

Charles F. Keyes Field Notes, Thailand

November 23, 1962 – December 28, 1962.

Field notes in this document were primarily written in Mahasarakham (Changwat Maha Sarakham), Thailand. This document is preceded by field notes written in Bangkok, Thailand from August 9, 1962 through November 13, 1962. This document is followed by notes written in Maha Sarakham province in January 1963.

November 23, 1962

Mahasarakham

Selection of a Village

With the help of the Amphoe Office and particularly of the *Palat Amphoe* I hope to locate a village in fairly short order. The following are the criteria to us in choosing a village:

1. Location should not be more than 10 or 15 kilometers from Mahasarakham. The reason for this is that I wish to be able to commute fairly easily between the village and the town. Secondly, and on the theoretical side, I want a village which has access to the markets and shops of Mahasarakham.
2. The village must not be a "model village." That is, I don't want a village which has been subjected to intensive development under the various programs of the Thai government (or other agencies). Also, I don't want a village which has been chosen out by the government either for me or for other reasons as a model village.
3. The village must not be overly specialized in any other occupation other than rice growing. In other words, the village must not derive its primary source of income from such crops as jute, corn, etc.
4. The village must not be a rich village; neither must it be a poor one. The village must have some surplus income to utilize in purchases outside the village, but it must not be an "overly developed" village relative to the NE.
5. The village shouldn't be larger than about 220 households (somewhere around a 1000 people) for if it be larger, a study becomes rather unwieldy.
6. The village must be ethnic Thai (or Lao) and not P'u T'ai, or some other minority ethnic group.

7. It would be better if the village did not have an education program which took the villagers beyond *Pathom* 4. Otherwise, the village becomes unique in one of the features which make for rapid social mobility in Thailand and for better extra-village contacts.
8. The village should be as much as possible a "nucleated" village. Other factors of a non-theoretical sort which will influence my decision are those of the character of the *Phū yai bān*, the abbot, and the school teachers, the possible availability of living quarters in the village, and, very importantly, whether or not the villagers seem amenable to my coming to study in the village.

November 24, 1962

Mahasarakham

Teacher's College Mahasarakham

The Teacher's College at Mahasarakham (วิทยาลัยครูมหาสารคาม) is located about 4 km. from the town of Mahasarakham. The campus is quite large and includes one class room building with another half-finished, dormitories for men and women, houses for the teachers, a "student union," houses for the employees of the school, miscellaneous buildings used for agriculture demonstrations, handicrafts, and the like, a cafeteria and several little shops (private) which sell food, and water pumps and generators. The school produces its own electricity which is on for an hour in the morning (5:30-6:30) and 5 hours in the evening (5:30-10:30) (the school is too far from the town to make use of the town's electricity). The school does pump some of its own water but not enough and thus has to buy more water from the city. In most ways, however, due to distance and self-sufficiency the school is somewhat isolated from the town. Most of the physical plant has been financed by the government, though there are several things such as the school's land rover's were given by UNICEF.

The college is built on the grounds of an old agricultural school. The school has not been in existence too long. It serves the 3 provinces of Kalasin, Roi Et, and Mahasarakham when the school was first begun, the proportions of students were in accord with the sizes of these provinces. Roi Et the most, then Mahasarakham, and Kalasin. The school is primarily a 2-year school (approximately 280 students in each of the first 2 years), but some students take 3 years (63 students). The headmaster explained that soon the school will have 4 years so that there will be 2 programs; one of 2 years and one of 4 years. The students who graduate from here usually

go to the village to teach (and most have come from the villages originally). Some, however, do go on to more advanced education. To enter, students have to have completed *mathayom* 6 and must pass an examination given by the Provincial Educational Officer.

The students each must pay ฿1300 a year which pays for food only (the government supports the rest of the school budget). The cost of food for the whole school is about ฿1500 a day (which includes 3 "sacks" of rice). There are some few scholarships which are determined by the students position on the provincial exam.

For example, there are 16 scholarships (which pay for food) - 8 boy, 8 girl - for the third year each year.

There are about 60+ teachers - some of whom are special teachers sent by the Minister of Education to help the teachers here. In addition to their responsibilities in teaching and guidance, the teachers also help in other schools in the area including village schools. Some of the teachers have studied in America and presently 7 are applying for scholarships to go there - though it is obvious that not all will succeed. The headmaster, อาจารย์ วิสาร สีวารัตน์, Ācān Wisān Siwārat , is about 57 years old, a graduate of Suan Kulap School in Bangkok (1926), and a native of Korat. He has been a teacher/headmaster all of his life and though he has never been abroad, speaks adequate English. His children have mostly followed him into the educational world and he himself is devoted to education, though he now says that he is getting too old.

The students all take 11 subjects a term - including "hard" subjects such as math, science (chemistry, biology, physics), social studies (history, Thai culture, geography), language (Thai and English), public health, agriculture and such "soft" subjects as music, art, handicrafts, and Boy Scouts or Red Cross (compulsory for all students in Thailand).

November 25, 1962

Maharakham

Trip to Fair

Last evening we went with some people from the Teacher's College to a fair sponsored by a private school in Maharakham. It was obvious that this was a major entertainment in the town for the P.A. system carried sounds easily understandable right to the Teacher's College

some 3 kilometers away. Also, in front of the school where the fair was being held, were every vehicle in Mahasarakham and so many that I am certain that they couldn't all have been from the town itself. The place was jammed with people who must have come from kilometers around.

The cost to enter the fair was ฿1 per head - a minimal fee but not so minimal as there were still people just standing outside looking in. The P.A. system was so filled with competing noises - each booth had its own set-up, that it was nearly impossible to hear. Inside there were two rather large stages which had orchestras. On one side of the stage there was a row of girls sitting. For a price, one of the local swains could go up on stage and dance the twist, cha-cha-cha, or *ramwong*. However, in none of these dances would the boy and girl touch. One set of girls were dressed in bathing suits whereas the others were dressed in short skirts. The bathing suit angle probably is derived from beauty contests, for the girls also had a sash from one shoulder to opposite side of waist with writing on it. Between the two dance stages with their background of corrugated aluminum was a little cafe-type place.

There were several brightly lit displays of such goods as thermos jugs, glasses, dishes, etc. with a long narrow table in front. Between this table and the display was a man standing with a microphone and giving a come-on spiel. I think that there were some sort of chance concession. There were also other concessions such as a rifle shooting, i.e., much the same as in carnivals in the West.

In the center of activities was a fenced off area which was the boxing stadium. Here, for as little as ฿4 one could watch *muai* or Thai boxing. There were seven different matches going on between two teams. We watched three of them. At the beginning of the fight each boxer would *wai khrū* or pay homage to his teacher in the art of boxing by first kneeling on the mat, bringing his hands together in praying position at his face and then bow to the floor. The completion of this ceremony is to stand and go into a formalized demonstration of what he has learned. Some boxers did this and some didn't. All during the *wai khrū* ceremony and during the five rounds of the boxing itself there was a musical accompaniment on a clarinet (*pī / ぴ*). This music was always a common theme. In Thai boxing 'anything goes' – or rather one can kick, strike, and do other things forbidden in Western boxing. In one fight we saw one boxer get knocked out and the crowd loved it.

The crowd was quite interesting. At first I thought it was made up entirely of men, but then I began to realize that there were a lot of women present. When the boxers really got going, the crowd (in this case, the men in the crowd) egged them on - really liking the 'blood and thunder' stuff. The "stadium" was quite full.

Outside the boxing "stadium" was a ferris wheel. Each compartment had a little fringed curtain on top. It was colored up with different colored neon lights.

When we came out of the fight there were two other stages with *môlam* (NE "opera") going on. Though this is a very old form of theatre, at least in one case the actors seemed dressed in very modern clothing. It would be interesting to study the themes of the plays. These two plays, we were told, were in competition. Both had quite large audiences. The stages were filled with painted canvas backdrops which could be changed by raising a lowering any one of the several that were in back of one another. The sides of the stage had stationary backgrounds. In the center of the stage was a small bench, covered with cloth and used as the one and only prop. Both stages had microphones hanging in front of the actors, though one was covered by a piece of red cloth. Off stage in one play we saw a man playing the *khāēn* - the pipe mouth instrument which is native to Laos and the NE.

The whole fair was a myriad of neon lights and sounds - all provided by the generator of the fair itself. Throughout the fair grounds were little stalls (one small table, one person squatting behind, and a kerosene light - a can with kerosene and wick) in which all sorts of things - watermelon, barbecued chicken, gum, glutinous rice, etc, - were being sold. There were also larger shops selling beer, soda, and more substantial food.

November 27, 1962

Mahasarakham

The fair, we have subsequently been told, lasted three nights and ended last night.

November 29, 1962

Mahasarakham

Trip to Amphoe Wapi Pathum

Yesterday, we went on a survey trip with some people from the NE Development Committee of the National Economic Development Board to the Amphoe south of Amphoe

Müang - i.e., Amphoe Wapi Pathum [*wā pī pathum* វ៉ាប៊ីពុម្ព]. This survey team consisted of Mr. Hans Platenius - the World Bank Adviser to the NE Development Committee, Miss Vanee, an English educated economist, and Mr. Saeng, an American trained economist. The ostensible purpose of the trip was to gather data on the economic conditions of villages in the NE. This survey was one of several which the team are making – another in Mahasarakham, and two amphoes in C. Sakon Nakhon. We travelled by land rover provided by the NEDB. We left Mahasarakham at about 8:00 in the morning and returned home at 6:30 in the evening.

General Impressions

The roads we travelled on were by no means all-weather roads but they were quite good and are certainly in use. We travelled from Sarakham to Wapi...on a road that was laterite part of the way. This road was really quite good, though there were some bridges out in places and we had to go down through ravines. We met considerable numbers of vehicles – primarily buses (always full) and lorries with loads of kenaf. The first village we turned off the road and thought that we would reach a fairly isolated spot - however, we met a bus coming from that village, though the village certainly would be isolated during the rainy season as the road would be a river bed.

In general our impression was that very few villages would be completely isolated during the dry seasons. Though the roads sometimes would be covered in very thick layers of fine dust, heavy vehicles such as lorries, buses, land rovers and light vehicles such as bicycles and scooters (to mention nothing of the ubiquitous ox cart) could easily reach any village in the area, and our conversations with merchants in Wapi revealed that the merchants do take their trucks out of the villages for purchasing rice and kenaf.

The soil conditions really struck me. It seems almost improbable that anything can be grown in such fine sandy soil. South of Sarakham is far worse than around Sarakham itself, and that is bad enough. And obviously the rice is of poorer quality than in the Central Plains. The plants are further apart - especially in some villages. The kenaf is also of poorer quality. There is still evidence - or remnants of scrub jungle all through the area.

As this is the harvest period, one could see people in the fields working with their scythes. We very rarely see more than 10 or so people in a single group and often we would see only one person working a field alone. It is obviously at the beginning of the harvest season as

some fields are still green while one does see some fields that have already been harvested. Apparently more harvesting had been done on the road between Wapi and Borabue as we saw more stacks of harvested rice laying in areas reserved for threshing (flat areas in which the buffalo will tromp around on the rice). Also, on the way back we saw more evidence of harvested kenaf (though we had seen truck loads of marketable kenaf on the way). There were the ponds in which the kenaf was being soaked to loosen the outer cover, and there were the racks on which the kenaf is hung in order for it to dry. In the evening we would see occasional fires where men had taken guard up over his kenaf for the night.

Villages impressed me in general as being fairly large nucleated ones. Each would have its wat and its school - neither of which were as prosperous appearing as those in the Central Plains (the wats - or rather the *bōt* would often be an open building of minimum construction compared to the solid stone and elaborately decorated ones in the Plains).

Our trip took us down the road from Sarakham towards Wapi. The first village we stopped at - Ban Ngua Ba - was off the main road about 2 ½ kilometers, but I am not sure how far from Wapi. The second village – Bān Nong Wa - was back on the main road and was about 8 kilometers from Wapi. We stopped at Wapi for lunch and to do a short inventory of the merchants, etc. in Wapi. Then we took the road from Wapi up towards Borabue. The next village we stopped at, a Tambon seat, was Ban Dong Yai, about 8 kilometers from Wapi. Finally, the last village we stopped at, again off the main road was that of Ban Khok Yai. It was about 22-3 km from Borabue, and about the same or a little less from Wapi. From Borabue we returned to Sarakham by a main Ban Phai - Sarakham Road.

The general complaint throughout the area we visited was the lack of sufficient water for consumption. During the dry season, these people really are at the mercy of what little water - clean or dirty - which they can obtain. This is certainly evident as already, the pools, the small streams are beginning to dry up. In March, I would imagine that the place looks like parts of India in worst drought conditions.

Bān Ngua Bā

Bān Ngua Bā (บ้านงัวบา) is located in Amphoe Wapi Pathum, off the main road about 21/2 kilometers (Main road between Sarakham and Wapi). When we arrived in the village, we asked to see the *Phūyaibān* and were shown to his house. This gentleman, a rather handsome

villager, proved to be quite informative and most helpful in answering our questions (Platenius says that this is the best interview he has had). We first asked him what the village needed most. He answered water for consumption and better irrigation. The water they get is salted water and this is no good for consumption. The rain water is not enough to last the year and they catch it only in small *'ōng* (ໂອ່ງ) as the big ones are too expensive (฿50-60) to buy.

The Headman himself goes to the Amphoe seat once a month (in order to receive his salary of ฿80 per month), but he hardly goes anywhere else. I noticed that the Headman's house had corrugated aluminum roofing (as do many of the houses in the villages we visited) and had a drainage pipe for collecting rain water.

Rice buyers come from Sarakham to buy rice. ฿6/*tang* is a normal price, but the farmers won't sell below 5.50/*tang*. The price sometimes goes up as high as ฿9 (this is the price for last year's rice).

He himself has more than 50 *rai* of land, though only 30 are planted in rice. He doesn't employ anyone to help him as he has 6-7 people in his family who do help. Last year he had about 500-600 *tangs* in total production, all glutinous rice. He said that he used all the rice for home consumption as he had 11 mouths to feed. However, his sister (a school teacher) later said that he sells about 25 per cent of his produce in a normal year. Sometimes, of course, he wouldn't be able to sell anything. He said that he mills the rice himself by hand (there was one of the pounding type of mills in front of his house), but occasionally he sends the rice out to be milled. Two buckets (20 kilos) cost about one baht for milling.

He said that he has noticed that the yield is going down.

He doesn't grow any kenaf this year as last year the price went down. Also grows some tobacco for his own consumption, as well as vegetables and fruit (there was quite an orchard of banana trees in his front yard). Also raises some animals for own consumption. Claimed that he doesn't sell anything. In his house were a couple of large circular (about 4-5 ft. in diameter) containers for silk worms. These are rather fascinating things that look a little like a maze that a chipmunk runs around in. The outside is a wooden frame. Then every two or three inches is another wire circle of about an inch or inch and a half thick (the thickness of the whole circle). These inner circles are divided into compartments of about 2-2 1/2 inches in length. In these

compartments, but not all of them, are little yellow balls. These are silk balls with silk worms inside. We asked him if he sold any silk and he answered that he used his silk only for making things for himself.

He said that he sometimes acts as middleman for selling cattle to villagers. He buys cattle from other villages and then sells them to his own people.

His house looked rather prosperous. There were some pictures on the walls, a few mattresses lying around, and other things which have obviously been purchased. It was some question in our mind as to how he could seem so prosperous and yet claim that he didn't sell anything. However, it seemed a point of pride that he was self-sufficient and yet could live so well.

He said that he has heard about fertilizer but has never seen it. Said that he would buy fertilizer when it is reduced to B1. Does use night soil.

At this point another woman came in - this woman was his sister and was a teacher. Sometimes she would elaborate on the answers which he gave. People in the village go to Wapi to buy and sell things. About 75 per cent of the people buy things for cash and about 25 percent buy things on credit. He said that to buy things on credit is more expensive, but how much he didn't know.

Some people borrow from relatives, but not much. No interest is charged in these cases. Some 25 per cent of the people borrow from merchants in Wapi.

The exchange labour system is operation with only payment in liquor and food.

There are two radios in the village and he owns one.

There are 74 "roofs" in the village (i.e., 74 households).

He has eight children, eldest is 22 years old and has graduated from *Mathayom* 6 in Wapi-Pathum. Youngest is 4.

Last year he gave (estimated) about B2500 to all wats in *kathin* ceremonies.

At this point, we accompanied his sister and went over to learn about the school. On the way she explained that there were about 208 pupils in the school - 7 teachers, and 4 grades.

At the school we talked to the headmaster. The school was rather shabby, weaved bamboo walls. The children looked poorly dressed.

The headmaster explained that there were numerous absences when children went home to help their family. Those who are absent usually come back within 5 days.

I noticed that some of the children had pierced ears and wore earrings. Most were wearing *pasins* and *pakumas*.

The headmaster gave us the following statistics (the inconsistencies are his, not ours):

1st grade: 40 pupils
2nd grade: 69 "
3rd grade: 60 " Girls; 110
4th grade: 69 " Boys; 103
238 pupils

The greatest needs in the school are books for pupils, clothes for pupils, desks and chairs. No pupil fails in the 4th grade though a few do in lower grades.

Rarely do any officials come. He himself serves as representative between the school and the Amphoe and makes a visit once a month to attend meetings in the Amphoe. He also has gone to Bangkok for in-service training.

There are about 10 students a year who go on to other schools.

There is such a shortage of buildings here to make it impossible to expand to 7 grades (the new government law). Personally, he thinks that schools ought to be extended to 7 years, but probably hasn't given the idea much thought.

His own education is that he has finished *Mathayom* 3 (through self-study) and has passed special course and qualifying exam.

The Sister of the Headmaster told us that there is not enough pencils and paper - such is not expensive, but the parents won't buy it.

The Sister of the *Phūyaibān* is a graduate of *Mathayom* 6 and has spent 1 year at a training college in Ubon. Her cousin was once a cabinet minister, but was shot about 10 years ago.

The sister gets ฿650/month and the headmaster gets ฿800/month.

Bān Nong Wa

Bān Nōng Wā (บ้านหนองหว้า) (is located in Amphoe Wapi Pathum and is about 8 km. from Wapi on the main road between Wapi and Sarakham. When we entered this village we were immediately struck by the large number of patches of Chinese cabbages. We walked into the village and passed a really prosperous looking wat. We had a hard time locating anyone as everyone seemed to be in the fields. Finally, we invited ourselves into one household.

This household was exceptional in that it consisted of three sisters and one brother all of whom were of mature (mid-twenties or a bit younger) age. The brother was just finishing his lunch and during the course of the interview with the sisters (in which he said nothing), he changed into a khaki shirt and pants, put on a hat and took a small bag of clothing and left. The sisters said that he was going to the field (obviously, not true).

This family of four has 6 *rai* of land and last year produced 100 tang of rice. They sell some vegetables.

The one sister says that they go to Wapi two-three times a month. The return fare to Wapi and back is B4. All the sisters had permanents.

They mill the rice themselves.

They get water from swamp in off-seasons. Buffaloes use the same swamp.

The malaria eradication teams have been through here. There is a "doctor" in the Tambon seat.

They raise silk for home use.

They said that villagers always buy in cash. Sometimes when merchants come to the village, they will buy on credit.

They work occasionally for other people in village during the harvest for B8 per day.

They have one buffalo, a few ducks and a few chickens. Estimate that there are about 200 hogs in whole village (have none themselves). Six houses have radios - all are teachers. They themselves have completed the third grade.

They have no money to buy insecticides. Catch rainwater in small 'ong, but it doesn't last long. Don't have enough money to buy bigger containers.

Wapi Pathum

In the Amphoe seat of Wapi Pathum (วปีปทุม (we spent about two and a half hours eating lunch and then wandering around doing a cursory examination of the stores and shops and merchants in the town.

The place where we ate lunch was below a hotel and in front of the town market. In back were a large number of good 'ong which are used for storing rain water. These cost 60 baht apiece (maybe 50). Upstairs, the hotel part didn't look bad at all. The food wasn't special.

In one of the shops we stopped in I saw saddles (as I did in other shops as well) and a container which is used for measuring out a tang of rice. The owner said that he gave no credit to farmers.

In another store, the owner told us that he buys extra stock toward the end of the harvest in anticipation of the farmers having money after the harvest. Merchants, he told us, come from Bān Phai to sell things. Every 15 days the merchant comes to collect the money for goods sold. Turnover is presently about 300-400 baht a day. After the harvest it will be about double. This merchant told us that there are two small rice mills in town. The millers sell to Bān Phai.

I noticed one store where there were heavy coats, hats and blankets.

No cinemas in town. But a man who sells medicines comes with moving pictures occasionally.

A kenaf merchant whom we talked with told us that he goes out to the villages with his truck. He has bought some kenaf already. He pays ฿2.70/kg. for highest quality kenaf; 50 st./kg. for lowest quality. He transports the kenaf to Bān Phai.

There is a store which sells jewelry, a "second level doctor", a large number of tailor shops with many sewing machines, a beauty shop. (This is not meant to be a full inventory). There are more basketry, more cloth, and more shops than in Mahasarakham (though the type of goods is leveled at farmers almost entirely whereas in Sarakham there are shops which sell to higher levels of individuals). There is a radio shop and at least two lumber stores. In one shop we found some pink fertilizer ("nitroroska"), made in Germany, which is used for growing watermelon. It costs ฿4 / kg. / kilos (the size of the sacks) are used for 2-3 rai (this is spreading it pretty thin).

Bān Dong Yai

Bān Dong Yai (บ้านดงใหญ่) (is a tambon seat in Amphoe Wapi Pathum and is located about 8 kilometers from Wapi. In this village we talked with the headmaster.

There are about 250 "roofs" in the village.

The greatest need is water for consumption and cultivation. A survey has been made in order to build a tank, but now the village is waiting for money to build it. The water presently is salty. This tank water would be used primarily for irrigation. For now they get water from a well which they have dug. They also use rain water but it is not sufficient. Do not have large enough containers and can't afford to buy them. Well water is not salty, but isn't sufficient. From March on there is not enough water. When the real dry season comes, they have to wait in line at the well and then go to the ponds and marshes for water (but this water isn't very good and the headmaster claims that they boil it).

Other than water what is most needed is better communications and better transportation. It costs 7 baht to go the 30 kilometers to Borabue and 3 baht to go the 8 kilometers to Wapi. The most important market place is Bān Phai.

The headmaster himself used to grow kenaf, but doesn't do it anymore. Lots of kenaf grown here. Use upland land (i.e. land which had not been planted in rice) which formerly was used for cotton, etc. The land has been used year after year. In response to a question as to whether the yield had decreased noticeably, the headmaster replied that it had because there was more rain this year than last. The average yield is about 200 kg. of kenaf/*rai*. Usually in a good year it will go up to 300 kg./*rai*. ฿2.50/kg. is the going price for kenaf. Fewer people are planting kenaf this year.

Twenty-five per cent of all rice produced is sold. Mostly raise glutinous rice and keep most of that.

In the last five years, no one has moved in or out of the village. But between the years 1952-1957 there were about 20 families who moved to Udon and Khon Kaen.

Average about 30 *rai*/household. About 25 *rai* of this planted in rice. Upland lands are also privately owned. Farmers have seen that fertilizer will give better results, but fertilizer is too expensive at present.

Rice officer and agricultural officer have come once a year.

Education

There are six teachers and 238 pupils. Only one primary school.

Pathom 1 60 pupils

Pathom 2 50 "

Pathom 3 60+ "

Pathom 4 68

238 pupils

What the school needs most are books, cupboards, desks and benches. There is no latrine.

The headmaster finished *Mathayom 6* and a little more. Also had a year's elementary teaching education.

At most one half of the class have enough books. Students buy the books themselves.

The headmaster learned all by himself and took the exam in Changwat Center.

Three radios in the village, one of which he owns. Seven bicycles. Ten sewing machines. A single general store.

Four to five students on the average go for advanced education in Wapi.

Measles (or chicken pox) is the most prevalent illness. A secondary sanitary post in Wapi. Primary in Changwat.

Ninety-five per cent attendance at school.

There is some fishing for the villager's own consumption. About 200 pigs in the village. Almost every household has some. Householders prefer to catch fish themselves rather than buy them. The pond where they catch fish is about 10 kilometers away.

Villagers buy sewing machines on the installment plan. Negligible indebtedness. If they have surplus rice to sell, they sell it little by little rather than all at once.

He feels that compared with other crops, rice is better. Feels that rice gets a just price. Glutinous rice sells for 50 st. a kilo (this is low even for glutinous rice). People grind their own rice rather than have it milled. There is one diesel mill in the village.

Sticlac is also produced.

The headman's house looked fairly prosperous. It was solid wood (rather than weaved bamboo walls). He had some sort of generator device in his yard.

Bān Khok Yai

Bān Khok Yai (บ้านโคกใหญ่) (is located in Amphoe Wapi, Tambon Dong Yai, Changwat Mahasarakham. It is about 22-23 kilometers from Boribue and about 15 kilometers from Wapi. It is off the main Wapi-Borabue Road about 1 1/2 - 2 kilometers. Here we couldn't find the headman or the headmaster and so we talked with the son of the headman.

He said that what was most needed in the village was water. "No rain, no water". Nearest water is the nearest pond - about 100-200 meters from the village.

He doesn't know of any plans or surveys for drilling wells. The average holding is about 20 *rai*/household. Kenaf is planted on the same land year after year. Production is about 50 kg/*rai* of kenaf. Was more than a 100 last year. Receive B2.50 per kilo. Rice is produced only for consumption. The harvest is not yet done. Some years the production is not enough for consumption and the villagers have to buy extra. Yield is about 10 tang/*rai*. Grinds his own rice. Last year received about B500 for kenaf.

Agricultural officer never comes. Assistant to Amphoe comes once a year. Never heard of Community Development. He himself goes to Wapi two or three times a year.

Last year one household moved in and no one moved out. This family came from Amphoe Phon in Khon Kaen.

Thinks that the government should dig wells for domestic use. He has six children, two of whom go to school. He says that he likes his children to go to school. He further says that if the government wants 7 years of compulsory education, then it will be. He has no opinion.

Difficult to find fish and catch them. Normal diet *plā rā* (ปลาข้าว) with glutinous rice.

If one of his children gets sick, he will use local medicine. There is a "doctor" but he is difficult to find because he is always out. There is a midwife.

He has two buffaloes and no cattle. Has two hogs, about 10 chickens.

He receives about 200-300 baht for one tang (in this case, 90 kilo) of rice. Less than 3 baht per kilo. This year he expects about B350/kg.

November 30, 1962

Mahasarakham

Some General Information

This information comes from Hans Platenius.

Average rice yield in area of Mahasarakham is 160 kg/*rai*.

1 *tang* = 10 kg.

Phūyaibān receives ฿80/ month salary.

Last year (1961) rice sold for about 60-70 st./kg.

Good rice went up to about ฿1 / kg.

Glutinous rice sold for somewhat less.

Good kenaf sells for about ฿2.50/kg. with a range of from 50 st. to 2.70 baht/kg.

December 4, 1962

Mahasarakham

When one reads the reports of anthropologists who have made a study in this culture or that, one is usually left with the impression that the anthropologist as a human being was physically present in the society about which he is reporting, little difficulty arose for him other than the difficulties in eliciting the information about which he was most concerned.

Occasionally, it is true, one does find mention of some of the physical hardships which the researcher has had to endure - such things as illness or severity of climate. Rarely, however, does one hear of the frustrations of waiting for something to happen such that his work may proceed, or of the guilt feeling which arises when the anthropologist feels that he is wasting time because he isn't collecting or writing up data, or about the difficulty of interpersonal relationships when one is immersed in a culture which is alien (I do not mean what is sometimes called "culture shock" but of such things as the effort one expends in carrying out even the most trivial things in a foreign language which has yet to be properly mastered).

We have now been in Mahasarakham for two weeks and the third is already two days gone. And I have yet to see the village in which I will make my researches. The primary

difficulty which has created such a situation is the necessity I feel in working through local officials in settling upon a village. Supplementing this, however, is the fact that I have yet to acquire a proper mode of transport which would enable me to get to villages which are located more than just a few kilometers from the town.

The second day after we arrived in Mahasarakham, we tried to visit the local powers-that-be. It turned out that the provincial governor was in another province on a visit, and the Assistant Governor, the District Officer, the Assistant District Officer, and the Police Chief were all in another district for the day. The following day we did manage to see the Assistant Governor, the District Officer and the Assistant District Officer. It appeared that maybe I was going to be one of those fortunate individuals who are able to begin after only a short wait as all these worthies seemed most anxious to provide me with any assistance which I might require. The Assistant District Officer, a very capable young man, especially seemed amenable to giving me benefit of his knowledge in choosing a village which fitted my particular fore-established requirements. Thus, the next day when I went to talk with him again, I was of high hopes that I should be able in such a short time to get established in a village. Unfortunately, I was greeted by the absence of the Assistant District Officer who had been called to Bangkok. And I wasn't able to see him until several days later. Then, we again discussed the possibility of several villages as potential places of study. I was still hoping that somehow he might arrange to take me out to these villages to look at them. Unfortunately, he was without a convenient mode of transport and suggested as an alternative that I wait until the 5th of December when all the local village headmen would come to Mahasarakham for a meeting. Though a perfectly reasonable suggestion, it does mean that I shall have to wait until the morrow before I even begin canvassing the relative advantages of several villages. Further, because I have as yet to get my motorcycle, I am unable to pay visits to these villages on my own.

Thus it is that we have been confined first for a week to the guest house at the local Teacher's Training College (which itself is located 4 kilometers from the town, thus making it difficult to get in to town and back) and now to our home in Mahasarakham. It is true that I was fortunate in being included in a party from the National Economic Development Board who were making a survey of village conditions and thus was able to spend a day visiting some villages in the area. But for the most part I have been forced to fall back on my own resources for activity during this period of waiting. And it has been during this period that my guilt feelings have

arisen. Here am I living in the midst of the culture which I had prepared to study for so long and yet in some ways I have nothing to do. It is true that I am to make a survey of the town to find out what things I need to know here and that the Assistant Amphoe has provided me with some written materials which I can use as data. But, for the most part, I feel disorganized because I really hadn't planned on how to collect information here and because, further, I am not certain what I should be inquiring about. The periods of inactivity can be filled and are filled by consulting the various reference books which I have and in examining the questionnaires which I have tentatively prepared. But for the most part, I feel as though I really don't have much to do. Coming not long ago from the academic halls which provided the impetus and resources for intensive work, the present period seems a waste of time. Such a lack of organized activity naturally gives rise to feelings of guilt vis-à-vis one's professional standards. Further, one gives the appearance relative to the local populace that one is a laggard – a wealthy foreigner who does nothing but sit around his house all day. In a way we approximate those wealthy Englishmen who maintained villas in Italy whose day was organized to utilize a life of total leisure. Unfortunately, I do not possess that quality of aristocratic unconcern which would allow me to enjoy this present period. Rather, I am motivated by the more American puritanical ideals of continual activity in order to push forward in one's chosen profession. Such inactivity, particularly in this environment where I am supposed to be gathering data for my opus magnum, is an abomination to me. And yet I am frustrated in any attempt to enter into productive activity.

Further, since I am forced to return to Bangkok on the 21st for a week in order to handle matters concerning our visas, I look forward to a full month of unproductive activity. I must admit that I did come partially armed to face such a period of frustration. On our way out here we visited a friend who is engaged in anthropological research in India. He warned me to expect that the first month or so would not be productive. I heard, but I didn't really believe. However, now I can look back on this comment and on his explanation about his own frustrating initial experiences and derive some comfort - though not much.

A final note of difficulty. I have never before had the experience of having to carry out almost all my social relations – even to buying a roll of toilet paper – in a foreign language. Though I did come prepared with three years of language training at Cornell and three months of intensive work in Bangkok, I still find that it is a great effort to force myself to go out to town to buy things and particularly difficult to go visit officials with whom I feel that the way I express

myself is very important. Such contemplation of the difficulties which will arise when I have to go out make me desire to limit these forays as much as possible. The language-learning experience is in no way comparable because there is give and take between teacher and student and the aim is the use of the language. But when one must use the language as one does his native tongue, then the effort becomes much greater and the desire to enter into such interactions commensurately diminished. It will be far better, of course, when I get in the village and am forced by daily contact to have to use the language every day. Nonetheless, I now understand when my Japanese roommate at Cornell who spoke very good English commented that he came home exhausted in the evening from having to continually use his non-native tongue.

Bān Thā Sông Khôn

Bān Thā Sông Khôn (บ้านท่าสองคอน) which is a tambon seat in Amphoe Muang is located about 9 kilometers from the Amphoe office. This is one of the villages which the *palat amphoe* suggested as being a good village for my research. It is located just off the road to Amphoe Kosum Phisai [อ. โขสัมพิสัย]. This road is a secondary changwat road [ทางหลวง จังหวัด]. It is about 2-300 meters from the Chī River [ลำน้ำชี]. According to the Amphoe records there are 251 households and 1474 people in this village. The headman [ผู้ใหญ่บ้าน] is named Nāi Sing Sala Phak [นาย สิงห์ สละภักดิ์] (according to the changwat yearbook or Nāi Sing Sāra Phak [นาย สิงห์ สาระภักดิ์] according to the *palat amphoe*). The headmaster at Mahasarakham Teacher's College tells me that this village is located very near an ancient town of the same name. When Mr. Platenius and the team from NEDB were here they stopped at the village. They reported that the village had been 80 per cent destroyed by this year's floods and strongly advised me against making a study there.

December 5, 1962

Mahasarakham

Engagement of Headmaster's Daughter

This morning we were invited and attended the engagement ceremony of the daughter of the headmaster of the Teacher's Training College. This ceremony which is called *mân* (หมั้น) was held today (the King's Birthday) at around 7:30 in the morning as such a day and hour had been determined auspicious.

The ceremony was held in the sitting-room of the headmaster. This room and the veranda on which it opens contained the most important guests. Then below under a newly constructed wooden frame covered with mats were the chairs for other guests. Inside the main room were the following people: next to the stairs and facing the open doors to the veranda were the prospective bride-groom, his fiancée, the "chairman" or "president" of the ceremony (who in this case was the *palat čangwat*), the "chairman's" wife, the sister-in-law of the headmaster (who was acting in the stead of the headmaster's wife who had died some years before), the "go-between" (*thāo kākē* - ท้าวแก่), the mother of the groom. Then moving to the veranda, next to the mother of the groom was the husband of the sister of the groom, two little girl cousins of the groom, the sister of the groom. On the veranda were various important guests. Then on the opposite side of the room were relatives of the bride. These included a sister and three older - peasant-dressed - women. The father of the bride sat more or less off-center in the room and was in-charge of the proceedings.

First, the *thāo kākē* began by stating that these two were intending to marry. Then the two little girl cousins of the bride-groom took gifts - one to the sister-in-law of the headmaster as a gift from the groom's family to the bride's family. The second girl took another package to the wife of the "chairman". The wife of the "chairman" carefully rolled back the cloth on the top of the gift (the sister-in-law of the headmaster did the same) and then tied it in a knot (again followed by the sister-in-law). The wife of the "chairman" then reached in the silver bowl in which the gift was placed and pulled out the ring in a box (the ring is an innovation from the West according to the headmaster). The bridegroom got down on his knees and took the ring from the headmaster's sister-in-law. Then he returned on his knees and presented the ring to his bride-to-be by placing this on her finger. Then everyone applauded. She then got down and paid obeisance to him. Then they returned to their seats and the "chairman" gave a short speech explaining the meaning of the ceremony and instructed the newly betrothed couple. After he had finished, the couple got down on their knees and first went to the "chairman" to receive his

blessing, then to his wife, and then to the various major relatives (the headmaster's sister-in-law, the bridegroom's uncle, the bridegroom's mother, and finally to the headmaster). Each in turn gave them their blessing.

When this was finished, the bride and groom-to-be presented gifts to the "chairman" and his wife, and betel and cigarettes were laid out. In former times, the headmaster explained, only betel would have been offered. Then food was brought out. First was a plate including tea (Indian tea with much milk and sugar which the Thai call *namchā farang*), *bau* (Chinese rice dough cooked with meat and egg inside), curry roll, orange, and five little tea cookies which are primarily dough and sugar and scented water. After people had finished this, Chinese tea was brought out. During the food and afterwards, the headmaster and the bride and groom-to-be went around to the guests, both up and downstairs.

December 6, 1962

Mahasarakham

Some General Criteria for Selection of Village in Amphoe Muang, Mahasarakham as the Village in which I shall carry out my research *

* Used when working with officials to find a suitable village for my field work.

I. Size: The ideal size of the village would be around 200 households (1,000-1,200 people).

II. Distance from Mahasarakham (location):

It would be better if the village were not located on the Ban Phai- Mahasarakham- Roi Et or Mahasarakham-Kalasin Highways. However, a village on one of the side roads near these highways would be suitable. A village which is located not less than 10 kilometers, but not more than 20 kilometers from Mahasarakham would be good, I should like a village which is not heavily subjected to influence from Mahasarakham, but the limiting factor is that I must be able to reach the village by motor cycle throughout the year (this further means that the village must be accessible during the rainy season.)

III. Educational Qualification:

There should be at least one teacher in the village who has had some advanced formal education at the *mathayom* level. Further, there should be a teacher who can speak Bangkok

Thai. It would be very ideal if there were a teacher in the village who had some connection with the Teacher's Training College in Mahasarakham.

IV. Level of Development:

The village should belong to the middle range of development - i.e., it should have been under some of the current influences towards development which are emanating from Bangkok and from Mahasarakham, but it must not be a "model village." Preferably, it should be about average in rice production, kenaf production, and animal raising. It should not have undergone intensive development under some government project such as "community development." It must not have any outstanding features of development - such as a government sponsored well - which sets it off singularly from other villages in the amphoe. It must not have undergone heavy damages during this year's heavy floods.

Meeting of Kamnan and Phuyaibān of Amphoe Muang Mahasarakham

Yesterday afternoon I was invited by the Assistant Nāi Amphoe to come to the annual meeting of the village and commune headmen and village teachers. This meeting is held every year on the holiday celebrating the King's Birthday (*wan chaloem phra chon phansā* - วันเฉลิมพระชนมพรรษา). The meeting is held in order to discuss new government policies, projects concerning the villages in the amphoe, etc.

The meeting started out with a speech by the *nāi amphoe*, followed by a speech by the Deputy Governor (the Governor was away or presumably he would have made a speech), and then followed by other officials. All developed the theme of this year's meeting - Community Development. After the officials made their little speeches (after which they would leave one by one), the teachers were dismissed, and a meeting of the *kamnans* and *phuyaibāns* followed. This meeting, I was told, would develop the theme of community development as it applied to the amphoe. Unfortunately, I did not hear the discussion at this meeting.

I do, however, have a copy of the little mimeographed sheet which was passed out at the meeting, entitled "What is Community Development".

At this meeting all 136 villages (according to the assistant *nāi amphoe*) were represented. According to another of my informants there were 450 teachers present, 11 *kamnans*, and 312 *phuyaibāns*.

TRANSLATION OF THAI DOCUMENTS

The following is a translation of a mimeographed handout given to those attending the meeting of *Kamnan* and *Phuyaibān* at the district office yesterday,
(first page)

WHAT IS COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT?

What is community development? Briefly it is: —

- A. People working together.
 - B. The government extending help when efforts are beyond the capabilities of the populace.
- In whatever ways one strengthens the rural areas, please think of these two principles which have been given. The method of community development necessitates thinking of how people can be brought to work together. In those projects which people feel are needed and can do themselves, they will be interested and will be happy to join together in undertaking them. The government will assist in those things which the people cannot do themselves or which they have not thought about themselves. For example, if a well needs to be dug, it would not be according to community development procedure to hire someone to dig it. However, suppose we have 500 baht already and this is not sufficient to hire someone to dig the well. We would then have people work together thus making hiring unnecessary. Thus, the money could be used to buy such necessary things as tools (shovel, hoes) or water pumps in order to complete the well. This is the method of community development.

Therefore, to conclude, community development is the building of progress in all ways according to the needs of the people and by the cooperation of the people. Whenever a need cannot be filled by the people themselves, the government will then extend its assistance in order to insure that the endeavors of the people themselves will be successfully completed. The results of cooperation will be the goals which have been established.

The accomplishments of community development which will result will be as follows: —

The accomplishments of community development:

- Assistance in promoting occupational skills and farming.
- creation of capital.

sense of well being.
building of security.
sustenance of the faith.
educational progress.
higher standards of living.

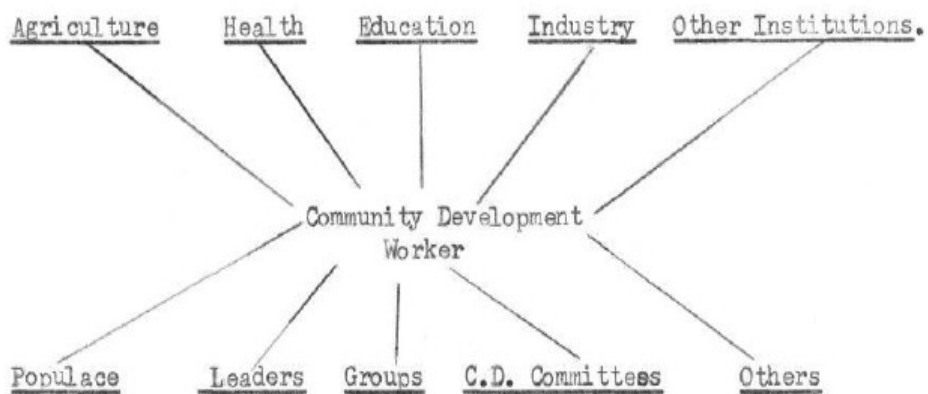
For your dignity while still resulting in the permanent prosperity of the land.

(page two)

DUTIES OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKERS

1. To work together with villagers, village community development committees, and tambon community development committees, in order to ensure that villages progress in different ways such as in living conditions, health, occupations, education, etc.
2. To be the person who takes problems which are beyond the control of the village to consult with officials of relevant departments in order to find appropriate solutions which can then be acted upon.
3. To assist families and villages with guidance in accord with the programs of the village and tambon community development committees and the ideas of other villagers.
4. To show the results of the village and tambon community development committees or other persons who have been involved to others so that they can be aware of the work of these different groups,
5. To cooperate in community development with the following:
 - a. Local leaders.
 - b. Existing groups.
 - c. Village community development committees.
 - d. Tambon community development committees.
 - e. Amphoe and Changwat community development committees.
6. To take the services of the state and different governmental departments of the people in accord with the national economic development plan....

Diagram of the Duties of the Community Development Worker.



December 6, 1962

พัฒนาการชุมชน คือ ?

การพัฒนาการชุมชน คืออะไร ตอบสั้นๆ ได้ว่า

ค. วัตถุประสงค์ที่แน่นอน

ข. รัฐบาลเข้าไปช่วยเหลือเมื่อเกิดกำลังของประชาชน

เมื่อเราสนใจที่จะทำอะไรสักอย่างใดแล้วก็ขอให้ใครสักคนสัก ๒-๓ คนมาร่วมกัน
ถกเถียงกัน วิเคราะห์ของการพัฒนาชุมชนนั้น จะต้องมีว่า ทำอย่างไรจึงจะให้พัฒนา
รวมกำลังกันได้ กิจกรรมใดที่จะช่วยของการ ราษฎรที่จะสนใจและยินดีเข้าร่วมกันด้วย
ตนเอง รัฐบาลจะช่วยเหลือในสิ่งที่ราษฎรทำไม่ได้เอง คือไม่ได้เอง ตัวอย่าง การซื้อ
ยอน้ำ ถ้าเอาเงินไปจ้างให้คนซื้อ ก็ไม่ใช่กิจกรรมพัฒนาชุมชน แต่สมมติว่าเรามีเงินอยู่
๕๐๐ บาท เมื่อจะซื้อยอน้ำมาซื้อ เราก็ใช้กลวิธีชวนราษฎรมาร่วมทำงานใดในของ
จ้าง แล้วเอาเงินนั้นไปซื้อยอน้ำเป็น เช่น เครื่องมือ รถบัส เสียม หรือเครื่องสูบน้ำ
จนชุมชนนั้นสำเร็จเรียบร้อย เช่นนี้ เป็นวิธีการพัฒนาชุมชน

ฉะนั้น เมื่อกล่าวโดยสรุปแล้ว จะได้ว่า การพัฒนาการชุมชนก็คือ การ
สร้างความเจริญทุกอย่างของสังคมของประชาชน โดยประชาชนเราเองทำงาน
ด้วย เมื่อขาดสิ่งใดที่จำเป็นแก่สังคมความสามารถของราษฎร รัฐบาลจึง เข้าช่วยเหลือ เพื่อ
ให้กิจกรรมที่ราษฎรช่วยตัวเองนั้นได้สำเร็จผล ผลแห่งการรวมกันทำงานอย่างนี้ จะทำให้
กิจกรรมจำเป็นงานไปสู่จุดมุ่งหมายตามที่ตั้งไว้ ผลแห่งความสำเร็จในการพัฒนาการชุมชน
ซึ่งจะเกิดขึ้นได้เกิดขึ้น.....

ผลแห่งความสำเร็จในการพัฒนาการชุมชน คือ ...

- ส่งเสริมเศรษฐกิจ และ วัฒนธรรม
- ยกระดับจิตใจ
- จิตใจที่เยือกเย็น
- สุขภาพแข็งแรง
- การศึกษาเพิ่มขึ้น
- ยุติ ก็นดี

December 9, 1962

บ้านเลขที่ หมู่ที่

๓๖

๑. ที่ไปอยูบ้านอยู่อาศัย ไร่ งาน ไร่
๒. ที่ดินสำหรับประกอบกิจการเกษตร ไร่ งาน ไร่
๓. ที่ดินมีสิทธิแต่ในไร่ประกอบอาชีพ ไร่ งาน ไร่
๔. อายุ ๑๖ - ๒๐ ปี ชาย คน หญิง คน
๕. อายุตั้งแต่ ๑๕ ปีลงมา ชาย คน หญิง คน
๖. อายุตั้งแต่ ๒๐ ปีขึ้นไป ชาย คน หญิง คน
๗. จำนวนบ้าน หลัง บุงกวย ผา.....
๘. รายได้เฉลี่ยใน ๑ ปี บาท
๙. อาชีพ
๑๐. ปีที่มีเวลาว่าง วัน
๑๑. พืชที่ใช้เพาะปลูก เช่น ข้าวโพด ข้าว ถั่วเขียว
ถั่ว ถั่วลิสง ตะขุง ถั่วเหลือง.....
งา มะพร้าว ฝ้าย ปอกระเจา
ปอแก้ว ป่าน ยาสูบ
๑๒. โถ กระบือ สุนัข เป็ด ไก่.....
๑๓. พอยาเป็นอาชีพ
๑๔. บ้านมีส่วน ไม่มีส่วน
๑๕. มีรั้วบ้าน รั้วแยกจากตัวบ้าน
๑๖. เป็นโรคประจำตัว ชาย คน หญิง คน
๑๗. ศึกษาระดับชั้นต้น หรือส่วนรวม
๑๘. ชอบรับจ้างตัวเอง หรือให้รัฐบาลช่วย
๑๙. ขอมเสียสละกำลังกาย ทรัพย์สิน เพื่อทำงานสาธารณะประโยชน์
หรือไม่ยอมเสียสละ
๒๐. ยินดีที่รัฐบาลจะชวยให้หมู่บ้านเจริญ
๒๑. เกรงจะถูกเกณฑ์ไปทำงาน
๒๒. เคยถูกกล่าวหาเป็นต้นเหตุ

ลงชื่อ

หน้าที่พัฒนากร

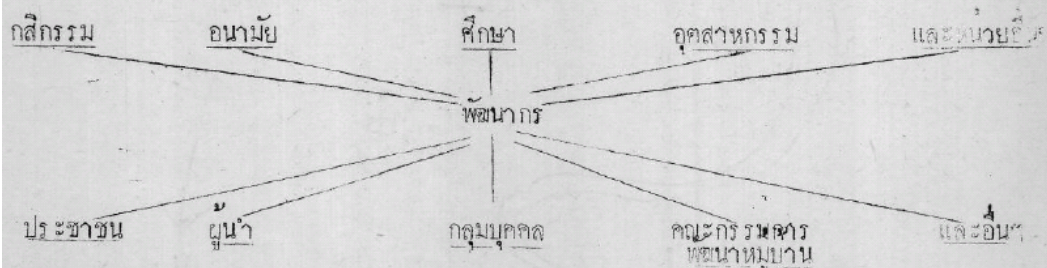
๑. ร่วมงานกับชาวบ้าน, คณะกรรมการพัฒนาหมู่บ้าน, คณะกรรมการพัฒนาตำบล เพื่อปรับปรุงหมู่บ้านให้เจริญดีขึ้นในด้านต่างๆ เช่นการกินอยู่หลับนอน, การอนามัย, การอาชีพ, การศึกษา และอื่นๆ
๒. ในการปรับปรุงหมู่บ้าน หากมีข้อขัดข้องเกินความสามารถของหมู่บ้าน พัฒนากรจะเป็นผู้นำข้อขัดข้องต่างๆ ของหมู่บ้านไปปรึกษากับเจ้าหน้าที่ของหน่วยราชการต่างๆ ที่เกี่ยวข้องเพื่อหาทางแก้ไข และดำเนินการต่อไป
๓. ร่วมปรึกษารื้อหรือกับคณะกรรมการพัฒนาหมู่บ้าน, คณะกรรมการพัฒนาตำบล และบุคคลอื่นๆ ในการปรับปรุงครอบครัวและหมู่บ้าน ตลอดจนวิธีดำเนินงานตามโครงการของหมู่บ้าน
๔. แสดงผลงานของคณะกรรมการพัฒนาหมู่บ้าน, คณะกรรมการพัฒนาตำบล หรือบุคคลที่เกี่ยวข้องให้ผู้อื่นได้รู้ในงานของคณะกรรมการชั้นต่างๆ
๕. ร่วมดำเนินงานกับบุคคล และคณะบุคคลในระดับต่างๆ เพื่อการพัฒนาชุมชน คือ ...

- ก. ผู้นำในท้องถิ่น
- ข. กลุ่มบุคคล
- ค. คณะกรรมการพัฒนาหมู่บ้าน
- ด. คณะกรรมการพัฒนาตำบล
- ง. คณะกรรมการอำเภอ, และคณะกรรมการพัฒนาจังหวัด

๖. นำบริการที่รู้และหน่วยงานต่างๆ ไปสู่ประชาชน ตามแผนการปรับปรุงเศรษฐกิจแห่งชาติ

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ผังแสดงหน้าที่ของพัฒนากร



December 9, 1962

Maharakham

Bān Dôn Wān

Yesterday, I went to visit the village of Bān Dôn Wān (บ้านดอน หว่าน) which is located about 15 kilometers from Maharakham on the Sarakham-Wapi Rd. and is situated in Amphoe Muang. I went with Nāi Yōthin Prōmphriang (นายโยธิน พร้อมเพริียง), a young new graduate of Chula who is to be a Community Development (CD) officer in this amphoe, and his supervisor Nāi Sawai Saomontrī (นายไสว เสมอมนตรี). We went to the village by bus – which cost ฿4 for the ride.

In the village we first talked with the headmaster of the school and the head of the schools in the tambon as ô Wān is a tambon seat. This Nāi Sawaeng told us quite a bit about the schooling in the village and in the commune. There are five schools in the tambon (11 villages). He said that there was no room in the school at Don Wan to extend it to encompass *Prathom 7*. There are 260 students in the school and 8 teachers. If there is to be a *Prathom 7* school in the village, he said, the government must help. In the next tambon (T. Khōk Kō - ต. โลกก่อ) there is a *Prathom 7* school. In T. Kāē Dam (ต. แก่คำ) there is a private school.

On the average (or else presently are doing so, I wasn't certain) 10 students from Dôn Wān are going to private schools in Sarakham, 7 are going to public schools there, and 3 are going to the *Prathom 7* school in T. Khōk Kō

What Dôn Wān needs most is a new school building. Ninety per cent of the students have textbooks. Harvest season is a holiday and thus school won't begin again until the 21st of December.

There is a rice mill in the village which is powered by a Czechoslovakian motor (and is owned by the headmaster). The mills run on what was said to be 'barter' system. For every 3 *thang* of rice milled, the owner keeps 1 litre and the bran (*ram* - รำ). If payment is involved, the owner charges 1 baht per *thang*.

I later watched this mill in operation. The mill is supervised by a blind man who knows his way around the machinery so well that he never has any difficulty. The motor is set up at one end of the room and as I don't pretend to understand motors, I won't describe it. Connected with the motor by means of a belt, was the rice mill. This is a device in which one pours the paddy in at the top and on one side out comes the bran and on the other the milled rice. The paddy is not measured exactly in the containers that come in, but this doesn't seem to bother anyone (there was a tang measuring device sitting close to the machine). Also, the paddy is often mixed with straw, but again no one seems much concerned at this. The man pours the two containers which the people bring in over their shoulders on a carrying pole. The man-in-charge pours both of these containers into the machine. During the course of the milling, he takes a litre measure and puts it under the flowing rice, levels it off, and pours it into a container of the headmaster. The finished product is not the best as often the kernels are rather broken. The bran is raked away from the mills and put into burlap sacks (of what weight I couldn't ascertain) and sold for a baht apiece for fodder.

The headmaster says that the mill could mill 300 tang a day at capacity, but it never runs at capacity and so mills about 100 tang a day at most. The engine is a 12 horsepower motor. The headmaster himself has completed the equivalent of *pathom 3* under the old system and has passed the examination for 'Basic Teacher's Education'. Each teacher in the school has a certificate enabling him to teach in an elementary school.

In this village there seems to be little water problem. It is located on a high place (hence, the name of the village) and during the rainy season doesn't get flooded but benefits by the more rain that falls. There is water available during the dry season - only have to dig 3-4 meters to get water (later I saw the big *nông* on the outskirts of town which never dries up. I also saw a well which had been dug about 2 meters into the ground. This was simply an earth well in which earth could fall into it. Also it was open with no protection for children or animals.) The headmaster also mentioned something about a water pump which is to be installed in the village (the CD supervisor says that these pumps cost about ฿1000).

There are three shops in the village which sell everything. And indeed they do. I saw everything from canned stuffs to fertilizer for watermelon patches. This village has more shops than any other village I have ever visited. The headmaster was ostensibly the richest man in the village. He had just built himself a new house which he said cost 20,000 baht. He had some of

the best pigs in the village (in addition to the rice mills). He also had considerable land in his own right.

In the village there were seven radios – one of which was owned by the headmaster.

From the headmaster's house we walked to the house of the *kamnan*. On the way we passed Wat Dôn Wān. In a way this wat seemed rather out of keeping with the rest of the village. It had no central *bōt*. The central building was one that is used both as a *bōt* and a *wihān*. It is an open pavilion with a corrugated metal roof. Under the roof were only a large drum which is used to announce the noon-hour (or, rather, the Monks' lunch time) and a cupboard which in former times used to house the sacred scriptures. The headmaster said that there was now only one monk at the wat but that he was away (there were guest monks staying there).

Finally, we reached the house of the *Kamnan* (and who is also the headman of the village). Nāi Khē Dētsiri (นายเดชศิริ) had been ill and wasn't in the best of spirits. When we entered the house, the first thing that I noticed was the number of boards containing silk balls and one tray containing silk worms eating the leaves which fatten them up for silk making. As I expressed my interest, the headmaster, the headman, and the headman's wife proceeded to give me a full demonstration of the process. First they showed me the worms and how they were eating. Apparently, what they do is to lay eggs in a chrysalis and spin the silk about the chrysalis. Next, they took one of the little balls of silk and cut it open to show me the chrysalis inside. He handed the chrysalis to me and said that it was good to eat. However, I couldn't bring myself to eat it. He also pulled out a cloth and opened it up. Inside this were millions of silkworm eggs. I didn't quite grasp how these got there. Silk making was obviously a very big process in the house of the *kamnan*.

We then sat down and I began to ask the *kamnan* a few questions. I had heard that the village contained 135 households and 654 people (Amphoe statistics). The *kamnan* said that there were 148 households and over 700 people. (The tambon as a whole contains 765 households and 5,862 people - Amphoe statistics).

I asked what was the average land holding of people in the village. This elicited a reply that a lot of people owned 10 *rai* but most people only 5 *rai*. Only 3-4 families that don't have any land.

In some fields, he said, the yield is very good - 30-40 tang per *rai* (this is very good indeed - about double the average for the province). The *Kamnan* has 51 *rai* and last year

produced about 600 tang. He later reported that the price for paddy (glutinous) was about 5-6 baht per tang; for paddy (white) about 6-8 baht per *thang*. He himself used 25 *thang* for seed for the next year.

The most important activities of the village are rice, silk, cotton, and then jute (I wasn't certain that the *kamnan* meant his own household in this statement rather than the whole village). Jute, he said, is only grown some years, but I did see jute stored in the warehouses of the village (there was a scale in front of this warehouse). The *kamnan* said that fertilizer, other than natural fertilizer, is not used.

I was then given a description of the cotton process. Cotton is begun in May or June and is raised for family use only. The wife of the headman brought out some raw cotton, the string which was made from this, and the finished products in the form of a *phākhāomā*, a bolt of cloth for making field clothing, and a blanket. All were of very rough weave and would be hard on the skin. Nonetheless, they were rather skillfully done and were not unpleasing to look at. All cotton, and most silk, is raised for home consumption, though I would imagine that someone like the *kamnan's* household would sell to the rest of the village.

Grow such vegetables as cabbage and fruit as bananas and melon for own consumption.

At least 100 pigs, but not more than 150, in the village.

Owners of animals are beginning to inject their own animals as a prevention against disease. This idea was learned by some of the villagers who worked in a pig farm in Bān Phai. When animals get really sick, the villagers will call for the veterinarian who lives in Sarakham (he is the only veterinarian in the whole province) to come and inject the animals.

I asked about storing rain water, and both the *kamnan* and the headmaster replied that they didn't like rain water because it gets dirty from coming down the roof.

After this little discussion, we ate lunch which consisted of glutinous rice served in containers of woven bamboo which had tops which were placed over the rice when we weren't eating, and a tray full of barbecued chicken, *nām prik*, *plā rā*. The CD people and I ate while the *kamnan* and headmaster looked on. The three of us didn't touch the *plā rā* despite the fact that the headman mentioned that this was the regular diet of the village. After we were through eating (using our fingers and with no plates) a brass bowl with a brass dipper was placed before us. This was used both to wash our hands (not in it but over the railing of the house) and to drink from.

When lunch was over, we sat around discussing my own work. I explained that I was interested in the different customs and ceremonies of the village. Thus, the headman and the headmaster launched into a description of one custom held at the beginning of rice planting. It seems that there was once a very old man who was much respected. When he died, his place of residence became a shrine (*sān phūthāo* – ศาล ผู้เฒ่า). Before the beginning of the planting every year, the villagers go to this place with a chicken. I didn't quite grasp what they did to the chicken to induce the spirit of the old man to enter into the chicken. But when he did, a spiritually sensitive villager was able to tell by looking into the chicken's eyes whether or not the rains would be good and the harvest would be good. They explained that not all villagers were able to see this in the chicken's eyes – only some.

I learned from my CD companions that this tambon had been selected as a site for a CD project during the next year. Mr. Yōthin will go to the village for 25 days out of every month. He is starting by giving the 'basic' questionnaire.

Most of the course of the afternoon was spent in waiting for some vehicle to come along so that I could catch a ride back to town. Yōthin had thought that there was a noon bus, but this proved not to be true. While we were waiting, we did wander up towards the next village which was very close. This village, which is called Bān Hua Nōng (บ้าน หัว หนอง) is literally what its name says it is – "the village at the head of the pond". We only looked in at Wat Hua Nōng which like wat Don Wan has only one resident priest.

Finally, an Austin jeep full of travelling medicine sellers from Bangkok came by and gave me a lift. These salesmen travel from one market town to another with their wares (they had just come up from Wapi). They have a PA system which they use to advertise their wares.

Dec. 12, 1962

Mahasarakham

Mahasarakham Teacher Training College

The following information is taken from a mimeographed pamphlet entitled "A Programme of Visit to Mahasarakham Teacher Training College of Professor Ritchie Calder and UNICEF Party," 30 June, 1962, pp. 1-5.

Background

This College is one of the four teacher training colleges in the north east of Thailand. It is located some 4 kilometers from Mahasarakham City Centre. Mahasarakham Province itself is about 550 kilometers from Bangkok. It is not on the railway line, the nearest station being Ban Phai which is about 68 kilometers away. There is regular bus service between Mahasarakham and Bangkok.

The college was originally established as the Primary Agricultural School in 1930. The following year saw the transformation of the school into a teacher's training school. Since then it has become a teacher's training school producing teachers at different levels of education. This year (1962) it has come to be known as Mahasarakham Teacher Training College producing both elementary and secondary teachers.

The College has an area of approximately 141 acres. The number of students totals 627, including boys and girls in 1961 - 1962 academic year.

Year	Boys	Girls	Total
First year students	169	112	280
Second year students	180	94	284
Third year students	32	31	63
Fourth year students	-	-	-
			627

All the students are from three provinces, namely, Kalasin, Roi Et and Mahasarakham.

Scheme of Studies

Basically, the scheme of studies in this college comprises the same corpus of subjects and skills as is laid down by the Ministry of Education for all the teacher training colleges in Thailand with the addition of a further series and activities especially designed to equip teachers for service in rural areas.

It consists of two courses as follows:

1. First Two year course or Elementary Teachers' Certificate Course. This is especially designed for those who want to teach in rural elementary schools. For this course, the

College has established a project known as Rural Teacher Education Project which will be described later in more detail and which UNICEF has given assistance.

2. Second Two Year Course or Secondary Teachers' Certificate Course. This is especially designed for those who will teach in secondary schools.

Rural Teacher Education Project

It is not so long ago since all that was expected of a rural teacher in an elementary school was that he should be able to teach his pupils to read and write. Even today there are still several elementary schools in the rural areas of Thailand where the teachers are satisfied with teaching their pupils the three R's. We now realize that concentration on the three R's and other academic instructions alone without any consideration of the important role which the community plays in the life of the pupils will not give the pupils the complete education which will help them lead a good life. The vast majority of the population live in villages where the standard of living is very low. The role of the rural teacher should be not only of an educator of the pupils who come to his school, but also that of a community leader who can help the villagers raise their standard of living.

Purposes

The main purposes of the Project can be stated as follows:

1. To train the student-teacher to be an effective teacher capable of introducing modern methods of education to village schools.
2. To train him to be a good community leader capable of helping the villages in the improvement of their living standard.
3. To help the village school to serve as a community centre.

Scheme of the Project

The length of the course for the Rural Teacher's Certificate is two years after his 10 years of elementary and secondary education. In the course of two years, the student-teacher will be expected to study principles of education, child psychology, methods of teaching, classroom management and skill subjects.

The second year student-teacher will be sent out to practice teaching in a rural village school for one term (approximately 2 1/2 months). He will reside in the village for the whole period. In this way, he will be able to study the village life and village problems and participate in the community activities.

Activities of the student-teacher

These can be divided into two sections:

1. School work. This includes the introduction of methods of teaching and learning in order to help the pupils grow mentally, physically, emotionally, and socially to the maximum. It also includes the making of the village school a community centre so that the school may perform a useful service to the villagers.

2. Village work. In order to build up an attitude of community mindedness in the student-teacher, he will be expected to participate in the extensive community development programme which aims at improving the standard of living of the villagers. Village work covers a variety of programmes such as agriculture, rural public health, nutrition, and village industry.

Budget

In operating the Project since its inception in 1958, the College has not received any special budget from the Ministry of Education until the present academic year, during which the College will receive 12,000 baht. In 1962, UNICEF came in to help by giving two land rovers, electric generator and other supplies for the operation of the Project. It has also allocated a special fund for running Nutrition Inservice Training course for the village school teachers working in the Project. UNICEF's aids have facilitated the operation of the Project enormously. More college staff members can now go out to the villages to help and participate in the school and village activities regularly. This, of course, results in the improvement of the whole work staff.

For the present academic year, the College employs four full-time supervisors to supervise student-teachers in all 8 village schools (with 14 villages). Besides, other members of the staff always make trips with these supervisors to render help in their special fields such as agriculture, rural health and other community development programmes.

STATISTICS OF VILLAGE IN RURAL TEACHER EDUCATION PROJECT OF
MAHASARAKHAM TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGE (Dec 12, 1962)

Table 1

Village	Popul ation	No. of Hous e- holds	No. of Teachers			No. of Pupils			Private School Income (Baht)	School budget (Baht)
			Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total		
B. bô yai บ.บ่อใหญ่	3,709	628	10	7	17	285	285	540	5,675	-
B. plai บ.เปลือย	1,714	276	6	2	8	127	126	253	1,500	100
B. dong kheng บ.ดงเค็ง	1,139	184	5	-	5	85	81	166	300	-
B. nông wāēng บ.หนองแขวง	641	113	3	1	4	49	60	109	2,883	-
B. lão ngōng บ.เหล่าโง้ง	603	105	2	2	4	46	56	102	700	-
B. nông chik บ.หนองจิก	1,494	213	4	3	7	104	98	202	2,150	-
B. phong phōt บ.พงโพด	346	51	2	-	2	31	31	62	478.5 0	1,500
B. khōk klāng บ.โคกกลาง	646	101	2	-	2	38	48	86	300	-

TABLE 2

Village	Number of Student's Hostel	Cost of Construction of Hostels		
		Villagers' Contributions (baht)	College's Contribution (Baht)	Total (Baht)
B. bō yai	1	5,000	-	5,000
B. plai	1	-	1,500	1,500
B. dong kheng	1	1,835	Mr. Sombūn contribution 900	2,795
B. nông wāēng	1	-	1,500	1,500
B. lao ngōng	Under construction	800	-	
B. nông ăik	1	1,505	707	2,212
B. phong phōt	1	-	4,200	4,200
B. khōk klāng	1	Village contributed labor and materials	600	600

December 13, 1962

Mahasarakham

Some Ideas on the Selection of a Village for Study which is Connected with the Teacher's College*.

* Used when working with people at the Mahasarakham Teacher's College who were helping me to locate a suitable village for field work.

I. Types of Connection:

There are several ways in which such a village might be connected with the Teacher's College. For one, it might be a village in which there is a teacher or graduate who was educated at the Teacher's College. Secondly, it might be a village from which a student who is presently attending the College comes. Thirdly, it might be a village from which a faculty or staff member of the College comes. Finally, it might be a village in which the College has some program.

II. Location:

I would prefer it if the village were located in Amphoe Muang somewhere between 10 and 20 kilometres from Mahasarakham. However, this is not a rigid criteria and a village located at not too great a distance from Mahasarakham in other amphoes would be equally acceptable.

The village shouldn't be located on any of the major highways, though it could be 4-5 kilometers off such a road.

III. Size:

The ideal size of the village would be somewhere around 100 households (500-600 people). I don't want a village that is any larger than about 200 households (1,000-1,200 people).

IV. Other Criteria:

The village should reasonably "representative" of this part of North eastern Thailand. In other words it must not be a highly developed village either through its own resources or through government aid. On the other hand, it shouldn't be a village which is extremely poor or which has undergone severe damage in the last floods.

I feel that a village which is in some way connected with the Teacher's College would be a good village in which to work because there would be an avenue which would facilitate my getting started in the village. I would appreciate a list of villages with the above criteria noted on them. Hopefully, one such village in this list would be a good one for me to make my study in.

December 28, 1962

Maharakham

Bān Nōng Tūn - Preliminary Observations

This morning I went with Mr. Wichian - a Community Development Officer in Amphoe Muang to visit the village of Bān Nōng Tūn (บ.หนองตื้น) in Tambon Khwao (ต.เขวาส). This village, which is located about 15 kilometers from the city, is one which Nāi Charoen, the Palat Amphoe, had selected as a possible village for me to study in. To reach the village, one travels along the Maharakham-Roi Et Road for about 12 kilometers, passing through Tambon Khwao until one reaches a side road. From there it is about 3 kilometers to the village.

When we arrived in the village none of the men were in their houses. So we started out toward the fields. On the way, we passed the wat and the school which is located in the wat compound. I noticed some things in the wat compound which might be archaeological remains. The *bōt* itself looked very interesting and possibly quite old.

We reached a part of the field where the *Phuyaiban* was seated with friends and eating (it was about 10:15 in the morning at this stage). The fields have been freshly harvested and the grain and straw were piled on either side of a threshing floor constructed in the village. The

Headman took us to another section of the village where we went into the house of the person who seemed to be the leader of this section. The village consists of six of these sections which are known as *mu* (หมู่บ้าน) in Thai and *khum* in Lao.

In the house of this new person, we talked about the village. The Headman said that the village consisted of about 110 households and 750 people (these figures need to be checked). This year the harvest has been very good - around 30 tang per *rai*, but in some years the average has been around 5 tang per *rai*. The reason that the yield has been good is because of the good rains. The floods brought no damage to this village. Rice is selling for about .70 baht per kilo this year.

The village has enough water the year around though during the rainy season some families have to walk as far as a kilometer in order to get water. I noticed several wells (*bô* - บ่อ) around the village.

Some people raise kenaf but not very many. A few families make up to ฿400 per year on kenaf. The man in whose house we were makes mats which he sells in the market for 4-10 baht (depending on the size).

There has only been one death in the village the past year - a small child.

The villagers never use fertilizer though they do use animal manure though they feel that this is too strong.

There are two rice mills in the village (diesel powered) - one owned by the man with whom we were talking. The first one has been in the village for two years, and the second, the one of this man, has been there only a month. The fee for milling is 1 litre per tang. Only about 30 families in the village make use of these mills whereas the rest of the village use the traditional manual one.

There are 4 radios in the village. Most of the time they listen to either Khon Kaen or Vientiane - particularly the latter since it broadcasts in the same language and the things which they like to hear.

In the school there are 110 students. None of the three teachers live in the village. The headmaster and one other live in Ban Khwao while the other lives in the "*talāt*". There are two students studying in Mahasarakham.

There has supposedly been no migration in and out of the village in the last few years.
The wat has two priests and two novices.

December, 1962 (undated final page of "Notebook 1")

Maharakham

Some Observations on Villages in Changwat Maharakham and on Factors related to the Selection of a Village in which I shall carry out my Research.

Because the topic of my research concerns the relationship of a village in N.E. Thailand to the national society and culture, the characteristics of the village in which I chose to work were of utmost importance. I could not simply select a village at random. I had originally decided before coming to the N.E. to select a village in the province of Maharakham because Maharakham lies at the geographical centre of the N.E. I had also pre-selected Amphoe Muang as the amphoe in which I would select a village because this amphoe would, or so I thought, represent an amphoe in which the villages had a certain amount of contact with the channels of national communication but which would not be so highly developed as villages on the Central Plains. Because of these predetermined criteria, certain limitations must be ascribed to the village in which I shall study.

I have visited villages in Amphoe Wapi Pathum - the amphoe south of Amphoe Muang, villages in Amphoe Borabu - the amphoe which lies between Amphoe Muang, Maharakham and Amphoe Ban Phai, Khon Kaen, villages in the south of Amphoe Muang (along the way to Wapi), village along the Maenam Chi (the Chi River) and villages in the East (along the way to Roi Et).

The villages in Amphoe Wapi Pathum were by far the poorest villages which I have seen anywhere in Thailand (though my range of visitation is quite limited). These villages are situated in a very poor geographical part of the N.E. Plateau. The soil is extremely sandy and far less fertile than the soil in the northern part of the changwat. Water is a major problem and at the height of the hot-dry season, some villages stated that there wasn't any water at all - that the villagers had a real problem of survival. On the other hand, during the rainy season there is too much water. We asked the villagers about buying large containers in order to keep the rain water. All stated that large containers were too expensive for the meager incomes which they have. (Some also expressed a distaste for rain water as against well water). One thing that really struck

me in these villages is that there is no such thing as an isolated village during the dry seasons. Trucks which come to buy kenaf (the major money crop) and rice, buses, and other vehicles can, and do come, to the most remote of these villages (nonetheless, there were villages which had never seen *farang* before).

In Amphoe Borabu villages seem much like villages in Amphoe Muang because they are relatively near a major channel of communication - i.e.,) the Mahasarakham-Ban Phai highway. There is no major development program being carried out in Amphoe Muang (there is only one CD worker). However, the Teacher's College in Mahasarakham has a program of rural education in 14 villages in this Amphoe. This program consists of sending a group of students to each of nine schools serving these 14 villages who serve as "practice" teachers and embryo development workers (they introduce, or attempt to introduce, new patterns of agriculture, health and sanitation procedures, etc.). If anything, I would say that the villages in Amphoe Borabu are somewhat richer in natural resources (i.e., better soil) than those in Amphoe Muang.