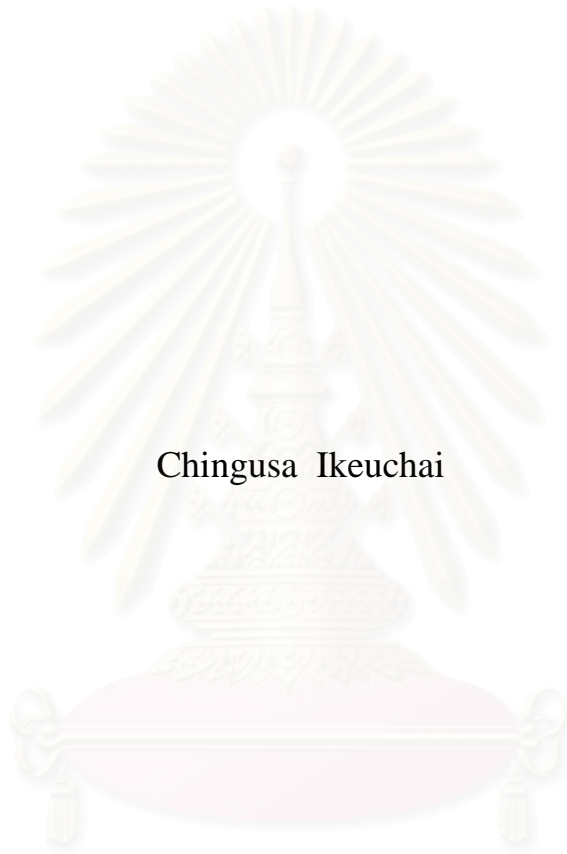


THE CHANGING ROLE OF WOMEN IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT
AND IN CONSTRUCTING AN NGO IN NORTHEASTERN
THAILAND: A CASE STUDY OF PANMAI



Chingusa Ikeuchai

สถาบันวิทยบริการ
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

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วัตถุประสงค์ของวิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้คือ 1) ศึกษาเกี่ยวกับบทบาทของผู้หญิงที่มีส่วนในการจัดตั้งและ
ปรับเปลี่ยนโครงสร้างของกลุ่มพรรณไม้ในรูปขององค์กรพัฒนาเอกชน และ 2) เพื่อพิจารณาความเป็นไปได้ใน
การดำเนินการรูปแบบใหม่ขององค์กรพัฒนาเอกชนในการพัฒนาชนบทของไทยประเด็นสำคัญของการศึกษา
เกี่ยวกับเรื่องนี้จะมุ่งเน้นไปที่ผู้หญิงที่เกี่ยวข้องในกลุ่มพรรณไม้ซึ่งเป็นองค์กรพัฒนาเอกชนองค์กรหนึ่งในภาค
ตะวันออกเฉียงเหนือของประเทศไทยซึ่งเกิดจากกลุ่มผู้หญิงที่รวมตัวกันโดยการสนับสนุนของ องค์กรพัฒนาเอกชน
ในช่วงปี พ.ศ.2533-2543 ซึ่งในที่สุด13 ปีต่อมาในปีพ.ศ. 2538 ได้กลายมาเป็นความร่วมมือที่จดทะเบียนเป็น
สหกรณ์อันเป็นรูปแบบใหม่ของ องค์กรพัฒนาเอกชน โดยมองที่วิวัฒนาการของกลุ่มพรรณไม้ และการเข้าร่วม
ในกิจกรรมนี้ของกลุ่มผู้หญิง, วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้แสดงให้เห็นว่าบทบาทของผู้หญิงได้เปลี่ยนแปลงไปอย่างไรและ
ศึกษาถึงศักยภาพขององค์กรพัฒนาเอกชนแห่งนี้

สืบเนื่องมาจากการทำวิจัยเอกสารหลักฐานเกี่ยวกับการพัฒนาทางเลือก และสถานการณ์ของผู้หญิงใน
ภาคตะวันออกเฉียงเหนือของประเทศไทย, วิทยานิพนธ์เล่มนี้เกิดจากการศึกษาโดยการทดลอง และสังเกตการณ์
จากประสบการณ์จริงไปที่กลุ่มพรรณไม้ และหมู่บ้านพุนภาพ และพยายามสำรวจในสภาวะจริง และการ
ทดสอบการทำงานของผู้หญิงในกิจกรรมนั้น จากการศึกษาโดยการทดลอง และสังเกตการณ์จากประสบการณ์
จริงวิทยานิพนธ์เล่มนี้จะมองไปยังประเด็นที่แตกต่างกันสองด้าน : คือวิวัฒนาการกิจกรรมของกลุ่มพรรณไม้
และความเปลี่ยนแปลงของผู้หญิงที่เข้าร่วมในการทำกิจกรรม สำหรับการแยกประเภทของวิวัฒนาการ ช่วงต่างๆ
ของกลุ่มพรรณไม้ สามารถแบ่งออกเป็นสี่ช่วงดังนี้: ช่วงของการริเริ่ม การพัฒนาชุมชน การพัฒนาระบบแบบ
ยั่งยืน และความก้าวหน้าของส่วนรวม หลังจากนั้นผู้สำรวจได้ทำการสัมภาษณ์ผู้หญิงในหมู่บ้านกว่า 20 ราย
รวมถึงเด็ก พยาบาลประจำหมู่บ้าน สมาชิกสภาหมู่บ้าน และผู้ใหญ่หมู่บ้าน เพื่อแสดงให้เห็นถึงความเปลี่ยนแปลง
ของตัวผู้หญิงเองหลังจากการเข้าร่วมกับโครงการทอดผ้า

สิ่งที่ค้นพบจากการศึกษานี้ได้แสดงให้เห็นว่า บทบาทของผู้หญิงในหมู่บ้านนั้นได้เปลี่ยนแปลงไปแล้ว โดยจะ
ได้อ้างถึงข้อกำหนดของแคโรไลน์ โอ. เอ็น. โมเซอร์ ผู้หญิงมีอำนาจมากขึ้นเมื่อสามารถสร้างเสริมสร้างพลังทาง
เศรษฐกิจ ซึ่งนำไปสู่การเปลี่ยนแปลงบทบาท เมื่อผู้หญิงสามารถให้ความสนับสนุนทางการเงินให้กับครอบครัว
หลังจากการเข้าร่วมกิจกรรม ผู้เป็นสามีก็จะมีช่วยเหลืองานบ้านมากขึ้น จากความเกี่ยวพันของศักยภาพของ
องค์กรพัฒนาเอกชน กรณีศึกษาของกลุ่มพรรณไม้ แสดงให้เห็นว่าองค์กรพัฒนาเอกชน ได้ก่อให้เกิด
ความสำเร็จที่น่าพึงพอใจจากการเพิ่มรายได้เข้าสู่หมู่บ้าน ถึงแม้ว่าประเทศไทยจะยังเป็นกรณีที่แตกต่างกัน
ทฤษฎีด้านศักยภาพขององค์กรพัฒนาเอกชนจาก2 มุมมองได้แก่ สถานการณ์หลังวิกฤตเศรษฐกิจในปี พ.ศ.
2540 และผลของกรณีศึกษากลุ่มพรรณไม้ นั้น แสดงให้เห็นว่าองค์กรพัฒนาเอกชนได้รับการคาดหวังให้มี
บทบาทที่โดดเด่นในการพัฒนาชนบท

สาขาวิชา.....ไทยศึกษา..... ลายมือชื่อนิสิต.....
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CHIGUSA IKEUCHI : THE CHANGING ROLE OF WOMEN IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND IN CONSTRUCTING AN NGO IN NORTHEASTERN THAILAND: A CASE STUDY OF PANMAI. THESIS ADVISOR: SURICHA WUN'GAEAO, 134 pp. ISBN 974-17-1659-1.

The objectives of this thesis were 1) to study the role of women involved in the construction and remodeling of PANMAI as an NGO, and 2) to evaluate the potentiality of this alternative form of NGO in rural development of Thailand. Particular focus of this study will be given to women involved in PANMAI, a Non Governmental Organization (NGO) in Northeastern Thailand, which was one of the first women's weaving groups supported by NGOs in the 1980s. It eventually became registered as a cooperative, which is a new type of NGO, in 1995 after 13 years. By looking at the PANMAI evolution and women's involvement in the activity, this thesis discusses how women's roles have changed and studies the potentiality of the NGO.

Based on documentary research on alternative development and women's situations in Northeastern Thailand, this thesis conducts an empirical study of PANMAI and Phoonpap village, and attempts to explore the actual conditions and the women's trials in the activity. As for the empirical research, this thesis will look at the issues from two different aspects: the evolution of the Panmai activity, and the changes of the women themselves who were involved in the activity. First of all, in order to classify the evolution, the phases of PANMAI activities were divided into four phases as follow: initiation period, community development, sustainable systems development and public progress. Then the researcher interviewed as many as 20 village women, as well as the children, village nurses, the members of village council and the village chief, in order to reveal village women's own changes after they became involved in Local Weaving Development Project, LWDP.

The findings of this case study have demonstrated that the role of the village women is changing, but have not sufficiently fulfilled the criteria that Caroline O.N. Moser set. After the women started to contribute financially to the family after joining the activity, husbands became more helpful with their routine work. Women became empowered by strengthening their economic power, which foresees the potentiality to bring about a change in roles. Although Thailand stands as a stark contrast of the theoretically ideal model in terms of the NGO potentiality, two perspectives, namely the situation after the economic crisis of 1997 and the result of the case study of PANMAI, shows that NGOs are expected to play prominent roles in rural development.

Department/Program Student's signature

Field of study..... Advisor's signature.....

Academic year

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CONTENTS

Abstract (Thai)	iv
Abstract (English)	v
Acknowledgements	vi
Contents	vii
List of Tables, Figures, Maps and Pictures	ix
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 Statement of the Problem	1
1.2 Literature Survey	2
1.3 A Case Study	4
Chapter 2: Theoretical Research	6
2.1 Mainstream Development	6
2.2 Alternative Development	8
2.3 Definition of P.O. NGO and Cooperative	13
2.4 The Evolution of NGO in Thailand	16
2.5 The Problems in Northeastern Thailand	21
2.6 Gender and Development	24
Chapter 3: The Case Study of Panmai	32
3.1 About PANMAI	32
3.2 Natural Dye	35
3.3 The Evolution of PANMAI	37
3.3.1. Initiation Period (1982-1985)	37
3.3.2. Community Development (1986-1990)	39
3.3.3. Sustainable System Development (1991-1994)	48
3.3.4. Public Progress (1995-)	52
3.4 The Partnership with JSTV	59
3.5 A Lesson from the Partnership with JSTV	65
3.6 A Summary of the PANMAI Evolution	67
3.7 The Phoonpap Village and Their Problems	73
3.8 The History of the Village and its Involvement with LDWP, Panmai and PANMAI	78

CONTENTS (Continued)

	Page
3.9 The In-depth Interview with Village Women	83
Chapter 4 : Analysis	94
4.1 The Evolution of the LWDP/Panmai/PANMAI	94
4.2 Women's Triple Role in Phoonpap Village	96
4.3 The Effect of LWDP Project	99
Chapter 5: Conclusion	106
5.1 The Evaluation of the NGO Potentiality in Rural Development of Thailand	106
References	117
Appendix: List of Interview Informants	132
Biography	134

สถาบันวิทยบริการ
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

List of Tables

1. The returns in 1989-90.	43
2. Ratio of share investment between the villagers and NGOs.	51
3. The statement of account between 1998-2001.	54
4. The income of each village.	54
5. Check list of the development impacts on LWDP, Panmai and PANMAI.	93
6. Chronological table of NGO development in Thailand.	111
7. Chronological table of Thai economy and politics, NGOs and Phoonpap village.	113

List of Figures

1. Evolution of LWDP/Panmai/PANMAI.	58
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List of Maps

1. Provinces of Northeast Thailand.	70
2. Phoonpap Village.	71

List of Pictures

1. At the village entrance.	72
2. Main road of the village and a sala.	72
3. A boy helping his mother dye the silk thread.	78
4. A man reeling on the porch.	86
5. Color charts.	90
6. A weaving device improved by one weaver's husband.	92

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the problem

The objectives of the thesis are 1) to study the role of women involved in the constructing and remodeling of PANMAI as an NGO, and 2) to evaluate the potentiality of this alternative form of NGO in rural development of Thailand.

Particular focus of this study will be given to women involved in PANMAI, an NGO, in Northeastern Thailand, which was at first one of the women's weaving groups supported by NGOs in the 1980s. Thirteen years later, in 1995, it eventually became registered as a cooperative, and emerged as a new type of NGO. These women are all ordinary village women eager to earn supplementary income. With help from this local NGO, they were educated in the skill of natural dyeing, weaving techniques, administration of the organization and marketing management. In the process, they became involved in the constructing and remodeling of PANMAI as an NGO.

There are several research studies on the development and the social change in rural Thailand. However, the subject of women in rural development have either been largely ignored, put in the shade of paternalism and integrated as a whole, or been simplistically identified as socially oppressed. Although the recent research especially conducted by foreign researchers are paying more attention to women, it needed to be given more focus.

1.2 Literature Survey

One of the significant research studies in this area is the work of some Japanese leading scholars, Osamu Akagi, Atsushi Kitahara, and Takao Takeuchi in *The Structure of Rural Thailand and Its Change* (1987) and its sequel published in 2000. The researchers request that the readers read both books together. They believe that the social transition becomes more apparent if they keep paying an attention to the area for 15 years. Three social changes they identified in the book were materialistic prevalence, expansion of the labor market and the innovation of the local administration. The report in 1987 investigated the structure of rural society, taking two villages in Northeastern Thailand as case studies, and concluded those villages formed a community center called “baan”. After 15 years, the social changes in the same villages were assessed. Their observation was done from viewpoint of rural economic system, life style, family structure and vernacular rituals. Although they spare two chapters on family and village social life, the author thinks, the viewpoint of gender is lacking.

Power and Culture: The Struggle Against Poverty in Thailand (1991) by Ernst W. Gohlert portrays the agents, processes and recipients of development within Thailand. The argument develops from the macro to micro level observations offering a clear focus of the issues in Thailand. He introduces the core elements which penetrate Thai society; patron-client relationships, distrust in personal relationships, problems of cooperation. He also mentions the notions in Buddhist doctrine of karma and lack of discipline. Applying all these concepts, he tries to explain rural development in Thailand. The final two chapters of the book extend the notion of alternative development projects and place them within a Buddhist context. He tries to show the possibilities of the power of Buddhism to effect change within an alternative development. Gohlert’s book is very helpful to form a theoretical basis for the study of Thai society. However, since his main interest is employing Buddhism to explain Thai development, the text again lacks a viewpoint on gender.

Another anthropological study is *Rural Life in Contemporary Thailand: Thai Culture and People's Life* (1996) edited by Koichi Murayama. This book is based on research carried out from 1992 to 1994, "A Cultural Anthropological Study on Traditional Values Systems and Their Transition in Thailand". The group conducted their field work in two villages in Northern Thailand. Their main interests were children's lifestyle, social expectation on boys in the village, religious values and gender in the area. By asking questions based on these topics to several generations in the same village, the researchers tried to investigate the transition of value systems and people's transition. As for the gender issue, it is interesting to see the process of family formation by marriage and reduction of the number of child bearing due to the change in their lifestyle.

Changing Roles and Statuses of Women in Thailand: A Documentary Assessment (1992) by Mahidol University focused only on women in rural area and looked at the issue with various aspects by some researchers. This book is dedicated to HM Queen Sirikit on the occasion of her 60th birthday celebration for the purpose of documentary assessment to honor the Queen as the ideal role model for all Thai women. Above all Amara Soonthorndhada's "Domestic Role Behavior, Expectations and Adaptations: Past and Present" details women's "reproductive work" in rural society concisely. However the argument remains within the framework of oppressed women, and ultimately a stereotype.

In *From Peasant Girls to Bangkok Masseuses* by Pasuk Phongpaichit (1982), the author interviewed as many as 50 girls from Northeastern Thailand who migrated to Bangkok to get jobs at massage parlors or coffee shops, most of which are involved in the sex industry. The author particularly focused on the situation those girls were put into in terms of rural development. She concluded that they had not escaped from poverty nor the rural life, which had traditionally oppressed women. They had actively chosen to plunge into the sex industry in order to earn large enough money to support their family. Conventionally helping their parents either with physical work or with economy has been a daughter's expected role to fulfill. Since they do not have many alternatives with less education, sex industry is one of their limited choices.

It is clear that a viewpoint of women's affirmative participation in rural development so far has been neglected. However, this thesis is going to highlight this point. Looking at these studies as previous research, it is determined that most of the research focuses on the village society as a whole excludes gender relationships in the community. Village women are sometimes looked at in the research, but most of the time they are regarded simply as oppressed figures under the traditional values or as sex workers in terms of victims of rural development. The women will be studied as an empowered and active factor of rural development. They play a very significant role in both constructing and reshaping the structure of this NGO. Structural transformation brought about by this women's weaving group has great potential as one possible model for future rural development projects in Thailand. The changing role of women as a result of rural development demonstrates a new type of gender conscious solution of poverty.

1.3 A case study

PANMAI, the subject of this case study, was originally a women's weaving group which one NGO called Appropriate Technology Association (ATA) selected as a target village to implement the Local Weaving Development Project (LWDP). ATA tried to apply appropriate technology to the selected community in order to solve their problems and eventually promote community self reliance. They chose weaving as a project for the purpose of empowering rural women; since it is regarded as women's activity and women have full control over its tools of production, the process of production and the fruit of production. ATA tried to collaborate with other organizations in order to maximize the dissemination process. Therefore LWDP was supported by JSTV (Japan) from 1986 to 1988, ICCO (Netherlands) from 1989 to 1991, WELD (Canada) from 1991 March to 1993 August, and again ICCO from 1992 to 1994. These NGOs not only instructed the technique of weavings but tried to secure the distribution structure and enabled them earn a stable income, respecting their own decision. With all

the help, Panmai itself became independent as a new type of NGO and changed its name to PANMAI in 1995. Henceforth, the writing stands for the stage of its activity; “LWDP” implies from 1982 to 1990, “Panmai” from 1991 to 1994, “PANMAI” from 1995 up to the present.

The case study of PANMAI will be based both on the field research by the author and on documentary research. The research includes in depth interviews with villagers, project staff and project managers, a group interview with villagers, and observation on the participants. The documentary research will include reviews of relevant documents such as a book published by a group, annual reports, evaluation reports, six-month report and newsletter by one of the supporting NGOs. To analyze all the facts, referring to David C. Korten of *Getting to the 21st Century: Voluntary Action and the Global Agenda*, together with Dr Chalerm Sri Damabutra’s help, who had been a chair of ATA, the implementing strategy for PANMAI, in my thesis, will be divided into 3 phases: community development, sustainable systems development and people’s movement. Although three NGOs, namely, ATA in Bangkok, some foreign NGOs and popular organization, or PO, consisted of village women, had involved in the process, the method and the amount of their involvement are all different in each situation.

The thesis is going to look at women both as a group and an individual. In other words, the approach will be both macroscopic and microscopic. Both political and economic aspects will be considered as well. In 1997 when the economic crisis which has triggered with baht devaluation occurred, a large number of people who had been rendered jobless returned to the village and had a great impact on the system that PANMAI had already established. They all suffered from the crisis. By examining the formation of PANMAI with these diversified perspectives, the author believes, women’s role in rural development will become clearer.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Mainstream Development

The idea of “development” in Asia originally took place against the background of colonial independence and the Cold War in the 1960s. As Akira Suehiro explains in his book, *Thailand: Its Development and Democracy*, development started with the concept that the First World countries, advanced countries, supported the developing countries in Asia economically to prevent them from succumbing to communism during the Cold War. The main purpose of the operation was for the Third World countries, then known as underdeveloped countries, to attain “economic growth” in order to become developed. “This type of development, to acquire materialistic wealth, has been the mainstream concept of development over the world”(Nishikawa 2001: 14). Above all after the 1960s, Asian countries have showed a high growth rate under the government-led top-down operation, in which the developing countries attracted the multinational corporations. As Phongpaichit mentions in her book, *Thailand's Boom and Bust*, “The Four Tigers of Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore plunged into export industrialization” (Phongpaichit 1998: 1) and became the world’s fastest-growing economy. Though Thailand moved at a sedate pace in this period, it was widely expected to become “The Fifth Tiger” in Asian economy. In fact “the economic boom of Thailand that began after 1985 changed the country so much”(Phongpaichit 1998: 1). In Thailand, “over 1985-95, according to the World Bank, real average annual growth of GDP was 8.4 percent” (Phongpaichit 1998: 337) under the dynamic economical development.

However, triggered by the baht devaluation of Thailand in 1997, numbers of countries in Asia, most of which had been leading the regional economy by then, had fallen into the economic crisis. The Asian economy seems to have been revived to a certain extent lately, but it is not really accomplished under the global depression started in 2001. Jun Nishikawa pointed out following three factors in his book, *Buddhism, Development of Mind, and NGO: The Idea of Symbiosis Learned from Thai Development Monks* (2001), as the causes of Asian economic confusion. First of all, Nishikawa mentioned that China and India whose development fell behind the Four Tigers, have started to play important roles in the world market. Because of their appearance, the ratio of export in Thai economy which had relied on the world market reached the ceiling. Secondly, the economic boom which was supported by the First Countries' investment since the late 1980s have burst. Thirdly, the top-down operation practiced by a government and particular elite groups of the country, which excluded peoples' participation, brought about a great deal of bad debts, made the economic system stagnate, but have not made any solution for them yet.

Moreover, during this period, all the social and environmental problems, such as "expansion of the regional difference especially between the capitol and the regional city, enlargement of the cleavage in society between the rich and the poor, popular movement by emigration, the local culture decay, a serious threat of HIV and AIDS, and the deterioration of environment and ecosystem in Asia had become serious"(Nishikawa 2001: 17). In this situation, the concept of alternative development has emerged, as a possible solution of capitalistic development.

2.2 Alternative Development

A new idea of development, Alternative Development emerged out against the background of this worldwide situation. John Friedmann, who is one of the leading intellectuals of the field, proposes this new concept in his book, *Empowerment: The Politics of Alternative Development* (1992). He defines it as “standing in dialectical opposition to the mainstream doctrine” (Friedmann 1992: 8) which has been in operation for the past three decades. “Its central objective is inclusion of those who have been left behind in a restructured system that does not make them redundant” (Friedmann 1992: 13). He insists that “measures of economic growth and development are not the same” (Friedmann 1992: 39). Poverty is traditionally defined by those who regard themselves as the social superiors of the poor and their situation was not really looked. Friedmann rethinks “poverty as a state of disempowerment” (Friedmann 1992: 54). He defines “the poor as those who are deprived of all access to opportunities”(Friedmann 1992: 8) such as political, economical and educational opportunities. Some practical theory has also been developed against the mainstream development since the 1970s. As Nishikawa introduces in his book, they are “Basic Human Needs” strategy, “Sustainable Development” theory, “Human Development” theory and “Participatory Development” theory.

Basic Human Needs strategy was suggested by World Bank and United Nation in the 1970s. The strategy claims “it is more important to satisfy the basic human needs, such as clothing, adequate food and place to live, than to pursue capitalistic economic growth”(Nishikawa 2001: 20). This idea became a basis for other proposals which supported the alternative development at this time. But “it could not completely slough off the mainstream development, since it emphasized on “materialistic” needs and insisted on “top-down

operation” in distributing all the assistance from abroad”(Nishikawa 2001: 20).

Sustainable Development theory was at first “proposed in the Brundtland Commission Report of Brundtland Committee in 1983 and then developed at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held in 1992” (Nishikawa 2001: 20). As Nishikawa explains, they agreed to be more conscious about the environment when they operated the development project. They realized that they should try to improve the quality of their lives, caring for the ecosystem.

Human Development theory was “suggested in *Human Development Report* published by UNDP in 1990” (Nishikawa 2001: 21). Contrary to *World Development Report* published by World Bank in 1978, presented the state of world development from an economic perspective, measuring GDP per capita of the target countries,

This theory more emphasizes on the numerous social indexes such as school participation rate, literacy and the average life expectancy. Human Development is based on the Amartya Sen’s capability theory in which he was more interested in the peoples’ capability and potentiality rather than in the economic accomplishment and peoples’ satisfaction (Nishikawa 2001: 21).

In the late 1980s, “Participatory Development began to be paid more attention as a new paradigm of development practice at Development Assistance Committee” (Nishikawa 2001: 23). Although mainstream development which had focused on the national economic growth brought a success on the number of GNP, trickle down hypothesis was not effective as expected in practice. This hypothesis is

The theory that, in the developing countries, when the lack of capital accumulation is corrected and the economic growth is sustained, the result will automatically trickle down over the nation and the productivity of the field which has been stagnated will become active (JICA 1987: 118).

Few people received the benefits from the development program, and the poor became poorer. “An income differential between the poor and the rich also became increased because of the inequality of income distribution system, which meant all the grass root people were left behind the application of mainstream development” (Nishikawa 2001: 23). Under these circumstances, the idea of people’s participation in the project started to be highly recognized in order to spread the privilege into the target people. This program also helped grass root people recognize themselves as the participants who should try to make the project more sustained. According to *The Concordance of International Cooperative Aid* (1987), this concept includes;

- 1) Information sharing between the supporting institution and the participants,
- 2) Enunciation of peoples’ opinion on the project,
- 3) Peoples’ participation in the decision making process of program, and
- 4) Offering the popular labor during the operation. The assignment of theory embraces how to educate and organize people, supporting them to develop their capability.

Alternative development in Thailand, according to *Alternative Development in the Third World: A Case Study of Thai Villages* (1993) by Noriyuki Suzuki, is influenced by numerous factors. These include Gandhi’s self-rehabilitation, the Salvodaya Shramadana movement in Sri Lanka and E.F.Schumacher’s idea of “Small is Beautiful”.

Domestic factors such as the philosophy of Thai monk, Buddhattat Bhikkhu and his follower, a well-known social critic, Sulak Sivalaksa, and the students' uprising of October 14th in 1973 also cannot be ignored. Above all, the Buddhism, one of the three pillars in Thai society has great effects on the evolution of alternative development in Thailand. Ernst W. Gohlert talks about the relationship between Buddhism and national development, and its potential for significant change, in *Power and Culture: The Struggle Against Poverty in Thailand*. He first declares that the Buddhist development paradigm is not likely to replace secular models of development. Primarily, the teaching of Buddha calls for non-attachment, "... a mind free from preoccupation with materialism"(Gohlert 1991: 148). He says, "Attachment in all its manifestations causes only suffering and unhappiness"(Gohlert 1991: 148). Yet modern society tends to place great value on materialism. Citing Sulak, he states that "the fundamental difference between Buddhism and secular development lies in the distinction between qualitative and quantitative development"(Gohlert 1991: 149). While Buddhism values on qualitative, secular development has pursued quantitative development. Hence, "contemporary reality stands in stark contrast to the ideal Buddhist society"(Gohlert 1990: 148). According to Buddhist theory, Dhammic Socialism is an ideal society. While "dhammic" comes from the Buddhist terminology Dhamma, the Buddhist ethic of sufficiency and moderation, this Dhammic Socialism stands for "a community of restraint". "The principle of restraint calls for a simple life style: adequate food, clothing, housing and medicine, which ultimately leads to the concept of self-reliance"(Gohlert 1990: 148). Thus these religious philosophies offered a Buddhist-based society and had a profound influence on the evolution of alternative development in Thai society.

Dr. Surichai Wun'Gaeo, one of the leading sociologists at the Social Research Institute of Chulalongkorn University, mentioned

earlier, disseminated the concept for the first time in Thailand and implemented it as a pioneer. He insisted that “the subject of the project, villagers, should participate in the planning stage in the development program, which is called Participatory Development.” (Suzuki 1993: 172). He claimed that “the development program in Thailand is pressed upon the farmers by the government, which is ignorant of the farmers’ circumstances”(Suzuki 1993: 172). It deprived the farmers of self-reliance and this was the fundamental problem of rural development.

Another leading activist concerning alternative development in Thailand, Prawet Wasri suggested the self-sufficient agriculture, emphasizing on the self-help effort. “He introduced the integrate farming which reduce farmer’s housekeeping expenditure and promote their self-sufficiency” (Suzuki 1993: 173). This is based on the Buddhist concept, non-attachment, already discussed, and he insisted that the farmers themselves have to make great efforts to resist materialistic impulses.

In order to support his idea, he mentioned four factors which brought numerous predicaments to farmers, namely 1)western culture, 2)new educational system which made the gap between the poor and the poorer wider, 3)a new development strategy based on modernization, and 4)the influence of mass-communication, which made villagers more materialistic (Suzuki 1993: 173).

Suzuki analyzed “alternative development in Thailand originated to point out the numerous problems created by being subsumed by the world-wide currency of capitalistic development” (Suzuki 1993: 174). In the process of evolution, Bhutattat and Sulak, already mentioned, has played the main role in the theory, and both

Surichai Wun'Gaeo emphasizing on participation and Prawet Vasri insisisting on the self-help effort have influenced on the strategy of implementation. The case study, PANMAI, was established, influenced by both religious concepts and theoretical idea, for this is the project implemented in Buddhism country, Thailand and the project was planned by ATA consisted of key ideas from intellectuals mentioned above.

2.3 The definition of PO, NGO and Cooperative

In order to put their ideas into practice, the role of the NGO is emphasized. After the 1980s when people were calling for bottom-up operation, the NGO has come out on the arena of development operation. Generally its role is expected in two ways; 1)to mediate with the local people, and 2)to educate and inform them. Since “it was perceived to have a natural advantage in stimulating social innovation, in that it is mostly smaller in size and holds common values as a group, the NGO easily corresponds to local need”(Korten 1990: 99). It corresponds to a broad range of interests that “people define and articulate, meets local needs, and makes it possible to access numerous needs” (Korten 1990: 99).

The other role, to educate and inform people, is also emphasized to have collective self-empowerment emerged among the people in order to lift the poor up from the situation which they are put into. Empowerment is the key factor to bring about the change to the poor. As Chihiro Saito and Takayoshi Amenomori defined in the preface of Japanese translation book of *Empowerment: The Politics of Alternative*, “empowerment is to procure the power especially in the autonomous decision-making” (Saito 9: 1992). As defined earlier, the poor is in the challenged situation, because they are deprived the chance to access the social institution. If they are given the power,

they can access opportunities more easily. In order to instill power to the people, NGOs stimulate the local people, just as a teacher would to students, because “self-empowerment among the poor never occurs on its own accord”(Friedmann 1992: 77). At the same time, however, it is also the case that true empowerment can never come from the outside. The role of an outside institution is to help people shake off their traditional dependency on the power.

In the framework of Development Aid, it is the basic procedures that community organizers from NGOs go into the target community, educate the local people and let them form a People’s Organization (PO). It is also noted here that PO is different from NGO. Chihiro Saito and Takayoshi Amenomori explain, “United Nation regarded NGO different from PO in that NGO support PO rather than being targeted” (Saito 1992: 12). Furthermore PO is usually consisted of the target mass such as farmers, fishermen and sometimes the poorest in the cities, who are often called “grass roots”. While as Phongsapich mentions “middle class professionals play a prominent role in the emergence of nonprofit sector organizations. The stronger the middle classes, the stronger the nonprofit sector is likely to be”(Phongsapich 1997: 3). In a case study of PANMAI, the supporting NGOs are ATA, JSTV and other foreign NGOs. Whereas the weaving group the village women first started is categorized as PO, according to the definition above.

There are so many definitions on NGO. According to Amara Phongsapich, in administrative sense of Thailand, “the five key features of organizations in the nonprofit sector are: 1)formally (but not necessarily legally) consisted; 2)organizationally separate from government; 3) no-profit seeking; 4)self-governing; and 5) voluntary to some significant degree” (Phongsapich 1997: 1). In Thailand, NGO is regarded as the organizations, which do the activities for the public interests. It has been registered as either foundations or associations

with the government under the National Cultural Act since 1942. “According to the Act, the National Cultural Commission of the Ministry of Education is responsible for examining the objectives and monitoring activities of foundations and associations” (Phongsapich 1997: 70). Moreover associations include both commercial associations and cremation associations. They are classified with its purpose. General nonprofit associations are established for cultural and social objectives. Commercial associations are different from those philanthropic and social welfare associations. They get income, but they “are obliged to report it and expenditures annually to the trade association registrar, and to file minutes of annual meetings (Phongsapich 1997: 71). Cremation associations “must have the objective of assisting with the cremation of the bodies of deceased members”(Phongsapich 1997: 71). They are not allowed to have any other activities. A case study PANMAI should be classified with the commercial associations.

As cleared in the later chapter, the case study PANMAI became autonomous as a cooperative in 1994. But it is very difficult to be clearly defined the cooperative organizations. David Jary and Julia Jary define in *The Harper Collins Dictionary Sociology*, cooperation is the “voluntary organizations of producers or consumers characterized by collaborative rather than competitive capitalist relations between those involved”(Jary 1991: 87). Shinichi Shigetomi, who studied cooperation and community in rural Thailand states, “cooperative organizations can be classified as dyadic or collective depending on the way people are joined in their relationships... Organizations such as cooperatives are based on a collective relationship among people” (Shigetomi 1998: 19). Shigetomi examined, in traditional Thai farming villages, dyadic exchange was the important form of their cooperation. The spread of the market economy weakened this

cooperation, but a “new form” of cooperation was also based on this traditional system. Shigetomi also says, “Under dyadic cooperation, resources were exchanged among two parties, whereas with the new collective organization resources are pooled and then distributed” (Shigetomi 1998: 50). The case study, PANMAI should be classified into the collective organization. Pulling them together, the cooperative is different from the competitive capitalist cooperation in that their relationship is more collective. They distribute the resources inward, or use them for their internal activity. According to the Phongsapich’s five characteristics of organizations in the nonprofit sector, in a broader sense, cooperation could be taken as a form of NGO.

2.4 The Evolution of NGO in Thailand

The development of NGOs in Thailand has closely been connected to the national movement of both politics and economics, as mentioned earlier. Kazunori Akaishi says in his article “Activities of Thai NGOs and Rural Society in Thailand” of *Buddhism, Development of Mind and NGOs: The Idea of Symbiosis Learned from Thai Development Monks (2001)*, “NGOs in Thailand have mainly played in the field of rural villages and their people, where all the disorders came out ” (Akaishi 2001: 240).

Along with “Chronological Table 1: Development of Thai NGOs”, Akaishi explains the development, dividing its history into four phases; 1) up to the 1970s, the birth of popular-led NGO activities and the period of top-down social welfare, 2) in the 1970s, the experiment of democracy and its transformation, 3) in the 1980s, the most active period of Thai NGO, 4) from the end of the 1980s up to now, groping for the alternative development and the challenging to the new social problems.

1) Up to the 1970s

The oldest NGO in Thailand was formed in 1893 as Thai Red Cross Association (TRCA). In the beginning of the 20th century, some Christian organizations that came from western countries initiated their activities. In the 1950s, after the World War II, NGOs started to be established in the field of rural development. “However most of them were committed to the royal court and their activities tended to become a top-down social welfare” (Akaishi 2001: 242). In the late 1960s, college professors and young intellectuals started to pay more attention to the popular-led NGO activities. Thailand Rural Reconstruction Movement (TRRM) founded by Puai Ungphakon was one of the first development NGOs, “which emphasized on the farmer’s human development in order to improve their lives, provide them with adequate education, public health, and the chance of autonomy without any violence”(Akaishi 2001: 242). University students who were actively involved these activities “became the leaders of numerous social revolution later on”(Akaishi 2001: 242).

2) In the 1970s

In the 1970s, as mentioned earlier, several student uprisings occurred. By its anti-government characteristic and its development policy, the evolution of NGO in Thailand was influenced by the student uprising of 1973. The student leaders organized NGOs and dealt with rural development, calling for democracy and the correction of inequality. After the success of the uprising, the NGO activities became brisk. However, after the revival of military government as a result of Bloody Wednesday of 1976, those student leaders were suppressed and their activity momentarily went underground. Agreed to the theory by Sulak, they started to commit to the alternative development. In 1976 Sulak founded Co-ordinating Group for Religion in Society (CGRS) for the purpose of “attaining 1) development based on Buddhism, culture and tradition of Thai society, and 2) social

reform without violence”(Akaishi 2001: 243). Some of the other remarkable NGOs were also established in this period. The Catholic Council of Thailand for Development (CCTD), which was one of the main groups deeply committed to alternative development, instituted in 1970. The group has still been playing a very important role in the rural development. Population and Community Development Association (PDA), which was founded in 1973, was also conspicuous in that they took in the family planning into the rural development projects. Besides, in the 1980s, with a world-wide movement of bottom-up operation, their NGO activity became brisk again.

3) In the 1980s

This period is when NGOs in Thailand became most activated. In this period “Thai society itself tried to transform to be an industrialized country, while numerous social problems occurred as a fruit of rapid economical development”(Akaishi 2001: 244). NGOs focused not only on the rural development, but on the improvement of slum environment, and the support for the children, women and the disabled. They started to network NGOs which are interested in the same field for the purpose of coordinating with relating groups. Appropriate Technology Association (ATA), which started the LWDP, the first form of a case study of PANMAI, were also founded in this period.

4) From the 1980s up to now

“Thai economy grew rapidly after the foreign investment started to flow in abruptly in 1986” (Akaishi 2001: 246). Together with this economic growth, as already illustrated in chapter 2, numerous social problems, such as enlargement of the cleavage in society between the rich and the poor, expansion of the regional difference especially between the capital and the regional cities and the serious

threat of HIV and AIDS, came out. NGOs are expected to tackle with these social problems besides rural development they had been involved in so far. Moreover, many of the foreign NGOs, institutions and governments which had invested on Thai NGOs decided to quit funding, since they estimated Thailand were able to manage the activity financially and they were lacking in funds. Some successful NGOs, like The Center for Culture and Development (CCD) founded in 1981, even had to halt operation because of the lack of fund. Now NGO staffs are trying to collaborate with development monks, village chief and teachers for the solution. As Gohlert states, “development monks are committed to improve the material and spiritual dimensions of village life, emphasizing the importance of community initiative” (Gohlert 1991: 163). Since historically they have had strong social influences on rural villages, NGOs realized it was inevitable to collaborate with those development monks. NGOs in Thailand are focused on newly emerged social problems such as HIV and AIDS, and in 1989 they network as Thailand NGO Coalition of AIDS (TNCA) in order to collaborate each other. NGOs in Thailand have been and will be active, corresponding to the social problems.

The most recent number of NGOs involved in rural development is 375, according to *Directory of Public Interest Non-Governmental Organizations in Thailand* (1990). Among them, 78 NGOs are operating in Northeastern Thailand. In the interview with Professor Akaishi, he deemed PANMAI as one of the successful NGOs in Northeastern Thailand and noted it has been regarded as a model case of skill training project.

4.1) After the economic crisis in 1997

Although the basic tendency of evolution has already been talked about, the author believes, it is very important to look at the NGO transformation in detail after 1997. In the year of 1997, the economic crisis occurred in Thailand, and it gave a great influence on

the evolution of NGO. Since the economic crisis of Thailand, “the social role of NGOs in Thailand has been changing”(Akaishi 2000: 253). It is very natural since NGOs have transformed themselves, as adjusting to the social, political and economic change of Thailand. Akaishi particularly stated that the economic crisis had made great impacts on the middle class in the cities, factory workers and migrants from the rural villages. “A lot of them had lost their jobs. Some migrants went back home and started helping their family with farming, but others did not even have a place to go back since they had sold their lands to make money to go to the cities”(Akaishi 2000: 254). The rural villages had to face even harder reality since the families in the villages could not rely on the money from migration any more. Now they realized that it was not right to depend their lives on migration, and to start reconsidering how to make their lives more solid.

Furthermore, as Akaishi explains, His Majesty the King emancipated in his speech on December 4 of 1997 that the life of Thai nation should be more based on the natural resources for the reflections on the baht devaluation. In order to explain this idea of “self-sufficiency”, the king suggested the particular example as follows. He bought a 15-rai plot in Saraburi and made it “a pilot project where a pond had been dug and rice, vegetables, fruit trees and herbs were grown, and fish and cattle raised” [Bangkok Post 1998: online]. He said this mixed-farming project made a great success and “made a profit of 20,000 baht from sales of its farm produce in the first year” [Bangkok Post 1998: online]. The King also said “last year that if only half or even a quarter of the concept was put to use, the country would be saved from the crisis”[Bangkok Post 1998: online]. He had never meant for the whole concept to be executed entirely, since, he knows, it is impossible for this modern society to fully implement the idea. His Majesty the King again mentioned this idea in the speech of December 5 the following year. His Majesty insisted the importance of the

concept of "self-sufficiency" and preached his people to know when enough is enough.

It is very obvious the idea that His Majesty of King persisted is largely overlapped with the one of alternative development in Thailand. As we have already looked at earlier, the evolution of alternative development in the country has been strongly influenced by Buddhism. It is still unpredictable if this concept would be widely accepted by the lay people. However when it becomes implemented widely, it is clear that the role of NGOs in Thailand is going to be far more important than before.

2.5 The Problems in Northeastern Thailand

The part of Thailand which bulges out to the east, sharing a common border with Laos and Cambodia, is generally called Isaan, the northeastern region. "The Tai Lao ethnic group, who emigrated from Laos and live mainly in northeastern Thailand, is the main people residing this area" (Nozaki 1998: 192-193). Lao culture influenced largely on northeastern Thailand, and the weaving tradition is in fact rooted in Laos. "Together with Khmer culture brought by the Khmer, who emigrated from Cambodia to the south of the region, weavings in this area became more abundant" (Nozaki 1998: 194). Northeastern Thailand is "famous for high quality of silk thread and weaving technique. Silk threads produced in northeastern Thailand were brought into the royal courts in Naan, Chiang Mai or even Bangkok in history and they are still asked to send" (Nozaki 1998: 194). Mudmee is the design Phoonpap village, my case study, and other villages involved in PANMAI, produce. "Mudmee" means to tie or bind and it is a form of reject dyeing. "Mudmee refers to a process of binding the thread into specific designs, then dyeing before weaving" (Wayang 1995: 53). Phoonpap village is rooted in Khmer culture, since the

village is in the southern part of Northeastern Thailand and villagers speak Khmer. Their mudmee is designed with repetition of smaller patterns, which is Khmer influenced.

Generally speaking, “it is poorer than most other parts of the country, because of more limited resources, less rainfall, land which is less ideally suited to rice cultivation than some other parts, and relative economic neglect” (Smalley 1994: 87). The situation surrounding northeastern people becomes worse because the poverty creates a vicious circle of lack of education, unemployment and labor outflow to the big cities and especially Bangkok. A great many children in the Northeast are not able to go to school because they are needed as labor. “Labor force statistics show that only 30% of children enroll in secondary education after they complete six years of compulsory education, usually at the age of 11” (Komin 1989: 11). Furthermore “only 10% of children from rural areas are enrolled in secondary school” (Soonthorndhada 1992: 57). Some children aren’t able to continue their education because they are not sure if they can get jobs after finishing school. These situations push villagers, both youths (16 years old or after compulsory education) and adults, to migrate to work in big cities or in other agricultural plantations. As ATA chose Northeastern provinces as target areas of LWDP, they are under the heavy “pressure of migration. Women and children are left over at home alone with little rice for consumption” (Dhamabutra 1991: 3). Unfortunately they don’t have proper training and enough education and can only engage in simple physical labor which mostly yield low pay and no social security. Women in this region are also put in the disadvantaged position. The idea that women are inferior to men is nurtured day by day through religious beliefs and the traditional values inherited from ancestors. For instance, Theravada Buddhism prescribes that women are inferior to men; only men can attain Nirvana. Pasuk Phongpaichit explains in her book, *From Peasant Girls to Bangkok Masseuses (1982)*, the idea of daughters’

obligation is also rooted in Buddhist teachings. Thais regard entry into the monkhood as the most respected way for children to show gratitude to their parents. Mothers accumulate good karma by sending their sons to the monkhood and by his Buddhist practice. However, since females are not allowed to enter the monkhood, daughters have to show their respect for their parents in other ways. In rural villages, most of the time, daughters demonstrate their gratitude by earning some money in big cities and sending it back home to help their parents. Many girls deal with very simple and limited work such as the sex industry, since they don't have enough training or education. Amara Pongsapich also states in *Occasional Papers on Women in Thailand* (1988) that, "traditionally, subordination of women was very much evident in the old marriage law in Thai society" (Pongsapich 1988: 65). Amara Soonthorndhada adds in "Domestic Role Behavior, Expectations and Adaptations: Past to Present" of *Changing Roles and Statuses of Women in Thailand: A Documentary Assessment* (1992) that "Polygamy was practiced and women were socialized to enjoy their roles as wives" (Yoddumnern-Attig 1992: 65). Women had to serve their husbands and take care of household chores. Looking at the issue from a contemporary legal aspect, women have to face legal barriers, political positions. According to Juree Vichit-Vadakan's article of "Women, Men and Thai Politics" in *Women, Gender Relations and Development in Thai Society*,

Although the right to vote and the right to stand for election were granted to women for over sixty years, the percentage of women who have successfully contested for political positions have always been low, not exceeding 8% both at local level, and especially at the national level (Somswasdi & Theobald 1997: 426).

Generally in Thai society, sons seem to be given more freedom than daughters even from their early adolescent years. As Anthony Rabibhadana states in the article of “Kinship, Marriage and the Thai Social system” in *Perspectives on the Thai Marriage* (1984), the general pattern is that “adolescent girls are given much more responsibility, while boys are allowed much freedom and given few responsibilities”(Rabibhadana 1984: 3). Pramualratana also expresses in “The Impact of Societal Change and Role of the Old in A Rural Community in Thailand” in *Changing Roles and Statuses of Women in Thailand: A Documentary Assessment* (1992) that, in his field study, “one of the major reasons for daughters not being given more freedom in their adolescence is the fear by parents that their daughters will be enticed or forced into premarital sex”(Yoddumnern-Attig 1992: 50). The traditional value is something to be nurtured in everyday life without any theoretical reason to be rooted, and women in Thailand are often put into periphery just like the ones especially in patriarchal societies.

2.6 Gender and Development

As mentioned above, alternative development emerged for the purpose of raising up the marginalized people to the surface of the society. Women constitute one marginalized group, since the existent planning was mainly discussed with people who “recognized gender as an important planning issue”(Moser 1993: 5). Now, Gender in Development emerges for the reflection of women who have been put into the periphery for a long time. Caroline O.N. Moser is one of the leading intellectuals in the arena of Gender in Development. She has been involving in the issue, together with some NGOs and other international institutions such as UNICEF for nearly three decades. It is essential to consult her theory since it will give this thesis a

theoretical framework. In her book, *Gender Planning and Development: Theory, Practice and Training* (1993) she states “the goal of gender planning is the emancipation of women from their subordination, and their achievement of equality, equity and empowerment” (Moser 1993: 1). Here, equality and equity are important ideas, which need to be defined. According to the web site of United Nations Development Program (UNDP),

The concept of gender equality has evolved over time. Initially, it focused on rights, and meant treating everyone the same, regardless of their individual group circumstances. Over time, gender equality has evolved to reflect a concern for arriving at equitable conditions for women and men rather than with treating women and men as if they were the same [UNDP 2000: online].

Then gender equity is

The outcome of being fair to women and men. To ensure fairness, measures must often be available to compensate for historical and social disadvantages that prevent women and men from otherwise operating on a level playing field. Equity leads to equality. A society that fosters gender equity benefits in the longer term [UNDP 2000: online].

Historically, this movement first came about as the moderate idea of “Women in Development (WID)”. “Gender and Development (GAD)”, which Moser says is “by definition a more ‘confrontational’ approach”(Moser 4: 1993) emerged in order for women to attain true equity.

Briefly looking at the transformation of the concept, the term “Women in Development” (WID) came out in the early 1970s by the

Women's Committee of the Washington, DC, Chapter of the Society for International Development with its fundamental goal of emancipation. However, more recently, "a further shift in approach has recognized the limitations of focusing on women in isolation and has drawn attention to the need instead to look at "Gender and Development (GAD)" (Moser 1993: 3). In general, while the difference between "sex" and "gender" is widely known, the conceptual boundary between WID and GAD has not yet been clearly defined. Furthermore, these two terms are often used for the same approach, but originally they derived from different theoretical positions "with regard to the problems and experiences by low-income women in the Third World" (Moser 1993: 3). The basic idea of the WID approach was having women participate in development program so that the program itself would work more effectively. Under this program, the supporting agency helped women to be employed or get loans more easily. On the other hand, the idea of GAD approaches women and men collectively because "based on the premise that the major issue is one of subordination and inequality, its purpose is that women through empowerment achieve equality and equity with men in society" (Moser 1993: 4).

This research is going to be analyzed, based on GAD approaches. When bringing the concept into the practical region, gender role in the household, which "may be defined as a residential group of persons who live under the same roof and eat out of the same pot"(Friedmann 1992: 32), becomes very significant. Since the household "is the elementary unit of civil society" (Friedmann 1992: 32), the needs and roles in the households can mirror a part of the civil society itself. Therefore, it is very important to appreciate these differences, when identifying the planning needs. Before proceeding, the term, role needs to be defined. According to *The Harper Collins Dictionary of Sociology* by David Jary and Julia Jary, role is defined as "any relatively standardized social position, involving specific rights and

obligations, which an individual is expected or encouraged to perform”(Jary 1991: 422).

In most low-income third world households, women have triple roles harnessed on to them, namely reproductive work, productive work, and community managing work. This concept emerged from among the studies on Third World women and the feminist argument on gender of both first and third world countries. Women's work includes “reproductive health, the child bearing and rearing responsibilities, required to guarantee the maintenance and reproduction of the labor force”(Moser 1993: 27). It also says that “productive work, often as secondary income earners. In rural areas this usually takes the form of agricultural work. In urban areas women frequently work in informal sector enterprises located either in the home or the neighborhood”(Moser 1993: 27). Women also accept “community managing work, around the provision of items of collective consumption, undertaken in the local community in both urban and rural contexts” (Moser 1993: 28). As Moser explains, this women's work are always categorized into these three, which brings stereotype of gender roles of both men and women; men as breadwinners and women as homemakers. That is to say, “men undertake community activities but in markedly different ways from women, reflecting a further sexual division of labor” (Moser 1993: 28). GAD means “to challenge two basic premises of the gender division of labor; first, that it is ‘natural’; second, that the division between the male breadwinner and the female homemaker is based on a perceived complementarity of roles for men and women, who are ‘different but equal’” (Moser 1993: 28). In practice, when building the framework of development project for low-income women, “it must be based on their interests –in other words, their prioritized concerns”(Moser 1993: 37). These interests are emerged from their daily tasks based on triple role. As Moser explains, the focus on the planning process is how women’s interests which are defined as “prioritized concerns” translates into needs.

Maxine Molyneux suggests two different needs, practical gender needs and strategic gender needs. It is very important to distinguish these two concepts theoretically and practically. Molyneux defines these two ideas as followings.

Practical gender needs are the needs women identify in their socially accepted role in society. Practical gender needs do not challenge the gender divisions of labor or women's subordinate position in society, although rising out of them. Practical gender needs are a response to immediate perceived necessity, identified within a specific context. They are practical in nature and often are concerned with inadequacies in living conditions such as water provision, health care, and employment. (Moser 1993: 40)

Practical gender needs come out of the situation women are put into. Contrary to the strategic gender needs, it is based on the gender division of labor and the needs emerge out women's daily tasks.

Strategic Gender Needs are the needs women identify because of their subordinate position to men in their society. Strategic gender needs vary according to particular contexts. They relate to gender divisions of labor, power and control and may include such issues such as legal rights, domestic violence, equal wages and women's control over their bodies (Moser 1994: 39)

As already mentioned, the ultimate goal of gender planning is "the emancipation of women from their subordination, and their achievement of equality, equity and empowerment"(Moser 1993: 1). The strategic gender needs are consisted of 6 criteria as follows, referring to Molyneux's theory. It is necessary to examine if each

project fulfills any of the criteria mentioned above, when checking its accomplishment.

1. The abolition of the sexual division of labor
2. The alleviation of the burden of domestic labor and childcare
3. The removal of institutionalized forms of discrimination such as rights to own land or property or access to credit
4. The establishment of political equality
5. Freedom of choice over childbearing
6. The adoption of adequate measures against male violence and control over women (Moser 1994: 39).

Yet in practice, it is noted that the project planning should be conscious about the practical gender needs at the first stage, and then aim for the strategic gender needs, since "given the very real interests of the state, civil society and men in subordinating women through control of their status, bodies and indeed sometimes even their lives, there are widespread of constraints in meeting strategic gender needs" (Moser 1993: 48). As is often the case with planners, they "often seek to use practical gender needs as an entry point for more fundamental change"(Moser 1993: 48).

Gender needs in employment are based on the idea that "with the lives of the majority of low-income women dominated by the necessity to generate an income, one fundamental problem faces is the lack of adequate skills" (Moser 1994: 48). Therefore the provision of training meets practical gender needs which allow women access to employment. This policy includes skill training, general education, and access to credit. "How far it also reaches more strategic gender needs depends not only on whether it increases women's economic independence, but also on the type of training"(Moser 1994: 48).

Gender needs in environmental planning come from the concept that "in their reproductive role, rural women depend on the resources

of wood, water and soil for daily survival, and such are often the primary users of the environment”(Moser 1994: 52). Referring to the Chipko movement in the Himalayan foothills of India, in which women “organized themselves into a cooperative to protect the forests”(Moser 1994: 53) while men wanted to make a contract to cut the trees, Moser proposes women to become empowered by becoming involved in environmental planning. When thinking about practical needs however, this planning is not as urgent to life and death matters. Therefore this planning can't be active in the projects, including the case study of PANMAI, which are still immature to call for this kind of needs.

Gender needs in basic services are the planning that helps to make people's lives easier. “The delivery of basic services in both rural and urban areas can have fundamental implications in terms of the gender needs met” (Moser 1994: 53). Moser proposed as examples, “the planning of child-care facilities”, which is where to set up child-care centers, “the transport services” which makes buses run from the periphery to the center during morning and evening periods, and “the timing of meetings”, which in rural communities, NGOs care for.

In order to analyze each project ATA and other foreign NGOs have implemented to PANMAI, the author is going to make a check list based on Moser's idea and examine each accomplishment. First, the projects are divided into three categories according to Moser's idea, notably employment project, environmental planning project, and basic services project. As Moser states, “most governments base national planning priorities on a sectoral approach” (Moser 1994: 48), supporting NGOs of PANAMI should have a purpose to set the plan. Moser's theory comes from a broader, national government level, while PANMAI is a much smaller project that needs to refer to the village situation. To accommodate, the author has modified the idea to a certain extent. Particularly as for the fourth in the list, the establishment of political equality, the definition of “politics” should

be reconsidered. In *A Glossary of Feminist Theory* (2000), “politics” can be interpreted as “even further beyond the arenas of public life and economic distribution, to uncover the gendered politics of personal life” (Andermahr, Lovell and Wolkowitz 2000: 200). This concept came out along the currency second wave of radical feminism. Originally “politics” implies the delegation of power. The power relation is usually talked about in the public sphere, but in the radical feminism theory, as mentioned above, they stretched the arena to their personal lives. In the case study of PANMAI, political equality and power relation can be talked about in their households. The author will try to see if village women attained an equal relationship with their husbands.

Some of the questions, namely number three, five and six of the criteria, were not directly asked to the village women nor was satisfactory information attained in the interview. The questions seemed to be too personal for the village women. Even though the author asked some of them, the village women did not give straight answers. One of the reasons as why the villagers did not provide useful answers was assumed to be because the interviewer did not speak Thai and always talked to the informants through an interpreter. The author became very close with village children, which helped carry out interviews smoother. However, she needed to spend more intimate time with informant weavers so that they might open their hearts to talk about private issues, such as domestic violence and freedom of choice over childbearing.

In chapter four, all the projects which will be mentioned in chapter three will be divided into three categories according to the definition above. Then each program will be examined closely, supplemented with the interviews and literary research conducted by author.

CHAPTER 3

THE CASE STUDY OF PANMAI

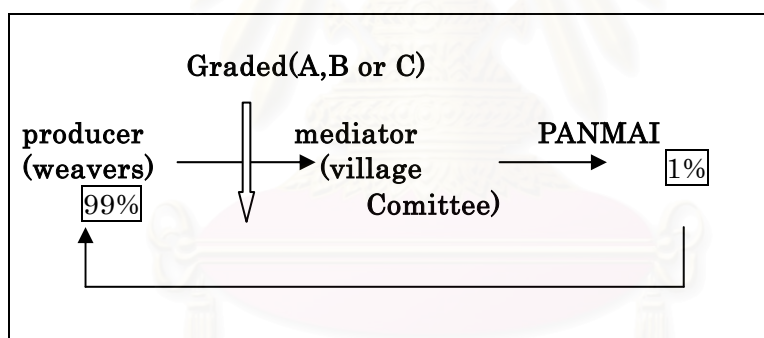
The case study of Panmai is based both on field research by the author and on documentary research. The field research includes in-depth interviews with villagers, project staff and project managers, a group interview with villagers, and observation of the participants. The documentary research includes a review of all relevant documents such as annual reports, evaluation reports, six-month reports, a record from their latest meeting on June 8th, 2002, newsletters of JSTV and others.

3.1 About PANMAI

Present PANMAI consists of 266 members from 11 different villages. There are four staff members in the PANMAI office in Kaset Wisai, taking care of marketing, accounting, production and customer service, and two persons in the Bangkok office, dealing with marketing and sales. PANMAI sees the office in Kaset Wisai as a headquarter and the one in Bangkok as a branch office to support the business in Kaset Wisai, which is a little further from the capital city. Staff members of Kaset Wisai are selected among the village women, while the ones of Bangkok were hired by ATA and all of them hold college degrees. The Bangkok office shares their place with one NGO, ATA, which supported PANMAI until the latter group became autonomous. Besides some of the staff members of both organizations are overlapping. Whenever the problems come up, PANMAI staff ask ATA for some advice, so they continue to maintain a connection. Two PANMAI offices always have discussions on business matters. They talk about the actual sales amount, target amount and the orders they get. Most of the time Bangkok office takes the order and the requests to sell the products, which are sent to Kaset

Wisai. But Kaset Wisai also takes direct orders. They occasionally suggest new markets to Bangkok office and staffs in Bangkok go to research the chance. The headquarter in Kaset Wisai was originally an office for village women. It organizes them and administrates the business.

To ensure that the business with each village more systematic, PANMAI put five appointed committee members who take direct orders from PANMAI, distribute them to other villagers and take care of problems occurring in the village. They play the role of the middleman between villagers and the PANMAI office. Their term is two years, and two out of five members are elected every year. Since PANMAI wants as many villagers as possible to sit on the committee, former members have to take a recess of at least one year before they can stand for reelection. PANMAI is run as a cooperative and has its own business system.



When producers, as weavers, bring in the products, mediator, as committee members in the village, grade them with A, B or C. Products are brought to the PANMAI office and women are paid according to their quality with the rating of the grades. They get 96% of the price and the rest, 4%, goes to the PANMAI group. The office takes 1% out of 4% for working expenditures of the group and 3% will be saved for each member under her name. They will earn 3% savings after the year is over, which means the producer receives 99% of the merchandise after all. Although they get no interest with this saving system, they all agreed with this system at the annual meeting since

they will receive a certain amount of money after one year.

The office staff in Kaset Wisai mainly work in the business sector and they do not have much to do with the administration of the organization. The members in the villages are the ones who have been conducting the activity. PANMAI now holds annual meetings every March, and together with staff, the procedures are planned by some women from different villages. PANMAI is an assembly of some participatory villages, and each village has a different history with PANMAI and the involvement itself. Thus the activity of some particular village and PANMAI as a whole should be looked at separately when Panmai activities are investigated. This thesis looks at the Phoonpap village in Roi-et province for a particular instance. This village can be representative of the type of Khmer-cultured based village that Panmai has been involved in, since the weaving is largely effected by its culture.

To analyze the changing role of women, this thesis will consider the issue from two different aspects: 1) the evolution of the Panmai activity, and 2) the change of the women themselves who were involved in the activity. First of all, in order to classify the evolution, the phases of Panmai activities are divided into four phases. Here the author refers to the pattern of evolution of NGOs in the development proposed by David Korten in his book, *Getting to the 21st Century: Voluntary Action and the Global Agenda*, based on his experience working with the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID). Korten suggests a pattern whereby NGOs expand their roles from traditional relief and welfare activities to involvement in penetrating larger institutional and policy changes: relief and welfare, community development, sustainable development and people's movement. He sees the issue from a broader perspective and his concept cannot be applied in this thesis without modification. Besides closely studying the PANMAI activity, there is no relief and welfare phase in this case study. Hence in this case study, with the help of Dr Chalerm Sri Dhamabutra's, who had been a chair of ATA, the author has modified Korten's categories, such

that the strategy on Panmai is divided into the following four phases: initiation period, community development, sustainable systems development and public progress. Each period is defined as follows: initiation period is when supporting NGOs study the shooting community and seek effective techniques of weaving and natural dyeing for the project; community development is the period when supporting NGOs develop people's capacities of self-reliance; sustainable development is the period when NGOs and villagers seek the sustainability of the organization; and public progress is the period when the organization becomes a small enterprise and its activities become well known internationally. Until Panmai's autonomy in 1995, three NGOs -ATA in Bangkok, Panmai in the village and some foreign NGOs- were involved with this weaving group. However the way and the quantity of their involvement were all different on each occasion during the process. The study of Panmai evolution is mainly based on interviews with village women, two reports, one evaluation and some newsletters published by members of ATA or other supporting NGOs. They are "Local Weaving Development Project"(1995) by Naruemol Bunjongjit, *Evaluation of The Local Weaving Project* (1986) written by Somplern Kasemratanasanti, *Natural Dye Weaving Development, Northeastern Province of Thailand: The Implications of Benign Technology* (1991) of Saichai Kumkanab, and Chalerm Sri Dhamabutra, The Conference Report of PANMAI group reported by PANMAI and some newsletters of "Local Weaving Project in Rural Thailand 500" by JSTV.

3.2 Natural Dye

The case study, PANMAI originally means "numerous kinds of trees" in Thai, which symbolizes that they are dealing with the natural dyeing cloth. "The techniques have been perfected through generations –matching traditional skills and experience with new knowledge" (Wayang 1995: 42) and natural dyeing is one of the main techniques ATA tried to dig up for this

project. It was not really new innovation since “some women were still dyeing silk or cotton thread with lac-insect, indigo and ebony” (Dhamabutra 1991: 6). However “at the moment, many women dropped out of those techniques, because it consumes time, energy and slow processes” (Dhamabutra 1991: 6), though they used to know how to do natural dye. In the villages women prefer the chemical colors “that are introduced into village more than 20years ago and now it is widely use” (Dhamabutra 1991: 6). In the interview with Tsuruko Watanabe, Japanese fabric artist who was invited to one of the participating villages by JSTV in 1988 at first as a dyeing instructor, she recalled, “I had to start with the very basic technique of natural dyeing to set up the indigo color, as the traditional skills were almost dying off. Most village women barely remembered even the number of days for fermentation. Based on the common knowledge of dyeing and weaving technique between two countries, I instructed village women patiently”(Interview on May 14th, 2002).

According to *Weaving for Alternatives!*, in an interview Pi Moon from Songhong village talked about this tradition and the project;

We use natural dyes because we want to preserve our heritage. We don't want what our grandparents have handed down to us to simply vanish. Besides, natural dye is something close to us, from our environment: the trees, the leaves are abundantly available to make the dyes. If we compare chemical dyes, the chemical dyeing process is easier. But the chemicals are harmful to health. For instance, when we boil the dye, the smoke or steam will affect the eyes and nose, causing irritation and uneasiness. In addition, when the chemical dyes are disposed as waste water into the pond, it pollutes the environment” (Wayang 1995: 43)

They use fruits, leaves, sealing wax, bark and everything they can use from the nature. There is a list of colors and the material which produce them.

The popular natural dyes are “ma klua” (i.e., ebony fruit –for black dye), “kanoon”(i.e., jackfruit hardwood –yellow), “krang” (i.e., lack or sealing waz –red), “boak” (i.e., irvingia malayana oliv. Bark –beige), “sa douw” (i.e., neem leaves –green), “kraam” (i.e., indogo plants –blue), “sakaē” bark (i.e., combrella tree) and “yanang” leaves (i.e., deer ear leaves –green), “makham”(i.e., tamarind bark –brown), “ma moeang” (i.e., mango leaves and bark –yellow), “prahood” bark (yellow) (Wayang 1995: 43).

In the interview, some village women told the author that, when they dye clothes, they taste the coloring water and they can determine how dark the color will come out.

3.3 The Evolution of PANMAI

The following is based mainly on the documents obtained from ATA and JSTV and interviews done by author. At the end of each period, the author would make some points out about each stage.

3.3.1 Initiation period (1982 – 1985)

In this period, supporting NGOs were Appropriate Technology Association (ATA) and Primary Health Care for Community of Rasrisalai Hospital. ATA, which was a core NGO throughout this project, “was established in 1981 by a certain number of lecturers and students of the Faculty of Engineering at Chulalongkorn University”(Wayang 1995: 58). Its aims were to “apply appropriate technology to the selected community in order to solve its problems and eventually promote community self-reliance” (Wayang 1995: 59). ATA implemented the project, aiming the migration problem this region had had. Its final goal was that the men would stay in the village, dealing with farming, and the women would weave for supplemented income.

In 1982, Primary Health Care for Community of Rasrisalai Hospital, a non-governmental organization in Rasrisalai district, “requested that ATA initiate a project for village men and women in the district, with the aim of improving their weaving techniques and farming skills”(Bunjongjit 1995: 100). As a result, the “Local Weaving Development Project” (LWDP) was started in 1983, at Rasrisalai District of Srisaket Province.

Objectives

- 1.To study the community.
- 2.To seek the most effective way and technique to implement the project.

Methods

1. Having meetings with the sub-district development officer, the agricultural officer, the village headman, and his assistant to consult on collecting community data were occasionally held.
- 2 Experimenting a chemical dyeing process, “but it didn’t work out well since the process was rather complicated and dangerous. It also resulted in higher investment costs”(Dhamabuttra 1991: 8).
3. Seeking the possibility of natural dye.
4. Taking a study tour for Mudmee design and natural dye.
- 5.Trying another development program, together with weavings. “...the raising of fish in the rice fields was taken into consideration, but it didn’t work out well”(Kasemratanasanti 1986: 2).

Summary of Initiation Period

This is the period of ATA’s setting up the project. ATA discussed with other NGOs and the locals to grope the goal the program should aim. As mentioned above, the purpose for the project was to “apply appropriate technology to the selected community in order to solve its problems and eventually promote community self-reliance”. They started it as a rural development project, trying to solve the migration problem. They regarded LWDP as a part of the rural development project.

3.3.2 Community development (1986 – 1990)

In 1985 ATA selected Songhong village, at Laoluang subdistrict of Kaset Wisai district in the Roi-et province, as the target village to implement the Local Weaving Development Project (LWDP). They chose the place because this province faced a migration problem. In this region, “women and children are left over at home alone with little rice for consumption”(Dhamabutra 1991: 3). ATA thought that it would be worthwhile and beneficial to the women if they developed their own weaving project. By promoting it, ATA tried to revive employment and activate economy of the region. They chose weaving as a project for the purpose of empowering rural women since “it is regarded as women’s activity and women have full control over its tools of production, the process of production, and the fruit of production”(Wayang 1995: 60). They concluded this according to the community study during the initiation period. The supporting NGOs in this period were ATA, JSTV (Japan in 1986-88) and ICCO (Netherlands in 1989-1990).

Objectives

- 1.To develop people’s capacities for self-reliance

Methods

1. Providing seminars to the members. It was appropriate for introducing new innovations and the participants were urged to join discussion openly.
2. Conducting workshops on “natural dye training, mulberry planting, silk worm raising, leadership program, record keeping and eco-conscious techniques”(Dhamabutra 1991: 8).
 - 2.1 Record keeping is very important. It is a technique taught by the Japanese NGO whereby one keeps record of what color comes from which tree and also attaches a sample. Later on, women developed the colors by themselves based on this knowledge.

- 2.2 Twenty eight of members were informed “how to use natural dyeing on the weavings”(Suangmuang n.d.: 2).
- 2.3 Twenty four members from eight different villages were lectured on “natural dyeing using Lak” (Suangmuang n.d.: 2).
3. Providing Women Development Programs. “This included education on arithmetic and literacy” (Dhamabutra 1991: 15) in order to perform work at Panmai.
 - 3.1 The committee hired a teacher to teach staff members how to read and write in order to perform the jobs in the office.
 - 3.2 The PANMAI newsletters were published by staff members. The letters “were made from July to December of 1990, and these five issues were distributed to other NGOs and women’s associations” (Suangmuang n.d.: 8).
 - 3.3 “Nutrition knowledge was given to women, especially for mal-nutritional children” (Dhamabutra 1991: 15). In Songhong village “90 women participated in the lecture about the nutrition especially for those are 0-5 years old” (Suangmuang n.d.: 3).
 - 3.4 “Health education was given to the women of some villages, such as Phoonpap and Sonhong village. They were informed how to use medicines, and also all the villagers got medical examination. Ten to twenty percent of them were found to suffer from health problem owing to the hepatic worms” (Suangmuang n.d.: 2).
4. Holding exhibitions. Women sold their products there. The experience of exhibition was effective for the villagers in education on marketing. Through this experience, women learned to respond to the customers’ needs.
 - 4.1 Weaving sales were taken place at some international schools in Bangkok, an office of Air France in Bangkok, and a general meeting of NGO of Thailand held in Chiang Mai (Dhamabutra 1991: 16).
 - 4.2 Panmai also had businesses with JSTV and Tried Craft Group of England.

5. Making some regulations in the group.
 - 5.1 They specifically “agreed not to sell the products personally” (Interview with Ms. Buala Mattanang, 2002). Business was only run by means of the committee members.
 - 5.2 They also agreed that committee members should be elected every two years. “Sources of fund to operate Panmai group activities derived from low interest loan and sale of shares at 100 baht per share. Each member must buy at least one share otherwise she cannot sell her product to the Panmai group” (Bunjongjit 1995: 107).
6. Building the trust among women.
 - 6.1 ATA tried to have meetings occasionally, so that they could get to know more about each other. ATA hoped that these occasions would eventually bring the trust as a group to the village women.
7. Getting some understanding from husbands.
 - 7.1 There were some difficulties in urging the women to join the weaving activities. “So the project started inviting the men’s group to do community development work. After a while, the men or husbands helped to draw the attention of the women into joining the weaving and sericulture activities” (Dhamabutra 1991: 12).
8. Introducing “Benign Technology” to the members. This was the concept that they tried to use more natural resources as materials, whose waste would not affect the environment as much as the chemical materials.
 - 8.1 Regarding natural dye weaving and other aspects of development work, “it seems that all wastes or used materials left over after having been used in dyeing and weaving cloth and other developmental works were either to be reused or recycled” (Dhamabutra 1991: 11). The result was to minimize the emission of pollutants to the environment.
9. Organizing other community development projects.
 - 9.1 “Four villages were provided slides and videos by supporting NGOs. They were about raising fish in the program which a development monk organized a rice cooperation in order to help

- villagers to pay back their debts” (Suangmuang 1991: 2).
- 9.2 ATA “started to raise fish in the public pond... After the third month, they could sell fish from the pond” (Dhamabutra 1991: 11).
- 9.3 The farmers were introduced to “dig the soil for installing water rower pump for their rice field. They were also trained to make manure and compost from animals” (Dhamabutra 1991: 12).
- 9.3 “They organized the hiking at the woodlands. The purpose of this project was to educate the young in the villages how useful and precious their surrounding environment would be. This helped them to be aware of the importance of nature” (Suangmuang n.d.: 8).
- 9.4 ATA and supporting NGOs promoted any kind of possible education to the village people. In order to provide water management technique, four villagers were sent to Surin province for the seminar, since water shortage is one of the most serious problems in this region (Suangmuang n.d.: 5). In Phoonpap village, my case study, village headman told author that they also attended the seminar and learned to dig the soil for installing rower pump.
10. Establishing the concept of Core Village, Expansion Village and Network Village. In this period, LWDP acquired more participating villages along these three ideas.
- 10.1 The concept of core village “is defined as a village where the project focused intensively on operation of development” (Dhamabutra 1991: 9).
- 10.2 When the effect of “core village” program became seen after a certain amount of time, “the project applied a developmental model to the new villages” (Dhamabutra 1991: 10) in order to test further experimental operation. These new villages were called expansion villages. The administration, principles and activities were the same as the core village.
- 10.3 ATA tried to “link with the villages trained under other NGOs nearby, so that they can both share the technical knowledge of natural dye and weavings” (Dhamabutra 1991: 10). These villages

were called network villages.

10.4 In 1985-88, one core village and one expansion village and two network villages participated in the project.

10.5 In 1989-91, one core village, four expansion villages and five network villages joined the program.

11. Establishing Revolving Fund. In order to initiate the fund, ICCO and other NGOs donated to Panmai at the beginning.

11.1 “Investment was provided for these weaving groups to borrow as a loan for buying the necessary materials and equipment for natural dye weaving production” (Dhamabutra 1991: 10).

11.2 The fund was also used for some community development work such as resources for raising cattle. It was called “advanced inventory fund” (Dhamabutra 1991: 10).

12. Taking study tours both abroad and domestically. Some of the village women and staff members traveled to Laos, Japan and India.

Table 1: The Returns in 1989-90

According to the five-month report of LWDP implemented by ATA, the following reflection about 1990 was made.

Description	Amount (baht)
Sales on clothes (Total)	444,695
-International Organization	
JSTV (Japan)	45,941
Trade Craft (England)	63,797
-Local exhibitions and Bangkok NGOs provincial meeting (twice)	39,715
-Air France head quarter	82,838
-Small shops in Bangkok	42,503
-Head quarter office at Kaset wisai	169,901
The number of villages involved	9

The number of participants	200
Income per capita	3232

(Based on the *Five-months Report of Local Weaving Development Project: July – December of 1990* (n.d.) and *The National Dye Weaving Development, Northeastern Province of Thailand: The Implications of Benign Technology* (1991)).

Looking over the data above, the largest ratio of the sales is Kaset Wisai, occupying 38%, the second biggest one is 28% of local exhibition and Bangkok NGOs provincial meeting, and the third largest is 25% of international organization consisting of JSTV and Trade Craft. It is clear the support of foreign NGOs are quite large, taking over one fourth of the whole sales.

The problems and issues faced by Panmai during this period

1. Women couldn't set the criteria price, since the quality of each weavings was not consistent.
 - * The prices of cloths were set by group members, since they knew the value of weavings from their experience.
2. Women sometimes make mistakes on pricing.
3. They are not confident enough about their products which they are selling.
4. It is not clear whether selling the products to the mediator is useful for group's marketing or not.
5. The experiment of silkworm breeding did not work out as expected.
 - *It took a long time and needed more careful attentions. "The responsible persons did not have enough time for these activities" (Dhamabutra 1991: 18).

6. "The need of women in learning arithmetic, reading and writing were not constantly responded" (Dhamabutra 1991: 18).

Positive Effects of the Project on Households and Villages

1. Village women got the supplementary income from the project.

*The women's average additional income from the project is 3232 baht for four months. If you subtract all the expenses from this number, the amount, a net income for a member, would be 1616 baht. "According to the statistics of Thai Bank in 1987, income per capita in Roi-et province is 6,692 for a year" (Suangmuang n.d.: 7) This amount means quite a lot to each household. "They can spend it on constructing rice sheds, preparing for rice cultivation of next season, and their medical bills" (Suangmuang n.d.: 7).

2. Women development program worked on village women.

* One of the Panmai members, Buppa Kongtham could be used as a good example of a positive effect of Panmai. Her former husband, Sood Srisuwan who used to work in Bangkok as a poultry slaughterer, came back home mad because of the stimulant drug he had administered in Bangkok. Buppa had to take care of her husband. "Taking his place as the family breadwinner, Buppa worked in the rice fields, and sold sweets at the village" (Ekachai 1990: 35). She had to leave her husband when he nearly strangled her to death in 1983. In this adversity, she got to know LWDP and started to join the group. As Akira Nozaki mentions, now, she positively participates in the activity and she has been playing a very important role in the group. Buppa confidently reported about their Panmai activity with other village women" (Thai Development Support Committee 1992: 22) at "People's Forum" in 1991, together with the conference held by the World Bank in Bangkok.

*In the interview with the author, one of the staff members, Mai Phunkan told her that after having been involved with Panmai, she thinks she has changed considerably. Though she couldn't read or write before LWDP started, she can say she is now literate. The author saw her and other members actually reading a newspaper very slowly when the author was in the office. She also told the author her family is really proud of her ability to read and write now. She has gained more knowledge, which makes her more confident about herself.

3. Village women became more confident after going through the project.

*Ms. Mali Kongsudee told the author in the interview, the villagers learn some things from each other when they participate in weaving activity. Quite a few village women mentioned they shared their ideas and discussed every topic in the group activity. Ms. Buala Kongsudee said she, herself, has become more confident about herself as well as a great number of other villagers by going through the project. Ms. Mali Kongsudee also stated that some of the men also started to pay more respect to women, by observing their wife be more confident. Moreover, looking for bark and firewood for dyeing with their husbands helped them to have more intimate relationship within the family.

4. Networking and coordination with other NGO help strengthen the development work.

*"Relationship between villagers and staff member as well as other consultants made villagers feeling that they had intimate friends, and gained more confidence especially when they just finished" (Dhamabutra 1991: 18).

5. There were some positive effects on health education.

* Dhamabutra mentioned following three points in particular; 1)nutritional aspect, 2)sanitation situation, and 3) general health of villagers.

* As for the nutritional aspect, she said women earned more income

and “they had an opportunity to buy nutritional food for their children” (Dhamabutra 1991: 19). They also “learned about herbal medicine from local doctors, so they saw the usefulness. They then stopped to buy medicine from market” (Dhamabutra 1991: 19).

*Regarding to sanitation problem, the situation got improved. Women started to utilize the waste of dye stuff as firewoods and fertilizers, although they used to throw them around the house. The village roads are “improved. They now have certain place for compost making. The hay and straws no longer leave scattering on the road. It is useful for animal and crop”(Dhamabutra 1991: 19).

*Referring to general health of villagers, their physical condition improved. It was discovered that most of children and women had been suffering from liver parasite. But they had now recovered.

Summary of Community Development

The project was expanding considerably in this period. Various projects on weaving and dyeing as well as on community development were implemented. The size of the group was also becoming larger. This period played a very important role in building up the organization. Supporting NGOs continuously regarded the project as a rural development program and provided quite a few activities for the whole community. Both positive and negative effects started to be shown as a result of the project in this period. According to the reflection raised by women mentioned above, they need to be strengthen in the marketing and management ability. Some of the projects worked on the members very well, but they still need further education.

3.3.3. Sustainable systems development (1991 – 1994)

In May 1991, the project together with members of the women's weaving groups (491 members) managed to establish a business organization called "Panmai Group". It was no longer the Local Weaving Development Project of ATA; it was becoming an independent organization. During this period, the group sought its sustainability, which means to stand on its own feet, after the withdrawal of all the NGOs.

Since the weavers are short of capital and knowledge in running the business organization, a few development NGOs, namely Thai NGO Committee on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development, Foundation of Education for Life and Society and ATA were jointly involved in terms of ownership and management" (Wayang 1995: 67).

It is hoped, however, that the weavers would gradually increase the ratio of their Panmai shares, and eventually become autonomous. There also were several NGOs involving with Panmai in this period, particularly, ICCO (Netherlands in 1991), WELD (Canada on March 1st, 1991-August 31st, 1993), and again ICCO (Netherlands in 1992-1994).

Objectives

1. To make the organization sustainable after the NGOs' withdrawal

Methods

1. Holding annual meetings.

It was basically held once a year in March.

2. Holding workshops, seminars and exhibitions.

- 2.1 They were on natural dye training, mulberry

planting, silkworm raising, leadership program, record keeping, eco-conscious local technique which is already mentioned in '3.2 Natural dye'.

- 2.2 Seminars and meetings were always held all through the project. However, it is noted that some instructors were picked up from the group during this period. Some skillful weavers became instructors and educated their friends. One of the villagers told NGO staff that they prefer to have friends as instructors, since they can ask questions more freely.
3. Setting up their own community
4. Increasing the ratio of budget from 1991 to 1993.
5. Organizing the market system as an enterprise
 - 5.1 In 1993-1994, the project planned to fade out of the area. There was an important discussion between ATA staff and members of Panmai group. They discussed their future plans again and again. Finally, Panmai decided to diversify its activity to other businesses, such as petrol stations, rice-mills, co-operatives, and co-operative shops, in order to economically strengthen its businesses” (Bunjongjit 1995: 108).
6. Having discussions on sustainability
 - 6.1 Panmai became autonomous in December 1994 and separated from all the supporting NGOs. Yet, before they achieved it, they had had serious meetings about sustainability, mentioned in number six above.
7. Setting up the social protection program with three main objectives
 - 7.1 To develop members’ knowledge and capabilities (Wayang 1995: 83).
 - 7.2 To set up social protection schemes to cover members and their families in times of death and sickness, in addition to providing loans and scholarships (Wayang 1995: 83).
 - 7.3 To support members’ communities in times of crisis (Wayang 1995: 83).
8. In 1993, “there were 491 members from 24 villages of 6 districts with an operating budget of 2.6 million baht”(Wayang 1995: 71) as follows:
 - 8 villages in Kaset Wisai district, Roi-et.
 - 3 villages in Pathum Rat district, Roi-et.

1 village in Phon Sai district, Roi-et.

6 villages in Suwannaphum district, Roi-et.

1 village in Rasi Salai district, Srisaket.

5 villages in Tha Tum district, Surin.

A Precursor of Cooperative, Panmai

According to *Weaving for Alternatives!* (1995), “the organization of Panmai structured into four elements, namely 1) board of shareholders, 2) executive committee, 3) honorary advisory members, and 4) staff members” (Wayang 1995: 68). The Board of Shareholders comprises all the weaver groups (24 villages at the moment) and members of Panmai: at the village-level, NGO-level and as interested persons. The comparative change of shareholders is shown in table 2 below. The seven executive Committee members are elected from the shareholders and manage the operations of Panmai. The advisory members are from the NGOs and they provide advice on administrative matters

According to *Weaving for Alternatives!*, the newly- initiated PANMAI projects are: 1) cooperative shop, 2) cooperative rice mill, and 3) gasoline project. They set up cooperative shop for weavings to enable them “smoother transactions and provide higher revenues in favor of villagers” (Wayang 1995: 79).

Furthermore, Panmai provided cooperative rice mill. The villagers’ main occupation is rice farmers and they are keen to run their own mill. They think it “enable them to purchase rice at a guaranteed price from their members and sell their products directly to consumers without going through intermediaries” (Wayang 1995: 79). But after experiencing the drastic price down of rice in one year, they realized the international economy penetrates their lives. They think it is difficult to continue to work on this project.

They also created a gasoline project. For the smooth running of the enterprise, Panmai would need the gasoline for transportation of goods. “Selling gasoline is thus an integral part of the enterprise” (Wayang 1995: 81).

This project has been registered as a company called “Tongkula Petroleum Company”. They prepared for being autonomous as Panmai, setting up these three activities.

Table 2: Ratio of share investment between the villagers and NGOs.

Share	1991	1992	1993
Villagers’	880	1,814	2,657
NGO’s	2,630	5,490	6,039
PANMAI’s	3,510	7,340	8,696
Ratio of share investment	25% : 75%	25% : 75%	31% : 69%

Source: (WAYANG 75, 1995).

Table 2 shows the ratio of shareholders. It is learned that the business and the organization literally shift from NGOs to villagers. In terms of the ratio of share investment between the villagers and NGOs, the 1991/1992 ratio was 25%:75%, while in 1993, it was 31%:65%. ATA was targeting villagers to have at least half of the total shares, but this ratio still has not been achieved. However, the shares were truly shifting from NGOs to villagers.

Summary of Sustainable Systems Development

This is the time of systematic transition from LWDP as rural development project to PANMAI as a business cooperative. Panmai group is a precursor of PANMAI, and all the involving people groped for the way that the organization should take. The group as well as supporting NGOs made adjustments to Panmai group, discussing their sustainability continuously. LWDP, an original form of Panmai, was an integrated development program with a weaving project. Although they are still conscious of community

development, they quit some projects, such as fish raising, installing the rower pump and environmental education. These programs did not work out well. Besides, as they tried to make the organization a business cooperative, PANMAI, they decided to put more emphasis on the business. As mentioned above, they built other activities, and added to PANMAI in order to intensify the business; cooperative shop, cooperative rice mill, and gasoline project.

It is noted that women had become actively involved with the administration of the organization as well as activities in this period. Village women, who used to be students at the seminar, now teach others as instructors. They also discussed their future planning with NGO staff. Recalling that they rarely spoke up at the beginning, it is a great progress with women.

3.3.4 Public Progress (1995 –)

In 1994, LWDP was terminated and Panmai group was registered as PANMAI with capital letters, as a cooperative. Overall goals and objectives of LWDP have been achieved after ten years of operation. Now, a business organization, Panmai Group has become self-reliant in terms of capital and management matters. After PANMAI became autonomous in 1994, ATA involvement with PANMAI has been limited to just an advisory position. Advisors occasionally check their expenditure and sometimes give them advices on the cloth's design and management. ATA staff members know about the price of the cloth, and they can suggest appropriate prices to PANMAI members. PANMAI was celebrated at the contest held by a branch of United Nation, and went over to Europe to show their weaving and dyeing skills. PANMAI activity has become more globalized.

Objectives

1. To make the organization a small public enterprise.

Methods

1. Taking the educational approach on dyeing and weaving
2. Securing a loan fund from the Thai government
3. Starting to deal with some other projects
“Based on the cultural tradition of Northeastern people, they organized ‘pha-pa’ activities to collect funds for village development” (Wayang 1995: 82).
4. Setting up a system of networking to strengthen linkages between members
 - 4.1 ATA staff and PANMAI met to discuss... activities of networking (Wayang 1995: 82).
 - 4.2 Based on the traditional communitarian spirit, “working group was formed to look into the possibility of establishing social protection programme”(Wayang 1995: 83).
5. Winning the “50 years Anniversary Celebration Global Community Development Contest” held by United Nation and received international funding.
6. Participating at the Expo 2000’ held at Hanover in Germany. Women stayed there for a month to give a lecture and show their skills.
7. Strengthening the network with other NGOs around the region.

Present Situation and Their Problems

The record from the latest meeting on June 8th, 2002, shows the present situation and problems of PANMAI as follows.

Table 3: The statement of account between 1998-2001

Description	1998	1999	2000	2001
The Sales of Cloth + 3%(tax)	2,156,216	2,832,760	2,899,344	2,520,207
The number of village involved	17	15	14	11
The number of participants	216	232	198	266
Income per capita	9,982	12,210	14,643	9,474

Source: (PANMAI 2002: 2)

Comparing this table 3 to table 1, it is clear that the activity is getting bigger in size. However, the number of participating village is decreasing during these four years, although the number of participants is increased.

Table 4: The Income of each village

Year	1998	1999	2000	2001	Total (baht)
Phoonpap	429,022	525,214	733,615	432,214	2,120,065
Kangpon	398,717	564,718	602,485	447,661	2,013,581
Honghae	288,154	198,358	205,436	461,090	1,153,038
Songhong	29,488	62,705	-	-	92,193
Chieng-tow	45,197	90,692	128,535	225,175	489,599
Samrong-kaset	40,940	34,755	9,847	-	85,542
Dan	115,734	120,737	97,500	87,607	421,578

Don Sampan	17,769	8,995	39,953	30,532	97,249
Jam A-rong	11,250	-	3,360	-	14,610
Pone-tone	2,702	-	10,712	-	13,414
Ranya	30,167	30,351	25,538	21,479	107,535
Samrongtatoon	4,347	7,041	-	-	11,388
Dan Can	290,370	458,644	469,378	551,669	1,770,061
Dong Yen	120,528	113,645	110,156	57,573	401,902
None Sawang	88,758	226,903	137,455	174,916	628,032
Nong Klang	61,795	108,507	-	-	170,302
Songnoi					
Total (baht)	1,977,479	2,553,807	2,576,513	2,492,460	9,600,259

* There is no information on Songnoi village.

Source: (PANMAI 2002: 2)

As shown in above table, the number of participating village that was 24 in 1994 decreased to 11 in 2002. The villages which left PANMAI are these thirteen villages namely, Samrong-kaset, Samrongtatoon, Pone-tone, Poneyuen, Nongkong, Nongbua, Nongklang, Nongsuay, Dondoo, Baan Kwan, Baannoitaladmuang, Songhong and Jama-rom. It was surprising to know that Songhong village withdrew from PANMAI. It was the first village that ATA implemented LWDP, and it has played an important role as a core village in expansion of Panmai. According to the report of June 8th meeting, losing quite a few villages becomes one of the biggest problems in PANMAI.

The Complaints Those Who Left the Project Mentioned

1. They wanted to get money more quickly.

*They brought up this issue, as it took them for a while to receive money after they supply the products.

2. They proclaimed that they prefer to stay home with the family.

*Members are sometimes asked to go to Bangkok, other villages or even abroad when they have exhibitions, seminars and workshops. Some are pleased to go, but others are not. Furthermore, they often have to go out for the PANMAI meetings, leaving the family at home. They become even busier when they are appointed to be a committee member. Some women did not favor the situation.

3. They have less equipments and skills, but have no access to them, either.

*Members are trying to solve the weakness. They always attempt to provide seminars and training courses to educate members on weaving and dyeing techniques. They think about holding seminars sometimes this year again.

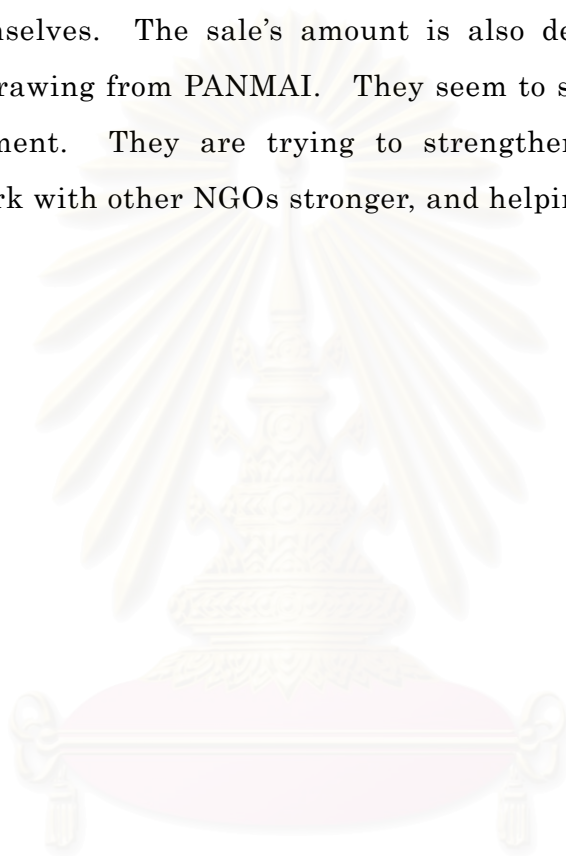
Other Problems Mentioned in the Meeting

1. They cannot control the quality of cloths or their colors.
2. They sometimes find the clothes shrink after washing. They even found some stains on the products.

*Many are aware that the quality of the fabrics they are producing is not good enough in the respect of their softness. They think they need more education on the quality control as well as more experience. The solutions of these problems are still pursued.

Summary of Public Progress

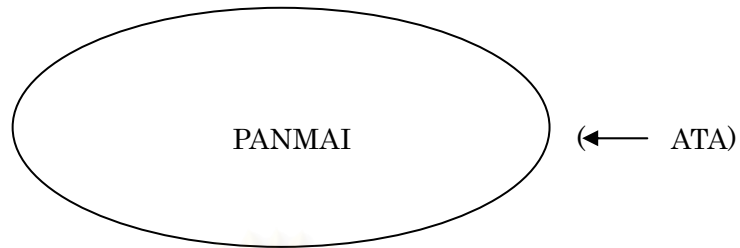
After they became self-reliant, their business went well. PANMAI was widely introduced as the successful project of rural women's development. Village women were invited to foreign countries as well as other cities in Thailand. Yet recently they have been going through the trial period. Although their activities became more broadened, they had to face more problems by themselves. The sale's amount is also decreasing and more villages are withdrawing from PANMAI. They seem to stand at the turning point at the moment. They are trying to strengthen the structure by making the network with other NGOs stronger, and helping each other.



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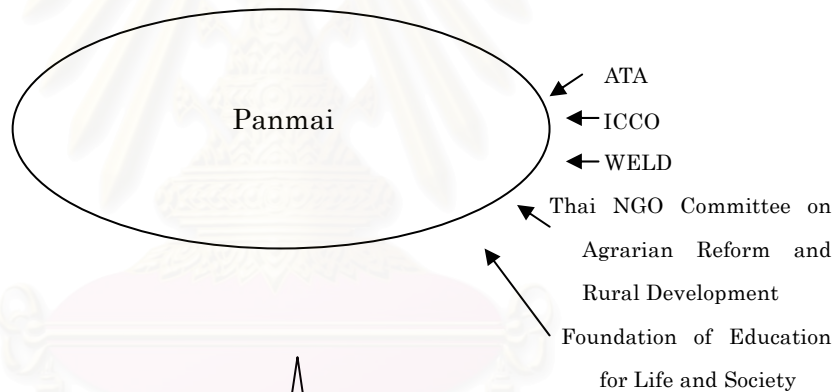
Figure 1: Evolution of PANMAI

Public Progress (1995-2002)

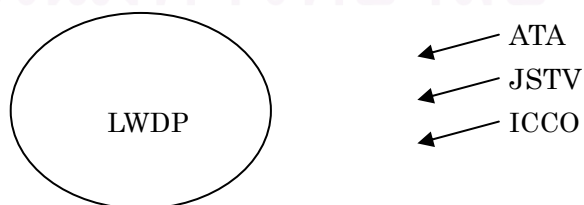


Panmai became independent (Dec. 1994)

Sustainable Systems Development (1991-1994)



Community Development (1985-1990)



Initiation Period (1982-1984)

3.4 The Partnership with Japanese Support Group For Thai Villagers (JSTV)

ATA collaborated with several foreign NGOs on the process, as already mentioned. Among all, a relationship with Japanese Support Group For Thai Villagers, JSTV, a Japanese NGO during both initiation and community development period was the most conspicuous ATA ever had had. As Dr. Surichai Wun'Gaeo who was deeply committed in the activities as a staff member of ATA at the time said, "A partnership with JSTV was historically notable in the activity of ATA", it is inevitable to consider this connection when examining the partnership between foreign NGOs and ATA during LWDP. Moreover, this lesson greatly effected the constructing the structure of PANMAI. The author interviewed Professor Akaishi at the Institute of International Education, Towa University in Japan, who was one of the committee members of JSTV from 1985 to 1988 about the JSTV activities, and Professor Nozaki at Tohoku Gakuin University in Japan, who was closely involved in the activity especially in Sendai from 1986-1993. In addition, the followings are based on newsletters, a leaflet and other resources published by JSTV as well.

JSTV was at first founded on July of 1984 as "A Japanese Support Group For Thai Villagers". It was also named as "An Association of 500 People" in Japanese, which stood for the society supported by 500 people. JSTV aimed to have 500 people as members with 10,000 yen deposit per person, which was going to bring the group 5 million yen for the capital fund. The organization was originally started by a dyeing craftsman, Mr. Morimoto. He started thinking about helping rural women, utilizing his dyeing technique, when he became involved Duang Prateep foundation, which handled the problems of the Klongtoey slum. He formed a small group, talked to a friend of his, Dr. Surichai Wun'Gaeo, and was introduced to ATA. Together with Morimoto, ATA planned LWDP and then made a four-year contract with JSTV on December of 1984. The main personnel of JSTV at the beginning was Mr. Morimoto, who stayed in Thailand and worked at the

field with ATA staff, Mr. Ken Arimitsu, who was in charge of JSTV in Japan, and Ms. Junko Ichimura, who supported Mr. Arimitsu in Japan. The objectives of the project by JSTV were

- 1) To improve and develop traditional weaving techniques by integrating new techniques so as to raise the standard of the products
- 2) To promote weaving as a supplementary occupation
- 3) To develop the rich potential of rural women. Most of the objectives overlap with the ones by ATA (JSTV September 1989: 14).

However, according to Ms. Ichimura, “JSTV was not interested in ATA and its LWDP project, but in the Mudmee cloth the rural women were going to make and interested in a cultural exchange with villagers” (JSTV September 1989: 17) from the beginning. Looking at the brochure of JSTV, they call the project “Madmee Project”, whereas ATA regarded it as “Local Weaving Development Project”. ATA placed the weaving project as a part of development program. Moreover, the brochure of JSTV states the background of the project as follows.

Recently Japanese government has carried out Official Development Aid, ODA, to some developing countries in the world. Above all Thailand is one of the main countries Japan has invested in. However it is doubtful if this kind of development aid builds “real” relationships with people in Asia such as knowing each other or exchanging each culture.... Now, we believe we need another channel to get in touch with village people in person. Our purpose has not been aid which is only given to Thailand, one-way relationship, but popular exchange which we can communicate with each other. “The Mudmee Project” is going to connect two groups of people through the medium of Mudmee cloth. (JSTV n.d.)

Since the project was implemented in 1985, the JSTV study group had been to Songhong village four times until 1986. They not only had a cultural exchange with villagers but gave some advice on weaving and dyeing with specific instructions, and they were satisfied with this relationship. However, ATA claimed it should not be good for the project that JSTV member visit the village so often. They said, "it is getting a little burden on us to prepare for JSTV's visit, since it is too often. Moreover, members or even non-members sometimes just show up at the village without any prior notification, which becomes a barrier to smooth proceedings of the project. We really appreciate your support and advice on the techniques, but we request you to limit your visit a couple of times in a year" (JSTV September 1989: 17). Besides, the misunderstanding among Mr. Morimoto in Bangkok, JSTV committee members in Tokyo and ATA staff members were getting apparent. Mr. Morimoto finally resigned from JSTV on December of 1985. At the beginning of 1986, ATA sent the yearly project planning of LWDP to JSTV. The schedule said they were going to deal with rural development collectively, focusing on weaving and dyeing. In late 1986, after the project was half finished, JSTV received the mid-term evaluation from ATA which is done by a third institution. The assessment was very severe for the project. Some staff members of JSTV insisted ATA should rebuild the plan. While others, working with villagers, insisted that they should be more patient with ATA since the project were showing a positive effect slightly and it probably took time for the result to come up more evidently. At the same time, in the plan of following year, 1987, ATA allocated their budget to other rural development programs in participating villages such as fishing and organizing of villagers. However some of the JSTV members strongly objected to this idea, insisting that they intended to help not rural development but the weaving project. They wanted to invest in what they could get some benefit out of in return. Both organizations did not compromise with the idea. ATA decided to give up the partnership with JSTV, shortening the project up to 1987, although it started as a four-year project until 1988 at the beginning. This did not signify any conflict or

discord. It only meant that both groups had their own ideas and their purpose had turned to different directions.

According to Professor Akaishi in the interview, the main reasons this relationship didn't work out well were 1) misunderstandings between staff, and 2) misconceptions about the project between two organizations. He mentioned Mr. Morimoto, who had been dealing directly with the villagers as a Bangkok staff, did not get along with Thai staff from ATA. Mr. Morimoto, himself, wrote about this misunderstanding in a magazine.

On the last day of the research for six month (at Roi-et), Ms. Sap and I were sitting at the bus station to go back to Bangkok. We were both very tired and sat still because of the hard work and the hot weather. Then Sap started to talk in a small voice. She said, "I was not happy at all when I was asked to help you by Dr. Surichai, because I was not sure how much I could trust you. To tell the truth, I doubted your enthusiasm for the project. Besides, I was reluctant to work with foreigners when we tackled our own problems." To be honest, I am aware that she has had those feelings for me. (Morimoto 1984: 44).

Furthermore, Professor Akaishi pointed out other personal misunderstandings between these two people, such as the perception of their statuses at that moment and different opinions about the ATA's autonomy to use the budget. Sap claimed that she should be the one in charge of the project at the field. She also complained why all the money had to go to JSTV office for approval first and then come to ATA. All these problems finally led Morimoto to withdraw from the program in 1985 as mentioned earlier.

As for the misconceptions about the project between the organizations, JSTV had problems with ATA. Yet they also had some trouble within the group. Professor Akaishi said that the way JSTV dealt

with ATA was different from other foreign NGOs. Most of the time foreign NGOs from western countries work together with the main group only in the planning process. Once they made a contract and started the program, they would leave everything to the main group and would only deal with the activity when they were asked to. The other two NGOs ATA collaborated with ICCO and WELD accordingly, while JSTV requested ATA to report on the procedure every month and tried to give their hands too often. ATA felt it was hard to deal with JSTV. But Professor Akaishi also mentioned that the activity policy of ATA was not fully settled at this time. As it is a characteristic of NGOs that they try to fix their course of action as they practice, it was natural for ATA to grope for the best way in their operation. Yet JSTV did not understand the situation and they requested ATA to explain the policy and its effect at least once a month. All these troubles also divided JSTV itself. Some of the JSTV members started to think they should respect ATA more and leave the business to them, while others maintained that their purpose is not assisting the rural development, but involving with villagers through mudmee. Professor Nozaki said their assertion that they do not support the activities regarding to the community development is understandable in a sense, as JSTV was a small institution and their capacity of investment was limited. This conflict became more obvious, which divided JSTV into two different groups; those who thought it best to cease from involvement with ATA and have businesses directly with villagers, and, those who insisted in keeping the relationship with ATA as a medium of villagers and have more personal exchange with village women. In summer of 1987, the ones who tried to cut off the connection with ATA were defeated at the last meeting. Then the rest formed a renew organization.

The relationship between JSTV and ATA officially ended when the project ended in December of 1987. However JSTV still kept in touch with Panmai and JSTV helped them both as a customer and a friend. After 1988, the project's main office was moved to Sendai. There were three staff

members in Sendai who joined the activity in 1984 and the group in Sendai was becoming very active while the one in Tokyo encountered some administration problems. From 1988 to 1992, until the office moved back to Tokyo again, the activities were mainly focused on cultural exchange. JSTV in Sendai invited Panmai staff and some Thai village women to Sendai a couple of times. They stayed in Japan for a week or for forty days at the longest. They explained their activity and the villages they come from in front of the ordinary citizens in Sendai and Tokyo. It seemed effective for Thai women themselves to talk about the project in order to fulfill the purpose of letting Japanese people know about the activities. Village women were in return invited to some Japanese rural villages and there they learned about the local methods of sericulture, organic farming as well as cooperative administration. One of the staff members who came to Japan said in the interview as followings.

Q: You have seen and experienced a lot about Japan and Japanese farming. What did you learn from your experience?

A: ...As for the weavings and dyeing, I learned some. If we keep holding on to the same design, the customers get tired of it. The Japanese sericulture is different from the one in my country, but I learned a lot in administration particularly the way to run a cooperative. The visit taught me that they also took time to utilize their organic farming, applying the condition of surrounding soil. As for the marketing, I got to know that we need numerous kinds of products for the customer to choose from. I felt that we needed to have more experience before making the business a cooperative, Panmai (JSTV September 1989: 19).

Through the experience, village women learned a lot. During this period, JSTV often had exhibitions and direct sales in Sendai. They worked on public relations strategies to publicize their activities and they made a great

success on their sales. They once earned as much as US\$1,6000 in only three days, which became the main source of support for PANMAI. Professor Nozaki became president of the group in 1991. The group had received International Voluntary Postal Savings for two years in the following year. The funding was from International Voluntary Postal Savings Promotion Association of Japan, whose money was collected through interests of the postal saving accounts of participants in the program. The group used the fund to donate water pots, sewing machines and weaving tools to some villages. They picked up the products made in Thailand, so that villagers did not have many problems to utilize them. They suggested a cultural exchange program with the women's weaving groups in Laos and offered financial supports to these activities. However, there was also a gap of ideas between the group in Sendai and the one in Tokyo. Some staff members in Tokyo criticized that Sendai group focused on social activity rather than weaving. In 1993, Professor Nozaki resigned from his position as the president and in 1994 the office again moved back to Tokyo.

At present the JSTV is headed by Ms. Ichimura, who was one of the committee members when the JSTV was founded. The group concentrates on business. Although some JSTV staff occasionally go to Kaset Wisai to order the fabric, they do not have any cultural exchange nor do they invite village women to Japan any more. But they sometimes help PANMAI, when they are asked to. In 1995 when PANMAI published the book about their activity, *Weaving for Alternatives!*, JSTV offered financial support.

3.5 A Lesson from the Partnership with JSTV

Although the partnership with JSTV only lasted for a couple of years, it significantly influenced ATA and its activities. Since JSTV involvement was during initiation period and community development of LDWP, interactions with JSTV had an affect on laying a firm foundation for the project.

First, Mr. Morimoto, one of the founders of JSTV, was the person responsible for connecting the natural dye with LDWP. Now it becomes a main aspect of LWDP. He was a professional dyeing craftsman, interested in the volunteer work in Thailand, who was impressed and influenced by Ms. Prateep's activities in the slums of Bangkok. Thinking about what he could do himself, he connected two areas he was interested and involved in: weaving and rural development. He talked about his idea to Dr. Surichai and was introduced to ATA and LWDP. He joined in the project at initiation period when ATA was trying to lay a foundation of a project. They had had some problems on chemical dyeing and had been looking for the alternative way at the time. Morimoto suggested the natural dye, and instructed the technique. It can be said that Morimoto contributed a lot on building up the basis of the project. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Japanese fabric artist, Watanabe was also invited by JSTV to some of the participating villages after Morimoto left the organization. Together with these foreign instructors, the project developed the dyeing skill, using the natural resources in the village. Now natural dye becomes one of the main activities of PANMAI.

Secondarily, as Professor Akaishi mentioned in the interview, the action plan for LWDP by ATA was not adequately prepared at the beginning. It is a characteristic of NGOs that they respond to the voices of people concerned accordingly. However, even so, JSTV staff felt the plan is too rough, which brought frequent questions about the project. By explaining and discussing with JSTV, LWDP by ATA gradually became solid and clear.

Thirdly, PANMAI got a share in the Japanese member after involving with JSTV. PANMAI staff said in the interview as much as 90% of foreign trade was taken by Japan. Although JSTV withdrew from LWDP, they still stay in touch with PANMAI in terms of business.

As mentioned chapter two, one of the NGO's roles is to mediate with the local people. As "it is mostly smaller in size and holds common values as a group, the NGO easily corresponds to local need"(Korten 1990: 99). Their positive feature is flexibly adjusting to the surrounding situation. But

the condition they have to adopt does not only come out of the target locals but of the other supporting NGOs. In the case of PANMAI, JSTV frequently asked ATA to sharpen their action plan and to show them. As already mentioned above, among other supporting NGOs, ATA had the hardest time with JSTV, since they were the most demanding. Both organizations conceded with each other, and adapted one another's opinion. Therefore, LWDP could be taken as a fruit of all the supporting NGOs' contribution. The present JSTV is different from the one two decades ago. It is now regarded more as a business partner than a supporter. As Dr. Surichai said, "though what ATA had gone through during a partnership with JSTV for the LWDP does not seem to remain any more, the idea we got from the experiences is still felt in the policy," LWDP is not only an ATA's project but the fruit of collaboration with other NGOs.

3.6 A Summary of the PANMAI Evolution

The LWDP started as rural development project as mentioned earlier. It aimed to solve the migration problem. A large number of men migrated, and only women and children are left at home. The supporting NGOs and ATA thought it would be beneficial for women to be educated with weaving technique and to get a supplementary income. ATA, at the same time, tried to provide the other community development program for the village, so that men could earn some money, and remained at the village.

In the process of project evolution, the LWDP had been supported by several foreign NGOs. The situation is shown in Table 1. Apparently, however, quantity of each NGO's involvement varies from period to period. As already discussed, some NGOs, such as JSTV, were deeply involved with the management policy, but others supported the project only financially.

In initiation period (1982-1985), a couple of NGOs helped ATA to set up LWDP. A local NGO, Primary Health Care for Community of Rasrisalai Hospital at first requested that ATA initiate a project for villagers in the

region and improve their weaving technique and farming skills. JSTV suggested the use of natural dye instead of chemical dye, which now featured the program.

In community development period (1986-1990), three NGOs, particularly ATA, JSTV and ICCO supported the activities. This is the massive era of the project. Various activities were experimented and implemented, and more villages started to participate in the project. Since ATA regarded the project as a community development program, they carried out some activities for the community, such as fish raising in the public pond, installing rower pump and education of the water management techniques. As mentioned earlier, ATA had disagreement with a Japanese collaborating NGO, JSTV, at this point. The encounter with JSTV, however, brought ATA a great opportunity to review the project, because the action plan of LWDP was not completely prepared during that period. The venture became more solid and clearer by confronting with JSTV. It is the characteristics of NGO that some organizations, which hold different opinions, create something new by meeting and jostling with each other. Therefore it can be said that Panmai is not only the union constructed by village women but also made by ATA and supporting NGOs. Both positive and negative effects started to be shown as the results of the project. Generally speaking, the project began to work out smoothly as an organization. Thus the basis of the organization was more or less built in this period.

Sustainable systems development (1991-1994) was the era when the group adjusted its activities to prepare for their autonomy. Although they were still aware of the needs of community development, they abandoned some programs that did not work out as they had intended. ATA decided to put more emphasis on the business and tried to set up a cooperative shop. Together with it, rice mill and gasoline project were put up in order to intensify its business. As mentioned before, they organized the administration structure by setting up 1) board of shareholders, 2) executive committee, 3) honorary advisory members, and 4) staff members. To help Panmai activities, all the supporting NGOs prepared to take back from the

project little by little. They also aimed at the shifting of the ratio of share investment from supporting organizations' to Panmai's and villagers'. In 1994, Panmai became a self-governing organization and was registered as a cooperative. From this time on, ATA would be situated in the advisory position. It is also noted that the involvement of women themselves became more obvious from this period, as the group became more solid by being more organized. Instructors for the workshop used to come from supporting NGOs. But after 1991, some skilled village women were chosen to be instructors and they started to teach the techniques to other friends

Public progress (1995-) is the phase the PANMAI activities became more universal. After becoming independent, PANMAI was widely introduced abroad as a successful project of rural women's development. Some of the village women were invited to foreign countries and asked to demonstrate their weaving skills. Moreover their activities were awarded at the funding contest held by United Nation. However, at a same time their business work has been going through some difficulties. Recently, especially after the economic crisis of Thailand in 1997, the group income was stagnated and would not rise. More and more villages are gradually withdrawing from the organization because 1) they can't get the cash soon enough, 2) they feel uncomfortable to leave the family alone since they have to spend too much of their time for the activities, and 3) they have complaints about the inconveniences of the activities, such that they have less equipment and skills. Village women are trying to intensify the bond of network with other relating NGOs as one of the solutions right now. By doing so, they believe, they can compensate weaknesses and fill the needs of one another. They are now standing at the turning point.

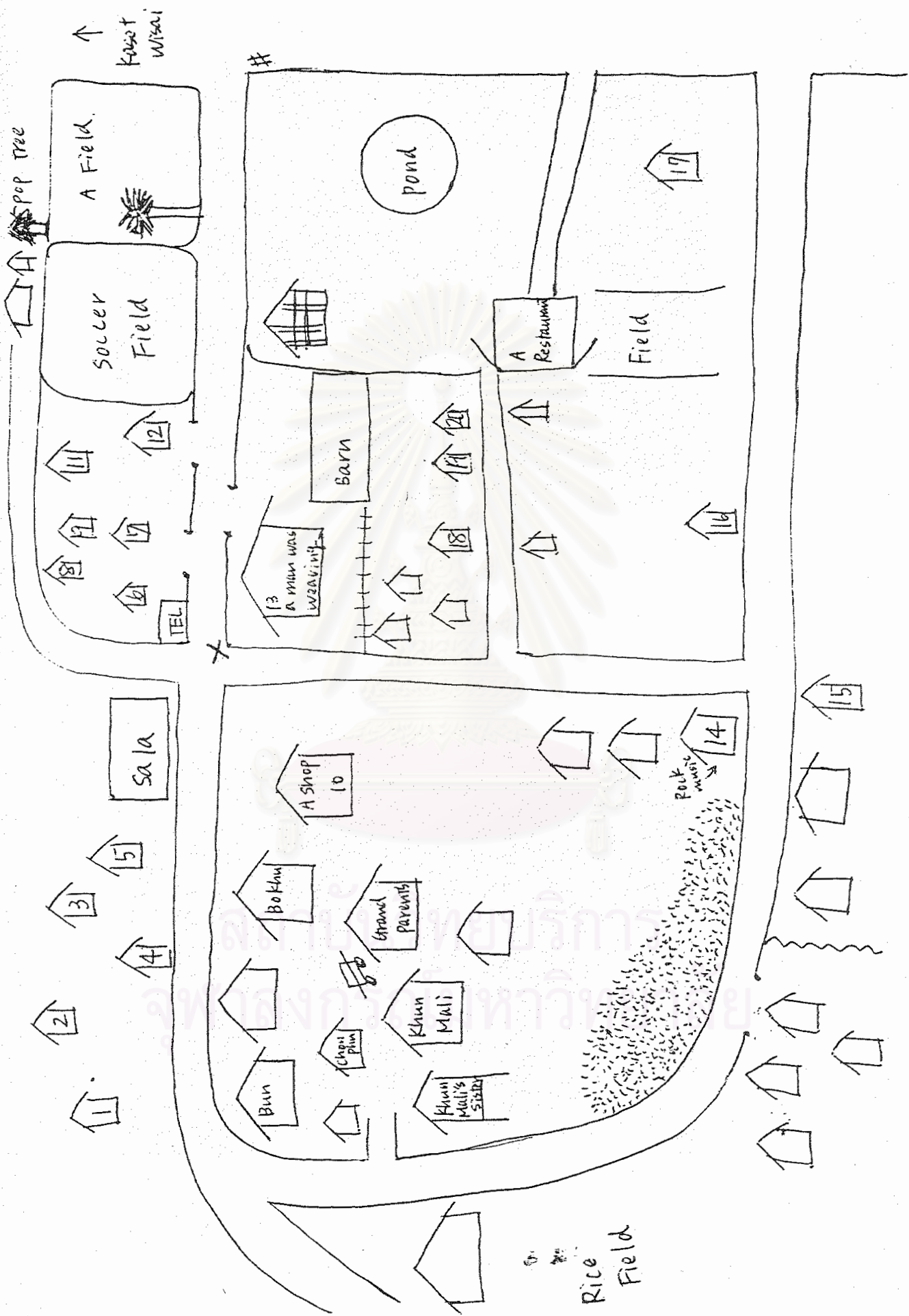
Map 1

Provinces of Northeast Thailand



สถาบันวิทยบริการ
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

Map 2 "phoonpap village"





Picture 1: At the village entrance.
(Looking from # point of the map, taken by author)



Picture 2: Main road of the village and a Sala.
(Looking from X point of the map, taken by author)

3.7 The Phoonpap Village and Its Problems

Information was obtained in Baan Phoonpap moo 8, one village in Amphur Kaset Wisai, Roi-et (See map 1). Phoonpap village is located a little west of Kaset Wisai. The village is about 450 kilometers northeast of Bangkok. It is remote, as is often the case with small villages in Thailand, and information about the village could hardly be obtained even in the Thai language. In order to arrange for transportation from Kaset Wisai to the village, which is about an hour's drive, we had to ask those who came from the place. The information was not enough, though. The village was small, about one square kilometer, and the road from Kaset Wisai is not paved (See map 2). There are over 50 households and 290 people in the village, and their local language is Khmer. They have access to neither newspaper nor telephone, and electricity was introduced about ten years ago. Before then, they had been relying on kerosene lamps. There is no library in the village. Villagers can only get information through TV or radio, and even those facilities came to the village only a couple of years ago. Moreover, transportation is not well provided. There is only one bus in the morning, which connects Kaset Wisai and all the other villages around that area. Most people work on rice farms for a living but their lives are tough.

Through the interview with the village chief, the community structure and village problems became clear. The village committee is the center of the community and there are other small elected administrative groups such as Or Bor Tor (tambon council) and volunteer group such as Or Sor Mor (village health volunteer) to take care of local problems systematically.

Or Bor Tor, Village Council, "is an administration organization established by the state under a provincial administration organization. It is not a local government unit and has, its objective, to promote local public participation in self government" (Suvanamongkol 1986: 3). The local administrative system was originally initiated by Field Marshal P. Phulsonggram, the then Prime Minister in 1957. He and the Interior

Minister visited the United States and some European countries, and learned the local administration of those countries. This experience struck them as an appropriate response to local needs, whereas the government at the present tended to follow the needs of central administration. In 1956, “the Tambon Administration Regulation Act was enacted and established Tambon Administration organization as an organ of local administration” (Suvanamongkol 1986: 4). Tambon Council is expected to perform on numerous important problems and obstacles in the village level such as “personnel, social values, coordination problems between the Tambon Committee and the Tambon Council and complicated rules and procedure” (Suvanamongkol 1986: 4).

Or Sor Mor is a world wide organization, which is translated into Village Health Volunteers (VHVs), who were “trained to undertake all services including treatment of minor illnesses” (Nondasuta 12: 1988), or Village Health Communicators (VHCs), who were “responsible for health information dissemination particularly in health education and transmission of information in case of communicable diseases or epidemics” (Nondasuta 1988: 12), in English, was set up in Thailand in order to implement the primary health care in the rural region. Primary Health Care (PHC) started in 1978 with the Alma Ata Conference in Kazafstan held by WHO and UNICEF. The objective of PHC suggested that all the essential health care attending to the condition of every community should be offered and preserved through peoples’ participation. PHC required people to participate in the program and attain their health themselves. However, according to *The Realization of Primary Health Care in Thailand* edited by Dr. Amorn Nondasuta, “Primary Health Care concept and principle were not new to Thailand. Health development activities based on people participation had long been taking place in rural Thai communities” (Nondasuta 1988: 9). Since the people in rural areas and the urban poor had little access to the health services, private medicine practitioner especially in home deliveries such as traditional birth attendants had played a significant role for a long time” (Nondasuta 1988: 9). The responsibility of

VHCs/VHVs include the eight elements according to the PHC idea; education concerning prevailing health problems and the methods of preventing and controlling them, promotion of food supply and proper nutrition, maternal and child health care, including family planning, adequacy of safe water supply and basic sanitation, immunization against major infectious diseases, appropriate treatment of common diseases and injuries, and provision of essential basic household drugs for the community. The criteria for selection of VHCs/VHVs are that they must “be able to read and write, live and work in the village, be interested in health matters, and be willing to help his/her fellow villagers without receiving any remuneration from the government” (Nondasuta 1988: 55). The selection should be done very carefully because their task is highly responsible in the community. When problems arise, each group always tackles them with the chief of the village.

Panmai activities are considered as those of the community groups, but are involved more with business. The committee aims to solve various problems, even personal matters such as marital affairs. The main problem they have right now is poverty. Water management and a paved road from the town are needed right now. In 1998 they encountered severe droughts. As a result there was no water for the rice field and the chief of the village had to go to big cities with other committee members in order to purchase a water pump.

Under the Thai Rak Thai government’s “One Village, One Million Baht” program, in which each district is entitled to receive one hundred thousand baht and use the money for the community development, this village will tackle the project of developing water management, since they urgently need it. Or Bor Tor is the group taking care of this project. The other group, Or Sor Mor, is mainly in charge of villagers’ health problems. The group was at first started by government request a long time ago before the village had been separated from the other ones. Yet, the former village was so big that the members could not do a satisfactory job, since there were not enough members for some areas and too many for others. The group reorganized after the separation of the villages. Therefore its activities

became more effective and active. The group consists of eleven village women, and one job is taking the sick to the medical clinic nearby. Once a pregnant woman gave birth on the way, and the Or Sor Mor members helped her to deliver the baby in the car. In the village, it is always a big problem to terminate bugs, especially mosquitoes, which transmit numerous diseases. Therefore another responsibility they are in charge of is the management of the chemical for the extermination of these bugs. By dividing the routine work, such as cleaning and checking the village water in order not to breed mosquitoes and to prevent any major disease, they also systematically keep the village clean.

As for the health condition of the villagers, a doctor comes to the village only once a month, but the villagers need medical attention or medical care more often. Visiting doctors occasionally come to these remote places, but people complain that these doctors tend to display an arrogant attitude and sometimes treat them badly. Therefore villagers prefer to go to see the doctor in Kaset Wisai.

In terms of education, opportunities are not fully provided to the students around this area. They can get a primary education of 9 years, but they have to leave home if they want to further their education. Typical village women stay in the village after finishing 9th grade, help their family work and get married to village men at around the age of 20. Most children said they would like to remain in the village when they grow up (From the interview of fifteen children in Phoonpap village, 2001).

Under one of the Thai Rak Thai government main policies of “One Tambon One Product”, in which the government tries to develop each district by promoting particular products in the region, the villagers try to promote silk as theirs. The chief of the village thinks the policy is good for the village. He mentioned that the women’s weaving group works well in this village. He metaphorically described men in the village as being like buffalos, without self-discipline, and women as being like cows, with self-discipline. When both of them meet on the street, buffalos -like men- are not sure which way to go, but cows -like women- know the way out.

According to the village chief, it is easier for women to form themselves into groups than for men, since women are more cooperative; this is one of the reasons that women in this village participate in and manage some activities more easily.

The weaving skill is something traditionally passed down from mothers to daughters. The daughters learned the skills by watching what their mothers do everyday. Their skills are amazing; if they have 10 days, they can make one beautiful piece of cloth. However, through the research, it was concluded that men now actively help their wives weave or reel silk threads or even do the housework. This is because this weaving activity can make money and help the family. In the in-depth interview, some men in the village said they don't care if it is woman's job or not anymore. They think it is natural to help women when they have time and can do it. During the research, the researcher actually witnessed some husbands help their wives reel thread. Though it is too difficult for husbands to weave, they can help their wives to reel when they have the time. Some women said their husbands don't help weaving, but they used their carpentry skills to make weaving tools and implements out of wood for their wives. When the interviewer went to one house, a 12-year-old boy was seen helping his mother reel the silk thread. He did it well. He often helps his mother and he enjoys the activity very much. Another boy was helping his mother dye the silk thread when the author went to his house for an interview. He also helps his mother occasionally. These facts show that the weaving activity has really penetrated the village and become an activity participated by the entire community now regardless of gender.



**Picture 3: A boy helping his mother dye the silk thread.
(taken by author)**

3.8 The History of the Village and Its Involvement with LWDP, Panmai and PANMAI.

The village was separated from neighboring village and became autonomous quite recently. There are no written documents describing the village's history. Hence the information has only been obtained through interviews with villagers. Nobody has any clear idea of the origin of village, but the chief of the village assumes that the village is not less than eighty years old since there is a seventy-year old man who was born there. One of the oldest men in the village said there were only several households in the area when he first moved to the village in 1973. He came to the area because he could not build his own house where he used to live. In those days they did not have enough food. Their main form of livelihood was rice farming, but the crop was very small. They spent more time on the field but could cultivate less, using cattle or water buffalo, since the facilities they now have were not available then. The crops depended more on the climate,

as they got little when it rained little, whereas now the problem can be managed using water pumps. Thus the harvest was just adequate for their own expenses at the time. They only ate what they got. A monetary system did not exist in the village, and they did not transact with other villagers for the production of goods such as rice, vegetables, fish or weavings. They just produced enough for their own family. Gathering food was the main job for village men, while women stayed home and took care of children, did the housework, looked after cattle or water buffaloes, and dealt with the community chores. Before the 1980s, the area did not develop much. There was nothing, not even a tree, between the village and Kaset Wisai, which is about twenty kilometers apart, such that villagers could see Kaset Wisai from the village. This area is called “Tung Kulaa Ronghai”, the weeping prairie, since “people would have no water on the way to the city, which made them cry” (Interview with village chief, 2001). There was only a narrow alley between the two places, which was only wide enough to allow one person to walk at a time. Dhamabutra also described it in her evaluation that “these area drought stricken, less rain (some areas, no rain for seven years continuity), less water and poor soils, and the climate is also very poor” (Dhamabutra 1991: 2).

The village started to become large in size in the 1980s. When the old man aforementioned moved into the village in 1973, only four households could be seen. Yet, in a decade, more people, especially the young, came into the village gradually. In the 1980s they started to have families, which sharply increase the number of village members. Since the quality of soil in this area is very poor, nothing like fruit trees could grow there at the time. At first some tried to plant Eucalyptus, which grows without much water, and this worked out well. Then they continued to plant other kinds. Now they have numerous sorts of trees in and around the village. In 1988 Phoonpap village was separated from the neighboring Pontane village, since these two villages stood too far to be governed as one village, and Phoonpap village had become large enough to be independent by that time. Mr. Ploy

Konsudee, who is the present village chief, became the first one village chief in that year and the village organized the community system on their own.

By 1989 the number of households of this village grew to be thirty five. That was also the year when this village joined the weaving project implemented by ATA. ATA asked the district office to suggest some villages that might be interested in the program and the office mentioned a couple of villages. Phoonpap village was not ATA's first choice. The village chief, however, showed a strong interest in the project, while the others did not. This is how they started becoming involved with the project. However, the program was not accepted favorably from the beginning by the villagers. Only eleven women joined the project, since some of the village women were skeptical about being able to work well with other women. They were fearful that conflict would arise among weavers. However, once they saw the members earn an extra income, and being able to work together happily, more people joined the group. The number of members rapidly grew to be 44 in the following year. When the women first started participating in the project, they had so many other things to do, such as taking care of the children or doing housework, and they could not make any decisions, since they were not used to doing so. Therefore, the village chief worked with them and helped them a great deal for the first couple of years. He said they also needed someone to manage the group in the beginning. He accompanied the village women everywhere when they went to other towns for seminars or workshops.

Together with this weaving project, ATA tried to support farming. ATA wanted to strengthen the villagers' farming skills so as to prevent the men from migrating to other cities, while women would earn supplemental income with their weavings. Seminars or workshops on farming were sometimes held so as to educate villagers for the technique of cattle breeding, vegetable growing and fish farming. They went to Roi-et, Surin, Sri Saket and Khon Khen for study tours two or three times a month. Since the cattle were very expensive then, only the financially better off could possess them. But after the workshop, quite a few villagers started to keep cattle as a

property, borrowing some money to purchase them. One lady, who would often go on the tours, said that, nevertheless, these farming studies did not work out well since the water and soil in this region were not conducive to farming.

The major problems at that moment concerned the quality of the weaving products. ATA set a strict standard for the products in order to maintain the quality. But the village women did not understand why some of the products were priced higher, while others were not. The village chief had to explain to them on behalf of the committee because the board member could not manage those grumbles. He also helped them with calculation, since they did not know how to do so at first. After a couple of years, village women started to conduct the activity by themselves. Panmai took some of the village women on visits to some foreign countries, such as India in 1992 or Laos in 1991, for seminars or workshops. One old woman who went to those countries with Panmai said that it was an eye-opening experience to see Indian women, who were struggling in harsher conditions, do an amazing job in the same sort of activity as Panmai. She said she learned a lot from them. This experience gave them the power to deal with their problems. After coming back from India, village women established a sort of a saving banking system, Klum Om-sap, as a solution to the loan problem with Panmai they had had. They pooled their money to create a fund. Those who had financial difficulties could borrow some money from the fund and return it within a year. They spend the money on farming nowadays, too. At first it was a system created for weaving women, but then it became one for a village.

In 1998 they had the least rainfall within the last 50 years. It did not rain at all all year around and there was no water in the rice field. Water is the most essential resource for farming, and water shortage is the matter of life or death for them. As one of the PANMAI's environmental projects, people from the village council went everywhere, such as Khon Kaen or Udon Thani province, in order to look for a water pump. Without it, they could not have harvested anything. The search even took some of them

to Bangkok. They finally got one and set it in the rice field. Thanks to the pump, they could achieve 30% of regular harvest.

The chief of the village said that Phoonpap village was one of the most successful villages of PANMAI, and that other villages started to join the project after witnessing the success of Phoonpap village. He also thinks all the experiences that the village women went through were very worthwhile for them. They learned how to deal with the obstacles they met and also how to read and write, which most of them were not capable of before PANMAI. The number of households in the village has grown to be 50 now. Looking back on the history, the village chief thanked the cooperation of villagers. He said that, without it, the village could not have developed successfully.

However the project has also yielded some negative effects as well. Several villagers mentioned that they have become more materialistic after having become involved in Panmai and PANMAI. One woman said that people used to work together and help each other. Yet now they tend to place more value on money, and the bond between villagers has been weakened. Before, when they had any festive occasion or ceremony, they prepared items such as rice cakes wrapped with banana leaves together, but now they celebrate only within their immediate family. The author experienced one of the events while staying at the village and saw the situation. It was a ritual ceremony for a 70-year-old grandmother, with people praying for her quick recovery from the sickness. It was quite a big ceremony based on a Khmer tradition. The author heard it had been a long time since they last held this kind of ceremony. Quite a number of few villagers gathered with some offerings. However, some of the villagers also told the author that even more people would have come to pray if it had been a decade ago. They mentioned that only the relatives and people concerned with the family showed up for the ceremony and lamented the fact that villagers have become more calculating. The author also witnessed in the village that some children always carry an amount of small change to buy sweets whenever they feel like it, which, several women said, had not been

common before. The chief of the village censured one old man in the village for his possession of quite a large estate all by himself. The village chief said people used to share the land, not possessing a large part individually. They would often share the property, especially when someone was in a difficulty. He complained to villagers that they have come to place more value on monetary gains.

Though they now earn more money through weavings, their main industry, farming, has not made any progress. Together with the weaving project, supporting NGOs planned to educate villagers about the technique of growing vegetables and raising cows, and the knowledge of farming. But those projects didn't work out well, since the soil and the water in this area are not suitable for farming. As the village chief said in the interview, the villagers are still suffering from poverty because their main industry has not made any progress. While the weaving project may have been a great success, at the same time it is just a supplemental industry.

3.9 In-depth Interviews with Village Women

The researcher interviewed as many as 20 village women, as well as the village nurse, members of the village council and the village chief. The purpose of the first nine questions is to build a basic idea about the village women. Some of the questions are based on Caroline O.N. Moser's concept in "Strategic Gender Needs", already discussed in chapter 2.

Question 7 is particularly significant. The author tried to get some ideas on Moser's criteria of strategic gender needs, namely "the abolition of the sexual division of labor", and "the alleviation of the burden of domestic labor and childcare" by asking village women question 7. Furthermore in order to get some images on the "establishment of political equality", question 7 was also profitable. As already discussed in chapter 2, the idea of "political" here is stretched to the household sphere. She predicted if the power relation between men and women became more equalized, wives can

ask their husbands for help or husbands voluntarily start helping their wives with housework. Thus the author thought question 7 related to the establishment of political equality. After the inquiry, the author also had a chat with them. She had them talk more about their burden with housework and the support, or lack of, from their husbands.

Questions 5 and 6 are supplementary questions to question 7. As already defined, empowerment is the key factor to bring about the change. If the women feel they changed positively, they can be more confident with themselves. Confidence will lead to empowerment. If the relationship between women develops better, they can exchange the knowledge and ideas between themselves as weavers. It will broaden their perspectives and help them make autonomous decisions. Thus question 5 and 6 will give a more detailed idea of women's situation, supplementing question 7.

Beyond the listed inquiries, she also asked the village women more detailed questions in the extended conversation. These included the expected roles of women in the village, obstacles they encountered during the project, and improvements they made regarding weaving technique and skills. The follow is a list of nine questions the author asked in sequential order.

1. Age
2. Birth place
3. Educational background
4. Marital status
5. If they feel they had changed after having been involved in Panmai.
6. If the relationship between women changed after involving in Panmai and PANMAI.
7. If their husbands are helpful.
8. If PANMAI activity changed after the economic crisis in 1997.
9. What they think of NGOs.

By asking these questions, the following answers were obtained.

1. Age

20s	30s	40s	50s	60s	older
3	6	8	1	2	...

2. Birth Place

Phoonpap village	Other places	Unidentified
9	2*	9

* Specifically Nakorn-Phanom, Thayuak or Pontane.

3. Educational background

Primary 4	Primary 6	Higher	Unidentified
7	9	2*	2

* The younger they are, the higher education they have.

4. Marital status. All is married

5. If they changed after having been involved in PANMAI?

Everyone answered, Yes.

* They specifically mentioned that their income had been raised and they now had employment. Some said that they now earn 600-700 baht more than they used to.

* Others mentioned they could afford snacks and sweets for their children now.

6. If the relationship between women changed after involving in Panmai and PANMAI?

Everyone said, "It became better."

* They got more friends even in different villages.

* They became more supportive of each other.

7. If your husband is helpful?

Often	Sometimes	Not at all	No answer
9	4	0	7

*Husbands help in cooking, taking care of children and washing the dishes.

*Some don't help with housework, but they are helpful in making weaving tools and very supportive about their work.

*One husband, Samaung Purisri, 34 years old, said he was helping his wife with taking care of the children, doing laundry, cooking and looking after vegetables. They came to this decision after discussing it thoroughly. He thinks it natural for him to do the housework, since they don't have a rice field and his wife has a job at Kaset Wisai. He is aware of the traditional idea of women doing the housework, but he thinks whoever can do the job should do it. He did not help his wife before his wife started working at the office.



Picture 4: A man reeling on the porch. (taken by author)

8. If Panmai activity changed after the economic crisis in 1997?

- * Their business was OK in 2000, but this year the number of orders decreased.
- * After the crisis, the price of silk cloth still remain the same. They didn't think the crisis affected their business.
- * The economic crisis did not directly effect on villagers' lives.

Although most of village women answered that they did not think the economic crisis in 1997 affect their business and activities, one of the staff members of ATA, Khun Supranee Tabsakun gave the author different answers when she was interviewed. The interview was taken place on June 21 of 2001 at the ATA office in Bangkok. She was questioned, "what do you think the economic crisis of 1997 affected the PANMAI activities?" The following is her answer.

After 1997, all the people who went to big cities came back home because there were no more jobs in the cities. The returnees became big burdens on the families in the village since those people don't know much about the field work and can't be any help at the rice field. Some of them find jobs at the factory, or others go into the forest and collect woods to boil water for dyeing (Interview on June 21, 2001).

One of the reasons why these two answers were so different was village women did not understand the economic crisis. The author modified the question into the following phrase when she interviewed them. "A lot of banks, companies and shops went down several years ago. Do you think the sales of silk have also decreased since then?" Yet, they did not seem to understand the author's intention very well.

9. What do you think about NGOs?

Everybody has a positive feeling toward NGOs. This is because they are

earning more income than before.

- * One weaver said she was happy to join Panmai. Since she can do the job at home, she can work while looking after her children.
- * Another woman said that she was glad to be a member of the group. She used to produce *sabai* cloth just for herself and her family for their own use. *Sabai* cloth, or *pha sabai*, is “a long narrow cloth for women to wrap around the breasts with the ends draped over one shoulder and hanging down the front and back” (National Identity Board 1994: 124-125). However, through the group, she can sell it at a high price. She wants to save her money so that she can afford to pay for the education of her children. She wants her children to have better education.
- * A weaver said she was very appreciative that the NGOs came to help the village. With their help, the income of the village generally increased.

10. Expected roles of women in the village

As mentioned earlier, in the interview, women were asked about their expected role both at present and the past. To mark the past from the present, the author asked about both their tasks in daily life and their mothers' situation. Through the interview, the differences before and after Panmai became apparent. Their expected roles before Panmai, which is basically in their mother's period, were taking care of children, doing the housework, working on the rice field, looking after cattle and water buffaloes, participating in village routine and weaving for the family. While they were more involved with business after Panmai, the activities were in addition to the tasks they had undertaken previously. It means women are expected to work as much as double of what they used to do. Most of them seem to be receiving more burden than before.

11. Obstacles and how to overcome them

The author also asked about the obstacles they encountered and how

they overcame them. Many of the villagers mentioned that they argued a lot about the quality control. As mentioned already, ATA set a strict standard for color, fabric evenness, shape and size. Five committee members of the village have been in charge of quality checks, but it took them quite a long time to achieve a consensus on the matter. At the beginning, the women did not understand the price difference among the products, and the village chief had to explain to them on behalf of the committee. Now they understand the standard and even try to make improvements according to customers' needs. The other problem they had at the beginning was that the business system implemented did not work well. Panmai could not sell the products at first. Committee members in the village as middlemen were entrusted with all the products by the villagers. Panmai made a business with some groups for all the products in a lump, but the check they received was bounced. For that reason Panmai was not able to pay weavers back for the production costs. The debt was paid back by Panmai to the women little by little as loans with 2% interest every month. At first Panmai borrowed from ATA or Khon Kaen province without any interest, but then they borrowed 100,000 baht from the town council since the fund was insufficient. Panmai is still paying them at the rate of 1% interest.

12. The improvements they made.

Recently more groups in Thailand have started similar kinds of weaving projects, which have affected Panmai's sales. The market has become more competitive and PANMAI has found that domestic sales have not done well recently. Now they are strengthening the potentiality of international sales such as a business venture with Japan, since it has been one of their best customers. Under the circumstances, most women are conscious of the need for technical improvement on weaving. The author asked the women what kind of improvement on the weaving technique they have been making, since in the interview some women mentioned improvement has been needed in order to sell the fabric well. When the

village started to become involved with this activity, they were informed that they have to make some change on the size of textile they used to make. They would often make quite a big fabric for their own use, but ATA told them to make it smaller, 40X150cm size, which is called *sabai*, so that customers could use it as a scarf. Yet in order to satisfy their request, they had to learn a new way of weaving because the skill is different from what they knew. Some village women went to workshops arranged by ATA to learn this new weaving technique and they taught it to others after coming back.

One weaver showed the author a color sample, which she made. Since she is one of the committee members right now, she has a color sample that ATA made for the color check. She had the idea to try other kinds of trees like mango and to develop her own color chart. She started this experiment this year.



Picture 5: Color charts. (taken by author)

The chart in the right hand is original one, which ATA made, and the other one is a weaver's own development.

The other woman mentioned that she now uses ash instead of chemicals to wash the grain. In order for the color to come out well, they wash the raw material before dyeing. Traditionally they used ash in the village, but recently they preferred some chemicals called Dang Fok Mai, the alkaline chemical for soaking cloths, since it is easier. However, with their activities now becoming more eco-conscious, they are going back to the ash with the advice of the Ministry of Environment through PANMAI.

Many members also mentioned that they are trying to change the weaving pattern. In order for the fabric to sell well, they feel that they need to change and update their patterns responding to the market trends. Some are still thinking about it, but others are already trying the new patterns.

To make the task easier, one weaver made some changes to her weaving device. She often had a chance to go to other places for the Panmai seminars and saw the unique device somewhere. In the process of weaving, sending the thread between the warp is a very meticulous and time consuming task, especially when it comes to the bigger fabric. She asked her husband to fix her old device to make a new function. Using the new facility, she can weave the fabric more easily.





**Picture 6: A weaving device improved by one weaver's husband
(taken by author).**

In the next chapter, this thesis will proceed to analyze the changing role of women, based on the facts discussed above.

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Table 5: Check List on LWDP, Panmai and PANMAI

Type of intervention	Women's role recognized			Gender need met	
	R	P	CM	PGN	SGN
1. Employment project					(X)(a/b/c)
a) Skill training					
Seminars		X		X	(X)(a/b/c)
Workshops		X		X	(X)(a/b/c)
*Natural dye training					
*Mulberry Planting					
*Silkworm keeping					
*Leadership program					
General education		X		X	(X)(a/b/c)
*Record keeping					
*Learning arithmetic					
*Studying how to write and read					
Publishing newsletters		X		X	
Fish keeping project			F	F	
b) Access to the asset					
Revolving fund		X		X	
c) Experience program					
Sales and Exhibition		X		X	
Field Trip and study tour to other cities and foreign countries		X		X	(X)(a/b/c)
2. Environmental planning project					
Youth hiking program			X	X	
Introduction of benign technology			X	X	
3. Basic services project					
Learning nutrition knowledge	X			X	
Gaining health education	X			X	
Installment of rower pumps			X	X	
Lecture on water management			X	X	

R = Reproductive P = Productive CM = Community Managing
 PGN = Practical gender need SGN = Strategic gender need

(a) The abolition of the sexual division of labor

(b) The alleviation of the burden of domestic labor and childcare

(c) The establishment of political equality

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

One of the purposes of this thesis is to study the role of women involved in the constructing and remodeling of PANMAI as an NGO. This chapter analyzes the changing role of women from two aspects as already mentioned in chapter 3: 1) the evolution of the LWDP/Panmai/PANMAI, and 2) the change of the women themselves who were involved in the activities. The thesis approaches the issue macroscopically and microscopically by looking at the organizations and its participants separately. Both changes are intricately intertwined. Each program for LWDP/ Panmai/ PANMAI, the subsidiary change of the condition surrounding both the group and participating women as the effect of the projects, and the obstacles they meet bestow numerous impacts on both target organizations and participating individuals. Some directly influenced on both the evolution of LWDP/ Panmai/ PANMAI and women's empowerment similarly, while others had a more indirect approach to the situation. Furthermore both transformations are reciprocally implicated. The author referred to the Moser's concept of triple role that was already talked about in chapter 2 for an analysis to the change of the women themselves, as the situation can be clarified using her idea.

4.1 The Evolution of the LWDP/Panmai/PANMAI

The previous chapter illustrated the process of Panmai becoming an autonomous organization. It started as a weaving group consisting of ordinary village women who were not believed to be confident enough to decide anything at first. Going through four stages with the help of supporting NGOs, the group came to be organized with solid administrative

systems. It included a board of committee, its member's term system, an internal saving system, regulations among the weavers, work share with a branch office in Bangkok and other branches that are all now conducted by village women. PANMAI also arranged some subordinate businesses such as cooperative shops to financially intensify PANMAI after its autonomy. The evolution of the project correlated with the process of women's empowerment as the project helped women become more educated, broaden their perspectives through encounters with the outer world, which then enabled them to become financially independent giving them power to stand on their own feet. Interaction with other organizations especially influenced the weaving group. They had international relationships as well as domestic ones. The linkage with the same kind of NGOs nearby was a good start for the group to broaden their perspective of the world. Simultaneously they had a difficult interaction with JSTV, a Japanese supporting NGO. Going through these experiences helped the weaving group become internationalized and independent.

During the community development period, the group tried to link with other villages trained under other NGOs nearby, called network villages, so as to share the technical knowledge of natural dye and weavings. LWDP/ATA also communicate with other groups through seminar and workshops. As mentioned earlier, the village women said in the interview that they were happy to make more friends from different villages through the programs. They not only learned the technical knowledge but also received administrative guidance from a development monk who organized a rice cooperation to help the woman villagers pay back earlier debts. When building up the basis of PANMAI, these experiences seemed to be useful for the group.

PANMAI also became more internationalized after the interaction with JSTV. It is noted that the relationship with JSTV is the most outstanding among the ones with other foreign NGOs. As already discussed, since JSTV had been involved with LWDP, the closest among other international organizations, LWDP/ATA had political friction with JSTV. As

mentioned earlier, since JSTV was the most demanding organization, asking ATA to frequently sharpen their action plan and show them, ATA felt it was hard to keep the partnership with JSTV and shortened the contract by one year. Dr Surichai said in the interview, “in a broader sense this friction was grounded on cultural differences” (Interview with Dr Surichai). JSTV was the first organization LWDP/ATA was involved with that came from a different background.

One formed achievement of this relationship can be the technique of natural dye and weaving. Natural dye is the symbol of the program since PANMAI originally means “numerous kinds of trees” in Thai. However the weaving and dyeing techniques PANMAI is adapting are not indigenous to the region, but a fruit of the cooperative work by village women, ATA, JSTV and other international NGOs. As mentioned in the previous chapter, traditional dyeing and weaving techniques were close to dying off when the project started, as they were being replaced by the chemical dye. Morimoto, a founder of JSTV and a dyeing craftsman and other foreign instructors such as Watanabe, tried to dig up village women’s indigenous skills and combining it with their own techniques and knowledge. ATA/LWDP and village women themselves also had undergone some cultural differences through activities. These experiences gave LWDP/ATA the key idea to start dealing with international organizations. Now PANMAI has business ties with Japan and other foreign countries, won a contest held by the UN and participated at the Expo 2000’ in Germany. They have successfully become an international cooperative.

4.2 Women’s Triple Role in Phoonpap Village

Through the interview conducted with villagers and documental research, it seems apparent that the expected role of women in the village has started to change primarily as a result of women’s empowerment. First, all in-depth interviews provided ample evidence of the women’s expected role

before their involvement in Panmai in this village. The roles can be classified into women's triple role mentioned in chapter two, namely reproductive work, productive work, and community managing work.

What was revealed in the interview was that women were considered to be "home-makers", while men were considered to be "breadwinners". Quite a few women mentioned that they were expected to stay at home, take care of the children, do the housework like cooking or cleaning. As defined in chapter 2, these tasks are regarded as reproductive work.

Their work also included tending to the cattle or water buffaloes. Some of them often go to the field and help their husbands take care of the crops. They also weaved, but it was only for their own consumption and not as an income-generating activity. As mentioned in chapter 2, productive work often includes secondary income earning. Moreover, "in rural area this usually takes the form of agricultural work" (Moser 27: 1993). Since weaving was not at that moment for the purpose of sales, it is hardly included under the term productive work. Their work in the field can be regarded as productive work, though the women's labor force in the field were not much expected as that of men's. They are also dealing with the community chores. As already mentioned in chapter three, some of the women in phoonpap village are the members of Or Sor Mor, which is in charge of public health within the village. Referring to the definition discussed in chapter two, community management work can also be another expected task for women in the village.

Giving a supplementary explanation to this triple role, village women were also expected to remain passive figures and their expected status was as the men's subordinate. There are some elements that explain these expectations. Most of the villagers between the ages 20 and 40, the prime generation of the village, lack adequate education. Most only complete up to the compulsory 6th grade. Not being highly educated, most women remained in the village after finishing school and got married at an early age. When the phoonpap village became a community a couple decades ago, they were not used to buying food, since it was the men's job to procure food by

fishing, growing vegetables or picking fruits in the neighborhood. Women were not expected to make money, even though they had worked on the rice field and took care of the cattle alongside with their men. The main figure who worked in the breadwinning sphere was always men, while the women helped the men as assistants. Moreover they were believed to lack decision-making capabilities and could not work themselves as capably as men did. Women themselves thought they were not capable of doing anything by themselves, which was apparent in the interview.

When ATA first came to the village, only a few women joined the activity as most of them were doubtful about the women's activities. A lot of women were not sure if they could get along well as a group. The village chief also explained that he had worked with the women during the initial stages because they needed someone to manage the group, and besides, the women could not decide anything by themselves in the beginning. This was the common perception of the village women at the time. Though quite a few village women, for example the wife of the village chief, already held respectable positions as weaving technique consultants, it was rare. This made it a common problem in the involving villages because men would not allow their wives to join the activity. As recent as 1995, it was not uncommon to find antagonistic attitudes towards women who were seen to be stepping out of their expected female roles. A woman who participated in the Informal Sector Workers' Seminar in Roi-et (1994) reveals in *Weaving for Alternatives!* (1995):

When I became active in my village, 90% of the men in my village thought badly of me. But I did not bother. I worked hard and showed them that women's activities do bring benefits to the community. Slowly, they compromised. Nowadays, men's activities come to a stand still whereas women's activities are going on fine, so the villagers accepted me (108).

When this woman had to travel outside her hometown to participate in a workshop, people in her village thought of her “as being irresponsible for the families” (Wayang 108: 1994) and looked down on her. One of the office staff members who has been looking at the whole PANMAI history also said that in the beginning, quite a few villages had faced the problem whereby women were requested not to work outside the village. Many of the husbands thought their wives should not work outside without them. They regarded it as being against the traditional virtue of women, which is staying at home. Some even thought it useless for women to join as a group.

In the case of Phoonpap village, the introduction of the idea of weaving group faced resistance from both husbands and wives. However with the chief of the village leading the project, the establishment of the project and its empowerment mechanism for women started to have effects as already mentioned.

In the following section, it is going to be examined how the internal experience of LWDP/Panmai/PANMAI and cooperation with international NGOs functioned on traditional women’s triple role.

4.3 The Effect of LWDP Project

The effect of LWDP should be talked about in the framework of alternative development. As already discussed in chapter two, the basic procedures of the development program are as follows. The supporting NGOs establish a project to educate local people on specific techniques, most of them bringing about empowerment among the locals. The knowledge they gain through the programs and the empowerment plays a very important role in the development of a People’s Organization known as PO. Applying the concept to the case study of PANMAI, the supporting NGOs are ATA and other international NGOs, the local people are weavers in the villages and the PO is Panmai. It is the characteristic of this case study

that Panmai eventually became a cooperative, PANMAI, or a new form of NGO.

The LWDP/Panmai/PANMAI included different kinds of seminars, workshops and field trips to educate women. Going through the project, they started to earn some money and expand their knowledge not only about the weaving techniques but also reading and writing skills, calculating skills, administration skills and other skills relating to health issues. In order to analyze the effect of these programs, the author at first categorized them into three groups according to Moser's classification: employment project, environmental planning project, and basic services project. Based on Moser's concept, the check list was made, as referred to on page 92. This list shows the needs each program has fulfilled or is achieving.

Surveying the whole project, it can be said that the case study of PANMAI is still in the procession to show satisfactory fulfillment of strategic gender needs, since they have just recently been founded as an independent organization. It takes more time for them to show signs of stronger empowerment to achieve Moser's criteria. However, in spite of that, empowerment has occurred through numerous activities. Women became more confident in themselves after going through the projects and the phenomena that has brought about this empowerment gives potential for achieving the criteria.

Skill training provided women with the access to income-generating jobs. Through seminars and workshops, weavers in the village at first acquired considerable information about dyeing and weaving techniques. But now they're responding to customers' requests, improving on the colors and designs of the products through their own techniques based on knowledge they had learned, thereby increasing their sales. This development includes new weaving patterns, dyeing or other related techniques, and more advanced weaving devices as shown in chapter three. They now earn an additional 600-700 more baht per month. This has helped augment their household economy significantly. Now almost

everyone in the village admitted in the interview that men are very supportive of their weaving job, since women started to make financial contributions to the family. During the research, the author saw quite a few men reeling thread on the porch. The scene was common in the dry season, when they do not have work on the rice field. The men are gradually admitting what women are doing to be more important as the household is economically fortified thus, they start helping with the housework. However, it is also revealed in the research that most of the time women are forced to carry double shifts by the situation, adding Panmai work to their housework. Although some husbands help their wives, they are not totally taking over women's jobs, but are just helping. As mentioned in page 55, quite a few women now start withdrawing from PANMAI because they have become busier than before, especially when they are chosen as committee members.

However there is one extraordinary achievement accomplished through the switching of roles as seen in one couple on the PANMAI staff. As mentioned in chapter three, one husband of the office staff stayed home, taking care of all the housework. He does this reproductive work except while he migrates to Bangkok during dry season, since his wife works in the PANMAI office in Kaset Wisai every day. Her job is regarded as a respectable one, for she is paid a monthly salary. This staff member asks her parents to take care of the children whenever the husband is away. The parents said in the interview that they were pleased to help their daughter's family as she had a very remarkable job. This particular case shows that the women's role is now considered to be a breadwinner just the same as men's. The husband now helps his wife as an assistant, a reversal of roles, since previously it was the woman who played the assistant role. This couple's instance in particular demonstrates there is potential to achieve one of the Moser's criteria, the abolition of sexual division. Husband and wife help each other and women are no longer subordinate to men in every aspect. Pulling this all together, for the time being it is difficult to say the Moser's criteria, "the abolition of the sexual division of labor" and "the alleviation of

the burden of domestic labor and childcare” have been fully fulfilled, but the fact that at least one couple achieved the criterion is seen as a positive example.

Moreover, looking at the issue from a different angle through Moser’s strategic gender needs, it can be said, “the establishment of political equality” has a possibility to be achieved in the future. “Political equality” is taken as equal power relations between husband and wife in the household sphere as defined in chapter 2. As mentioned in the example of the husband and staff member above, they agreed upon their different life style after fully discussing it with each other. In the interview with other village women, who said their husbands were helpful, some of them also mentioned they sometimes ask their husbands to help with their housework. It is a big progress toward a better relationship between men and women from the previous days of women as the men’s subordinate. It was unimaginable for them to ask men to help them before. Another example is seen in leadership programs and the experiences of conducting sales and exhibition. Those programs enabled village women to administrate the annual meetings, in which delegates from all the involved villages get together, reflect over activities from the previous year, and talk about the aim of the coming year. PANMAI staff and some appointed members from different villages now gather and plan the annual meetings, and then carry it into action entirely by themselves. Considering the situation in the Phoonpap village where the village chief had to take a significant role in managing the women’s weaving group at the beginning, this has been a tremendous progress for the women. Moreover, through the activities, together with other experience programs, sales and exhibition, they also have encountered problems which they must solve by themselves. Dealing with trouble is what they used to depend on the men or anyone who has power to do. In the process, they developed a saving system and improved their business structure as a solution to the obstacles they had met, as revealed in the interview. They solved the problems by arguing and debating within the group. Every time they had some trouble in business or organizational procedures, they had meetings

and talked at length over the topic. Women became more confident in themselves after going through the activities. Pulling all the facts demonstrated together, it can be said that this Moser's criterion has great potential to be fulfilled in the near future.

Some other aspects of empowerment are also seen as a result of the activities. First of all, general education has played a prominent role in making women feel more confident with themselves. Women were educated in arithmetic and trained to be literate in order to deal with Panmai work. One of the office staff members said, in the interview already mentioned, that her family is very proud that she has become literate and she herself has become confident. Secondly, field trips and study tours broadened their perspectives from an individual to an outer world. One of the participants of the tour said that they were inspired by Indian women, who had lived in harsher conditions. In spite of the situation, Indian women had achieved more with the same kind of project as PANMAI. It was an eye-opening experience for everybody and they became convinced that they would succeed in the project. Thirdly they became self-assured through the experience of being instructors. They initially went abroad to "learn" about dyeing or weaving. However, the purpose of recent trips has become for the women themselves to show their ability and even to "give lectures" as an instructor on their activities. Fourthly they became mentally secured after going through an international experience. As discussed earlier, in the relationship with foreign NGOs such as JSTV, ICCO or WELD, LWDP / Panmai / PANMAI, participating women sometimes develop friction with the international institution. However through these experiences they learned how to handle international relationships both as an organization and as individuals. PANMAI now has a business with the groups from different backgrounds, and the lesson they have learned from the partnership is now useful. Furthermore as one of JSTV's programs, some village women were invited to Japan where they had chances to learn different weaving and dyeing techniques, saw some cooperative organizations in rural areas for their own reference and had a cultural exchanges with Japanese people.

The trip to India, as mentioned already, also became a remarkable international experience for them too. These experiences broadened their perspective and brought village women to become confident of themselves.

Other projects, particularly the environmental planning projects and basic service projects hasn't brought about empowerment. Not many activities have been implemented for the environmental planning projects either. As already defined earlier, PANMAI is not large enough to call for environmental planning projects. When thinking about the practical needs, this planning is not as urgent as other needs such as the shortage of water or gaining more income. As for the basic services projects, most of the projects are seen to fulfill just practical gender needs, namely installment of power pumps or lectures on water management. These projects, however, give villagers a good impression on the LWDP. The interview revealed that many people favored the water pump and their dealing with natural dye. They preferred it much more to the to chemical dye, as the waste of natural dyes won't infect the soil. Thus environmental planning project and basic services project played prominent roles to support LWDP and its success.

By examining both the evolution of PANMAI and the women's role separately, it became apparent that the construction process of the organization also reflected the changing process of women's role and status in the village. It can be said that the changes of both women and the organization are intricately intertwined with one another. While the organization evolved step by step to become international and autonomous, the situation surrounding women also changed little by little. The members involved with PANMAI have expanded their knowledge, grown to be empowered and are becoming independent behind or alongside the transformation of PANMAI. Although the organization consisted of uneducated women, they were informed by PANMAI through numerous activities. In reverse, PANMAI's international conflict with JSTV turned out to be a learning experience through the cultural and human resource

exchanges at the individual level. In future developments of the organization, the author believes, the role of women is going to be a key factor.

The next chapter will talk about the NGOs and their potential of rural development, referring to the case study PANMAI.



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CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis is 1) to study the role of women involved in the constructing and remodeling of PANMAI as an NGO and 2) to evaluate the potential of rural development in Thailand through this alternative form of NGO. In previous chapters the first aspect was fully analyzed, and it was proved that many of the Moser's criteria was not sufficiently fulfilled, although some potential is seen. Focusing mainly on the second aspect and pulling together what has been discussed before, this chapter is going to demonstrate the consequences as a whole.

5.1 The Evaluation of the NGO Potentiality in the Rural Development of Thailand

In order to evaluate the NGO's role in the rural development of Thailand, both the example of PANMAI group and the case of NGO in Thailand in general are going to be looked at. The author first refers to Amara Pongsapich for theoretical framework, then goes on to examine the social condition of Thailand during the years after the economic crisis of 1997. Moreover PANMAI is looked at as a case study. As for the NGO potentiality in Thailand, Amara Pongsapich discussed the importance of social structure in the book of *Thailand Nonprofit Sector and Social Development* (1997). She mentioned three points to be looked at: legal system, level of development, and degree of centralization. In her theory the country that is economically developed and politically decentralized is ideal for NGO development since there is more space for the nonprofit sector. Pongsapich regarded a developed, decentralized common law society as an ideal model, which stands at the stark contrast of Thailand's developing centralized civil

law society. However as Phongsapich states that “this pattern is changing as the country moves forward to become more economically independent” (Phongsapich 1997: 5), the situation should be looked at from different perspectives. The potentiality of NGO’s are now examined from these two perspectives: after the economic crisis of 1997, and the case study of PANMAI.

As already mentioned in chapter two, the economic crisis which occurred in 1997 made a great impact on the evolution of NGOs in Thailand. Quite a few middle class people and migrants from rural villages lost their jobs. Migrants who had no place to go went back home, but most of them became burdens on their family because they don’t know much about working in the field. Villages in rural area also faced difficulties. They had been relying on work in the city, but after the crisis they couldn’t expect income from the city any more. The case study of PANMAI also showed this problem. Quite a few people migrated to Bangkok or other big cities from the region. There were not many men and the young, who should be the main force of farming left in the village. The project at first started for the solution to this problem. In the interview, one of the staff members in Bangkok office said that a lot of villagers who had migrated to the cities came back to the villages and they became big burdens on other people who had remained in the village. Some of them luckily got jobs at factories, but others that did not get jobs there just mullied around, since they lacked farming skills. Those who were jobless, however, came to help PANMAI activities by collecting wood for dyeing.

The solution of all this social disorder lies in what His Majesty the King suggested to the country. He insisted on the importance of the concept of "self-sufficiency" and preached to his people to know when enough is enough. As already discussed, this concept is based on the alternative development in Thailand, which has largely been effected by Buddhism. It is still unpredictable if this idea would be widely accepted. But it is obvious

that the role of NGO is very prominent in the framework of alternative development.

The case study of PANMAI can be a practical example of NGO potentiality in Thailand. In the previous chapter, the thesis tried to look at the connection between LWDP and participating women by approaching the development of PANMAI and the change of women themselves separately in order to uncover the potentiality of PANMAI clearly. As already mentioned, transformations of two groups are reciprocally implicated. Taking an example of interaction with JSTV, this experience greatly affected LWDP/Panmai/PANMAI the organizational process, while it was a factor to women's empowerment as well. Panmai coordinated their action plan on the preparation for PANMAI, adjusting the original plan to the request of JSTV, women's benefit and ATA's convenience. They did not remodel the whole scenario. However they took back from some community development projects, and adjusted the direction of the organization to let them continue with a smooth start as a new group, PANMAI. Active participation by village women in the programs were also seen from this point. Some of the members became instructors and gave lectures on weaving and dyeing techniques exclusively to their friends. Women were seen to be empowered in different occasions. Furthermore LWDP/ATA gained international experiences through involving themselves in an organization that harnesses different cultural backgrounds. The group learned how to deal with foreign groups in the international business. While, at the participants' level, some women had a very valuable experience of being invited to Japan. As already mentioned in page 63, women observed Japanese farming techniques at a rural village, were informed of weaving and dyeing techniques, and learned the knack of business.

Looking at the situation, it became clear that the change of women and the evolution of PANMAI did not occur at the same pace. PANMAI became independent as a cooperative, and started to run as a business and administrate the organization on its own after going through the project. Women, in contrast, did not yet distinctly achieve any of Moser's criteria,

which were supposed to free them as men's subordinates if they fully attained the standards. One of the reasons why this difference came about was that LWDP was a schemed project aimed as an integrated rural development project, whereas the women's empowerment was a secondary product of the project, which comes with the strengthening economic power. ATA intended to organize the weaving group, aiming to solve the migration problem this region had had, however, they were not conscious of women's development program in the initiation. The organization has just become independent, and is still in working progress in terms of women's development.

In chapter 4, the changing role of women as an effect of PANMAI was also closely analyzed. As already discussed above, PANMAI is still in its procession and it has not shown any satisfactory achievement to Moser's criteria. However, as referred before, one extreme fulfillment of Moser's standard by a particular staff member's husband became apparent in the field research. He completely took over his wife's daily housework, while she just fulfills the duty at the PANMAI office in Kaset Wisai, as they had no field to cultivate. Although it is not strong enough to be taken as a forcible alterative element of attaining Moser's criteria, namely "the abolition of the sexual division of labor", "the alleviation of the burden of domestic labor and childcare" or "the establishment of political equality", this instance can demonstrate the potential for those criteria. Quite a few women interviewed were glad to see their husbands helping out with housework. Looking back to the beginning of the PANMAI project, there were quite a few husbands resisting it. Even in the Phoonpap village, without help of the village chief, it was difficult for women to get husbands' understanding. After a while, women gained confidence through the project activities and started to financially strengthen themselves and their household, which made the men gradually admit acceptance to what their wives were doing. Thus they started helping with the housework. Women still encounter the obstacle of having to carry on the double job of PANMAI work in addition to

their traditional housework. Despite their husbands' help, the main figure dealing with those burdens in the household is still women. Nevertheless, considering the fact that the obstacles they had in the initiation are becoming weaker and weaker, they will be able to overcome the rest of the problems in the future, going through more activities. It might even be predicted that some of them will possibly fulfill Moser's criteria in near future. Besides, equally important, empowerment, that is a key factor of the changes, is already seen in various occasions. It was brought about through project activities, as already pointed out. Field trips abroad and inland, and experience of being instructors at those opportunities are also prominent elements of empowerment. As brought about earlier, by participating in the field trip to India, women were impressed to see the project which was similar to LWDP, carried out successfully by the local women who seemed to be living in harder conditions than themselves. Pulling them all together, it became clear that the women and women's empowerment is the key factor for PANMAI's evolution in the future. Going through all these experiences had given women more confidence. Ordinary village women were educated by PANMAI through its activities. Women got empowered through the projects that were provided by the organization, whereas the organization was constructed by the interaction with supporting NGOs as well as women's contribution. Thus PANMAI makes people, while people make PANMAI. It can be said that women have and will function as the changing force in the future evolution of PANMAI. Moreover the author believes, in the future the women can be expected to change even the village itself.

Chronological Table of NGO Development in Thailand

Up to the 1970s

- 1893 Thai Red Cross Association (TRCA)
- 1927 Nurses Association of Thailand (NAT)
- 1934 Church of Christ in Thailand (CCT)
- 1956 The National Council of Women of Thailand (NCWT)
- 1958 The Girl Guides Association of Thailand (GGAT)
- 1960 The National Council on Social Welfare of Thailand (NCSWT)
- 1967 Thailand Rural Reconstruction Movement (TRRM)

In the 1970s

- 1970 The Catholic Council of Thailand for Development (CCTD)
- 1971 Komol Keemthong Foundation (KKF)
- 1973 Union of Civil Liberty (UCL)
- 1974 The Association for the Promotion of the Status of Women (APSW),
Population and Community Development Association (PDA)
- 1975 Justice and Peace Commission for Development (JPCD),
Christian Children's Fund (CCF),
Human Development Foundation (HDF)
- 1976 Co-ordinating Group for Religion in Society (CGRS)
- 1977 Asian Cultural Forum on Development (ACFOD)
- 1978 Appropriate Technology Association (ATA),
Duang Prateep Foundation (DPF)
- 1979 Thai Inter-religious Commission on Development (TICD),
Foundation For Children (FFC),
Thai Development of Human Resources in Rural Areas (Thai- DHRRA)

1980s-90s

- 1980 World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (WCARRD),
Building Together Association (BTA), Thai Volunteer Service (TVS)
- 1981 NET Foundation (Surin),
Thai Red Cross for Children's Houses (TRC-CH),
The Center for Culture and Development (CCD),
- 1982 Thai Development Support Committee (TDSC),
The Center for the Protection of Children's Rights (CPCR),
Alternative Development Forum (ADF)
- 1983 Coordinating Committee of Primary Health Care NGO's (CCPN),
The Citizens Commission On Human Rights (CCHR)

- 1984 The Grass-Root Integrated Development (GRID: Roi-et)
- 1985 NGO Coordinating Committee on Rural Development (NGO-CORD),
Amnesty International Thailand (AIT), EMPOWER
- 1986 Foundation for Women (FFW),
The Foundation for the Better Life of the Children (FBLC),
Project for Ecological Recovery (PER), NGO-SLUMS,
Hill Area Development Foundation (HADF: Chiang-rai)
- 1988 Thai Institute for Rural Development (TIRD),
Development Media Center (DMC)
- 1989 Thailand NGO Coalition of AIDS (TNCA)
- 1991 Campaign for Popular democracy (CPD)
- 1992 Confederation for Democracy (CFD)

Source: (Akaishi 241: 2001)
Translated by author



สถาบันวิทยบริการ
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

Chronological Table of Thai Economy and Politics, PANMAI and Phoonpap Village

Thai Economy and Politics	ATA and LWDP/Panmai	Phoonpap Village
		1920 Some people lived in the Phoonpap village area.
		1962 Or Bor Tor was established.
1972 The Third National Plan was implemented (-1976) Investment Promotion Act is renewed.		
1973 Oct 9th-14th A student-led uprising at Thammasart University.		1973 Bang Kongsudee moved into the village. -There were only 4 households in the village.
1976 Oct 6th "Bloody Wednesday" of military coup took place.		1976 Ploy Kongsudee moved into the village.
1977 Fourth National Plan was implemented (-1981).		
		The 1980s There was almost nothing around the village but the ucalyptus. The number of the people in the village became suddenly large.
	1981 ATA was established.	
1982 Fifth National Plan was implemented (-1986).	1982 Primary Health Care for Community of Rasrisalai Hostpital requested ATA to initiate a project.	
	1983 Weaving Project was established at Rasrisalai district of Sri-Saket province. Chemical dyeing was considered. Automatic shuttle loom was used.	
1983 The fourth Phleem cabinet was inaugurated.		

<p>1985</p> <p>Sep 9th The coup' of Manun failed.</p> <p>Nov 14th Army major general Chamloon became a governor of Bangkok.</p> <p>1986</p> <p>Aug 11th The fifth Phleem cabinet was inaugurated.</p> <p>Nov 26th Government and private regulation committee suggested the idea of agro-industry.</p>	<p>1984 Song Hong village was selected as a shooting village.</p> <p>Local Weaving Development Project was organized. (A year of studying the community).</p> <p>Mar A meeting with sub-district officers and agricultural officers.</p> <p>Apr Traveling to Roi-et and Surin provinces to attend seminars.</p> <p>Natural dyeing was decided to implement for the operation.</p> <p>Aug Fish raise in rice field was tried, but failed.</p> <p>Nov The first weaving training was held.</p> <p>A study tour for natural dyeing was made to Nakhon Ratchasima and Sri Sa Ket provinces.</p> <p>1986 The technique of natural dyeing and weaving were developed.</p>	<p>1986 The first TV came into the village.</p>
<p>1987 Sixth National Plan was implemeted.(-1991).</p> <p>Oct A general meeting of World Bank at Bangkok and NGO's protest against it.</p>	<p>1987 A workshop on techniques of natural dyeing was organized.</p> <p>1988 Dondu Village became and expansion village.</p> <p>Donkaen village became a network villlage.</p> <p>Donsomran village became a network village.</p>	<p>1988 Phoonpap village was separated from Ponten village and became an independet village.</p> <p>Ploy Kongsudee became the first village chief.</p>

<p>1991 Thai military instigated a coup.</p> <p>1992 Seventh National Plan was implemented. (-1996): Promotion of provincial industrialization. Apr Army Commander Suchindar was appointed to prime minister. An Anti-Suchindar meeting of the oppositions, students and NGOs was held.</p>	<p>1989 Khampon became an expansion village. Phoonpap village became an expansion village. Darn village became an expansion village.</p> <p>1991 Samron village became a network village. Nongbua village became a network village. Laokhap village became a network village.</p> <p>1991 Panmai Group was established. The first annual meeting was held. Training on natural dye, mulberry planting, silk worms raising, leadership program, record keeping, eco-conscious technique, seminar and exhibition were held. The members participated as lecturers.. The member went to Laos for workshop.</p> <p>1992 The member went to India for workshop.</p>	<p>1990 There were about 35 households in this village The village joined the LWDP program. Only 11 women joined the program this year.</p> <p>1990 The number of members became 44 this year. The first retail shop was open in the village.</p> <p>1991 Village women went to Laos with other Panmai members.</p> <p>1992 Village women went to India with other Panmai members. The visitors from 9 different countries came to the village.</p>
	<p>1994 PANMAI became independent. Seminar and workshop were held. They won at the "50 years Anniversary Celebration Global Community Development Contest" and got an international fund.</p>	

<p>1997 Eighth National Plan was Implement.</p> <p>(-2001) The government shifts Thai baht to floating exchange system. Economic Crisis occurred in Thailand.</p> <p>2002 Ninth National Plan was implemented.</p>	<p>1999 The Members visited Korea as a workshop.</p> <p>2000 They participated at the Expo 2000' held at Honover in Germany.</p>	<p>1998 They had serious drought after several decades. The main road of the village was maintained.</p> <p>2002 There is about 50 households in the village.</p>
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Source: Suehiro (1996), Wayang (1995), Bunjongjit (1995), Kasemratanasanti (1986), Damabutra (1991) and Akagi (1994)

สถาบันวิทยบริการ
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

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Appendix: List of Interview Informants

Project staff of ATA in Bangkok

Dr Chalernsri Dhamabutra, chair of the Appropriate Technology Association (ATA) and professor at Sri Nakharinwirot University. (Interviewed occasionally) /

Dr Surichai Wun'Geao, a committee member of ATA when it was founded and professor at Chulalongkorn University. (Interviewed occasionally) /

Supranee Tabsakun, a staff member of ATA (Interviewed on June 21st, 2001 and August 5th, 2002)

Staff members of PANMAI in Kaset Wisai

(Interviewed on December 7th-12th, 2001 and February 15th-19th 2002)

Mali Kongsudee / Buala Mattanang / Mai Phunkan

Weavers in Phoonpap village

(Interviewed on December 7th-12th, 2001 and February 15th-19th 2002)

Dee Chaikanya / Chumrat Kongsudee / Raet Kongsudee /

Samluamjit Kongsudee / Thongpian Suksakul /

Saman Kongsudee / Somphan Kongsudee / Jamrat Lua /

Bumee Aungsanu / Sanga Patsada / Wanna Kwanjai /

Sampao Kongsudee / Thongkam Srikuka / Pao Kongsdee /

Dum Sttho / Ning Kongsudee / Jamnian Puangoan / Chomthong /

Villagers

(Interviewed on December 7th-12th, 2001 and February 15th-19th 2002)

Ploy Kongsudee, A chief of the village / Bang Kongsudee /

Samaung Purisri / Chansiri Lualon / Denchai Kongsudee / Phayungsak /

Kongsudee / Janjira Aumphet / Chanaphong Keawkerd

Former Staff Members of JSTV in Japan

Kazunori Akaishi, professor of Institute for International Education (IIE),
Towa University, Japan. (Interviewed on August 1st, 2002 and
occasionally) /

Akira Nozaki, professor at Faculty of Economics, Tohoku Gakuin
University, Japan. (Interviewed on August 3rd, 2002 and occasionally)/

Tsuruko Watanabe, fabric artist at Dyeing and Weaving Atelier TSURU,
Japan. (Interviewed on May 14th, 2002)

Biography

Chigusa Ikeuchi was born in Tokyo, Japan. She graduated from Shirayuri Womens' College in Tokyo, Japan with a B.A. in English and American Literature. Then, she proceeded to the Graduate School of Tohoku University in Sendai, Japan, and obtained an M.A. in American Studies. The theme of her master's thesis was the identity of Native American women, projected in some American literary works. After finishing the course, she taught English both at a private school and some preparatory schools in Sendai, Japan for five years, until she came to Thailand. She joined the Thai Studies program at Chulalongkorn University in June 2000. Her first trip in Thailand, in which she went to a floating market, was a very eye-opening experience for her. This led to a great interest in the rural development of Thailand and she has been developing her own view, with a focus on gender, since then.



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