about winning lottery oftentimes. This person has an open, fun-loving, and reasonable outlook to life.

Gambler 12 has a fabric shop with a gambler personality, who regularly plays rummy, invests in stocks, cards, underground lottery, and all types of gambling. This respondent openly provides information to the researcher. The family income is being affected by the online platform.

Gambler 14 is a private company employee, who is a junior at a friend's office. This gambler was reluctant in providing the information because the researcher is not

an acquaintance. The friend had to vouch for the researcher confirming that the data is used only for educational purposes, after which the interview went smoothly. This respondent has a nice and humble personality.

Gambler 15 has a holy relic business. This respondent has a degree in communication arts, thus having a good understanding of the questions. The respondent could answer well and could project a good image speaking like a business person. She has a master's degree in business management, makes her appear like a lady of stature.

3) There are 4 gamblers and sellers. The sellers today write the numbers and walk around collecting the numbers. They are close to a single or multiple dealer. Some of them don't know the dealer through Line and computer programs. In addition, they place bets on underground lottery for thrills and creating good relationship with clients.

Gambler and seller 03 is a hair dresser (personal business). She is a the hair dresser of the researcher. On the day of the lottery draw, she would close the door. She gave information while washing and drying. The researcher could also observe the selling and buying of underground lottery on every draw. The respondent is a bit nervous and afraid of the dealer. She often was cheated by the clients.

Gambler and seller 06 is the owner of agricultural equipment retail. The respondent is a student, who wants additional income. The interview was done on video call after the end of the work day. This person has a friend, who is a dealer, and can make the recommendation for accessing more information.

Gambler and seller 07 has a personal business, who sells underground lottery to support the family. This respondent posted about underground lottery on Facebook, who believes that income from the underground lottery could improve livelihood.

Gambler and seller 13 is a private company employee, who is one of the sellers in the office. The work environment involved talking about underground lottery everyday online. This becomes the organization culture. Thus, selling underground lottery is a type of hobby, which is a beneficial use of time.

4) There are 2 sellers, who write and deliver the bets. The income is about 20,000-50,000 baht. They have a master's degree but do not like to gamble because they don't like fortune seeking. This respondent sold underground lottery for additional income.

Seller 02 has an online business. The family has many businesses include loan and rent. This respondent speaks well and proper. She is well-dressed presenting that she has high status.

Seller 04 is a government official, who sells underground lottery at the workplace. Sometimes the respondent receives bets at home. The interview was conducted in the evening at her home. She is fun-loving, daring, and does not like petty issues. She is studying about placing bets online.

The first part of the findings of the research, “Identities and Communication Network of Middle-Class Underground Lotto Gamblers” is based on the 8 middle-class gamblers. They have an income of 18,000 baht, who regularly place bets on underground lottery. The analysis of the creation and presentation of underground lottery gamblers is made through the perspective of the gamblers themselves. This is considered from the means of communicating their identity, which includes communications channels, online social media, joining social activities, and personal media. In addition, it is derived from conversation based on the following topics.

- 1) Objective for joining the underground lottery business
- 2) Underground lottery gambler lifestyle
- 3) Underground lottery is hope for the middle-class
- 4) Underground lottery is entertainment for middle-class gamblers
- 5) Taste of underground lottery middle-class gamblers
- 6) Media and the decision to place bets on underground lottery by middle-class gamblers
- 7) Beliefs associated with underground lottery gambling of the middle-class
- 8) Expressing emotions and feelings of underground lottery gamblers
- 9) Expressing identity of middle-class underground lottery gamblers
- 10) Perspective of gamblers towards above ground lottery

4.1.1 Objective for Joining the Underground Lottery Business

The first part of the findings of the research, “Identities and Communication Network of Middle-Class Underground Lotto Gamblers” presents the gender, age, occupation, and marital status. In addition, it presents the reason for gambling, trend of gambling, which is the starts of the understanding about identity creation and communications network of underground lottery gamblers. The research findings indicate that the objective of joining the underground lottery cycle depends on the status of each individual as presented in the following section.

1) Dealer and sellers-This group receive tangible benefits, which is money. This is particularly true for the dealers, who are involved in the underground lottery business. They need to have connections with the police through creation of identity as having an expansive network to protect the people in the team. Those who have economic benefits need to accumulate economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital. Thus, this controls the status of the gamblers. Dealers would give discounts to clients, which is a benefit to gain acceptance of those in their network continuously. This is because sellers and dealers need to maintain their relationship based on trust. Gamblers might change to place their bets with other dealers. This is a means to create trust through promotion, keeping of secrets, payment of prize money on time, give credit such as huay pah allowing payment in the next draw. Many of the sellers also gain money by selling bets on underground lottery. They join the thrill in betting with their clients. However, they do not put a big bet. This is based on the feeling that nothing is wrong, because money is gained from selling bets anyway.

2) Gamblers-This group plays for the thrills, entertainment, and creation of network with others. Middle-class underground lottery gamblers place bets with people they know such as friends. It becomes an opportunity for exchange of good numbers. They all hope to lucky and feel the thrill with others. This makes their life fun on the first and sixteenth of every month. There are some days that the draw would be postponed for instance January 1 draw would be made on January 2 or January 16 would be drawn on January 17, major Buddhist holidays such as Makabucha, May 1 would be drawn on May 2. These dates would be determined by the Government Lottery Office.

Table 4.1 Demographics, Objective, Trend of the Group of Underground Lottery Gamblers, Sellers, and Dealers

Status/ Designation	Age/Gender	Period of Time Gambling/ Selling	Marital Status	Occupation	Income /Month	Education	Objective of Placing Bets/Selling Underground Lottery	Future Trend
Gambler 01	59 yrs/F	10 yrs	Divorced	Furniture business (Family business)	100,000 Baht	High school abroad	- like fortune seeking - like thrill - conversation topic with friends	- buys both government lottery and underground lottery never hope to be rich from it - place less bets on underground lottery but more on government lottery
Seller 02	38 yrs/F	30 yrs	Single	Online merchant	50,000 Baht	Master's degree	- Mainly for additional income	- stop selling underground lottery and concentrate online business or other business of interest

Status/ Designation	Age/Gender	Period of Time Gambling/ Selling	Marital Status	Occupation	Income /Month	Education	Objective of Placing Bets/Selling Underground Lottery	Future Trend
Gambler and seller 03	50 yrs/F	19 yrs	Single	Hairdresser (Personal business)	40,000 Baht	Vocational certificate	- Inherit business from mother - Makes more income than other businesses	- Quit selling and placing bets
Seller 04	38 yrs/F	10 yrs	Married	Government official	200,000 Baht	Master's degree	- Additional income	- Receives bets placed through online channels - Learn about underground lottery and foreign lottery
Gambler 05	41 yrs/F	5 yrs	Single	Retail	60,000 Baht	High school private institution	- Fortune seeking - For fun	- Made a wish that if she won first prize lottery she would quit gambling
Gambler and seller 06	22 yrs/F	6 yrs	Single	Retail	200,000 Baht	Studying bachelor's degree	- Additional income	- Depends on career after graduation is she can still continue to sell underground lottery
Gambler and seller 07	23 yrs/F	5 yrs	Single	Personal business	20,000 Baht	Studying bachelor's degree	- Support family income	- If she can be a government official she

Status/ Designation	Age/Gender	Period of Time Gambling/ Selling	Marital Status	Occupation	Income /Month	Education	Objective of Placing Bets/Selling Underground Lottery	Future Trend
								would quit selling underground lottery
Seller 08	58 yrs/F	30 yrs	Married	Garage	1,000,0 00 Baht	Bachelor's degree	- Placed bets as a means for hope during the economic crisis of 1997	- Play for the thrill and hope of winning prize money
Seller 09	47 yrs/M	27 yrs	Single	Watch service	19,000 Baht	High school	- Hope to make money from fortune seeking - Prove the numbers he has	- Continue placing bets to get some money back from the dealer
Dealer 10	37 yrs/F	30 yrs	Single	Factory owner	2,000,0 00 Baht	High school	-Inherit business from father	- Quit being a dealer to do other business that she is good at
Gambler 11	38 yrs/F	10 yrs	Married	University professor	30,000 Baht	Doctorate	-Friends invited her to play -Fortune seeking	- Gamble every drawing in case she wins
Gambler 12	39 yrs/M	7 yrs	Single	Fabric retail	100,000 Baht	High school	- Gambling is in the blood	- Gamble and invite others online to join the fun

Status/ Designation	Age/Gender	Period of Time Gambling/ Selling	Marital Status	Occupation	Income /Month	Education	Objective of Placing Bets/Selling Underground Lottery	Future Trend
Gambler and seller 13	25 yrs/F	5 yrs	Single	Private company employee	20,000 Baht	Vocational certificate	- Family business - Additional income	- Won't quit because it helps with the monthly expenses at home
Gambler 14	26 yrs/F	9 yrs	Married	Private company employee	19,000 Baht	Bachelor's degree	- Like gambling despite rarely winning	- Continue with the hope of winning
Gambler 15	39 yrs/F	10 yrs	Single	Charms business	500,000 Baht	Master's degree	- Business is related to beliefs	- Win often and enjoy with friends

Research findings indicate that the trend for gambling and accepting bets placed of sellers and gamblers differ. Some say they wish to quit and would do so if they win big. Some say that they would quit if they get a job as government official, which is an unforeseeable future. Those, who change jobs would often feel reluctant to lose this income so they would look for opportunities to resume their business. Some have their income reduced or have been cheated. There is also a trend that those, who have their own business, might quit selling bets to do their own business. Respondents reported that selling bets is not their only source of income. Thus, it can be said that selling bets is an option for increased income. They accept the risk with the mentality, “laissez-faire” and “can enter and leave anytime”. In terms of the gamblers, they can choose to rotate dealers, based on their luck and good feeling. This is purely voluntary. Sellers do not mind they are willing to accept any client making payments on time. They do not have problems in collecting money that results in hiccups in their operations.

4.1.2 Underground Lottery Gambler Lifestyle

The research findings “Identities and Communication Network of Middle-Class Underground Lotto Gamblers” indicate that respondents have income over 18,000 baht. They have a variety of occupations including business, government officials, and own business. Most of the respondents were willing to reveal their personal data. However, due to the ethical requirements, the researcher had to maintain the privacy of the respondents by using designations instead of names. The research findings indicate that respondents having a working lifestyle. They meet people to build their networks. There are friends, who invited respondents to try gambling. They later adopted it because it was fun. Also, they believed that placing bets on underground lottery is one type of gambling. Outside of their group, gamblers are viewed as businessmen, faculty members, company employees, and socialites, who regularly attend activities. They are usually easy going and have good employment; thus, gamblers are known by others in their society.

Gambler 08, owner of the garage in a different district-“I joined activities with the Red Cross and I am a local government administrative officer. I joined with the elderly at the market. I am active in the market community, hardly spending much time at home. I am very busy; thus, any meeting requires an appointment be made. I am

involved with all types of works such as culture and volunteer, which he joins as long as it does not overlap with meetings. There is so much to do, loads of works, and friends. However, I do not wish to expand it to direct sales strategy because I feels it is a burden for my friends. Although I have friends with good finances, I do not seek assistance, rather friends can come to ask me for help. It is my philosophy to help others, but it is not may to ask for too much information.” (personal communication, August 16, 2019)

Continuation of business from parents, means that the generation of children have to accumulate social capital. The respondent has to develop experience in addition to graduating with a bachelor’s degree communications and master’s degree in business administration.

Gambler 15, owner of a holy relic business-“At first, I would like to work and get experience in big organizations before working at home. I wanted to study their system in order to adapt to use in my own family business. Upon graduation I worked at the Korat Chamber of Commerce in public relations, after which I gained reputation in society. I got to know more influential figures including businessmen in various organizations. This is because the chamber of commerce comprises of businessmen. I then worked at The Mall for over a year after deciding to study master’s degree. It was during this period that I started working on my own business.” (personal communication, August 31, 2019)

He then continued his parents’ business that has become successful with a strong customer base. He has tried his hand at his own business with not much success such as restaurant and real estate. This learning created knowledge necessary for the management of people and financial resources.

Gambler 15, owner of holy relics business-“I ran a Japanese restaurant for 4 years with not much success. Both branches lost money so I closed them. I did not gain anything but experience. No one would expect that something like this would happen. There were many factors that led to this result. I also realized that I lacked the necessary expertise. Factors included lack of expertise and understanding for the operations management. I hired a manager to work and did not monitor operations resulting in leakage of resources and since employees did not own in the business, they were not dedicated to its survival.” (personal communication, August 31, 2019)

The research findings indicate that the business owners recognized that business success depends on the time and economic situation of the country.

Gambler 15, owner of a holy relics business-“Like any other business, when the economy is good, our business is good too. Our target are temples and government offices. They would build Buddha images on special occasions. When the economy is good, temples would have a large following for holy relics. However, during quiet periods, the business is also affected. It is considered unnecessary product not part of the 4 necessities in life.” (personal communication, August 31, 2019).

Some of the respondents viewed that businesses today have to compete with online commerce. Thus, the sales volume has dropped therefore, it is necessary to have other businesses such as investing in stocks, real estate, and dorm for rent.

Gambler 12, owner of a fabric shop-“Products online are more expensive. Even if they claim 90% discount on Lazada, it is still more expensive than retail. There was a student, who bought a quilt online from Jessica. I told the student my shop sells it for 1,700 baht, why spend 3,400 baht. It is that price because it has Facebook ads. However, she told me that my stuff is fake. She said the quilt she bought from Lazada is real. I just don't have anything else to say.” (personal communication, August 25, 2019)

Some of the gamblers have to move across districts for instance Gambler 09, who fixes watches. The respondent admitted that income has reduced. Luckily, the respondent said that he has good skills, so he has regular customers (Gambler 09, August 16, 2019).

Gambler 14, private company employee-The respondent explained about making the necessary income for a good livelihood moving from Surin to Nakhon Ratchasima. (Gambler 14, August 31, 2019)

In terms of retired government officials, they would rely on their monthly income. With an income from parents and spouse of about 100,000 baht would be sufficient for living honorably in society.

Inheriting business from parents to children includes the customer base. There is a need to be supportive in order to maintain a smooth transition in the middle-class way of life.

Gambler 01, owner of a furniture store-“Our business takes care of the employees and their families. For instance, the man in orange works here with his wife

and grandchild. They live in a free room. Tomorrow is their day off. If we do not have the employees, it would be difficult for us. They do everything for us regardless. At 2PM we would distribute soft drinks. Since my father's time we give one bottle of soft drink for afternoon break. Nowadays, we leave the fridge for them now, so they can pick up their own drink. We trust them.” (Gambler 01, August 11, 2019)

The research findings indicate the livelihood of middle-class underground lottery gamblers depends on gender, occupation, income, and education. Women tended to like joining social activities. Their inheritance would give them the necessary economic status that gives them stability and social standing. They work in reputable careers growing up with government official families. This helps them to gain more social capital than others. Having special career skills such as fixing watches enables sustainable living conditions during the economic downturn. Working in companies also opens opportunities for interacting with a variety of people. The identity of middle-class gamblers, thus appears to have full-time employment. They would like to have stability, reputation, and acceptance from their subordinates as well as others in society. Gambling is only part of their social interaction. They would choose to place their bets with people they can trust and do not communicate directly with dealers.

4.1.3 Underground Lottery is Entertainment for Middle-Class Gamblers

The research findings indicate that underground lottery is not just the hope for the lower classes. Respondents provide corroborating information regarding the economic crisis of 1997. It was a period of poor economic conditions, with significant expenses in every regard. People lost hope and underground lottery became their option. It provided the hope in alleviating the hardships with the possibility of winning money to improve their lives and that of their family. It serves to provide a source of stability like a friend, who would help to improve their livelihood.

Gambler 12, owner of a fabric shop-“Since the economic bubble burst in 1997, the interest rates were allowed to float. The people, who bought homes or invested at that time, all went bankrupt. At that time my father died when I was in third year. We had 7 million baht, when he passed away. We had to pay installment on the house about 30,000 baht. The interest was 7,000 baht. Since 1997 for a few years, the sales volume was only 2,300,000 baht. We used to stock fabrics all the way up to the third and fourth

floors. Today we only use the first floor and mezzanine. The third and fourth floors are empty.” (personal communication, August 25, 2019)

Research findings reflect the views towards the economic and social conditions of middle-class underground lottery gamblers. It is found that they related their experiences during the economic crisis. These responses corroborate among the respondents.

Gambler 08, owner of garage from a different district-“In the past when business was good, I had 10 mechanics, 4 worked on the wood work and 2 on the paint. Today I have only 2 mechanics and 3 interns from the vocational school. I no longer have people working on the wood work and only 1 doing the paint job. Despite the reduction, the income has not been big. In a week we can put together about 3 cars, each about 80,000 baht. After that 4-5 years, the price went up to 130,000 baht to even 200,000 baht. During Thaksin’s time one vehicle was 58,000 baht, we were rich. People had to book for 1-2 years to get a vehicle for 150,000 baht. At that time, we rented our place. My mother did not have the rights. After 10 years, we bought our own land for over a million baht. The house cost us 3 million. It is where we are now. After Thaksin was ousted, the bubble burst. We have to pay our staff eating into our savings. We have the capacity to make 3-4 vehicles per week. Nowadays, there is no order. Today if we have an order the vehicle is completed in 14 days. We have been using our old savings for 3 years now since the bubble burst. PM Prayuth does not support the farmers, so we also have no customers. We try to build up old vehicles. During Thaksin’s period, he supported the farmers and we had a good livelihood.” (personal communication, August 16, 2019)

The perspective of the respondent shows that the economic impact is the consequence of political factors. Therefore, turning to gamble on underground lottery helps to alleviate the problems during that period. In addition, gamblers also hope to depend on superstitious connection to bring them success in fortune seeking. For instance, it is the hope of Gambler 12, fabric shop owner-“I went to pray at the holy site of the Black Monkey Hermit in Pattaya resulting in winning 5 times in a row both underground and government lottery. Sometimes the win would be 2 or 3 digits above and underground. After 3 months, I went back to ask for more fortune through stocks

after paying for the accomplishment of the previous wish.” (personal communication, August 25, 2019)

Gambler 08, owner of the garage in another district revealed that he also hoped to be rich-“Since I realized that the economy was not good. I did not know what to do so I resorted to placing bets on underground lottery. I was lucky and my bets increased from 5 to 10 baht. The more I won the more I placed more bets. At that time the reward was 700 baht per baht bet. The biggest prize for the government lottery was the 5th prize from the number I interpreted from my dreams. I saw someone write the numbers in my dream so I bought 5 x 5 and 10 x 20. Some of the sellers gave 70 baht per baht bet some gave 65 baht. I bought from my friend and aunt, who gave 70 baht. I increased the bets from 5 baht to 10 baht to 100 baht to 200 baht. I always won so I was confident. Since the big flood in 1993, I have always helped the people giving food and making merit. This is why I always win. I don’t dream and still win. I have been winning for 3 years in a row with bets from 30 to 300 baht, eventually reaching 1000 x 1000. I won 500,000 baht.” (personal communication, August 16, 2019)

The experience of underground lottery gamblers in placing their hopes in bets is reflected in the eyes of those, who have endured economic hardships. Even in hard times they have decided to invest in placing bets in the hopes of improving their livelihood. The research findings indicate that middle-class underground lottery gamblers place bets to fulfill their mental needs. It is the hope in engaging in activities that create income and entertainment during tough times. Going out with friends to make wishes at holy sites, enables middle-class underground lottery gamblers to gain luck. They believe that the supernatural would grant their wish. In addition, the interpretation of dreams is a personal skill. If they told others, the results might vary. Some of them are very proud because the number might give them a chance to win. They also believe that they are blessed with good luck because they like to make merit.

The research findings reveal that some of the underground lottery gamblers did not get into the habit from economic hardships, but because of invitation from their friends at school or at work. Some of them support their friends or follow their family members. They become addicted to the thrill. The middle-class want to seek out new experiences as part of their taste in becoming modern. It becomes the topic for their interaction with others. There are role models for middle-class underground lottery

gamblers to follow. This leads to group behavior, which leads to the belief that placing bets on underground lottery is an accepted activity they engage with willingly.

The researcher has made the conclusion regarding the start of the gambling habit, money spent, number of tickets bought ranging from 1-20 tickets, and other gambling habits. There are some of the middle-class underground gamblers, who engage in other gambling, while others don't. The results are presented in the following table.

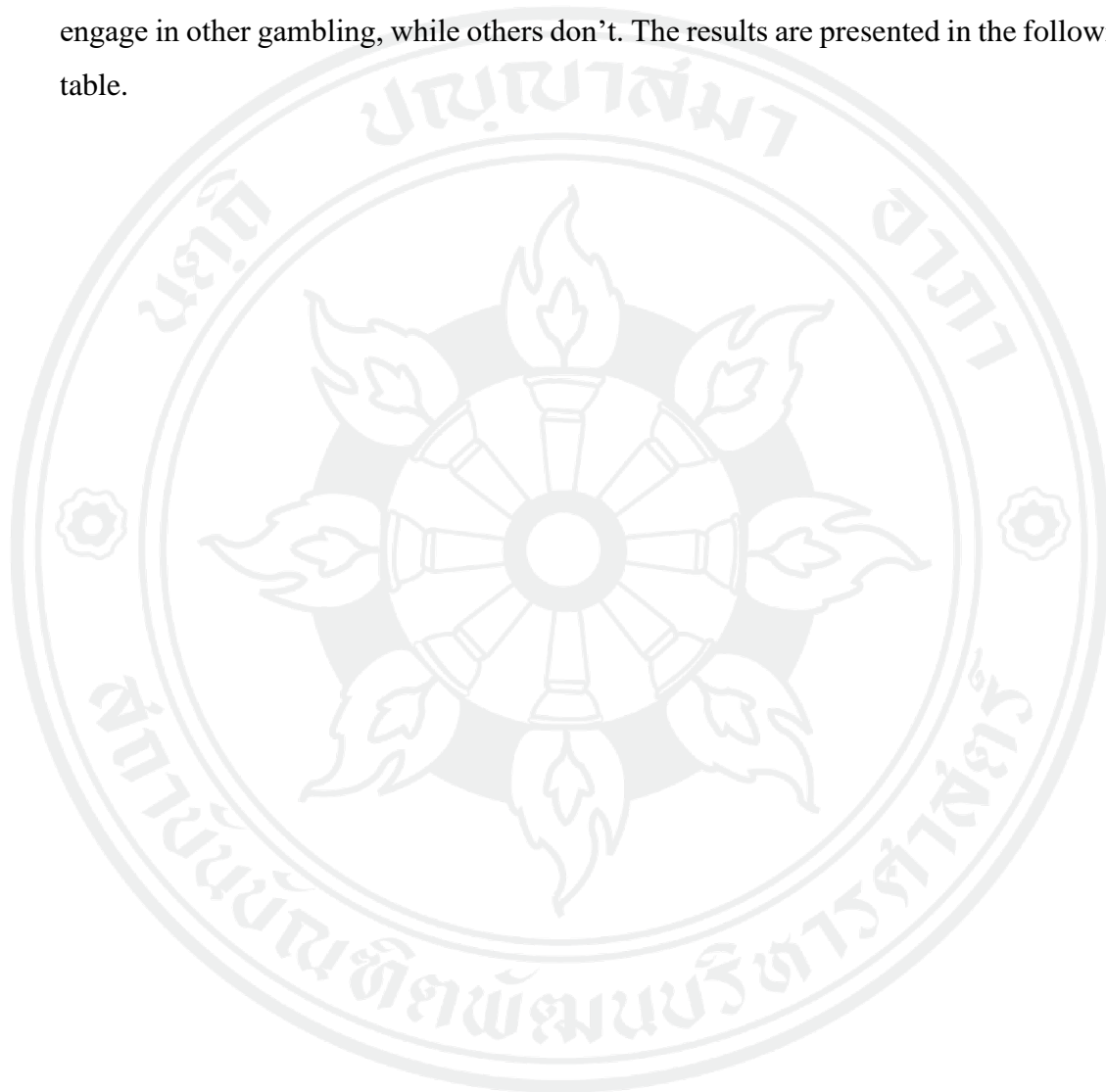


Table 4.2 Summarization of Middle-Class Underground Lottery Gamblers' Behavior

Designation	Starting Point of Gambling	Money Spent/Draw	Number of Lottery Tickets/Draw	Other Gambling
Gambler 01	Follow friends	3,000-7,000 Baht	15-20 Tickets	None
Gambler 05	Support friends	600-2,000 Baht	1 Tickets	None
Gambler 08	- Source of hope when business faced problems during 1997 - Income reduced from 12-13 million per year to less than 500,000 baht.	5,000-10,000 Baht	1-8 Tickets (Won the Fifth Prize Once)	Used to Gamble Stock Exchange Lottery
Gambler 09	- Follow others, friends, and relatives	1,000-5,000 Baht (Gave Business to Children then Reduced Purchase)	3 Tickets (Sometimes)	None
Gambler 11	- Follow office friends	300-500 Baht	20 Tickets (Family)	None
Gambler 12	- Hope during the business crisis of 1997 - Follow family members	5,000-6,000 Baht	6 Tickets Set	- Online Football Betting (Winning) - Pan-pah (in School)

Designation	Starting Point of Gambling	Money Spent/Draw	Number of Lottery Tickets/Draw	Other Gambling
				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rummy (Played in Youth up to Now) - Gamble on Snooker - Invest in Stocks - Football Gambling - Bet on Laos and Hanoi Lottery on the Website
Gambler 14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Fortune seeking - For fun - Like the thrill 	More than 1,000 Baht	5-10 Tickets	None
Gambler 15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Follow friends at the university 	500 Baht	1-2 Tickets	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Play Rummy Everyday - Laos Lottery - Hanoi Lottery

The research findings indicate that some of the gamblers followed their friends. Then it became a habit for every first and sixteenth of the month. They wait and would like to exchange tips on good numbers. This entices those who have never played to want to try. However, they cannot play directly so they need a middle-man. This leads to conversation and persuasion of clients. Thus, they feel obliged to place bets with those in their social circles. The research indicates that gamblers do not view placing bets on underground lottery as a bad thing. They do not accept that they are addicted to gambling, rather they play for entertainment. The research also found that the amount of money spent ranged from 600-10,000 baht, which does not have an impact on their livelihood.

Gambler 05, owner of retail shop-“My friend, who was looking for clients, asked me to place bets. Back then I got 500 baht for each baht bet. Now I only get 400 baht. I usually play with my friends and we continuously change dealers. It depends, who we are happy with. It doesn’t matter if we win or not as long as we are satisfied.” (personal communication, August 16, 2019)

Some of the respondents place bets with more than 1 dealer at a time. This is seen as a means to support their friends. Some choose the dealer based on the availability of bets on the numbers. They would also distribute their risk among dealers. In addition, some of the dealers want payment up front while others allow them to pay later. However, the most important issue is to maintain reputation so it is important to pay the amount due as soon as possible.

Gambler 09, watch serviceman-“Some of the sellers give a 5% discount some charge full. For instance, for the bet of 1,000 baht a 50 baht discount might be given. Some don’t give a discount at all because I don’t pay immediately. This means if the bet is 1,000 baht, I have to pay full, when it is due, I must pay to maintain my credit. (Gambler 09, August 16, 2019) The research findings indicate that the watch serviceman is not a high-status middle-class gambler. This is why he would choose to buy with whoever gives him the highest benefit and provides the numbers he wants. Even if the numbers desired are not sold, he would still try to find the option that provides the highest payment. From observation, he is very determined to win the prize money. He is also determined to keep his credit. This is not the behavior of the higher-level middle-class gamblers. They can choose to pay at any time, because the sellers

trust them. In addition, they are not in a hurry to get their prize money. They don't mind when the payment would be made.

However, the choice of this higher-level middle-class gamblers to place their bets depends on the level of privacy and trust. They change dealers only when it is absolutely necessary. This is because they started gambling by following those they meet regularly. They want a feeling of stability and safety, while not worrying about being arrested by the police. They just want to have peace of mind and entertainment. Gambler 01, owner of furniture store-"I started gambling because of the somtam vendor, who lives a few doors down from here. She really likes gambling so she invited me to join. When she tells me a number is good, I follow say she puts 100, I put the same amount. I have been placing bets ever since playing with my friends. I sometimes ask my friend to buy or I buy for my friends too." (Interview, August 11, 2019)

The research findings indicate that underground lottery gamblers, would choose to buy with those who offer convenient options for communications. For instance, it would be convenient to contact via Line or transfer money directly to the dealer. Some of the gamblers do not feel comfortable doing transactions online. They might prefer face-to-face meetings, as a result they would choose to place bets with people in the area or in their company. Some of them would choose people they are close even if they are in a different district or province. There are those who follow the seller, even if they have moved out of the area. They can submit the bets on Line. Also, there are those, who are concerned about placing bets through their friends. This is because they cannot afford to be responsible for the money lost and there is no way to guarantee that this would not happen.

Gambler 11, university lecturer-"Each person places their own bets. I don't do favors. I can give them the number of the seller. I do not take bets from anyone. If there is a problem, I would end up having to pay, since I am the middle-man. This is my policy. I still buy from one of my colleagues who has moved to another school. She still sells underground lottery. There is easy access through social media so I can just send my bets through Line. I buy this way. My friend even asked why I don't increase my bets. I said this is all I am going to do. I am very disciplined in how much I spend on gambling." (personal communication, August 23, 2019)

The interview results revealed that some of the underground lottery gamblers would ask the sellers to delete the record of their orders online immediately. They view this as a way to protect their data, in case the police arrest the seller, who would solely take the blame.

Gambler 01, owner of furniture store-“I would make a phone call. Let’s say after I send the Line message, I would delete it immediately. There was a seller, who was arrested but did not tell the police, I placed the bets. This is because the seller had many clients in the area. However, the people who placed bets earlier, were caught because their messages were found when the police raided the house of the seller.” (personal communication, August 11, 2019)

In addition, some of the gamblers are afraid their data would be hacked so they ask their friends to place the bets for them. These gamblers are very careful and try to protect themselves. Some of them don’t accept placing bets for others either.

Gambler 12, owner of fabric shop-“I don’t place bets myself because I tried signing up on a website. It required the account number and real name. I did not dare to apply. I am afraid it would be hacked, which would mean my name and account number would be at risk. This is why if any Facebook page requires full name and bank account number, I would not go in. I have never applied to any of these pages because I do not want my ID number, bank account number, name, and credit card number to be at risk. I prefer to have others to place bets for me.” (personal communication, August 25, 2019)

The researcher concluded the relationship between the middle-class underground gamblers, as not often changing their sellers. They do not usually change more than 3 times. The reason for change might be due to the movement of the seller out of the area or being cheated. The selection of the seller depends on the 5-25% discount. The channel of purchase is either face-to-face, phone call, or Line message. There is only one respondent, who reported placing bets on the webpage. Middle-class underground lottery gamblers do not have the experience in being cheated. They have the ability to create relationship and rely on long-term relationships. The sellers have the responsibility towards the clients. They have to maintain their customer base by creating more communications channels through telephone, Line chats, and other locations, where the seller can receive bets openly.

Table 4.3 Summary of the Relationship and Communications Channels between Middle-Class Underground Lottery Gamblers and Sellers

Designation	Selecting Sellers	Relationship with Sellers	Number of Seller Changes (Times)	Experience in Changing Sellers/Being Cheated	Communication Channels with Sellers
Gambler 01	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Closeness - Convenience in money transfer - Better rates than others 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Friends - Don't know dealer only know the person is from another district 	3 Times	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Was never cheated because did not spend a lot - Sometimes the middle-man owes money thus buy directly from seller - Seller moved home so had to change 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Telephone - Sending Line messages and tell seller to erase them quickly
Gambler 05	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Place bets with preferred seller - Don't mind rewards 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Close to seller for 10 years 	Never Change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Never change and get 25% discount - Was never cheated because known seller for a long time 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Walk to buy from seller near home

Designation	Selecting Sellers	Relationship with Sellers	Number of Seller Changes (Times)	Experience in Changing Sellers/Being Cheated	Communication Channels with Sellers
Gambler 08	- Friend with all sellers	Friend	3 times	- Seller quit selling so placed bets with other friends	- Telephone
Gambler 09	- Choose seller who gives best reward rates	People from same area	Buy from 3 sellers/ draw	- If certain numbers are not sold or dealer gives only half the reward money, gambler would change seller - Some sellers give 5 % discount	- Walk to buy directly, some require cash others allow payment to be made later
Gambler 11	- Close relationship still buy from same seller despite changing workplace	Friend from work	Alternate between 3 sellers	None - Some sellers give 10% discount	- Buy directly from dealer - Line message to dealer

Designation	Selecting Sellers	Relationship with Sellers	Number of Seller Changes (Times)	Experience in Changing Sellers/Being Cheated	Communication Channels with Sellers
Gambler 12	- Family do business together, familiar for a long time	Seller near home	Never change	Sellers near home give 25% discount	- Place bets through Line not Facebook because of fear of investigation
Gambler 14	- Close relationship	Friend from work	Never change	None	- Buy directly from dealer
Gambler 15	Sister's best friend	Pass through sister, who is middle-man	3 times	None	- Ask sister to buy in Line message - Buy from 2 friends at work - Buy from webpage

The results of the interview indicated that the middle-class gives importance to maintaining the relationship. They honor one another. They do not need to make the effort to maintain the credit because they can pay the amount due at the next draw. They support the relationship by placing bets with many dealers in a draw. Sometimes they would alternate between the dealers, with no concern about the rewards that they would receive or discounts.

Gambler 15, owner of holy relics business-“Placing bets online requires input of the credit card number. From what I heard from my friend; they would collect payment from the credit card so we need to register. However, it is a commitment that needs to be made. For me, I don’t want it. Although, I have the account, I have to provide my bank account details. I don’t feel comfortable because I am not sure about the security of the system. In addition, I am not the expert in this profession. I just play for fun and that’s it. For my friend, I know he sells because he used to accept bets. Before bets had to be paid and numbers faxed. Nowadays, it is a lot more convenient. Bets can be placed on Line and money transferred. There is no need to meet. People in other districts do not know how to do this so they still have to meet. This is why my friend, who is a seller, cannot go anywhere on the day of the draw. He has to sit there and take the bets. From what I know he is the major dealer in his district. He never asks me for the payment, this is the courtesy of trade.” (personal communication, August 31, 2019)

The prize money that would be received from the dealer has reduced for almost all of those interviewed. For instance, the prize of 2 digits is 70 baht but the payment would be 65 or 60 baht. The 3 digits is reduced from 500 baht to 450 baht or 400. The tote 3 digits would be reduced from 100 baht to 90 baht. This shows that there are more gamblers. The reduction in prize money enables the dealers to accept more gamblers, while reducing prize money payment. The reduction in prize money has no impact on gambling at all. The gamblers don’t mind as long as they can enjoy the thrill for entertainment, while they do hope to win. The period of time for receiving the prize and payment depends. This also has no impact on changing the seller because the gambler considers the relationship, trust, privacy, safety, and friendship the most.

Table 4.4 Experience in Winning Prize Money and Period of Time Receive-Make Payment

Designation	Experience in Winning the Highest Prize Money	Underground Lottery			Period of Time Receive-Make Payment
		2 Digits	3 Digits (Exact)	3 Digits (Tote)	
Gambler 01	Win 2 digits for 100 baht get 7,000 baht Don't play running numbers because it costs a lot	70 baht for every baht	500 baht for every baht	90 baht for every baht	Immediately no more than 1 day
Gambler 05	3 digits above and underground and win 200,000 baht	70 baht for every baht	500 baht for every baht	90 baht for every baht	- Can get money immediately - If lose maybe get paid in 5 days
Gambler 08	- Win 2 digits every draw - Sometimes win 3 digits - Won 3 digits and received 500,000 baht - Don't play running numbers because don't get percentage and has lower chance for winning	70 baht for every baht	Reduced from 450 baht to 400 baht for every baht	Reduced from 100 baht to 90 baht for every baht	- Pay and receive money immediately to maintain credit

Designation	Experience in Winning the Highest Prize Money	Underground Lottery			Period of Time Receive-Make Payment
		2 Digits	3 Digits (Exact)	3 Digits (Tote)	
Gambler 09	- Not play running numbers - Win 2 digits and won 300 baht	Reduced from 70 baht to 65 baht for every baht	Reduced from 450 baht to 400 baht for every baht	Reduced from 100 baht to 90 baht for every baht	Receive money immediately or next day
Gambler 11	Won underground lottery 9000 baht - Chose either above or underground - Play 2 digits alternately for 50 baht each - Don't play numbers that are not sold	sometimes 70 baht sometimes 65 baht sometimes 60 baht for every baht	-	-	Pay cash before lottery draw and get money the next day after the draw
Gambler 12	- Win 5 consecutive times within 3 months - Place 1,000 – 2,000 baht and buy 3 digits (exact number) - Win 8 – 12 times in a year	60 baht for every baht	-	-	Cash

Designation	Experience in Winning the Highest Prize Money	Underground Lottery			Period of Time Receive-Make Payment
		2 Digits	3 Digits (Exact)	3 Digits (Tote)	
Gambler 14	- Won the most 2 digits for 65,000 baht - Don't bet 3 digits because it is difficult to win only bet on 2 digits	70 baht for every baht	-	-	- Placing bets closes at 1PM - Get money on the day of the draw - If they lose they can pay before the next bet (pay late for one bet)
Gambler 15	Win twice a year often place 2 digits bets	65 baht for every baht	450 baht for every baht	90 baht for every baht	- Pay regularly for the bet - Online bets closes at 3 PM

The research findings indicate that the gamblers' experience in winning is usually based on the 2 or 3 digits. They don't prefer to bet on running numbers because it requires a high investment. Thus, it is not a worthy investment. For instance, if the bet is placed on 5 above for 100 baht and 3 digits that has 5 as one of the digits in any of the positions. If the number 5 appears as 1 or 2 or 3 of the digits, the gambler would get 300 plus the money invested. Most of the dealers only take cash and do not provide discounts for only running number bets. However, if bets are placed on 2 or 3 digits regularly in a high amount especially in the case of loyal clients, a discount might be given. It is found that some of the gamblers have techniques and tastes in gambling that are different. Ultimately, they believe they have the luck in fortune seeking, which is why they do not quit. They like to gamble and have the tendency to continue betting.

4.1.4 Taste of Underground Lottery Middle-Class Gamblers

The research findings indicate that underground lottery gamblers choose to buy numbers from things around them such as license plates, home address, age of people in the family, and age of family members, who passed away. They have regular numbers that they bet on every draw. Some of them also buy government lottery with the same numbers for every draw. This is considered "cultured gambling", which has a different perspective about numbers from the lower classes. Gamblers view numbers in a similar way or differently depending on the needs of individuals. This depends on calculation formula, interpretation of dreams, and expectations of the outcome, which would provide mental benefits for the investment. If the bets exceed the limit, the numbers they do not like would be cut. This results in a different logic in the strategy for placing bets of the middle-class, which is different from the lower-classes.

1) License Plates

Numbers close to the gamblers that are viewed as important are from the car license plates. If they have many cars, they would rotate the bets. Usually they would place bets on the license plate from their personal car. They also use dreams as the connection between vehicles such as cars and motorcycles.

Gambler 05, retail shop owner-"My car license plate is 6615. I place bets with the person I am pleased with. It doesn't matter if I win or not. My most recent bet is no more than 2,000 baht. For 2 digits I would get 70 baht, 3 digits 500 baht, and 3

tote 90 baht. I would buy 615, 15, and 51. It doesn't matter when I get paid if I win. Sometimes the payment is made 5 days after. For instance, I win I might get the money right away that evening. There is no need to wait. It seems like the seller would pay in advance. I also get 25% discount. I place bets with the seller, because I am happy with this person. I know everyone in the market so it doesn't matter if I win or not." (personal communication, August 16, 2019)

Gambler 01 furniture store owner-"People are now crazy about 22. It is in the news. Dealers have announced that 22 is not sold. Other numbers include 89, 98, 12, and 21. I don't understand why. I told the seller I don't mind if they don't take the bets. From past statistics, the winning numbers come from my address and pick-up truck number. Last time the number was 85 from the motorcycle. The numbers are usually revolving around these. It might be numbers of certain addresses like my residence in Bangkok. I just bet on the numbers from my 3 houses. Last draw I was really disappointed. My son complained that how could I forget such a number." (personal communication, August 11, 2019)

Usually, gamblers would connect the winning numbers to the numbers in their lives such as address and car license plates.

2) Home Address Numbers

Gambler 11, university lecturer-"My home address is 173. My dad would always buy the number 173. I tried following him with the hopes of winning. For my personal preference, I follow the numbers given by monks not the mediums though. I prefer number given by monks and I also buy numbers from hermits. I don't follow trends such as people giving birth on cars. I don't follow type of numbers. For instance, if the winning license plate is 96, I don't like 6 so I would buy 97 instead. I use news as guidelines. When I was studying my master's degree, I would look at the class dates like 17. I like 7 so I would buy it. It is also my address number. I like 7 so I feel confident. I think this way linking the numbers to things around me like my father. I would not buy the numbers I do not like." (personal communication, August 23, 2019)

The decision to buy a number depends on many factors in the individual's surrounding. There are not fixed rules. It is about the connection between the numbers that reflect personal preference and taste.

3) Not Sold Numbers

Research findings indicate that should gamblers prefer a number that happens not be sold, they would find a way to bet on it anyway. It does not matter whether they win or not. However, they would feel bad if they did not place the bets. If the not sold number ends up winning, some of the dealers might be unable to pay the reward money causing them to quit. Gambler 09, watch serviceman, explained that sometimes when the not sold number wins. The dealer ended up unable to pay because the winning number was the not sold number 85.

Sometimes the not sold number is the same as in the dream. This is truly coincidence. The research findings indicate that underground lottery gamblers are not interested in the not sold numbers featured in the media. They give importance to numbers they like, from their dreams, or are in their environment. Gambler 08, garage owner from other district, explained that the not sold number was the same as his dream, where he was talking to his friend and saw a Buddha image and monk floating. “The Buddha image was 5 and monk 8. A snake is 5 and if it squeezes the individual it is 6. I bought 56, which is not sold number so when I won I only got half the prize money.” (personal communication, August 16, 2019)

It depends on the feeling of the middle-class underground lottery gambler feel irritated about not sold numbers, which is quite numerous today. This makes it less entertaining to gamble. Although, the gamblers understand the business perspective that the dealer does not want to pay huge amounts of prize money if the not sold number actually wins because this would exceed the limit. According to gamblers, who have closely observed the phenomenon, they believe that the not sold numbers don’t usually win. Sometimes, the regular numbers don’t always win so they don’t buy all the time. If they feel that they do not get the full amount, it is better not to place the bets at all.

Gambler 15, owner of holy relics business – “I follow the number 89 from my CRV, which is 189. I have always bought this number since I got this car in February last year. I bought it every draw. I always told myself that if I did not buy it, the number might win. Last draw 89, was not sold number, which means I would get less reward if it won. If it is not sold, I usually do not buy because I am at a disadvantage. From 70 baht the reward is reduced to 35 baht. So I decided not to buy 89. From what I observe about 70% of the numbers that win, are from some important issue during the

time of the draw. This is true in Thailand, where the birthday of important people or their age would become not sold numbers. However, it does not mean that it always wins. I would put it at 70%, which is not too much.” (personal communication, August 31, 2019)

4) Age

Sometimes gamblers place bets on the age of the monk, deceased family members, number on the hospital bed, and age of the sick patient. These numbers combine with other factors in the environment that are out of the ordinary. Gamblers place bets on these numbers in addition to their regular numbers.

Gambler 08, garage owner from the other district-“Mostly I got the number from my dreams. If I don’t have any number in the dreams, I would buy the age of the monk I respect such as Luang Phor Khoon and Luang Poo Tuad. I follow these types of numbers.” (personal communication, August 16, 2019)

Gambler 12, owner of fabric shop-“I buy age of the patient, deceased family members, and hospital room number. This is because when I was in the hospital the room number won the 3 digits exactly in the beginning of this year, which was 426. I won prize money at that time.” (personal communication, August 25, 2019)

Gambler 15, owner of holy relics business-“I buy the age of my relatives like my grandmother. At the time of her death she was 65 and it was the winning number. Strange but true.” (personal communication, August 31, 2019)

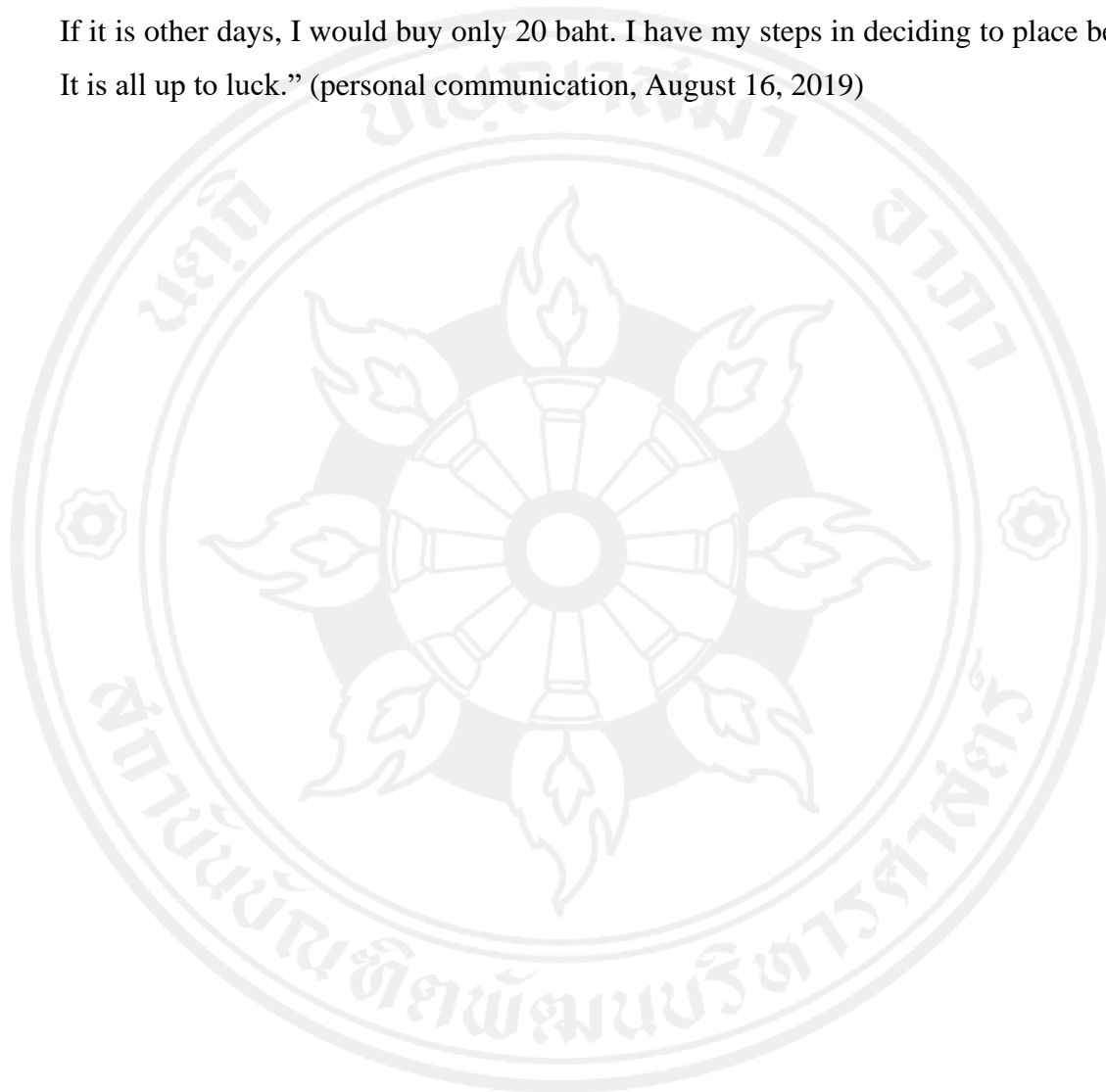
It can be observed that interpretations are made from age, car license plate numbers, and address numbers. Some buy regular numbers, while others have their own formula. They would take numbers from other sources and decide to place bets on the numbers that they have derived from their own skills. This is the outstanding feature of the middle-class underground lottery gamblers.

5) Number from calculations

Gamblers have the taste to follow regular numbers. They feel that they want to win or are attached to certain numbers. They are determined that those numbers would definitely win.

Gambler 09, watch serviceman-“I only share this formula with a few people. It is similar to the one they share in the Line, but I have an additional tip. I take into consideration on the day of the draw for instance Friday is 6 so Monday is 1. The

number goes on 1,2,3,4,5,6,7 all week. We don't know, which number will win so it is also dependent on our own personal preference. I have 3 regular numbers, which are 704, 825, and 260. I buy them every draw. For instance, this draw I bought 825 200x100. I don't know if I will win. I just keep following until I die. I also bet on 704 and 260 every draw. If it is Wednesday, Thursday, or Friday I would buy 200 baht each. If it is other days, I would buy only 20 baht. I have my steps in deciding to place bets. It is all up to luck.” (personal communication, August 16, 2019)



ให้เลขสองตัวมา ให้ดูตามนี้จะเข้าสามตัว

25	925	625	825	425	525	725	325	125	50	750	350	450	650	950	250	150	850
26	726	026	426	326	226	526	826	626	51	751	351	451	651	951	251	151	851
27	627	027	427	527	327	127	927	827	52	252	152	452	752	652	952	052	852
28	328	828	428	628	128	228	028	728	53	453	553	353	653	253	053	853	953
29	129	529	829	029	329	229	629	929	54	454	554	754	854	654	954	054	154
30	930	530	830	430	230	730	830	130	55	055	355	955	155	455	855	555	655
31	631	331	031	131	231	731	831	431	56	556	056	156	256	856	456	356	656
32	332	632	732	432	132	932	032	832	57	757	557	857	257	357	457	957	157
33	533	933	433	333	233	033	733	633	58	458	058	658	558	958	658	958	158
34	434	834	234	534	034	534	734	134	59	759	959	059	459	559	359	859	159
35	735	835	035	635	835	535	735	135	60	650	160	950	060	460	760	860	950
36	836	236	736	536	436	636	136	036	61	361	561	761	461	261	951	061	161
37	937	837	037	237	437	737	537	137	62	362	162	652	062	462	562	762	952
38	138	538	038	838	338	438	638	938	63	063	863	163	263	463	563	953	063
39	039	439	539	639	739	839	139	939	64	664	364	164	864	954	764	264	064
40	240	540	940	940	340	640	140	740	65	165	065	965	665	765	265	365	865
41	241	341	741	841	541	641	941	141	66	666	066	166	766	366	466	866	966
42	942	342	442	542	842	642	742	242	67	567	467	867	067	167	967	367	767
43	743	843	043	543	443	843	943	243	68	968	068	268	368	168	468	568	768
44	544	944	144	044	744	844	344	244	69	169	969	869	369	469	069	569	769
45	245	645	745	345	445	845	945	545	70	270	570	770	470	970	370	170	870
46	746	946	146	346	046	846	246	546	71	871	371	471	271	571	671	971	071
47	547	847	047	347	647	947	247	147	72	972	272	372	472	872	572	172	672
48	848	248	148	348	948	548	648	048	73	573	773	873	373	273	473	973	173
49	449	249	349	149	049	549	649	749	74	574	074	974	374	374	174	274	874

Front Page

เลขสองตัว ให้ดูตามนี้จะเข้าสามตัว

เลข	อาทิตย์ 47	จันทร์ 44	อังคาร 43	พุธ 44	พฤหัสบดี 46	ศุกร์ 46	เสาร์ 51
0	00-06	02-65	03-06	02-04	02-04	02-04	01-09
1	07-08	07-08	07-09	06-08	05-07	05-08	04-08
2	11-14	11-16	12-16	12-13	11-14	10-11	11-13
3	15-18	15-17	17-19	18-16	19-15	16-14	15-15
4	22-21	20-22	23-24	22-28	20-22	20-24	20-21
5	24-28	27-28	27-29	24-28	25-29	25-29	28-29
6	30-31	33-34	31-33	32-33	31-32	30-37	32-35
7	36-39	35-37	35-38	34-37	37-38	34-39	37-39
8	43-44	43-45	40-41	40-42	40-41	40-44	41-42
9	47-48	47-49	42-44	48-49	47-48	46-48	44-47
0	51-53	51-54	51-52	50-52	50-51	50-53	50-52
1	54-58	57-59	54-57	54-59	56-58	57-59	56-59
2	62-63	63-66	65-67	63-62	60-63	61-64	62-64
3	67-68	67-69	68-69	65-68	66-67	66-67	66-68
4	70-74	74-75	71-73	70-72	70-72	70-74	72-73
5	78-79	78-79	78-79	74-75	73-75	75-78	76-78
6	80-81	83-85	81-83	84-85	82-84	80-81	83-85
7	82-83	87-88	87-88	87-88	85-87	85-86	86-89
8	91-92	90-93	92-93	98-94	94-92	94-92	93-93
9	93-96	97-98	97-98	97-98	97-98	97-98	96-98

Back Page



Calculation Paper

Figure 4.1 Numbers based on the Birthdate of Luang Phor Ngern and Prayers
Source: Gambler 09, Watch Serviceman, August 16, 2019

The research findings indicate that gamblers interpret the numbers from the table on the “Birthdate of Luang Phor Ngern and Prayers” (Front Page) and “Perpetual Winning Numbers” (Back Page). The respondent allowed the researcher to take this photograph as a special favor. This is his secret formula that he does not normally share. The interpretation depends on the day of the lottery draw. The numbers have to be picked up from the table. It can be observed that some of the numbers repeat often. This depends on the interpretation that is calculated on a separate piece of paper, which is the skill of the individual. There might be discrepancies depending on the individual. The respondent said that he often won. But he said that whether he gets a profit from the bets placed is a different issue. This is dependent entirely on the discretion of the individual.

The aforementioned example shows that placing bets on numbers depend on the gamblers’ environment. They first have to make the decision to place bets then choose the numbers. This also depends on whether the number is not sold or not. Also, whether the number would win is totally coincidence. Most of the gamblers do not believe that not sold numbers do not usually win. They usually interpret the winning numbers with the factors related to their lives.

Gambler 08, garage owner in other district-“In the last draw the winning number was 006, which was not sold. I like 0 so I would buy one with zero. I might buy 01 or 10. I usually choose the lower number. When it was 58 underground. I bought 5, which is less than 8 so I choose 5 and reduce it to be 4. My mother likes 49 and 43. The number 8 can be increased to 9 in the same way 5 can be 4. So, if it is 0 then it would be 1 and vice versa. Sometimes 8 can be interpreted as 3, which is the same number like 6 and 9. The number would then be 06 and it could be replaced with 9. After interpretation the result is 49. I don’t look at any statistics. Sometimes, I win and other times I don’t. It is not always successful but it is my belief. I think I always win though.” (personal communication, August 16, 2019) The formula for increasing or decreasing numbers that come out in each draw is dependent on personal formulas. When they win it reiterates their believes and boosts their confidence. Respondents design their own formula and inform the researcher as a special favor.

4.1.5 Media and the Decision to Place Bets on Underground Lottery by Middle-Class Gamblers

The research findings indicate that middle-class gamblers have a common character by having a problem in their minds that they place bets on regularly. They might also watch television and social trends from the conversations on social media. These factors take part in the decision making. They do not rely on the statistics because they have their own favorite numbers. Also, they would consider if there are important dates they need to consider. Thus, there is no need to see back dated statistics. They consider probability. However, if the numbers that are popular do not fit or fit their favorite numbers would also affect their decision. The personality of middle-class underground lottery gamblers would be high self-confidence. They feel that they are better than others, which is why they are lucky and win often. These people think that they can win over the underground lottery gambling game.

Gambler 15, owner of holy relics business-“Applications also give away good numbers (shows researcher the phone). I don’t really look at them though. They would summarize the statistics. When I look at the details, they would invite me to place bets. Since, I don’t want to pay, I won’t look at them. I don’t buy because I am concerned about the security. If it requires me to register to see information, I feel that it is a commitment and it could be connected to my identity. I sometimes look for information on Facebook or on applications. But I don’t just look into any content. If I am not confident, I would not look or access it.” (personal communication, August 31, 2019)

Underground lottery gamblers are highly concerned about their security. This is because they are interested in content that gives numbers. But they are not willing to take the risk.

Underground lottery gamblers’ media literacy results from the lack of trust in terms of security. From their experience, gamblers listen to their friends and join pages that gave out good numbers. The respondents explained that these pages did not last that long. The page owners create them to do business and often create new pages. They would boast about the donations and winnings on their pages. However, this is not limited to underground lottery, thus it includes Laos and Hanoi lottery. These phenomenon on social media has become the norm in Thai society.

Gambler 12, owner of fabric shop-“The more the look at it, the more it is scattered. I think it is important to have faith in myself. When I gamble it is like checking my luck daily. There are ways to do so through Hanoi and Laos lottery that can be accessed on 30-40 pages. I have seen that there is a person, who comes in to give some good numbers. If the number happened to win, this person would give their number and account number asking for donations. They open a bank account for donations. Nowadays it is business. These people would open Facebook pages and close them in a repeated cycle. They easily make money by creating a good image to gain donation. For example, a person might open 3 Facebook pages being a guru, rich guru, and guru whatever. After that person could give a number. It might win in the Hanoi lottery then this person would ask for donations in exchange for the hint. They can easily make a living like this. When the Facebook page starts to have issues, it would be closed. A new page would be opened like this continuously. (personal communication, August 25, 2019)

From the research findings, the researcher could conclude that the taste of middle-class underground lottery gamblers is to enjoy themselves. They interpret numbers from the environment having the number that they always follow. When they have an important event in their life, they would use this to interpret and get a number. The respondents might interpret certain things in the same way while differed on others. However, they have a common belief in getting numbers from their environment. They are not interested in not sold numbers. The decision to buy it or not depends on their discretion. It is their choice to buy their favorite number if it is not sold. They could choose not to do so or accept the fact that if they placed the bet, they would get a lower reward. The thrill is reduced when there are many not sold numbers causing irritation. Therefore, they might change the dealer or buy government lottery instead.

To understand the economic and social phenomenon underground lottery gamblers do not indulge too much. They are reasonable and media literate realizing that the reporters just did their duties. Every news station wants to present good numbers. There are also those who create pages to seek donation from the lucky winners. Underground lottery gamblers seek information carefully. They are always doubting about security and prefer not to have to risk anything.

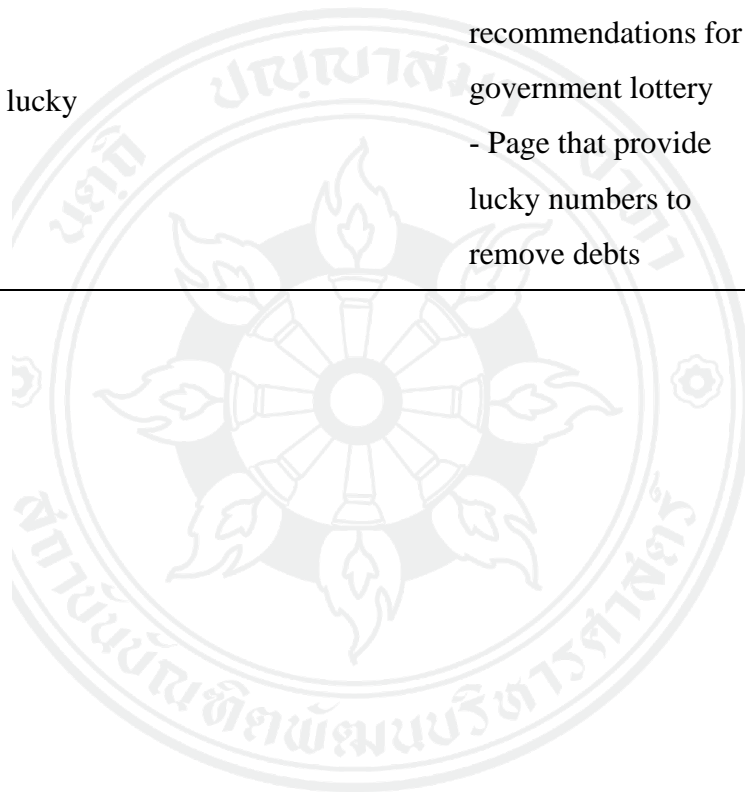
Table 4.5 Source of Numbers, Opinion about Statistics, Numbers from Media, and Not Sold Numbers

Designation	Source Number	Statistics	Number from Media	Not Sold Numbers
Gambler 01	- Dreams - Car license plate - Motorcycle license place - Home address - Follow friends - Follow client - Age of family members (age of dead father)	Not look and believe in own sources of information	Look at good numbers Facebook page	Not bet on not sold numbers unless it is number in mind. In this case government lottery is preferred.
Gambler 05	- Car license plate (Regularly buy 2 and 3 digits)	Don't believe Don't buy many numbers not worth it	Don't watch it	If the number not sold it the favorite number, prefer not to buy because it is not worth it

Designation	Source Number	Statistics	Number from Media	Not Sold Numbers
Gambler 08	- Dream of friends, snakes, PM, and interpret numbers	- Don't consult statistics but believes that the same numbers keep winning - Reduce the number, has personal formula	Get numbers from television but believes dreams more	- Buys only when not sold numbers are in dreams - In case it is favorite number but would not invest much
Gambler 09	- Number from taken tree - number from medium - interpret from dreams - 3 regular numbers	Check statistics and power number of the day	- Watch good numbers message on Line - Watch PM	- If number not sold or have to pay for half of the bet, would rather change seller
Gambler 11	- Follow others - Follow monks numbers - car license plates - like 7 and not like 6	Don't look at statistics	- Not interested in numbers from media - Not use number from dreams -Not interested in PM car's license plate	- Not interested
Gambler 12	- Interpret from dreams	Remember statistics	- Depends on government, which in	- If certain numbers are not sold, prefer to buy government lottery

Designation	Source Number	Statistics	Number from Media	Not Sold Numbers
Gambler 14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Month of birth - Birth date - Car license plate - Number from holy relics - Age of deceased family members - Interpret dreams, fish is number 8 	Don't look at statistics	<p>this era is usually the same numbers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - creates blind faith - Government uses underground lottery to gain popularity indirectly - Search on IG would result in many underground lottery number results - 80% of the underground lottery comes from important events 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - These numbers are issued to protect the dealer. It is irritating.

Designation	Source Number	Statistics	Number from Media	Not Sold Numbers
Gambler 15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Scratch trees - Interpret dreams - Page that presents lucky numbers 	Don't look at statistics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Free numbers recommendations for government lottery - Page that provide lucky numbers to remove debts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - These numbers are seen in the news. - Don't usually buy these numbers.



Watching television or mass media included interviews of winners for instance “PM is aged 42 so buy 42. The address is 34/5 so buy the number. Some listen to Kamchanote numbers, which is 26. This is the number I like so I bought it. I played 500 x 500 for 25. I won 500, which is from a major accident. I don’t usually like to bet on these numbers because it comes from misfortune. Usually, it does not win either.” (Gambler 08, Garage owner, August 16, 2019)

The interviews reveal that the numbers the gamblers expect would win are the numbers they have in mind. They would connect this to good things in their life such as new car, home address, or monk advice. There are few, who rejoice in misfortunes such as accidents. They believe this sort of numbers don’t usually win. The decision to place bets depends on the individual. Some choose to play around with the numbers for instance 42 might be reversed to be 24. There is the decision to buy 3 exact numbers or 3 tote. The multiplication (x) sign when calculated from 500 baht for tote would mean 1,000 baht. The search for numbers of middle-class underground lottery gamblers is connected to the culture of fortune seeking that has strong roots in Thai society.

4.1.6 Beliefs Associated with Underground Lottery Gambling of the Middle-Class

The research findings indicate that the middle-class have a good social and economic standing. They give importance to the system of thoughts, analysis, and interpersonal communications for gambling before placing bets. They would interpret information from dreams, beliefs in major Buddhist days as a good day to win with double numbers, and numbers from candle drops in holy water.

1) Dream Interpretation

Interpretation of dreams might include situations, people, or even pets. Gamblers would connect what they can remember. “It is up to the interpretation. For instance, we could dream of snakes, birds, chicken, and turtle. Bird is 1; chicken is 9; turtle is 4; and dog is 9. In my family when the dog in the house gives birth, my mom always wins. We also have the millionaire plant. Sometimes while eating we would see the number on the leaves. We can see 32, 35, or 37. The number from the plant usually comes on underground and rarely above the ground.” (Gambler 08, garage owner, August 16, 2019)

2) Scratching Numbers

The research findings indicate that scratching trees for numbers is a common activity among middle-class underground lottery gamblers. This is a culture that has been passed on for generations. Some of the gamblers have absorbed this behavior since as long as they can remember. They grow up in families where people gamble on underground lottery. Community members also gamble. Everywhere they turn people are gambling. It is part of the conversation to the point it becomes a common thing. Everything is interpreted in regards to the numbers becoming a part of their conversation even in adulthood.

Gambler 14, private company employee-“When I was a child, I would like to go and scratch for numbers from tree trunks. My mom and dad would go together at night. We like to sneak around the village to find numbers. There are many holy sites in Surin, where we can ask for numbers. Those who always win would tell us about the place that is particularly accurate. When a place becomes famous people would go to scratch and ask the trees for numbers. They sometimes bring powder or interpret from the bark. Others bring joss ticks and candles. Others bring number squares that produce numbers.” (personal communication, August 31, 2019)

The research findings indicate that people follow the behavior of their role models, which are family or people in the community. Gambling becomes a part of the fortune seeking activity of the community. It is done regularly as part of the Thai lifestyle. People usually ask for numbers from the bodhi tree and put powder so that they can clearly see the number.

Gambler 08, garage owner-“Usually people ask the bodhi tree. When I was a kid there was bodhi tree behind the house. So, I told my aunt to ask the tree. We won 9 times in a row. We use powder and would see numbers. There are 10 people in my family. Nine of them won 9 times in a row. After the ninth time others started to follow so we never won again after that. It was a family that also owned a garage. They are out of business now. The owner was sick so they came to look for numbers. When they won they brought food. It is the tradition not to feed them. The angels would grant the wish, if they want to. If they are full, they would not give numbers. For us we always look for numbers, say the banana has a weird fruit. We would count it and maybe put

powder. We do the stuff that you see in the clips that are being passed around.” (personal communication, August 16, 2019)

From the anecdote above, it could be seen that gamblers have beliefs associated to their luck. For instance, they know what kind of offerings to make and keeping the number a secret from others, otherwise they would not win continuously. This joint experience with friends in adventuring to find numbers is fun, when they make interpretations regarding the number. They can brag about their numbers and experiences, thus gaining acceptance in their social circles.

Gambler 08, garage owner-“I went Nakhon Sawan to the place where hundreds of thousands of people flock to get numbers. I won 200 baht. I went only one time because it is quite far. There were 4 of us, who went. The path was deep and dark. We had to go to Nakhon Sawan early in the morning. There is a very famous monk, who is 98 years old. There was a soldier their too. He said he won dozens of times by scratching the trees. But only my mom won 200 baht. My friends did not win. There were five of us including the driver. My friend and his girlfriend had no luck. My mom told them there was this number. They did not believe her. My mom came back and reversed it. She won 200 baht. I went there once only because it is very far. The walk alone is 10 km. There are also a lot of people. So, it is way too time consuming. I have decided to look for numbers close by instead.” (personal communication, August 16, 2019)

The research findings indicate that middle-class parents and their children have number seeking behavior. Scratching for numbers is not the main activity but rather the experience of going on a trip together. It becomes a challenge, where people try their luck. This is evident in the explanation that the respondent gives regarding why he won and others did not. The respondent feels proud to be accepted. He also gained the reputation as a guru, thus receiving the task to occasionally predict the winning numbers. Almost all of the respondents believe that telling numbers to others would reduce their chances of winning. They believe that the luck is personal. It is a special charm that cannot be passed or shared with others. This makes them feel that they are special because they have an ability that cannot be copied. This combines the beliefs in numbers and the concept that numbers would change due to the conversation. There are special techniques to deny giving numbers, this is because they

believe that numbers would change. As a result, the other person in the conversation would have to try to find a way to get the number on their own.

3) Buddhist Lent as a Lucky Day

The research indicates that there is a belief among those, who often win, that during the Buddhist Lent there is a higher chance to win. This is another belief on one's own personal experience to the point that the dealer did not have enough money to pay. As a result, the dealer went out of business. Gamblers have the psychology that motivates them to want to seek for more fortune. The feeling of winning over the dealer makes them feel more motivator. These people would talk about it to everyone and openly reveal themselves.

Gambler 08, garage owner—"During the Buddhist Lent, the numbers received would particularly be more accurate. There are those who get numbers from the takien tree or whatever tree. They would use the five-baht coin from Rama I or whatever coin. They would take this coin along and get the number. I did not want to change dealer but since they went out of business, I had to." (personal communication, August 16, 2019)

4) Double Digits on Buddhist Days

The research findings indicate that most of the people would relate the story that double digits or the same number would come out twice on Buddhist days. Middle-class underground lottery gamblers take into consideration such stories in placing their bets. However, double numbers are rare and having them occur on Buddhist holidays are pure coincidence.

Gambler 15, owner of holy relics business—"I have always heard about it. When asked if this is true, I think double numbers do come out. Even recently the double numbers have come out before Buddhist days. I think it is possible but not often. I think that if the Buddhist day is the same day as lottery drawing, there is a low probability in matching it. There are on average 1 Buddhist day per week and there are 2 lottery drawing days a month. Statistically, there is a low probability. However, there are many people, who think like this. Personally, I think double numbers are rare." (personal communication, August 31, 2019)

Gambler 09, watch serviceman—"I have heard people talking about it. But I don't think it is like that. The Buddhist day and double numbers should not be related.

However, some people believe that. I think such double numbers might appear after every 5 draws. I think they are not easy to come by and I don't think it comes on Buddhist days either.” (personal communication, August 16, 2019)

5) Candle Drops in Holy Water

Research findings indicate that middle-class underground lottery gamblers would come together with their friends. They do not really expect good numbers that fit their own ideas. They travel to the monk to get numbers more out of curiosity. The monk would give numbers to their followers. The respondents explained their experiences as followers come together to interpret the numbers in the holy water. Gamblers believe that the ability to see numbers depends on each person. With this variety in interpretation, there is a possibility that someone would win. It is the hope of individuals that eventually they would be the one, who would win from among the friends. However, if they do not win, they would not lose faith in the monk. Rather they would say that their luck might come eventually. They don't miss the chance to travel and seek their fortune.

Gambler 11, university lecturer-“At Sikiew there is a monk, who has a begging bowl with holy water in it. He would drip the candle into the water, while praying. After some time, he would invite the followers to see the bowl and receive their good fortune. He checks the time they spend looking at the numbers because there are many followers. It does not mean that the bowl is there for everyone to see. On that day some of my friends saw 6 and 9 but I don't like these numbers.” (personal communication, August 23, 2019)

In this study the researcher collected data from visiting the medium of Guan Yin. The researcher used participative observation in order to interact with the middle-class underground lottery gamblers. The medium tries to give numbers to the followers. The role is the granter of wealth through the power of supernatural powers. The Line group would share this information. When some people win, they would make merit with the medium. However, if they do not keep their promise, they would be punished. The person would be removed from the Line group. In addition, they have to post about their winning on Facebook. This would inform others about the holiness of the medium as explained in the following section.

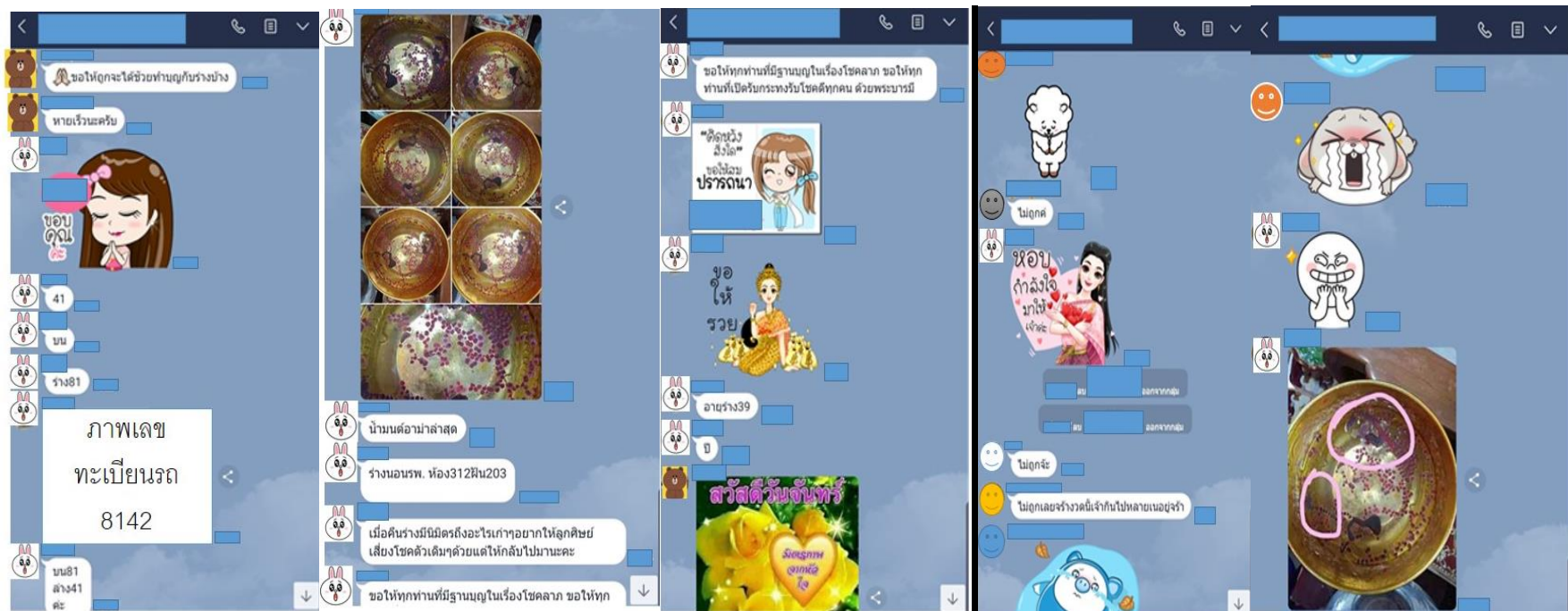


Figure 4.2 Conversations between Medium with the Line Group of Followers

Note: Personal Line group, January 1, 2020

The group has its own rules and conditions for members as indicated by the medium, who would explain that it was up to the people to believe in the numbers given. It is something voluntary. The medium would communicate in the Line to confirm with the followers individually before the rewards would be announced for each of the draws. The medium would show closeness and commitment that encourages posts. Punishment is the banishment of followers from the group. This would result in losing face. The medium has the power to warn the members regarding their behavior. Failure to comply with the group's regulations would be result in removal from the group. If they want the lucky numbers, they need to respect "Grandma" or Guan Yin. Belief in the medium is personal discretion.

Table 4.6 Summarization of Beliefs Held by Middle-Class Underground Lottery Gamblers

Designation	Beliefs in Luck/Make Wishes	Beliefs from Monks/ Temples/ Scratch from Trees	Money from Underground Lottery
Gambler 01	- Believe in luck because like fortune seeking - Don't go to make wishes to win	Superstitious	- When win lottery bring friends out to celebrate
Gambler 05	- Make a wish and offered to quit if win prize - Would offer pig head to the house guardian spirit	Only buy car license plate	- Use money from winning to make merit
Gambler 08	- Believe in luck because often wins only misses 3-4 draws	- Continue scratching trees	- When win would give gift to children, give mobile phone to

Designation	Beliefs in Luck/Make Wishes	Beliefs from Monks/ Temples/ Scratch from Trees	Money from Underground Lottery
	- Believe in dream interpretation - Believe in winning every start of Buddhist Lent - Made a wish but did not win - Offer alms to accumulate merit	- Lucky number from monk (travel or not depends on distance) - Don't bet on the number from dead people - On the lottery draw day have to maintain good mood	staff, and bring staff to celebrate (special meal)
Gambler 09	- Believe in luck	- Number from takien tree - Number from medium	- Treat friends
Gambler 11	- Believe in luck and money won would be used to make merit - Believe in being a hopeful person	- Number from Sikew hermit - Interpret from candle drops in begging bowl	- Make merit with hermit - Make merit in orphanages - Don't celebrate
Gambler 12	- Gambling is considered luck check up	- Make a wish to win with Black Monkey Hermit	- Hot money that needs to be used to make merit or give away on Facebook and Line
Gambler 14	- Winning depends on luck	- Don't believe in supernatural powers but bets on license	- Celebrate with friends

Designation	Beliefs in Luck/Make Wishes	Beliefs from Monks/ Temples/ Scratch from Trees	Money from Underground Lottery
		plate after transporting large Buddha images	
Gambler 15	- Believe in luck	- Scratch trees since young age	- Part of money is used for merit making - Treat friends in office

4.1.7 Expressing Emotions and Feelings of Underground Lottery Gamblers

Underground lottery gamblers want to win and when they do so, they want to express their feelings of excitement. They use interpersonal communications and communicate on their social media. They create online identity to support the relationship and brag about their win. They would celebrate with their friends and post it on their Facebook. They would post as winning government lottery to maintain their relationship. They respondents use words that show that they do not believe that there is anything wrong with their actions. The image projected is of winning in the government lottery. If they win only the underground lottery, they would not post. Some would post just for fun that they have lost their bet among their friends.

1) Expressions of Happiness-The research findings reveal that underground lottery gamblers want to present their excitement as winners, who have won the prize money. They would celebrate on their special day as explained in the following section.



ถูกตั้ง 1 ใบ ก็ดีใจแล้ว 😄😄

#รู้สึกรอยยิ้มมาทันที 😄😄



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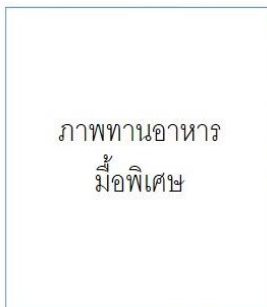
and 98 others

9 Comments



ถูก 2 ตัว 2 ใบ

จัดไป .. ไก่ 3 จาน 😄😄



and 98 others

5 Comments

Figure 4.3 Facebook Posts of Gamblers, who Won the Government Lottery

Celebration on special occasions with their employees and friends. This depends on the money that they won. Some, who don't place high bets would only treat others to coffee or not treat at all. Some, who don't win too much, they would treat their friends. It is reciprocated in nature, where they support one another. Some of the winners do have big celebrations even if they have not yet received the money from the sellers.

Gambler 08, garage owner-"I got exact 3 digits with a bet of 1,000 baht so I got some 500,000 baht. I treated people for a total of 5,000 baht, even without getting the money yet. My children eventually got the money, 580,000 baht. They gave me one mobile phone and then bought mobile phones for each of the employees." (personal communication, August 16, 2019)

The gamblers present the image of their celebrations and happiness on Facebook. They would show how they gave things to others. The respondents used such behaviors to reiterate their gambler identity in the eyes of others. They are viewed as wealthy, having many employees, and have good luck. They are the anchor of the family in times of economic crisis. The money would enable the family environment to be happy again with better livelihood. This becomes the occasion to show off their wealth by being able to afford such food in daily life.

2) Merit making-The research findings indicate that respondents express their identity, with no wish for benefits. People would like to present and communicate through interpersonal communications. Whether they win or not, they would make merit. The choice is who would benefit from the merit making. Gamblers choose the sellers based on the relationship, strong ties. The merit making would happen after the money is collected from the dealer. It is a fortune that has to be sacrificed to others since it was not gained through work.

Gambler 05, retail shop owner-"I would like to choose the numbers I like. I do it for fun so I did not think about profits. So when I win, I would make merit right always. I use this money to make merit." (personal communication, August 16, 2019)

Gambler 11, university lecturer-"I make merit at the hermit's place. They have a donation box for the utilities. I made 1,000 baht. I also made merit at the Nakhon Ratchasima Orphanage and Friendship Home. I divide the donation in half for each

place. No one gets a free lunch so I would like to pass on the good will.” (personal communication, August 23, 2019)

The researcher found that some of the respondents believe that by winning they should make more merit. This makes it easier because it is an additional income to their monthly wages. It is part of the expenses that they need to make. Losing money in placing bets is like other monthly expenses such as baby milk, pampers, car installment, room rent, and fuel. Thus, the money expenditure in placing underground lottery bets does not affect the livelihood of the gamblers.

3) Feelings of sadness-If there is winning there is also losing. The fun is not only about winning. The results show that gamblers express their loses as something funny. Some of gamblers just play for fun, however sometimes they express feelings of sadness, when they want a number and ended up not buying it. The result is the feeling of sadness comes from not placing the bet on a winning number. Some of them when they lose, they do not talk to others for a few days.

Gambler 09, watch serviceman-“Placing bets on the phone is not as exciting. I prefer to buy from the seller directly. When I win, I would brag about it but when I lose, I just keep quiet. It is just human instinct.” (personal communication, August 16, 2019)

4.1.8 Expressing Identity of Middle-Class Underground Lottery Gamblers

The research findings indicate that the expression of identity of gamblers is more than just the expression of happiness and sadness. They express themselves as givers. They would celebrate, give people around them, and treating a special meal. It could be observed that members in social media might distribute money on Facebook. They would express themselves as gamblers and would give money for free to those who join their activities. They do not think too much.

The respondent bet on the stock market and played dummy regularly. This person had the experience since their youth. The respondent believes that he has the luck in gambling. He would give this money to others because he considers it as sinful money.

Gambler 12, fabric shop owner-“Underground lottery has two draws a month. There are 22 days of stock trading, it is incomparable. There are only 2 draws in Thailand so people can bet in Laos and Hanoi. I also invest in Malay lottery. Therefore, I place bets every day. There are more options than stock trading. Underground lottery cannot be predicted. There is no way to expect from it. So, when I get money, I would donate the money. I would keep 10% for instance if I get 10,000 baht, I would give 1,000 baht like that (personal communication, August 25, 2019).

In addition to the interview, the researcher observed the situation on Facebook belonging to the gamblers. The observation shows that gamblers project the image as givers. They would post to show their friends to join activities with them to get money from the winning of the 2 digits underground. Sometimes the gambler wins 3 digits above the ground. These posts would express the regulations for presenting their comments. In case they wanted to invite someone special, they would be contacted in the chat box. The method for creating network of well-wishers of friends. They accept their identity in the online social media. They allow their friends to post comments on Facebook in advance, which included guessing the winning numbers, which was 20. The Facebook owner contacted the winners through the chat box and transferred the money.

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#เฟสมี ไม่รับนะคับ ลบทิ้ง คิดดีๆก่อนจะโงง ระวังคำสาบ

โอนสด หลังเลขออก
ไม่ต้องโลศ ไม่ต้องแชร์
ทายเบอร์ได้เน้นพอ

26 ความคิดเห็น 65 รายการ

55
21 ชม. ถูกใจ ตอบกลับ

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76
20 ชม. ถูกใจ ตอบกลับ

ปีดละเนื้อ
19 ชม. ถูกใจ ตอบกลับ

Figure 4.4 Post on Facebook to Friends to Invite Them to Join the Profit Sharing Activities

After the Covid-19, the government lottery had postponed two draws on April 1 and May 2 to May 16, 2020. Gamblers changed the activities for their friends to base it on the Government Savings Bank lottery on May 2, 2020 as presented in the following images.

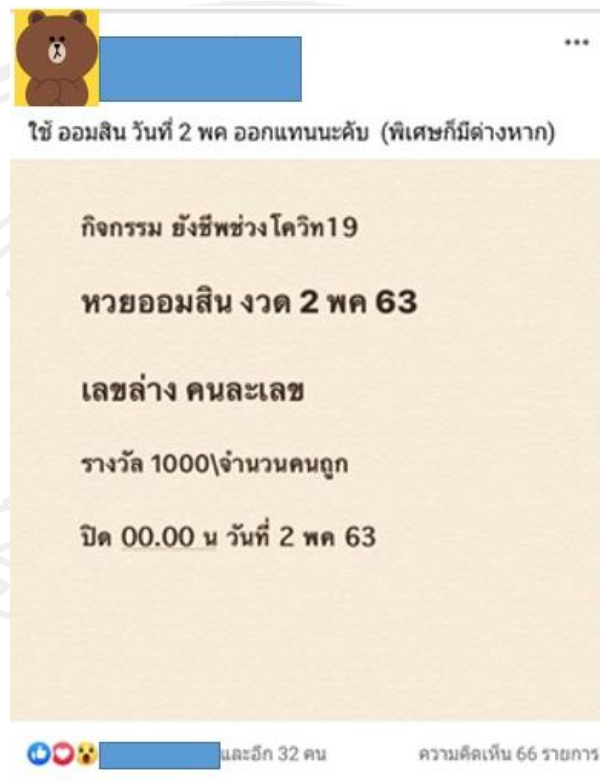


Figure 4.5 Post on Facebook to Friends to Invite Them to Join the Profit Sharing Activities during Covid-19

The research indicated that the expression of the middle-class underground lottery gamblers identity have both similarities and differences. In the social dimension, gamblers place bets for entertainment, support their friends, and develop conversation topics. Underground lottery becomes an activity promoting friendship creating an identity of fun. However, if they lose too much money, they no longer want to play. The belief in luck supports the hope in winning at the underground lottery to create an emotional remedy. Also, there is the creation of a feeling of generosity helping those in need, when they win the underground lottery. This includes treating their friends and making merit. This cultural aspect differentiates the middle-class from the other classes.

Their social circles got them started in the gambling habit in the first place. In terms of economics, this group does not place bets until they run out of money creating social problems. The middle-class gamblers proudly present themselves as skillful and more capable than others. Thus, they achieve the status as guru in predicting the winning number.

In terms of the identity presentation of gamblers, the researcher has categorized this phenomenon into two groups. This includes the presentation in reality and on social media. The research findings indicate that in reality, gamblers present themselves as gambling in moderation and in a reasonable manner. Travelling to scratch trees to find numbers is an activity to make friends. Winning or not is not that important because it is all about luck. Thus, they rationalize that not winning means it is just not yet their luck to win. Sometimes the gamblers believe that their luck with the seller and dealer might not get along well.

Underground lottery gamblers present themselves on social media through posts. Some like to post while some don't post when they win. Others like to post when they lose. Most of them post in a way that people would think that they won the government lottery. They would tell their close friends through Line that they actually won the underground lottery. From the research, it could be concluded that middle-class gamblers are not very open. They only present sufficient information to maintain good relations.

Table 4.7 Summarization of the Identity Presentation of Middle-Class Underground Lottery Gamblers

Designation	Self-representation of Underground Lottery Gamblers in Real Life	Self-representation of Underground Lottery Gamblers on Social Media
Gambler 01	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Believe that just gamble a bit - Accept bets from family and close friends - Don't tell family members, who oppose gambling, about actual amount spent - Believe in luck, only missed 3-4 draws - Get upset when lose money 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Don't post on social media - Line messages with friends
Gambler 05	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Admit gamble on underground lottery - Accept bets without taking commission - If lose for many times, start wanting not to bet 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Usually post when lose money
Gambler 08	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Join volunteer groups, cultural council, Red Cross, and talk about underground lottery - Share formula with friends, happy when give friends lucky numbers - Scratch trees with friends - Openly reveal self with no fear of the police because believes in dealer protection - If lose money, it is just about luck 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Don't post on social media - Line messages with friends

Designation	Self-representation of Underground Lottery Gamblers in Real Life	Self-representation of Underground Lottery Gamblers on Social Media
Gambler 09	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Express self as guru that friends need to consult about lucky numbers for every draw - Proud that recommended numbers win even celebrating with friends - Maintain safety by not carrying the bill, afraid of police - If lose will be quiet for 7 days - Underground lottery is not a serious gambling offence 	None
Gambler 11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conversation topic with friends, choose to talk to a limited group, don't accept placing bets - Don't believe that gambling on underground lottery is negative as long as still can perform duties well - Don't see as placing bets on underground lottery is bad. It depends on limiting the amount of money spent. - Underground lottery is hope, winning is good, losing is normal, realize that will never gain as much as money spent 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Will post when win lottery (posted when had 2 winning lottery tickets)
Gambler 12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gamblers steal money at a young age at home and in shops - Don't care if people would see as gambler 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Give away prize money on Facebook for the past 3 years. If friends make the right guess

Designation	Self-representation of Underground Lottery Gamblers in Real Life	Self-representation of Underground Lottery Gamblers on Social Media
Gambler 14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bet on underground and government lottery because have hope - Ask friend to buy Lao and Hanoi lottery on line, do not dare to reveal self in case of risk - Don't send messages on Facebook for safety reasons - Member in various social media groups in the province such as chamber of commerce - Conversation topic -Conversation topic although the numbers do not always win - Placing bets on underground lottery is not a major gambling issue because it is not drawn everyday - Clearing the bets money for each draw is considered manners and keeping face - View underground lottery sellers as normal means for making more income 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> on 3 or 2 digits, will transfer money right away - When will not post on social media If win would post, the frequent wins become a topic of conversation with friends
Gambler 15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Don't win often, yet view placing bets as an investment and play to get money back 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Post when lose but rarely

Designation	Self-representation of Underground Lottery Gamblers in Real Life	Self-representation of Underground Lottery Gamblers on Social Media
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conversation topic in the company, it is a common thing, everyone plays it - Open that place bets on underground lottery, believe police won't make arrest in the company - It is a regular payment like other expenses 	

The research findings indicate that middle-class underground lottery gamblers express their identity in three ways. First is from the perspective that middle-class underground lottery gamblers look at themselves. The second is how others view them and third how they are presented through the media. This is explained in the following section.

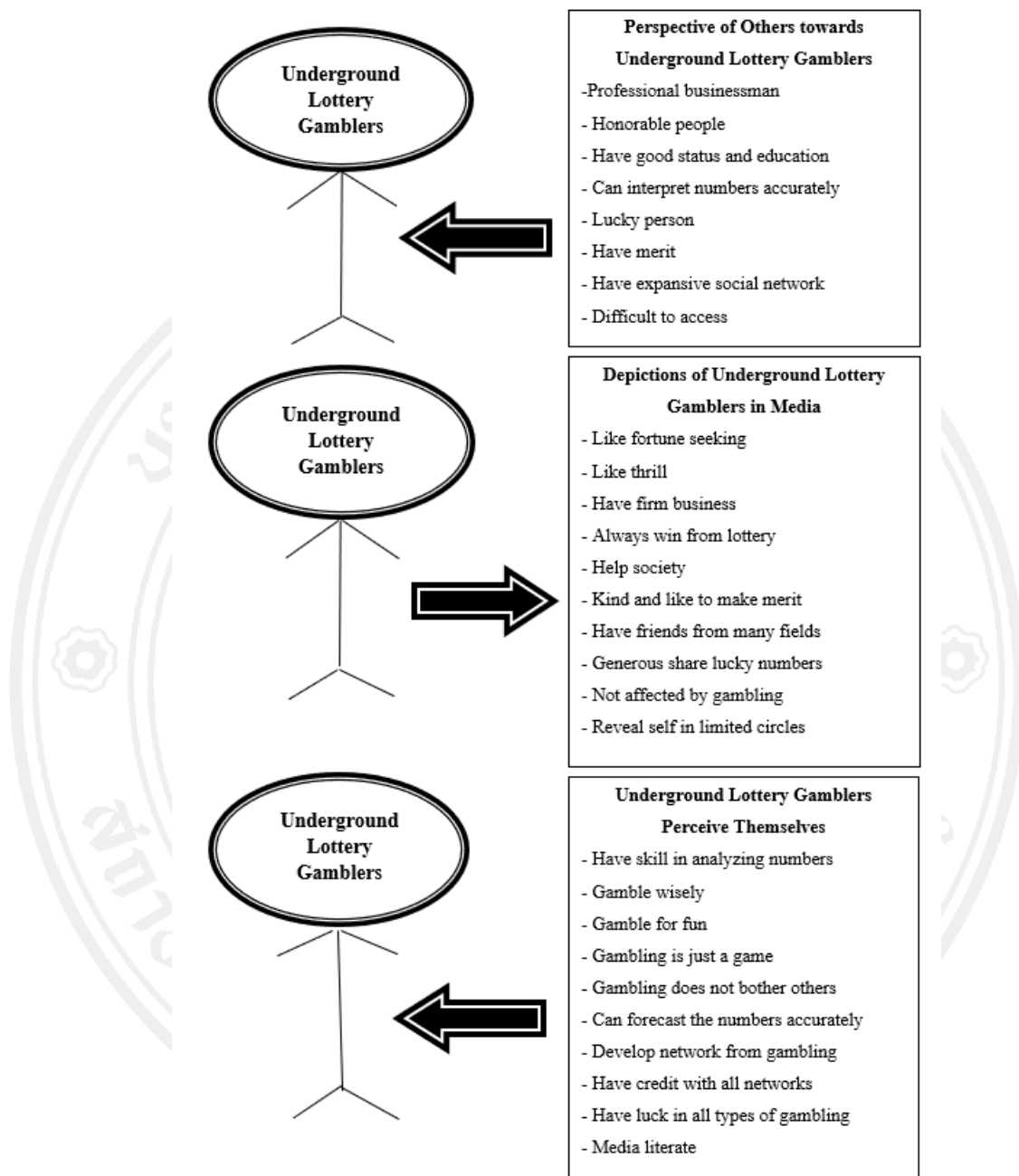


Figure 4.6 Middle-class Underground Lottery Gamblers Identity

The research findings indicated that underground lottery gamblers do not view it as serious gambling. This is because they can control the expenses that they spend. It is a white type of gambling that does not affect anyone. In Thai society shops would be quiet on the day of the lottery draw. People would be waiting for the results all over the

country. This is a national past time and the media would wait to present the news about, who won the big prize. In addition, the government has the idea to make such bets legal to increase income.

4.1.9 Perspective of Gamblers towards above Ground Lottery

Research findings are collected from underground lottery gamblers from the middle-class and have been gambling for at least 5 years. These people have capital in terms of knowledge, skills, and experience in gambling. They have the money to place bets on underground lottery with the ability to use communications technology to connect with sellers and their friends. These people also have the ability to group people together. Their view towards the underground lottery occupation is not a violent crime. It is a means to gain income to improve their family livelihood. This sustainable good income is sometimes used for education. Most of the respondents agree that underground lottery should be legalized as explained in the following table.

Table 4.8 Summarization of Middle-class Underground Lottery Gamblers towards Underground Lottery Business

Designation	Attitude Towards Above the Ground Lottery
Gambler 01	Support above the ground lottery because it has higher prize money than underground lottery
Gambler 05	No opinion
Gambler 08	Support no numbers that are not sold
Gambler 09	Above the ground lottery would destroy underground lottery
Gambler 11	Support above the ground lottery
Gambler 12	Underground lottery will never die because it would pay more and gives discounts
Gambler 14	It means that underground lottery is not a bad form of gambling, which is why there is interest in bringing it above the ground as part of everyday life.
Gambler 15	Underground lottery would remain in Thai society, cannot remove it

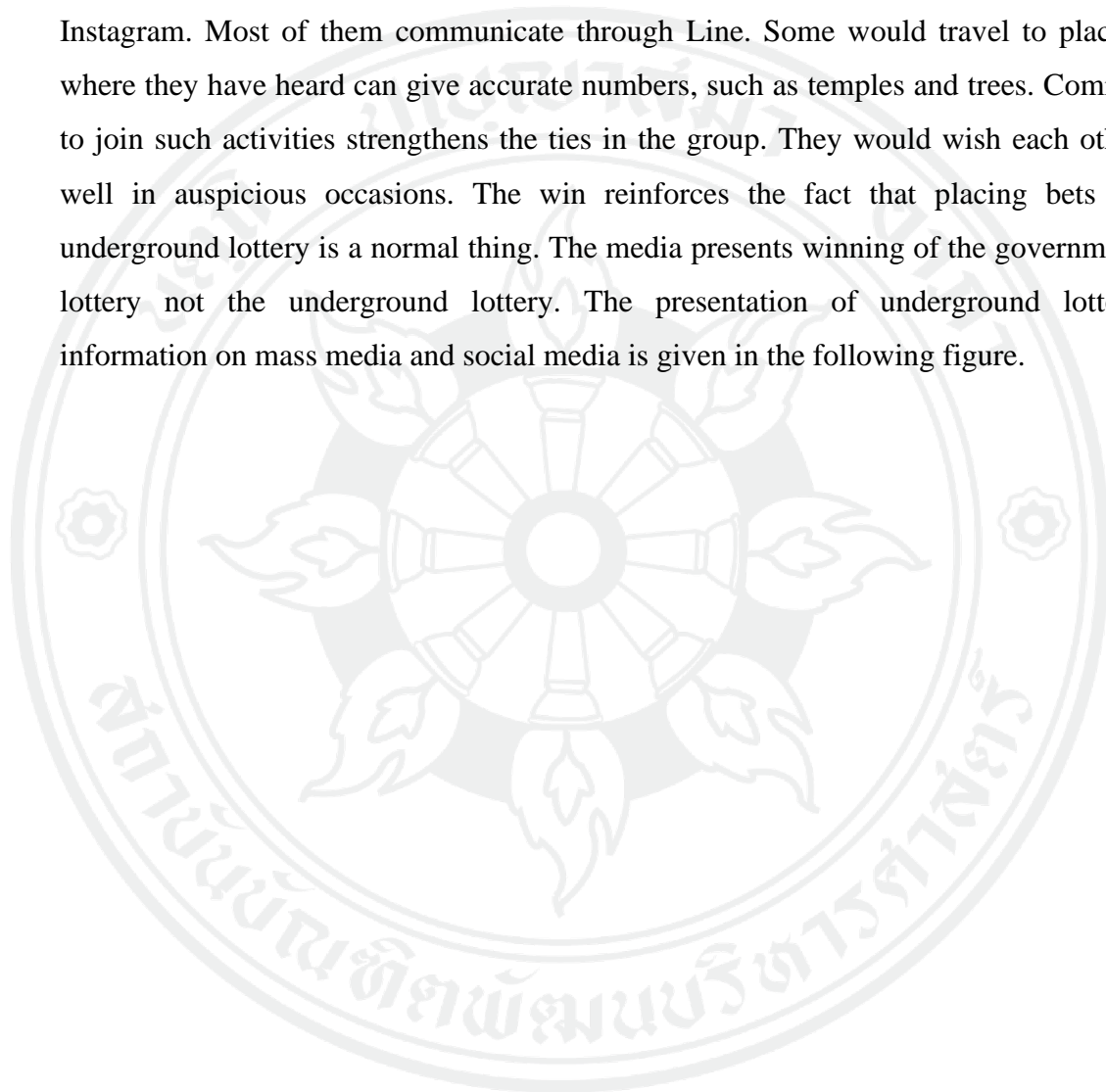
The perspective of middle-class underground lottery gamblers is not different since they are all in the underground lottery circuit in Thailand. The respondents believe that bringing the bets above ground would make it more convenient and get rid of the not sold numbers. However, they do not believe that underground lottery would be eradicated from Thai society. This is because people are familiar with discounts and placing bets while paying later. Above the ground tends to have higher reward money. Middle-class gamblers have a good income. They enjoy above the ground and underground lottery. When the drawing of the lottery was postponed, they simply gambled on other channels. They do not have to wait for the government lottery but are ready to return to it, when the government decides to resume. They believe that the government would not abolish the lottery easily because it is a good income.

The research, “Identities and Communication Network of Middle-Class Underground Lotto Gamblers”, indicate that all elements in the network are related. Each unit has its own role and know their responsibility. They support the network for a long time and use the language that is understood among their group. This is likely to expand online. Under the capitalist system, there is an effort to bring the underground lottery above the ground. However, this has not been successful because underground lottery proprietors have their own communications network. They have benefits that support one another. Therefore, it is not easy to be a new dealer because it depends on skills and connections that is earned through courageous actions. They need to be willingly to take the risks. Also, it requires capital in terms of economics, society, culture, and symbolism among those in the network that is related to the identity of middle-class underground lottery gamblers.

4.2 Part 2 Communications Network of Underground Lottery Gamblers

The research findings in terms of middle-class underground lottery gamblers identity connects to the issue regarding the communications network. The study aims to explore the connection between major dealers, smaller dealers, sellers, and middle-class gamblers. The goal is to study, who stops numbers from being sold and create a communications network both directly and indirectly. Mass media and online social

media present luck numbers such as the license plates of politicians, royalty important days, year of birth of famous monks, number of dead people, famous people winning big, or the 30 million baht lottery case. This type of news is normal in Thai society. When the gamblers receive the information they would communicate among themselves. They would provide information or share news on their Facebook and Instagram. Most of them communicate through Line. Some would travel to places, where they have heard can give accurate numbers, such as temples and trees. Coming to join such activities strengthens the ties in the group. They would wish each other well in auspicious occasions. The win reinforces the fact that placing bets on underground lottery is a normal thing. The media presents winning of the government lottery not the underground lottery. The presentation of underground lottery information on mass media and social media is given in the following figure.



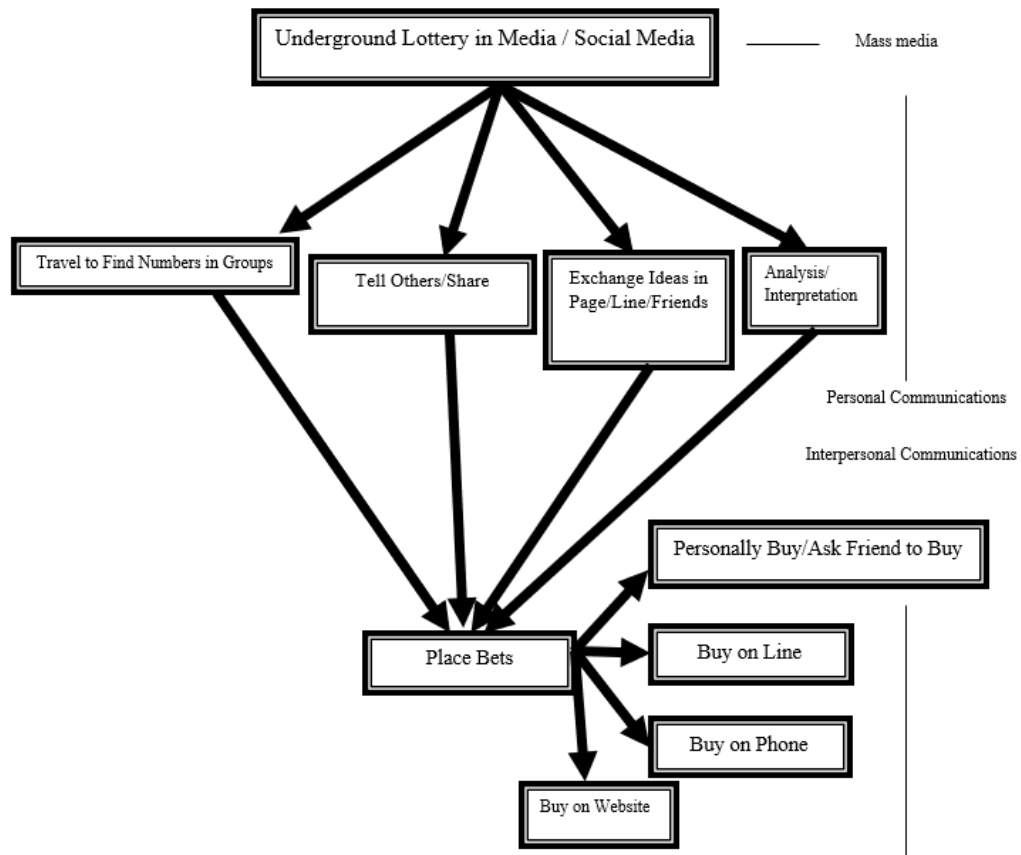


Figure 4.7 Access to Information from Mass Media/Social Media and Level of Communications

The research findings indicate that gamblers cannot split the various levels of communications. This is because it is dependent on the individual that might have some common characteristics. Gamblers might seek information from one source during a certain draw, while searching in more for the next draw. They might engage in personal and interpersonal communications. In some draws they might consider numbers from the mass media for their decision. This depends on the satisfaction and emotions. In some draws they might place bets with a certain dealer and change in the next coming back again later. Bets can be placed in different places depending on the situation. This depends on the confidence in the number and its source. There is also the expectation of winning in each of the draws. Some of the gamblers would ask their friends to place bets online for them. From the interviews, the researcher observed that middle-class

gamblers worked hard to keep their privacy online when talking to strangers. They would not place bets with people they do not know. They emphasize placing bets with people in their social circles. These people share information before, during, and after gambling. This depends on the communications with who and through which media. It is important to assess the trust level.

The results from interviewing 1 dealer and 6 sellers about the network results from interest in doing business for benefits. The direct benefit is money, while the indirect benefit is influence. Some of the people in this business create soft power. They have sufficient money to pay prize money in advance for the major dealer. In case the gamblers did not pay, payment would be made to dealer in advance. Some of the sellers also give out loans gaining additional income from interest. The underground lottery business provides continuous profit. Despite this some of the sellers quit the underground lottery business. They might change to become government officials. This is because the respondent still felt the guilt that money gained from selling underground lottery is not a legal. Thus, it did not contribute to the value and integrity of the individual.

In this second part of the report and communications network of the underground lottery gamblers, the researcher would present the findings as follows:

- 1) Source of dealer business and middle-class underground lottery sellers, start of the business/period of time, money in circulation/draw, payment of bribes, location of placing bets, and other gambling
- 2) The relationship between sellers/dealers, communications channels between middle-class gamblers with sellers, techniques in placing bets, relationship between sellers/dealers, number of times changing dealers (times), technique in placing bets, communications with seller, experience, prize money, and duration of time receiving-paying money
- 3) Experience in receiving bets/winning/being cheated/mistakes/prize money/not sold numbers/duration of time receiving-paying money
- 4) Beliefs of dealers and middle-class sellers, source of numbers, money for placing bets, experience in winning, beliefs, statistics, and prize money
- 5) Expression of self by dealer and middle-class sellers

6) Perspective of dealer and sellers towards the underground lottery business

4.2.1 Source of the Business for Dealer and Middle-Class Seller

The research findings indicate that the most important factor stimulating dealers and sellers to do underground business is the desire to get more money. They would like to have a better life, additional income, and inherit the business from the family in order to maintain wealth in the long-term.

1) Start Sales of Underground Lottery/Period of Selling-The research findings indicate that the start of the selling underground lottery comes from people around them. When they are in the environment with gamblers since they could remember, or work in places where there are other people gambling on underground lottery, interest in receiving bets in order to get more income, and build economic status for self and family. This increases when people in the family gamble. The habit is passed on to the children through curiosity. For instance, they would get money from submitting the list of numbers. This made them curious and want to continuously receiving bets. Some of the people work in places where there are many people betting on underground lottery because it was an easy way to make money. It can be said that anyone who wanted to sell could do so and buy when they wanted to. This becomes a common practice everywhere.

Gambler and seller 06, student and seller of agricultural products-“In the beginning I did not gamble. I saw my mother and grandmother placing bets. I would make the payments for them. I would know that they placed bets like 2,000 baht and actually pay 1,800 baht. I wonder why they got the discount. This became my commission then I learned to sell bets.” (personal communication, August 20, 2019)

Seller 04, government official-“I did do so because I followed my friends but because the colleagues in the office gambled. I just wondered why so many people placed bets. I thought being a seller would make me rich. I asked, who was a seller and asked how to get commissions. Then I decided to start selling underground lottery.” (personal communication, August 12, 2019)

2) Money used in placing bets/draw-The most important thing for receiving bets is the circulation money. This is the beginning of the cycle that would

last for a long time. The clients need to be confident and receive the prize money immediately. The circulation money for receiving bets is important to the seller because there are problems about making payments. This might include the dealer cheating or the gambler refusing to pay, for which the seller has to be responsible. All of the respondents had a full-time job, selling underground lottery was supplementary income that sometimes earned them more money than their job. They have the idea that selling underground lottery is better than putting money in the bank for interest. This is the reason the children generation would inherit their parents' business. For instance, the owner of online business for 8 years makes 35,000-40,000 baht/month. The mother, who is an accountant at a garage for 40 years has an income of 50,000 baht/month. In addition, they have a home rental business and mortgage collection of 300,000 baht/month. This family also sold underground lottery for 30 years. The children generation inherited 1 seller from the 13 sellers, the mother had, but was not successful. Thus, it can be said that receiving bets has to be associated with the accounting skills to clear the money quickly and accurately. Skill, personality, and having a respectable reputation is important to build trust among gamblers. Therefore, it is not everyone, who could be successful seller with high circulation money of 500,000 baht/month for a long time.

Seller 02, owner of online business-“When I received bets, I made about 150,000-200,000 baht. I would get 5% from underground lottery, which is 5,000 baht. Nowadays I get about 10,000 baht. When I took 1 of the sellers from the 13 sellers my mother. If I did not split from her, I would get a monthly income. Later I took one seller from my mother so when this person cheated me and ran away, I had to quit. I could not take it anymore because I had to pay 200,000 baht per person. I chose not to do it myself anymore. I went back to helping my mother.” (personal communication, August 12, 2019)

3) Payment of bribes-In explaining the status of people, who have a wide social network, there is only one person. This respondent inherited his father's underground lottery business from his father having 80 branches for placing bets. He expanded his business to 200 branches in all of the districts in Korat. There are about 60-80 sellers and enable placing bets to smaller sellers, who are villagers. There are as

many thousands of buyers, thus he became one of the major dealers in Nakhon Ratchasima and Northeast in the past.

Dealer 10, factory owner-“In each draw, I receive bets for about 30 million baht, which is the most in Korat and in the northeast. I rent a building in every district and hire my own employees. Some of them don’t want to study so I hire them. I have one employee, who is now the head of the office at Bua Yai District. There we have a network of about 100 people. Everyone has a police card. If the police come to make arrest, they just need to show their card. The police will know that they are from our house. In each district we pay about 5,000-10,000 baht. We also pay the headquarters another 400,000 baht. We have special privileges in making sure all complaints would be swept away. For instance, if people file complaint about underground lottery, the police will come to investigate. When they know it is us, they would ignore and not make any arrests. We can sell underground lottery freely.” (personal communication, August 22, 2019)

However, when the people in power change, the dealer might have to move. For instance, one of the dealers had to move to Rayong because they had police protection there. Thus, dealers are not attached to certain locations. The network is flexible and can change depending on the situation. They are willing to lose their social, economic, and symbolic capital. The research findings indicate that dealers can show their power or choose to reduce their influence depending on the relationship they have with the police, who should have sufficient rank and power to protect them. Dealers need honor to express their identity for acceptance that they have big connections with the capability to clear any problems for their team members. In case the police receive bribes for protection, they would make sure that the underground lottery business can be operated successfully for mutual benefits.

Dealer 10, factory owner-“I have 5 children (2 wives). All of them are involved in underground lottery but they quit. No one likes it and no one is continuing my business. I have only one child, who is doing it for 2 years now. I think he does not like to continue doing this but I won’t stop. We have split our business so we run different operations. Once I moved to Rayong, my son still is operating in Korat. As time changed the police in Korat have made it tougher to clear things, Rayong is easier. I have a brother there, who is influential.” (personal communication, August 22, 2019)

In terms of other sellers, the interview revealed that each of them did not pay the police. The dealer promised that they can clear everything with the police. If they get caught, they pay to clear each time. Thus, many of them keep their business a secret so that they do not need to pay the police. Most of them do not aim to inherit the business and are not attached to any power. They simply want additional income for themselves and their family.

4) Other expenses-In the underground lottery business, the dealer has to be responsible for many expenses. When compared to the revenue, it is more than worth it. Major dealers have many fixed expenses that depend on the sales as follows:

Employee in center/draw – 5,000 baht

Building rent in each district/draw – 4,000 – 7,000 baht

Head of Center in District/draw – 10,000 baht

Staff in major center – 60 people

Part-time staff – 400 baht/day

The inheritance of major dealers by their children has been adapted to employment of staff. There are part-time staff hired 6 days/month. They would receive 200 baht/person in finding sellers. There are 3 employees, who are paid 3,000-5,000 baht. The seller would give discounts to those helping to sell underground lottery such as allowing to place bets for free.

5) Location for placing bets-The research findings indicate that if the dealer does not pay the police, they would not be able to openly have a center to accept bets. Thus, they would have to change the location of placing bets continuously in secret for the network. They only work on underground lottery 2 days/month but get a good profit. There is nothing complicated and the team members are satisfied to work all the time. They do not need to have a fixed place and pay the police, which reduces the influence they may have had in the past.

Gambler 10, factory owner-“Suppose I am in Korat and I move to Bangkok. I could live with my friend and bring my staff only on the days of the lottery draw. This would be about 5,000 or 10,000 baht, which my friend would accept. All I need is an airconditioned room and computer. We can enter at night. No one will see us.” (personal communication, August 22, 2019)

The research findings indicate that selling underground lottery is a career that requires maintenance of reputation and social standing. For instance, government officials can create network and alliances to facilitate the sales. They might have to stay at home to accept bets at home.

Gambler 04, government official-“I have to pay the police and people in my office to facilitate the placing of bets. I need to be careful to hide. I would have to stop and stay at home to receive bets because the gamblers don't dare come to the government office. The people collecting the bets and my sister do not get anything so I give them the chance to place bets for free.” (personal communication, August 12, 2019)

Other sellers would receive bets during the day. If they need to contact people from other districts, they can communicate directly. Thus, the sellers might have to change from being full-time regular students to study during weekends. This is because the sellers want to find ways to gain revenue from selling underground lottery.

6) Other gambling-The research findings indicate that some of the respondents are both gamblers and sellers. They also place their bets on Laos lottery (every Wednesday) and Hanoi lottery (everyday). In addition, they also place bets on s1.huay.com, which is an online system that gives higher rewards than traditional channels. The system pays 2 digits prize money at 90 baht, while dealers only give 65-70 baht. This is because online sellers can distribute their bets. Thus, when they consider that a gambler might win the 2 digits, they would also get a commission from the win. They would get about 20 baht, which is more than traditional placing of bets.

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473	35

Figure 4.8 s1.huay.com Website

The study of s1.huay.com indicates that there are many gambling options available depending on the interest. There are offers for Thai government lottery, stock trading, and international lottery such as Laos, Hanoi, and Yee-kee. There are also enticing calculation formulas that attract the gamblers.

Dealers have gambling in their blood. Some regularly bet in the casino with an income of 30 million baht. In addition, this respondent places bets on horse racing as well as having connection to football gambling. Thus, it can be said once one is involved in the gray business, the connection grows further.

Table 4.9 Summary of Business Source Dealers and Middle-class Sellers

Designation	Beginning Selling/Period of Time Selling	Money in Circulation/Draw	Payment of Bribes	Other Expenses	Location for Placing Bets	Fortune Seeking
Gambler 02	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mother has been selling for 30 years, children split to have their own business - Mother sold underground lottery as additional income for her job as accountant in a garage for 40 years (50,000 baht/ month), home rental, pawn property, and loans (300,000 baht/ month) - Children generation view that it has better return than saving money in bank - Children generation sell products online for 8 years (35,000-40,000 baht/ month) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mother received bets of 500,000 baht/ draw - Children generation receive bets 200,000 baht/ draw get profit about 10,000 baht/ draw 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No police connection - Not pay bribes 	Charge 20% commission from seller	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - At home - Mother's office 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - None - Accept bets for Loxley lotto

Designation	Beginning Selling/Period of Time Selling	Money in Circulation/Draw	Payment of Bribes	Other Expenses	Location for Placing Bets	Fortune Seeking
Gambler and seller 03	Beauty salon income reduced from 40,000 baht to 10,000 baht and accepting bets increased income by only 12,000 baht	- Started to receive 90,000 baht in bets and 3,000 baht remains	Dealer is wife of police officer (both old and new dealer)	Get 25% from clients 10% and the rest 15%	Beauty salon (Close during sending bets)	None
Seller 04	- Accept bets for 10 years since studying master's degree, many people in office gamble, want extra income, want to be rich - Accept bets for 3 years Stop for 3 years Came back 5-6 years ago (to present)	50,000 -100,000 baht	- If not pay dealer will be responsible - People in the office would warn if police come so that the sellers can hide	- Receive from 25% of sales - Help sister and get to place bets for free as compensation	- Office (government agency) - On some draws take leave to collect bets at home	- Laos lottery - Hanoi lottery - gambling online at s1.huay.com
Gambler and seller 06	Sell and buy underground lottery for 6-7 years, family members (mother	100,000 baht receive 25% commission or 25,000 baht	Dealer have police protection	Pay 20% commission to sellers	Transfer from regular classes to weekend classes	- Lottery 4,000-5,000 baht

Designation	Beginning Selling/Period of Time Selling	Money in Circulation/Draw	Payment of Bribes	Other Expenses	Location for Placing Bets	Fortune Seeking
	and grandmother) get commission so sell it for additional income				to sell underground lottery	- Won 5 th prize 4 tickets (70,000 baht) - Laos lottery 4 digits 1 set 120 baht win 100,000 baht - Have possibility to play yee-ki lotto online
Gambler and seller 07	Receive bets for over a year	Get 10,000-30,000 baht/ month	Have connections	- Hire siblings and friends to help check the numbers	- During lunch breaks - Can place bets anywhere	Sell set on Facebook, sells out in 2 days Not interested in Laos/ Hanoi lottery

Designation	Beginning Selling/Period of Time Selling	Money in Circulation/Draw	Payment of Bribes	Other Expenses	Location for Placing Bets	Fortune Seeking
Dealer 10	Inherit from father (30 years), children generation 3 years	- Father 1,500,000 baht per district - about 30,000,000 baht per draw	- Father pays 5,000-10,000 baht and head quarters 40,000 baht	- People at center 5,000 baht - Office rental/district 4,000-7,000 baht - Center heads earn 10,000 baht/draw - 60 employees in the main center - Part-timers 400 baht per day - 60 – 80 sellers get 8% of sales	- Home	because doesn't trust - Play cards at casino regularly earning 30 million baht - bet on horse racing - have football gambling network

Designation	Beginning Selling/Period of Time Selling	Money in Circulation/Draw	Payment of Bribes	Other Expenses	Location for Placing Bets	Fortune Seeking
	Children generation	- 6,000,000-7,000,000 baht/ draw - About 10 million baht/ month	- Don't pay monthly bribes - Some people would clear with police and collect bill later	- Sellers get 200 baht per head - Pay 3 employees 3,000-5,000 baht/ draw (work 6 days/ month)	- Home - Home friends in different provinces, keep changing - Pay for location 5,000-10,000 baht/ month	- Don't gamble
Gambler and seller 13	Receive bets for 3 years Family gambles Accept bets for friend in the old job to increase income	Mother is hair salon honor and she accepts the bets Sell about 20,000-30,000 baht/ draw	None was never arrested by police	Deduct 10% from clients		- Sell lottery - Play Hanoi lottery online everyday at 18:30 hrs - Laos lottery online every Wednesday, won 4,000 baht. Laos

Designation	Beginning Selling/Period of Time Selling	Money in Circulation/Draw	Payment of Bribes	Other Expenses	Location for Placing Bets	Fortune Seeking
						lottery has 2, 3, 4 exact and tote



4.2.2 Relationship between Sellers/Dealers, Channel of Communications between Middle-Class Underground Lottery Gamblers with Sellers and Techniques for Placing Bets

The research indicate that sellers would choose to place bets with dealers that they are close to. This includes colleagues, relatives, friends, and family network. If they are not close, the seller would choose someone who appears to be trustworthy such as the wife of police officers. If there are those, who help to sell, they would get a percent of the sales. The sellers are regulars. They don't usually change dealers, unless they have been cheated. Sometimes they might have to distribute the bets, because the dealer does not accept certain numbers or when the dealer has reached the limits. It can be said that the sellers still use the same channels to place underground lottery bets. Some dealers have deadlines for placing bets. If the sellers want to place bets outside of this time frame, they have other channel options in order to maintain their customer base. Dealers do not have rules in selecting sellers because they want more income from their network.

Gambler and seller 13, private company employee-“In the beginning, I placed about 100-200 baht. When I started working at my second job, I met a colleague who sold underground lottery. They showed me that I would get a percentage. My friends as me to help placing bets then my family too. I have about 10 clients now so I have about more than 20,000 baht bets in each draw.” (personal communication, August 25, 2019)

The interview shows that sellers are close to small dealers. They might only know information about the major dealer in terms of location for placing bets. However, they do not know the major dealer personally. The dealer might accept bets for Cambodian lottery. Some of them work in the Toyota dealership or are major dealers in Nonthai or Pimai districts. The sellers only hear about the dealers but have never seen them. Thus, it can be said that the sellers and major dealers do not have any relationship.

Gambler 02, owner of online business-“As far as I know, there is a major dealer in Cambodia because the Thai dealer would be arrested. I send to Cambodia but the gamblers are all Thai. It is a way to distribute the bets, which is still much better than saving money in the bank to get interest. I think it depends on the connection. For

instance, this is the Cambodian connection, but let's say if I know someone in the south, I could place bets in Malay because it is close to the border." (personal communication, August 12, 2019)

1) Relationship between sellers/dealers-The research findings indicate that sellers/dealers consider their relationship. They trust one another based on the way they pay prize money. Most of the dealers would pay after the day of the draw. Some of the dealers would expect the seller to pay in advance. The sellers need to have sufficient funds to pay on behalf of the gamblers, who pay the bet in the next draw. The relationship between the small dealers and sellers is a strong tie. This is because sellers are the middle man between the minor dealer and gamblers. Most of the people don't have a relationship with small dealers. Some might have a superficial relationship or weak tie with small-time dealers.

Gambler and seller 07, student-"I work part-time in Sampeng during school break. In the past I did not trust them. When I started selling underground lottery, I sold about 4,000-5,000 baht. Once the results are out, I would deposit the prize money immediately. I sell bets and won 300,000 baht, which I got immediately. I know the dealer in Sampeng, who has been doing this for decades. Also, my dealer does not usually stop buying certain numbers. Thus, when there are problems, I would be involved. It is my job to send the bets to the dealer, such as the one in Sampeng. For instance, I have two numbers that has to be capped 10,000 baht each, the dealer would distribute the bets because they might have many people betting on certain numbers. When there are too many bets in the system, it is similar to stopping the bets on certain numbers that people cannot buy. It is also important how much the dealer would pay, which needs to consider the profit and loss." (personal communication, August 20, 2019)

The research findings indicate that the seller's decision to place bets with a certain dealer depends on many factors. These include trust, rate of receiving-paying, rules in limiting purchase in the system, trust, and experience of the dealers in receiving bets. The most important thing is channel for placing bets that has to be convenient, exclusive, and no problems. Fulfilling these criteria would entice the sellers to place bets with a dealer, despite not knowing them for a long time.

2) Changing the seller (number of times) – The research findings indicate that sellers do not usually change dealers unless they have been cheated. Dealers on the other hand do not cut sellers from their network. They are able to maintain strong relationships for decades. These people are given discounts or are allowed to communicate the reasons for reducing the prize money. Usually they have a good mutual understanding. The gamblers might change the sellers when they feel that every time they place bets with this person, they do not win. Sometimes they want to try other dealers. The sellers do not break the relationship with their clients because they might come back in the next draws. Unless the gamblers do not pay for the bets placed. In this case they might not talk to them or not allow them to place any further bets unless they clear their debts.

3) Techniques in Placing Bets-From the interview it is found that each of the sellers try to offer discounts or other benefits to middle-class underground lottery gamblers the most. This includes services such as distributing bets to various dealers, providing discount to those who pay on time, or pay more prize money than other sellers in order to maintain or increase their sales.

Gambler 02, owner of online business-“Let’s say I am the dealer with 30 sellers. I would distribute the bets to others. I might receive bets from only 27 sellers, who also make a cut of 3%. For instance, I have 30 but I have 27 sellers. I would give a 3% discount but if the dealer does not give me anything, I would lose that money. I have the responsibility to take care of the sellers. The dealer might take 20, while I take 7. From this money I might have to provide credit by paying in advance. Some of the people place bets with me and get 20%. They might choose not to give any discount; thus, they get the difference. In case the gambler wins, they also get 5 baht. The more they sell, the more they would get. If they get 5 baht they would get as much as 5,000 baht.” (personal communication, August 12, 2019)

From the aforementioned example, it could be observed that special privileges of sellers there are benefits of making advance payments of prize money to gamblers, who win. They also get money from the cut of the prize money. In the case of the dealer, they would use marketing tactics to offer prize money to the gamblers. This would result in increases of sales, if the dealer provides more prize money than others.

Dealer 10, factory owner-“Marketing from the center has to be done. Usually the sellers would sell at a high price or 27% pay 70 baht. For me, I would pay 80 baht but that depends on the sellers, who get only 8%.” (personal communication, August 22, 2019)

When there are a large number of gamblers, major dealers would use their skills in interpreting numbers. “Small timers would take numbers that have been interpreted by the dealers. These are usually small dealers, who receive about 1 million baht. They do not distribute the bets unless the bets exceed the limit. However, I usually take all bets. At the least they would get some commission. They have dealers, who make interpretations. For instance, they might have exchanges. Suppose the numbers in Rayong might place bets in Korat. This is because the numbers are different. In the past numbers come from dreams and ghosts of suicide victims. These numbers take on different meanings depending on the occurrence. Nowadays, the number in each district might be different due to the communications through Line.” (Dealer 10, factory owner, August 22, 2019)

Research findings in the first part show that most of the dealers do not provide discounts to gamblers, who place bets on running numbers even if they place a large bet. Sellers usually claim that dealers create rules that need to be followed. Gamblers have the money to pay, thus making sure that both parties have enough money to pay creating peace of mind.

Usually sellers do not place bets on running numbers. The dealers have techniques in taking running number bets. The dealers would distribute the 2 digits. “Suppose 7 is coming in the running number. If they bet 1,000 they might 3,000 baht. If they play above the ground, they get 3,000 baht, which would be divided by 70 sellers. They would pay 2 digits at 70 baht for every baht bet. For instance, they have to place bets on 42 baht. If they have 7 as running number, they need to play 19 slots, which are 17, 71, 07, 70, 27, 72, 37, and 73. They have a total of 19 numbers so each has a bet of 12 baht. They would spend 798 baht so they would win 42 baht so they will get a total of 2,940 baht. They would have to pay 3,000 baht with additional 60 baht. See the profit that is received, if it is worth it.” (Dealer 10, Factory owner, August 22, 2019)

4) Channel of Communications and Underground Lottery Sellers- Receiving-selling bets in the past was done through fax, phone, and face-to-face interaction with sellers. Today the bets can be placed on Line because of its convenience. They need to keep the evidence for buyers and sellers. In terms of prize money, it has to be paid immediately or no more than 3 days. This transfer can be made on Line. Sellers would inform the gamblers of the not sold numbers. This is viewed as the stimulator for interest. Alternative channels are developed with the need to have a service mind in answering questions quickly. Making quick transfers would deter clients from changing their minds to place bets with other dealers.

Major dealers in the past use a notebook with codes to indicate sellers. “These people do not need to have previous experience. It is sufficient to know how to write, dealers would do everything. This includes clearing the police and providing equipment. Dealers would need to take the bets in notebook because each of them would indicate the total value of the bets. These values are codes. For instance, the seller is 28, the stamp would be 28, 28. 28. So, the dealer will know that these bets are placed by dealer 28. The empty book could be ripped. Let’s say there are 200 people, the code would be 200. It is up to them how many notebooks to use. They might sell 10 to 20 notebooks/draw. I would need to prepare that for them.” (Dealer 10, factory owner, August 22, 2019)

When it is the time to deliver the bets, motorcycle delivery would be made with black bags. All of the sellers from the districts would bring the bets to the center. Bets would be delivered three times at 10 AM, 12 PM, and 2 PM. Any bets placed after 2 PM, would be done by phone. The bets placed would be entered into the computer system quickly. The dealer would calculate the profit and loss. Thus, any number that is full, that number would be deleted by the system quickly so that it could be distributed to other dealers.

The research findings indicate that the dealers’ communications network in the form of a wheel network. The dealers set the rules and indicate the numbers that are not sold. The rules for receiving-sending bets to major sellers and small timers, who are based in the districts. It is a one-way communication. The major dealer has the power in the group. They are responsible for the distribution of money to sellers and staff in the team. It is the communications network that one of the members would

distribute the news to other members. The person in the center of the group is the one, who has the true power. They are the leader or the group. This is because this person is the only person responsible for the success and highest benefit of the group.

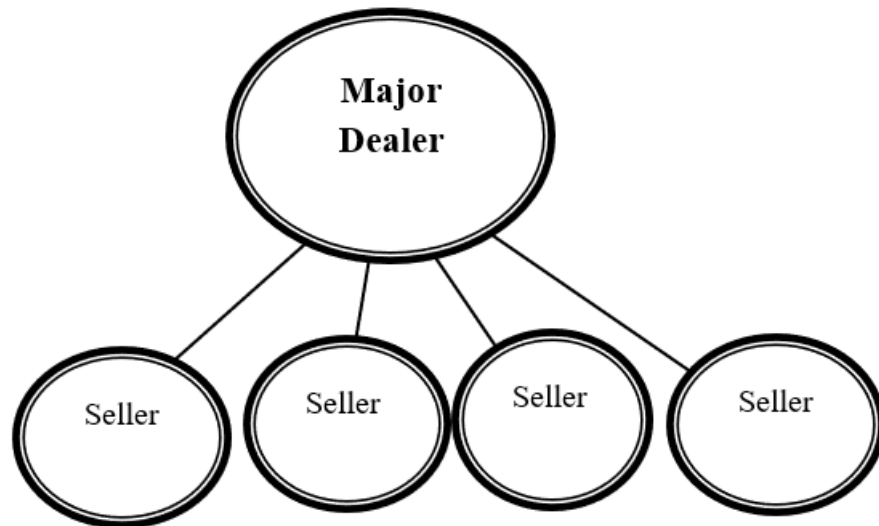


Figure 4.9 Characteristics of the Wheel Communications Network of Dealers and Sellers

The research findings indicate that communications network of underground lottery gamblers can be categorized into two types as follows:

- 1) Radial personal network
- 2) Interlocking personal network

The communications network of underground lottery gamblers cannot be categorized in any particular form. Sellers connect with gamblers through various channels. Each of the sellers do not contact each other as evidenced in the radial personal network. In the same vein sellers would contact many different dealers. Each of the dealers have an interlocking personal network, which is in line with Chawanuan Kananukul (1999, p. 159).

With regards to underground lottery in the modern era, it is found that sellers are in no rush to collect money from the gamblers. This is a respect to their personal feelings. It shows an honor to the mutual relationship. In placing bets there is more than just above or underground. They would need to indicate above and underground by adding multiplication (x) such as 50x50. This means 50 baht for above and 50 baht

underground totaling 100 baht. The gambler and seller understand this common language in their communications. The researcher took part in gambling on the underground lottery. The seller would tell, which numbers are not sold so that the gambler can make the decision to place the bets in Line as indicated in the following images.

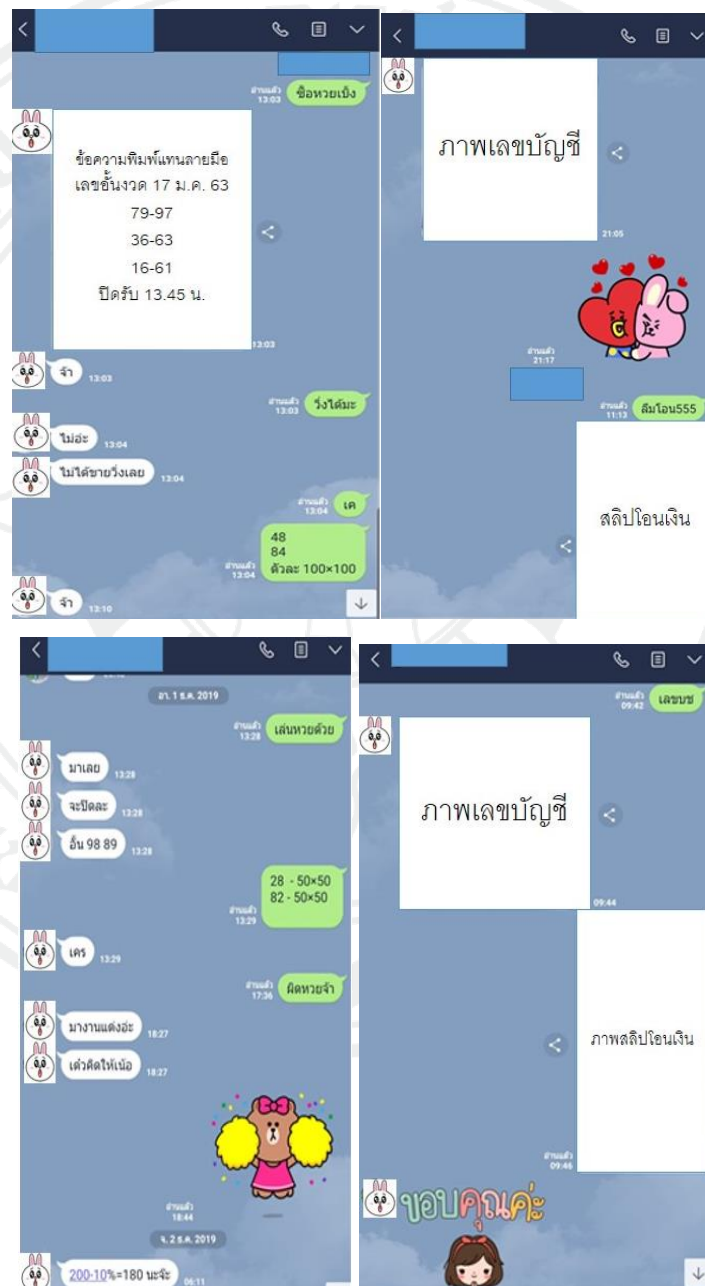


Figure 4.10 Line Message between Middle-class Underground Lottery Gambler and Seller

From Figure 4.10 it could be seen that the seller gave the gambler 10% indicating the time the bet was received. The seller would also indicate, which numbers are not sold. As can be observed the seller is not in a hurry to collect the money for 2 draws. This further strengthens the relationship in the underground lottery network.

The research findings indicate that there is the use of computer programs in placing bets. The major dealers in the past used DOS programs in order to reduce their risk. When they receive the bets placed from many sources, they have 20 employees that key the data on 20 computers. In order to maintain convenience, the use of information technology makes the dealer seem more advanced than others. This creates more profit to the dealer and members in the network.

Later dealers hired programmers to calculate for them. This is because the money in circulation is as high as 6-7 million baht, which could reach 10 million baht. When the bets are keyed into the program, the dealer would know when to stop receiving bets because it has reached the limit. Therefore, there is almost no chance to lose money.

The research findings indicate that sellers would submit the bets through the computer program developed by the dealer, which would be locked using a password and time limit. They would have to submit the bets through a website (URL not given). The seller must enter the system one day before the lottery draw. The system would close at 6 PM. When the dealer has received the bets to the limit, the system would be closed. This means that it could be closed before the deadline, therefore the sellers need to place their bets as soon as possible.

Gambler and seller 07, student-“It is the secret of the sellers. We have our own code and password. It is like getting into Facebook. I have to enter my information into the system. I don’t need to write. Others write and take photograph. I can fill it directly online. Let’s say I will enter the 2 digits and how much bet is placed. This can be done directly. No need for pictures.” (personal communication, August 20, 2019)

This way there is a competition among sellers. The benefit would be in the hands of the dealer because money would be available before the lottery draw. Thus, sellers are encouraged to submit their bets 1 day before. Dealers need to build trust and develop a fairly expansive network.



Table 4.10 Summarization of Relationship, Technique for Placing Bets, and Communications Channel of Gamblers and Sellers
Underground Lottery

Designation	Selecting Seller	Relationship Seller/Dealer	Number of Seller Change (Times)	Technique for Placing Bets	Communications Channel with Seller
Gambler 02	- Mother has 13 sellers (all have full time jobs) - Children generation have only 1 seller (200,000 baht)	- Mother's friend - Dealer is in Cambodia	- Dealer during Mother's time default on payment so needed to find new dealer and have been with this same single dealer until today	- Sell underground lottery and provide loans - Reduce % for client but usually pay in advance so client might pay slow but get winnings quickly - If money is owed and client win in present draw, they would get credit to pay later - Bets from others would be deducted for instance 2 digits winning might be paid 60 baht after deduction from 65 baht - Sellers would request for credit would get 20% commission	- Walk to deliver - Send through Line application

Designation	Selecting Seller	Relationship Seller/Dealer	Number of Seller Change (Times)	Technique for Placing Bets	Communications Channel with Seller
Gambler and seller 03	Both are police wives (first one cheated so had to change)	Trust in police protection	- First dealer cheated so had to change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Need funds to maintain all 13 sellers because it has better income than bank savings - Running number does not deduct percent - Client cannot place bets until all payments are made - Warn clients not to place too much bets on 3 digits because it is harder to win - Warn clients not to place too much bets spending too much money - When client wins 2 digits they get paid 65 baht from 70 baht - Get cheated from win of 9,000 baht receiving only 2-3,000 baht and would quit in 2 years 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Used to send fax - Today receive-send through Line

Designation	Selecting Seller	Relationship Seller/Dealer	Number of Seller Change (Times)	Technique for Placing Bets	Communications Channel with Seller
Seller 04	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Trusted friend/relative - Change to dealers in Nonthai and Pimai - Send not sold numbers online 	Close relations and pay on time		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There are 10 regular buyers who spend 1,000/ draw - Don't deduct money from client when they win except not sold numbers sold online - Gamblers who often win would bet online, seller would get 20 baht per each baht bet (normally 70 baht for online, 2 digits 90 baht and 500 for 3 digits, while online pays 900 baht) - Distribute the risk for the not sold numbers to other dealers - When changed office at first did no sell bets until when got used to people at work - Invite client through Line inform not sold number one day in advance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - use written list and copy to submit by fax to dealer - receive-send on Line - when client win will pay advance in 3 days - coordinate with financial office to deduct money for those who lose - collect for each draw

Designation	Selecting Seller	Relationship Seller/Dealer	Number of Seller Change (Times)	Technique for Placing Bets	Communications Channel with Seller
				- Not accept running number	
Gambler and seller 06	- Consider from the commission given 27-30% depending on sales	- People in the village - Acquaintances of lover - Influential people in Pimai - Don't know major dealers, know there are 3 in Nongjik	- Change 3 dealers - First dealer gave 25% - Second dealer 30% - Third dealer 25%	- When client wins 2 digits will get 70 baht and pay only 65 baht, for 3 digits get 500 baht and pay only 450 baht - Have 20 regular customers, who together with their network number 50 people - Have foreign network (Thais in Germany) - If not pay will not be allowed to place bets or will not speak to that person - Separate money from gambling from other businesses - Inform about not sold numbers through Line - Warn if client places more bets than limit	- Transfer to cousin in Nonthai - Receive-send through Line

Designation	Selecting Seller	Relationship Seller/Dealer	Number of Seller Change (Times)	Technique for Placing Bets	Communications Channel with Seller
Gambler and seller 07	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Senior at part-time work - Have 1 dealer but need 3-4 in case of not sold numbers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Parents help sell - Dealer in Sampeng Korat pass on to major dealer in Toyota - Major dealer is in Nakhon Ratchasima and Chaiyapoom 	Never change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Get 25 % give buyer 10 % - If client pays within 3 days will given % discount - 20 regular clients - 17-18 place bets Only, 2-3 would have another 20 buyers totaling about 60 - Determine the interest based on the sales 100-5,000 baht discount 10%, 5-7,000 discount 15%, and 10,000 baht discount 20% - Don't accept running number - Post on Facebook to generate excitement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Send bets through computer program that the dealer has created that is locked with password and time lock (address not given) - Bets need to be placed one day before the draw before 18:00 hrs - Ask financial limit before submitting the bets - Older generation call to place bets

Designation	Selecting Seller	Relationship Seller/Dealer	Number of Seller Change (Times)	Technique for Placing Bets	Communications Channel with Seller
Dealer 10	Anyone who wants income	- Reward with money	- No commitment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Even if the not sold number wins, can still pay full reward because distribute bets to many dealers - Clients who do not pay can no longer place bets - Have skill in removing numbers - Have skills in distributing running numbers - Using computer program reduces risk from losing money 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Motorcycle delivers list in black bags – 3 rounds (10 AM, 12 PM, 2 PM) - After 2 PM place bets by phone - Jot down number of seller - Use DOS program to key data have 20 staff on 20 computers
	Employees from factory	- trusted people	- No change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Highest lost 2,000,000 baht - Using DOS computer program reduces risk from losing money 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Children generation use window program to reduce loss - Receiver-send on Line

Designation	Selecting Seller	Relationship Seller/Dealer	Number of Seller Change (Times)	Technique for Placing Bets	Communications Channel with Seller
					- Receiver-send on telephone
Gambler and seller 13	- Mother - Friend from old office	- trusted people - major dealer is in Udon Thani	- Dealer determined minimum rate, if it is beyond must distribute to other dealers	- Get 20% from sales give 10% to client - No minimum rate for bets - With not sold numbers, has no impact because distribute to other dealers - Place bets for 20 family and 4- 5 members - Introducing client increasing sales	- accept and receive bets no later than 14:00 hrs on the day of the draw

4.2.3 Experience in Betting, Prize Money from Dealer and Seller, Period of Time Receive-Making Payment

1) Experience in Placing Bets/Winning/Being Cheated/Mistakes

The research findings indicate that sellers might be cheated by bigger sellers. Thus, the smaller sellers need to be responsible on their behalf. Some of them can no longer bear the costs, so they quit. Some sellers accept the lesson that it is inevitable to accept the risks that can happen anytime.

Gambler 02, online business owner-“I have always placed bets with this seller because she is my friend. I place my bets with her always but when she quit, she did not tell me. When many people started to win, she quit. But I have to be responsible. I remembered it well. I was in Grade 4 and had to help pay 300,000 baht. My mom had to find a new seller and pay the people she owed. We had to make sure not to default on our own clients. It is important to make sure we pay.” (personal communication, August 12, 2019)

Some of the sellers are cheated because the dealer refuses to pay when there are many people who win. Therefore, the seller has to be responsible. In addition, when the gamblers do not pay, the sellers have to be responsible too.

Gambler and seller 03, hair dresser-“When the dealer cheats, I have to be responsible. In fact, I have to be responsible for both sides. At first, I have to pay 40,000 baht for the bets. During the New Year my client cheated me of 53,000 baht and the dealer for another 40,000 baht together it is almost 100,000 baht. I have to pay from my own money when I only get 10% commission. It is not a huge sum that I get. Let’s say I earn somewhere between 3,000-5,000 baht a month. This is all I get. When you come to think of it, the gamble is not really worth it.” (personal communication, August 11, 2019)

The research indicates that sometimes there might be mistakes such as missing pages in the fax transmission. “There was one time when not all of the pages were transmitted. I called the dealer and he said it was ok at that time. However, I did not keep it. If I had kept it there would be no problem. For that draw I made 3,000 baht but ended up paying 5,000 baht.” (Hairdresser, Gambler and seller 03, August 11, 2019) Sometimes the seller might forget to place the bets. “My mind slipped and I forgot to place the bets. I had to be responsible for the prize money. It was 50 baht per baht bet

and I paid 3,500 baht.” (Gambler and seller, 13, private company employee, August 25, 2019)

The research findings indicate that sometimes the writer might make a mistake. They have to be responsible as a result many of them hire someone to help them check the numbers before placing the bets. This is a means to reduce risk. However, placing bets online for sellers is still something new. Some of the sellers are concerned and afraid of making mistakes. The research findings indicate that selling underground lottery emphasizes the individual. Some of the sellers place the bets through the online system but do not dare to invest in large amounts because of fear in the risks involved.

Gambler and seller 13, private company employee-“I know that there is a website that accepts bets. However, I do not dare to try it. I am afraid that I would be cheated if I win. I think it might be easy to simply take my money. There are options for online bets but I don’t dare.” (personal communication, August 25, 2019)

2) Prize money from underground lottery-The research findings indicate that almost all dealers would reduce the prize money they pay. Two digits from 70 baht would be 65 baht, three digits would be from 500 baht to 450 baht. The tote 3 digits would be reduced from 100 baht to 90 baht. The payment to winners by the sellers could be both full amount or have a 5 baht deduction (2 digits) or 50 baht (3 digits). In addition, the payment depends on the closeness of the relationship.

Seller 02, online business owner-“I would see first how close I am to the person. If we are close I would give all 65 baht. This is my right. I can choose to give 60 baht. I used to give 3 digits all 500 baht but later I reduced the payment to 450 baht. Sometimes the seller might give the winner 400 baht. Usually the rate is 400 baht. At first it was 600 baht but all of the dealers reduced the payment.” (personal communication, August 12, 2019)

3) Determination of Not Sold Numbers-The research indicates that not sold numbers come from the dealers. In the past the major dealers did not allow bets to be placed on 541 and 514, because they are popular numbers for every draw.

Not sold numbers that major dealers take from mass media include the following:

- (1) PM number such as the license plate of his car
- (2) Age of famous monks
- (3) Important days of the royalty
- (4) Accidents
- (5) Strange news

Sellers have to help their clients find solutions for not sold numbers. They would distribute the bets to other dealers or take small amount of bet money, accepting it themselves. These not sold numbers are a source of irritation for both sellers and buyers. However, the sellers try to come with solutions so as not to lose their clients. It is a means to maintain smooth operations in their network.

Gambler and seller 13, private company employee-“Not sold numbers or popular numbers differ from place to place. Some don’t sell 22 or 89. At times they don’t sell the numbers at all, while at times they will limit the bets placed. Some don’t have not sold numbers but my dealer does. I told my clients I take all bets but I limit the amount they can put their bet. I take the bets like some would buy 10x10. I can take that amount of risk.” (personal communication, August 25, 2019)

4) Period of receiving-making payments-The research findings indicate that most of the sellers would place bets at 1 PM or latest 3 PM. The money would be paid no later than 3 days after the draw. Most of the sellers would pay the prize money in advance before the dealers actually make the payment. When the gamblers lose money some of the sellers would allow the payment to be made at the next draw. However, this depends on the deal. Some of them would get discounts, gaining credit, and whether or not winners get the full amount of prize money. There is no fixed deal. Some of the sellers are not very good at collecting debts. Thus, selling bets with cash is good. Some of small-time sellers try to accumulate the bets. But these small-time dealers, who don’t pay on time, thus major sellers have to give loans as well.

Gambler 02, online business owner-“Dealers would pay but that was not what happened in my case. When they win they would pay me because I give out loans too. I would give my clients only 20% because I pay 5% in advance. Usually the dealer would cut part of the winnings. Also, they won’t allow gamblers to pay at a later draw. But for me, when my clients say they don’t have money, I would pay for them but I charge interest. Let me explain for example a 100 baht bet would get 30. Some give 25

or 27. The difference of 3, 5, or 7 percent is the profit. This is because when they don't have the money, I have to pay for them in advance. Others won't do this. Let's say you have to pay me during this draw but run out of money. Suppose the amount due is 20,000 baht and the person wins 30,000 baht, I would deduct the money immediately. The prize money of this person would only be 20 baht. Some sellers give 25 baht. But you have to remember I have the right not to pay for you in advance. If you don't like my deal you would have to find someone, who will pay for you." (personal communication, August 12, 2019)

The percent deduction by dealers depends on the deal with the sellers, who has to communicate to the small-timers and gamblers. The buyers need to accept the rules. The communications regarding payment would be done personally such as when and how much of the payment would be made. Without credit, the reward would be higher. If the payment is late, the profit would be less. It is important to choose the network they can trust, which includes dealer, seller, and gamblers.

Table 4.11 Summarization of Gambler and Dealer Experience Placing Bets, Winning, Period of Time Receive-Payment

Designation	Experience Placing Bets/Win/Cheated/MistakeS	Prize from Underground Lottery			Determine Not Sold Numbers	Period of Time Receive-Make Payment
		2 Digits	3 Digits Exact	3 Digits Tote		
Seller 02	- Mother generation client cheated 300,000 baht - Children generation took 1 seller from mother but was cheated so now send all bets to mother	- Close pay 65 baht - If not close pay 60 baht	In the past 500 baht today 450 baht per baht bet	90 baht per baht bet	- dealer	- Receive bets until 1PM latest 3 PM on day of draw - Pay next day after draw use skill as accountant to clear within day of draw at 8PM
Gambler and seller 03	- Pay for dealer was cheated 53,000 baht (pay client), dealer 40,000 baht totaling 100,000 baht - make mistake did not fax all the numbers in the list - cannot get money back 2-3,000 baht - write wrong number and it happens to win	70 baht per baht bet	500 baht per baht bet	90 baht per baht bet	- Lucky number - PM number - Number from monk age - Important days of royalty	- Receive-send 2:30-3 PM - client win prize immediately (seller pay in advance) - If client lose they can pay seller within next draw

Designation	Experience Placing Bets/Win/Cheated/MistakeS	Prize from Underground Lottery			Determine Not Sold Numbers	Period of Time Receive-Make Payment
		2 Digits	3 Digits Exact	3 Digits Tote		
Seller 04	- Cannot collect was cheated 9,000 baht. - have experience in making mistake in number so has to be responsible - Highest winner is 50,000 baht	70 baht per baht bet	500 baht per baht bet	90 baht per baht bet	- dealer - major accidents - PM number locks	
Gambler and seller 06	- win 9 draws in a row - client cheat 7,000 baht so confiscate pump - if cheated have to pay - Highest lost 7,000 baht - Received-sent wrong numbers but gain 35,000 baht	70 baht per baht bet	450 baht per baht bet	90 baht per baht bet	- dealer - numbers relate to PM	- pay cash to dealer within 2-3 days - pay within next draw - pay cash lately -if not enough borrow money from mother
Gambler and seller 07	- Mistake 20 02 to 02 02 - cheated 20,000 baht - Cannot collect from relative 1,600 baht	65 baht per baht bet	450 baht per baht bet	90 baht per baht bet	- dealer highest 10 not sold numbers	- clear money in no more than 3 days - if place many bets can pay within next draw

Designation	Experience Placing Bets/Win/Cheated/MistakeS	Prize from Underground Lottery			Determine Not Sold Numbers	Period of Time Receive-Make Payment
		2 Digits	3 Digits Exact	3 Digits Tote		
Dealer 10	- sometimes win 3-4 million baht dealer has to pay installment				- famous numbers from media	
	Father generation 7,000,000 baht per draw	80 baht per baht bet	550 baht per baht bet 3 digits underground 110 baht per baht bet	100 baht per baht bet	- news- government and dealer - number 541 and 514 not sold in every draw	- cash - not reduce commission for buyer - pay cash
	Children generation from 1,000,000 baht	70 baht per baht bet	500 baht per baht bet	90 baht per baht bet	- famous news - Royalty birthday - PM car license plate - number from monks - major accidents	- pay within next draw

Designation	Experience Placing Bets/Win/Cheated/MistakeS	Prize from Underground Lottery			Determine Not Sold Numbers	Period of Time Receive-Make Payment
		2 Digits	3 Digits Exact	3 Digits Tote		
Gambler and seller 13	- make mistake in numbers about 50 baht each total 3,500 baht - cannot collect from client 1,600 baht	65-70 baht per baht bet	450 baht per baht bet		- lucky numbers sent through Line - strange news - accident news -King's birthday -Royalty birthday	- Client pays 1 day before the draw or on the day through money transfer - pay immediately when client wins



4.2.4 Beliefs of the Dealer and Middle-Class Underground Lottery Sellers

1) Source of Lucky Numbers-The research findings indicate that the sellers and gamblers of underground lottery have the same source of lucky numbers as presented in section 1. Most of them interpret numbers from their dreams, car license plates, and home address. In addition, some might make purchase from numbers on the Chinese calendar.

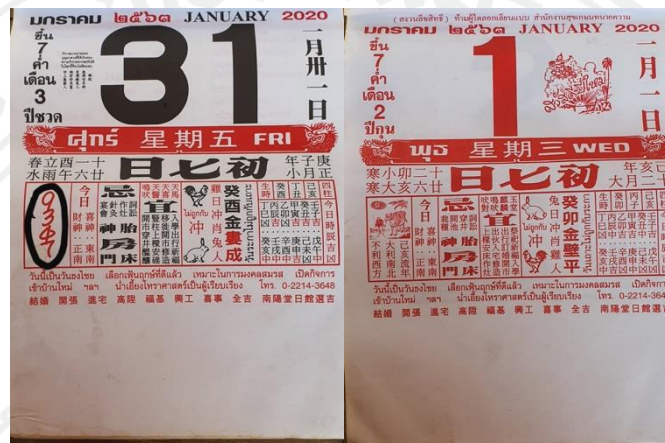


Figure 4.11 Chinese Calendar

Note: Taken by Researcher on May 2, 2020, City Pillar, Nakhon Ratchasima Province

The method for finding numbers from Chinese calendars includes looking at the figures on the day before the draw as seen in Figure 35. The page of January 30 has no numbers but on January 31, 2020 has 9, 3, 4, and 7. This depends on how they see the numbers. The lottery draw should be on January 1 but in Thailand the draw would be January 2, 2020. Thus, looking for numbers on Chinese calendar would be made on the day before draw.

The research findings indicate that there are many pages on Facebook providing number recommendations such as Huay Wong Ngern, Lek Ded Huay Bai Diew (Free), Government Lottery for Share Free, Chef Ton Korat, Sharing Good Numbers, Numbers from Famous Monks, Win Every Draw, Best Numbers. These pages are created by gamblers and sellers. It becomes the place where they can talk about underground lottery openly. It is easily accessible to the middle-class gamblers,

sellers, and dealers, where they can receive information. They might not like or follow but just look at the information to help them make the decisions in placing bets.

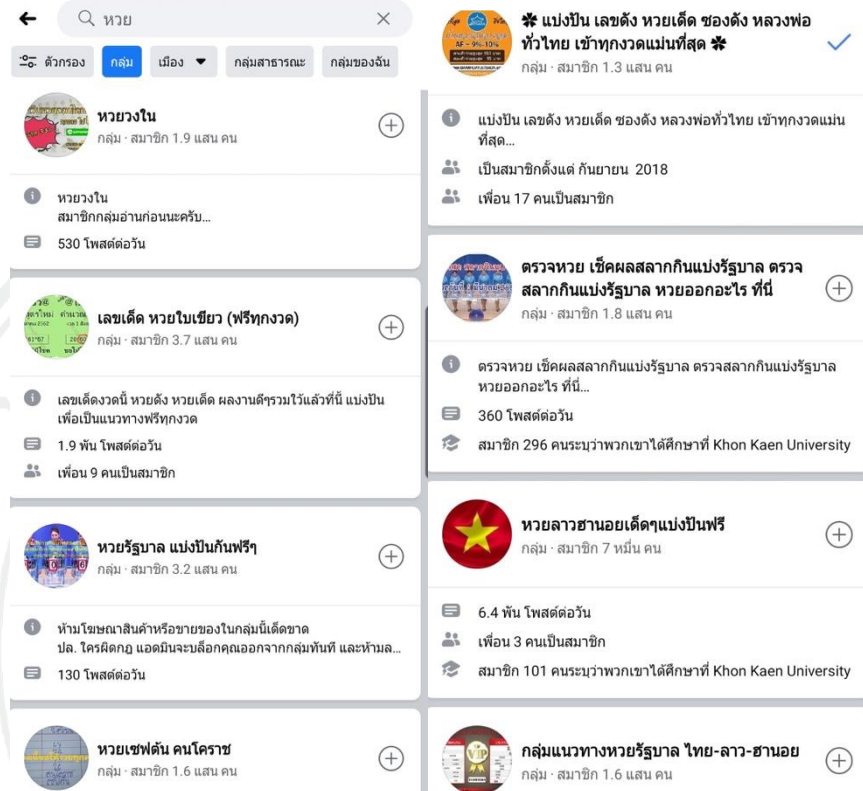


Figure 4.12 Pages on Facebook

Gamblers get on the Facebook pages to look at numbers that they share with their friends. Some download applications that provide good numbers. There is no need to search for winning results of the government lottery because it is on radio, television, and print outs. In addition, the gamblers do not need to travel to find numbers because they can find numbers in their environment as well as news in mass media or social media.



Figure 4.13 Results for Finding Numbers in the Line Application

Engagement in Line and search of “check numbers” or “lottery” would yield numerous similar results. Searching for the winning results can be done easily on Google. Today the printed list of the lottery winning numbers is no longer sold around the neighborhood but is available only at the lottery stalls.



Figure 4.14 Winning Numbers Printed List March 16, 2020

The researcher has visited the lottery sales area behind the Suranaree Monument. It is found that winners can collect the prize money from the sellers without having to go to the Government Lottery Office on Rachadamnern Road, Talad Yod, Phra Nakhon District, Bangkok. The lottery sellers would have to inspect the tickets for confidence before giving the money. These sellers would deduct 2% from the prize money because they have to pay in advance. For confidence they would carefully inspect the image because each of the tickets printed differently for each draw. The charity and government lottery would also be different. Therefore, the gamblers can go to the Government Cooperative and Agriculture Bank and Krung Thai Bank to redeem their prize for a charge of only 1%.

2) Amount of Money for Bets-The research findings indicate that middle-class underground lottery gamblers also sell the bets place only 1,000-2,000 baht. However, it is less than the regular gamblers, who place 20,000 baht. This is because they emphasize selling, placing bets is a secondary issue. Gambling, however, is part of the fun. It becomes a topic for conversation with the clients. However, it is important

to make sure that the gambling does not influence the sales volume. This phenomenon is analyzed based from the perspective of the seller as presented in the following section.

Gambler 02, online business owner-“There are more sellers today than in the past. I think of it this way based on theory. Let’s say before I have 2 baht, I might place bets for 5 baht, 10 baht, or 20 baht, but not anymore. But today there is no one placing bets of 30, 50, 20, or 30 baht at least. In one sheet there are about 5 digits. But there are those, who have to place a minimum of 30, 50, 100, 500, and 1,000 baht. There is also the not sold numbers, which pays 60 for 1,000 or 65,000 baht. Let’s say if someone wins a bet of 1 million baht the payment would be 65,000,000 baht. This is especially difficult when the economy is bad. More people want to seek fortune this way. This becomes risky because there are many people placing bets and there is a possibility of not having enough money to pay. For instance, in my case I have a reputable job so do I have the option of not paying or not being responsible? I don’t want to have a bad profile about money. If I say that I would sell, but if I can’t collect the money, I have to quit. Even if I don’t have the money, I have to pay in installment. This is critical to building my reputation and trustworthiness.” (personal communication, August 12, 2019)

The research findings indicate that the economic situation has an impact on gambling and the funds allocated. According to the sellers, there are more gamblers as observed from the volume of bets placed. However, they believe that without money, they should not have enough money to place bets. This is because they have lots of bets sold, which is contrary to the dealers stopping of numbers and capping bets, which reflects larger volume of gamblers. There are many dealers that have quit as a result the sellers need to maintain their own reputation. This is because underground lottery is still the hope for gamblers in every age and generation.

3) Experience in winning-Some of the gamblers report that they have won consecutively for 2 years, while some say they won for 20 years. This is the charm of the underground lottery business. They have continuously won as a result the underground lottery network is passed on from generation to generation. They might change the channel for placing bets but the pride of winning 2 or 3 digits never changes.

4) Beliefs-Some of the gamblers prefer to buy with sellers, with whom they win regularly. If they do not win, they would change to other sellers. These people believe in the compatibility in terms of luck. They make decisions because expect to win based on their personal beliefs.

Gambler 02, online business owner-“Like my case, one buyer said he never won placing bets with me. Then he stopped for a few months and came back. This continued for 3 times but still he never won. He believes that he cannot get my money. My luck is very strong since I am born on Tuesday. I never won the prize even once. Sometimes I want to place bets so I buy from my mother. But still I don’t win. I guess this is the same feeling, when some buyers don’t want to place bets with me.” (personal communication, August 12, 2019)

In addition, underground lottery gamblers believe that it is against the good religious principles. Therefore, they pray to gain luck.

Gambler and seller 03, hairdresser-“I believe that I have done wrong. I don’t want to make a profit from actions against the good religious teachings. For instance, if the reward is 70 baht and I pay 65 baht. This is not good; I am taking that person’s money so I don’t take it. But still even if I don’t take it, I feel bad. It is because I have done something against the religions principles but it is too late. However, I cannot just stop there. I use the money to make merit. I am not trying to whitewash my deeds. I make merit because it is in my nature. When I make merit, I win because it is the result of the good deeds. However, I am not superstitious. There was a time when I meditated and prayed Itiphiso sutra for about a month. I did not win anything but when I stopped, I don’t know if it is just coincidence, I won. Now that I am older, I don’t pray that much but I give alms regularly.” (personal communication, August 11, 2019)

5) Reading statistics-The research findings indicate that sellers also gamble. In addition, they tend to have been in the underground lottery business for a long time They would remember the statistics and analyze on their own by watching the various media. In addition, they also discuss with their clients and make the decision that they feel is right.

Gambler and seller 03, hairdresser-“Sometimes I don’t place bets. Before this, I did not place bets. However, when I calculated the income, I know I can place bets within a limit. Let’s say if my siblings want to play (I wonder how can they bet

8,000 baht or 5,000 baht), I would warn them. I can tell if a number has a chance or not. If they do not believe I can't help. I have a sense but I can't say exactly.” (personal communication, August 11, 2019)

6) Prize money from winning-Dealers would bring money from underground lottery earnings to invest in other business. The sellers would use it in their daily life. Some of the respondents believe that this helps them to have better quality of life.

Seller 04, government official-“I would use the money in the daily life. It is a way to make money without having to do much. I just do some basic calculations and make money. It is easy additional income making living smooth in every month.” (personal communication, August 12, 2019)

Most of the middle-class underground lottery gamblers, would treat their friends when they win. They believe that money won from gambling is luck so it should be spent making merit. This is in line with the findings reported in Section 1.

Table 4.12 Beliefs of Dealers and Middle-Class Sellers

Designation	Number Source	Amount of Bets	Experience in Winning	Beliefs	Use Statistics	Prize Money
Gambler 02	Don't place bets on underground lottery	Don't place bets on underground lottery	Don't place bets on underground lottery	<p>Don't place bets on underground lottery</p> <p>- Popular or not sold numbers usually don't win</p> <p>- Clients believe that if they buy and lose often, they would change dealers. If win often, they would remain with same dealer.</p> <p>- Was cheated when had underground lottery business for 200,000 baht.</p> <p>Believe have no luck.</p>	Don't place bets on underground lottery	Don't expect to win money, if gain profit would use it but keep it separate from other earnings.

Designation	Number Source	Amount of Bets	Experience in Winning	Beliefs	Use Statistics	Prize Money
Gambler and seller 03	- Chinese calendar - Dream interpretation - Car license plate number - Home address number - Numbers from Facebook	1,000-2,000 baht	- Won every draw for 2 years - Place bets for 20 years on 2 digits (shifting positions) and 3 digits rarely - Won age of football guru Yor Yong 47 placing bet at 50 baht	- Make merit, pray, but not win - Placing bets is against religious teachings - Scratching trees for numbers is fantasy	Remember statistics for analysis	- Use in daily expenses

Designation	Number Source	Amount of Bets	Experience in Winning	Beliefs	Use Statistics	Prize Money
Gambler 04	Don't place bets on underground lottery	Don't place bets on underground lottery	Don't place bets on underground lottery	Gamblers believe that sellers who have weak luck and are not fussy would make them win more often. They would continue to place bets with these people.	Don't place bets on underground lottery	Additional income to supplement monthly income
Gambler and seller 06	- Interpret dreams (have own book of interpretations) - Car license plates - Preferred numbers	Place 10,000 baht/draw Limit bets and reduce expenditure from 1,000 x 1,000 to 50 x 50	- Won 2 digits but never 3 digits - Won 1,000 x 1,000 and got 70,000 baht	- Ask holy relics to win (Pray to Tao Suranaree) - Make wish on lucky stones - Accept bets don't ask for blessing	- Not consult statistics from government lottery - See statistics of Laos and Hanoi lottery	- Luck need to make merit with this money

Designation	Number Source	Amount of Bets	Experience in Winning	Beliefs	Use Statistics	Prize Money
Gambler and seller 07	Based on preference	Not sure but has no impact on profit from sales	Won 2 digits 400 baht	- Never ask from holy relics - Clients believe that buying from seller makes them win so they keep on buying	- Consider the trend of gamblers	Make merit
Dealer 10	Don't place bets on underground lottery	Don't place bets on underground lottery	Don't place bets on underground lottery	Don't place bets on underground lottery	Don't place bets on underground lottery	Income for family
Gambler and seller 13	- Think of numbers in the family and at office - Interpret dreams - Car license plates	No limit would bet about 10 numbers within 2,000 baht limit/month. Does not impact monthly payment.		- Ask from monk - Believe numbers from Khamchanote - Believe in luck - Try scratching trees as people have passed on stories	Buy famous and not sold numbers	- Make merit - Celebrate at home with friends

Designation	Number Source	Amount of Bets	Experience in Winning	Beliefs	Use Statistics	Prize Money
	- alternate 2 and 3 digits			- Hope in winning underground lottery but government lottery only		
	- Send Line message to pass lucky numbers			win some for use		
	- Lucky numbers application					



The research “Identities and Communication Network of Middle-Class Underground Lotto Gamblers” reveal communications as presented in the following figure.

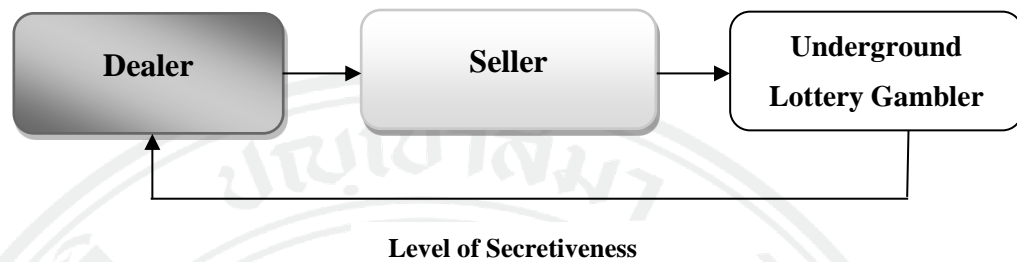


Figure 4.15 Communications Network of Middle-class Underground Lottery Gamblers

The research findings indicate that the dealers do not know the gamblers. They do not have personal relationships and keep the association secretive. Gamblers cannot access the dealer. They only talk about where the dealer might work or whether the dealer is in the country or not. The dealers on the other hand do not care who are the gamblers. They are only concerned about the amounts of bets placed. The management of the team is critical to maximize profitability. Thus, the relationship with sellers would be based on the profit contribution. They have to make sure payments are made on time; thus, they have to choose their business partners wisely. The relationship between the writers and middle-class underground lottery gamblers is revealed openly. They are easily accessed and can be contacted all the time. Gamblers can choose to come to place bets face-to-face, on phone, or through chat applications quickly and effectively. This has led to the growth of regular clients. The sellers would maintain their reputation by making sure they pay on time, don't collect the overdue payment from clients to save their face, and maintain a good relationship. This shows that the sellers and gamblers respect one another. In addition, there is almost no chance of being cheated and if that happens, the seller would be responsible.

4.2.5 Expression of Dealer and Middle-class Underground Lottery Sellers

The research indicates that major dealers can sell underground lottery openly because they have a good relationship with the police. The small-timers have an easier time because they can contact the major dealers using the mobile phone at any time. Therefore, the stringers role is replaced by technology. The relationship is quite open at all levels of the network. The sellers can sell openly even on Facebook, where they announce that they are accepting bets and which numbers are not being sold.

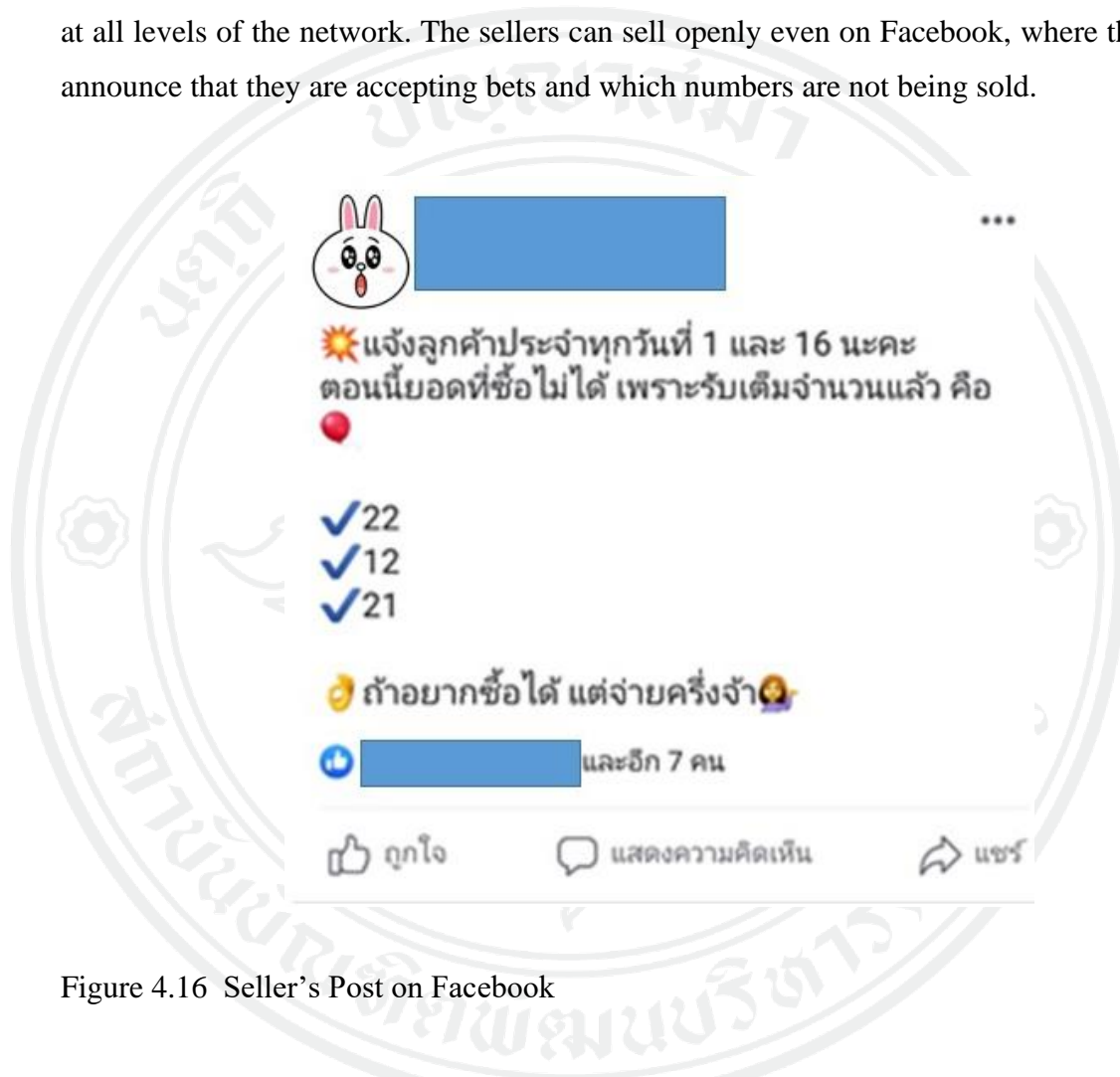


Figure 4.16 Seller's Post on Facebook

In addition, the sellers openly express themselves on Facebook that they have special number sets. They also update the information for their followers about which are good numbers. They provide information about the sets of numbers sold, thus enticing those who have not made the purchase to come and visit the Facebook page to make their decision.

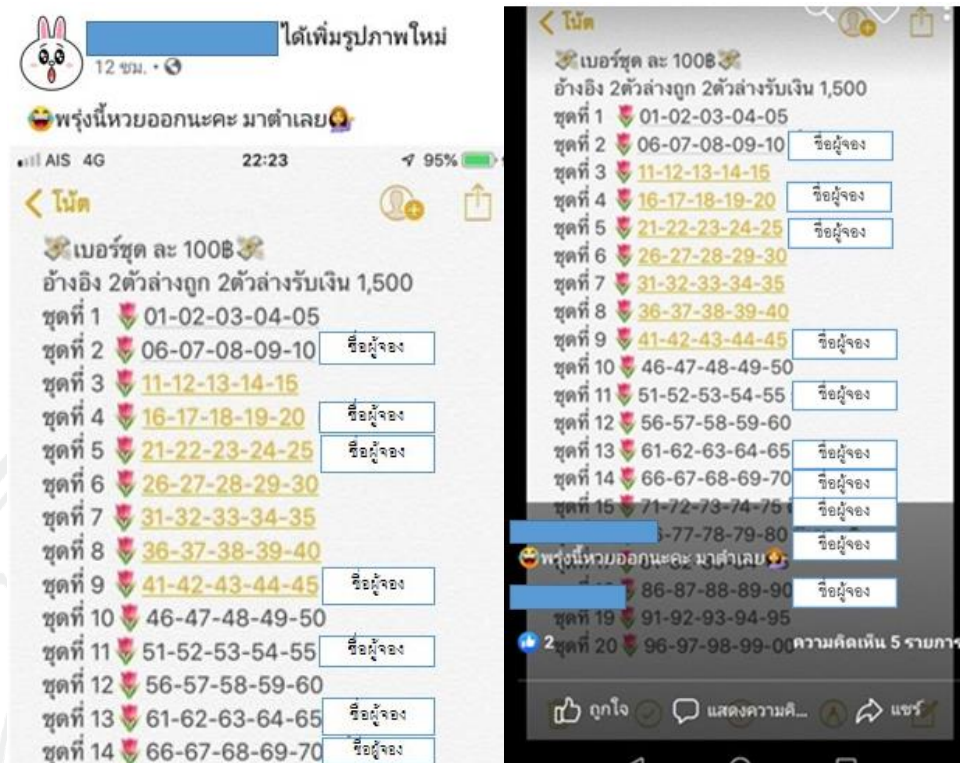


Figure 4.17 Seller's Announcement of Numbers Sold on Facebook

Observation from the researcher's friends on Facebook, it is found that sellers and gamblers post information about selling underground lottery on their social media. They provide information about placing bets on underground lottery, golden numbers, and international lottery regularly on their Facebook. They do so openly and gamblers make the purchase. The posts that show people winning creates further excitement. Examples include the following:

"Anyone want Hanoi Lottery? I will open bets at 5:50 PM. Win and get money today!"

"Laos Lottery changed drawing day. Now it is Monday and Thursday. Today is the first draw, 03/05/2563 close at 7:20 PM and the lottery is drawn at 8 PM."

"Laos open at 7 PM as usual."

"Since I got this car, I always won. The first is 29 then 59 then 85 followed by 29 and 95. I am very happy and I want to share with others. Come come! Let's be lucky! Get more!"

“Congratulations You won the golden number 32 and received 22,500 baht!”

The interview of Gambler and seller 07 shows confidence in having a network with police. In case there is any problem, it is believed that the police can clear everything. This is why this respondent is not afraid to post about underground lottery openly. “Set numbers are similar to golden numbers. They run from 00 to 99 totaling 20 or 50 sets. For instance, in Set 1 you might have 00 – 05. I sell each set for 100 baht. So, if you win you get 1,500 baht. In the end you will get 500 baht. You did not lose money you still get prize money. But if you did not buy all 20 sets, you will not get that. You must place bets on at least 15 sets depends on your money. There is no problem. We can talk because I know some big shot policeman.” (personal communication, August 20, 2019)

Dealers and middle-class underground lottery gamblers show that most of them don’t reveal themselves in the real world and on social media. There are only some, who openly show themselves. There is no single respondent, who shows the technique in order to protect themselves from police arrests in case they express themselves too openly. They are usually known only in their small circles. They need to maintain their reputation and express themselves as well connected and powerful having influence with the police as well as society.

Table 4.13 Summarization of Self Expression of Dealers and Middle-class Underground Lottery Sellers

Designation	Expression in Real Life	Expression in Social Media
Gambler 02	Don’t tell that sell underground lottery, team members don’t reveal self, known only in small circle	Not post
Gambler and seller 03	Known around hair salon and regular clients	Not post
Seller 04	Don’t reveal that sells underground lottery because work as government official	Not post

Designation	Expression in Real Life	Expression in Social Media
Gambler and seller 06	Everyone knows person is seller	Not post
Gambler and seller 07	Change status to seller, have money to care for self, friends, can pay for motorcycle and dorm rent	Post selling underground lottery on Facebook openly
Dealer 10	- Father generation reveal openly, expansive network - Children generation, know in limited circles	Not present that sell underground lottery but present as business person
Gambler and seller 13	Not show that sell underground lottery	Not post

4.3 Perspectives of Dealer and Middle-class Underground Lottery Sellers towards Underground Lottery Business

The research findings indicate that the network of underground lottery gamblers have been around for a long time and generate massive income for those involved. The network is strong because it is based on mutual benefits. According to Dealer 10, factory owner-“There is a lot of money involved like some 7 million baht. Suppose I make a profit every draw for about 2 million baht per month. If there are losses, I might end up with 3-4 hundred thousand baht. Let’s say the average is about 6-8 hundred thousand. Not bad at all. But some people do not like it because it is not stable. It can’t be. But people have to place bets. This habit cannot be changed easily. Even if the gambling is brought above the ground, underground lottery will still survive. Underground lottery will still give better rewards but well it is not a very stable business.” (personal communication, August 22, 2019) The presentation of the dealer and sellers opinions have been summarized in the following table.

Table 4.14 Summarization of Opinion towards Above the Ground Lottery

Designation	Opinion towards Above the Ground Lottery
Seller 02	When economy is bad people seek fortune more so the number of gamblers grows, the more numbers are not sold, the sales would drop
Gambler and seller 03	Underground lottery will survive but sales would be less because bad economy people don't have money to gamble. Don't want government to do above the ground lottery. Don't agree to have this kind of gambling in Thai society.
Seller 04	People still bet on underground lottery
Gambler and seller 06	Bets can be made 5-10 baht, sellers can have other career simultaneously
Gambler and seller 07	Underground lottery will survive because it is conveniently sold
Dealer 10	Government controls the Government Lottery Office and would like to collect money from underground lottery the same way as tax on alcohol and cigarettes
Gambler and seller 13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interested in above the ground if it is legal, if it is good people will quit underground lottery - can solve problem of high price lottery - underground lottery can survive because people with low income can place bets

The research findings from the study, “Identities and Communication Network of Middle-Class Underground Lotto Gamblers” indicate that the network comprises of more than one person that need to interact with one another. The interest to gamble would lead to the exchanges of information about numbers. People would come together to make interpretations about numbers from various sources. Some would travel to get the numbers, while others listen to the information from people close to

them. There are also those who pick up information from online content. They would also check on the topic of interest in social media through looking on their news feed. Gamblers can also access information about good numbers from many sources. If they have friends selling underground lottery, they would also look at the direction of the posted content. When they see that a person wins often, they would start a conversation. It can be seen that gamblers do not keep their identities a secret. In fact, they would even congratulate winners as if they have achieved some significant victory. They would as for celebrations and exchange information about interpreting numbers or the mistakes they made. This phenomenon reflects the feeling of being in the same group with shared feelings and a similar identity, which makes them friends.

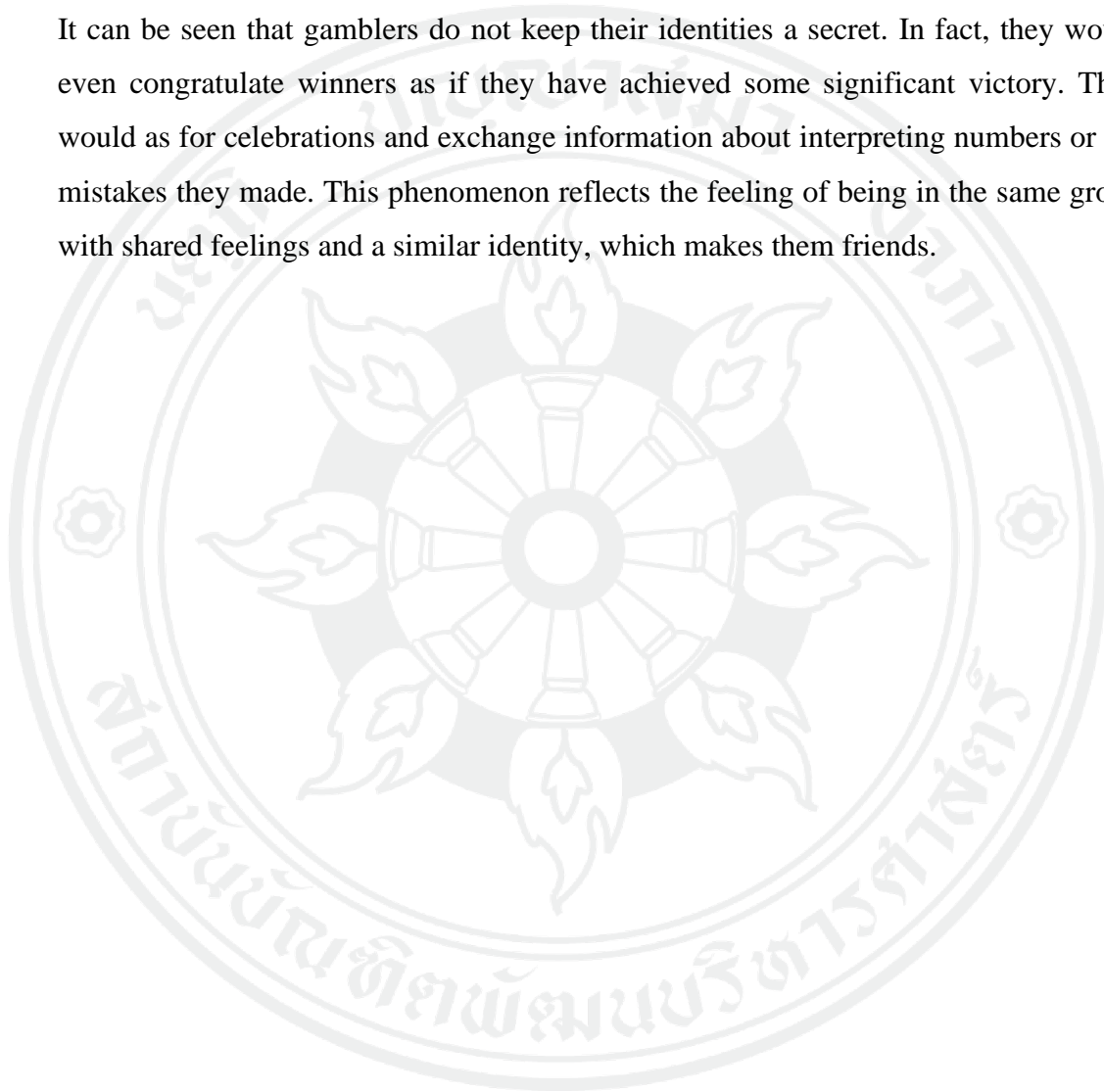




Figure 4.18 Exchanges of Opinions about Fortune Seeking on Facebook

From the aforementioned conversations it can be seen that friends on Facebook would exchange information and share their opinions. If someone starts a conversation, it would be picked-up in a light hearted manner. It is a fun activity. They do not view gambling as an activity that would tarnish their reputation or lessen their value. The expression on technology enabled social spaces is done in a relaxed manner. They avoid serious topics in daily life and express identity to save face. This is because all of the members view underground lottery gambling as a norm in the way of life and it is no risk to the youth, which is normal among the middle-class. They use social media as a stage to express their identity as underground lottery gambler, which is reliant on the relationship or conversation that they may have outside of Facebook. They might continue their conversations in the inbox, Line chat, or meet up for conversations. The network, thus continues to expand. When people join these underground lottery networks, it depends on their role as well. There are dealers, sellers, and gamblers. Each group has to play their roles accordingly. They are connected with capital and benefits, which is not limited to economics. It could include culture such as the scratching of trees for numbers, making merit and asking the monk for numbers, or even hermits. These people believe that losing is part of the luck. When they win, they would make merit because they believe it is a fortune they received.

In addition, those in the underground lottery network have social capital. They have good education, career, income, and backgrounds, yet they come together. The researcher used the snowball sampling technique to search for respondents for the in-depth interview. This allowed the phenomenon to be studied from the start to the future trends. The researcher has also engaged as the sender providing information about underground lottery in order to facilitate the conversation. This includes placing bets where the sharing of numbers is reciprocal. The person, who has a lot of luck winning often, would be powerful in the group. They would be famous and people would consult them. Some of the people would follow the bets but all should be done with proper discretion. Ultimately the choice to place bets or not depends on the individual's experiences. The mission to place bets on underground lottery starts from the search for numbers and ends with the result of the draw. This happens in a cycle for every draw. The underground lottery gamblers are not the people who cause social problems, have high debts, or cause crimes. They have a lively identity as found in the study "Identities

and Communication Network of Middle-Class Underground Lotto Gamblers”. The details would be further explained in Chapter 5.



CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSIONS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study titled, “Identities and Communication Network of Middle-Class Underground Lotto Gamblers” has the objective to examine the identity of middle-class underground lottery gamblers. In addition, it aims to study the underground lottery gamblers’ communications network to examine the relationship between dealers, sellers, and middle-class gamblers. This study utilized the qualitative research methodology. The data was collected using field observation, participation observation, and in-depth interview. Non-probability sampling methodology, which is purposive sampling. Due to its sensitive nature, the snowball technique was used. The researcher has network in Nakhon Ratchasima province districts (City, Hua Talay, and Ban Koh), Pimai, and Nonthai. The data was collected using the in-depth interview. The data collection tool was the unstructured questionnaire in order to ensure that all topics are covered. The study examined middle-class gamblers, who have a continuous underground lottery gambling habit.

The study collected data from dealers, sellers, and gamblers, who have been involved in the underground lottery circuit for no less than 5 years. This group is examined because of their clear gambling behavior. The respondents were categorized based on their income and occupation because this had an impact on taste and social class. There were a total of 15 respondents with income over 18,000 baht. The analysis was conducted based on literature about underground lottery, identity, communications network, information seeking behavior, taste, and middle-class. The research framework was developed from the analysis, which has been used for the development of the conclusions, discussion of research findings, research limitations, and recommendations as presented in the following section.

5.1 Summary of Research Findings

5.1.1 Identity of Middle-Class Underground Lottery Gamblers

The research findings indicated that the dealer and sellers are those who receive tangible benefits, money, from engaging in the underground lottery business. Thus, they need to have connections with the police and create the identity of being socially well-connected. They need to project this image of being able to protect the people in the team. The underground lottery gamblers play for the thrill, entertainment, and create a network with others. The middle-class underground lottery gamblers choose to place their bets with people they know such as friends. The exchange of information about high probability numbers, hope to win a fortune, and the environment of the thrill makes for great conversation topics. It makes the first and sixteenth of every month lively.

The people in the underground lottery network interviewed include 1 dealer, 4 gamblers and sellers, 2 sellers, and 8 gamblers totaling 15 respondents. The respondents have been in the underground lottery network for 5-30 years. They are from the middle-class and have economic stability with an income of 19,000-1,000,000 baht. They are employed, have a good reputation, and a modern lifestyle. The respondents have completed their education in Thailand and abroad. The level of education completed includes high school, studying bachelor's degree, bachelor's degree, master's degree and Ph.D. Some may not have a high level of education but have expertise in their field such as fixing watches and hair dressing. Some of them have their family business and do not hold a bachelor's degree. Their family owns either a factory, furniture store, small retail, and fabric store where they work. The research findings show that there are 2 students, who sell underground lottery as a means of additional income despite the fact their family owns a retail and agriculture business. These respondents work with their family as well. The family helps them to find customers for the underground lottery demonstrating mutual support. Some of the respondents revealed that after completing their bachelor's degree they have decided to work in their family business such as garage. Some have decided to work with the government.

There are two respondents, who have a bachelor's degree, who work as employees in a private firm. One is a gambler another is both gambler and seller. There is one respondent, owning a religious relic production business, with a master's degree,

who is a gambler. There are also those who sell underground lottery with their family in addition to their own personal online business. The university lecturer with a Ph.D. is also interested in underground lottery. The research findings indicate respondents with a family have additional income therefore gambling does not have an impact on their livelihood.

Middle-class underground lottery gamblers like to regularly meet up with people in their social circles. They have a wide social network through their good careers. The budget for betting is about 300-10,000 baht per draw. Those who have family businesses explained that they started gambling because of financial problems they have experienced. This economic impact has an inevitable relationship with the political situation. Therefore, gamblers use placing bets as a way to soothe their feelings during tough times. In addition to gambling, they also engage in prayers to the supernatural powers with hopes of winning and improving their status.

Middle-class gamblers constantly want new things because they have a good income that supports their modern taste. Gamblers use placing bets as a means for interacting with others. There are exchanges of information about high probability numbers, which becomes a topic of conversation with friends and family members. This builds the culture of placing bets on underground lottery. There is a modelling behavior resulting in an organization culture normalizing gambling. Gamblers admit that it is a risk they are willing to take. In addition, they usually place their bets with the same people unless absolutely necessary. If they change sellers, they usually rotate within 3 sellers depending on luck or feeling as they deem fit.

Inspiration for the numbers come from things around the gamblers such as dreams, car license plate numbers, motorcycle license plate numbers, home address, following friends, clients, family and the age of those who passed away. Some have numbers they bet on regularly. Some even buy the government lottery in case they win. This is considered the “cultured” way, or knowledgeable way to place bets. Some of the gamblers even developed their own formula from the information available to gain the status as a “guru” in the group of friends. The choice to buy 2 or 3 digits, teng or tote, above or underground depends on the budget and personal preferences. Some of the gamblers prefer the running numbers, which need a higher bet. This is based totally on personal preferences. The joint characteristics that middle-class gamblers share

include the fact that they usually have a number in mind, watch television, and follow the social trend on social media in order to help them make the decisions in betting on numbers. They do not rely on statistics but rather follow the same numbers regardless of whether it is not being sold as determined by the dealer based on consideration of the news presented in the mass media.

Research findings indicate that before the middle-class gambler decides on placing bets, they would seek out numbers from dreams interpretation, scratching trunks of trees such as the bodhi or takien, talking with friends, and looking at tree leaves. The numbers for selection would reduce based on screening the winning numbers from the previous draw. This depends on the beliefs and experiences of individuals. In addition, there are beliefs about the day Buddhist holy days such as the start of Buddhist Lent. However, not all gamblers believe that double numbers would always come out on Buddhist holy days. In terms of beliefs in interpreting candle drops, it is prevalent in line groups with mediums and hermits.

According to respondents, happiness is presented through the excitement of winning. When they get the money, they would celebrate. Making merit usually comes after when they get paid by the dealer. It is their belief that it is fortune that they must share for the less fortunate. However, if they do not buy the number that they have planned to and it happens to be the winning number, some of the gamblers would be very upset. They might not talk to anyone for days. The underground lottery gamblers look at themselves as placing bets for fun. They express themselves openly not fearing the police at all. This is because they believe the dealers would protect them. In addition, they feel that underground lottery gambling is not a big offence. Thus, they don't think that placing bets on underground lottery is bad for their reputation. However, they do not place bets on Facebook for their own safety. For them placing bets is an expense like any other that they spend on regularly. Thus, it would be impossible to abolish underground lottery gambling from Thailand completely because gamblers are so used to it. They are also used to getting discounts and paying later. Although, the government lottery gives a higher reward, gamblers might choose to bet both on underground and above the lottery. This is because they have sufficient income to do so.

5.1.2 Communications Network

The network of middle-class underground lottery gamblers starts with sales of the bets as a means for making a living of someone close to the individual. There are both new and old sellers. Some sell and place bets as well. They are usually careful in placing their bets in order not to affect their profits. The dealers in the past would receive 30 million baht per drawing. The second generation (children) would make about 10 million baht. The sellers make anywhere from 3,000-50,000 baht. The bribes ranging from 5,000-10,000 baht are paid to the police in the district. The bribe to be paid to the headquarters would be about 400,000 baht for special privileges in protecting dealers from complaints and subsequent arrests. Research findings indicate that the sellers do not pay for the bribes to the police. The dealer takes the responsibility in clearing the issue in case of arrests.

Underground lottery business requires many payments to be made by the dealers. However, considering the revenue earned, it is still worth it. Some of the sellers give discounts to people, who help them sell. This includes free bets placed. Today placing bets can be done anywhere considered safe for instance a friend's place, one's own home, or office. Some of the sellers promote placing bets through the website. When a seller selects a dealer, there are many factors that need to be considered, which includes trust, rates, conditions on sales in the system, reliability, and experience. The most important factor is a convenient and private channel to place bets to ensure that there are no subsequent problems. Sellers might choose to place bets with dealers, they have not known for a long time. If there are no issues like defaulting on payment, sellers would not change dealers. Dealers don't usually remove sellers from their network. They would place bets through fax, telephone, face-to-face, and through Line conversations. The relationship between dealer and sellers is a friendly relationship when they receive more money than the bets placed. They might need to distribute the bets to other dealers, when certain numbers are not being sold. The sellers would get some of the money, if the buyer wins the prize.

In the case that one of the major sellers cheated on the prize money payment, the smaller sellers would have to take responsibility on their behalf. Some of the sellers may not be able to pay so they end up quitting the business. The rest would take it as a lesson, that everyone in the network part takes in the risk involved. Some of the writers

make mistakes in the numbers and have to make the payment on their own. In order to solve this problem some of the writers have helpers to check out the numbers before sending it off to reduce the risk. In addition, the dealers use computer programs to calculate the ratio between receiving bets and the possible payout to reduce losses. The dealers would reduce risk by distributing the bets placed on certain numbers to other dealers. Almost all of the dealers do not pay the full amount of the winnings. For instance, the prize money for 2 digits would be reduced from 70 baht to 65 baht. The three digits would reduce from 500 to 450 baht or tote from 100 baht to 90 baht. A fee would be deducted from the payment made to the seller such as 5 baht (2 digits) and 50 baht (3 digits). The payment also depends on the closeness of the relationship with the buyer and whether the number is one of those that were not sold. The sellers would accept the placing of bets up to 13:00 hrs. or latest 15:00 hrs. The winners usually get money on the day or within three days. The sellers tend to pay themselves and collect from the dealer later.

The source of numbers used by sellers is the same as underground lottery gamblers. They usually buy numbers from the interpretation of their dreams, car license plate, and home address. In addition, they also buy the numbers hinted in the Chinese calendars. Some of them visit pages on Facebook or rely messages in Line groups with friends. There are also those who download applications to seek out good numbers. The gamblers do not wait to check the winning number from the government lottery on the radio, television, or winning number sheets. They don't even have to seek out good numbers, because everything is in their environment. It is also covered by the mass media and online media. Sellers, who also place bets, usually focus on selling. For them placing bets is secondary. Major dealers can openly sell underground lottery because of the relationship they have with the police. The smaller dealers can also work conveniently because they can contact with the major dealers through the mobile phone all the time. Therefore, the stringers are no longer necessary because they have been replaced by technology. The relationship is quite open in all levels of the network. The sellers also openly accept bets. Some even post on Facebook what numbers are not sold so that their clients can make the appropriate decisions.

Most of the sellers do not openly reveal themselves in the real world and on social media. There are some, who do. There is no respondent, who openly discusses

the technique they use in communicating to protect themselves from police arrest. Those, who openly reveal themselves, do so only among a select group as a means to maintain their reputation known in the social circles as someone powerful through police connections. The research findings indicate the opinions of the dealers and sellers varied greatly. Some believed that bad economy meant more people would gamble on the underground lottery. However, some believed the opposite saying that when the economy is bad no one wants to gamble. It can be surmised that underground lottery would survive in the long-term because it did not require a large sum to place bets.

5.2 Discussion of Research Findings

Humans are social animals that have thoughts and feelings wanting to join one another in activities, thus communications became important for these interactions. Humans are different therefore; the creation of identity and self was needed for expression in various situations. In the digital society today, the self could be presented both in reality and in the online world. This results in the creation of social networks. Often face-to-face communication is no longer required. Placing bets has changed from being passed through stringers to become Line messages. However, technology has not been able to create much trust among middle-class underground lottery gamblers. Thus, some of them do not dare to openly present themselves in pages that give away high probability numbers. Gamblers would often visit pages and use applications to check the winning numbers. This reduces the power of the supernatural because instead of being active seekers of numbers, they are receiving information from various sources instead. As for the dealers and sellers, when they want to communicate with clients, they can use Line groups to make announcements. In these groups people would talk about winning the lottery and show that they are having a special meal that is not necessary too luxurious.

“Computer mediated communications occur in the context, where no one knows the other. There is no face-to-face interaction. Therefore, people would slowly create on-line identities to protect their gender and real characteristics. In addition, there is the creation of multiple identities. It is also found that most of the communicators choose to protect the truth from others. They also attempt to protect their secrets being careful

to reveal personal information. They might provide information through conversations in a form of play to confirm their group membership,” Asawin Nedpogaeo (2018, p. 228). Underground lottery gamblers maintain relationship with others through their status in their online space. This is like opening their house to create a conversation where others can congratulate the winners or exchange their views. These people have a homogeneous objective. They also grown in number in this neo-capitalist society. The middle-class underground lottery gamblers want to show off their possessions through the connection with gambling such as winning from their address or car license plate. Thus, it can be said that middle-class underground lottery gamblers do not openly express themselves, but lurk around looking for good numbers.

Humans are social animals that are surrounded by communications. When communications change, the behavior also changes. The communications network of middle-class underground lottery gamblers does not require the stringer. They could directly contact the seller through Line messages, telephone, or personal meeting. There is also a growing trend in those, who make purchases on the website, although they are not very satisfied with the process in managing the personal information. Thus, they often rely on their friends to place their bets. The sellers have also noticed the potential of the website and has been attempting to distribute the placing of bets online. In addition, it makes the communications with the dealer much more convenient. However, it makes the dealer even more secretive because online gamblers need to accept the risk of paying for the bet right up front without knowing who is getting the money. But the appeal is the higher prize money compared to betting with people they are familiar with. The changes in the communications network of middle-class underground lottery gamblers can be summarized in the following figure.

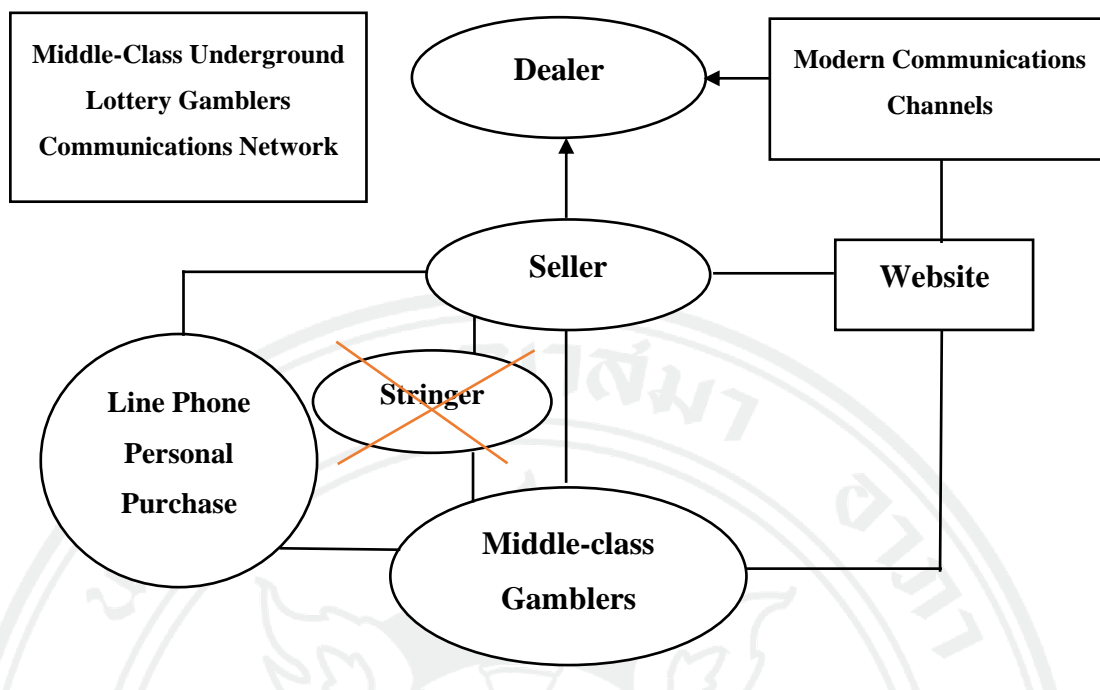


Figure 5.1 Communications Network of Middle-Class Underground Lottery Gamblers in the Digital Era

Middle-class underground lottery gamblers have a lifestyle of joining group activities that are not limited in terms of time and distance. They are the people, who are interested in a common goal. The dealer and sellers of all sizes and gamblers all have the objective in joining an entertaining activity. They gamble along with their friends in their workplace. Some grow up in families where such behavior is prevalent, so they copy such behavior. This is in line with the work of Tara Meeboon (2003), who studied the factors influencing illegal gambling in Bangkok, which found that gamblers, who had gambler acquaintances engaged more in illegal lottery than those who did not.

Society has a structure that determines the feelings and behavior of individuals based on the concept of habitus presented by Bourdieu. It is defined as the product of the process of social formation in the early stages of life. It is during this period that various values are implanted along with social conditions such as rules, beliefs, values, norms, knowledge, and thoughts. As the individual absorbs this structure, it becomes the boundary that determines behavior and learning frame. All value is evaluated based on this framework, which is reflected in everyday life continuously, known as reproduction. The structure is constructed through actions that have been predetermined

based on habitus, which is determined by another external structure (Bourdieu, 1994). Thus, the structure determines and is determined with regards to ownership of capital. This is particularly true for the symbolic capital. Thus, the owner of symbolic capital has the symbolic power. Dealers and sellers have connections with the police. They have economic and symbolic capital. They are influential in society or in their work. They have the power to coordinate with police in the area to protect their underground lottery business both in the real world and in social media. These dealers openly reveal their self. This finding contradicts the study of Chawanuan Kananukul (1999), which studied the behavior and communications network of underground lottery gamblers. The study found that major, mid-level, and small-time dealers were secretive. However, this research found that on contrary to previous work, the dealers are more open and flaunt their well-connectedness. They can reveal themselves only because they have a good relationship with the police. Today, the dealers are no longer hiding in the darkness as in the past as presented in the following figure.

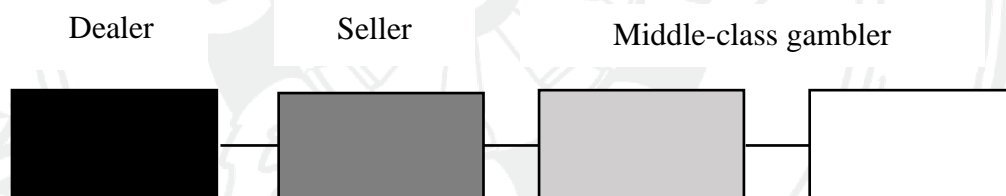


Figure 5.2 The Level of Openness in the Communications Network of Middle-Class Underground Lottery Gamblers

The relationship between sellers and dealers are a weak tie, while the sellers and gamblers have a strong tie. There is no relationship between dealers and gamblers. This is the way the underground lottery business is operated, which is in line with Phasuk Pongpaijit et al. (2000, pp. 153-154). The small dealers would enter into negotiations with major dealers, who have more resources, to protect themselves from risk. They would make deals on certain popular numbers to make sure that they would have sufficient money to pay in case the number actually wins. This type of deal can only happen when the dealers know one another or someone acts as the coordinator.

Protecting themselves from risk is a major driving force in expanding the customer base, which is beneficial to the business and the dealers.

The positions, roles, and relationship in the network is created to provide meaning for self. Language is an important aspect in the expression of symbolism of the self. The collaboration between dealers and who is selling bets for which dealer, is known among the group of dealers. Nowadays, bets can be placed with anyone, thus there is no longer the need for exclusivity.

The most important aspect of taste as defined by Bourdieu in terms of classes has been used as the tool to maintain the differences in the culture between the classes. The middle-class create a culture of gambling that the lower class cannot achieve. This difference is based on the taste, gambling in a knowledgeable way, placing bets skillfully, using computer programs for calculation, experience, and network for distributing bets to other dealers. The dealers, sellers, and middle-class gamblers live the good life. They seem to have a modern lifestyle living in luxury. They become the object of envy. This can be explained from the view that they seem like successful professional businessmen, who are honored, have good status, and education. They can skillfully predict the numbers, are often lucky, have good karma support, have wide social network, and are hard to reach. The presentation of underground lottery gamblers are fortune seekers also includes the view that they have stable businesses, are always lucky, help society, have a good heart, like to make merit, have many friends, generous to share good numbers, not affected by gambling, and reveal themselves to a limited circle. In the case of close relationships with insider knowledge, the expression of identity does not have to be strong. Selling bets is a high-income job that does not require hard work. Dealers create their language to provide meaning in interactions and self definition. For instance, words like *teng*, *tote*, running numbers, or numbers that are not sold. These become tools with members in the network to reach a common understanding. In addition, there are other technological tools that facilitate the communications making it more convenient to reveal their self in the Line groups or other social media. This can be done easily and quickly.

The culture of fortune seeking is based on luck, beliefs, and the supernatural. The middle-class underground lottery gamblers pass on these beliefs. Underground lottery is like a souvenir. When people travel, they share stories about good numbers

both in the real world and on social media. The interpretation of numbers is a personal skill that requires specialization. For instance, to interpret the candle drops, the gamblers need to travel to respected individuals such as monks or hermits to exchange their information. The research findings also revealed that punishment was meted out to the lower-class gamblers (folk people). If these people cheat on their payments, they would be banned from placing bets or sometimes their property would be confiscated until they paid their debt. These people are also punished by the mediums in the Line group. When they fail to make the donation after winning a prize, they would be humiliated by being forced to leave the group. They are degraded and looked down upon. This is because the owner of the group wishes to maintain order in their space. They only accept those who follow their rules, provide the benefit, and have faith in them.

Loose face is defined as the degradation of honor and reputation. It is found that sometimes losing face in Asian society leads to more losses in social capital than economic losses. In such societies the elite, who have political and economic power, need to maintain face and take care of their image as good people. Shame culture stems from the behavior, where those who are punished are viewed as not being good people. They are viewed as sinners or have lower than standard character than the rest of society. These people would be branded as unacceptable. They would be blamed as cheaters. Bechtel explained that shame culture differs based on the form and context of interpretation of each society. It is a sign to the community that a person should be shunned and not accepted. Thus, they would be forced to leave the community (Sangsit Piriyanangsan, 2016, pp. 52-53).

Gambling on underground lottery has rules, regulations, and manners defined by the group. The gamblers need to accept the conditions set by the dealers, which might be the same or different. Underground lottery is an economic product, thus it has the relationship aspect. The lifestyle of middle-class underground lottery gamblers is expressed through their nature. They show mutual respect, don't ask for the money, provide credit, and discounts, when they are very close or for regular clients. This type of honor is what the middle-class want. It shows their social capital because the loss of relationship is something that money cannot buy and cannot be regained. This is in line with Nuannoi Treerat et al. (2014, pp. 39-40), who explained about "huay pah". The

meaning went beyond the economic product. It was about the relationship since the seller wants to sell more bets, they allow people to place bets and pay later. The clients, who get this offer feel honored and they trust the seller more. This is the basis for the social capital among those in the community. In some cases, if the seller is bored in asking the people to pay up, they can choose to clear the debt. This shows the relationship between seller and gambler is more than just the money.

Taste acts as the guideline for the selection of objects in consumption. This results from income. When people have money and pass through culturalization, they have higher taste, which is in line with the conclusion made by Boudieu. The choice people make for consumption is much more than just a calculation of cost-benefit in economic terms (Kanchana Kaewthep & Somsuk Hinviman, 2017, p. 574). This is in line with the study that shows that the middle-class would try to buy government lottery or not sold numbers. They might feel irritated if their number is not sold but they would try to follow that number. If they win it is good but even if they don't they would keep betting on the same number. They might buy both above and underground, teng or tote. They would bet on 2 or 3 digits. This depends entirely on their taste in gambling, which differs between the middle-class and the lower-class. It is said that the rich bet on the stock exchange, the poor bet on underground lottery. This reduces the power of the supernatural in determining the numbers. Today gamblers look at the probability. They don't just put their bets randomly. In fact, they learn to place bets on related numbers as found in this study. The communications of the middle-class underground lottery gamblers could be summarized in the following figure.

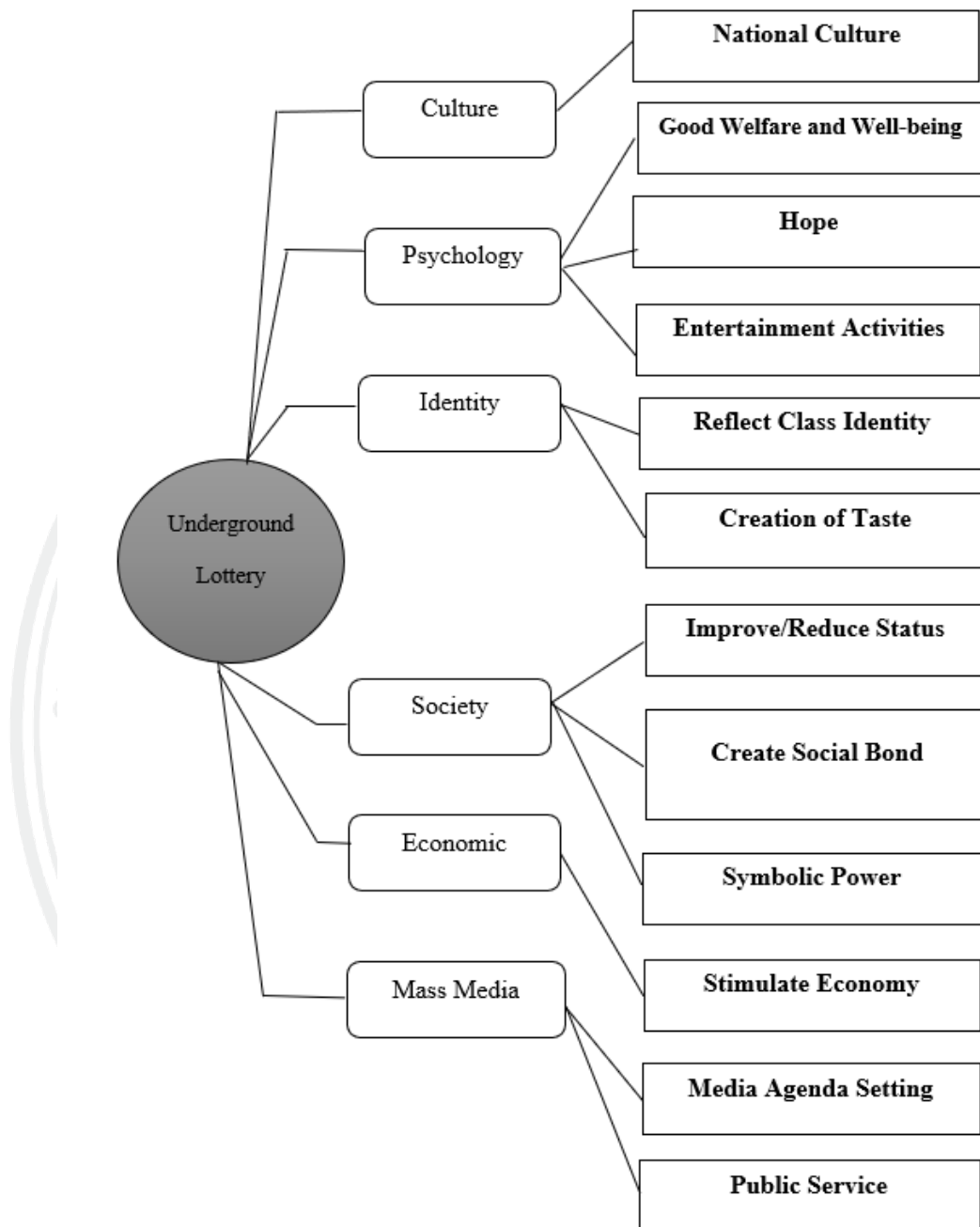


Figure 5.3 Reflections of Underground Lottery in Middle-Class Thai Society

Information seeking behavior could be used to explain the quest to find numbers from mass media and online media. The research findings indicate that the receivers can access information easily and quickly. The news about underground lottery is overwhelming. It fulfills the needs of the people in this modern age, who can easily

access it. Technology has been used by dealers in form of programs that calculate the risk. They rely on information as their capital. The research findings indicate that underground lottery is related to power and influence. The identity of the dealer cannot be passed on. Sometimes having dealer parents does not guarantee the success of the children. Being a dealer is an idiosyncratic characteristic that cannot be passed along. The control of an area, resources, and people to build a strong relationship is necessary. The underground lottery network is deeply entrenched in Thai society. Therefore, as long as it presents hope to the people through exchange in terms of money, luck, and relationship, underground lottery is here to stay.

The research findings indicate that underground lottery gamblers express their identity and gambling culture in the way of the middle-class. This is contradictory to the traditional culture, where numbers come from the supernatural. People had to travel to many places to get the numbers. Today mediums can pass the information about numbers through Line groups. This makes underground lottery more modern. Gamblers can check the winning numbers for any draw through their mobile phones anywhere and anytime. From the past when numbers were directly associated with the supernatural. The gamblers had to invest their time and knowledge to delve into the unknown. Today they can just follow information available on the websites. Gamblers use probability, which is a scientific methodology to make their decisions for the occasional thrill on the first and sixteenth of every month. In addition, the most important thing for middle-class underground lottery gamblers, is the different way they are treated when compared gamblers from the lower-class. This results in a stronger relationship within the network. The research findings indicate that when the lower-class gamblers do not pay, they would be shunned sometimes their possessions would be confiscated. However, the middle-class gamblers have more trust and honor. The collection of money from them is not as strict as summarized in the following table.

Table 5.1 Comparison of Traditional and Modern Underground Lottery Identity and Culture

Traditional Underground Lottery Identity and Culture	Modern Underground Lottery Identity and Culture
Dealers express self as having expansive network, good relationship with police, and regularly pays fines.	Dealers take bets in secret, reduce power, not express self, take bets in any location, and occasionally pay fines.
Dealers communicate with sellers formally and use a large number of employees.	Dealers communicate with sellers in an informal way using technology to reduce distance, time, and number of employees.
Sellers express their self in limited circles.	Sellers reveal their status in a variety of channels.
Sellers are full-time employees with skills and understanding.	Sellers are part-timers. They could be anyone, thus they are not skillful nor have expertise.
Most sellers send bets to their regular dealer.	Sellers send bets to many dealers through various channels.
Underground lottery gamblers fear the law and are careful in their self expression.	Underground lottery gamblers do not strictly abide by the law and openly express themselves.
Underground lottery gamblers believe in the supernatural, luck, and fate.	Underground lottery gamblers transform supernatural into scientific calculations communicated personally.
Underground lottery gamblers place bets without knowledge, not careful in placing bets, and high risk.	Underground lottery gamblers place their bets regularly using knowledge reducing risk through analysis and probability.
Underground lottery are serious about placing bets because they believe it would lead to creating economic capital.	Underground lottery place bets for fun, create occasional excitement, and has no effect their expenses.

Traditional Underground Lottery Identity and Culture	Modern Underground Lottery Identity and Culture
Underground lottery gamblers search for numbers and place their bets through personal face to face communications.	Underground lottery gamblers search for numbers and place their bets through a variety of channels.
Underground lottery gamblers are strict in maintaining their credit.	Underground lottery gamblers honor and maintain good relations with sellers.

The research explained that the middle-class underground lottery gamblers' communications network normally, were sensitive to many issues. However, they were strong adherents to underground lottery. "Middle-class are very conscious about their status. They do not want those below them to be better than them. Thus, they are ingrained in the consumerist society, who consume to the point of being in debt. Some do not have a high income but do have a high expenditure. Therefore, they tend to be embroiled in an endless struggle." (Brandthink, 2020).

The expansion of the Thai economy has led to the growth of the middle-class. This new group has a major impact in society. However, the role of middle-class has both positive and negative consequences. They focus on over consumption and use resources in abundance. The middle-class are not interested about politics and society. They tend not to express views that challenge the government power because they fear negative consequences to their economic or work position. On the positive note, the middle-class truly desire democracy, fair and just elections, give importance to rights and freedom. This includes freedom of speech, expression of opinions, religious beliefs, assessing true information, rights to live without the threat of violence, and importance of competition under clear fair laws (Siamrath Online, 2018). The middle-class is confident in the law. However, when it comes to underground lottery, they turn a blind-eye to it. They do not strong express views that oppose to this illegal business. This is because the underground lottery gamblers gain both direct and indirect benefits based on the perspective of capitalist system.

The research findings indicate that the most important event in Thai lottery history is the government's decision to stop lottery draw as part of the measures in controlling the spread of the Covid-19 virus. Some of the gamblers, then shifted to place

their bets on the Government Savings Bank's lottery or foreign lottery through applications such as Laos Lottery, Hanoi Lottery, and Malay Lottery. Thus, it could be said that the underground lottery did not only rely on the drawing of the government lottery. The research findings indicate that the government is willing to take a step back when society in the capitalist system has reduced demand. Thus, the sales of lottery was put on hold until consumers have revived their desire for the thrill, "take a break, then come back again as usual". The charm of underground lottery is the feeling that gamblers wait for the announcement in anticipation. Every unit in the network enjoys the thrill together. Therefore, they can easily bounce back and the business picks up right away. Underground lottery is more than just gambling, it is a tool to bring better welfare to the people in the country.

With the familiarity to government lottery drawing, interpersonal communications through face-to-face interactions, and communications technology, gamblers continuously place bets. In addition, there are more channels in placing bets such as online. The group at risk is the youth group because once they are involved with gambling, they might be turned to crime leading to social problems. Gambling is a risky behavior in particular when there is no limit in spending and lack of self-control. The research findings indicate that middle-class underground lottery gamblers have financial resources, have knowledge and understanding. They realize that gambling does not replace the earnings from a regular job or other types of investment. They know "what is right and wrong but can't resist the temptation to bet". These people gamble because of the feeling that they label as "something money cannot buy". The middle-class underground lottery gamblers are not serious about placing their bets (they don't sell their property to place bets) despite the presentation of hints for high probability numbers. This is different from the lower class, who are more open about their gambling habits.

In addition, the underground lottery dealers, sellers, and middle-class gamblers respect one another with regards to the collecting the money owed. They tend to gamble to create network, thus, the treatment of the middle-class is more compromising than with the lower class. For instance, if the lower class owed money their property would be confiscated until the debts are paid. Thus, it can be said that the middle-class engage in logic of symbolic exchange value to maintain relations in society.

The research findings also reflect the reduction of the power of the dealer. It is no longer necessary for the dealer to have an expansive social network within the frame of a formal group. The dealer is reduced to the person receiving bets, who could move the location in accepting bets to be secretive in order to maintain the business. It can be observed that the middle-class is fluid and flexible in their negotiations with the economy, society, and politics. Based on the Weberian concept, “without social class, capitalism cannot survive”, the middle-class is different from the labor group having access to production and resources. However, everything depends on capital and identity that enables classifications of social groups. The decision to categorize self into any particular social group depends on political situation and economics. The dealer can choose to adjust their status and reveal their identity accordingly.

The consideration of the money in circulation in the economy from underground lottery is very significant. Thus, the government should set policies to bring the money circulated in the underground lottery into the system. It is unnecessary to set the goal in eradicating underground lottery totally. This is because underground lottery would continue to exist because the gambling culture has social mechanisms that continue to support it. Therefore, there should be a way to make underground lottery gambling become an attractive choice of middle-class gamblers, who would spend on it voluntarily. The government should have a careful way to control the gambling in order not to disturb social well-being through crimes, family problems, and economic problems. The government should be aware of the reality that gambling is not restricted to underground lottery. There are other means of gambling online, which cannot be removed from society. Gamblers can easily place bets through various services available. In addition, there are no limitations in the age of players. It can be said that these means of gambling are secretive but they are known. These channels for placing bets do not put a limit on age, thus youth and low-income groups are at risk. The government should review underground gambling to collect “this unseen tax” for the benefit of the country. This is in line with the World Urbanization Prospects, by the United Nations, which explained that the middle-class is crucial for economic development. This group is critical in economic development through their expenses in consumption. They have the purchasing power; thus, they have the ability to promote investment and economic growth for Thailand in the long-term. In addition, the

government income in developing countries should benefit from this group through collected tax for the economic prosperity of the nation (Looking Forward 2050: Middle-class Growth, 2020).

This study does not promote or oppose underground lottery gambling. The goal is to reflect the reality of the human condition. This is in line with the work of Sunee Vaewmanee (1999), who explained that media presents sex as a taboo product that is in conflict with the good values of Thai society. However, sex is a product that has been sold continuously in Thai society. This is because humans have the desire to break the rules. The more something is secretive, the more the desire to know more. Thus, there are rules limiting the presenting of sex in public because it is taboo or violates the social norms.

Underground lottery gambling reflects the reality of humans, who wish to have a better life. They have feelings of love, anger, and passion. They have a stream of unfulfilled needs, wanting thrills in their life, want to show-off, want to be with friends, and have a conversation topic. This builds the relationship and identity. Therefore, “underground lottery” creates the place where people can meet in the network of those with a common identity, known as “middle-class underground lottery gamblers”.

5.3 Limitations

The study titled, “Identities and Communication Network of Middle-Class Underground Lotto Gamblers” examines an illegal topic. The researcher, subsequently, needed to collect financial information. However, some of the respondents, have their own business or have many sources of income including their family business income. Thus, not all of the financial information could be examined. In terms of the money used in buying and selling underground lottery, the findings could represent the gambling and communications network of the underground lottery gamblers.

5.4 Recommendations

5.4.1 General Recommendations

The research findings indicate that the communications network of underground lottery gamblers has reduced formality. Bets can be placed anywhere and anytime. Middle-class gamblers have the purchasing power. They are more open because underground lottery fulfills the needs of the gamblers, who want to try and enjoy themselves. This group does not create social problems. In the flip side they stimulate the economy. In addition, this would result in employment. The researcher has the following recommendations:

- 1) The government should have the policy in bringing underground lottery above the ground through the creation of modern communications network to determine the sales and prize money that fulfills the needs of the middle-class. This should be done in an attempt to bring illegal revenues into the system to develop the country.
- 2) The government should have a system to limit the gambling. This should include limitations on the age of gamblers, amount of money placed on bets, controlling the middle-man, and determining the channel of sales. The goal is to protect children and youth from gambling to prevent social problems.

5.4.2 Academic Recommendations

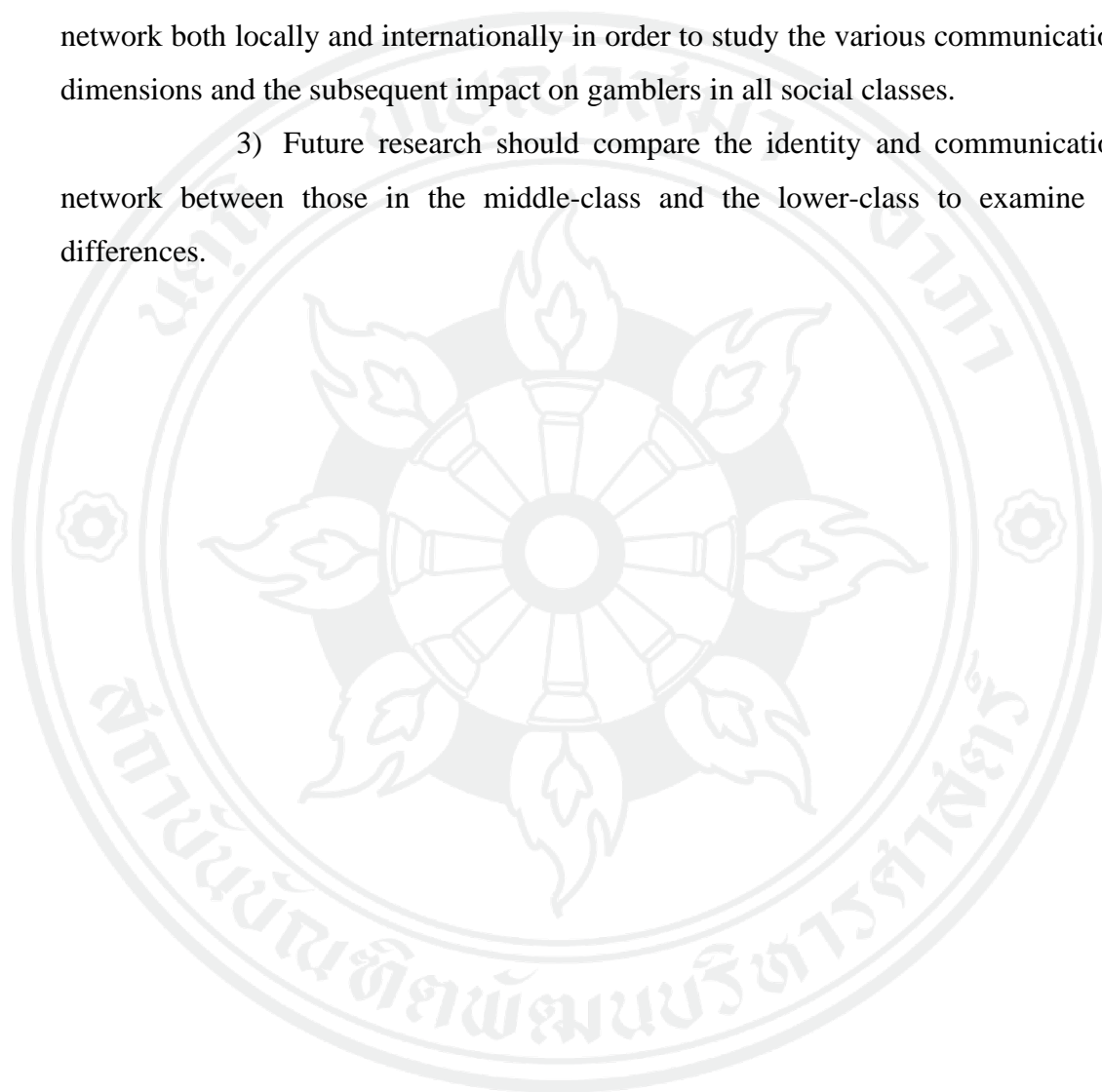
- 1) Examine practice and risk factors regarding gambling stakeholders. In particular, the youth group has to be protected through awareness and media literacy for their own safety.
- 2) Examine media of news ethics and role of media in the presentation of information about gambling for a common understanding.
- 3) Examine the direction or role of online media in determining the news agenda on social media in order to create better understanding of the underground lottery gambling culture among middle-class gamblers today.

5.4.3 Recommendations for Future Research

1) Future research should examine gamblers' identity and presentation of self through the online communications network such as various gambling pages in order to create knowledge to reflect various academic perspectives.

2) Future research should examine gambling online communications network both locally and internationally in order to study the various communications dimensions and the subsequent impact on gamblers in all social classes.

3) Future research should compare the identity and communications network between those in the middle-class and the lower-class to examine the differences.



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BIOGRAPHY

NAME Wachirarat Nirantechaphat

ACADEMIC BACKGROUND Master of Communication Arts (Journalism)
Faculty of Communication Arts
Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand
Year of Graduation 2007

Bachelor of Arts (Thai) (2nd Class Honours)
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Khon Kaen University, Khon Kaen, Thailand
Year of Graduation 2003

EXPERIENCES 2009-Present
Full-time Lecturer
Bachelor of Arts (Thai)
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Nakhon Ratchasima Rajabhat University
Nakhon Ratchasima, Thailand

2008-2009
Full-time Lecturer
Faculty of Communication Arts
Vongchavalitkul University
Nakhon Ratchasima, Thailand