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## Culture of "Elephant Front Legs-Hind Legs": A Debate on the Actuality of Sexual Politics in Thai Society

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Abstract: The reality of the meaning of the phrase "Elephant Front Legs-Hind Legs" in modern days is based on the logic that an elephant always walk with its forelegs first which has led to an interpretation that the "Front legs" or men are the leaders and "Hind legs" or women are the followers. This research has thus had an intention to present a number of certain observations derived from empirical evidence so as to challenge the set of facts abovementioned and present another actuality disclosing that elephants do not walk with forelegs first but with the Hind legs. Hence, the cultural code in perspective of sexual politics like "Elephant Front Legs" does not always translate into leadership, nor does "Hind legs" into followership but a usage of language that reflects the power structure of Thai society in a compromising manner between the Front legs in the front that step behind and the Hind legs at the back that step ahead.

**Key words:** Thai sayings, elephant Front legs, elephant Hind legs, sexual politics, language

#### INTRODUCTION

Many people believe that "the truth is immortal" and many following say "But the one telling the truth often die". Several people realize that keeping the truth does not lead to be useful but it will cause the trouble to them. This mentioned truth will become "the managed truth" for either way and finally there is not such a thing called "the truth" (Chantarawong, 2006), it will be only "the created truth" or "the artificial truth".

The process of building the truth becomes an area that represent the fiercely competition of the power to win the truth defining as "trustworthy" of the society and often ending with the victory of the stronger one via the writing or history achieve in the form of the certain writing too difficult so that one man can change (Chantarawong, 2006).

In this study, researcher tries to suggest an aspect of the political truth of the gender in the Thai society through the truth analysis and unfold the artificial truth of the idiom: "Elephant Front Legs-Hind Legs" that is has created and perceived until the present under the main objective to solve and spark the idea to open the thinking area for the public especially in the academic circle/some activists that is trapped in the artificial truth unintentionally looking across the implied fact hiding in the cultural code that they often refer and borrow to use wrongly.

#### "ELEPHANT" IN THE THAI SAYING

The people words can be broadly divided to 2 categories which are the general word that has the

direct meaning when saying, the listener can understand suddenly and the other word that has the indirect or implied meaning often used for an analogy (Sumniengngam, 2006). This word shows the secret in the mind as well as the depth of the intelligence when saying to the listeners must consider understanding the implied meaning. These groups of word are called "Saying" (Udomporn and Wongwichienkul, 2007).

The book "Thai Saying" by Vijitmatra (2000) explains the many sources of idioms from nature, action, environment, tradition, religion, game, strange stories from the tales, fables, legends, antecedents or history. Some sayings from the nature are from the characteristics or behaviors of the "animal" to compare or imply to something (Sumniengngam, 2006).

Generally, the "elephant" is an animal much used to compare to human or human behaviors. Some gurus and academic experts used to collect such as Sumniengngam (2006) collected the idiom having the "elephant" in the book of "Thai Saying" by Vijitmatra (2000) and "Thai Idiom" of the Department of Curriculum and Instruction Development, Ministry of Education (DCID, ME, 2002) consist of >20 idioms such as riding the elephant to catch the grasshoppers, kill the elephant to get the ivory and elephant Front leg, etc.

Ambhanwong (1994) explained the cause of using the elephant in the saying and aphorisms more than other animals because the elephant has been important to the Thai people since the past. The research found that in the past, the Thai forest is filled with the elephants, the wild elephant lives in almost province having the tall forest (Ambhanwong, 1994). The same as Jeremias Van Vliet or what is called from the Thai people "Wan Walit"

recorded during 1636 that Siam has >3,000 elephants in the king's possession and the areas around Ayutthaya capital city has about 400-500 trained elephants (Fine Art Department, 2004). This can be said that the elephant is a symbol of Thailand as seen in the past that the foreigners often called Thailand is the land of "(white) elephant" such as the book "The Land of the White Elephant: Sight and Scenes in South-Eastern Asia" by Frank Jr. (1874) or "Siam, the Land of the White Elephant as it was and is" by Bacon (1892), etc.

Simon de la Loubere (2005), the royal embassy of France came to develop friendly relationship to Ayutthaya in the reign of King Narai the great, recorded in 1688 that the elephant is an animal vehicle of Siamese people allowed to widely used. Everyone has the freedom to hunt the elephant hunting and the elephant will be the property of the hunters or sellers. This confirmed the prosperity of the elephant in Thailand. Furthermore, this shows the close relationship between the elephant and the people in the society making the Siamese people refer the elephant as the human and believe that the elephant has the perception perfectly but cannot only talk.

# THE TRUTH ABOUT "ELEPHANT FRONT LEGS-HIND LEGS"

It is generally accepted that "Elephant Front Legs-Hind Legs" is a saying bringing some characteristics of elephants to be metaphor (Sumniengngam, 2006) to explain the social phenomenon and reflect the status and roles of man and woman in various institutions especially in the family which is an important identity of the Thai.

Considering the empirical evidences, it can confirm that the elephant usually steps the Hind legs before the Front legs by stepping the left hind leg forward and stepping the Front legs at the same side. Then, it will step the right Hind legs and the right Front legs alternatively as shown in Fig. 1.

With this empirical evidence, it shows clearly that the logic using to explain the meaning of the idiom "Elephant Front Legs-Hind Legs" widely accepted at present that is the elephant will step the Front leg before the Hind leg: "the Front leg" or man like a leader to move forward and "the Hind leg" or woman like the follower have the wrong important substance from the truth oppositely. Thus, if the logic which is the fundamental of this explanation turns upside down, the old explanation will be problematic and need the new one which is correct and suitable instead.

Although generally, it is popular to summarize that the pattern of the Thai family is the extended family (Boonyanate, 1992) living in the form of the mother side family (Anonymous, 2001) that is it is favor for a man moving to live in the woman house after the marriage to extend the female family because the women are the labor producers by having the children replacing the previous ones (Natsupa, 2008). Also, living with the siblings and relatives can make the woman to have the protection from the husband and have the supported groups to encourage and help when needs.

However, when considering the status and role of the woman in the family institution for connecting and explain the metaphor of the idiom "Elephant Front Legs-Hind Legs" found that the group of truth is totally different representing at least 2 groups which are the group of truth of the high ranking female and the group of truth of the general female villagers (Wasikasin and Hemaprasit, 1998).

When deeply considering to the relationship and the economic role, it found that there is the obviously different between both mentioned female groups. The

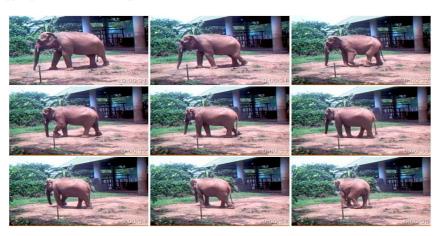


Fig. 1: The moving step of the elephant

high ranking ladies having the status as a treasure (Anonymous, 2001) that is seen as the weak gender for both intelligence and body and they are confined within the family boundary and the household area as "the little bird in the golden cage" (Kaewthep, 2001). They are educated to work only as the wives and good housewives and should not go out to work because it is seen as the low ranking people (Suratanakavikul, 1982) and are forced to stick with the female ideal to love and secure themselves waiting for the opportunity to marry with the bureaucrats or government officers (Suratanakavikul, 1982). So, they are completely separated from the economic activities (Anonymous, 2001).

In contrast, although having less chance to study both academic and other subjects than high ranking lady (Kettate, 1989), the female villagers have the close relationship with the production role and participate more in the economy. That is the female villagers are the one who feed the family and be the truly producers in the society (Anonymous, 2001) because in the Ayutthaya society system, the 18-60 years old male villagers are recruited to work for government 6 months each year. In the normal situation, the labors are recruited to serve the master called "in month-out month" and not receive any salary including bringing their own food. Also, they are drafted to be soldiers when having wars causing the men have not enough potential to work efficiently to feed their families (Suratanakavikul, 1982).

Therefore, the women become to be the one who response for eating and living including domestic household management as well as to be the leader of the house. At the same time, they turn to be a small merchant (Suratanakavikul, 1982). Furthermore, in the suburb society in the past, the household field and community field do not separate each other causing the female villagers field do not limit at the house but extend to other places in the community such as farm, well and temple like a male field (Suratanakavikul, 1982).

The relative family structure especially in the relationship and economic role make the status of the high ranking women and the village women differently. That is the high ranking women are defined to be the housewife only living to serve and take care the husband (Anonymous, 2001) making the women to depend on the husband (Anonymous, 2001). However, the female villagers are the head of the house having more power or at least equal power to the men especially in the family institution that is relate to this saying "Elephant Front Legs-Hind Legs".

However, it is distorted and erased by the other truth creating by the male, the gender that feels itself to lose the benefits or at least lose the honor to accept that they are "afraid of wives" to communicate, dominate and govern both men and women in the society (Panich, 1998) as well as support their benefits (Anonymous, 2001) by choosing to explain and giving the meaning of "Elephant Front Legs" and "Elephant Hind Legs" in other different aspect.

We still do not exactly know when the process to create the artificial truth begins but as far as investigating, there exists the literature assuming to create by the sages in the Ayutthaya era. The King Rama III order his brother, Krom Khun Dejadisorn to renew in 1831 named "Lok Niti Ballad" which is the educating literature aims to indicate the world fact and life truth to be an example for the readers living in the decent way or the norm that the author's desire telling that:

- Men are the Elephant Front Leg: saying mentioned
- Women is the Elephant Hind Leg: walk after
- Works will be good when follow: husbands ideas
- Wives like the thread: follow the needle

The meaning by alphabet of this ballad tries to build a truth showing that male is the Elephant Front Leg and female is the Elephant Hind Leg that has to follow the male or husband like the thread follow the needle relate to the understanding of the saying "Elephant Front Legs-Hind Legs" that we believe at present that it means men is the leader and women is the follower. This artificial truth is reproduced and emphasized from generation to other generations by using the explanation through the literature such as proverbs, poetry and doctrine for teaching women, etc. (Fine Art Department, 2004) to create the feudal and bureaucratic literature to be an artificial norm for the women in the society. These literature is the highest explanation covering the social phenomena perfectly (The belief of the feudal and bureaucratic literature is the norm of the women in the society and the highest explanation covering the social phenomena perfectly is shown in the examples of the announcement of "Flower Blooming Movement" of Chulalongkorn University which means "to select between being the colorful flower to serve the men and the flower growing from the low rank of the Thai lady to prove its thorn sharpness" (Yapparat, 2006) by writing and providing the reasons from the gurus widely accepted in the society (Panich, 1998) in the forms of the trustful academic books which have been the cheap method to persuade the citizen from the high society group since the ancient time.

For example, the book "2,000 Thai Idioms" by Udomporn and Wongwichienkul (2007) explains the meaning of the idiom "Elephant Front Legs-Hind Legs" means men is the leader and women is the follower for instance, the family must have the doctrine having head

and tail by having the men to be the Elephant Front Legs and the women be the Elephant Hind Leg then the family will be in order. This meaning is also translated in English via the internet www.thai2english.com that refers and develops the data base from the Lexitron Program by the Thailand's National Electronics and Computer Technology Center (NECTEC):

- "Elephant Front Legs" [N] leader; husband. lit., the fore legs of the elephant
- "Elephant Hind Legs" [N] follower; wife. lit., the Hind legs of the elephant

These explanations leading the leadership of men and the followership of women are made to believe firmly in the Thai society to be the truth that no one should prove this. However, it lacks of the linkage to show how leadership-followership and Elephant Front Legs-Hind Legs connect in which way.

An important jigsaw to prove this artificial truth is in the book "Thai Saying" of the Department of Curriculum and Instruction Development, Ministry of Education (DCID, ME, 2002), explains the "Elephant Front Legs" means importance because it is the leader and like the husband to be the Elephant Front Legs step forward before the Hind legs. Also, Sumniengngam (2006) referred and extended the meaning of this saying that the idiom "Elephant Front Leg" uses the Front leg of the elephant to be a metaphor representing the leader by using the familiar characteristic that elephant will step the Front leg before the Hind leg.

## "ELEPHANT FRONT LEGS-HIND LEGS": THE WOMEN RIGHTS

The country openness policy to trade with the foreigners during the King Rama IV era is an important factor leading the western ideal to the Siam society especially the coming of the Western women as well as the travel to study abroad of the Thai women. Also, the fighting trend for the women in the 20th century worldwide had been a factor causing the demand concept for the Thai women rights since before the Siamese Revolution of 1932 by having the western women to be an idol (Yapparat, 2006).

Therefore, it is not beyond the expectation that the rookie feminist at that time in the Thai society would ignore the original culture code and bring the artificial truth sum up with the ideal or Western thought to explain the social phenomena in Thailand immediately including the subject of the leader-follower of men and women in the family institution too.

At present, the artificial truth "Elephant Front Legs-Hind Legs" is still explained by the academic and the feminist (especially the women's study) about the power relationship between men and women in the Thai society (Pongpanich, 2002; Suratanakavikul, 1982; Wasikasin and Hemaprasit, 1998; Sittirak, 1999) to indicate the inequality or have the double standard (Archavanitkul and Tarawan, 2002) in the social structure and then create the strong conclusion showing that the Thai society is always the pro-male society (Pongsapich, 1997).

Chiang Mai University, an organization founding the women study center in 1993 to distribute, exchange and provide the academic service for the women including coordinating with several organizations to support the gender equality also presents to accept the artificial meaning of the saying "Elephant Front Legs-Hind Legs" by using to be a symbol to compare between manhood and womanhood as well as the power relation via the center radio program "Not the Elephant Hind leg" broadcasting through the Thailand radio station, Chiang Mai FM 93.25 MHz. Every Friday at 05.30-06.00 a.m.

Thammasat University is an also high ranking academic institution that is interested in this issue and establishes the women and juvenile study center by employing the saying "Elephant Front Legs-Hind Legs" to be the name of the book "The Step of Hind Leg" and explain that (Sittirak, 1999).

"The step of Hind leg comes from the phrase "Elephant Hind Leg" that is the cultural code widely used in the Thai society. We pick "this cultural code" not to accept the origin meaning define the women status as "the follower" but to reflect "the control process and new meaning creation" for this cultural code"

When the women's studies center and the women and juvenile study center try to deny (showing to accept at the beginning) to seal the brand "Elephant Hind Leg" with the artificial meaning as "the follower", Kittithornkul (2000) presented the academic research to clearly accept the status of the Elephant Hind Leg in the "Elephants" Standing on Their "Hind Legs": Women in the Changing Village Context in Southern Thailand" suggest that the female villagers truly help to support the family and community as we can say that the true happiness of the family and village community depends on "the Hind leg" of the elephant importantly.

In addition, the success of the creation and reproduction of the artificial truth "Elephant Front Legs-Hind Legs" clearly appears in the study of Sumniengngam (2006) that studies the meaning interpretation of the idioms contain the word "Elephant" by surveying 30 sec year undergraduate female students, Silpakorn University Phetchaburi IT Campus and found that all 30 samples interpret the idiom "Elephant Front Leg" as the "leader". He explained the reason why all 300 samples interpret the same because using the elephant organs to be a metaphor is the using of the outstanding attribute well known to be a metaphor and the new generation people still think about this meaning. He also suggested that the previous idiom users chose to use the dominant attribute of "Elephant Front Leg" is to step forward to be a metaphor and the new generation people also think the same as the previous ones making the same idiom interpretation.

We can see that the women study institutions, academic experts, researchers and the mentioned sample are made to believe in this artificial truth that the elephants will step the Front leg before the Hind leg. Thus, the comparison of the men and women as the Front and Hind legs, respectively as showing in the Lok Niti Ballad means men is the leader and women is the follower certainly. They do not hesitate that in fact which leg elephant move first or in the Thai society, between men or women who will be the truly leader.

### THE CULTURE OF ELEPHANT HIND LEG

Culture is the way/pattern of living that the members learn and transfer by teaching both directly and indirectly through the social instruction (Jermsittiparsert, 2008) so that it can say that it is the results from the past action and be the conditions for the future action.

"Elephant Hind Leg" using in this study is not considered as the position or standing position by nature having the Front leg is always in the front position but be considered as the characteristic of the movement that may be more important that the elephants will always step the Hind leg before the Front leg making the elephant can swing and push the Front leg to step forward.

So, "the Culture of Elephant Hind Leg" means the pattern of the power relationship uniquely for the Thai society that the women or Hind leg will put themselves in the rear position but to do this, the Hind leg help to support and drive or making the male move forward. Therefore, the Hind leg will determine the movement of the Front leg almost perfectly, even the Hind leg does not move before or surpass in the dimensional step position. The result of the stepping or the pushing the Front leg forwardly will bring the Hind leg follow closely with the same gap.

The family is the group of people gathering by the marriage, bloodline or adoption (Supap, 1995) creates the interaction of the power or "politic" occurred inevitably. At least, it is the politics between the man who is the

husband and the woman who is the wife in the form of unexpected events such as who will eat, what to eat, when to eat, what condition to eat or who will use the area which area will use when or what conditions. All these are the political process or the process of the resource management of the family.

More than anything, this politic or the power using to distribute the resource does not confirm that each side will receive how much of the resource but the heart of the politic is the ability to negotiate and compromise the benefits of all sides for the acceptable level even it is not the satisfied level. This is by the severity or negotiation which is more complex than using by force or persuasion.

The universal explanation of the feminists that the area separation to 2 zones which are "private zone" or home zone and "public zone" or outside housing zone (Kaewthep, 2001) by distributing the women area is the housing zone and the men area is the public zone (Kaewthep, 2001) is the source of the inter-gender oppression or the problem "sexual politics" in every society. The separation of 2 worlds, home zone and public zone does not even the separation but it brings the home world to under the public world (Kaewthep, 2001). This open the way for the men to dominate the women as well. (Kaewthep, 2001) (Fig. 2).

When approximately considering the Thai society, it is found that there is the area separation similar to the pattern mentioned above. The men area usually is outside the house or public area and the women area is usually in the home or private zone. However, this separation cannot draw to the conclusion for the Thai society context that the home world necessary depends on the public world or the public world has more power than the home world especially to conclude that men dominate women.

Wright (1989) made the notice that "in the society which shows the men pride, men often respect more to their mothers or be afraid of their wives than the liberal society. In this society, the women may have more power than it is seen". Also, the consideration of "power" in the sociology that is the possibility the person makes his/her intention to complete when interaction to other people either resisting or not or from what reasons or what basis (Wantana, 2007).

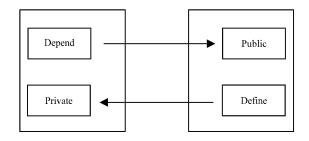


Fig. 2: The social theory of the balance when women is at home and men is at public

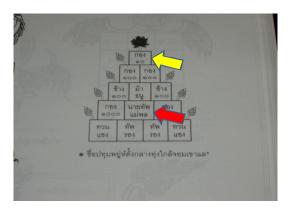


Fig. 3: Lotus procession

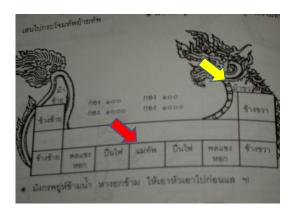


Fig. 4: Dragon procession

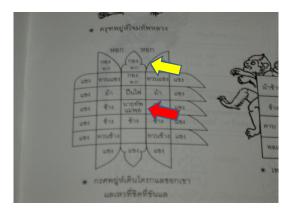


Fig. 5: Monkey procession

The above notice about the relation between "importance" or "power" with "position" in the army formation according to the Thai strategy war book shows the relation between the position and the personal importance, duty and position in the army as shown in Fig. 3-6, respectively.

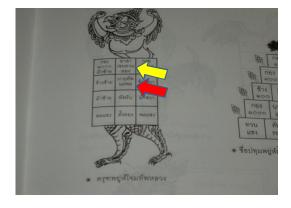


Fig. 6: Garuda procession

These are some examples indicating the meaning or feeling of the Thai people that are not limit the meaning of "Front" is "importance" or "powerful" because the Thai culture does not teach the social members to be "aggressive" like "yield to break but not to bend" but teach in the way of "know to avoid" or "be brave at time" because "too brave will dull" (Thammasakmontri and Anukitvitoon, 1924). Thus, when doing anything, they will use the motto "following the adult, the dog will not bite".

So, when bringing this cultural way to consider the army formation according to the Thai strategy war book as mentioned above, we can see that there is no any formation either static, moving and going to war defining the "army leader" or "army general" (the red arrow) is in the front most position and leading the army proudly. In contrast, the army will define "the private" or "footman" (yellow arrow) to be the front like the pawn of the chess that will send to be dead before the "leader" who make the war plan behind will go to war by itself. Then, if adjusting this concept and connect with the "Elephant Front Legs-Hind Legs", we may summarize that the Front leg have the duty to risk the danger for the Hind leg as well.

Therefore, when considering the characteristic of the elephant moving again, we will find that the Front leg move forward because the Hind leg driving it to step forward like the "leader" or "general" order "the private" or "footman" moving forward. This logic supports preliminary that the power controller is not necessary in the front position; the rear position may be the powerful one instead (Fig. 7 and 8).

When considering the well accepted fact in the society that the majority of Thai men are afraid of their wives and this fact will be exist and created to be the funny story such as the movie "Afraid of Wife" or "the spell of worshipping wife" to hide the feeling of men in order to save their image in the public zone so



Fig. 7: Thai movie entitled "Afraid of Wife"



Fig. 8: The spell of worshiping wife

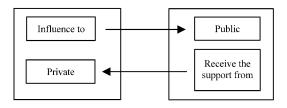


Fig. 9: The culture of "Elephant Hind Leg"

that there is some word such as "every man who is afraid of wife will be successful" and "not be afraid but be considerate". This shows that the powfer zone of the women is practical leading "the Elephant Hind Leg" relates to the power covering the women private zone and often be influenced to the men action even when the men are in the public zone under the explanation to support the men (Fig. 9).

## "CULTURE OF ELEPHANT HIND LEG" AND THE POWER STRUCTURE REFLECTION IN THE THAI SOCIETY

The Elephant Hind Leg culture is an option clearly clarifying that even the Thai society divide the areas to

the public zone and private zone, these are not completely separated. The women power is still overlapped and always influenced to the men's decision making in the public zone. We can see from the tradition in the Thai society that usually allows the women to manage the family budget (Richter and Havanon, 1995) causing any power decision falls to the women hand as shown in the Chinese achieves that described about Siam (Phrajanejeneaksorn, 1933; Kettate, 1989).

"...The money spending up to the women because women are intelligent, husbands should be obedient"

This statement is not insubstantial or obsolete but can be exemplify with the real things at present for example, the case of a former prime minister Somchai Wongsawat who is admired from the Matichon Weekly to obtain the position of "the association president of be-afraid-of wife" by referring his own word that:

"At first, my wife told me I have a loud voice, look fierce, since I am the Southern that likes to speak loudly but now I am always warned from my wife"

The practical power of "backyard" like Yaowapa Wongsawat until now has demonstrated obviously even announcing that she only wants to be a "housewife". However, she cannot do only the housework or cooking because all roads heading to the big house in the Beverly Hill Village, Changwatana do not stop at Mr. Somehai but all go beyond toward Ms. Yaowapa since they know that who is the "real person".

Moreover, the picture of Mr. Somehai occurring to the public is a small guy holding the fruit, wine basket walks following "Wangbuabarn Godmother" to the high society banquet. Also, the picture seen by only the family member is "deputy chief of the house sweeping".

This is consistent with the focus group on the role and influence of the prime minister's wife to the politics and society in 70 years (1932-2002) on March 8, 2004 at the hotel Four Season, Bangkok that some attended seminar people gave a together notice that (Intrawitayanunt, 2010):

"A man must have a woman who is meaningful and important as the soul mate that man can shine his big potential out; a woman can make a man believe or has the inspiration if a woman knows how to give and take when to be modest when to be smarter..."

Intrawitayanunt (2010) indicated "the culture of Elephant Hind Leg" in the family of another former

prime minister Police Lieutenant Colonel Thaksin Shinawatra and Khunying Potjaman Na Pombejra interestingly that Potjaman as a woman and "Elephant Hind Leg" who is named as "behind the scene-army leader" because she can well manage many groups of interest in the Thai Rak Thai party (Intrawitayanunt, 2010). Although, the power zone of Potjaman (including all general women) explained directly by the feminists may limit at the private or housing zone, it has the power or influence to the things or activities in the public zone by referring from the viewpoint of Thaksin to Potjaman (Intrawitayanunt, 2010) that:

"I am the oldest son, my parents love me and much allow me to be indulgent. So, I always make my own decision but Khun or (Khunying Potjaman-author) is the youngest daughter and had to take care everything in the house, so she is calm and artful to brake my emotion...

Khun or works as the excellent mirror for me almost 30 years by using the shadow in the mirror increases my decreasing strength and knows to control not too over and does not too much interfere beyond the supporting boundary...

I accept that doing everything has to receive the support from the wife, my wife helps me doing business, my wife supports me in the politics... So, if anyone argues me that I am afraid of my wife and brings my wife with me everywhere, etc., I do not care because we stand to fight the obstacle to build the family together... I always praise my wife since there is no the woman named Potjaman staying by my side, I cannot have half or even a quarter of my present prosperity"

From the sentence mentioned above, Thaksin completely accept that Potjaman has an important role to support and drive him to be successful with "helping" and "control" so that he does not feel that Potjaman too much interferes beyond the boundary of "supporting".

This phenomenon is the condition that confirms the characteristic of the power interaction between men and women in the Thai society hiding in the idiom "Elephant Front Leg-Elephant Hind Leg" that it is possible to not means to be "the leader" or "the follower" decisively but there is some notice that the hiding way in several idioms have the style of compromise more than anything. That is depending on each other as well as between men and women in the family showing as follow:

"History said men is paddy and women is rice, Water depends on boats, Tigers dwell in the forests. We are mind; they are spirit growing friendship cheaper than growing rivals"

The phrase "men is paddy" and "women is rice", Pramoj (1978) explained in the book "Interpretative Translations of Thai Poets" that means men is the one going out to growing rice in the farm and then after getting the paddy, women will response to pound it to be rice. Each helps together, men receive the hard work that is growing rice and women helps to do the housework and cooking for the men when going back from work. This idiom also has the important meaning about the both dependency together not the only one side dependency like presenting in the idiom "Water depends on boats, Tigers rely on forests" that tigers dwell in the forest does not mean tigers exploit the benefits from the forest at one side. Moreover, the idiom like "Tiger is fat because of thick forest, the forest is thick because of the Tigers exist" helps to fulfill and confirm the together dependency between both sides clearly.

When coming back to compare Somchai and Thaksin as a man to be "the Elephant Front Legs" and Yaowapa and Potjaman as a woman to be "the Elephant Hind Legs" can explain the logic and hiding meaning under the saying "Elephant Front Legs-Elephant Hind Legs" that depend on each other. Also, it dissembles the fact that in the society especially the Thai family institution is majorly drove by the women or the Hind leg of the elephant. The step of the Hind leg before is to drive the front let can move forward, it does not mean to go beyond or challenge the Front legs that moves later. This implies the compromise of the one who move first but is in the rear and the one who move later but is in the front to create the peacefulness in the family and society. Since, both front and Hind legs are important, when they have the conflict or not in harmony, the elephants cannot walk forward.

## CONCLUSION

Once, Eoseewong (2002) used to give the notice in the article of "The Women Awareness in the Thai Politics" that even the feminists in Thailand are broadly but women still have less the political role (formally-author) from the sub-district administration to the government cabinet. He explained the cause of this because the Thai women do not have the co-awareness of the effeminacy but he did not further explain why the Thai women do not have that awareness. In addition to the proof of the wrong beliefs of the important cultural code in the Thai society with the empirical evidences, this

research result may be the gap-filling of the question that why the Thai women less involve in the politics formally from the sub-district administration to the government cabinet as well as having less co-awareness of the effeminacy may be because the Thai women are satisfied and realized that to be the housing commander to investigate the behavior of men that is the member of the sub-district administration to the government cabinet more comfortable than going out to do that duties by themselves undoubtedly.

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