

"THE OPIUM OF THE PEOPLE..." A Brief Survey of Some Protestant Development Strategies in Northwest Thailand

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"Every man should be skilled in the art of drinking tea, drinking liquor, eating and making love..." *Lisu motto.*

In Paris, in 1670, J.P. De Marine S.J. was unable to contain his exasperation at the "confidence" of the Siamese in their Buddhist "priests" and images as a principal cause of their refusal to accept the Christian faith.* One thing apparently remains constant over the centuries: the "confidence" and the devotedness of the Thai people towards their Buddhist religion is seen in the fact that from a population in 1989 of something over fifty-four million there are probably less than half a million practising Christians of all persuasions (0.5%).² Yet the paucity of numbers has not stopped the Christian churches from exhibiting a visible presence in Thailand through the provision of schools, tertiary institutes, hospitals and medical centres in the cities. Many of these schools are extremely prestigious: the Catholic Assumption College in Bangkok takes up almost one side of a city block, with students drawn from the families of predominantly rich Thai Buddhists. The equally prominent and famous Protestant school in Chiang Mai, The Prince Royal's School, also attracts students from similar backgrounds.

In comparison it may be noted that in the Huai Manao region in Chan Thong District in the area of the Hill Tribes, out of a total of 604 school-age children only 304 (50.1%) were actually in school at any one time. From a total of 1,200 people of working age only 266 (21.80%) had ever received any kind of education.³

That perhaps the majority of those who benefit from all this expensive Christian endeavour are still and likely to remain Buddhists or animists is, so it would appear, of secondary importance to both the Catholic and Protestant churches in Thailand.⁴ By showing a compassionate, sensitive and caring presence, the churches believe that besides carrying out the evangelical precepts they are also helping to create an environment in which Christian verities may be discussed and examined freely, with the future anticipation that with the claims of Christianity having been examined in this way, there may be an avowal of Christian belief forthcoming from some.⁵

Yet for the most part, there appears to be little doubt that where Christianity has been espoused, it has for the most part been taken up by those who have never been Buddhists. And as in the northeastern border areas of Burma, so in the northern and northwestern border regions of Thailand; it is the members of the Hill Tribes who have become Christians.⁶ From a Thai point of view, these Hill Tribes are the aboriginals of Thailand. Their facial, cultural and societal attributes are not Thai.⁷ Religiously they are animists, agriculturalists living in the sparsely settled mountains of northern and southwestern Thailand, and, for many of them, blood-kin to those Hill Tribes over the border in Burma—Karens, Shans, Kachins, Karenni.⁸ They are scattered over twenty-one Thai provinces,⁹ and up until 1985 it was estimated that there were nearly half a million of these Hill Tribe peoples. Of this number 235,622 are Karens or 51.54% and they are the largest group;¹⁰ the Khamu, numbering only 5,355 or 1.17%, are the smallest.¹¹

The Hill Tribes may be divided into two groups, identified by geographic location. What are called the low hill and high valley peoples comprise the Karen, Lua, Khamu and H'tin peoples.¹² Traditionally they practice rotational farming in fixed village boundaries. Where there is enough water they make rice terraces as well as growing some vegetables. In the main they might be called subsistence farmers able to sell a little

* *L' état présent de l' église de la Chine et des autres royaumes voisins.*

surplus in good seasons.¹³ These people have never been opium poppy growers, principally because the opium poppy does not grow successfully below one thousand metres—which does not necessarily suggest that given the right opportunities they might have traded in the opium poppy. These tribespeople, particularly the Karens, are monogamous, and therefore because of this religious and social tradition they have been more open to Christian evangelisation.¹⁴

Up in the highlands and upper reaches of the mountain ranges where the opium poppy is grown successfully, the tribes of the Meo, Yao, Lahu, Lisu and Akha are also swidden agriculturists, whose main crop is the opium poppy.¹⁵ These Hill Tribes migrated into Thailand from Burma and Laos during this century and because of the nature of the soil rely almost exclusively on the cultivation and sale of the opium poppy simply to survive.¹⁶

In 1958 the Thai government banned the sale and consumption of opium and at much the same time (June 1959) set in place a Central Tribal Welfare Committee which was responsible for carrying out government directives.¹⁷

It is of course one thing to ban the sale of opium — and therefore the growing of it; it is quite another to enforce this ban. In 1963, four years after the ban by the government, the opium production per person was about 1 kg per year, and at that time the price of a kilogram of raw opium sold up in the hills was between ฿800 and ฿900 (at today's exchange rate A\$45).¹⁸

There are several reasons why then, as today, the tribes continued to grow the opium poppy: because they did not know how to grow anything else, nor did they have any idea that there could be alternative crops which would be more economically advantageous for them.¹⁹ Another reason is that Chinese merchants then as now had/have a great influence on the economic life of the opium-growing tribespeople. Cheap trade goods were offered them in exchange for raw opium, which was later processed at secret hideouts in the mountains, converted to heroin and sold for large sums.²⁰ This in turn was/is cut again and mixed with some innocuous substance — flour perhaps — and resold. Each handling increased the value — a far cry from the original trumpery tradegoods or small amount of money given to the original growers.²¹ Thus there comes financial and economic exploitation of the tribespeople.

As in other parts of Southeast Asia (for example the villages of Flores and Timor and Java), the villagers often become in thrall to the moneylenders²² who were, twenty-five years ago, often the only outside people they knew or to whom they could give limited trust. Thus a cycle was brought into being from which the tribespeople could not escape and from which the Chinese merchants and moneylenders would not allow them to escape.²³ In these Hill Tribe areas, especially in the areas to the west and east of the northern cities of Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai, there are many government and non-government agencies working, trying to raise the economic sights of the people particularly through the substitution of other crops for that of the opium poppy. One of the most well-

known private agencies is that funded by His Majesty the King of Thailand: the Thung Luang Highland Agricultural Project in Chiang Mai Province.²⁴

This project, which has all the financial and practical support, not to mention the prestige, which comes from the throne, is the one which attracts photographers and the media from inside and outside the country. Nevertheless amongst other non-government agencies whose profiles are considerably lower are the socio-economic development strategies financed by the Church of Christ in Thailand,²⁵ which also provides the field workers, and the Norwegian Church Aid Highland Development Project centred on Chiang Mai.²⁶ Like the church in other regions of Southeast Asia and other parts of the so-called Third World, the church endeavours to serve the "little people" by helping them to use their own efforts to escape economic dependency from those who would exploit them — moneylenders, corrupt officials, traditional clan leaders, afraid of losing their influence to these new ways.²⁷

The Church of Christ in Thailand (CCT) and the American Baptist Mission (ABM)

The American Presbyterian Mission has had a long and honourable career in Thailand. Its first missionaries arrived in 1849 as medical missionaries,²⁸ attracting not only the Thai nobles by their medical skills but also the poor and the indigent. In 1934 this mission became part of the Church of Christ in Thailand, and of all the Protestant denominations working in Thailand and in the Hill Tribe areas is probably the most indigenously oriented since almost all its ministers are Thai, Chinese or Karen.

In point of fact the Church of Christ sees itself as a national Thai Church comprising the United Presbyterians, the Disciples of Christ and the Marburger Mission of Germany, together with some participation by the United States Baptist Church.²⁹ There are also links with the United Church of Christ of Japan, the Presbyterian Church of Korea and the Protestant Church of South India. There are 149 congregations which are Thai, Chinese and Karen speaking. In Bangkok and Chiang Mai there are English-speaking congregations made up in the main by expatriate Americans.³⁰ Besides the 149 congregations, the Church of Christ in Thailand also has established six hospitals, forty schools, and since 1974 Thailand's (then) first University in Chiang Mai, Payap, together with a hostel for its students.³¹

The first Protestant church work began in Chiang Mai in 1867, followed thirty years later by the opening of a mission station in Chiang Rai.³² Between 1904 and 1914 the Presbyterian Dr. James McKeen pioneered medical work in northern Thailand. He is accredited with stopping the spread of the scourge of smallpox through the vaccine produced in his small laboratory and sending out trained teams of vaccinators

through the northern villages. He founded the well-known McCormick Hospital in Chiang Mai as well as a leprosarium.³³ Thus for well over one hundred years the Protestant church in Thailand has been involved in socio-economic development work, and since the Edict of Toleration issued by King Chulalongkorn (Rama V) in 1878,³⁴ which allowed freedom of religion and religious expression provided it was not *lèse majesté*, subsequent Thai governments have given assistance to Christian medical and education works, through land-grants, gifts and subsidies.³⁵ Yet still the majority of funds come from American and German supporters and, more recently, from Norway.³⁶

In 1969 there were already 23,000 students from all parts of Thailand studying under Christian auspices.³⁷ Indeed it has been suggested that the Thai government education system from its objectives, content and method has in fact been adapted from those of Christian mission schools. Prince Damrong,³⁸ one of the most accomplished of King Chulalongkorn's brothers, wrote in the late twenties, "...of the benefits introduced into the country by American missionaries, their educational and medical services stand out in special prominence". So whilst it is not so surprising that education has always received a high profile, and has been valued as a contribution from Christianity to a Buddhist nation, missionaries have seldom separated educational skills from agricultural and practical skill, since both fairly obviously go hand in hand.³⁹

In 1952 the American Baptist Mission (ABM) began its work in North Thailand amongst the Karen people. The ABM had in fact been working with the Karens in Burma for over 100 years. Here to the north of Chiang Mai the Karens were given assistance in developing their own self-supporting church as well as constructing hostels so that the Karen children from outlying areas could come in to school. Yet even so only 1% of children had any opportunity to go beyond grade four primary education.⁴⁰

In 1968 educational and medical work began amongst the Lahu, Lisu and Akha peoples, whose main source of employment was the growing of opium poppy to be sold at small profit to themselves yet with vast profits for the drug dealers in Chiang Mai or who come to Chiang Mai.⁴¹ A hostel was established in the city of Fang near Chiang Rai for Lahu children to enable them to go to school. Dietary problems besides educational ones had often to be the first priority of the mission. Most of the Hill Tribes people exist on a diet of rice and chilis with a few native vegetables. This meagre and protein-deficient diet is supplemented with bamboo shoots and native plants, snails, small fish and on feast days the occasional chicken or small pig.⁴²

Whilst on the other hand some Shan tribes living in the valleys live well on wet-rice and irrigation agriculture, in the villages high up in the mountains, where swidden agriculture is practised, there is little water for growing vegetables in the Dry Season.⁴³ And although government agencies are involved in irrigation and drinking water programmes there is never enough and often villages must wait for years before they have a good water supply.⁴⁴

This is where the CCT through its Social Development Department is able to help. When other sources of finance are unavailable the Church provides a grant for the materials to construct a cistern or water pipes, with the villagers contributing their labour.⁴⁵

Yet like all development agencies which have an overall plan, there is sometimes a tendency to pre-judge and/or preempt village capacities. In one project, Huny Kec, it was said that the people were "apathetic and apparently incapable of carrying out simple repairs urgently needed to an existing water scheme."⁴⁶

Even though the Church through its Social Development arm appears to have organised — even galvanised — the villagers into action with a small sum of money to effect the repairs, there is an underlying question: why were the people apathetic? They needed water, and however poor people may be, they are not stupid. Perhaps the answer may be twofold: that the original water supply had been installed by a government agency and the people had no proprietorial responsibility, or it might have been that however necessary others perceived a good water supply to be, that perception was not shared by the village, for they had another priority, although what that priority was is unknown—perhaps for the very good reason that no one had asked them.⁴⁷ And as in other parts of the world such as Java, Bali and elsewhere, where the fear of spirits guides everyday intercourse,⁴⁸ foreign ways, foreign teachings, foreign materials are often regarded with suspicion, since the existence of these may bring about the anger of the spirits, and in turn poor crops and family misfortunes; and the last situation is thereby worse than the first.⁴⁹

In 1962 the American Baptist Mission began its agricultural programme in earnest for the Hill Tribes of North Thailand. Twenty acres situated northwest of Chiang Mai were set aside where young tribesmen were taught how to care for live-stock and poultry and how to diversify their agricultural dependence on the opium poppy.⁵⁰ Co-operation and support came from the Thai (government) Agricultural Extension Service, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Universities of California and Florida and the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations.⁵¹ With expertise given by these bodies and the ABM's agricultural experts and advisers working amongst the various tribal groups, new crops were introduced; sometimes these flourished and sometimes the experiment failed because the soil was too poor, or the tribespeople did not understand how to care for the new crop.⁵² But this horticultural experimentation served as a good learning experience, especially when crops from other countries were introduced to supplement the inadequate diet and also to provide a cash crop for the tribes.⁵³

Citrus fruits, especially valencia oranges, lemons, mandarins, limes and tangelos, were and have been grown, all of which provided vitamin C for the children as well as finding a market in Chiang Mai.⁵⁴

In 1966 red kidney and pinto beans were introduced for the first time amongst the opium poppy-growing tribes.

These grew well in the high mountains and not only have they proved to be a popular source of food for the people but there is a high demand from the (Chinese) merchants in Chiang Mai for them. And the fact that the Chinese have taken enthusiastically to these ensures that there will always be a sale for them, and profits for the growers.⁵⁵

In one sense it sounds jejune to mention the "exotic" sounding opium poppy in the same breath as ordinary kidney beans, yet the fact is that the tribespeople are learning that there are more profits to be made from the humble bean than the opium poppy, more profits to be made from growing and selling a wider variety of vegetables than from growing and harvesting the poppy. Yet one of the difficulties the development experts have had to overcome was that when they had persuaded the tribes not to grow the opium poppy they stopped growing the vegetables alongside the poppy.⁵⁶ So a programme of diversifying into other strains of vegetables and fruits had to be undertaken at the same time. In the lower Karen villages coffee *robusta* was first introduced in the late 1950's with the Thai government guaranteeing a fair price.⁵⁷ Two kinds of special upland rice from Japan were first tried in 1966 which produced two or three times more grain than the native variety. High-protein corn has been tested in these mountains for the Rockefeller Foundation and a variety produced by crossing local corn with this high-protein corn. Although by the early 80's the results had still not proved conclusive, it is said that all the essential amino acids are present and at least theoretically would amount to a complete food.⁵⁸ California chilis, which are larger than the native variety, are grown and dried and sold as a cash crop, and in the dry season from October to May tomatoes are also grown as a cash crop, finding a ready sale in the local markets on the plain.⁵⁹

Perhaps the CCT's first organised attempt at development projects on a large scale began in 1961, three years after the Thai government had banned the sale and use of opium.⁶⁰ This development was called the Rural Life Department, and with funds mainly from American churches and sponsors the department poured millions of baht into nutrition projects, home economic departments, and water resource surveys.⁶¹ *Ban* or village leadership groups founded on what were called "Bible principles" ostensibly gave the village people an avenue for discussion.⁶² Cattle and crop improvement were continuing projects financed by overseas donors.

Yet these seemingly successful and enthusiastically carried out projects collapsed in 1976 amidst great recriminations.⁶³ There appears to have been some proof that funds had not reached the projects for which they were earmarked. Whilst the major philosophy of the Rural Life Department seems to have been that the poor in the rural areas and in the Hill Tribe areas could be helped by low cost capital loans to those who could never qualify for loans except at very high interest from loan-sharks, it would appear that too much emphasis had been placed on the giving of money or the giving of credit,⁶⁴ in particular to those who knew little of the economics of a cash economy or, indeed, even knew how to handle what was to them

large sums of money. Millions of baht seemed to vanish as fast as village training schemes broke down.

When in 1977 the CCT established its Social Development and Service Department again there were problems because at first there seems to have been no central co-ordinated plan. Most of the church members appear to have seen development as a means of evangelisation, of preaching the Christian gospel, and the new Service department simply as a means of helping church congregations.⁶⁵ Not unnaturally, if this was their view, charity/self-help ought to have begun at "home." It took time for the message to sink in, that development was a community affair; that development was for all people — those who were Christians and those who were Buddhists or animists; that development meant not only economic development but also social, community, spiritual development. In short, development of the whole person.⁶⁶

Since 1977 the basic approach of the CCT has been to set up training programmes to undertake two basic problems: how to train leaders who have understood the new methods of agriculture and are willing to try them, and to urge their local community to try the growing of new crops, thus beginning a whole new project programme.⁶⁷

Thus it was/is hoped that by training leaders from a particular community their people would understand that new ideas, new ways of agriculture, new cash crops came from one of their own people. And thus would prove more acceptable than a development programme initiated solely by a donor agency or by the church agents. In the current development jargon these programmes would be a "bottom up" approach rather than a "top down" approach. This latter approach is a trap into which many organisations have fallen before now. It is a tragedy, since these development agencies, Church or State, put into place their strategies with the very best of motives: that of raising the economic sights of people in a particular region, so that through this new economic technology people may gain the opportunity to lead — or learn to lead — happier and less anxious lives.

That it is a trap is shown by Schumacher when he suggests: "It is quite wrong to assume that poor people are generally unwilling to change; but the proposed change must stand in some organic relationship to what they are doing already, and they are rightly suspicious of, and resistant to radical changes proposed by town-based and office-bound innovators..."⁶⁸

There are examples of this in the Eastern islands of Indonesia, one of which will serve to explain the point.

The Indonesian provincial government project in Nusa Tenggara Timur, for which the Australian International Development Aid Bureau (AIDAB) is the agent, is, in the opinion of some, in the process of falling into this trap, spending in the region of Rp. nine billion, with the contribution of around \$A25 million from AIDAB, on water resources, building earth dams, and cattle fattening schemes.⁶⁹ Australian anthropologists, economists, agronomists and administrators are training

their Indonesian counterparts to take over when the Australian agents leave in early 1992.

Whilst some subsistence farmers and villagers in the immediate vicinity have benefitted from having water facilities, it is doubtful whether such expensive and advanced technology is appropriate in an island where for the majority the digging stick has been called "high technology."⁷⁰ It is even more doubtful whether sufficient consultation has been entered into between the provincial government and the subsistence farmers.⁷¹ Similarly in the nearby island of Sumba, and in West Java, the German firm TUV Rhineland has, at its own expense and as a "pilot scheme," put in place several photo-voltaic systems, which while gathering cheap energy from the sun, enough to run water pumps, ice-crushing plants and navigation buoys, has cost millions of Deutschmarks.⁷²

There is, as Ponciano Bannagen has written, "a touch of tragic irony in the many everyday events taking place in underdeveloped countries... stereo music flows from a village hut... massive dams rise on peasants' ancestral land with only token planning for relocating adversely affected villagers."⁷³

It seems almost inevitable that projects like these will eventually fail and grind to a halt amidst recriminations. Thus the CCT had to learn its lesson the hard way, as has the Catholic Church in Flores and Sumba.⁷⁴ Projects imposed from above with the best and most unselfish of motives cannot succeed unless they pay due and careful attention to what the people are saying, what they want and what they see as their first priorities.⁷⁵

It was said earlier that the Karens were the most numerous of the Hill Tribes. Yet one of the disappointments spoken of by some church development officials is that those with whom the church is involved have not after thirty-two years progressed as much as it was hoped after such long term development assistance. The church development "managers" claim that the Karen people have not successfully made the transition from a "traditional" society to a "technological" society.⁷⁶

Therefore the question has to be asked: after such intensive development opportunities, with any amount of technological expertise from devoted professional agronomists, agricultural scientists and after the expenditure of millions of dollars, why have the Karens and the Hill Tribes in general not progressed at a faster rate?

Apart from a perhaps unconscious arrogance on the part of the agents of change and development, the answer, if answer there is, may be found in the word "expectations." The American missionaries and Thai government agencies, those Thai and Hill Tribe leaders whom they have trained, have arguably not taken sufficient note of the clan leaders in the communities which they serve.⁷⁷ Traditional laws and customs are never entirely static, for change comes slowly. Villagers, tied as they are to the routines of seedtime and harvest, and the seasonal changes, are always conservative and myopic.⁷⁸ And whilst expertise, foreign aid and foreign experts may be appre-

ciated, nevertheless "the old ways" are more familiar and more comfortable.⁷⁹ When change seems likely to affect the role and the influence of the *ban* or clan leader it is not surprising that he may use his authority to play down the possible benefits of any socio-economic development planned for his people. And whilst cabbages and beans, citrus fruits and corn may be more profitable cash crops, the traditional opium poppy crop is more familiar; there are less skills to learn in the farming of it, for these are handed down from father to son.

A lecturer, who is a liberal in theology, at the CCT seminary at Payap University in Chiang Mai has said that he believes the current development strategy of the church is wrong. Who, he asks, is developing whom? Development appears to be imposed on people, and he has given as a specific case poor Thai villagers on the outskirts of Chiang Mai. The church was eager to help them — but he has argued that any request for help and for any of the perceived benefits from developmental projects must come from them first.⁸⁰ This is very much like the argument put forward by some Divine Word Missionaries on the island of Flores, Indonesia, who have argued that too much development leads the village people to see the church as a cornucopia of good things, as an institution which will do things, give things for them when they ask. Rather, these men argue, it would be better for the old values of mutual co-operation to re-assert themselves, for the people to work their own way out of their difficulties.⁸¹

Which sounds well enough, yet in the constant round of poverty, ignorance, malnutrition, and indebtedness to moneylenders, there must be an outside force to break this cycle. And it is in this role of an outside force that the church has taken on itself the burden of socio-economic developer.⁸²

Certainly mistakes have been made: insensitivity on the part of Christian missionaries and development experts have created pools of resentment in the same way that insensitivity from anthropologists, government officials and others have often hindered rather than helped these Hill Tribe peoples and others in underdeveloped regions of the so-called Third World. Whilst Western development experts because of their educational and intellectual achievements can see very clearly why diversification of crops and/or water reticulation projects are necessary for better hygiene and nutrition, it does not automatically follow that a Hill Tribe subsistence farmer will be able—or even want—to follow the same line of reason and logic. Again it seems as if Schumacher has put his finger on the case in point, when he says that the poor can be helped to help themselves but only "by making available to them a technology that recognises the economic boundaries and limitations of poverty—an intermediate technology."⁸³

Perhaps those who criticise vast development strategies of either governments and their agents or development projects undergirded by churches have a point to make when they state that too often traditional customs and religion and traditional village organisations are ignored in the name of development. New ways, new economic strategies and thrusts do disrupt local societies which in fact have been built on the ac-

cumulated experiences of the community over centuries and have an important part to play in supporting development efforts.

Sulak Sivaraksa has a valid point to make when he states:

When we speak of goals of development, we must not think only of the values attached to the immediate goals, but we must also think beyond them to the end result in order to see if those values are just, suitable and right... We must understand in what ways the fruits of development will contribute toward to making people more human... The further development proceeds the more necessary it is for man to deepen his own self-understanding and his knowledge of the world... To put it in Christian terms, the end result of development is to come to God... To put it in Buddhist terms, the end result of development is that man should know...the Middle Way, gaining that full insight

into the nature of life which brings one to life's goal which is freedom.⁸⁴

Again, it comes back to Schumacher's ideal of "small is beautiful" or what Indonesians call "*satu per satu*—step by step." In other words, unless local needs, local customs, local perceptions are met head-on and unless those on the receiving end of development *understand fully* the part they have to play, the new development technologies may well be listened to politely—but the necessary co-operation will not be forthcoming. Because the people are having good done to them rather than being allowed to share in the new development as equal partners: a new development which they understand, and then want.

Yet having said this, it is perhaps only the church with its evangelical commission which can successfully minister to the whole person, by providing educational and intellectual stimulants, by providing the developmental and economic infrastructure without thought of material gain or of profit, by providing an environment in which the things of the spirit may be discussed and pondered.

ENDNOTES

1. Cited in Saad Chaiwan, *A Study of the Impact of Christian Missions on Thai Culture: From the Historical Perspective (1662-1985)*. (Th.D. thesis. Presbyterian College & Theological Seminary, Seoul, Korea 1985) p. 101.
2. *Thailand in the 80s* (National Identity Office, Office of the Prime Minister, Kingdom of Thailand, 1984) p. 284. In 1984 the government's estimate of Christians (of all denominations) was 291,611 compared with 46,232,510 Buddhists.
3. Cf. Renard, R.R. & Lamar, R. *Establishing an Educational System in the Thai-Norwegian Church & Highland Development Project Areas* (Research Centre, Payap University, Chiang Mai, 1985).
4. See Webb, R.A.F Paul, "Church and Temple: Socio-economic Developments in Northeast Thailand," *Journal of The Siam Society*, Vol. 78, 1, 1990.
5. *Ibid.* See also Webb, R.A.F. Paul, *Palms and the Cross: Socio-economic Development in Nusatenggara, Indonesia* (James Cook University of North Queensland Centre for SEA Studies Monograph No. 15, 1986) p. 245.
6. Discussions with Richard Mann, Director, Thai-Norwegian Church Highland Development Project, Chiang Mai, January 1989. See also *Hill Tribe Development & Welfare in Thailand* (Dept. of Public Welfare, Ministry of the Interior, Bangkok, July, 1963).
7. *Hill Tribe Development, ibid.* p. 1.
8. See also Boucaud, A. & L. *Burma's Golden Triangle* (Asia Books, Bangkok 1985)
9. Tribal Research Institute figures for 1985 show the population as 483,091. Cited in Preecha Chaturabhand, *People of the Hills* (Editions Duang Kamol, Bangkok 1988), p. 7.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.* See *The Hill Tribes of Thailand* (Technical Service Club, Tribal Research Institute, Bangkok n.d.).
- For more detailed information see Judd, L.C. *A Vision to Some...: A Case Study of Rural Development in Thailand. Research Report No. 18* (Payap University Centre for Research & Development 1987).
13. See *Hill Tribes of Thailand*, op. cit., p. 3.
14. Discussions with Revd. David Wells, McGilvaray Faculty of Theology, Payap University, Chiang Mai, January 1989. Cf. also *People of the Hills*, p. 179 ff.
15. Judd, L.C. *Chao Rai Thai: Dry Rice Farmers in Northern Thailand* (Payap College, Chiang Mai 1977), pp. 1-11.
16. *Hill Tribe Development*, op. cit. p. 5 ff.
17. *Ibid*, p. 9. See also Renard, R.D. et al., *Changes in the Northern Thai Hills: An Examination of the Impact of Hill Tribe Development Work 1957-1987* (Research

- Report No. 2. Research & Development Centre, Payap University, Chiang Mai 1988), pp. 41-41, 68-70, 127-133 ff.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.* p. 59 ff. See also *Hill Tribe Development*, op. cit., p. 6.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Donner, W., *The Five Faces of Thailand* (University of Queensland Press, Brisbane 1982) pp. 711-713. In 1965 it was estimated that 138,600.44 kg of opium was grown throughout the Hill Tribes area in Northern Thailand. See also McCoy, A.W., *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia* (Harper & Row, Singapore 1972), especially pp. 233 & 338.
22. See Webb, R.A.F. Paul, "Old Lamps for New: Recent Developments in Nusa Tenggara Timur," *Sojourn* (Institute of SEA Studies, Singapore), Vol. 4 No. 2, August 1989, pp. 207.
23. Discussions with Richard Mann, Chiang Mai, January 1989 as above. Cf McCoy *op. cit.* pp. 67, 316-318 ff. For further information concerning the Thailand-Burma border area see Boucaud, A. & L., *op. cit.* p. 36 ff.
24. *Thailand in the 80s*, op. cit. pp. 123-126.
25. Summary of Activities of the Social Development & Service Department, April 1986. Payap University Library archives, January 1989. The CCT budget for 1984/85 was ฿178,526.25 (A\$8,500) which was reserved for particular loan projects such as buying fertilisers or young groundnut plants.
26. This project began in 1979 and has been extended until 1992. Donations are raised by the Norwegian people although funding is also received from the Norwegian government and the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control and the Royal Thai government. Letter from A.J. Høyen, Regional Representative, Norwegian Church Aid, Bangkok, 15 March 1989. Personal visit to this complex, Chiang Mai, January 1989. Also personal visit to Lahu village January 1989.
27. See R. Renard & Robert, L., *Establishing an Educational System in the Thai-Norwegian Church & Highland Development Project Areas* (Research Centre, Payap University, Chiang Mai 1985). Somewhat later the Thai Ministry of the Interior approved government policy for the development and welfare of the Highlanders.
- As a comparison see also Webb, R.A.F. Paul, "Adat & Christianity in Nusa Tenggara Timur: Reaction & Counteraction," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture & Society* (San Carlos University, Cebu), Vol. 14 (1986) pp. 339-365.
28. Saad Chaiwan, "A Study of Christian Mission in Thailand," *East Asian Journal of Theology* (Singapore) Vol 2, April, 1984 pp. 65-66. Portuguese Franciscans came to Ayutthaya in 1567, whilst the first Protestant missionaries were Gutzlaff and Tomlin 1828, though they seemed to stay but a short while.
29. *Ibid.* p. 66.
30. Community Church, Chiang Mai on the campus of the McGilvary Faculty of Theology, Payap University—personal visit, January 1989.
31. Discussion with the President of Payap University, Chiang Mai, Dr. Amnuay Tapingkae, January 1989.
32. Discussions with Revd. Boonratna Boayan, Gen. Sec., Church of Christ in Thailand, Bangkok, January 1989.
33. *Guide to Christian Work in Thailand* (Church of Christ in Thailand, Bangkok, 1969).
34. *Ibid.*
35. Saad Chaiwan, *op. cit.*
36. Correspondence with Regional Representative, Norwegian Church Aid, as above.
37. *Guide to Christian Work*, op. cit.
38. McFarland, G.B. (ed.), *Historical Sketch of Protestant Missions in Siam, 1828-1928* (Bangkok Times Press, 1928), p. 13, cited in Saad Chaiwan, "A Study of the Impact of Christian Missions..." op. cit., p. 70.
39. Buddhism has also always placed a high emphasis on education, although in the past this was carried out at the *wat* for (village) boys alone. Since 1980 *Wat Si Soda* in Chiang Mai has established the Phra Thammacharik Highland Tribes project, through which Project members teach Buddhism in the highland villages, with monks working there for periods of up to four months. These monks are given special training by teachers from the government Teaching Service. Cf. Renard, R.R. & Lamar, R. *Establishing an Educational System*, op. cit.
40. *American Baptist Mission Special Agriculture Report 1970* in archives, Payap University, Chiang Mai, January 1989.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.* The stated policy of the ABM was "...to help them to make it their church, and one they can...support by themselves without outside aid." The report goes on to show how agriculture can assist the tribespeople in this endeavour.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Summary of Activities S.D.* op. cit. pp. 27-28.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
46. *Ibid.*
47. For a parallel situation in Timor, see Webb, "Recent Development..." *Sojourn* p. 212.
48. Discussions with I. Ketut Suwirya, Bali 1980, and Pendeta Nikolas He, Waingapu, Sumba 1987.
49. *ABM Special Agricultural Report 1970*, op. cit.
50. *Ibid.* Also discussions with Richard Mann as above.
51. Discussions as above.
52. As in island communities in Eastern Indonesia it is often the younger and brighter village men who are able to see the advantages of new agricultural techniques; but these are usually the very people who have the least authority in a community, especially if the community leader or village headman believes his own authority is threatened. Thus the more progressive are often frustrated in their desire to upgrade traditional agricultural methods. See Webb, *Palms & the Cross*, op. cit., pp. 220-221.
53. ABM. *Special Agricultural Report*, op. cit.
54. *Ibid.*
55. Discussions with Richard Mann and staff at the Thai-Norwegian Church Aid offices in Chiang Mai, January 1989. See also *Changes in the Northern Thai Hills*, op. cit., pp. 62-64 ff.
56. Discussions with Richard Mann as above. Also see video produced by the Thai-Norwegian Church Aid Project.
57. ABM. *Special Agricultural Report*, op. cit.
58. *Ibid.*

59. *Changes in the Northern Thai Hills, op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.
60. *Summary of Activities of S.D. op. cit.*, p. 17.
61. *Ibid.* See also Webb, R.A.F. Paul, "Church and Temple," *Journal of the Siam Society, op. cit.*
62. *Ibid.* The Thai-Norwegian Church Aid Project, on the other hand, has apparently not had the same difficulties in this area. It has said that "...if the local community has a role right from the start, the development effort will be truly responsive to the problems and desires of the community..." Cf. Robert, L., Batzinger, R. & Renard, R. *Census of Problems of Highlanders* (Thai-Norwegian Church & Highland Development Project Areas, Payap University 1986).
63. *Ibid.* pp. 17-18.
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Ibid.* pp. 18-20.
66. This emphasis on the "whole person" is a concept which most differentiates between Christian socio-economic development and that put in place by government and overseas agencies. Cf. Webb, "Old Lamps for New..." *Sojourn, op. cit.*
67. Discussions with General Secretary CCT as above.
68. Schumacher, E.F., *Small is Beautiful* (Abacus edn. Sphere Books, 1974) p. 167.
69. Correspondence with Mrs. Louise Stewart, Kefamanamu, Timor 1987/88 and discussions with an anthropologist at the Project, July 1989.
70. Discussions with Pendeta I.N. Frans, General Secretary *Yayasan Alfa-Omega*, Kupang, Timor. This foundation is the development arm of the *Gereja Maseli Injili Timor*—The Timor Evangelical Christian Church.
71. *Ibid.*
72. See Webb, "Old Lamps for New," *Sojourn, op. cit.*, pp. 214-218.
73. Ponciano Bennagen, "Values and the development process: some general considerations," in Nancy Ching (ed.), *Questioning Development in Southeast Asia* (Select Books, Singapore 1977) p. 23 ff. For further information see also McAndrews, C. & Chia Lin Sien (eds.), *Too Rapid Rural Development: Perceptions & Perspectives from Southeast Asia* (Ohio Univ. Press, Athens, Ohio 1982).
74. See Webb, *Palms and the Cross, op. cit.* Ch. 17, pp. 243-260. Cf Webb, "Adat and Christianity..." *Philippine Quarterly op. cit.*, pp. 360-363.
75. Discussions with Fr. Valentine, Ubon Ratchathani, Thailand, July 1988, and with Pater B.J. Baack S.V.D., Ende, Flores, Indonesia, January 1987 & July 1988.
76. Discussions with Lamar Robert, Development Centre, Payap University, Chiang Mai, January 1989.
77. For a similar comparison see Webb, "Church and Temple," *Journal of the Siam Society, op. cit.*, and Webb, "Adat and Christianity," *Philippine Quarterly, op. cit.*
78. *Ibid.*
79. Discussions with Fr. Valentine and Bishop Michael Monsap, Ubon Ratchathani, July 1988.
80. Discussions with Revd. David Wells as above.
81. Discussions with Fr. Verheijen SVD, Ruteng, 1979 and Fr. Bill Burt SVD in Melbourne, Australia, June 1982. See also Webb, *Palms and the Cross, op. cit.*, pp. 176 ff. "Instead of the Christian God there is now a god of Development to be worshipped..."
82. Perhaps "burden" is not apposite. On the other hand, Indonesian Catholic priests, who once saw themselves as "sacrament coolies," now call themselves, wryly, "development coolies." They are in fact saying much the same as David Wells in the Faculty of Theology, Payap.
83. Schumacher, *op. cit.* p. 158.
84. Sulak Sivaraksa, *Religion and Development* (9th Sinclair Thompson memorial lecture, Dara Witthayalai School, Chiang Mai, February 1976) (Thai Inter-Religious Commission for Development, Bangkok, [1976] 1981), p. 9. See also Pauker, G., Golay, F. & Enloe, C., *Diversity & Development in Southeast Asia* (McGraw-Hill, New York 1977).