

## DECENTRALIZATION FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THAILAND\*

Thavan Vorathepputipong\*\*

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### 1. Significance of the Study

The need to decentralize development planning and management has become a recurring issue in the plans and policies of developing nations and international agencies in recent years. With the changing concentration on development strategies toward promoting more socially equitable economic growth and meeting the basic needs of the poorest groups in developing countries, wide-spread participation in decision-making is regarded essential to the development process. To this end, decentralization has been advocated as a means of facilitating that participation.<sup>1</sup>

There are two major reasons for encouraging government decentralization in less-developed nations. First, decentralization is necessary to accelerate the pace and spread the benefits of growth, integrate diverse regions in heterogeneous societies and use limited resources more efficiently to promote development in poverty-stricken or economically lagging areas. Analysts in the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) have found that "as developing states and donor agencies move to larger numbers of small-scale projects and area-wide, multi-sector, integrated projects in order to reach the rural poor, over-centralized management is becoming more of a problem"<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the World Bank's experience shows that there is a greater chance of success in reducing poverty and balancing development if institutions provide for popular participation, local leadership, and decentralization of authority.<sup>3</sup>

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\*\*Associate professor, School of Public Administration, National Institute of Development Administration

Secondly, if the poorest groups in developing nations are to obtain a larger share of government services, means must be found to decentralize public service delivery and involve service-recipients in planning and decision-making at the local level.<sup>4</sup> The United Nations Development Program (UNDP)'s assessment of 200 rural development projects funded during the 1970's found that the poorest group in less-developed nations can not rely on the central administration to meet their needs. The efficient delivery of services to rural communities must depend on effective organization at the community level in order to have meaningful interaction with the delivery agencies in the establishment of priorities. In addition, communities must be able to provide incentives for efficient bureaucratic performance.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the merits of decentralization described earlier, developing countries have, in practice, faced complex problems executing decentralization policies. Recent evaluations raise profound questions about the commitment of national bureaucracies to decentralization, about the political motivations for decentralization in some nations and their implications for realizing socially equitable economic growth. Decentralization has been thwarted in certain cases by conflicts arising between the desire of government leaders to control poverty-stricken economies and their programs for encouraging widespread participation in development. In addition, decentralization needs some preconditions and supporting policies that many governments can not or will not provide, and changes in the central government officials' attitudes and behavior that have been difficult to achieve.<sup>6</sup>

One of the most important and widely-debated issues in less-developed nations is concerned with the degree of control that central administration can and should have over development planning and management. During the 1970s, several governments in Asia, Africa, and Latin America began to experiment not only new approaches to development, but also with new political and administrative arrangements for planning and administering development programs and projects. The growing concern in decentralizing authority for planning and management to state, regional, provincial, district and local agencies, field units of central ministries, local governments, and special-purpose organizations resulted from three converging forces. They included : (1) disillusionment with the outcomes of central planning and control of development activities during the 1950s and 1960s; (2) the implicit requirements for new methods of managing development program and projects that were embodied in growth-with-equity strategies that emerged during the 1970s; and (3) the increasing realization that as societies become more complex and government activities begin to expand, it is more difficult to plan and manage all development activities effectively and efficiently from the central administration.<sup>7</sup>

Similar to other developing nations, Thailand has experimented with several approaches to rural development in an attempt to accelerate the pace of development in the rural areas. In brief, Thailand's rural development planning

and program formulation during the past four national development plans (October 1961–September 1981) tended to rest with the central planning agency (NESDB), various ministries, and departments in Bangkok. Though at the beginning and the end of the Fourth National Economic and Social Development Plan (October 1976–September 1981) the Thai Governments began to realize the increasing importance of decentralization in rural development, in practice there was no consensus among them as to how much and to whom they should decentralize. Each Government had its own method of decentralization and programs designed to implement decentralization policies of each Administration varied. As a result, there was no continuity of both decentralizing policy and policy implementation with respect to rural development until the adoption of the Fifth National Economic and Social Development Plan (October 1981–September 1986).<sup>8</sup> Most decentralization projects for rural development, if not all of them, were not fully implemented, and thus, had very limited impacts on the rural communities. Examples of such projects included the Tambol Council Improvement and the Decentralization of Authority for Rural Development Planning to Tambol Council Project,<sup>9</sup> the Rural Economic Recovery Project,<sup>10</sup> and the Provincial Development Planning Project.<sup>11</sup>

Previous reports on rural development in Thailand have mentioned various aspects of rural development administration, the major problems, and suggested solutions to the problems, but no systematic country study on "Decentralization for Rural Development" has ever been made. This study attempts to fill the gap left by previous research.

## **2. Major Objectives of the Study**

This study contains four major objectives :

- 2.1 To briefly review past efforts in rural development in Thailand with respect to decentralization for rural development;
- 2.2 To study and critically analyze present approaches to rural development, in particular, elements and types of decentralization as well as activities decentralized;
- 2.3 To identify the strengths and weaknesses of each approach;
- 2.4 To draw conclusions from the study and suggest solutions to the problems in terms of new alternatives/models and policy implications.

## **3. Scope of the Study**

This report is divided into five chapters according to subject.

Chapter I provides an Introduction. It discusses : major objectives of the study; scope of the report; research methodology; and definitions of the terms used in this report.

Chapter II concerns Decentralization : Evolutionary Trends. Topics discussed are : review of past efforts in rural development, in particular, the top-down model, and the semi-bottom up model; the present approaches to rural development which include the bottom-up model and participation of the non-government organizations (NGOs) in rural development.

Chapter III focuses on Critical Analysis of Decentralization for Rural Development. It analyses : elements or factors of decentralization; activities decentralized; types of decentralization; and strengths and weaknesses.

Chapter VI is concerned with the Search for Alternatives. It discusses : new alternatives; successful innovations; measures taken to reduce some of the deficiencies/hindrances; and new concept/models of decentralization.

Chapter V summarizes the major findings of the study and discusses conclusions drawn from the studies in Chapters II, III and IV. It also analyzes the relevance of conclusions with a case study conducted by Dr. Chartchai Na Chiangmai. Finally, solutions to the problems, particularly, policy implications, are recommended.

#### **4. Research Methodology**

**4.1 Data-collection methods.** Three methods of data-collection were employed in this study. First, information needed for the study was obtained by documentary research on policies, goals, models/approaches, factors of decentralization, activities decentralized, types of decentralization, and strengths and weaknesses of each type concerning rural development. Second, two field visits to several villages in central and northeast Thailand where rural development programs were implemented were made to provide a wider perspective to the study. In addition, to make this report more complete high-ranking officials (as key informants) who are responsible for rural development both at policy-making and policy implementation levels in the four Ministries (Ministries of Interior, Agriculture and Cooperatives, Education, and Public Health) were interviewed.

**4.2 Data-analysis.** The basic method of data analysis used in this report was qualitatively-oriented, that is, a descriptive and analytical technique was mainly utilized in the study.

#### **5. Definitions**

Decentralization can take a number of forms. First, distinctions can be made between functional and areal decentralization. The former emphasizes the transfer of authority to perform specific tasks or activities to specialized organizations that operate nationally, or at least across local jurisdictions. The creation of field agencies within national ministries dealing with public health care or highway

construction, for example, or of public enterprises to construct and maintain utilities are forms of functional decentralization. Areal decentralization, on the other hand, focuses on transferring responsibility for public function to organizations within well-defined sub-national, spatial or political boundaries--a province, district, municipality, river basin or geographical region.

A second difference can be made among three degrees of decentralization : Deconcentration ; delegation ; and devolution. This definition of decentralization is used in this report.

**5.1 Deconcentration.** Deconcentration is the least extensive form of decentralization. At one extreme this merely deals with the shifting of workload from central government ministry headquarters to staff located in offices outside of the national capital. It may not involve any decentralization of authority, that is, it may not provide opportunity to exercise substantive local discretion in decision making.<sup>12</sup> However, to move workload out of the capital may be efficient and convenient for the public and may even promote a feeling that government is close to the people. Moreover, the shifting of workload from central ministries to staff outside the capital city can have an important impact on development, and may be a crucial first step that highly centralized governments must undertake toward more extensive deconcentration later.<sup>13</sup>

A greater degree of deconcentration can be accomplished through field administration. Contrary to merely shifting workloads from central government agencies in the capital city to those in other locations, creation of a system of field administration implies the transfer of decision-making discretion to field staff, allowing them some latitude to plan, make routine decisions and adjust the implementation of central directives to local conditions, within guidelines set by the central ministries. Under a field administration system even though government officers are working within jurisdictions that may have semi-autonomous or delegated powers, field staff are a ministry's employees and remain under its direction and control.<sup>14</sup>

**5.2 Delegation.** Another form of decentralization is the delegation of decision-making and management authority for specific functions to organizations that are only under the indirect control of the central ministries. Delegation implies the transfer or creation of broad authority to plan and implement decisions concerning specific activities--or a variety of activities within specific spatial boundaries--to an organization that is technically and administratively capable of carrying them out. Often the organizations to which public functions are delegated have semi-independent authority to perform their responsibilities, and may not even be within the regular government structure. Delegation of functions from central ministries to such organizations as public corporations, regional planning, and area development

authorities, multi-purpose and single-purpose functional authorities, and project implementation units represent a more extensive form of decentralization than administrative decentralization.<sup>16</sup>

**5.3 Devolution.** The most extreme form of decentralization is devolution. It deals with the strengthening or creation of independent levels and units of government. Some administrative theorists argue that devolution is a concept and arrangement quite different from decentralization, in that it implies the divestment of functions by the central government and the creation of new units of governance outside the control of the central authority. Sherwood and others, for example, argue that decentralization and devolution are two different phenomena and would use "decentralization to describe an intra-organizational pattern of power relationships and devolution to describe an inter-organizational pattern of power relationships."<sup>16</sup>

In Thailand, the decentralization system seems to take two basic forms, namely, the deconcentration and the delegation. Ideally, the ultimate goal of Thailand's decentralization is the devolution. This goal has been attempted for years, but it has never been successfully attained. This issue will be further elaborated in Chapter III.

#### **Decentralization : Evolutionary Trends**

This Chapter briefly discusses : (1) review of past efforts in rural development, in particular, the top-down model; and the semi-bottom-up model; (2) present approaches to rural development; and (3) participation of the non-government organizations (NGOs) in rural development.

##### **1. Review of Past Efforts in Rural Development**

During 1961-1981, Thailand's rural development was based upon its four national economic development plans which essentially aimed at increasing national products and national income.

The rationale was that an increase in national products and national income would eventually lead to a raise in living standards of the country's whole population. Under past national development plans, rural people who engaged in agriculture and constitute about 70 percent of the nation's population were not given special attention by the government. The result of national economic development, if it was considered merely in terms of economic growth, was generally satisfactory. The average rate of national economic expansion was 7.8 percent annually. However, when we carefully examined the impact of development in terms of equitable distribution of development benefits we found that Thailand's economic development benefits were not equally distributed. Past national economic development has

widened a gap between the rich and the poor, particularly, between those living in rural and urban areas in different regions of Thailand.<sup>17</sup>

The main concern of this section is to review Thailand's past efforts in rural development, particularly, during the past four national economic development plans (October 1961–September 1981). What kinds of models for rural development were employed? What were the major impacts of such models upon rural communities?

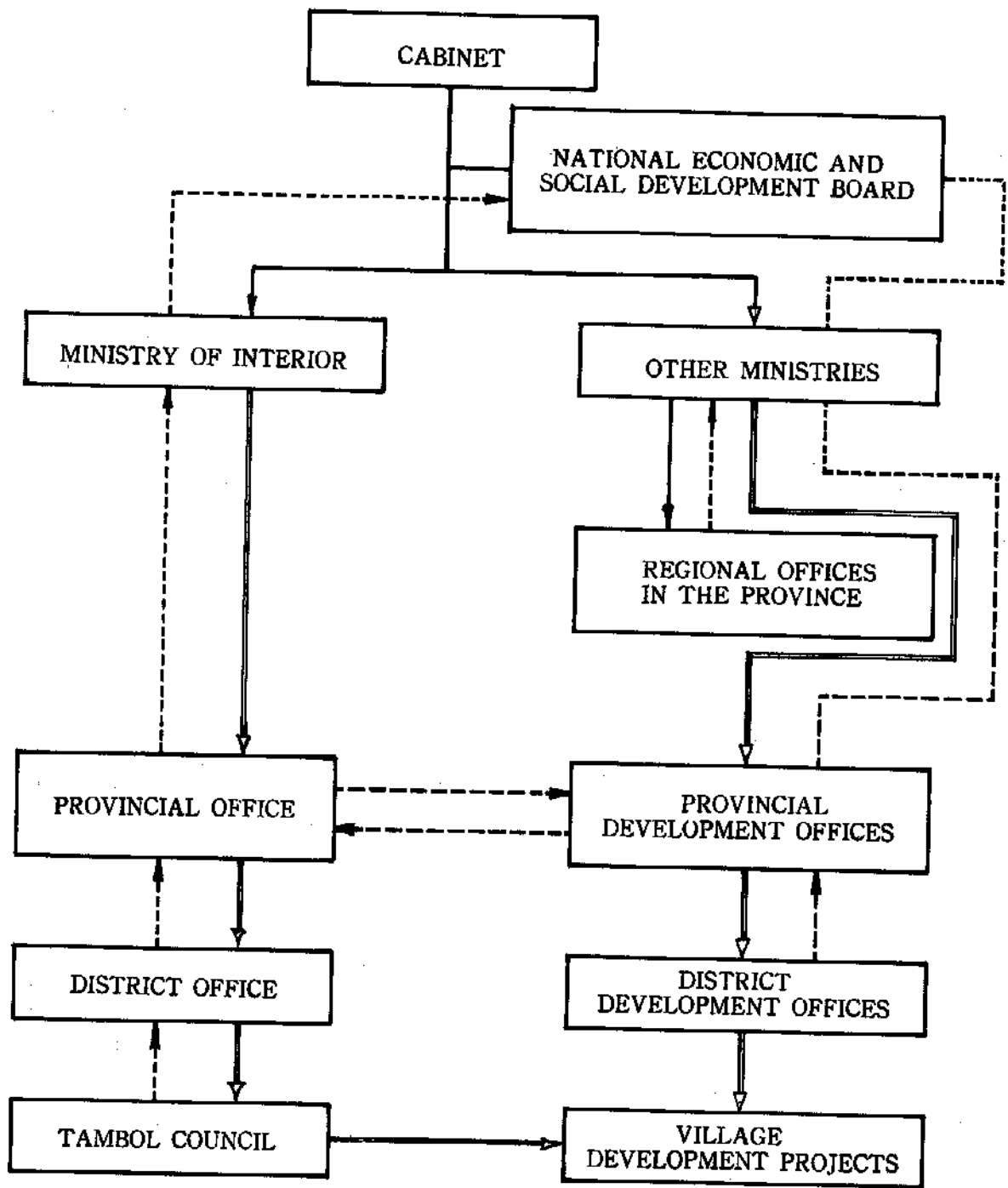
By "model," we mean "a simplified picture of a part of the real world. It has some of the characteristics of the real world, but not all of them. It is a set of interrelated abstractions about the world. Like all pictures, a model is simpler than the phenomena it is supposed to represent or explain."<sup>18</sup> There are several ways of classifying models for rural development. But one of the most useful methods is to categorize them in terms of who make decisions concerning rural development planning and program formulation. Are decisions on planning in rural development made by the top-down or the bottom-up or in between the two? By employing the above-mentioned criteria, the models are thus classified into three major models: the top-down model; the semi bottom-up model, and the bottom-up model. Only the first two models will be briefly discussed in this section, while the third one will be presented later under the section on "present approaches to rural development."

#### 1.1 The top-down model (October 1961–September 1979)

Until October 1979 when the Government adopted the Office of the Prime Minister's new Regulation on Provincial Budgetary Administration 1979<sup>19</sup> all decisions concerning rural development were made at the top (see Figure 1). Development plans and projects both at the national and local levels were essentially formulated by the central ministries. Government units at the provincial and district levels might be occasionally asked by their superiors in Bangkok to provide information concerning local needs and problems, but there was no assurance that these needs and problems would be met. The ministerial plans and projects were then submitted to the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB), and advisory arm of the cabinet, for screening before forwarding them to the cabinet (and the National Assembly) for final approval. As a result, funds for rural development projects by field agencies and provincial authorities originated from respective departments in Bangkok. There was no mechanism to ensure response to local needs and effective coordination in the use of resources at the provincial level, resulting in work duplication and waste of resources.

#### 1.2 The semi bottom-up model (October 1979–September 1981)

The inability of the previous decision-making structure to ensure response to local needs and effective coordination in the use of resources for rural



LEGEND :

—————> FLOW OF FUNDS FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT

- - - - -> FLOW OF INFORMATION FOR PURPOSES OF PLANNING AND MONITORING

FIG. 1 : THE TOP-DOWN MODEL FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT, PRIOR TO OCTOBER, 1979.



development in each province and political pressures on the government for increased local participation in the development planning has resulted in the adoption of the Regulation on Provincial Economic and Social Development Planning 1977.<sup>20</sup> But the new regulation was not implemented until 1979 when the government first allocated the budget to the provinces<sup>21</sup>. It was the first time that the concept of provincial development planning was introduced into Thailand as an integral part of the country's national development planning.

This development planning emphasized : (a) the distribution of development benefits in the rural area and an increase in the income of rural people; (b) filling to gap left by the main development projects; and (c) development projects which were consistent with the provincial development policy and responsive to local needs and problems.<sup>22</sup>

As illustrated in Figure 2, at the national level the Central Committee for Provincial Development (CCPD) acted as the policy making body for resource management in the three local self-government units namely, the Municipalities, the Sanitary Districts, and the Provincial Administrative Organizations and the Tambol Council. To formulate the provincial development plans, the Provincial Development Committee (PDC) usually identified local needs and problems from the resolutions made by the Tambol Council, the Sanitary Districts, the Municipalities including opinions obtained from members of the Provincial Council, district officers, and chiefs of the subdistricts. In theory, the PDC may request the Provincial Administrative Organization, the Sanitary Districts, and the Municipalities to submit their development projects to the PDC. However, this request was seldom made by the PDC in practice. The projects were then submitted to the CCPD for final approval, though some might need to be forwarded to the cabinet for final decision.

Despite local participation in decisions concerning development planning and management and the fact that development projects were designed at the provincial level, this new procedure had not yet made a significant impact upon its target group -- the rural farmers, because the amount of the yearly budget allocated to Municipalities, Sanitary Districts and Tambols for 72 provinces was only about one percent of the country's total expenditures.

For example, in 1980 Khon Kaen province was granted 13.65 million baht for development projects in the three local self-government units and the Tambol Councils compared with 159.5 million baht for rural employment creation given by the Rural Employment Generation Program (REGP) to the same province in 1981.<sup>23</sup>

In short, this semi bottom-up model for development planning suggested at least four important notions. First, despite there was some degree of local participation level, the province had to plan and formulate development projects

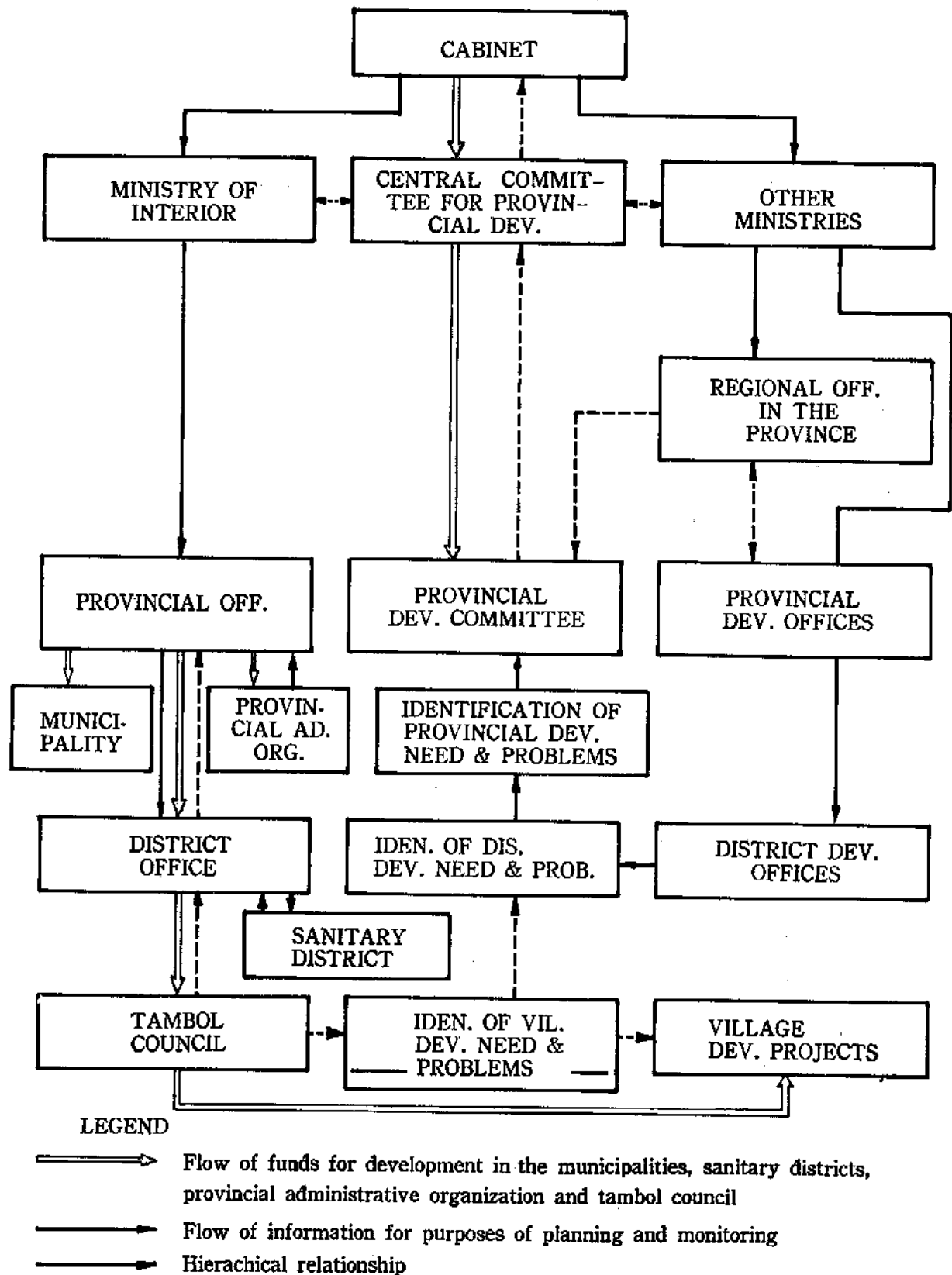


Fig 2 : The semi-bottom-up model for rural and urban development planning and management, October 1979-September 1981.

within the program frame set in advance by the central administration. Second, final approval of the provincial development projects was made by the central government.<sup>24</sup> Third, there was no participation in project planning at the lower level, especially, at the village level, thus, it was difficult to ensure response to local needs. Fourth, the resources allocated annually for the projects was very limited to yield significant impact upon rural farmers.

### 3. Present Approaches to Rural Development

As discussed previously, the result of past national development plans in terms of economic growth was generally satisfactory. However, when we closely examined the distribution of development benefits throughout the nation we found that the benefits were not equitably distributed. It is often said by Thai scholars and other Western researchers that as Thailand implements more national development plans, the rich are richer and the poor become poorer.

**Table 1** \*  
Yearly Per Capita Income Classified by  
Major Occupations in 1976  
(In Baht)\*\*

Occupation	Yearly Per Capita Income
Agriculture	7,133
Industry	45,215
Commerce	70,339
Services	72,665
Average	7,732

\*Source : Office of National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB),  
Fourth National Social and Economic Development Plan 1977-1981.

\*\*US \$ 1=20 Baht (rate of exchange in 1976).

**Table 2**  
**Distribution of Yearly Per Capita Income Classified by Regions**  
**in 1960-1979**

(in Baht)

Year	North	Northeast	South	Central Plain	Bangkok	Nation-wide
1960	1,496	1,082	2,700	2,564	5,630	2,106
1970	2,699	1,822	3,858	4,662	11,234	3,849
1979	8,781	4,991	12,683	17,655	30,161	12,067

Source : Office of National Economic and Social Development Board.

As illustrated in Table 1, the annual income per person of those engaged in agriculture was the lowest (only 7,113 baht) compared with all other occupations, especially, industry (45,215 baht), and commerce (70,339 baht). It was also lower than the average yearly per capita income of all occupations (7,732 baht). In addition, the distribution of yearly per capita income classified by regions in 1960-1979 (Table 2) suggested that the development benefits in terms of income distribution were not equally distributed among Thais living in different regions of the country. Particularly, the annual income per person in northeast Thailand was the lowest. Moreover, it was much lower than the yearly per capita income of the nation.

In addition to the past four national development plans' negative impact upon the rural poor mentioned earlier, the main problems of rural development system in Thailand prior to the adoption of the Fifth Plan (October 1981-September 1986) are extensive.

First, decisions on rural development planning and program formulation were made by agencies or officials of the central government. No clearly-defined decentralization policy to allow the local units to initiate or plan their rural development projects. Secondly, an emphasis was placed upon the Provincial Development Planning which primarily aimed at increasing the role of provincial officials to initiate and implement provincial projects by appointing the Provincial Development Committee (PCD) headed by the Governor to take care of provincial development planning. Local units, especially, the Tambol Council at the village level were not allow to submit their rural development projects. To formulate the provincial development plans, the PDC was required to identify local needs and problems from the resolutions made by the Tambol Council. Thirdly, in principle the provincial development planning should be used as an instrument to coordinate other provincial

units' development projects originated from their respective central departments. In practice, however, the budget allocated to 72 provinces for the provincial development plans was only 1 percent of the country's total expenditures. This amount of budget was not only too limited to yield significant impact upon the rural people, but also led scholars and serious development administrators to believe that the government's true objective of rural development might be to increase provincial officials' role in rural development rather than to equitably distribute development benefits to solve the problems of the rural poor. Fourth, coordination of the central ministries' development programs was taken care of by the NESDB through the process of national development planning, while coordination of 72 provincial development plans remained in the Central Committee for Provincial Development (CCPD) consisting of Permanent Under-Secretaries of State from various Ministries concerned as members. To perform the coordination task, the CCPD had an authority to allocate the budget to the PDC and to formulate provincial development policy in accordance with the objectives and policies of regional and national development. The CCPD's scope of authority was so broad that it was very difficult to effectively transform the policy guidelines into action. A review of the provincial development plans implemented in 1979 concluded that the CCPD's lack of implementation guidelines and effective project monitoring and control system were major causes accountable for the provincial projects' non-responsiveness to local needs and problems.<sup>24</sup> Finally, there were several committees responsible for Thailand's rural development both at the policy and implementation levels. Examples of the national-level committees include: the CCPD; the National Rural Employment Generation Committee (NREGC); the Central Accelerated Rural Development Committee (CARD); the National Rural Development Committee (NRDC—the Community Development Department, Ministry of Interior as Coordinator); and the Community Development Policy and Program Coordination Committee (CDPPCC). At the implementation level, these national committees had further subdivided into the provincial, district, and village committees. There was little or no coordination among these agencies resulting in the duplication of work, conflicts in certain areas and a wasteful use of resources.<sup>25</sup>

The Thai government has realized this problem. With the advice of a group of scholars, most of whom were university professors who served as the Prime Minister's advisors, Thailand has for the first time adopted a new rural development policy and a new approach to solving rural problems—the Poverty-Stricken Area Development Plan which has become effective since fiscal year 1982 as an integral part of the Fifth National Social and Economic Development Plan (October 1981–September 1986).<sup>27</sup>

For the purpose of the study, the section on present approaches to rural development discusses: (1) the bottom-up model: towards an equity model; and (2) the participation of the NGOs.

### 3.1 The bottom-up model : towards an equity model

The bottom-up model briefly examines : the Poverty-Stricken Area Development Plan; and the Rural Employment Generation Program.

#### 3.1.1 The Poverty-Stricken Area Development Plan

To implement the new rural development policy, rural development programs were formulated and executed in the so-called poverty-stricken areas in the fiscal year 1982.

The new approach to rural development is based on the following principles : <sup>28</sup>

- (1) Area developmental approach, with a focus on high density poverty areas.
- (2) The population's living standard is to be raised to a "Subsistence Level," with Minimum Basic Services to be made available everywhere in rural areas with high concentration of poverty.
- (3) The improvement of self-reliance capacity among the rural people.
- (4) The use of simple and low-cost technology.
- (5) People's participation in solving their own problems.

Under the Poverty Area Development program, 38 provinces or 286 districts and sub-districts of 12,555 villages have been identified as the target areas for development. The selection criteria is based on indicators of high density of poverty in the areas. The Development Plan for Poverty Areas has been set up for the target areas. The major objective of this Plan is to alleviate problems attributable to poverty in rural areas which include food shortages, the lack of necessary inputs for production, the prevalence of diseases and malnourishment, illiteracy as well as the lack of vocational education, etc. The implementation of this Plan is carried out under three main sub-programs, namely, village activities, production; and basic services. These three programs consisted of five projects in 1982, 26 projects in 1983 and 32 projects in 1984.<sup>29</sup>

Besides the target areas identification for development, the Fifth Plan also introduces institutional changes and improvement in the planning system to ensure unity of rural development administration and better coordination among various public agencies. Rural Development Committees are appointed at various levels, starting from the village level up to the Tambol, District, Provincial and the National level (see Fig. 3). For the first time, planning at the provincial level is

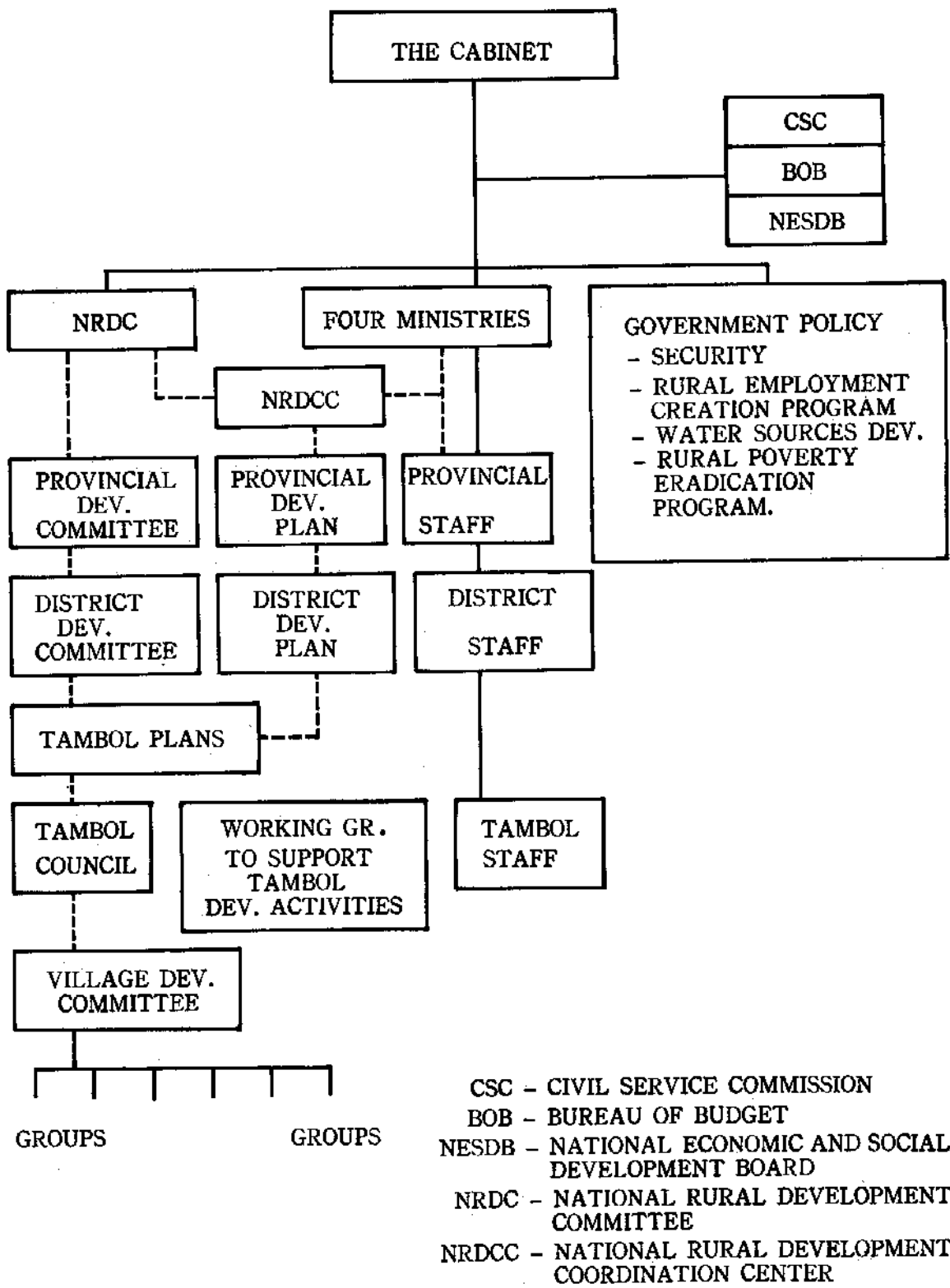


FIG. 3 : THAILAND'S NATIONAL RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT ORGANIZATION OF CURRENT RURAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES.

seriously attempted and used as a major instrument for budgetary allocation and coordination.<sup>80</sup>

The implementation of the rural development plan started in 1982. Based upon the NESDB's report, by the end of 1983, approximately 1,775 million baht have been appropriated by the Thai government for the execution of 26 development projects. In 1984 the number of projects funded by the government increased to 32. Although it is claimed that many of these projects have resulted in noticeable changes in the implementation areas, the full impacts of these projects remain to be systematically evaluated.<sup>81</sup>

Moreover, several projects for land rehabilitation have also been implemented : the projects on the development of saline soil in the North to disseminate the knowledge and techniques on the conservation of soil fertility to about 50,000 farmers, and the project on land development by the use of organic substances with the objective to increase the farmers' production by at least 20%. Naturally, the effects of these projects will not be realized for some time.<sup>82</sup> Therefore, a monitoring system should be established to ensure that resources for rural development are used efficiently.

The NESDB Mid-Plan Review also points out many government services, including those that have never been provided, have now been distributed specifically to the rural farmers.<sup>83</sup> These include education, primary health care, legal advice, etc. Thus, new district hospitals have been set up in 17 districts. About 6,000 drug funds have been created to provide cheaper and safer quality drugs to rural people; and about 6,000 families and more than 1,000 schools have been provided with clean water for consumption. Disease prevention and control have been expanded to cover an additional 300,000 people in poverty areas. Dissemination of basic knowledge on legal matters as related to daily life has resulted in the decrease of illegal practices and legal services have been given to the people in pursuing cases in courts. The Mobile Unit Project for District Services has been created and implemented to enable the rural people to get easier and less expensive access to government services.<sup>84</sup>

Despite these reported achievements mentioned above, it should be stated here that the full impacts of the new approach to rural development remain to be objectively assessed after the completion of the plan. At this moment, however, some problems and obstacles to rural growth have been mentioned. These include the inconsistency of the projects with local conditions, the lack of adequate participation of the people in implementing projects, the lack of proper understanding on the part of field officers, the delays in budget disbursements and project implementation need for monitoring and so on. Continuing revisions and modifications of the Plan are necessary to achieve the objectives of the Plan more effectively.<sup>85</sup>



### 3.1.2 The Rural Employment Generation Program (REGP)

In April 1980, the Thai Government has first introduced the Rural Employment Generation Program (REGP) into non-irrigated rural areas and allocated 3,500 million baht to all Tambol Councils in the country. Since then, about the same amount of annual budget has been continuously funded for implementing the program. One of the most important program objectives, in addition to creating rural jobs in non-farm season and raising rural villages' income and others, is to experiment and evaluate how well Tambol Councils, the people's organization at the village level, can plan and implement their rural development project.<sup>86</sup> The REGP is based upon the following principles : (1) water resource development for domestic use and farm irrigation; (2) the bottom-up rural development planning and project formulation; (3) deconcentration and delegation of authority in decision-making to the provinces, districts, and Tambol Councils with respect to the reallocation of resources for various projects within the approved budget and project implementation with as least intervention as possible by the central government; and (4) an increase in income of the farmers who faced with drought, poverty, and unemployment problems is given top priority over the project achievement in order to prevent them from migrating to seek employment in Bangkok and to increase their purchasing power.<sup>87</sup>

Like the Poverty-Stricken Area Development Plan (PSADP), the Committees have been at various levels, starting from the national level down to the provincial, district, and Tambol level, to implement the REGP. Since, by nature, the REGP is a kind of rural development program it should therefore be under the responsibility of the National Rural Development Committee (NRDC) similar to the PSADP. There are at least two main reasons for the present government's reluctance to put the REGP under the NRDC : (1) the REGC was introduced into the country before the adoption of the NRDC; and (2) the REGC was initiated by the Social Action Party, the then major party in the government, with the aim of using Tambol money as a tool for election campaign purposes. Since then the Tambol money has been successfully used for the above objective by most members of the House of Representatives. Thus, it is not easy for the Government to abolish the REGP Committees and treat the REGP as a rural development program under the NRDC without resistance from the House members and some Cabinet members.

The REGP impacts on rural areas were annually reviewed by several groups of scholars from various universities, such as, Chulalongkorn and Thammasat Universities in Bangkok, Chiang Mai, Khon Kaen, and Songkhla Universities in the north, the northeast, and the south respectively. Some rural changes resulted from the REGP implementation have been noted. For example, in 1985, 1,038,187 rural farmers were employed during off-farm season and over 13,000 projects were completed.<sup>88</sup>

In some cases, however, the introduction of the REGP to raise rural income may also backfire. It is claimed, for instance, that the rural job generation program in some areas has threatened the existing tradition of assisting one another in planting harvesting seasons.<sup>39</sup> There have also been some complaints about mismanagement of the program and improper use of Tambol budget.<sup>40</sup> To reduce the problem of the lack of unity of rural development administration, the REGP should, step by step, be placed under the NRDC eventually.

### 3.2 Participation of the Non-Governmental Organizations

Thailand's NGO sector is large and relatively dynamic and is known for its concern for society. The nature of these organizations varies, ranging from religious and voluntary agencies, charitable organizations, ideological and interest groups, civic and social action groups, and so on. It is conservatively calculated that over 100 NGOs are known to be engaged with rural development activities.

Because of the NGOs' flexibility, they tend to be more effective in dealing with the "human factor" at the small-scale operation such as family, small groups or village, and in securing villagers' participation in development. Despite their potential and strong will, the NGOs have been underutilized for various reasons, however. First, the government's attitude toward the NGOs in the past was at best permissive, and there was even mistrust in some cases. Secondly, some of these organizations have no experience in dealing with complex problems, such as, technical knowhow in production, marketing, local traditions, and so on. Finally, shortage of financial support and inadequacy of full-time staff make NGOs more difficult to be fully committed to rural development activities.

To be more effective and to fully utilize the potentials of the NGOs in Thailand, there is a need for combined efforts on the NGOs' part to establish their credentials with the government as well as their credibility with the people with whom they work. Financial and technical assistance is also required from the government as well as from foreign development assistance organizations. Financial resources from the private sector may also be channeled through the NGOs to the rural areas, and hence a less dependence on the government's budget<sup>41</sup>.

Coordination between the GOs and the NGOs should be worked out so that conflicts and duplication of functions can be minimized. One method of enhancing a better coordination between the GOs and the NGOs is to include representatives of the NGOs in the policy-making committee (the NRDC) and the implementation committees (the Provincial Development Committee or the PDC and the District Development Committee or the DDC). Moreover, to encourage local participation, the local NGOs in cooperation with the NGOs, should work closely with local leaders, including current Village Development Committee, Tambol Council, religious groups and other local interest groups. These groups should be

trained how to organize themselves, identify their own problems and potentials, and mobilize their local resources. More importantly, they should be completely independent of government officials' dominance in managing their own activities.

### Critical Analysis of Decentralization for Rural Development

Chapter III deals with Critical Analysis of Decentralization for Rural Development. The topics Discussed include : elements or factors of decentralization; activities decentralized; types of decentralization; and strengths and weaknesses.

#### 1. Elements of Decentralization

Table 3

Elements of Decentralization for Rural Development

Kinds of Programs	Elements of Decentralization						Participatory Mechanism
	Policies	Political Leadership	Education	Organization	Finance	Personnel	
1. The Poverty-Stricken Area Development Plan (PSADP)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
2. The Rural Employment Generation Program (REGP)	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
3. Other Rural Development Programs of Central Ministries	Not Clear	Not Clear	Not Clear	No	No	No	No

As shown in Table 3, policies on decentralization for rural development, especially, with regard to the PSADP and the REGP, have been repeatedly advocated by the present Government under the leadership of Prime Minister Prem Tinnasulanonda since he first became the Premier in 1978.<sup>42</sup> This kind of policy commitment by political leaders is one of the most important factors contributing to the success of policy implementation. There is no clear policy on decentralization for other rural development programs of the central ministries, however.

Another important element of decentralization is education, particularly, primary education in the rural villages. Under the PSADP, village schools are granted more budget and equipment with some degree of freedom of project operation to strengthen the schools' capacity in providing education services to the rural people. In 1983, for example, 1,000 local schools were allocated 120 million baht to run their own projects through Provincial and District Primary Education Committees, some of whose members are elected by local teachers.<sup>43</sup>

Under the PSADP and the REGP, Committees at various levels especially, at the provincial and district levels, have been set up to participate in local development planning and project formulation in the provinces and districts, while other rural development programs of central ministries are generally formulated by the central agencies and then forward to their respective field units in the provinces for implementation. There is little or no coordination among these central agencies resulting in duplication and overlapping in certain areas and a waste in resource use.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, decisions on finance (in terms of budget allocation, and personnel management (especially, middle-level and senior officials) are basically made by the central ministries for all three kinds of the rural programs.

Finally, under other rural development programs of the central ministries there is no requirement for local involvement in rural development projects, while people's participation in project formulation under the PSADP and the REGP, especially, at the village level, is allowed through the Tambol Council.

## 2. Activities Decentralized

There may be several ways of examining activities decentralized for rural development. One method of looking at the problem which is also used in this study is to investigate activities as they relate to project planning and management cycle. By employing this focus, the activities are classified into 7 groups: (1) identification of program/project needs and provincial target areas; (2) identification of village target areas/groups; (3) project need proposal/priority setting; (4) program/project planning and formulation; (5) program/project implementation; (6) program/project monitoring and control; and (7) program and project evaluation.<sup>45</sup>

As may be seen in Table 4, local villagers' participation in the PSADP is limited to the preparation of project need proposals and project priority ranking only, but subject to final approval of the district and provincial officials (the DDC and the PDC). That is, a VC, which is composed of local farmers, of each village is allowed to prepare the village's project need proposals and submit them to the TC. The TC, the people's organization at the Tambol level is empowered to rank priority of the proposals before forwarding them to the DDC for screening and to

**Table 4**  
**Activities Decentralized and Responsible Agencies for Rural Development**

List of Activities Decentralized	Kinds of Programs								
	PSADP			REGP			Others		
	Responsible-Agencies			Responsible-Agencies			Responsible-Agencies		
	NESDB, CM	PDC, DDC	VC, TC	NESDB CM	DREGC, PREGC	VC,	NESDB, CM	PDC, DDC	VC, TC
1. Identification of program/project needs and provincial target areas.	NESDB	-	-	-	PREGC	-	CM	-	-
2. Identification of village target areas/groups	-	DDC	-	-	-	TC	CM	-	-
3. Project need proposal/priority setting.	-	-	VC/TC	-	-	TC	CM	-	-
4. Program/project planning and formulation	-	DDC, PDC	-	-	-	TC	CM	-	-
5. Program/project implementation	-	DDC	TC	-	-	TC	-	PDC, DDC	-
6. Program/project monitoring and control	-	PDC	-	-	PREGC	-	CM	-	-
7. Program/project evaluation	NESDB	-	-	UR	-	-	Not Clear	-	-

NESDB = National Economic and Social Development Board.

CM = Central Ministries.

PDC = Provincial Development Committee.

DDC = District Development Committee.

TC = Tambol Council, the People's Organization.

VC = Village Committee

DREGC = District Rural Employment Generation Committee.

PREGC = Provincial Rural Employment Generation Committee.

UR = University Researchers.

the PPC for final approval. The PDC, upon approval of the proposed projects, integrates the projects into the provincial rural development programs.<sup>46</sup> However, the task of identifying project needs and provincial target areas, one of the most important rural development activities, was performed solely by the NESDB in Bangkok by setting up 15 rural development program frames to be executed in 37 designated provinces considered as poverty-stricken provinces (by the NESDB). Similarly, the selection of village target areas is made by the district officials (the DDC) instead of allowing rural farmers who know their problems better than district officials to participate in the selection process. As a result, this tended to cause a high percentage of rural projects implemented in non-poverty stricken areas because many implementors tended to carry out their rural projects in the rural areas that had potentials to develop instead of choosing the target areas.<sup>47</sup> This problem led to frequent changes in target areas which were major factors accountable for a delay in budget allocation and project completion.<sup>48</sup> In brief, rural villagers' participation in the PSADP is very limited.

In contrast, under the REGP rural farmers (the TC) are permitted to take part in many kinds of rural development affairs, including the identification of village target areas; the preparation of project need proposals; the planning and formulation of Tambol projects, especially, at the Tambol level.<sup>49</sup> Project needs in each province are identified by provincial officials or the PREGC based up on two major criteria set by the National Rural Employment Generation Committee (the REGC), namely, the rainfall index or the annual amount of rainfall in each province which reflects a shortage of water for farming and domestic consumption and the income index or the yearly per capita income of each province compared with the nation's annual per capita income which implies how poor the people in each province are. REGP resources allocated to each province are based on the degree of need in the province measured by the two major indices.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, the activity concerning Tambol project monitoring and control is carried out by the Provincial Rural Employment Generation Committee (the PREGC) who is also assisted by the District Officer. However, evaluation of Tambol projects is taken care of by outside agencies (researchers from various universities). In short, under the REGP rural people are granted more authority than that of the PSADP to make decisions on various kinds of rural development activities.

Contrary to the REGP, rural villagers (the TC) are not allowed to participate in planning and formulation of the central ministries' rural programs implemented in the villages. All activities concerning project planning and management cycle listed in Table 4 are taken care of by the central ministries concerned. Only the district and provincial officials (the DDC and the PDC) are assigned to implement rural projects. Similar to the PSADP, there is no systematic project evaluation under the central ministries' rural program which is contrary to the REGP's evaluation system. Most project evaluation conducted by the central ministries, if any,

has been in the form of reporting evaluation rather than employing an evaluative research system.<sup>51</sup> In conclusion, under the central ministries' rural programs rural people are not allowed to take part in project planning and formulation and only the district and provincial officials are assigned to execute rural projects.

### 3. Types of Decentralization

Types of decentralization reflect how much authority in rural development planning and project formulation is granted to local units to ensure response to local needs.

As illustrated in Table 5, decentralization under the PSADP and the REGP is mainly in the form of deconcentration and partly in the form of delegation, especially, at the provincial level. At the Tambol level, under the REGP rural villagers are granted more authority than that such a PSADP to make decisions on rural development activities as shown in Table 4. However, rural farmers are allowed to plan and formulate rural projects within the provincial program frames, and according to project priorities ranked in advance by the province. The TC is allowed to submit its supplementary projects at the maximum of 30% of all Tambol

**Table 5**  
Types of Decentralization of Rural Development

Kinds of Programs	Types of Decentralization		
	Deconcentration	Delegation	Devolution
1. The Poverty-Stricken Area Development Plan (PSADP)	X	X	
2. The Rural Employment Generation Program (REGP)	X	X	
3. Other Rural Development Programs of Central Ministries	X		

projects submitted to the province.<sup>52</sup> Although the ultimate goal of the government's decentralization policy on rural development is devolution, especially, at the village level, implementation programs are not designed in such a way that they contribute to success of the policy.

#### 4. Strengths and Weaknesses

Perhaps the most important advantage of the present rural development system is the creation of the central agency—the National Rural Development Committee headed by the Prime Minister, to replace other previously-established organizations in dealing with the nation's policies on rural development. It is the first time that four main Ministries (Ministries of Agriculture and cooperatives, Interior, Education, and Public Health) responsible for rural development jointly formulate and implement development programs in 38 provinces designed as poverty target areas. In addition, Provincial and District Development Committees have also been appointed to serve similar purposes in the provinces and districts respectively. As a result, it helps reduce many coordination problems in rural development.

An evaluation of the present system, however, suggests that the system is not as effective as intended because of several problems. First, the REGP presently has separate Committees responsible for rural job creation program both at policy and implementation levels. At the national or policy level, the Rural Employment Generation Committee (the REGC) headed by the Prime Minister (similar to the NRDC) and having representatives from the four major Ministries as the NRDC as members is responsible for policy making concerning rural job creation programs in the country. At the implementation level, the Provincial rural Employment Generation Committee (the PREGC) chaired by the Provincial Governor is empowered to administer rural job generation policy in the province, while the District Rural Employment Generation Committee (the DREGC) led by the District Officer is assigned to carry out rural job creation projects in the district.<sup>53</sup> These organizations result in the lack of unity of rural development administration. Second, provincial and district development programs are not effectively formulated. In principle, an effective program should be formulated in such a way that it consists of a set of projects each of which may have specific project objective (s), but all of them are aimed at assisting in realizing the overall program objectives. In practice, however, the program mainly consists unrelated projects all of which are irrelevant to program objectives. Third, the central ministries' program frames are not flexible enough to accommodate diverse settings in each province resulting in the program's lack of responsiveness to local needs. Fourthly, the central ministries' reluctance to decentralize authority in decision making, particularly, with regard to financial matters to the provinces is another problem accountable for the ineffectiveness of the program. Fifth, the lack of effective information system for manage-



ment and the shortage of effective evaluation system nationally and locally are major factors responsible for the program ineffectiveness.

Finally, the role of non-governmental organizations in national rural development should be increased recognized by the government by inviting them to work cooperatively with the public sector in performing the mission.<sup>54</sup> The above mentioned problems are merely examples of the major drawbacks of the present rural development system.

### **Search for Alternatives**

Chapter IV analyzes the Search for Alternatives. The topics examined cover : (1) new alternatives; (2) successful innovations; and (3) measures taken to reduce some of the deficiencies/hindrances.

#### **1. New Alternatives**

A study from Chapter II and Chapter III suggests that presently there are at least two major types of rural development programs implementing in the rural areas : the public agencies' rural development program; and the program initiated and run by the private sector or non-governmental organization (NGOs). A review of recent efforts in rural development at the micro level reveals that there seem to be the third kind of rural development program--the program initiated and run by rural villagers with certain kinds of government assistance that is beyond the local capacity to help themselves.

Presently, the first kind of rural program includes : the PSADP; the REGP; and other rural development programs of the central ministries. At present, all public agencies' rural programs operate under the present system of rural development (the NRDC), except for the REGP which has a separate system (the NREGC). One of the most important advantages of the present rural development system is it assists in enhancing a better unity of rural development administration and reducing some of the coordination problems in development planning and program formulation. It is not as effective as intended, however. Recently, efforts have been made by the Government to solve the system's major problems or deficiencies. These measures will be further discussed in the section on "Measures Taken to Reduce Some of the Deficiencies/Hindrances."

A study of the role of NGOs in rural development suggests that there are over 100 private organizations presently engaged in rural development efforts. However, the NGOs' role has not been formally recognized by the Government until recently. A review of some of the NGOs' rural programs reveals that some rural programs of the NGOs are even more effective than certain government

agencies' programs. For example, the study of the People's Irrigation Systems (PISs) in Northern villages of Thailand reveals that the PISs have been effective for over 700 years. This village irrigation project is initiated and managed by rural farmers. The project activities range from the construction of weir; water distribution; maintenance and repairs of weir; cleaning of weir, conflict management among water users; and election of weir administrators. The project's objective is to develop village water resource mainly for farm irrigation and partly for domestic use. Most PISs have been reported successful in realizing the projective objective.<sup>55</sup>

Dr. Chartchai's case study of San Pu Loei rice bank -- a village rice bank project in Chiang Mai reflects another illustration of the successful rural project initiated and managed by local villagers. The project contains two main objectives. (1) as a business organization; and (2) as a social organization. As a business organization, the rice bank committee's financial management capacity has been quite impressive. The organization has made large profits from rice trading. As a social organization, San Pu Loei rice bank is not able to render adequate assistance to poor villagers who confronted with rice shortage problem, however.<sup>56</sup> It is said that the government's adoption of the village rice bank projects under the PASDP has been basically influenced by the success of the Chiang Mai's San Pu Loei case. Review of the government's rice bank projects suggests that the projects generally have been less successful compared with the Chiang Mai's case.

Illustrations of the third type of rural programs are certain village development projects of some provinces in the Northeast, such as in Loei, Khon Kaen, and Korat (Nakornratchasima). For instance, the Korat Development Project (KRDP) -- the people-government joint rural project has often been mentioned as a relatively successful rural project from which others should learn. By using indicators of the Basic Minimum Needs as measures of project success, providing training services to the staff of Tambol Council on : project need identification; project planning and formulation; project implementation; and project monitoring and control; combined with more effective cooperation and coordination among government units concerned in the province, the KRDP has been successfully implemented.<sup>57</sup>

## 2. Successful Innovations

The successful Korat case might imply that a rural development project could be successfully implemented if the people and government officials closely and cooperatively worked together. There may be several other successful village projects in other parts of Thailand similar to the Korat case from which we could learn. A systematic study should be conducted to identify such projects and uncover the major factors contributing to success of the projects. The findings

could be not only a good lesson for us, but also used as a useful strategy for rural development efforts in the country.

Moreover, the Chiang Mai's case might serve a good example of how the private-sector successfully implemented the project. There may be other successful cases elsewhere similar to the Chiang Mai's project and should be systematically studied for similar purposes.

### **3. Measures Taken to Reduce Some of the Deficiencies/Hindrances**

Recently attempts have been made by the government to reduce some of the deficiencies of the Rural Development System.

The coordination problem among central ministries and field units in the province and district has been tackled by the creation of Rural Development Committees at various levels, ranging from the national, down to the provincial, and district levels. Since this system is new, there are some problems remain to be solved.

The problem concerning integration of the central ministries' top-down programs and the bottom-up projects of the villages and districts have been reduced by using the Provincial Development Planning as a tool for budget allocation and coordination. The shortage of reliable and valid information for decision making in rural development has been handled by the establishment of the Management Information System (MIS) at Thammasat University and is planned to fully utilize this kind of information in the Sixth Plan. The feeling that there would be no continuity of rural development policy and policy implementation if General Prem was no longer a Premier after 1986 election should be minimized because the Government has already listed the continuity problem major policy issue in the Sixth Plan. The provincial level's lack of adequate authority in decision making concerning rural development has been slightly reduced by granting the governor's more spending authority. This is not adequate, if the province is to effectively plan and implement provincial development programs. The government's lack of recognition of the NGOs' role in rural development should be reduced because the Thai administration has formally mentioned this problem and treated the issue as a major policy issue to be implemented in the Sixth Plan.<sup>68</sup>

### **4. New Concept/Model of Decentralization**

The most desirable ultimate goal of decentralization as perceived by scholars in developing nations as well as in developed countries is devolution -- granting a full autonomy to local governments so that local people can determine their own destination. Past experiences in applying this concept in developing

nations, including Thailand suggest that it is not easy to effectively attain this goal.

At present, the concept of decentralization for rural development tends to be defined in terms of degree of decentralization : deconcentration ; delegation and devolution. There is no real devolution applied in Thailand even in the case of municipalities the most autonomous local government units in the country. However, in other countries with decentralization or devolution, the forms or quality of participation become important.

Moreover, instead of requesting the government to grant full autonomy so that local units can work independently from the central government, most developing nations, including Thailand tend to search for other alternatives-- methods of organization that enhance the cooperative efforts of government agencies and the people, particularly, with regard to projects which have national impacts, as national rural development programs. The point at issue is : what is that alternative? This question is subject to be further explored at this meeting.

### **Conclusions**

This Chapter discusses ; (1) conclusions of country report ; (2) relevance of conclusions with case study ; and (3) policy implications.

#### **1. Conclusions of Country Report**

This country report is an attempt to review past efforts in rural development and analyze present approaches to rural progress, particularly, with regard to decentralization for rural development in Thailand.

The study suggests that during the past four national development plans, the top-down model for rural development was mainly utilized, that is, rural development planning and program formulation was made by the central administration. Though during the implementation of the Fourth Plan, the semi-bottom-up approach to rural development was employed ; it was essentially ritual, and was not as effective as intended.

The bottom-up model has been attempted since the adoption of Fifth Plan (October 1981-September 1986).

Under the present system, some of the problems of coordination in rural development planning and program formulation among public agencies have been reduced by the government's creation of Rural Development Committees at various levels, ranging from the national and down to the provincial, district, and village levels. Structurally, the system seems to allow some degree of local participa-

tion, especially, at the village level. In practice, however, Tambol Council's decisions on project planning and formulation tend to be influenced by district and provincial officials. In brief, rural development programs implemented in the localities were reported less effective and there was no assurance of program responsiveness to local needs.

The successful Korat case may imply that a rural development project could be effectively executed if the people and government officials would closely and cooperatively work together. The success of the People's Rural Projects such as, the Chiang Mai's rice bank case and the PIS in northern Thailand have suggested that the role of the NGOs in rural development efforts should be formally recognized and encouraged by the government. The cases also imply that some NGO's rural development projects are more effective compared with some rural projects of certain public agencies.

#### **Relevance of Conclusions with Case Study**

The conclusions of this study suggest, among other things, that certain rural projects initiated and managed by rural farmers, such as the PISs in Northern villages of Thailand are even more effective in comparison with some public agencies' rural programs. The Chiang Mai's rice bank case is another successful rural project run by the local people, therefore, supports the study's conclusions.

#### **3. Policy Implications**

The findings of this country report have at least four main policy implications. First, the present approach to rural development is moving toward the right direction. To be more effective, continuing revisions and modifications of the Plan and rural development programs are required to effectively achieve program objectives. Secondly, policy regarding the role of NGOs in rural development should be stated clearly in the Sixth Plan and effective programs to implement the policy should be urgently developed. Thirdly, the concept of decentralization applied in developing nations including Thailand should be defined in terms of degree of decentralization and based upon the local setting of each country. Any attempt to adopt the Western concept without modifying it to fit local cultures is likely to fail. Finally, success of decentralization for rural development requires continuing and firm commitment on the part of the government both at policy and implementation levels. Particularly, government officials should adopt a more positive attitude toward rural villagers. If the poor people are to become self-reliant in the long run, public servants should get rid of the notions that rural farmers are ignorant and are not ready to determine their destination and make their own decisions.

## END NOTES

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<sup>3</sup>See World Bank, *The Assault on World Poverty* (Baltimore : John Hopkins, 1975), pp. 90-98.

<sup>4</sup>Rondinelli, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

<sup>5</sup>United Nations Development Program (UNDP) *Rural Development : Issues and Approaches for Technical Cooperation. Evaluation Study No. 3* (New York : UNDP, 1979), p. 104.

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<sup>7</sup>G. Shabbir Cheema and Dennis A. Rondinelli (eds.), *Decentralization and Development : Policy Implementation in Developing Countries* (Beverly Hills, California : Sage Publications, Inc., 1983), pp. 9-10.

<sup>8</sup>Thavan Voratheputipong, "Organization for Rural Development," in Chakrit Noranitipadungkarn (ed.), *Rural Development Administration* (Bangkok : O.S. Printing House Co., Ltd., 1984), pp. 149-150.

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<sup>10</sup>Rural Economic Recovery Coordination Committee Center for Natural Disaster Victims, Ministry of Interior, "Prime Minister Office's Regulation on Rural Economic Recovery Project 1978," *Manual for Implementing the Rural Economic Recovery Project* (Bangkok : Prachachon Company, Ltd., 1978), No. 6 and No. 12, p. 27.

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<sup>13</sup>Rondinelli, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>16</sup>For further information see Frank P. Sherwood, "Devolution as a Problem of Organization Strategy," in R.T. Daland (ed.), *Comparative Urban Research* (Beverly Hills : Sage Publications, 1969), pp. 60-87.

<sup>17</sup>Office of National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB), *Poverty-Stricken Area Development Plan 1982-1986* (Bangkok : Comrade Printing Co., 1982), p. 2.

<sup>18</sup>Charles A. Love and James G. March, *An Introduction to Models in the Social Sciences* (New York : Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., 1975), p. 8.

<sup>19</sup>See Prime Minister Office, *Regulation on Provincial Budgetary Administration 1979* (mimeographed).

<sup>20</sup>Office of the Prime Minister, *Regulation on Provincial Economic and Social Development Planning 1977* (mimeographed).

<sup>21</sup>See *Regulation on Provincial Budgetary Administration 1979*, *op. cit.*

<sup>22</sup>Regional Planning Division, NESDB, *Policies and Guidelines for Implementation of the Provincial Development Plan in 1980* (mimeographed).

<sup>23</sup>For further information see Thavan Vorathepputipong, *Decision-Making Structure Structure and Resource Management in the Nam Pong River Basin*, Research Report No. 799, submitted to the Research Promotion Committee, National Institute of Development Administration, June 1982, p. 15.

<sup>24</sup>Regional Planning Division, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>25</sup>Kosit Panpiemrat, "Coordination Between Central Administration and Local Government in Rural Development," in Office of the Prime Minister and Asian Institute of Technology, *Proceedings of the Seminar on Cooperation and Coordination in Rural Development*, October 1979, pp. 16-22; and Thavan Vorathepputipong, "Organization for Rural Development," in Chakrit Noranitipadungkarn (ed.), *Rural Development Administration* (Bangkok : O.S. Printing House Co., 1984), pp. 150-151.

<sup>26</sup>Thavan, *Ibid.*, p. 158.

<sup>27</sup>NESDB, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>28</sup>National Rural Development Coordination Center, NESDB, *Rural Poverty-Stricken Area Development Plan 1983* (Bangkok : United Agricultural Cooperatives Printing of Thailand, Ltd., 1983), p. 4.

<sup>29</sup>Thai University Research Association (TURA), *Seminar on Rural Development in Thailand* (Bangkok : Department of Technical and Economic Cooperation and the Canadian International Development Agency, 1986), p. 14.

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<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>33</sup>NESDB, *Progress Report on the Implementation of Development Plan for Poverty-Stricken Areas in 1982-1983*, (mimeographed), December 1983.

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<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>36</sup>The Prime Minister's Secretary-General Office, *Rural Employment Generation Program 1980* (Bangkok : The Secretariat Office of the Rural Employment Generation Program, 1980), p. 4.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 5.

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<sup>39</sup>TURA, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

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<sup>44</sup>Meechai Ruechupan, Minister attached to the Prime Minister's Office, "Policies on Rural Development under the Sixth National Economic and



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<sup>46</sup>Ministry of Interior, Circulation Letter No. 1159 dated on September 28, 1981, *Processes and Operating Procedures for the Formulation of the Rural Development Programs in the Poverty-Stricken Areas*, Sent to all Provincial Governors by the Permanent Under-Secretary of the Interior Ministry.

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<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>49</sup>Office of the Prime Minister, *The Prime Minister Office's Regulations on Rural Employment Generation Program 1980*, Sections 16-18.

<sup>50</sup>Office of the Prime Minister's Secretary General, *Rural Employment Generation Programs 1980* (Bangkok : Office of the Prime Minister's Secretary General, 1980), pp. 7-8.

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<sup>52</sup>Office of the Prime Minister, *op. cit.*, section 16.

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, Section 5-8.

<sup>54</sup>Meechai, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-6.

<sup>55</sup>For further information, see Thavan Vorathepputipong, *Land and Water Development in the People's Irrigation System (PIS) of Northern Thailand : Institutional Authority and Structure of the PIS*, A Research Report Submitted to the MOAC, Thailand, and the IFAD, UNO, February 1986 (Mimeographed).

<sup>56</sup>For further information, see Chartchai Na Chiangmai, *The Dynamics of Participation in Thai Rural Development : A Case Study of San Pu Loei Rice Bank*, A paper presented at the First Project Review Meeting on "Decentralization for Rural Development," 2-26 April, 1986, Chiangmai, Thailand.

<sup>57</sup>For further details, see Sawai Pammanee, *Thailand's Case Report on Korat Development Project*, A Paper Presented at the Third Asean Conference on Civil Service Reforms, May 1985, Bangkok, Thailand.

<sup>58</sup>National Rural Development Center, *A Summary of National Rural Development Plan under the Sixth National Economic and Social Development Plan* (October 1986-September 1991), March 1986, pp. 1-21.