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**COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN NORTHEAST THAILAND
A CASE STUDY OF DON-LUM-KOM VILLAGE**

by

Peerapat Booncharoen

**A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
In partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts
Department of Political Science**

**Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Michigan
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COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN NORTHEAST THAILAND
A CASE STUDY OF DON-LUM-KOM VILLAGE

Peerapat Booncharoen, M.A.

Western Michigan University, 1983

This is the study of community development problems confronting a rural village (Don-Lum-Kom) in Northeast Thailand. The study is based on field research and examines five major topics. First, a history of community development in Thailand is provided; second, an overview of Don-Lum-Kom village is given; third, agricultural changes are described and evaluated; fourth, educational changes are described and evaluated; and fifth, the conflict between bureaucracy and culture is examined.

The findings indicate that the major obstacle to community development in Don-Lum-Kom is an overly centralized bureaucracy which fails to align development plans with cultural realities.

This problem is best solved by implementing two changes: First, the upward flow of information through bureaucratic changes should be improved by more face-to-face encounters between bureaucratic representatives and villagers; and second, cultural givens should be integrated into development plans instead of being ignored or resisted.

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Peerapat Booncharoen

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OF DON-LUM-KOM VILLAGE

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During the past twenty years of planned development in Thailand, national gross domestic product has increased fourteen fold from 60,000 million baht in 1962 to 817,000 million baht in 1981 (24 bahts are equal to one U.S. dollar). During the same period, per capita income has increased eight times, from 2,200 to 17,200 bahts. Exports have also increased sixteen fold from 9,900 million to 163,000 million bahts (The Fifth National Economic and Social Development Plan, 1981-1986:1). However, these are only surface manifestations of Thai development. Many people in rural areas have not benefited from these developments which Thailand has experienced. They are poor farmers who live in marginal agricultural and backward rural areas. This study is an investigation of one of the poor communities in Northeast Thailand. What I have done is to integrate the basic concepts of community development with the experience I gained in my field work during which I studied the village. I will also discuss development plans for a village such as the one under investigation to improve the quality of life and standard of living for the villagers. Successful planning is dependent on the bureaucracy's ability to align development plans with cultural givens.

Purpose of Study

The main purpose of this work is to delineate the existential problems experienced by one rural community in Northeastern Thailand and to offer suggestions as to how these problems may best be solved. Two closely related factors prompted the study: first is a concern for the individual welfare of the people of Don-Lum-Kom Village. As humans, these people deserve the best that life can offer. Furthermore, modernization does not necessarily mean the replacement of the traditional with the new. This study will sensitize the reader to the values and uniqueness of Don-Lum-Kom villagers and attempt to ease and lubricate the modernization that is certain to come to Don-Lum-Kom village.

A second and large concern is for the nation of Thailand as a whole. As Pharanit Kirtiputra has noted in her unpublished dissertation Development of the Northeast Region of Thailand (1970), development of this entire region is of substantial importance to Thailand's political stability and financial welfare. Since 1970 Thailand has given more attention to this impoverished area than before. The success of this effort remains of utmost importance to Thailand as a nation. This is true for three basic reasons. First, this area is the largest yet poorest region of Thailand. Well over one million people live in the villages much like Don-Lum-Kom in the Northeast but their per capita income is only one-half the national average. Most villagers live at a subsistence level and are in need of better food, housing, education, and medicine. Second, these poor economic

conditions make the Northeast politically the most vulnerable region of the country. Compounding this threat is its geographical location which borders Laos. The area is susceptible to Communist influence from Vietnam and Laos. Furthermore, to heighten political instability of the region, the people of the Northeast feel separated from the rest of Thailand socially, economically, and politically. The people must be made to feel that the Bangkok government cares about them before they become integral to the nation and its development efforts. Third, the people of the Northeast are a potential source of manpower which could contribute to the development of the entire nation. They need to be properly mobilized. They must have access to educational opportunities that are on a par with that offered in urban areas.

Specific Concerns

This study, then, constitutes an attempt to familiarize readers and potential shapers of Thai community development with one Northeast village that may serve as an example for many villages in the area. It is hoped that this report will provide community development workers with requisite background material for the implementation of development projects in rural Northeast Thailand, as well as a record of successes and failures of one village and one researcher.

The study focuses on six major topics and moves from general information to specific recommendations. The first area of concern

is a review of relevant literature; second, a history of community development in Thailand is provided; third, a general view of Don-Lum-Kom Village is given; fourth, traditional agriculture in the village is examined and my field work project in agricultural development is described and evaluated; fifth, traditional education in the village is examined and my field work project in educational development is discussed; sixth and last, the study concludes with a section dealing with bureaucratic and cultural problems with development. Diagram 1 illustrates the organization of this study.

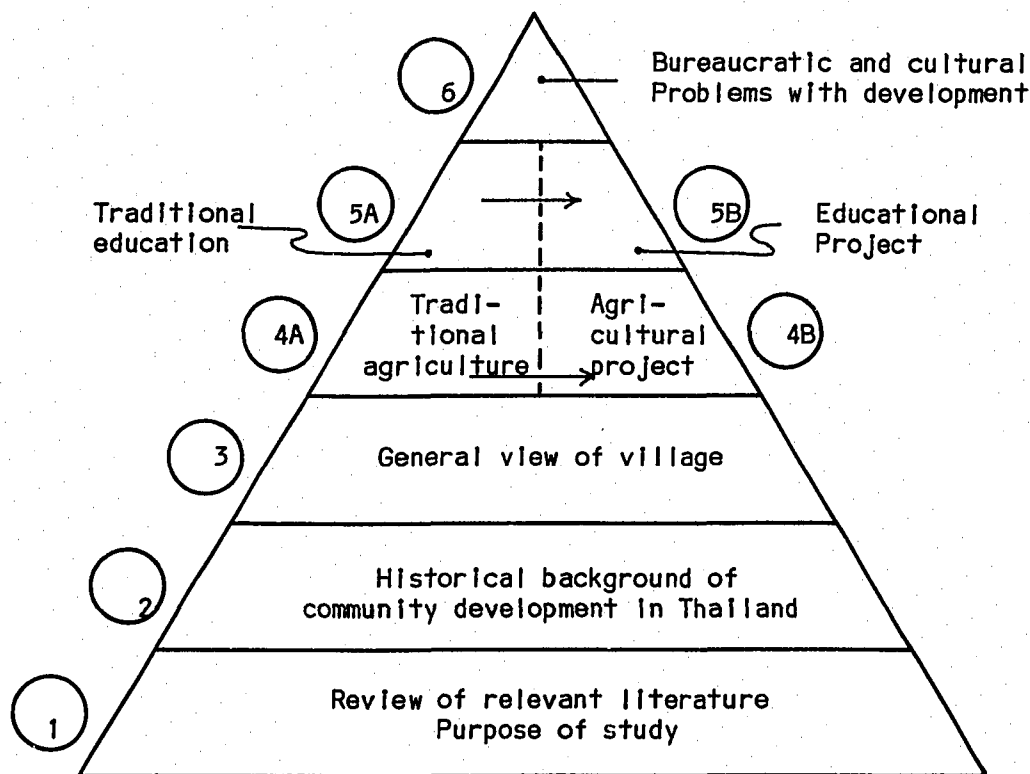


Figure 1. Structure of the Thesis

Research Methods

From March 25, 1980 to June 15, 1980, I lived in Don-Lum-Kom as a resident observer and participated in village activities, including working, eating, sleeping and interacting informally with the people and partaking in the religious, ceremonial and social life of the community. During the course of my stay in the village, I conducted systematic observation of pertinent aspects of village attitudes and behavior. In addition, I participated in agricultural and educational development planning for the village with key village personalities such as members of the Development Committee (kamakarn muban), the Village Headman (Puyaiban), the Deputy Village Headman (Puchual-Puyaiban), the Commune Chief (Kamnan) and the clergy monks, etc. They served as the "key informants" for this study.

The interviews were conducted as informally and leisurely as possible to encourage the subject to express himself fully. A full interview with each informant usually extended over six to seven days. Some interviews even extended over ten days. The reasons for what appears here to be an excessive amount of time consumed to complete one interview are many. One reason has to do with the fact that the busy rice harvest season was in full swing during the major portion of my field work in Khon-Kaen. This meant that the bulk of the able-bodied village population was away most of the time, not only working but also sleeping in the rice fields. In some instances, therefore, it became necessary for me to go to the rice field to initiate the interview and make special arrangements to

complete them later.

The main reason for the additional interviewing time, however, has to do with the very nature of the method employed for conducting this study. Although a prepared interview guide containing over twenty to thirty items was employed, the efforts were to elicit full answers and even side comments as much as possible. Moreover, the informants formed the "village elite" and seemed to be more thoughtful and reflective. They were willing to talk, thus requiring more time to complete the interviews. The information gleaned from these interviews assisted the descriptive assessment of the village (Chapter III), served as a check on formal academic research, and defined the problem areas of the village development. Ultimately, the interviews determined the direction my project took.

Review of Relevant Literature

Before beginning an analysis of community development in Don-Lum-Kom village, a general knowledge of community development is necessary. With this in mind, this survey of relevant literature begins with a discussion of studies germane to community development in general. Secondly, it focuses on information directly relevant to community development in Thailand. Both of these sections are further divided into three sub-sections. The three sub-sections deal with general, agricultural, and educational information.

For general discussion of community development, five books are quite helpful. Community Development As a Process (1970), edited by

Cary, presents seven essays by different scholars organized by Cary under three major topics. Part one discusses the concept of community development and the context in which the process takes place. Part two focuses on the process of community development and on sociological and psychological implications of this process. Part three discusses the roles of the community developer and the citizen. Each article in the book is intended for students of community development as well as those actually involved in community development. Of particular merit is its humanistic thrust. The book includes studies on community participation and initiative, and all the studies included in it show sensitivity to the psychological implications of the community development process.

An Introduction to the Sociology of Rural Development (1977) by Long is a discussion of development and social change in sociological and anthropological terms. It shows a theoretical and methodological rigor, but it is primarily concerned with a discussion of similarities between modernizationist and dependency theories. Both, he says, formulate a linear model of socio-economic development where rural societies experience change from external forces. Modernization as well as dependency theories hold that development occurs from the impact of Western technology and commercial agriculture, and that with the help of capitalism Third World Countries will slowly "catch up" to the leading developed countries. Neither of these approaches, Long claims, pays sufficient attention to local and national forces. Development theory, he argues, must be shifted to an "actor-oriented"

approach; that is, it must concern itself with the social group at the low level of the political and economic hierarchy rather than with high-level but external forces.

In contrast to Long is Gant's Development Administration (1979), which is a description of development from the viewpoint of primarily external management agencies. According to Gant the purpose of development administration is to stimulate and facilitate well defined programs of social and economic process by applying policies and carrying out programs. Naturally, this demands an understanding of bureaucratic processes and administrative responsibilities. Gant's book is mainly descriptive rather than prescriptive. In it he summarizes basic approaches that have or might be taken to further development in fields such as agriculture, population, education, budgeting, and management training. He describes development administration in regional, national, and global terms, and argues that institution of development policies must rely on input from both low and high levels.

In the area of general works on agricultural development, one important work is a collection of essays edited by Nurul Islam entitled Agricultural Policy in Developing Countries (1974). Included in this book are twenty-one essays divided into six topical areas. The authors represent widely divergent views on the role of agriculture in the development process. It is a good reference book because of its wide coverage of different countries and programs. A similar collection of essays is found in Agrarian Systems and Rural Develop-

ment (1979), edited by Dharam Ghal, which takes a country by country approach.

An older but more important and systematic discussion of agricultural development is Transforming Traditional Agriculture (1964) by Theodore Schultz. Schultz argues that transforming traditional agriculture into a highly productive sector of the economy is possible if proper investments in agriculture are made. This is an unorthodox position since usually the opportunity for growth from agriculture is viewed as unattractive when compared to the returns of industrial development and investment. Schultz offers a theory supporting the value of agriculture to economic growth and presents the following arguments. First, he maintains that establishment of large farming units does not encourage transformation of traditional agriculture. Second, and relatedly, he feels that control of the farming units should reside with the residents of the farm. Third, he insists that incentives for more productive farming must first go to the farmers and only later be seen in national terms.

Two books will suffice to give an overview of general educational development. The first of these is again a collection of essays entitled Educational Problems in Developing Countries (1969), edited by the Centre for the Study of Education in Changing Societies. The essays in this collection do not attempt to cover all important topics: for instance, little is said about University education, vocational training, or adult education. What is important in this book, however, is its presentations on whether or not

rural schools in developing countries should provide agricultural training. Ibukan points to the failure of such training. His recommendation is that the whole educational system should simply be permeated with the scientific approach which will prepare students for later acceptance of modern agricultural methods. Another topic is teacher recruitment and the problem of getting good people to do low paying work. Renes suggests that recruitment prospects would be widened and enhanced if more female teachers were used.

A more cohesive and comprehensive approach to education in developing countries is contained in Adam Curle's Educational Strategy for Developing Societies (1963). Curle's position is that education should exhibit two goals of equal emphasis--it should be directed toward obtaining direct and immediate vocational returns, and it should enrich the individual over a long period of time. In all actuality, he asserts, it should do both. He specifically cautions against overt indoctrination in primary schools as to the benefits of modernization. Instead, such notions should be transferred naturally from teacher to student. In the area of teacher training, which he sees as crucial to education as a whole, he suggests that governments select, train, pay, and provide for education of its teachers more lavishly and efficiently than is the rule. At the secondary and university levels, Curle encourages that technical training be kept in balance with broad education; in other words, he supports pragmatic education but not at the expense of more general studies, say in philosophy and literature.

Books of a general nature on development in Thailand are quite abundant, but three stand out as particularly meritorious. Girling's Thailand: Society and Politics (1981) provides a complete overview of Thai history, economics, and politics. Girling astutely depicts modern Thailand's continuity with traditional Thai values including the sacredness of the monarchy, the importance of hierarchy, and the stabilizing force of Buddhism. In the area of economics, he maintains that uneven rural development and the business-bureaucratic partnership has increased the separation of rich and poor. Politically he feels that the Thai reliance on consensus decision making is beginning to give way to a military-technocratic alliance that makes parliament subordinate. The task, as he sees it, is to rebuild Thailand's history of consensus government by acceptance of alienated groups.

Wolf Donner's The Five Faces of Thailand: An Economic Geography (1978) provides a good supplement to Girling's more political book. Donner is well acquainted with Thailand, its people, and its resources. His concern is twofold: how the land influenced the people's economic activities, and how the economically active people have changed the land. Since he deals with five separate districts, it is difficult to get an overall picture of Thai resources; yet it is clear that for Donner the land is the basis for all development that will certainly occur. Development that does not orient itself with the natural resources of a country will result in political instability.

In Reflection on Thai Culture (1982), William J. Klausner provides an exciting picture of Thai culture, especially in the rural Northeast section, that is invaluable. His insights are sharp and his observations about Thai people and their habits are lucid. If community development is to succeed, it must take into account the people it is ultimately to serve and change. This work may not be scholarly, but it is essential to anyone unfamiliar with Thai customs.

Two articles on Thai culture are also of extreme importance to an understanding of Thai behavior. The first of these by Embree (1950) is the most cited work on Thailand and has stirred consistent discussion since its publication. In this essay, Embree proposed his much disputed notion of a society with "loose structure." He sees Thailand as a prime example of a loosely structured social system, or "a culture in which considerable variation of individual behavior is sanctioned" (1950:4). While this rather scathing look at Thai culture is not completely accurate, it nonetheless offers some key insights into Thai concepts of time, discipline, play, and social structure. In "The Relationship of Belief Systems to Behavior in Rural Thai Society" (1968), Piker explores the influence of religion on Thai culture, reaffirming some of Embree's ideas. His basic points are that Thai religion supports spontaneous and unfocused behavior patterns and that it leads rural villagers to be suspicious of the intentions of others. According to him, Thai religion has contributed to a lack of confidence in one's ability to effect

change.

In the area of Thai agriculture very little has been published in English. However, one comprehensive work is Michael Moerman's Agricultural Change and Peasant Choice in a Thai Village (1968). Moerman is concerned with the impact of modern farming techniques on the social structure and behavior of one small village. He notes that the introduction of tractor farming has slowly made the people think in more scientific ways. For instance, they are better at predicting crop yields, are willing to use chemical fertilizer on fallow seedbed patches, and use broadcast sowing when possible. Moerman also observes that introduction of new farming techniques has better results if done by businesses with a monetary interest in success rather than by government officials. Another change Moerman observed was that, with the introduction of the tractor, the village became more dependent on powerful sources beyond the villagers' control, which, in turn, weakened old social bonds within the village.

In Northeast Thailand (1975), Haswell points out that little change in rural farming techniques will occur unless transport networks to major urban areas are developed. Better transportation will provide the incentive needed to grow surplus crops. Additionally, Haswell maintains that distance from urban centers is a critical factor in medical care. Lack of medical care has a negative effect on the amount a village is able to harvest since able-bodied people are needed to do the work.

Thai education is the topic of Current and Projected Secondary Programs for Thailand (1966) by the Thai Ministry of Education. Although this work is not current, it is the only readily available overview of Thai education. It gives the history of Thai education and explains the organization and administrative policies of the Ministry of Education which have changed little over the years. The 1966 objectives of the Thai Ministry of Education have changed little, though how these objectives are to be met is a continual subject of concern and discussion. More specifically, Rung and Fry (1981) discuss two distinct phases of Thai education and the impact the political structure has had on these phases. Their contention is that during the first phase (1973-1977), the political environment provided a highly positive climate for educational reform. This phase, they argue, was brought to an abrupt halt shortly after the 1976 military coup d'etat. Their point is that while education itself is able to promote pragmatic social change, it is nonetheless directly and significantly influenced by the external political context.

Tunsiri (1978) studied the general framework of information systems within the Thai Ministry of Education and made several recommendations concerning the flow of information. He notes that better communication is necessary between top, middle, and lower level administrators if efficient decision-making is to become a reality. This can be accomplished if provincial education officers meet regularly with central government officers and with their principals. In

the area of curriculum development, he observes that there is a dangerous lack of data on which to base reform. This, he says, is due to an unsystematic process which is itself due to the lack of a comprehensive conceptual framework for planning. Establishment of such a framework would serve as a bedrock of research policy and would resist changes in the political climate.

All of the aforementioned literature played a role in the completion of this project. Books cited in the general category acclimated the researcher to concepts essential to an overall understanding of community development. Long (1977), for instance, stresses an "actor-oriented" approach to community development, as does this study. General works on agriculture and education also served to lay the requisite foundations for a fuller understanding of Thailand's particular situation. Some of the general works were consulted prior to the field work project and some were consulted afterwards. Each work, however, assisted in clarifying the theory, language, and scope of community development problems. Without these books, a narrow and one-dimensional perspective would have resulted.

The second category works which specifically dealt with Thailand, assisted this project by supplying information directly related to the situation in Thailand. The government publication Community Development in Thailand (1979) was most instrumental in providing the historical background discussed in Chapter II. Donner's The Five Faces of Thailand (1978) was useful in describing the setting of Don-Lum-Kom Village contained in Chapter III. Klausner (1982) sym-
 ,

thetically elucidated Thai customs and provided a balance to the more scholarly and negative commentary of Embree (1950) and Piker (1968). All three were used to delineate the characteristics of Thai culture as described in Chapter VI. Information on agriculture and education in rural Thailand is scant and dated, though Haswell (1975) and Tunsiri (1978) were adept at explicating problems in these two critical areas. In many ways, Tunsiri's comments on improving the information flow between different levels of society coincide with the major thrust of this thesis. If community development is to be successful in Thailand it must be attentive to rural cultural patterns and establish a channel through which such information may rise to the higher administrative levels.

CHAPTER II

A HISTORY OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN THAILAND

Since World War II, many third world areas such as South Korea, Taiwan, India, Pakistan, Burma, the Philippines and Indonesia have commenced special community development programs to enable people to improve their local way of life. These countries have established government organizations to take responsibility for the program and to recruit and train workers needed to make them happen (Batten, 1962:3).

In Thailand, modern community development was introduced by Prime Minister P. Pibunsongkram in 1942. Approximately 4000 workers - mostly minor officials and elementary school teachers - were chosen by examination. These workers underwent a 15 day training period, covering laws and regulations of the Ministry of Interior. They also learned about the programs to be developed in the villages. After training was finished, these workers were appointed Assistant District Officers and then sent to different communes (sub-district) to begin their jobs as community development workers (Chaowalit, 1982:73).

When they dealt with concrete projects, the work of the Community Development workers went smoothly. However, they encountered difficulties when they attempted to alter the villagers' attitudes and habits. It was wartime; foreign troops were stationed in the

country. It was difficult to maintain strict law and order. In 1945 the wartime cabinet resigned, and the project came to an end. The postwar government did not see village development work as a high priority. Development activities were suspended. Most village workers received transfers to other places. Community development was dormant in Thailand for some time (Sunyaviwat, 1981:82).

Why did this particular community development program fail?

There were numerous reasons:

- the community development workers lacked sufficient background;
- the induction training of the workers was inadequate;
- the goals of the village work were too idealistic and diverse;
- the villagers were not involved sufficiently in the decisions, which were made mostly by officials; and
- because of the war, low income and high cost of living created low morale among both government officials and the village people.

In 1956 a group of people from the Public Welfare Department travelled to India and Burma to research the community development programs of those countries. Upon their return, they submitted a report and recommendations to the Director-General of Public Welfare Department. Eventually a national development program was drawn up. Later the Cabinet approved it in principle. The program urged the establishment of a central committee for a national community devel-

opment administration, with the Public Welfare Department acting as provisional secretariat. An educational plan was created; training of multi-purpose village workers was scheduled for 1958. Also, at Bangkok a Community Development Center was set up. The Center's purpose was to train officials who would be responsible for rural administration: governors, district officers, assistant district officers and others. A ten-week course was offered entailing six weeks in the classroom, two weeks of rural area practice and two weeks of seminars (Yingworapantra, 1980:78-80).

In 1956, while the Community Development Central Committee was being established, the Department of Interior was busy developing a rural program of its own. They prepared a temporary community development handbook and pre-tested it in twenty-one selected provinces. The results proved the practicability of the community development methods for Thailand's rural communities. It was decided then to commence the community development methods, on an experimental basis, in the twenty-one already chosen provinces. Forty-two workers had undergone a two-month training period; twenty-one of them were assigned to work in the pilot projects (Sunyaviwat, 1981:82-85)

Around the same time, community development in the form of basic education was put together by the Ministry of Education. The Ministry, in cooperation with the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), founded the Thailand UNESCO fundamental Education Center - one of the six in the world. This center educated numerous single purpose workers, labeled fundamental

education organizers (FEO), who were trained in teams for two years. In 1957 the first class of FEO workers graduated. Each organizer was assigned to operate his own FEO unit in different provinces (Sunyaviwat, 1981:84).

In 1959 an international seminar on planning and administration of community development was held at Bangkok under the sponsorship of the United Nations. Representatives from the Public Welfare Department, the Department of Interior and the Ministries of Health, Education, Agriculture and Cooperatives made up the Thai delegation. The delegation's report and recommendations caused a significant change in Thai Community Development: the administrative and coordinating responsibility was switched to the Ministry of Interior. All FEO workers were transferred to the Interior Department. Community Development in Thailand was given a new look; this was the start of Thailand's present community development process (Sunyaviwat, 1981:84-85)

In 1960 the Bureau of Community Development was created as part of the Ministry of the Interior. On the National level, the Community Development Department fits into the Thai administrative structure in the following way. The Prime Minister heads the Executive Branch of the Thai Government. The King, under the recommendation of the Prime Minister, appoints the members of Cabinet. The Cabinet, in turn is responsible to the Prime Minister who co-ordinates their activities. The Cabinet consists of the following Ministries: Defense, Finance, Foreign Affairs, Agriculture and Co-operatives Communications, Com-

merce, Justice, Education, Public Health, Industry, Interior, the Office of the Prime Minister, and the Office of State Universities.

The Community Development Department functions under the Ministry of the Interior. The Director-General of the Community Development Department is responsible for the co-ordination and planning of Department activities.

On the Provincial and District levels, the Community Development Officers are directly responsible to the Provincial Governor and the District officer respectively.

At the Provincial level, almost every department in Thai bureaucracy is represented by a section in the Provincial Administration Office. The Governor presides over these sections. The Community Development District Officer is responsible for the Community Development Section. The District level is divided basically the same as at the provincial level. The District Officer presides over the work at this level.

The organization of the Community Development Department is divided into two sections, Central Administration and Provincial Administrations. The Central Administration is divided into eight divisions. They are:

1. Office of the Secretary which is responsible for correspondence, finance and supply.
2. Personal Administration Division which is responsible for recruitment, promotion, transfer, appointment of personnel.
3. Operation Division which is responsible for the opening of

development areas, operation, supervision, and home economics activities.

4. Training Division which is responsible for every kind of training carried on by the department.
5. Research and Evaluation Division which is responsible for identification of problems in operation, evaluation of the implementation of community development projects, benchmarks surveys and statistics.
6. Community Education Division which is responsible for educating rural people, planning all kinds of community education, and publicizing Community Development work.
7. Development Volunteers Division which is responsible for all volunteer works.
8. Youth Development Division which is responsible for all activities of youth development.

According to the Ordinances of the Ministry of the Interior, the jurisdiction of the Community Development Department is divided into 9 development regions. In each region there is one Regional Community Development Office headed by the director. These offices are to give technical assistance in community development work to community development provincial and district officers, and have the specific tasks as follows:

1. Collecting facts and keeping statistics of community development work in the development region and gathering any data which may be useful for community development work.

2. Doing studies, experiment and demonstration for the benefit of regional community development work.
3. Giving services and technical assistance to community development workers and local people.
4. Providing skill training for community development workers and local people as requested by the provincial office.
5. Providing information, publications on community development work for people, other private and governmental agencies for the purpose of good understanding and co-ordination as well as promoting community development work.

The provincial administration oversees community development and district officers. As Riggs notes, "The administration of the Kingdom Act of 1952 restored the governor to full authority in provincial affairs, with the right to control 'all executive officials' and with full responsibility for the administration of the government work of all ministries and departments in the province" (1966:201). At the present time there are 71 provincial community development offices and about 550 district community development offices. Although these offices are legally under gubernatorial control, Riggs perceptibly notes that maintenance of the control "against persistent efforts by the functionally specialized departments (including the Ministry of the Interior) to reverse the balance remains a focus of intrabureaucratic politics in provincial government" (1966:202).

By royal command on October 20, 1966, the Second National Economic Development Plan was issued. An integral part of this plan was

the National Community Development Plan prepared by the Ministry of the Interior.

Self-help is the core concept of the National Community Development Plan. The people are encouraged to take active roles in analyzing community problems and in planning appropriate actions. The goal is to instill in people a sense of responsibility for their village development (Community Development in Thailand, 1979:10).

The overall aim of the National Community Development Plan is to improve the standard of living of rural people socially, economically and culturally. By improving the people's standard of living it is hoped that they will work for stable and self-reliant communities. The general goals of the National Community Development Plan can be described as follows:

- inspire a sense of pride and a sense of place in the village dwellers;
- help the people develop a sound economic foundation for their lifestyle in the village;
- encourage participation of the people in determining goals and objectives of projects that will improve their own communities;
- encourage cooperative action in achieving these goals and objectives;
- get the government and the village to work out a plan for development;
- educate the people with the idea that the productivity, prog-

ress and prosperity of the nation entails the sum total of individual effort of all citizens;

- promote and encourage village self-sufficiency, culture, customs, traditions and welfare; and
- develop local participatory leadership on a large scale and the formation of groups working towards common goals in a cooperative fashion (Community Development in Thailand, 1979:11)

To achieve these goals the Thai government must promote strong coordination and cooperation between the agencies which prepare the community development projects. Administrative and coordinating committees need to be set up on both the national and local level. Self-help projects in the village should be jointly planned by the village or Commune Development Community (Community Development in Thailand, 1979:12-13).

The Thai people are accustomed to a paternal type of government system. Receiving orders initiated by government officials is generally the accepted way of doing things. Most village dwellers feel the government should take the major responsibility in improving their villages. They believe their only duty as citizens is to obey laws and orders of the government. They don't understand that being a responsible citizen means taking an active role in the development of their own communities (Sunyaviwat, 1981:276).

Projects planned for the good and benefit of the people don't inspire interest and a commitment to activity and responsibility.

The reason for this is because the planners assume that what they think makes sense should also make sense to the village residents. Of course, this is not always the case. The "top down" approach where the villagers have no part in the planning and implementation of the project results in apathy and lack of a sense of commitment and belonging. The absence of village representation in the planning stages makes it easy for the program to stray from their real goals and objectives. In the eyes of the people, then, the projects have little relevance.

Before the establishment of the community development program, numerous development activities were carried out without any overall coordinating plan. Conflict and overlapping of work was the result. Money, time and effort were wasted. These factors made it obvious that some kind of unifying plan was necessary, along with the coordinated operations among the various governmental agencies.

There are basically three major problems found in rural areas: poverty, ignorance and poor health and sanitation. The average size of a family in the Northeast region of Thailand is 7.08 and the farm family income per household is approximately \$125.00. The percentage of those who completed primary school is 95.7 percent, although the figure is deceptive because literacy is achieved and nothing more. Non-existent is advanced education. There are almost no secondary schools in the commune and the villages. Health and sanitation are also critical problems. There is a lack of sufficient number of hospitals and doctors to serve the people. As of 1956, only 24.1

percent of the communes in the country had medical or health services. These crucial problems illustrate the need for change and planned community development (Community Development in Thailand, 1979:14).

Two different approaches are needed to bring about the positive change and community development. One approach focuses on the environmental and physical conditions of the community members. The other approach deals with the change of the villager's customary practices. Physical conditions refer to all projects related to public works; for example, building dams and roads. Changing customary practices refers to developing new ways of doing things that are consistent with the changing conditions. Therefore, the community would have the flexibility needed for positive growth and development. The villagers could learn new technical knowledge and skills and also new ways of achieving community consensus.

In the community development process, both approaches are used. Changing physical conditions is more significant during the first stage of development. It gets the people working together. They accomplish goals, get a sense of their potential as citizens. It is at this point that the process of informal and extension education that aims to educate the people in a better way of living becomes more important (Community Development in Thailand, 1979:15).

The principles necessary to deal with the three basic problems or rural areas - poverty, ignorance and poor health sanitation - are the principles underlying the Thai community development program

(Sunyavilwat, 1981:90). Under these principles:

- a philosophy of self-help, diligence and cooperation must be encouraged;
- participation must be stressed; not of a few, but many;
- local resources must be utilized; and
- the government must provide technical and material assistance while encouraging the villagers to use this help to become more self-reliant.

The government agencies also stressed the need to establish a friendly and trustworthy relationship with the villagers it hopes to help. The agency should work with the people on what should be done and show how the change will benefit the citizens. Group process and its dynamics must be taught and encouraged.

CHAPTER III

THE SETTING

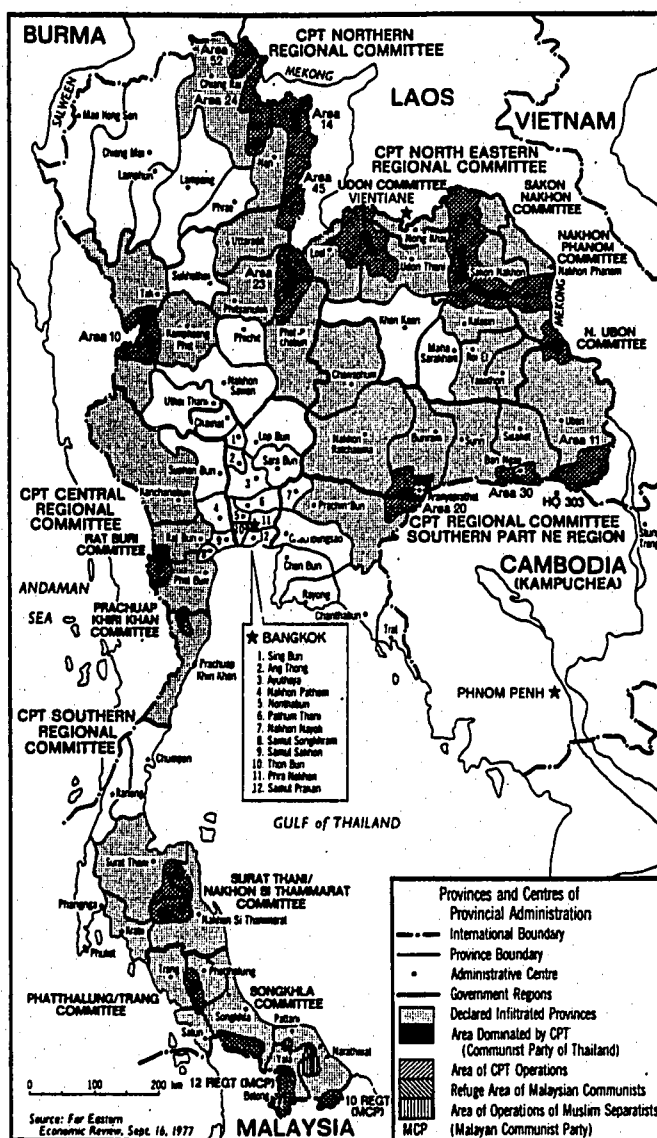
Geography

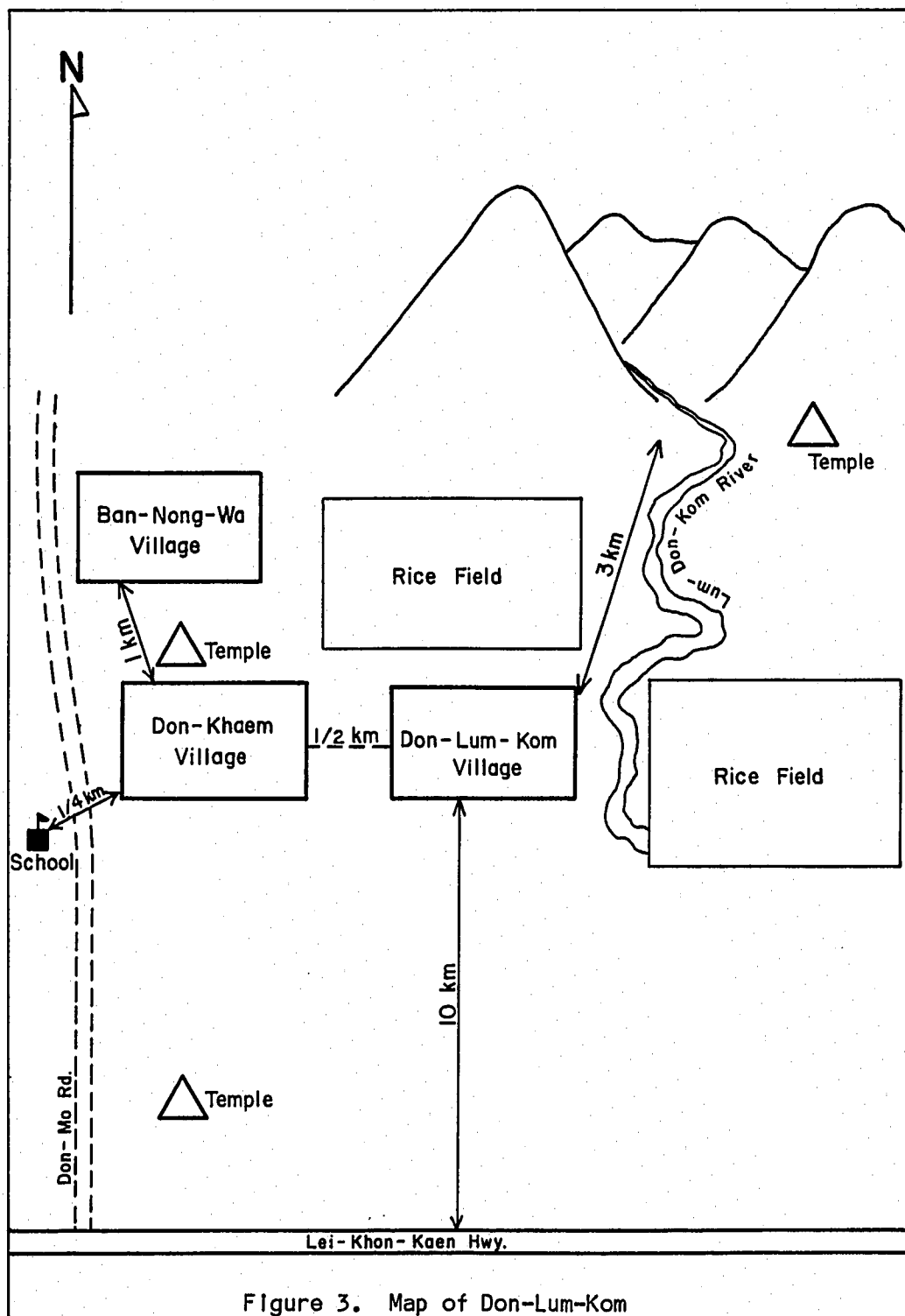
Don-Lum-Kom is one of several villages in Northeast Thailand in the district of Nong-Roel in Khon-Kaen province (see maps on next two pages). To the north of Don-Lum-Kom is the Phu-Meng Mountain where the Lum-Don-Kom stream originates. The stream runs east of the village and provides water for the rice field which is adjacent to its east bank. One-half kilometer west of Don-Lum-Kom is the village of Don-Khaem. Don-Khaem is located on the west side of an unpaved road which runs from Lei-Khon-Kaen highway, ten kilometers south of the villages, to Ban-Kum-Kaen-Nea village thirty kilometers north of the villages. Don-Khaem school is about one-quarter southwest of Don-Khaem village. One kilometer north of Don-Khaem is Ban-Nong-Wa village which also uses the school, as does Don-Lum-Kom.

The soil of this entire area is sandy and well-drained but poor in nutrients. It consists largely of silica with a high ratio of magnesium to calcium and of sodium to potassium. Its low water-holding capacity makes cultivation difficult.

Climate

Northeast Thailand is a dry flat plateau and the lack of water





is a more critical problem than flooding. Villages like Don-Lum-Kom have to deal with their shallows drying up completely. The dry season begins in December. Rain begins to fall spasmodically from February onwards. The wet season, however, begins in May and rainfall is heaviest, about 245 mm, in September. For the five year period from 1975 to 1980, the average rainfall was 1,368.5 mm a year, and the average number of rainy days was 130. April and May are the hottest months in Northeast Thailand, and December and January are the coldest months. Mean temperatures rarely surpass the 33.5° C maximum and the 22.5° C minimum (Donner, 1978:572).

Water Supply

Water is supplied to the villagers from four main sources: rain, wells, pumps, and Lum-Don-Kom stream. Rain water is collected and used only for drinking. It is the cleanest water but is also the least available. When there is no rain water, the people turn to the next cleanest source, the household wells. Nearly all houses have a well beside them. Well water is cleaner than pump or stream water but still is not completely sanitary. These private wells are the most used source of water for cooking, bathing, watering animals, and washing clothes. Pump water is used by only a few people since it is not as sanitary as the private well water and since the pump is often not working properly. At times the water level is so low that the pump runs dry. Stream water is used primarily for irrigating crops, although some households use it for bathing or washing clothes and

dishes. It is almost never used for cooking and no people drink from it. Animals, however, often drink the stream water.

Sanitation

Contaminated water represents one unsanitary condition. Dirty water left over from washing or cooking is sometimes used for animal watering but often it is just thrown out. This water accumulates on the surface of the frontyard or backyard and as a result several holes with dirty and smelly water are created over the area. In winter, the water is let out from the house to the alleys via a small hole underneath the house. Since the alleys are not steep enough, the drained water remains in the alleys for several days.

The fields are the common place for defecation but when not in the fields people will defecate within the perimeters of the village, attracting flies and other insects which carry diseases. Most people compost manure and garbage for later use on the crops but this is done in a haphazard and unsanitary fashion. Each house has a pile of manure beside it which is most often left uncovered, thereby encouraging the spread of disease. Most villagers keep animals either in or under their homes which adds to the lack of sanitation.

Political Organization

The administration of the Don-Lum-Kom village follows the dictates of the 1969 constitution which designates the village unit as the lowest governmental structure. The Thai political structure is

highly centralized and village chiefs are legally "placed under the direct administrative control of district officers and governors" (Kim, 1981:47). The chief or headman is elected for life by the villagers and rules over two deputy headmen and the Village Development Committee (Kanakamakan Muban). The headman and his two deputies sit on the committee with six other men chosen from the village. The functions of the committee are:

1. To review and coordinate village development project;
2. To request assistance from outside institutions for running the projects in the village;
3. To support voluntary agencies in launching their projects in the village;
4. To solve problems concerning village development; and
5. To serve as a consulting body for the village headman.

Population

In 1980 the population of Don-Lum-Kom consisted of 190 families. Some families were nuclear, consisting of a husband, wife, and unmarried children. Others were of the extended type. I did a demographic study of about 10 percent of the total households of the village. (See Table 1) The actual size of the sample consists of 90 persons; 44 of whom are men and 46 are women. All were born in the village. The mean age in this sample is 15 years and the age range runs from 1 to 64. The number of persons in each household is

Table 1

Age Groups According to Sex In the Sample

| <u>Age Group</u> | <u>No. of Men</u> | <u>No. of Women</u> | <u>Total No. Men & Women</u> | <u>Number Literate</u> |
|------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1-4 | 5 | 10 | 4 | not counted |
| 5-9 | 7 | 9 | 16 | 8 |
| 10-14 | 7 | 4 | 11 | 9 |
| 15-19 | 6 | 6 | 12 | 8 |
| 20-24 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 3 |
| 25-29 | 5 | 7 | 12 | 4 |
| 30-34 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 1 |
| 35-39 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| 40-44 | - | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 45-49 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 0 |
| 50-54 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 0 |
| 55-59 | - | - | - | - |
| 60-64 | 2 | - | 2 | 0 |
| Total | 44 | 46 | 33/75 90 | (44%) |

between 4 and 6. As it can be seen from Table 1, the birth rate is high. About thirty-four percent of the samples are children less than nine years of age. The high percentage of mortality (death) is an indicator of poor health facilities. Only two persons in the sample are in the age group above 54 years of age. Among women, the age group of 1 to 9 is the largest in number and the age groups 30 to 34 and 40 to 44 are the smallest.

Literacy

Of the 75 individuals who are five years old and older in the sample, 33 are able to read and write. This figure is equal to 44

percent of the village population in this age group. According to the Table, all persons of 35 years of age and older are illiterate. Although public education has been available to the village for 25 years, the people only recently became interested in education.

Economic Conditions

The village of Don-Lum-Kom is always short of cash for both production and consumption. The villagers generally borrow from merchants or shopkeepers at a very high rate of interest and usually repay their loans in the form of farm produce such as rice, corn or groundnuts. They were obliged to sell their farm produce exclusively to their creditors; otherwise no further loans could be obtained. A small number of villagers borrowed interest free from relatives and friends.

Livestock rearing is normally regarded as a potentially profitable alternative to crops which are subject to fluctuating yields and low prices. The villagers have been persuaded to keep fowls, pigs or cows to earn additional money and provide protection against uncertain harvests. In Don-Lum-Kom there are about 400 poultry. Ordinarily, each household has one or two eggs which provides the family part of its daily food intake.

The traditional domesticated animals in the village are cattle, buffaloes, pigs and poultry. Cattle and buffaloes are kept for farm and draft use. While buffaloes thrive and work best in humid conditions, oxen perform better on drier land. Their use, however, is

governed by family traditions. If the father uses oxen, even in wetter areas, the son does the same.

The number of buffaloes or cattle owned by a farmer is traditionally an indication of his wealth and prestige. A family must have at least one buffalo or a pair of oxen. The animals are generally strong and healthy. The dairy function of cattle and buffaloes is new and strange to the owners. Most families keep one or two crossbred pigs. The young animals are bought from travelling salesmen for 100 - 150 baht (5 - 8 dollars) per kg. This price is regarded as high since the farmer also has to buy feeding-stuffs.

Fowls are usually kept for food and extra income. Most of them are hybrids and they find their own food around the village. They are, however, often subject to such diseases as newcastle, fowl-cholera and powl pox and thus only small numbers are kept.

Housing

Housing in Don-Lum-Kom is primitive. Most houses have six or more people living in them, which is a problem and contributes to the spreading of diseases like menengitis which are contagious through direct contact. The houses are constructed with wood from the mountain, bamboo, and thatching. Bamboo and wood are used for the frame and for the four of five stilts on which the house stands. Walls and roofs are made of thatch. During the rainy season, most roofs leak water into the one large room below. Houses are without windows, making the interior quite dark even during the day. Consequently,

most activity is concentrated on the large porch-like balconies connected to each structure. The homes have no electricity, no furniture, no restroom facilities (usually), and no kitchen. Kitchens are usually constructed on the ground next to the house and protected by a minimum of thatching. Cooking is done in a large pot over an open fire. Accidents which occur in the homes of the village include burning, food poisoning, and falls from roofs and porches. It is not unusual for people to fall into wells or roll off the porches while sleeping there during the hot summer nights.

CHAPTER IV

AGRICULTURE DEVELOPMENT PLAN

Traditional Agriculture

Work Habits

In the traditional setting of Don-Lum-Kom, the greatest influence on the agricultural work schedule is the weather. If the work is to be done at all, the weather must cooperate. This does not always happen. For instance, so little rain fell between 1971-1974 that virtually no rice was planted by the people. The ground was simply too hard and dry to work. Even during a normal season with good weather and early rains, it still takes about four months to plant the rice fields. In a good year the tilling begins in August after the July rains have softened the soil. Tilling and planting continues through November, and the harvesting of the first tilled plots begins in December. By the end of February the harvest is completed. Then there begins a four month (March - June) hiatus from any work due to the lack of rain.

Not everyone works during the planting and harvesting seasons, though most of the villagers do. People excluded from work include merchants, teachers, gang members, monks, medical volunteers, and some students. The village headman and his deputies are also exempt from working on the fields. If a villager does not fall into one of

these exempted categories, he is expected to farm.

The work habits of those working on the rice fields during August through February are haphazard. Though they go as families to the fields seven days a week and remain there for about 10 to 11 hours, much time is wasted while at the fields. Each farmer spends about 4 or 5 hours actually working the field; the remaining hours are spent socializing, fishing, frog hunting, cooking, eating, or loafing.

During the off season from March to August virtually no work is done. Some may fix the farming equipment, but this takes little effort and is done quickly. Most of this season is devoted to socializing. It is also during these months that most religious festivals, celebrations, and weddings take place. There is much partying, drinking, dancing, and music making. Another great past time during these summer months is gambling which is promoted by the village gangs who return to the village after the harvest is over.

Fertilizer use

Traditionally the only fertilizer used in the village of Don-Lum-Kom is manure from buffalos, dogs, chickens, pigs, and human excrement. The manure is composted with leaves and food scrapes, allowed to decompose and age, and then dried. There is only enough manure for one application. Although chemical fertilizer was once supplied by community officers, it is not popular with the villagers due to its cost and the belief that it will damage and deplete the

soil. Moreover, it must be applied to the fields by hand some time before the rains come in August. Also many villagers believe that once it is used it must then always be used. Many of the villagers were completely unaware of the existence of chemical fertilizers. The soil in Don-Lum-Kom is not good; it is very sandy and does not hold water well.

Crop Variety

More than 70 percent of the land in the village, mostly in the low areas to the north of the village, is used for rice planting. Only local rice varieties are planted and the yield is about 20 to 30 tangs per rai. Secondary crops are casava and corn. A few people, most notably the headman, have vegetable gardens where cucumbers, beans, and watermelons were grown. In general, crop variety is minimum because vegetable seeds are unavailable, and the people are steeped in the rice tradition, and encouragement to expand into non-rice crops is lacking.

Agricultural Project

From the foregoing, it is obvious that agriculture in Don-Lum-Kom is far from being modern or efficient. Much of this is due to the attitudes of the people. New possibilities are often prevented from taking root simply because the villagers cling to tradition. They do so even when confronted with new methods of farming that could benefit them in the long run. Another problem is that newer

agricultural methods and supplies are not often brought to the people. When they have been, not enough effort has been expended to make the villagers comfortable with the new.

Working With the Villagers

My project with the villagers was, then, twofold: I had to bring modern agricultural ideas to the village and try to change the attitudes of the villagers to a mode of thinking which would accept these novel methods and ideas. Since I had only three months, I limited my efforts to obvious problems in four areas: work habits (including time management), water management, crop variety, and fertilizer use.

Promoting Work Habits

Work habits of the Don-Lum-Kom inhabitants were most difficult to alter, perhaps because they are so closely connected to deep psychological and tradition instilled attitudes about time. Time, for the villagers, is a nebulous thing. Their attitude toward it is loose and laissez faire. When I arrived at the village, not one person had a clock. Time was completely based on the rhythms of nature. Daily time is completely based on the sunrise and sunset, and yearly time is dependent on the seasons. Several work related problems stem from this notion of time. For instance, although the villagers awoke with the crow of the cock (which was often an hour and a half before the actual sunrise), they would never begin their

walk to the paddy fields until the sun was spotted on the horizon, however light it may already have been. A related problem was evident in the break time taken while working on the fields. As noted before, much time was wasted because there was no set work schedule or break schedule once they were at the field.

This loose attitude toward time is one of the major problems affecting work habits. If they were to be productive, they had to develop a more modern and strict concept of time. This is a difficult thing to bring about, but I tried to effect a change in their attitude by two methods: demonstration and logical reasoning. I had taken a battery operated clock into the village with me. When I realized on the second day of my visit to the village that no one had a clock, I arranged for a meeting with about fifty people and spent an hour with them demonstrating how a clock works and explaining what advantages there are to using a clock. Most had never seen a clock and had difficulty understanding its use. At the end of the meeting, I gave the clock to the headman because his house was the central meeting place for the village.

Since my talk on the use of the clock had little hope for effecting significant attitudinal changes (especially since there was only one clock for the whole village), I arranged with the district government officers a slide show which showed urban Thai's regulating their work and free time by the clock. The slides were shown at night about three weeks after my clock demonstration. This time about 300 people showed up to hear me talk about the importance of

time and the real and financial benefits to be gained from adhering to a strict time schedule. Throughout my stay in Don-Lum-Kom, I continued to stress the importance of time-keeping to the villagers.

Other than the notion of time, another work related problem was the fact that some people who could have worked did not. This was especially true of gang members who not only did very little work themselves but who also distracted others from the work at hand by persuading them to gamble. This problem was so bad that the gangs would follow the workers to the fields and set up their games right on the spot. I dealt with this problem in two ways. First, I talked directly to the gang members and tried to make them understand their detrimental effect on the individual people and the village as a whole. I also told them that they were setting a bad example for their own children. After speaking with them several times, I finally resorted to a threat to tell the police about their illegal activities. In addition to my talks directly with the gang members, I also spoke with the principal of the school since he was related to some of the more powerful members of the gang. I requested that he talk with his relatives and try to influence them to do more work or at least to stop bothering the other people while they were at work. I also spoke to him about the damage that might have been inflicted on the children of the village by the poor example set by the non-working gangs.

As noted previously, the greatest obstacle to agricultural development in Don-Lum-Kom is that valuable time is wasted. This is

very evident during the planting and harvest season when the villagers, although at the fields, do not work a full day but only four or five hours worth. Trying to effect a change in the attitude toward time and in the behavior of the gangs was part of an effort to instill better daily work habits. This problem was approached in a more direct manner when I joined a randomly chosen family for a day, showing them how more work could be done to their benefit by taking short, timed breaks rather than long, extended breaks. I often continued to work while they were resting, which eventually prompted them to join me. Naturally, I consistently tried to change how they viewed their work by verbalizing the benefits of hard work even as I did it.

A final, and most significant problem with the village work schedule was the four-month inactive period between March and June. Most of this time was completely wasted, and since this was the main period during which I was at the village, most of my attention was given to rectifying this misuse of time. Many bad habits were adopted during this period, such as gambling, alcoholism and laziness which continued on into the main work period. I felt that any effect I had on this major problem would benefit the village in both the short and the long run. Much of my project concerning this problem is described in the section on crop variety, where I tried to get people involved in gardening and soy bean production. However, one project can be mentioned here since it primarily was a way to get the people to use their slack months more wisely and a way for them to

see immediate benefits.

Water Management

The village had a real problem with its water system. This problem was two fold. First, although each family had a well beside its house, the wells had to be about thirty feet deep to reach the water table. Even so, most wells had only about a maximum of two feet of water in them. At times the wells would dry up completely. Second, the rice fields, while being adjacent to the canal, would benefit from irrigation and water storage. Consequently, I began a project to build two sub-canals which would meet these needs. The sub-canal into the village was a quarter mile long and ended with a reservoir of about 1600 cubic feet. The canals and reservoirs were built completely by the villagers and with money donated by them. Work did not go well the first day. One of the deputy village headmen did not support the project, which also caused many villagers not to support it. After I spoke with the Government officer about him, he spoke with the deputy and encouraged his support. Subsequently, on the fourth day of the project the deputy village headman showed his support for the canal project and about two hundred people began work in earnest and finished the digging three weeks later. Money donated by the villagers for the canals allowed most of the canal system to be cement. When this money was used up, wood was used to complete the lining of the trenches.

Promoting Crop Variety

Another significant agricultural problem faced by the community of Don-Lum-Kom was the lack of crop variety. The tradition, of course, was dominated by rice growing and the people knew little else. My plan to encourage different crops was two fold: first, during the slack summer season soy beans were to be grown in the rice fields; second, each family was to plant a small vegetable garden by their house.

Soy beans are a very marketable product in Thailand. The bean can be converted into many forms of food rich in nutrients and proteins; it can also taste good when prepared properly. An important added benefit is derived from growing soy beans in the rice fields because of the addition of essential chemical elements of the soil in preparation for the rice crop. After the canals were built, I met with some of the villagers and spoke with them about the benefits of soy beans. I had earlier obtained some beans from the Government agricultural officer for use in planting. Before meeting with the people, I cooked some of the soy beans with spices so that they would know how they tasted. Eventually, the villagers planted all the soy beans available, resulting in about half of the rice fields used for soy bean production. To help convince them of the financial benefits of growing soy beans, I had several of the merchants speak with the villagers about their marketability in Thai cities.

A similar plan was executed in my attempt to get the villagers to plant a personal vegetable garden. I solicited seeds from the

government agricultural officer and samples of the garden produce for the people to taste. As a matter of fact, the headman had for himself a small vegetable garden for several years, but seeds were too scarce for others to follow suit. I was able to secure enough seeds for all the families to plant a 10 by 15 foot garden patch with lettuce, cucumbers, squash, peppers, onions, and green beans. Harvest of such vegetables would not only vary the villagers diet, but also allow them some financial gain as they could sell excess crops to the merchants.

Promoting Fertilizer Use

Getting the village to use chemical fertilizers was a more difficult task than encouraging crop variety. The reason for this difficulty was partly due to the people's attitude toward the newer fertilizer. Those who knew about its use from their own experience thought that it did not enrich the soil but deplete it. Manure was the traditional fertilizer and they knew it to be safe even if it was not clearly helpful. Attempting to change their attitudes concerning fertilizer use was not easy since no immediate results were forthcoming and explaining how it worked was far too technical for them to understand. However, I did attempt to effect some change in attitude by trying to convey my convinced outlook to the village leaders. I finally convinced them of its merit and there began the second and most difficult problem with trying to encourage the use of chemical fertilizers. Put simply, the fact is that fertilizer costs precious

money, and a return on the initial investment is not evidenced for quite a long time. Village merchants did not sell fertilizer at all, and the Government had little to spare. The Government did, however, supply Don-Lum-Kom during my stay there with enough so that each garden could be covered once.

Fertilization of the rice fields presented a larger problem. Here, manure had to remain as the primary source of fertilization. Realizing this, I encouraged the villagers to extend their practice of composting manure and leaves. Some families had been doing this already but other families had no system for collecting manure. By talking with each of these families about the necessity for adequate fertilization, each dug a hole of about 10 cubic feet by their house in which manure was stored. Besides increasing the amount of cost free fertilizer available to the village, this project resulted in the added benefit of keeping disease carrying insects to a minimum since these holes were kept covered.

Evaluation of Agricultural Project

The amount of success I had in the area of work habits is difficult to assess. It is clear that while I lived in Don-Lum-Kom people worked more than they would have had I not been there. This is most obvious in the completion of the irrigation system. Through this project the villagers became convinced that the normal hiatus from work during the summer months could be put to good use. The direct and immediate benefit to the village from this project will

probably inspire them to attempt other projects during the summer months.

Whether or not my attempt to change their view of time and daily work habits was a success is less easy to discern. My feeling is that I did not have much affect in these areas, though only a return visit would tell that for sure. Certainly, the clock will have some long term effects as long as it is working, but how people perceive time is not changed overnight. The same is true of routine work habits.

There is no doubt that my attempts in introducing crop variety were successful. All the soy beans available were planted and doing well at my departure and many people had vegetable gardens. I am confident that produces were sold and brought a profit to the villagers. This type of economic incentive is invaluable to development. Naturally, once grown, obtaining seeds for future use is no problem. Also, since growing soy beans and vegetables is done in the summer, the villagers will be working more during the summer.

Trying to get the village to use chemical fertilizer met with less success. It is an expensive item and the people are still wary of its long term effects. Once they become more familiar with how and why it works, they may be more interested in using it. Meanwhile, they are making more efficient use of manure due to an increased awareness of how to store and apply it.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN

Traditional Education

School Organization

The school of Don-Lum-Kom (called Don-Kaem School) is shared by three other villages and is centrally located about a mile outside the village. It is a wood, cement, and metal structure that is crudely divided into twelve classrooms and one administrative office. There are also seven very small restrooms with one toilet in each. There is no library. All the rooms have partial walls with an open space of about four feet at the top. There are no windows. The school is primarily supported by the provincial government although each student pays about 100 bahts per year to attend. The government pays the salaries of the twelve teachers in the school and devises the mid-term final examination by which the school is evaluated. There are six grades taught at the school. There are 60 students and two classrooms for grades one, two and four respectively. Grade three has only 30 students and, thus, uses only one classroom. Grade five has 80 students and three classrooms. Each of the classrooms has one teacher. This is a ratio of about one teacher for every 28 students. Of the twelve teachers, one serves as the principal and two others as deputy principals. They are responsible for such

duties as evaluating teachers and students, and maintaining relations with all four villages.

The school is in session five days a week from about May 20 to February 28 with three weeks off between semesters in October. March, April, and most of May are vacation time. School begins each morning at 8:40 A.M., the students sing the National anthem, say a pledge of allegiance to the nation, Buddhism, and the King, and then receive instruction in morality. The formal classes begin at 9:00 A.M. and run until 3:00 P.M. One hour between 12:00 noon and 1:00 P.M. is allowed for a lunch break and recess. On Fridays a religious celebration is held after school which extends the day to 4:00 P.M.

Teachers

Each of the twelve teachers is responsible for educating the students in either six or seven areas. Only fifth and sixth graders study English which accounts for the seventh area. The day is divided into five periods about 50 minutes in duration. Mathematics is taught for three periods a week, as is Art. Science, Agriculture, and Physical Education are all taught for about two periods each week. Thai reading and writing is taught for about four periods each week and English is taught to fifth and sixth graders for five periods each week. Each day also includes thirty minutes of recess activity. The teachers must teach in all the areas; they do not specialize in a particular discipline.

Teacher training is minimal. Most rural teachers complete the

10th grade of high school and then go to a teacher "college" where they spend four years earning an associate degree which certifies them to teach in rural areas only. Of the twelve teachers at Don-Khaem, only one had a Bachelor's degree and this was a deputy principal. The principal had only an associate degree, as did the other deputy principal. Six of the other teachers also had associate degrees; the three remaining teachers had gone through only half of the associate degree program, which is roughly equivalent to completing the eleventh and twelfth grades in a high school. On the average, the teachers had six years of teaching experience. The principal has the most experience with 20 years. However, six of the teachers had been teaching for only two years.

The social status of the teachers is very high in the village. Though they are paid very little, about 100 bahts a month on average, they enjoy more wealth than the headman and the merchants. Most seemed to enjoy their current positions, but four of the twelve wanted to transfer to another school. Both the adult villagers and the students have much respect for the teachers. The students are well disciplined and faithfully obey the teachers' directions, though often out of fear. The adults never had a real opportunity for education and so idolize the teachers--they think that everything the teachers do is right. In fact, they constantly rely on teachers' advice if confronted with difficulty. If someone dies, the teacher is consulted; if someone is born, the teacher is asked to name the baby. Teachers are looked upon by the families as secondary parents

with almost as much responsibility to shape the moral and intellectual development of the children as that held by the real parents. The headman of the village exhibits this same depth of esteem for the teachers and encourage the teachers to play a major role in the village decision making, which they do.

Students

The village of Don-Lum-Kom sends about seventy children to Don-Khaem school. All children are now expected to complete grades one through six. However, about five percent do not. If a student has to repeat several grades, his or her parents may request the teacher to release their child so that they may have help in the field. Most children do finish the sixth grade under normal circumstances. Handicapped and retarded children receive no education since the special facilities necessary for them are not available. The family of the student must supply the child with school necessities--in this case, a uniform, books, papers, and pencils. If a student shows promise, they may go on to another school in the province but this means that more expense is shifted to the family to pay for quarters, food, and transportation. Finally, it can be noted that most children like school. They study hard. They like to socialize, and willingly avoid work in the fields. Still, about fifteen school children in Don-Lum-Kom did not attend school, mainly because they were needed to help in the fields.

Educational Project

Without doubt, education is important to the people of the Don-Lum-Kom village: teachers are revered and education is an important element in their social status system. The villagers like the idea of education but they do not really understand it. Their positive response to education is more intuitive than rational in nature. It is difficult for them to see a logical connection between more education and an improved life. No more rice is grown because children are being educated; in fact, because children are in school, it is often argued that less rice is grown. Still, their attitude is supportive of education. This attitude speaks well of the villagers and little encouragement is needed to change their attitude toward education. Certainly much less work appears warranted with the people concerning education than is the case with their attitudes toward more sophisticated agricultural methods. The most critical problems with education in Thailand is more in the educational system itself rather than in popular aspiration for education. My efforts in the village were, therefore, focused primarily on improving the educational superstructure.

Working With the Educational Structure

As is the case with many rural schools in Thailand, the organization and structure of the Don-Khaem school works against the developmental process. One problem was with the school building itself which was deficient in three areas. First, there were not enough

restrooms: seven toilets for 340 students is simply not sufficient. As a result, students would defecate around the school building causing not only a smell but also more chance of disease. Furthermore, some students would simply refrain from going to the bathroom at all until they got home, which caused them to have stomach pains, thus distracting them from their studies. Second, the school had no library. This meant that even if the children were successful in their education and had learned to read, there was nothing for them to read. Under such circumstances, acquiring the ability to read was useless. A related problem stemming from this lack of a library was that the villagers had no way of developing or maintaining a connection between themselves and the outside world. Third, the school had no way of preventing rain from coming over the partial walls of the classroom. When this happened, everything got wet and the school was closed.

To correct these problems in the building, it was necessary to have some sort of fund raising. My first idea was to show a movie and charge a small admission fee. However, after checking with government officials I learned that they had only documentary films available which would not draw people and that renting a film from a private firm was far too expensive. A more profitable idea was introduced during a conference with the village committee. We decided to arrange a soccer match between the villagers of Don-Khaem and Don-Lum-Kom and ask for donations from the spectators. All the money raised then would go to the school since Don-Khaem was one of

the villages that sent children there. The two teams consisted of volunteers from the village and was held on the school's soccer field. Through this effort 600 bahts were raised. A little later, I did a Khon dance in a classroom for donations and made 100 bahts. Not enough was raised to do anything about the restrooms, but a small library was started that contained government and agricultural documents and some novels. Also, several plastic blinds were purchased for three classrooms which kept the rain out.

While the foregoing problems demanded money to correct, I figured some other problems could be met at no cost at all. For instance, since agriculture is so important to the village, I suggested to the principal that more class time be spent on it instead of art or social science. Should the school have been able to do this, the villagers would have seen a more direct link between education and prosperity. However, the principal informed me that the province dictated what was to be taught and how much it was to be taught. We could effect no change in this area. Another idea dealt with grading. The traditional system for determining if a student was to pass on to the next grade needed changing if it was to be fair. Changing the procedure would cost nothing. Traditionally, if 50 percent was not the average for all classwork in all subjects, then the student had to repeat the entire year. Institution of a credit system whereby students received credit for any class they passed would be fairer and more efficient. This idea was also rejected because it did not mesh with province policy, although its

cost-free implementation may have encouraged students to complete their education rather than fall due to merely a few low grades.

Still another deficiency in the school's organization was that its school calendar was developed without real concern for the welfare of the village. Had it truly reflected the need of the village, classes would be held during the summer with harvest time off. I tried to convince several province officials of this fact by referring to the need for more workers during harvest as well as for more directed youth activities during the summer months. A slight change in the school calendar could have achieved this and promoted even more respect for education in the minds of the villagers. All talk was to no avail, however. The province policy was set and no one wanted to run the risk of upsetting it.

Working With Teachers

Problems relating to the teaching staff were found in two general areas: the first concerns their training; the second their attitude. The training of teachers for rural education systems is not sufficient. Only two years of college is required for rural teachers and this is simply not enough training even for the lower grades (1-6). This is especially true when a teacher is expected to teach in six or seven different subject areas. Although this lack of training and its effects on the educational process were more than evident, there was little I could do to effect a change in governmental policy. Before I left Don-Lum-Kom, I wrote a letter to the

school superintendant of the province outlining some of my recommendations on how education in the village could be improved. I never got a response to this letter and doubt if it had any impact at all. Basically, my recommendations were as follow:

1. Assign teachers to geographic and cultural areas they are familiar with, either through direct experience or training. They must be able to speak the dialect of the area;

2. Training of teachers must be more extensive, especially in agriculture. This means a minimum of four years of college after completion of high school. City teachers all have bachelor degrees; rural teachers should meet the same requirements.

3. If more extensive training is not possible, then the teachers should at least be taught a speciality so that they would be competent in one major area--math, science, agriculture, or language.

4. The government should hold periodic workshops and seminars to upgrade teaching skills. These could be held in the summer and in a central location. Mandatory attendance by teachers would be insured by a contractual agreement.

5. Rural teachers with bachelor degrees should receive more salary than urban teachers. Although the cost of rural living is less than urban living, the facilities are not nearly as good. More money would entice better teachers. Obviously, the government is strapped for money which makes implementation of some of these recommendations more difficult. However, proper assignment of teachers, specialty training, and workshop attendance would be low-cost steps

for attaining better education.

The second problem related to teaching in the village is attitudinal. This is a more subtle problem than training deficiencies and one I attempted to deal with on a personal and small-scale level. As I noted before, teachers were held in high esteem by nearly everyone in the village. However, they did not have a very high opinion of their own status, since they did not have bachelor degrees. Furthermore, of the four teachers who lived in Don-Lum-Kom, only one was actually from the area. The other three were from outside the village and felt out of place and did not view their job as a very important one. The local teacher's attitude was quite positive because he was helping people he knew well. He was married and his family owned some land that he helped work. The three non-local teachers had been assigned to the Don-Khaem school for some special reason and had little enthusiasm for their work. In my talks with these non-local teachers I tried to engender some enthusiasm to them for their work by emphasizing the important role they were playing in the development of Thailand as a nation and to the villagers as individuals. This type of talk helped some, but what really got them enthused was the irrigation project. Their help in this endeavor was largely responsible for its success, and when it was completed, they felt better about themselves because the project was a tangible, observable improvement to which they had contributed. Hopefully, this important but small success would help transfer a positive attitude to their classroom teaching.

Working With Students

Two major problems face students in Don-Lum-Kom that need further discussing. One of these is bad health conditions and lack of medicine. Although students enjoy school, they are often unable to attend because of sickness. When sickness occurs, villagers have two choices: they visit either the Moa-Pee (witch doctor) or the volunteer doctor. The Moa-Pee charges less for his services than the volunteer doctor and consequently has more patients. His methods of curing illness include herbal medicine, chants, dance, and magic. The volunteer doctor is not really a doctor at all but only a villager who has had six months of training in medicine. The volunteer had a small complement of innocuous drugs which the villagers had to buy if they got sick. He knew very little about diagnoses.

Since my father is a doctor, I was able to obtain some additional medications which I then dispensed to the children free of charge. Once this information spread to the parents, many children came to school when faced with minor illness instead of staying home. The medicine I used was similar to that used by the volunteer doctor--aspirin, antiseptic tincture, cold medicine, and medicine for upset stomachs. By dispensing this medicine, I was able to decrease absenteeism.

Another problem faced by students is that it is very difficult for them to go on after completing the sixth grade. Not being able to do so meant that their incentive to do well in the lower grades was weak. "Why work hard," several students asked me, "when there is

nothing afterward but field work?"

Two major factors kept students from going on for more education. One reason was the lack of desire on the parents' part to the subsequent loss of a field hand. On several occasions I talked with the parents of promising students about the importance of encouraging and supporting their children in their quest for education. I was usually successful in my talks with the parents, but they are usually not able to support their children for further schooling.

It is very expensive to send a child away to school. The cost is mainly due to the fact that the nearest high school was in Khon-Kaen, sixty kilometers away. This meant that the cost of schooling for a student had to include room and board. I talked with a government official about this problem in regard to one particularly accomplished student but to no avail. The parents did not have enough money to send their son to school and neither did the government. Scholarships in Thailand are very rare and the demand for them very high. It is a tragic situation since if afforded the opportunity many children could do well.

Evaluation of Educational Project

It is safe to say that I had little impact on education in Don-Lum-Kom. School organization in rural Thailand is not sound but is so in meshed in bureaucracy that it is almost impossible to change as an outsider. Even if one is a lower level member of the educational system effecting change would be difficult. Change must be initiated

from the top and will only come about when there are knowledgeable people ready to allocate the needed funds. I did what I could, but was really only successful at raising a small amount of money to improve the physical plant. This may help some but the real change needs to be in the areas of subject emphasis, calendar, credit system, teacher training, and student opportunity. In these areas, my efforts were limited and negligible.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS: PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

The national desire for development in rural Thailand is thwarted by two major disfunctions within the Thai bureaucratic structure. The first of these bureaucratic problem areas pertains to its internal structure and mode of operation. The second problem area concerns its direct, face-to-face encounters and dealings within the village cultural context.

This chapter will address both of these problem areas and suggest ways for the bureaucracy to become more effective in promoting development in rural villages. Also, further specific recommendations will be given for successful development planning in Thailand.

Internal Bureaucratic Problems

The Thai bureaucracy's efficiency in relation to rural development is limited by two basic problems: First, the bureaucracy is primarily a "top-down" system; that is, very little information moves up the lines of communication. Second, the bureaucracy is a "top-heavy" system; that is, there are not enough community development workers who are in actual contact with the villages.

Thailand's bureaucracy is highly centralized, resulting in decisions being made at the top of the hierarchy that have little actual impact on the village level. As Neher has noted:

In Thailand local officials are not responsible to the people whom they govern but rather to the central government. Politics has traditionally been an adjunct of the central government; bureaucrats simply implement the decisions of their superiors (1974:75).

Neher's comments are echoed again and again in the literature on Thailand. Thus Siffin writes that "upward authority does not exist in any systematic, legitimate form. There are no suggestion systems in Thai Government Agencies" (1966:354). Obviously, this type of excessive centralization impedes development plans because it distances objectives of development plans from those who will be most directly affected. Naturally, this separation is not an intended phenomenon; nonetheless it is a real problem that must be addressed. An example of this is the letter I sent to the superintendent of education as mentioned in Chapter V. The recommendations I made in the letter were ignored, probably because they came from lower in the hierarchy. The Thai Bureaucracy is overwhelmingly a "line" organization (Siffin, 1966:353), and each officer feels a need to check with his superior before any decision is made. This type of an organization delegates little or no responsibility to subordinates that would indicate that they are responsible for decisions or that have the authority to make them.

A related problem is that even if good directives are generated at the top level they often are never implemented at the bottom level because they get lost on their way down the ladder. As Siffin observes, "In this system the thrust must come from the top, but the hierarchy has an impressive absorptive capacity. Orders transmitted

down through several layers are likely to lose much of their potency, if not their content. It becomes practically impossible for the men at the top of the system to keep track of the consequences of the endless flow of their orders and commands" (1966:355).

Furthermore, the system is "top-heavy," meaning that while there can be a flurry of directives and activity at the top levels there is often much less activity on the lower levels where it counts most. The community development worker who was assigned to Don-Lum-Kom was also responsible for 19 other village development programs. Based on a five day work week with no time off for vacation, this worker could spend an average of 12 days a year in each of his 20 villages. One day a month is not enough to instill in the villagers a need for development. Other officials who should be working in villages because their positions seem crucial to development are not yet present to any appreciable extent. This applies especially to agricultural, livestock, and cooperative officers. During my two months in Don-Lum-Kom the community development worker spent one half hour in the village on two occasions. The agricultural officer for the village was never seen.

Swaying Village Sentiment: Working with the Culture

The success of rural community development in Thailand, as elsewhere, depends on the bureaucracy's ability to discern, integrate, and perhaps change the cultural climate and characteristics of those people it is attempting to assist. Development plans must take

into account strengths and weaknesses of rural Thai culture if unity of purpose and effective, positive change are to be forthcoming. While development in Thailand has occupied bureaucratic attention since 1940, much more still needs to be done. As Tunsiri (1978) has pointed out, one key factor in the development process that is still in need of attention is the bureaucracy's ability to properly read, analyze, and act upon the cultural givens of rural Thai culture.

Cultural Characteristics

Thai rural culture is a many faceted phenomenon, yet underlying much of it is Theravada Buddhism and magico animistic elements. Piker (1968) has described the relationship of belief systems to behavior in rural Thai culture and makes several points germane to community development. Based on an analysis of Thai religion, Piker correctly points to four characteristics of the Thai personality which must be taken into account in the formation of any development plan. The most noticeable of these characteristics is the spontaneity of behavior. "In practice this means that wishes of the moment often take precedence over long-term interests in many areas of life" (Piker, 1968:121). There is little inclination in village life to defer immediate gratification. A second characteristic of behavior connected to religious belief is that there is no single theme or purpose which integrates or dominates action. The villager often acts in a "scatter-gun" manner, trying various uncoordinated methods for achieving goals. These methods are dropped quickly if the payoff

is not quick. A third behavioral trait inherent in Thai culture is a lack of confidence in the ability of the individual to effect change. Rather than relying on personal ability, a Thai villager is apt to depend on luck for personal advancement. This does not mean that rural culture promotes fatalism, but simply that he looks outside the realm of personal volition for success. Most often the villager relies on patron-client relationships. A fourth trait stemming from religious belief systems is an emphasis on individualism. While individualism can be beneficial, in rural Thailand it is spawned by a distrust of others. According to Piker:

The villager approaches interpersonal involvement with considerable caution and suspicion, and interpersonal relations are characterized by a relative absence of binding, mutual commitment. This pattern of expectation implies a low likelihood that stable relationships--such as enduring cooperative groups or dyadic friendships--will be invoked as aids in surmounting life's inevitable crises; nor is there any realistic basis to suppose that such could be the case (1978:123).

The Thai notions of time and sanuk (fun) are two other cultural components deserving attention in development planning. In a much debated essay, Embree (1950) advanced the notion that Thailand is a "loosely structured social system." He notes that:

The longer one resides in Thailand the more one is struck by the almost determined lack of regularity, discipline, and regimentation in Thai life. In contrast to Japan, Thailand lacks neatness and discipline; in contrast to Americans, the Thai lack respect for administrative regularity and have no industrial time sense (Embree, 1950:4).

While Embree's comments are excessively strident and antagonist, in regard to the Thai concept of time he is essentially correct. He

is also correct in his assessment of the Thai's interest in sanuk or "pleasure-loving." The desire for sanuk can distract, momentarily, from any task at hand, no matter what its importance in the overall and long-range scheme of things.

Bureaucracy and Culture

To begin with, it is clear that it is much easier to change the bureaucratic structure than the cultural givens. Culture can be changed, and this change can be brought about by the bureaucratic structure, but this change will only occur if the bureaucracy begins first by aligning itself with cultural tendencies. If properly tapped, Thai culture will aid and assist the bureaucratic plans for modernization. This is not to say that Thai culture is perfectly suited for encouraging modernization: there are, as Piker and others have noted, several components of Thai culture that represent obstacles to development, but the culture is not the primary problem; rather, it is that the bureaucracy pushes for development without being fully cognizant of how cultural patterns will affect these plans. Naturally, one way to become more aware of cultural characteristics is to reorganize the standard "top-down" policy to one in which suggestions can move smoothly upward.

Also, more attention needs to be given to changing how a rural villager views his situation if this traditional perspective impedes development plans set by the bureaucracy. Here the community development worker plays a key role, as it is he who is in face-to-face

contact with the villager. Not only should the community development worker serve as a channel through which ideas move up the ladder, but he should also be intimately involved with changing the basic world view of the villagers so that bureaucratic plans have a better chance of succeeding. If plans passed down to him are far removed from the rural, cultural reality, he should say so to his superiors. More importantly, he should be directed to reduce as much as possible cultural lag which occurs if technological advancement in the village progresses at a pace faster than a change in the people's values. In other words, development strategy on the bureaucratic and village levels should encourage physical changes in the environment and changes in how the villager views his reality. The latter is best accomplished by capitalizing on cultural characteristics which are supportive of development plans.

The Thai respect for Buddhism, for instance, is one cultural given that a community development worker could exploit or at least emphasize in the interest of furthering community development. While Piker (1968) and Embree (1950) speak mainly of belief systems detrimental to development goals, there are at least four characteristics of Buddhism that can work to advance development. First, Buddhism is a unifying and stabilizing force within Thailand because it brings people together in a positive and joyful way. This is especially true of rural people who look to monastery fairs as a time for entertainment and trade. Second, it reinforces what is already a potentially mobile society. The monkhood provides a basis for secur-

ing both education and high status. Third, the notion of Karma provides another avenue for advancement since it emphasizes the connection between success and meritorious acts. Fourth, monks are so highly respected that the people will do for them what they may not do for a community development worker.

There are other ways cultural givens can be used to effect change within that same culture. The tendency of Thais to not defer gratification could be combatted with their desire for sanuk. If a villager knows that a full week's work is to be rewarded with some pleasurable activity upon completion, he is more apt to provide steady work. Since villagers lose interest if the payoff is not quick, make the payoff smaller but more immediate: Divide a project into the smallest possible units and reward accomplishment with sanuk. If, as Piker (1968) suggests, villagers believe in luck and lack confidence in their individual ability to effect change, get the monk to emphasize the law of karma which stresses the relationship between the acts of an individual and personal success.

The fact that rural Thais do not regulate their lives according to a disciplined and "industrial time sense" is a more subtle and difficult problem to solve. There is little in Buddhist philosophy that can assist in this area since Buddhism places great value on the notions of impermanence and timelessness. Yet the problem is one of extreme importance because without a firm concept of time many development projects are next to impossible to complete. In the long run, the Thai's lack of a regulated time frame may prove to be the

greatest impediment to development. If this is the case, then more effort should go into developing a good sense of time. Don-Lum-Kom had no clocks before I gave one to the headman. Perhaps development planners could address this problem by supplying villages with clocks and encourage schools to teach children and parents how to tell time. Something as simple as this could have a greater impact on development than any number of plans to upgrade the physical environment. It is worth noting that in the 624 page official document that sets planning priorities (The Fifth National Economic and Social Development Plan (1982-1986)) no mention is made of how the rural conception of time can be altered.

Recommendations

The following recommendations suggest ways for implementing development plans at the village level in three areas: agriculture, education, and values.

Agriculture

- That an agriculture self-help association be established for the purpose of exchanging successful growing or marketing techniques.
- That agricultural officers visit village agriculture associations at least once a month to disseminate new information.
- That the connection between fertilizer use and higher crop

yield be demonstrated each year by cultivation of a test field.

- That benefits accruing from tractor use be demonstrated in each village.
- That village agricultural associations band together and donate money for purchasing a small, group-owned tractor.

Education

- That education policy be reformed as noted in Chapter V.
- That English not be taught in rural schools since the vast majority of students will never need to use it.
- That teachers take on the added responsibility of conducting adult education classes in the evenings and during the summer.
- That the villages sending students to the central school create a board of education so that other villagers will be informed about school activities.
- That families be asked to donate a small portion (one bushel) of their excess rice to a scholarship fund which will send a student to a secondary school. Each family that donated would be rewarded by a respected official (governor or district officer) in the form of a paper award that could be hung on the wall and be a source of pride to the villagers.

Values

- That students be psychologically prepared for cultural

development by placing clocks in all the classrooms and by learning how to keep clock time.

- That physical education class be taught during school hours and during summer leisure time, and that these classes include highly organized games with set rules. This would help children learn the value of discipline and group loyalty while providing an alternate to other forms of entertainment such as gambling.
- That the school create a student government and hold regular elections for class officers. This would promote a sense of participatory democracy and instill a sense of responsibility in the students.
- That village monks be more integrated into the development plans since they are more highly respected than community development workers.
- That behavior helpful to development plans be supported whenever possible by the dispensing of small felt-needs such as spices, pictures, pans, or cloth.

Conclusions

The task of this thesis has been to observe and study community development in Northeast Thailand and to make recommendations as to how the objectives of the government can be more easily met. The focus has intentionally been directed to bureaucratic impact on the village level. Larger questions such as the lack of money or bureau-

cratic corruption (Girling, 1981) have been ignored in deference to a discussion of how bureaucratic planning actually affects village life and how it could affect village life if it took into account cultural tendencies. It has been assumed that the bureaucracy must accept the primary responsibility for bringing about positive change because it is the organization with the power, knowledge, and means to do so. A villager is most often content with his plight; while he wants to improve the quality of his life, his expectations are low when compared to the expectations of the government leaders. It is they who are acting as catalysts for development and modernization; it is their plan and their concern. This is not to say that the villagers need not be involved; in fact, just the opposite is the case, as Long (1977) suggests in his "actor-oriented" approach to community development. But it is the task of the bureaucracy to get the villagers involved because it is only through village participation that the bureaucracy can meet its objectives. The bureaucracy must sway village sentiment to its viewpoint at the same time it implements changes in the physical environment, and this can be done at no further cost to the government. Most of the recommendations in Chapters V and VI represent easy, low-cost, low-level changes. When the bureaucracy makes these changes, it will meet with more success.

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