

Participatory Development Activities At Local Level : Case Studies in Villages of Central Thailand

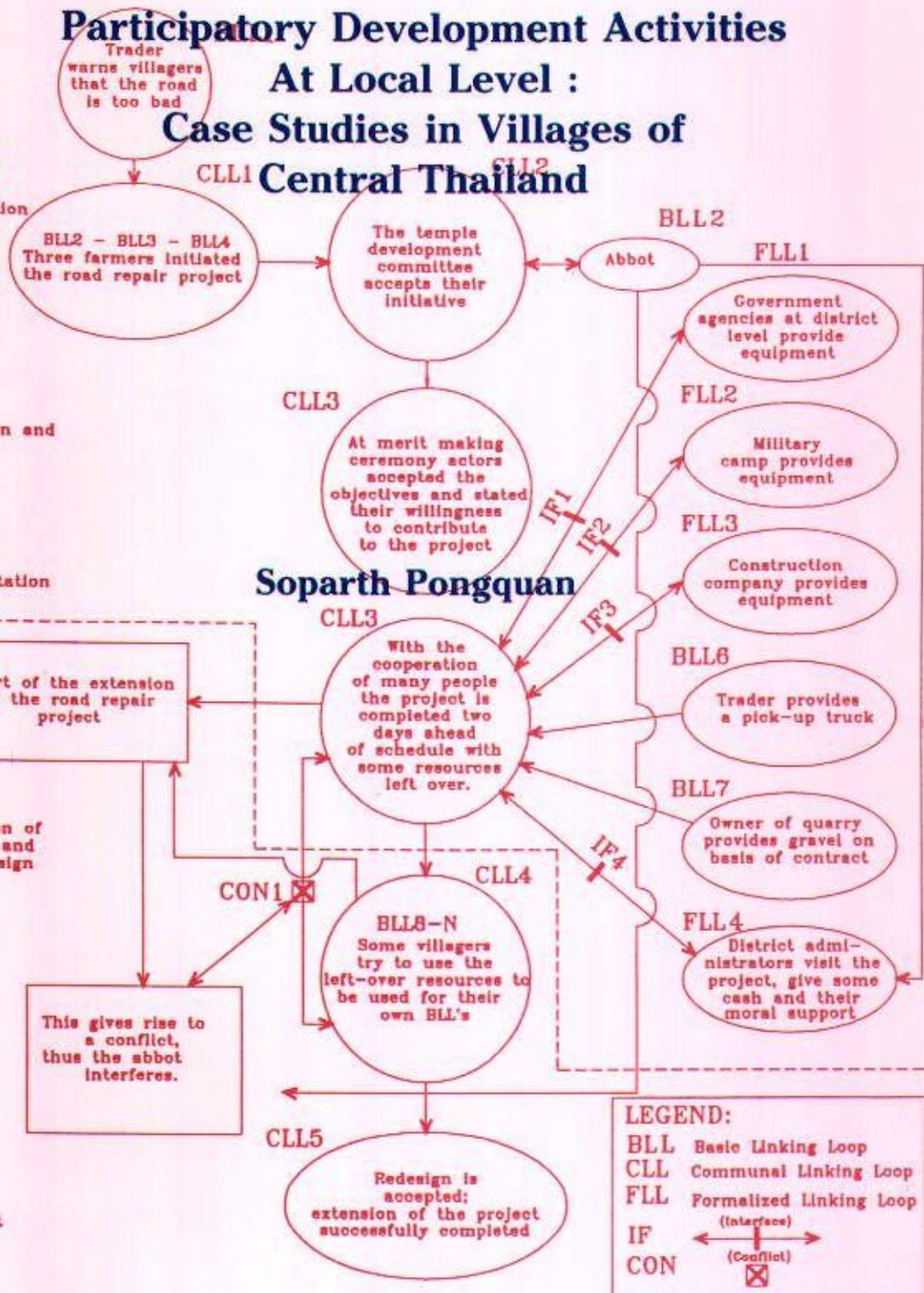
1979
Project
Identification

1980
Project
Preparation and
Approval

1980
Project
Implementation

1980
Formulation of
Activities and
Project Design

Design
Project



STELLINGEN/PROPOSITIONS

1. The study of the planned development process in Thailand implies that if local people are involved in the early stages of the planned development process, more active and intensive participation can be expected in the later stages which will strengthen the efficiency and effectiveness of development projects.
2. Through and in implementing a development project that is designed within a bottom-up planning framework, complete, direct, free and active participation could be accomplished. In contrast, a development project which is characterized by a top-down planning approach normally has a rigid design and entails formalized procedures governed by certain rules and standards of operation. This latter kind of project, then, leaves little room for people's participation, which is partial at best and sometimes non-existent even, and might likely have a negative impact on project implementation.
3. Project implementation of any project designed at higher level in the government administrative hierarchy will be effective only if some adjustments in its design and implementation can be made by government field agency officers at the local level with the direct participation of local people. In the design of projects and their implementation plans there should be room for modifications of project components through soliciting the effective participation of local people, which will be conducive to successful project implementation.
4. Participation often creates tensions in village society, particularly if the delivery of limited goods is channelled through government initiated projects. In such situations, evidence of actions ranging from competition to connivance to conflict is found among local people who get carried away in their efforts to gain access to scarce resources. Alliances are built to pursue their particular interests to the disadvantage of their competitors or opponents, so as to get their individual objectives realized.
5. The drawing of Thailand village profiles as well as case studies on people's participation in the planned development process rendered evidence that all forms of social interaction, i.e., cooperation, competition conflict and reconciliation are present in a village society. Any development programme emphasizing people's participation may as such not be successful if it is based on the assumption that village people are blessed with the kind of serendipity which makes them to act like cooperative, amicable and mutually supportive members of an egalitarian society in a setting of limited goods.

6. In following applying a participatory approach within the framework of a planned development process, it ought to be assumed that whenever project implementation is a long-term affair, participatory interventions will be complex and hardly predictable. This is because people oriented development projects are very dependent on the dynamics set free by raised expectations, heightened awareness, broadened knowledge and strengthened motivation.

7. Development planning has not yet succeeded in recognizing fully or systematically women's contribution to the development process and the effects of this process on them. In many countries, women are concentrated at the bottom of the ladder in terms of employment, education, income and status. Both economic equity and social justice call for increased attention to the integration of women into the development process.

8. In many parts of the world, women are kept in subordinate positions. The causes of women's oppression should be explored not only within the sphere of production but also reproduction, and not only in economic structures, but also in social and cultural structures. This should be conceived in the context of gender relations.

9. The study of women and gender relations provides an avenue to understanding the complex connections among various forms of human relations and interactions with special reference to women's and men's roles and interrelations.

10. Poor women in developing countries perform both home and market production functions. It is apparent that the poorer the household is, the more burdensome becomes women's corresponding role. The division of labour between the sexes within the household assigns women to labour-intensive production, and the division of labour within the market restricts women to work characterized by low technology, low-efficiency production and marginal wages. These conventional function assignments and role ascriptions pose severe constraints to improvements in women's economic and social status.

11. Efforts to improve women's work participation should be directed at both the demand for and supply of female labour. Economic growth is necessary to create more opportunities for women to earn income in a modern economy. Improvement in the education of girls is also essential to ensure that they acquire the skills required to take advantage of those opportunities. Women will also be enabled to participate stronger in the modern economy on a basis that is more conducive to attaining gender equality with men if their childcare and household chores are reduced through smaller families and the sharing of child rearing and socialization responsibilities by both parents.

12. The legislative mandate requires that women be recognized as contributors and agents of economic development as well as its beneficiaries. Planners, therefore, must be sure that their projects do not have any negative effects on women and focus on the need to foster women's productivity, raise their income, improve their access to economically productive resources and strengthen their social status as means to achieve overall national socio-economic development.

The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the plane was the crisp, cool air. It felt like a warm blanket after a long, hot journey. The ground below was a mix of green fields and small towns, each with its own unique charm. I had heard that the weather was perfect, and indeed it was. The sun was shining brightly, but not too hot, just what I needed. I took a deep breath and smiled, ready to start my new adventure. The road ahead was long, but I was excited to see what it had in store for me.

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at Local Level :
Case Studies in Villages of
Central Thailand**

Soparth Pongquan



BIBLIOTHEEK LANDBOUWUNIVERSITEIT
POSTBUS 9100
6700 HA WAGENINGEN
NEDERLAND

Promotoren: Dr. Ir. D.B.W.M. van Dusseldorp
Hoogleraar in de sociologische aspecten van de
ontwikkelingsplanning in de niet-westerse gebieden

Dr. Karl E. Weber
Hoogleraar in planning voor plattelandsontwikkeling
Division of Human Settlements Development
Asian Institute of Technology
Bangkok, Thailand

UNO8204 1576

SOPARTH PONGQUAN

**PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES
AT LOCAL LEVEL:
CASE STUDIES
IN VILLAGES OF
CENTRAL THAILAND**

**An Analysis of People's Participation
in the Planned Development Process
Using the Concept of the
"Linking Loops"**

PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
in de landbouw-en milieuwetenschappen
op gezag van de rector magnificus
dr. H.C. van der Plas
in het openbaar te verdedigen
op dinsdag 22 december 1992
des namiddags te vier uur in de Aula
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ABSTRACT

Participatory development activities at local level in a sub-district located in the Central Plain of Thailand were studied employing the theoretical concept of the "linking loops" to analyze the related interactions among target group members and between the local level and superordinated organizations.

The participatory development planning approach was first introduced in Thailand through her Fourth National Economic and Social Development Plan (1977-1981) as a strategy to apply the bottom-up concept.

The qualitative, in-depth study covers nine projects at different stages of the planned development process alternatively covering the stages of initiation, implementation and completion. Despite the variety of projects involving different groups of the local population within the three case study villages in close vicinity, all these are set in the same socio-cultural context which allows direct comparison.

Drawing on selected theoretical sociological explanations of the dimensions and determinants of people's participation, the conceptual and analytical framework is focussed on an actor-oriented approach using the theoretical concept of the "linking loops" to explicate the complex dynamics evolving in Thai rural society when engaged in local-level planning.

By their mechanism of initiation, as explained in terms of the "linking loops" concept, three categories of projects are distinguished including village initiated projects (VIP) and government initiated projects (GIP) as well as projects initiated by villagers with a view to securing government support (V/GP). The comparison of hypothesis test results by project category leads to their classification as explanations of narrow range pertaining to one project category only, of medium range covering two out of the three categories, or of wide range rendering explanations valid for all three project categories.

Six general hypotheses and their sub-hypotheses addressing as many stages of the project cycle are tested. The results of hypothesis testing vary by project category as summarized hereunder.

VIP were effective owing to people's involvement in setting the project objectives, despite differences and conflicts; utilization of local knowledge in data collection and analysis; broad formal consensus on project design; active involvement in project approval; active involvement in implementation; and involvement in project evaluation through participatory monitoring and evaluation.

V/GP differ substantially because the test results show that local-level projects initiated by villagers and obtaining resources from on-going government programmes were of limited effectiveness. The constraints include lack of people's involvement in the formulation of objectives, thus reinforcing dissent and conflict; differences in perception between local people and government agents with regard to data collection and analysis; lack of people's involvement and formal consensus on project design; lack of local interest in project approval due to complicated procedure followed by several government organizations involved; lack of people's participation in on-going project implementation due to changed circumstances and reassessment of the erstwhile situation; and lack of involvement in project evaluation, in the absence of participatory monitoring and evaluation.

GIP implemented at local-level were found ineffective as a consequence of lack of local people's involvement in the specification of objectives and formulation of projects, aggravated by conflicting priorities among local people; differences in perception between local people and government agents regarding data collection and analysis; limited extent of people's participation in designing activities and weak consensus; lack of interest among local people not involved in project approval; discontinuation of people's participation in on-going implementation due to new perception after reassessment of the erstwhile situation, poor organizational set-up by the implementing agency, disagreement between local people and government agent, and conflict among local people; and lack of people's involvement in project evaluation, in the absence of participatory monitoring and evaluation.

Overall, it is concluded that local-level plans are, indeed, of interest to local people. They tend to become ineffective, however, at any of the various stages of the planned development process, if people's participation is lacking in the formulation of project objectives, complicated by differing and conflicting objectives among local people; if differences in perception prevail between local people and government agents with regard to data collection and analysis; if deficiencies in project design are aggravated by the exclusion of local people from endorsing projects and procedure is complicated engaging several government organizations at the approval stage; if discontinuation of people's participation jeopardizes on-going implementation; and if project performance and outcome are assessed without participatory monitoring and evaluation.

Recognizing certain existing deficiencies with a view to people's participation in the planned development process of local-level projects, policy recommendations are made focussing on suitability, design and intervention, taking into account local socio-economic, cultural and political factors. Moreover, the necessity of decentralization is stressed so as to strengthen people's participation in the planned development process. This means that wholesome delegation of responsibility in terms of decision-making power and budget allocation as well as finance control to the local level of development administration is essential to facilitate and foster participatory planning.

SAMENVATTING

De studie onderzoekt de participatoire ontwikkelingsprojecten op plaatselijk niveau in een sub-district in de centrale vlakte van Thailand. Het onderzoek maakt daarbij gebruik van het theoretische begrip van de "linking loops" om de interacties tussen leden van de doelgroep en tussen het plaatselijke niveau en de daarboven staande organisaties te analyseren.

Participatoire ontwikkelingsplanning werd voor het eerst in Thailand geïntroduceerd in het Vierde Nationale Economische en Sociale Ontwikkelingsplan (1977-1981) als een strategie om het begrip van een ontwikkeling van onderop in praktijk te brengen.

Dit kwalitatieve diepte-onderzoek betreft negen projecten in verschillende fasen van geplande ontwikkeling inclusief aanvang, uitvoering en voltooiing. Ondanks de verschillen tussen de projecten waarbij uiteenlopende bevolkingsgroepen uit de drie bestudeerde bijeengelegene dorpen betrokken zijn, is het mogelijk de projecten te vergelijken omdat deze plaats vonden binnen dezelfde sociaal-culturele context.

De studie maakt gebruik van de theoretische sociologie om de dimensies van en de beslissende factoren voor de inspraak van de bevolking te verklaren. Het begrippenkader en de analytische structuur zijn gericht op een benadering waarbij de participant centraal staat, terwijl het theoretische begrip van de "linking loops" wordt aangewend om de complexe dynamiek te verklaren die zich ontplooit in de Thaise plattelandssamenleving wanneer deze betrokken raakt bij planning op plaatselijk niveau.

Al naar gelang de manier waarop zij worden begonnen, kunnen drie categorieën van projecten worden onderscheiden: projecten die worden begonnen door de dorpen (VIP), projecten die worden begonnen door de overheid (GIP) en projecten die worden begonnen door de dorpelingen met het doel overheidssteun te verkrijgen. Een vergelijking van de resultaten van de toetsing van de hypothesen naar project categorie leidt tot een classificering in drie groepen: verklaringen met een beperkte strekking die slechts voor een project categorie geldig zijn, verklaringen met een bredere strekking die voor twee van de drie categorieën gelden, en verklaringen met een brede strekking die gelden voor de drie project categorieën.

Het onderzoek toetste zes algemene hypothesen en hun sub-hypothesen die betrekking hadden op evenzovele fasen in de project cyclus. De resultaten van de toetsing van de hypothesen die per project categorie verschillen worden hieronder samengevat.

Ondanks verschillen en conflicten waren de VIPs doelmatig dankzij de betrokkenheid van de bevolking bij het stellen van de project-doeleinden, het gebruik van

plaatselijke kennis bij de verzameling en analyse van gegevens, de brede formele eenstemmigheid over het projectontwerp, de actieve betrokkenheid bij de goedkeuring, de uitvoering en de evaluatie van het project door middel van participatoire vormen van monitoring en evaluatie.

De onderzoeksresultaten tonen aan dat de V/GPs aanzienlijk verschillen, omdat projecten die door dorpingen worden begonnen en middelen ontvangen van een lopend overheidsprogramma een beperkte doelmatigheid hebben. Beperkingen zijn onder meer een gebrek aan bevolkingsinspraak bij de vaststelling van de project-doeleinden, waardoor onenigheid en conflicten worden aangewakkerd; verschillen in beeldvorming tussen de plaatselijke bevolking en de vertegenwoordigers van de overheid ten aanzien van verzameling en analyse van gegevens; gebrek aan bevolkingsinspraak en formele eenstemmigheid over het projectontwerp; gebrek aan belangstelling bij de plaatselijke bevolking voor de goedkeuring van het project wegens de ingewikkelde procedure die door de verschillende overheidsinstellingen wordt gevolgd; gebrek aan bevolkingsinspraak in de project uitvoering wegens de veranderde omstandigheden en de herwaardering van de voorafgaande situatie, een gebrekkige organisatie van de uitvoerende instantie, onenigheid tussen de plaatselijke bevolking en de overheidsvertegenwoordigers en conflicten binnen de plaatselijke bevolking; en een gebrek aan betrokkenheid van de bevolking bij de evaluatie van het project, bij gebrek aan participatoire vormen van monitoring en evaluatie.

De GIPs die worden uitgevoerd op plaatselijk niveau waren eveneens ondoelmatig als gevolg van een gebrek aan betrokkenheid van de bevolking bij de vaststelling van de project-doeleinden en de formulering van de projecten die nog worden bemoeilijkt door tegenstrijdige prioriteiten bij de plaatselijke bevolking; verschillen in beeldvorming tussen de plaatselijke bevolking en de overheidsvertegenwoordigers ten aanzien van verzameling en analyse van gegevens; beperkte mate van bevolkingsinspraak in het ontwerpen van de activiteiten en een geringe eenstemmigheid; gebrek aan belangstelling bij de plaatselijke bevolking die niet is betrokken bij de goedkeuring van het project; een onderbreking van de bevolkingsdeelname aan de uitvoering van het project wegens een nieuw beeldvorming na de herwaardering van de voorafgaande situatie, onenigheid tussen de plaatselijke bevolking en de overheidsvertegenwoordiger, en een conflict binnen de plaatselijke bevolking; en een gebrek aan betrokkenheid van de bevolking bij de evaluatie van het project bij gebrek aan participatoire vormen van monitoring en evaluatie.

Alles tesamen kan de conclusie worden getrokken dat plannen op plaatselijk niveau de belangstelling hebben van de plaatselijke bevolking. Zij kunnen echter in iedere fase van het geplande ontwikkelingsproces ondoelmatig worden, indien de inspraak van de bevolking ontbreekt bij de vaststelling van de doeleinden van het project en deze situatie kan nog ingewikkelder worden indien de plaatselijke bevolking verschillende en tegenstrijdige doeleinden heeft; indien er verschillen bestaan in de beeldvorming met betrekking tot de verzameling en analyse van gegevens tussen de plaatselijke bevolking

en de overheidsvertegenwoordigers; indien gebreken in het project ontwerp worden versterkt door de uitsluiting van de plaatselijke bevolking van het onderschrijven van de projecten en de procedure ingewikkeld is omdat verschillende overheidsinstellingen bij de goedkeuring betrokken zijn; indien een onderbreking van de bevolkingsinspraak de uitvoering op het spel zet; en indien de uitvoering en het resultaat van het project worden beoordeeld zonder participatoire vormen van monitoring en evaluatie.

De studie erkent dat er gebreken bestaan in de geplande ontwikkeling van projecten op plaatselijk niveau en doet beleidsaanbevelingen met betrekking tot geschiktheid, ontwerp en inmenging daarbij rekening houdend met plaatselijke sociaal-economische, culturele en politieke factoren. Daarnaast benadrukt de studie de noodzaak van decentralisatie met het doel de inspraak van de bevolking in het geplande ontwikkelingsproces te versterken. Dit betekent dat een algehele overdracht van verantwoordelijkheden ten aanzien van besluitvorming, begrotingstoewijzing en financiële controle naar het plaatselijke niveau van het ontwikkelingsbestuur essentieel is om participatoire planning te vergemakkelijken en te versterken.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Abstract	i
Samenvatting (Abstract in Dutch)	iii
Acknowledgements	vii
List of Tables	xviii
List of Maps	xviii
List of Charts	xix
List of Figures	xxi
List of Graphs	xxii
Abbreviations	xxiii
Equivalentents	xxvi
Glossary	xxii
INTRODUCTION	1
A. STATEMENT OF PROBLEMS	1
1. Orientation of Development Planning	2
2. Deficiencies in Coordination and Distorted Target Orientation	2
3. Lack of Popular Participation	3
B. FOCI OF THE RESEARCH STUDY	3
1. What Are the Possibilities for the Development of Rural People?	3
2. Which Approach to Planning, i.e., "from above" or "from below", Can Facilitate the Development of the Rural People with a Focus on the Poor?	4
3. How Can Participation Be Integrated into the Planning Process to Benefit the Rural People and Particularly the Poor among Them?	4
C. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY	5

CHAPTER

I. DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND THE RURAL POOR: SOME VIEWS, POLICIES AND DEVELOPMENTS IN PAST THAI NATIONAL PLANNING EXPERIENCE	7
A. THE FIRST (1961-1966) AND THE SECOND (1967-1971) PLANS	7
B. THE THIRD PLAN (1972-1976)	8
C. THE FOURTH PLAN (1977-1981)	8
D. THE FIFTH PLAN (1982-1986)	9
E. THE SIXTH PLAN (1987-1991)	11
1. Strategies	12
2. Target Areas	13
3. Development Guidelines	13
F. THE SEVENTH PLAN (1992-1996)	13
II. THE DEVELOPMENT PLANNING SYSTEM OF THAILAND: ITS STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS	15
A. PLANNING ORGANIZATION PRIOR TO THE FIFTH PLAN PERIOD (1982-1986)	15
1. National Level	15
2. Ministerial Level	15
3. Provincial Level	17
4. District Level	18
5. Sub-district Level	18
6. Village Level	19
B. PLANNING PROCEDURE	19
C. PLANNING PRACTICE WITH A FOCUS ON PROBLEMS IN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING BEFORE 1982	21
1. Centralization of Decision-making and Budget Control	21
2. Deficiencies in the Plan Making Methods	21

3.	Lack of Coordination among Rural Development Management Organizations at Various Levels	23
4.	Poor Budgetary System	23
5.	Lack of People's Participation in the Planning Process	24
D.	PLANNING ORGANIZATION DURING THE FIFTH PLAN PERIOD (1982-1986)	24
1.	National Level	25
2.	Provincial Level	26
3.	District Level	26
4.	Sub-district and Village Levels	26
E.	PLANNING PROCEDURE	27
F.	PLANNING PRACTICE WITH A FOCUS ON PROBLEMS IN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING SINCE 1982	30
1.	Top-down Plan Formulation	30
2.	Lack of People's Participation in the Planning Process	31
3.	Lack of Coordination in Planning and Implementation Among Concerned Agencies	32
4.	Deficiencies in Planning Techniques on the Part of Local Bodies	32
5.	Time Constraint	33
6.	Budget Constraint	34
III.	THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	35
A.	THE CONCEPT OF THE PLANNED DEVELOPMENT PROCESS	35
1.	Formulation of Goals, Objectives and Targets - Stage I	40
2.	Research, Survey and Inventory - Stage II	42
3.	Preparation of Plans - Stage III	42
4.	Acceptance of Plans - Stage IV	43
5.	Implementation - Stage V	43
6.	Evaluation - Stage VI	43
B.	INVESTIGATION OF THE PLANNED DEVELOPMENT PROCESS THROUGH THE PROJECT CYCLE	44
1.	Project Cycle as an Administrative Device for Allocating Scarce Resources	44
2.	Project Viewed from Different Styles of Planning	53

3. Project Viewed as Arenas of Struggle and Negotiation for Scarce Resources	55
C. THE CONCEPT OF PARTICIPATION	56
1. Definition	56
2. Participation Framework Adopted for this Research Study	62
D. THE CONCEPT OF THE LINKING LOOPS APPLIED TO ANALYZING LOCAL LEVEL DEVELOPMENT	68
1. The Decision Making Approach	72
2. The Interactionist or Actor-oriented Approach	73
3. Paradigm Underlying this Study	76
4. The Basic Linking Loop	77
5. Salient Features of the Basic Linking Loop	79
6. The Communal Linking Loop	80
7. Salient Features of the Communal Linking Loop	83
8. The Formalized Linking Loop	84
9. Salient Features of the Formalized Linking Loop	87
10. Confluent Linking Loop	88
11. Potentials and Constraints of the Concept of Linking Loops as an Analytical Tool	88
IV. HYPOTHESES OF THE STUDY	91
A. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO FORMULATION OF PROJECT OBJECTIVES	91
B. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS	92
C. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT DESIGN	92
D. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT APPROVAL	93
E. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION	93
F. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT EVALUATION	95

V. RESEARCH DESIGN	97
A. CRITERIA SET FOR DEFINING THE RESEARCH OBJECTS	97
1. Selection of the Study Area	97
2. Selection of the Level of Planning	98
3. Selection of Villages	99
4. Selection of Projects	99
5. Selection of Informants	100
6. Result of Selecting the Units of Research	101
B. CONDUCT OF RESEARCH	101
1. Case Studies	108
2. Techniques of the Study	108
3. Data Sources	110
C. DATA COLLECTION	111
1. Preparation of Field Survey Materials	111
2. Recruitment and Orientation of Field Assistant	111
3. Pre-testing	111
4. Field Work	114
5. Revisiting	114
6. Summary	114
D. DATA ANALYSIS	115
1. Case-by-case Analyses	115
2. Aggregate Analysis	118
E. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY	118
F. DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED IN CONDUCTING RESEARCH	119
VI. APPLYING THE CONCEPT OF THE "LINKING LOOPS" TO PROJECTS AT BAN MAE NAM	121
A. VILLAGE PROFILE OF BAN MAE NAM	121

B. ANALYSIS OF A COMPLETED PROJECT: PUMP IRRIGATION	122
1. Case Description: Pump Irrigation	123
2. People's Participation in the Planned Development Process	124
3. Evaluation of the Project	128
4. Causes of Success or Failure	132
5. Hypothesis Testing	132
6. Findings and Conclusion	140
C. ANALYSIS OF AN ON-GOING PROJECT: MAT WEAVING	143
1. Case Description: Mat Weaving	143
2. People's Participation in the Planned Development Process	144
3. Evaluation of the Project	147
4. Causes of Failure	149
5. Hypothesis Testing	150
6. Findings and Conclusion	150
D. ANALYSIS OF AN INITIATED PROJECT: INCOME GENERATION	157
1. Case Description: Income Generation	157
2. People's Participation in the Planned Development Process	158
3. Appraisal of the Project	161
4. Reasons for Having Low Potential for Success	161
5. Hypothesis Testing	161
6. Findings and Conclusion	166
VII. APPLYING THE CONCEPT OF THE "LINKING LOOPS" TO PROJECTS AT BAN PHU KHAO	169
A. VILLAGE PROFILE OF BAN PHU KHAO	169
B. ANALYSIS OF A COMPLETED PROJECT: ROAD REPAIR	171
1. Case Description: Road Repair	171
2. People's Participation in the Planned Development Process	172
3. Evaluation of the Project	175
4. Causes of Success	176
5. Hypothesis Testing	177
6. Findings and Conclusion	182

C. ANALYSIS OF AN ON-GOING PROJECT: MEDICINE SUPPLY COOPERATIVE	184
1. Case Description: Medicine Supply Cooperative	184
2. People's Participation in the Planned Development Process	186
3. Evaluation of the Project	189
4. Causes of Failure	191
5. Hypothesis Testing	193
6. Findings and Conclusion	193
D. ANALYSIS OF AN INITIATED PROJECT: YOUTHS ACTIVITIES	199
1. Case Description: Youths Activities	199
2. People's Participation in the Planned Development Process	201
3. Appraisal of the Project	204
4. Factors Leading to Likely Failure	204
5. Hypothesis Testing	204
6. Findings and Conclusion	204
VIII. APPLYING THE CONCEPT OF THE "LINKING LOOPS" TO PROJECTS AT BAN PA MAI	211
A. VILLAGE PROFILE OF BAN PA MAI	211
B. ANALYSIS OF A COMPLETED PROJECT: DEMONSTRATION PLOT ON SOYBEAN CULTIVATION	212
1. Case Description: Soybean Cultivation	213
2. People's Participation in the Planned Development Process	215
3. Evaluation of the Project	218
4. Causes of Project Failure	219
5. Hypothesis Testing	221
6. Findings and Conclusion	221
C. ANALYSIS OF AN ON-GOING PROJECT: SAVINGS SCHEME	229
1. Case Description: Savings Scheme	229
2. People's Participation in the Planned Development Process	231
3. Evaluation of the Project	234
4. Causes of Likely Failure	236
5. Hypothesis Testing	237
6. Findings and Conclusion	237

D. ANALYSIS OF AN INITIATED PROJECT: POND CONSTRUCTION	246
1. Case Description: Pond Construction	246
2. People's Participation in the Planned Development Process	248
3. Appraisal of the Project	250
4. Reasons for Potential Success	250
5. Hypothesis Testing	251
6. Findings and Conclusion	257
IX. AGGREGATE ANALYSIS	259
A. FORMULATION OF THE PROJECT OBJECTIVES	268
B. DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS	277
C. PROJECT DESIGN	279
D. PROJECT APPROVAL	282
E. PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION	284
F. PROJECT EVALUATION	289
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	291
A. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS	291
1. Characteristics of People's Participation	291
2. People's Participation in the Planned Development Process	298
3. Elements Contributing to Effectiveness or Leading to Ineffectiveness of People's Participation	302
4. Factors Explaining High or Low Efficiency of the Projects under Study	304
5. Determinants of Success or Failure of the Projects under Study	306

B. CONCLUSIONS	309
C. IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION	315
References	319
Appendix	333

LIST OF TABLES

Table No.	Title	Page
6.1	Evaluation of the Pump Irrigation Project	129
6.2	Impact of the Pump Irrigation Project in Terms of Income Generation	131

LIST OF MAPS

Map No.	Title	Page
5.1	Map of the Central Plain of Thailand	102
5.2	Map of Changwat Thong Thin	103
5.3	Map of Amphoe Noi Na Showing the Location of Tambon Pho Sop	104
5.4	Map of Tambon Pho Sop Showing the Location of the Villages under Study	105

LIST OF CHARTS

Chart No.	Title	Page
2.1	Planning Organization Prior to the Fifth Plan (1982-1986)	16
2.2	Planning Organization under the Fifth Plan (1982-1986)	28
5.1	Key Informants Selected from Each Case Study Project Area	106
5.2	Different Types of Project under Study	107
5.3	Collection of Documents/Materials Classified by Sources	112
6.1	Causes of Success or Failure in Pump Irrigation	132
6.2	Hypothesis Testing - The Case Study of Pump Irrigation	134
6.3	Hypothesis Testing - The Case Study of Mat Weaving	152
6.4	Hypothesis Testing - The Case Study of Income Generation	162
7.1	Hypothesis Testing - The Case Study of Road Repair	178
7.2	Hypothesis Testing - The Case Study of Medicine Supply Cooperative	194
7.3	Hypothesis Testing - The Case Study of Youths Activities	205
8.1	Hypothesis Testing - The Case Study of Soybean Demonstration	222
8.2	Hypothesis Testing - The Case Study of Savings Scheme	238
8.3	Hypothesis Testing - The Case Study of Pond Construction	252
9.1	Aggregate Analysis of Hypothesis Testing on the Nine Case Studies	260
9.2	Summary of Hypothesis Testing Results	266

Chart No.	Title	Page
9.3	Matrix Showing the Range and Strength of Explanations	269
10.1	Synopsis of Various Types of Participation in Different Phases of the Planned Development Process in the Nine Case Under Study	292
10.2	Synopsis of Types, Patterns and Activities of People's Participation in the Nine Projects under Study	294

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure No.	Title	Page
3.1	The Planned Development Process	41
3.2	Project Cycle - Data Requirements and Source	45
3.3	Integrated Project Planning and Management Cycle : The Four Phases	47
3.4	Basic Framework for Describing and Analyzing Rural Development Participation	59
3.5	Classification Principles and Types of Participation	64
3.6	Costs and Benefits of Participation as Assessed for Several Levels in Society	69
3.7	Review of Steps in the Organization of the Participation Process and Its Relation to Planned Development Process	71
3.8	Basic Linking Loop	78
3.9	Communal Linking Loop	82
3.10	Formalized Linking Loop	85

LIST OF GRAPHS

Graph No.	Title	Page
VI.1	Pump Irrigation Case Study of a Completed Project	125
VI.2	Mat Weaving Case Study of an On-going Project	146
VI.3	Income Generation Case Study of an Initiated Project	159
VII.1	Road Repair Case Study of a Completed Project	174
VII.2	Medicine Supply Cooperative Case Study of an On-going Project	188
VII.3	Youths Activities Case Study on an Initiated Project	203
VIII.1	Soybean Demonstration Case Study of an Completed Project	216
VIII.2	Savings Scheme Case Study of an On-going Project	232
VIII.3	Pond Construction Case Study of An Initiated Project	249

ABBREVIATIONS

AED	-	Agricultural Extension Department, MOAC, RTG
AEW	-	Agricultural Extension Worker
AIT	-	Asian Institute of Technology
ASEAN	-	Association of South East Asian Nations
B.E.	-	Buddhist Era
BLL	-	Basic Linking Loop
CCPD	-	Central Committee on Provincial Development
C.D.	-	Community Development
CLL	-	Communal Linking Loop
CO	-	Coordination
CON	-	Conflict
DCDCC	-	District Community Development Coordination Committee
DDC	-	District Development Committee
DRDC	-	District Rural Development Committee
DM	-	Delivery Mechanism
ESCAP	-	Economic and Social Commission for Asian and Pacific of the United Nations
FLL	-	Formalized Linking Loop
GIP	-	Government Initiated Project
HSD	-	Human Settlements Development Division, AIT

IF	- Interface
IPD	- Industrial Promotion Department, Ministry of Industry, RTG
IPIED	- Institute for the Processing of Information for Education and Development, Thammasart University, Bangkok
MOA	- Ministry of Agriculture
MOAC	- Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives
NEA	- National Energy Authority, OPM, RTG
NEDB	- National Economic and Development Board
NESDB	- National Economic and Social Development Board, OPM, RTG
NIDA	- National Institute for Development Administration, Bangkok
NRDCC	- National Rural Development Coordination Center, RTG
NRDC	- National Rural Development Committee, RTG
NRDP	- National Rural Development Programme, Thailand
NSO	- National Statistical Office, OPM, RTG
OPM	- Office of the Prime Minister, RTG
PDC	- Provincial Development Committee, Thailand
PRDC	- Provincial Rural Development Committee, Thailand
RID	- Royal Irrigation Department, MOAC, RTG
RM	- Receiving Mechanism
RTG	- Royal Thai Government
TC	- Tambon Council (sub-district council), Thailand
TRDC	- Tambon Rural Development Committee, Thailand
TRDOC	- Tambon Rural Development Operational Committee, Thailand

- U.N.** - **United Nations**
- UNAPDI** - **United Nations for Asia and Pacific Development Institute, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia**
- UNRISD** - **United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Geneva, Switzerland**
- VDC** - **Village Development Committee, Thailand**
- V/GP** - **Projects initiated at village level by villagers and aimed at obtaining resources from on-going government programmes**
- VIP** - **Village Initiated Project**

EQUIVALENTS

1 <u>rai</u>	=	0.16 hectare
US\$ 1.00	=	฿ 26.30 (as of 1985)
1 <u>tang</u> of unmilled paddy	=	10 kilograms
1 <u>tang</u> of milled (white) rice	=	15 kilograms

GLOSSARY

amphoe	:	district
au raeng	:	borrowing of labour force on a reciprocal basis
changwat	:	province
kamnan	:	sub-district headman
khana kammakarn phattana muban	:	village development committee
kho raeng	:	requesting to mobilize labour force
khor chor chor	:	national rural development committee
khru yai	:	senior headmaster
krob	:	policy framework
muban	:	village
palad amphoe	:	deputy district officer

phaet pracham tambon	:	sub-district health officer
phattanakorn	:	sub-district community development worker
phu yai ban	:	village headman
prathom	:	grade in elementary school education
sapha tambon	:	sub-district council
tambon	:	sub-district
wat	:	monastery (commonly referred to as 'temple')

INTRODUCTION

Ever more widening discrepancies in the development process, apparent likewise at the metalevel of purportedly appropriate strategic planning and at the impact level of supposedly sustainable project implementation and management have corroborated the necessity of reconsidering premises and approaches favoured by decision and policy makers until now. Rural areas have posed most intricate challenges to planning in that existing conditions vary widely, assets and potential are highly diversified, and yet coordination is mandatory to facilitate integrated and sustainable development.

Recognized deficiencies and obstacles are summarized hereunder to outline the problem situation in which the foci of this research study are identified and its objectives are specified.

A. STATEMENT OF PROBLEMS

Although Thailand has experienced remarkable overall economic growth during the past twenty years, economic benefits have not been equitably shared, resulting in interregional, intersectoral, occupational and rural-urban income disparities (NESDB, 1982) which are grossly skewed from the normal distribution determined by need achievement.

The proportion of people officially classified as "poor" has been decreasing. In 1962/1963, nationwide people below the poverty line accounted for 57 per cent of the entire population; this proportion declined to 39 per cent during 1968/1969; and it was further reduced to 31 per cent by 1975/1976. The proportions of the rural poor, by comparison with the entire population, were 61 per cent in 1962/63, 43 per cent in 1968/69 and 35 per cent in 1975/76 (NESDB, 1982).

The rural poor include "underprivileged", "disadvantaged" and "low income" groups.

A review of the literature renders the following problems which have adversely affected the chances of the rural poor of improving the bases of their livelihood:

- lack of access to resources for development;
- lack of viable organizations to represent their interests;

Participatory Development Activities

- the dominant power of local money lenders and traders;
- the dependent and marginalized nature of their lives;
- the air of dependency and despair which characterize their lives (Oakley and Marsden, 1984).

The case of Thailand is no exception. Related problems include ignorance, underemployment, low-income and poor health (Buddhapitag, 1980). Another study of the causes of poverty identified poor accessibility to social services, particularly health and education, low productivity and income, and indebtedness (Panpiemrat, 1982).

In relation to development planning in Thailand, several factors are causative of rural poverty, as documented through various studies. Problems and reasons why the rural poor could not benefit from past development can be identified as summarized hereunder.

1. Orientation of Development Planning

The past development objectives have been concentrated almost solely on overall economic growth. It was expected that benefits from such growth were trickling down, as a purported feature of the development stream to rural areas and to the poor (NESDB, 1982). This assumption led to a top-down approach which stressed the injection of capital inputs from the outside that would result in "take-off" and the eventual spread of benefits throughout the system. In reality, however, the rich or rural elites have taken advantage and reaped the results of development efforts (Oakley and Marsden, 1984; Shadid, Prins and Nas, 1982 in Galjart and Buijs, eds., 1982).

2. Deficiencies in Coordination and Distorted Target Orientation

Government services are rendered by numerous agencies. There is little integration of development activities in the pursuit of common objectives. Moreover, according to Ungphakorn (1983), there are over five thousand registered foundations and associations in Thailand which have been engaged in development related activities. Each of these agencies or non-governmental organizations has its own programme and pays scarce attention to the work of others. This shortcoming was found to be related to the nature of the programme of each agency, this being "top-down", and the promotion of its personnel being based on completion of these "top-down" programmes (Rabibhadana, Heim and Pinthong, 1980). This has purportedly been the reason why officers and

development workers have paid attention to the comparatively rich rather than to the poor because the "rich" were considered as having the better potential for success and as exerting their influence upon senior officers' project visits with a view to the promotion of field officers.

3. Lack of Popular Participation

The traditional structure of society and its pattern of power distribution, in particular, are important factors restricting popular participation. People have learned through "top-down" programmes to seek and ask for government services instead of becoming self-reliant (Mekpaiboon, 1980 in Saxena et al., 1980). That is a reason why the rural people would return to their former conditions and remain unable to help themselves, once a government agency runs out of funds or has to withdraw (NESDB, 1982). Moreover, most development projects were "spoon-fed" to the rural people, and the planners did not care whether the people gave them high priority in their need assessment (Panpiemrat, 1979).

B. FOCI OF THE RESEARCH STUDY

Emphasis is laid on the three areas of people's potential for development, planning strategy, and participatory development.

1. What Are the Possibilities for the Development of Rural People?

Underlying this study is the assumption that the rural people have potential for self-development, with and without the support from planners and development workers. Evidence from different sources indicates that the rural people, including the poorest among them, aspire for a better life for themselves and their families in order to break the cycle of poverty (ESCAP, 1985). Thus, it is crucial to understand their conditions and objectives prior to involving these people in plan formulation.

Other approaches along this line considered in this study are related to the concepts of "people-centered" planning (Korten and Alfonso, eds, 1981) and "putting the last first" (Chambers, 1983). These concepts signal to outsiders who want to uplift the rural poor that the former should learn from the latter. In other words, it underlines the implicit emphasis of this study on development "from below".

2. Which Approach to Planning, i.e., "from above" or "from below", Can Facilitate the Development of the Rural People with a Focus on the Poor?

As a matter of fact, the current planning practice in Thailand tries to integrate the two types of planning, i.e., "planning from above" and "planning from below". Therefore, this research study focuses on the existing planning system under the present circumstances. It is the ultimate intention to search for more appropriate plan designs in order to reach the target group effectively. The emphasis of this research study is on the existing framework of local level planning in Thailand and its relationships with higher levels.

3. How Can Participation Be Integrated into the Planning Process to Benefit the Rural People and Particularly the Poor among Them?

Participation has been adopted as a strategy for rural development. Examples of optimistic views with regard to the participatory approach are presented below.

Participation is seen as a strategy for the creation of opportunities to explore new, often open-ended directions with those who were traditionally the objects of development. Ideas about participation converge in the concern about giving the rural poor a voice in development decisions, access to productive assets and a share in development benefits (Oakley and Marsden, 1984).

A development policy characterized as 'bottom-up' should be adopted, implying a better corresponding with the needs of the masses. Participation of the mass of the population in formulating a development policy can be considered as a means for them to gain access to organizations responsible for the distribution of goods and services so as to satisfy important human needs, especially of the masses (Shadid, Prins and Nas, 1982).

According to a UNAPDI document (1980), planning and development with people's participation could have two distinct advantages. Firstly, it facilitates a better perception of basic issues at the 'grassroots' level, with specific attention to the rural poor, and the formulation and execution of programmes and projects to achieve stated objectives. Secondly, it provides opportunities for direct participation of the local population, particularly the poor majority, in development related decision-making directly at the lowest level of a homogenous group, hamlet, or village and of representatives at higher levels such as sub-district or district level.

Participation in this research project is seen as a means for development. Its integration at each stage of the planning process is crucial to the effectiveness of the recommendations incorporated into plan making.

C. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Corresponding to the aforementioned focus of research interests, the overall objective of the study is to generate information that can make the planned development at local level more effective.

The specific objectives are:-

1. to investigate types and patterns of people's participation as they occurred at different stages of the planned development process, taking into account their social costs and benefits;
2. to identify factors contributing to effectiveness or ineffectiveness of people's participation, as it were, in the course of planned development and to formulate recommendations as to how these can be utilized and/or modified to make plan implementation more effective;
3. to assess the effectiveness of the current approach to local level planning in reaching the target group;
4. to pinpoint social, economic and administrative forces that hamper the efficiency and the effectiveness of local level planning; and
5. to find out how the current planning system could be adjusted to facilitate the development of the rural people and of the poor among them, in particular.

I. DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND THE RURAL POOR: SOME VIEWS, POLICIES AND DEVELOPMENTS IN PAST THAI NATIONAL PLANNING EXPERIENCE

National planning in Thailand began prior to 1961 when its First Six-Year Plan (1961-1966) was launched by the then National Economic Development Board (NEDB) set-up in 1959 to carry out planning functions of the country. Prior to that there had been no organization responsible for these tasks, except the National Economic Council which had been established in 1950 to advise the government on financial and economic matters only (Buranasiri and Unakul, 1965). The NEDB later was renamed National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB) and established as one of the so-called Offices of the Prime Minister.

Within the past two decades, Thailand prepared, launched and implemented seven national development plans, up to the currently implemented Seventh Five-Year Plan (1992-1996). The main rural development policies emphasized in each Plan are summarized hereunder in brief.

A. THE FIRST (1961-1966) AND THE SECOND (1967-1971) PLANS

Thailand has accepted development planning as a tool to accelerate economic progress, with one of the most cherished hopes being that poverty would be contained and eventually eradicated.

The first national plan was restricted to improving agricultural productivity and encouraging the private sector to expand industrial activities. In this plan, the questions of employment and income distribution were not raised. It concerned itself mainly with the overall economic growth of the country.

The First Plan may be described as government sector programme planning. The Second Plan was expanded to include the private sector. However, the stabilization of the national economy or growth remained the principal objective of the plan. Planning for this period continued to build up the basic infrastructural facilities such as highways, electricity generation and distribution, irrigation systems, schools and hospitals. Its approach remained growth-oriented. That is why the resultant economic growth during the 1960s was quite remarkable and can undoubtedly be attributed in part to the successful achievements during the first and second plan implementation periods and, in

Participatory Development Activities

particular, to the rapid increase in public investments as well as to relatively favourable international economic conditions.

B. THE THIRD PLAN (1972-1976)

During preceding implementation periods, the government provided basic infrastructural facilities which generated benefits to the people in various forms. Therefore, under the Third Plan, the government paid attention to the better utilization of those infrastructures by means of increasing income and productivity. Although economic development received high priority, social development was to be integrated by providing more programmes in rural areas. Nevertheless, development attributes were classified according to their sectoral basis, e.g., agricultural development, population control, education and public health. Salient features of the Third Plan include, firstly, to mobilize the private sector to participate in development work; secondly, to promote group organization, i.e., cooperatives, youth groups and community schools; and thirdly, to lay emphasis on solving the problem of rapid population growth which resulted in the formulation of a family planning programme later on.

C. THE FOURTH PLAN (1977-1981)

This Plan was geared to continue and strengthen development concepts and policies as initiated during the implementation period of the Third Plan. The foci were to increase agricultural productivity on a widespread basis and to decrease the income disparity between the rural and urban sectors.

To raise the standard of living of rural people, the Government had development policies formulated on land, forestry and water resources at regional level. In the rural areas, the government laid emphasis on land problems and indebtedness, including the provision of more social services in family planning, education expansion, nutrition and public health. In addition, the roles of rural youths and women were to be strengthened.

Within this Plan period, local development planning has been augmented by the important dimension of the bottom-up concept of planning to complement the already established "top-down" process. The former concept has three distinct socio-economic objectives, namely,

- to meet basic felt-needs in the predominantly rainfed rural areas where, for the past two decades, the people have been denied the fruits of development;
- to provide adequate rural infrastructure and related productive inputs so that they will be in a better position to help themselves; and
- to enhance further, on a step-by-step basis, the capability of local self-governing bodies to become more responsive and viable tools for integrated development in the rural areas (NESDB, 1977, pp. 40- 43).

To facilitate the "bottom-up" process, the Government promulgated a provincial planning regulation in July 1977, stipulating that the authorities of every province, except the Bangkok Metropolitan Authority, must formulate a five-year development plan under which careful analyses of existing overall socio-economic conditions and problems must be undertaken according to the basic felt-needs of the people. In this scheme, specific project and programme proposals as well as financial input requirements of each province must be fully reflected. As a consequence, provincial planning has served as a platform of merging the "top-down" process, initiated by central government agencies at the macro-level of planning with the "bottom-up" process from the local level, likewise in the pursuit of micro-level planning.

Advantages of connecting the "bottom-up" process to the existing top-down approach in the Fourth Plan period are seen in terms of a better perception of rural problems and of the diversity of felt-needs of the rural people, which are far too numerous for the absorptive capacity of central implementing agencies (Siripongse, 1980). Indeed, it entailed the first attempt of the government to allocate a decentralized budget to each Tambon Council all over the country. This strategy was devised to encourage local leaders to participate in decision making and implementation of their own development activities so that local problems could be eradicated and felt-needs could be eventually fulfilled. It was expected that the integration of the "bottom-up" process could not only generate true benefits to rural people but also render relevant data and information obtained from the grass-roots level which would constitute the most valuable feedback into the national planning process.

D. THE FIFTH PLAN (1982-1986)

Under the Fifth Plan (1982-1986), development emphasis was placed upon raising the standard of life of the rural population in poverty-stricken areas rather than on increasing

Participatory Development Activities

the national product and income. Through this Plan, the revised rural development policy and the new approach to solving rural problems, namely, the Poverty-Stricken Area Development Plan were adopted. According to Vorathepputipong (1984, p. 425), there are four major factors influencing the government to adopt this new approach towards rural development. These include (1) the failure of past development plans to solve rural problems; (2) the role of the rural areas in national development; (3) the importance of rural areas for national security; and (4) the role of scholars in influencing the Government's policy decisions.

The new approach to rural development, namely, the poverty-stricken area development scheme, had been designed to solve the problem of unequal distribution of development benefits resulting from the conventional method of rural development entailed in the preceding Plans. The ultimate goal of the new approach is to assist poor farmers so that they can eventually help themselves and their community (Panpiemrat 1982, p. 75). The rural development policy guidelines under the Fifth Plan include five salient features (NESDB, 1982, p. 7) which are summarized as follows:

- poverty-stricken areas are considered as the target areas;
- subsistence level is the primary goal of rural poor development; the scheme aims to fully provide basic minimum services to rural people in the poverty-stricken areas;
- emphasis is placed upon helping rural people in the target areas to eventually help themselves;
- attention is paid to solve actual problems faced by farmers in the target areas by employing simple techniques and low investment; and
- rural people are encouraged to solve their own problems to their best ability.

To achieve the objectives of this scheme, special emphasis was given to identifying major causes of poverty and more effective measures to cope with problems. In addition, more public resources were allocated to the poverty-stricken areas so that poor people could better benefit from the development programmes.

To implement the scheme, three major rural development programmes were designed by the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB) consisting of (1) the village basic service programme; (2) the village activity programme which includes village fishery and water resource projects, and the village buffalo bank; and (3) the village production programme which covers mainly only village food production,

agricultural seed research, village extension worker training and village land improvement projects. The rationale for classifying rural development programmes into those three categories was that such classification can be used as a guideline for local authorities in formulating village projects responsive to the needs and problems of the rural poor (Panpiemrat 1982, p. 17).

Toward the completion of implementing the Fifth Plan, the poverty-stricken area development scheme was implemented throughout the country, covering 288 districts and 12,562 villages in 38 provinces. In these areas, 32 intensive rural development projects were initiated under the integrated administration of the principal ministries, namely, the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Education and Ministry of Public Health. These projects were successfully implemented at all levels, extending down to the target areas (NESDB, 1982, p. 341).

Despite considerable success, certain problems are found to limit the effectiveness of the rural poverty-stricken area development programmes as Vorathepputtipong (1984, p. 431) pointed out : (1) lack of public participation in the policy making process; (2) top-down programme formulation; (3) frequent changes in target areas; (4) high percentage of rural projects implemented in non-poverty-stricken areas; (5) lack of public participation in project identification and selection; (6) lack of coordination among concerned government agencies; (7) disintegration of rural development projects; (8) lack of qualified personnel; and (9) budget constraints.

E. THE SIXTH PLAN (1987-1991)

Owing to substantial progress in the implementation of rural development policies under the Fifth Plan, strategies, targets and guidelines of development designated since the previous Plan are being continued in the Sixth Plan, with necessary modifications in accordance with present conditions.

An overall objective of rural development under the Sixth Plan (1987-1991) is to improve the quality of life for socially and economically deprived rural people, to promote self-reliance and to increase adaptability to economic and environmental conditions (NESDB, 1987, p. 345). Rural development policies have been geared toward the upliftment of overall national development by expanding the economy, developing society, improving the qualifications of the people, and distributing wealth and prosperity to the rural areas.

Participatory Development Activities

The approach of the rural development programme under the Sixth Plan has two outstanding characteristics. Firstly, it concentrates on extending rural development programmes throughout the country using the actual problems confronted by the rural population as criteria in determining the target areas. Such criteria range from basic problems like poverty, poor health and ignorance to problems in production and marketing, which have strong impacts on income and employment generation. Secondly, it encourages more participation by the private sector in solving their own and community problems in order to reduce the government's role and activities wherever people are able to manage on their own (NESDB, 1987, p. 338).

To achieve the mentioned objectives, rural development programmes under the Sixth Plan are carried out in accordance with the following strategies, target areas and development guidelines (NESDB, 1987, pp. 345-347).

1. Strategies

There are four main strategies as outlined hereunder:

a. Development activities will be oriented towards solving the socio-economic and security problems of each area according to the actual conditions and needs of the people. Authority for the selection of target areas is delegated to provincial authorities.

b. Efforts are made to improve the standard of living in all areas : backward, middle-level and progressive. The government concentrates its efforts and resources on developing the backward and middle-level areas, while increased investment by the private sector in progressive areas is encouraged.

c. Emphasis is given to integrating the efforts of government agencies and of the public and private sectors and the general public, in order to solve fundamental problems in the rural communities and to promote activities that generate production, income and employment through the use of appropriate technology for each locality.

d. The roles of people's organizations and of the general public in deciding how to solve their own problems and those of their communities are strengthened; self-reliance will thus be increased substantially.

2. Target Areas

Target areas are determined on the basis of the problems and needs of the rural population in various areas which can be distinguished as backward, middle-level and progressive areas. The villages throughout the country, classified according to these three categories, include 5,787 backward villages (10.9%), 35,514 middle-level villages (67.1%), and 11,621 progressive villages (22.0%). Development efforts and resources of the government sector are to be concentrated on the backward and the middle-level areas only, while the private sector is encouraged to play a leading role in the progressive areas.

3. Development Guidelines

Four development guidelines were formulated with a focus on creating opportunities for increasing production which will alleviate problems related to rural livelihood and occupation. These guidelines are specified as follows:

- a. to develop the basic infrastructure for rural production and marketing;
- b. to increase the efficiency and capabilities of the public sector in solving rural problems;
- c. to improve the system for administering rural development in order to integrate and systematize the efforts of each agency; and
- d. to strengthen the participation of the private sector and of people's organizations in rural development.

F. THE SEVENTH PLAN (1992-1996)

Under the Seventh Plan (1992-1996), emphasis is placed on promoting a unified administrative system in rural development, entailing the decentralization of administrative authority and decision-making to provincial agencies. The roles of provincial offices in initiating development programmes and projects are to be strengthened in response to the needs of local people and in line with government policies. A large amount of budget will be allocated to support the decentralization of administrative authority in rural development by setting up special funds for provinces

Participatory Development Activities

to finance development projects in their territory. Moreover, the information system for rural development administration will be modified to suit the new administrative system. An evaluation and monitoring system will be developed in the pursuit of decentralizing these functions to the regions.

To further strengthen participatory development at the local level, people's organizations and the private sector are encouraged to participate in rural development programmes in particular to improve the quality of life and security of income of the rural poor. Various aspects of people's participation solicited to improve their quality of life include developing people's potentials in identifying problems and solutions for their own households and communities; self-reliance of local people through mobilizing local resources; and support to people's organizations at tambon and village levels so as to enable them to become effectively involved in the planned development process of their home areas (NESDB, 1992, p. 136). In this vein, the roles of non-governmental organizations as well as family, community and religious institutions will be strengthened to mitigate local problems and create an effective means of disseminating of knowledge, information and understanding about how to properly adjust their way of life in the changing society and environment within their own community (NESDB, 1992, p. 138). In sum, the present development policy outlines concrete measures of decentralization, coupled with greater reliance on local-level participatory planning.

II. THE DEVELOPMENT PLANNING SYSTEM OF THAILAND: ITS STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS

This part deals with three topics. First, the organization of the rural development management system is described for the time prior to and during the Fifth Plan period (1982-1986). Secondly, planning procedures employed in rural development plan formulation in those two periods are explained in brief. This rendition is supplemented by an account of planning practices with a focus on problems in development planning encountered during both periods mentioned.

A. PLANNING ORGANIZATION PRIOR TO THE FIFTH PLAN PERIOD (1982-1986)

Previously, there were various types of committees involved in rural development at the national, provincial, district, sanitary district, sub-district and village levels. These committees were established in accordance with particular laws or cabinet resolutions and set up by various ministries responsible for specific fields of rural development.

An overall picture of the administrative planning system for rural development prior to the Fifth Plan period (1982-1986) is given in Chart 2.1. The structure of the planning organization in Thailand during that period resembled a hierarchy of different levels, namely, national, ministerial, provincial, district, tambon and village level and the ministerial (sectoral) planning activities. An explanation of each level of planning is given in brief hereunder.

1. National Level

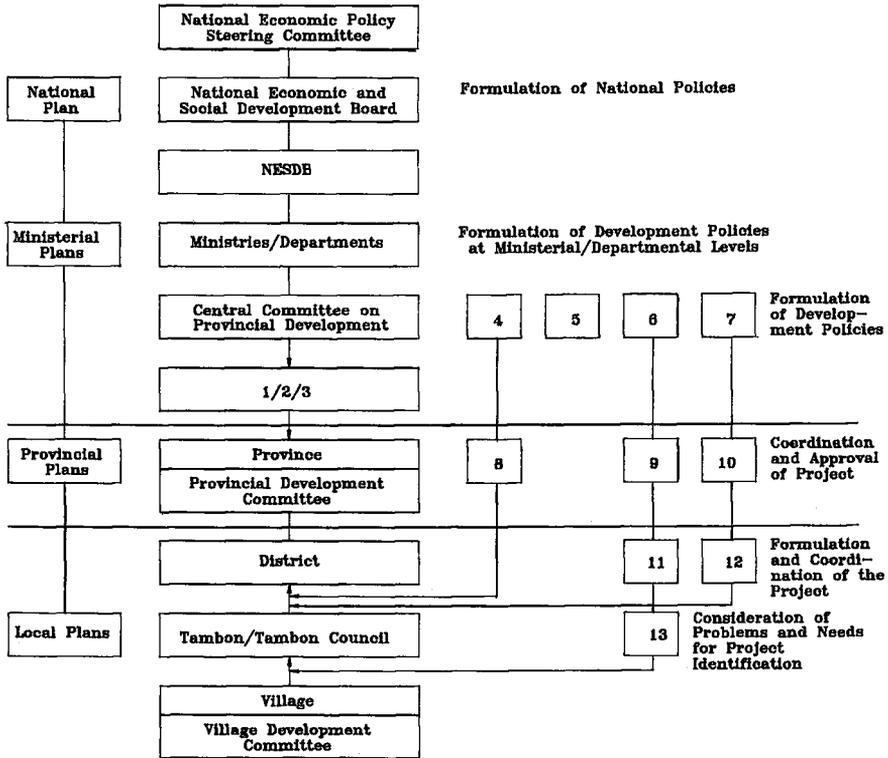
At this level, the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB) was established as a so-called Office of the Prime Minister. This central planning body of the country has been in charge of formulating national policies and plans.

2. Ministerial Level

Within the framework of national policies, the 13 ministries involved will then formulate their own policy in order to fit with the national policies drafted by the NESDB. The principal ministries formulating rural development policies include the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Public Health and the Ministry of Interior.

Participatory Development Activities

Chart 2.1: Planning Organization Prior to the Fifth Plan (1982 - 1986)



- 1/ Sub-committee on the Acceleration of Provincial Plans
- 2/ Sub-committee on the Coordination of Provincial Plans
- 3/ Sub-committee on Regional Monitoring and Evaluation
- 4/ Committee on Rural Jobs Creation
- 5/ Accelerated Rural Development Central Committee
- 6/ Committee on National Rural Development
- 7/ Community Development Coordination Committee
- 8/ Provincial Jobs Creation Committee
- 9/ Provincial Rural Development Committee
- 10/ Provincial Community Development Coordination Committee
- 11/ District Rural Development Committee
- 12/ District Community Development Coordination Committee
- 13/ Tambon Rural Development Committee

Source: *The Fifth National Economic and Social Development Plan (1982 - 1986)*, National Economic and Social Development Board, Office of the Prime Minister, Government of Thailand, Bangkok, 1982, p.330

On this level, it is the Central Committee on Provincial Development (CCPD) that plays a significant role in integrating provincial development policies into ministerial and national policies. This committee is headed by the Minister of Interior; among its members are the Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of Interior, and representatives from other concerned agencies. Its main functions are to coordinate provincial plans; to allocate funds for each province in accordance with its development plan; to approve the implementation of provincial development projects and the disbursement of development finance; and to control, audit, monitor and evaluate the implementation of provincial development plans.

To undertake the said tasks, three sub-committees were set up, namely,

- the Sub-committee on the Acceleration of Provincial Plans;
- the Sub-committee on the Coordination of Provincial Plans; and
- the Sub-committee on Regional Monitoring and Evaluation.

In addition, four more committees were set up to perform particular tasks in coordinating specific programmes including the Rural Job Creation Committee, the Accelerated Rural Development Central Committee, the National Rural Development Committee, and the Community Development Coordination Committee.

3. Provincial Level

A province (changwat) is the primary unit of territorial administration. It represents the local state government and is a hierarchical unit administered, staffed and funded by central government. As of 1992, there are 73 provinces in Thailand including the Bangkok Metropolitan Area (not to be mistaken for the Bangkok Metropolitan Region which includes three neighbouring provinces). The administration of the province is under the authority and responsibility of the provincial governor who is the direct administrative representative of the Ministry of Interior.

The planning function at the provincial level is under the responsibility of the Provincial Development Committee (PDC). The PDC comprises of the provincial governor as its chairman, members representing line agencies operating at provincial level, and other qualified persons. Its main functions are to formulate economic and social development plans for the province; to approve alterations of project details and budget requirements submitted by provincial government agencies; to allocate funds to implementing agencies; to make changes or modify details of projects and approve their

Participatory Development Activities

implementation; and to control and facilitate the implementation of development projects according to policies set by the Central Committee on Provincial Development (CCPD). Two types of provincial development plan have been in operation : the five-year provincial development plan and the annual development plan. The budgets to fund these two kinds of plan, once approved by the CCPD, are allocated by the Budget Bureau in two forms, the regular and the grant-in-aid budget.

Other committees set up for undertaking particular tasks at this level include:

- Provincial Job Creation Committee;
- Provincial Rural Development Committee; and
- Provincial Community Development Coordination Committee.

4. District Level

Each province is divided into districts (amphoe) which are headed by a District Officer. Government officials representing various ministries are assigned to district level offices. As of 1990, there were 670 districts, excluding the Bangkok Metropolitan Area and Patthaya City (NSO, 1991, p. 4). The planning function at the district level is to approve and coordinate projects proposed by various sub-districts (tambon) under its territorial area, which is undertaken by the District Rural Development Committee (DRDC) and the District Community Development Coordination Committee (DCDCC). These plans are submitted to the provincial and finally national level for their final approval.

5. Sub-district Level

Administratively, several sub-districts are combined into one district. As of 1990, there are 6,709 sub-districts (tambon) throughout the country (NSO, 1991, p. 4). A sub-district is headed by the tambon headman (kamnan) who is elected by the village headmen (phu yai ban) under its territorial administration and appointed by the provincial governor. The kamnan is responsible for maintaining peace and order, keeping public records and collecting taxes.

In each sub-district, there is a special unit called the Tambon Council (sapha tambon) which is supervised at the district and provincial levels. This council is composed of the kamnan as its chairman, all phu yai ban in the villages within the

tambon area, the Tambon Health Officer - usually a nurse from the local clinic (phaet pracham tambon) and one elected representative from each village. Normally, one of the Deputy District Officers (palad amphoe) or the Tambon Community Development Worker (phatthanakorn) serves as an advisor to the Tambon Council, and a senior headmaster (khru yai) from one of the local schools serves as its secretary.

The main duties of this council include administering the affairs of the tambon in accordance with instructions received from higher levels and considering problems for project identification and matters relating to the development of the tambon, and publicizing information on development activities in the area.

6. Village Level

A village (muban) is the smallest unit of government administration. It is headed by a village headman (phu yai ban) who has duties and performs functions similar to those of the kamnan. As of 1990 there were 60,191 villages in Thailand (NSO, 1991, p.4).

At this level, the Village Development Committee (khana kammakarn phattana muban) was set up to plan and promote development activities in the village, and survey and report needs and problems in the area. The committee is made up of five to nine members, chaired by the village headman, known as phu yai ban, and works under the supervision of the Tambon Community Development Worker (phatthanakorn).

B. PLANNING PROCEDURE

The planning procedure for rural development organizations prior to the Fifth Plan period (1982-1986) was established according to the following principles.

1. At the highest level of the planning hierarchy, the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB) formulated national policies.

2. Within the framework of the national policies, various units at ministerial and departmental levels formulated their own development policies. The Central Committee for Provincial Development (CCPD) integrated the policies at the national and ministerial levels. On this basis, provincial development policies and guidelines were stipulated by the CCPD.

Participatory Development Activities

3. At the lowest level of the planning hierarchy, the Village Development Committee (VDC) of each village surveyed needs and problems within the village and reported these to the Tambon Council in order to consolidate them into the Tambon Plan. In each tambon, its Tambon Council must prepare five-year and annual development plans with the technical assistance of the Tambon Rural Development Committee (TRDC). Indeed, the plan as formulated at the tambon level is not a plan in its real sense - because only project proposals are outlined indicating problems and felt needs of the local people - and does not include any project document indicating costs and implementation schedules.

4. All the Tambon Plans within the territorial administration of a district were compiled and screened by the District Rural Development Committee with the assistance of the District Community Development Coordination Committee at the District Office. Then each amphoe prepared the District Plan, reconciling in the process the plans received from its various tambon with the amphoe data base to make sure that the District Plan is consistent with the adopted district policy. Then the District Plans of a province were submitted to the authorities concerned at the provincial (changwat) level.

5. The changwat body would prepare a provincial development plan by analyzing the amphoe plans against the background of the provincial data base and the development guidelines received from the CCPD. Thus, it can be seen that the provincial development plan was not only geared to meet people's needs in their locality, but also harmonized local requirements with the objectives of the national and assorted ministerial plans. Indeed, it became a comprehensive plan in which all aspects of development fostered by all agencies represented in the province were covered. After scrutiny and approval of the provincial plan by the PDC, it was sent to the CCPD for final approval. It was thus at this level that the problems and the felt needs channelled "bottom-up" were merged with the "top-down" policies.

6. The CCPD consolidated provincial plans at the central and ministerial level. In the same manner, the departments examined the various proposals made by the provinces and integrated these into an annual workplan, which was then submitted via the ministries to the Budget Bureau. After the budget proposals were screened by this organization, internal regulations became applicable to each ministry involved according to the Annual Budget Act before submittal to the cabinet and parliament for consideration. After final approval by the parliament, the final work plan of each ministry was passed down to the provincial authorities for commencement of plan implementation.

Participatory Development Activities

b. Lack of planning expertise among local level planners

Lack of planning expertise among planning staff at the local administration level is one of the major problems. This also contributed to the ineffectiveness of the local level plan, in general. Evidence was related through the following facts (Boonyapatano, 1979, p. 8; NIDA, 1982, pp. 8-10) :

(1) Planning methods used by the local level planners were too simple. Thus, most of the local level planners depended increasingly on the higher level planners for technical assistance.

(2) Owing to the lack of planning expertise, the local level planners found some difficulty in aggregating the priorities for solving local problems in order to fulfill felt needs of the people and to integrate local level plans into those of higher levels. Hence, it should not be assumed that the needs of local people would be adequately reflected, given the official a priori guidelines.

c. Inadequacy of local data and information for planning purposes

In general, it was found that baseline data and information required for planning exercises at provincial and lower levels were not sufficient for undertaking efficient plan formulation (NIDA, 1982, p. 332). This caused some difficulty to planning organizations at those levels in analyzing problems faced in their area and in prioritizing them. Indeed, data collection for planning on a regular and consistent basis had been ignored by some agencies or not yet taken rigidly into consideration by others concerned in the not so distant past. This deficiency was aggravated by the fact that relevant data and information needed for planning have usually been scattered among various government agencies, despite the compilations of data and information already prepared by many agencies such as the Department of Local Administration, the Office of Policy and Planning of the Ministry of Interior, the National Economic and Social Development Board, and the National Statistical Office (NESDB, 1982, p. 332). These agencies have, however, been collecting and compiling data separately, with little effort of integration and sharing information.

d. Lack of an effective monitoring and evaluation system

Monitoring and evaluating of local development plans were mostly done in the form of inspection of work and expenditures as well as inspection and approval upon completion of work. In practice, assessments of efficiency, effectiveness and effect or impact of a project were neglected or ignored (NIDA, 1982, p. 13; NESDB, 1982, p. 332).

3. Lack of Coordination among Rural Development Management Organizations at Various Levels

In the past, economic policies were formulated on a piecemeal basis without a central body to coordinate them in accordance with the national plan (NESDB, 1982, p. 321). As a consequence, there were duplications of efforts in the structure of power and responsibility which led to lack of coordination and unity in the management of rural development.

Under the law governing the ministerial organization, the powers and responsibilities of each ministry were defined in broad terms, without clear assignment of power and responsibilities to the operating units, i.e., those at the departmental level. Without this specification, work expanded independently. In addition, whenever there were problems emerging from new policies on rural development, it was the usual practice to set up new standing committees rather than improving or further developing the existing management structure or resources. This could be observed in the case of the establishment of the Committee on Rural Development at the sub-district or tambon level duplicating the Tambon Council, or in the case of the Committee on Rural Job Creation at the provincial level in duplication of the Committee on Provincial Development.

In practice, such duplication of planning organizations caused several problems in planning perspectives which can be highlighted as follows (NESDB, 1982, pp. 331-332; Voratheputipong, 1984, pp. 167-168):

- a. An overlap in structure, authority and duties among the rural development organizations caused lack of administrative unity, uneconomical resource utilization, and problems in coordination among the same sorts of project or within the same areas.
- b. Each organization had to follow different procedures for budget allocations and expenditures and adhere to different rules and regulations in operations. Thus, there was no unity of command among government agencies which, at each level, were usually represented by similar groups of officials.

4. Poor Budgetary System

To implement the development plan, the government had no definite policy and system of priorities on budget allocation for plan implementation (NIDA, 1982, p. 9). As a consequence, this created conflict among various government agencies under different ministries, forcing them to compete among each other to gain budgetary support

Participatory Development Activities

from the central government (NESDB, 1982, p. 331). This situation was not conducive to effective rural development.

5. Lack of People's Participation in the Planning Process

It is evident from the implementation of previous national plans that people's participation at various stages of the planning process was very limited, mainly due to the centralization of the planning system (NESDB, 1982, p. 332; Mekpaiboon, 1982, p. 231).

D. PLANNING ORGANIZATION DURING THE FIFTH PLAN PERIOD (1982- 1986)

Beginning with the Fifth Plan, it becomes obvious that a systematic effort has been made to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of rural development plan making and administration. This is evident from certain modifications in the following aspects.

(a) The new rural development planning concept involves the formulation of the National Rural Development Programme (NRDP) consisting of the following components (Panpiemrat, 1982, pp. 18- 20):

- Development in poverty-stricken areas;
- Rural job creation;
- Development for security zones; and
- Development projects undertaken by the four following major ministries:
 - Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives;
 - Ministry of Education;
 - Ministry of Public Health; and
 - Ministry of Interior.

Accordingly, the scope of planning covers a large variety of development sectors with rural foci.

(b) The emphasis in planning was shifted from a comprehensive approach to an integrated approach by stressing the necessity of coordination between different levels of planning (village, sub-district, district, provincial and national levels), between sectors or programmes, and between operation areas or groups of people in poverty-stricken rural areas and rural areas, in general.

(c) In the new rural development planning approach, village people were not to be designated as "receivers" of development results, but they were encouraged to play active roles in the development process. This was one of the salient features of the rural development approach as stipulated by the National Rural Development Committee (NRDC) which put forward the three following aims (Tagoporn in ESCAP, 1983, p. 111):

- to allow the people more opportunity to become problem analysers and selectors of the government projects that they need to solve the problems in their particular community;
- to guide government officials in implementing projects to meet the needs of the local people by giving assistance to solve certain problems that the people have not yet been able to do by themselves, yet emphasizing the importance of their support, as much and as fully as possible; and
- to guide the four main participating ministries in working closely together from the sub-district level upward so that the results of the projects belong to local people more quickly and efficiently and that redundancies and wastages in government work are eradicated or at least reduced.

To ensure efficiency of the new approach toward rural development, development management for rural development purposes was reorganized. This was to ensure unity of command and to streamline various organizations which duplicated one another. As a consequence, the Office of the Prime Minister issued a regulation on rural development management dated 24 July, 1981 (B.E. 2524), including a number of organizations suited at certain levels of planning as summarized hereunder.

1. National Level

All national committees existing during the preceding plan periods were dissolved and replaced by the National Rural Development Committee (NRDC) or khor chor chor/KCC with the exception of the Committee on the Rural Job Creation Programme. The NRDC acted as the policy making body and was headed by the Prime Minister, with high-ranking officials from the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Education, Ministry of

Participatory Development Activities

Public Health, and Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives and other concerned units as members. The National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB) served as the Secretariat to the NRDC and played a vital role in policy initiation as well as programme screening. In addition, the National Rural Development Coordination Center (NRDCC) was set up to undertake the task of monitoring and evaluation of the national programme. This task was performed by the Institute for the Processing of Information for Education and Development (IPIED) which is domiciled at Thammasart University in Bangkok.

At the sub-national level, there were similar committees at the provincial, district and sub-district level, which were chaired by appropriate senior officials at the respective level of the administration and representatives of the four major ministries, except at the sub-district level. Each committee at these various levels is described in brief hereunder.

2. Provincial Level

The Provincial Development Committee (PDC) was the sole standing committee assisted by the Rural Development Sub-committee at the provincial level. The main task of this committee was to formulate a provincial development plan according to development policies, guidelines and framework (krob) as provided by the NRDC, taking into account the district development plans in its area.

3. District Level

At this level, the District Development Committee (DDC) was in charge of planning at the district level in coordination with the Rural Development Sub-committee at the same level.

4. Sub-district and Village Levels

At the sub-district level, there was the Tambon Council (TC) which was made up of village headmen or phu yai ban and a separate Tambon Rural Development Operational Committee (TRDOC) which was set up alongside to assist in an advisory capacity. The committee comprised of the lowest level officials of the four major ministries, namely, the Tambon Agricultural Extension Worker, the Tambon Public Health Officer, a senior school headmaster from one of the local schools, and the Tambon Community Development Worker. At this level, the TC and the TRDOC would identify problems

and collect evidence of needs of the local people in order to draw up the tambon plan for their area.

At the village level, the existing committees, i.e., the Village Development Committee and the Village Council served as core organizations in charge of rural development planning at this lowest level at the so-called grass-roots.

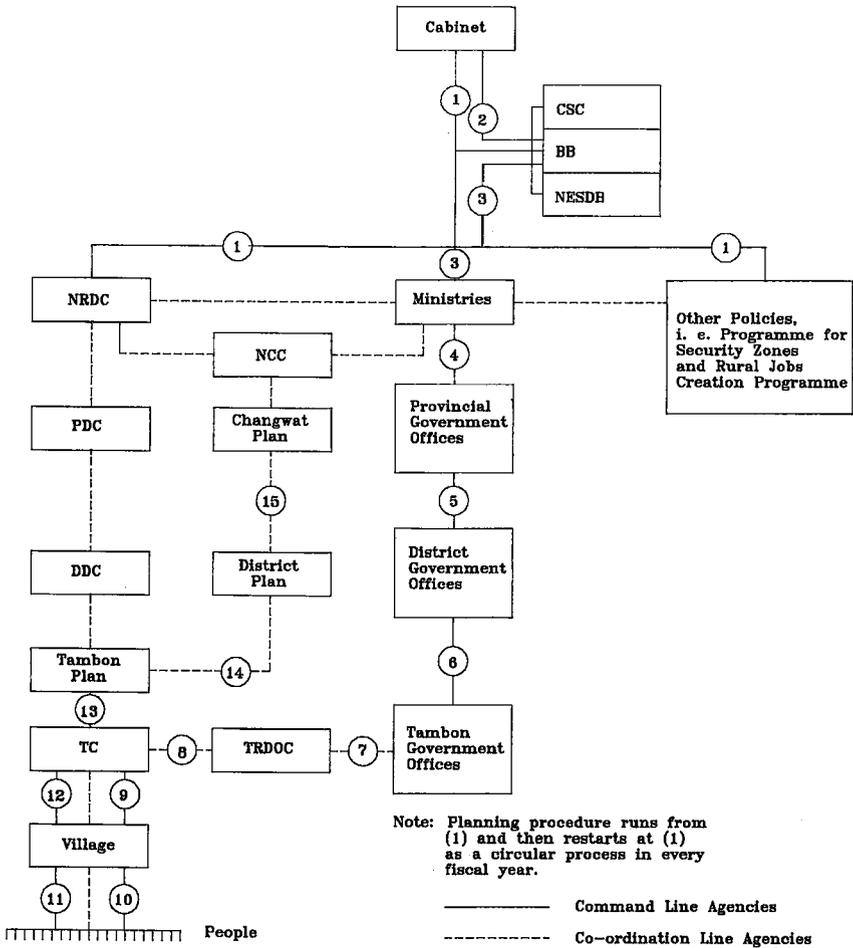
E. PLANNING PROCEDURE

For the implementation of the National Rural Development Programme (NRDP), the Office of the Prime Minister stipulated 13 steps of planning procedure in 1981, as illustrated in Chart 2.2. A brief description of each step is given hereunder (NESDB, 1982, p. 22).

1. The NRDC forwarded various national policies, i.e., those on development for security zones, rural job creation, and development in poverty-stricken areas for the four major ministries to the cabinet for its approval.
2. The cabinet considered the policies proposed by the NRDC and decided whether or not to approve them.
3. Once policies had been accepted and approved by the cabinet, manpower and budget would be allocated to the four major ministries by the Civil Service Commission and the Budget Bureau in a coordinated manner arranged by the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB).
4. The four major ministries set up their policy framework (krob) and stipulated the types of assistance including technical and financial support available from central administration for rural development. Types of project to be supported on a yearly basis were also indicated, and in some cases details of the way in which these should be carried out were stipulated. As the policy frameworks of individual ministries varied considerably, they would be revised each year before passing them down to the provincial level.
5. The individual policy framework and detailed development guidelines of the four main ministries were formulated and reviewed before being passed downward to the provincial level.

Participatory Development Activities

Chart 2.2: Planning Organization under the Fifth Plan (1982 - 1986)



Source: Adapted from *New Rural Development System and Administration*, National Rural Development Co-ordination Center (NRDCC), National Economic and Social Development Board, Office of the Prime Minister, Bangkok, 1982, p.2.

6. The provincial body passed these directives on policy framework and development guidelines of the NRDC, obtained via the four major ministries, to the district level in its respective area.

7. The sub-district or tambon officials then informed the Tambon Council (TC) and the Tambon Rural Development Operational Committee (TRDOC) of the policy framework and the development guidelines set by the NRDC and the four major ministries.

8. The TC then passed these directives downward to the Village Development Committee (VDC) at village level.

9. The VDC collected evidence of needs and problems of their village people and passed it upward to the TC at the tambon level.

10. The TC and the TRDOC compiled a report of problems and needs within the respective villages as received from the VDC of each village. On this occasion, types of project specified by the VDCs of each area were identified.

11. Based on the problems and needs expressed by people in the various villages within the tambon, as compiled by the TC, the tambon plan was formulated with the assistance of the TRDOC. In formulating the plan, the TC and the TRDOC reconciled those needs with the types of project available within the framework or krob provided by the higher levels of administration. Before submittal of the tambon plan to the next higher level, the priority of each project was determined in the tambon plan.

12. The DDC then scrutinized the tambon proposals to make sure that these would be in line with the original policy framework provided earlier.

13. Likewise, the PDC considered the district plans carefully to assure that they were consistent with the given policy framework and integrated the priorities set in the project proposals from the various tambon and districts.

Upon reaching this step, the PDC would consolidate the project proposals of its various districts or amphoe into the annual provincial plan, set out on an agency-by-agency basis and submitted via the National Rural Development Coordinating Committee (NRDCC) to the various ministries and their constituent departments in Bangkok.

After receipt of the provincial development plans at the central ministerial level, the departments examined the various proposals made by the provinces and consolidated

Participatory Development Activities

these into an annual workplan. This would then be submitted via the ministries to the Budget Bureau and then to the Plan Coordination Sub-committee of the NRDC.

After screening by the Budget Bureau, the budget proposals would be included in the Annual Budget Act for submission to the cabinet and parliament. Once final approval from parliament was obtained, the final operations plan was passed down from the ministries to the provincial authorities for implementation.

F. PLANNING PRACTICE WITH A FOCUS ON PROBLEMS IN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING SINCE 1982

The new approach known as the National Rural Development Programme was first adopted in the context of the Fifth National Economic and Social Development Plan (1982-86). This programme represents something of a departure in planning perspective from the overwhelmingly "top-down" framework of development which had been the traditional procedure in Thailand throughout history until into the first two decades of formal national development planning (1961-1981). Thus, the administrative and planning framework in which projects are to be set is an innovation. In the following paragraphs, problems are identified which have arisen in the course of operation of the new system.

1. Top-down Plan Formulation

Despite efforts, toward decentralized planning, to some degree, in the formulation of the National Rural Development Programme (NRDP), the new rural development policy still retains the features of a centralized policy framework as well as budget allocation. This can be seen from the fact that all provinces were requested to formulate their rural projects within the standard policy frameworks (*krob*) of the four main ministries and submit them to the central administration for final approval. This means that various projects continue to be inconsistent with assorted real needs at the village level (Demaine, 1987, p. 156). Also, it could not be assured that the various rural development programmes set by the ministries were adequate to cope with the multifarious problems in rural areas (Vorathepputipong, 1984, p. 169).

2. Lack of People's Participation in the Planning Process

Under the new rural development policy, people's participation is strengthened significantly so as to play an active role in the development process as a whole and in specific project planning. However, it is found in practice that village people and their local representative body do not perform the expected role in reality, especially at certain planning stages, i.e., project identification, selection and evaluation.

a. Project identification and selection

In principle, the Village Development Committee (VDC) and the Tambon Council (TC) have their functions in project identification and screening according to the priorities stated in the programmes, to be implemented in the form of various projects under different development programmes undertaken in their area.

In practice, the VDC and the TC do not participate significantly in identifying, selecting and prioritizing projects undertaken in their area. The TC does not play a vital role in identifying and selecting projects according to priority given by their members. The main reason is that none of the projects of the line ministry and line agencies are passing down to the TC. An exception is the Rural Job Creation Programme. It is noteworthy that the projects under the Rural Job Creation Programme are confined to infrastructure and building construction.

As for the projects under the four major ministries, the VDC do not prepare any project proposals on the basis of the specific needs of their individual villages or tambon, but rather choose what they consider relevant projects from a "menu" or a series of "menus" which are supplied each year by the participating ministries (Demaine, 1987, p. 149). In some areas, project identification and screening are handled by local field officials of different line agencies, because of the two following reasons (Vorathepputipong, 1984, p. 433). Firstly, the officials are aware that local people lack the knowledge to identify and formulate projects by themselves. The officials are also afraid that those projects identified by the people may not fit the criteria for getting approval by a higher level authority. Secondly, the officials are convinced that their main task delegated by officials at ministerial level is to provide services to local people to a large extent. They, therefore, should have the authority to select and prioritize the projects based on their consideration.

b. Monitoring and evaluation

Monitoring and evaluation of a project are solely conducted by a representative of the line agencies belonging to the Provincial Rural Development Committee (PRDC).

Participatory Development Activities

For evaluation purposes, the achievement of a project is not measured in terms of the success of a programme in relation to the development impact. As a matter of fact, the current practice is that government organizations would focus on inspecting procedures such as whether the programme has been carried out without interruption according to the original time schedule rather than investigate to which degree the objectives of a particular project have been accomplished (Demaine, 1987, p. 154). Moreover, monitoring and controlling processes are designed to ensure that expenditures are incurred in accordance with government rules and regulations, with scant attention to the goals achieved or services generated (NIDA, 1982, p. 13).

3. Lack of Coordination in Planning and Implementation Among Concerned Agencies

With regard to plan making and implementation of rural development projects, it is found that coordination of the work of the line agencies involved is weak. Although rural management has been reorganized during the Fifth Plan period (1982-1986), there is still a high degree of control by the central administration. This means that representatives of line agencies at sub-national level, i.e., local and regional bodies remain firmly set in a vertical command structure. At the same time, the coordination mechanisms at the decentralized level are not strong enough to weaken this attachment (Demaine and Malong, 1987, p. 14) due to the enforcement of some of the following administrative procedures.

a. Each field agency in any rural development organization reports on its work performance directly to its central administration in Bangkok.

b. Each field agency has its own system of managing and organizing development administration. As a consequence, work principle, nature of programme and method of working at field level differ among various ministries. Thus, different standards and different criteria in selecting and prioritizing projects are employed by various line or field agencies involved, even within the same locale.

c. Each field agency has its own separate budget allocated at the central level of administration. Thus, they are in a position of operating their programmes independently.

4. Deficiencies in Planning Techniques on the Part of Local Bodies

There are still some deficiencies in planning techniques, especially in local bodies of the planning administration, as employed at sub-national level. Defects in planning

elements can be observed from the fact that concept and method for identifying problems and needs of people at the tambon, district and provincial levels used by the TRDOC, DDC and PDC are not unified. In addition, guidelines and methods for harmonized evaluating of plan progress are still insufficient. In addition, it is evident from the study of provincial development planning that there are no clear objectives stated in various projects of the programmes within the plan. Moreover, methods of integration of various projects and programmes into the plan formulation are not in conformity. As a result, the DDC and the PDC are unable to integrate programmes and projects to their advantage (NIDA, 1982, p. 19).

5. Time Constraint

With a view to time scheduling by the central administration for the purpose of plan formulation in provincial development planning, it is obvious that several steps in the planning exercise are to be undertaken within a relatively short period. When considering the 1983 calendar for provincial development planning fixed by the NRDC, which schedules several steps of central government coordination, involving eight months of operation, the subnational bodies at tambon, district and provincial levels are required to finish their plans within four months (NRDC, 1983, p.12). As far as length of time is concerned, the period set forth for the formulation of tambon, district and provincial development plans is too short. In this circumstance, the PDC is not in a position to determine precise guidelines and provincial projects within the given period to satisfy felt needs in the formulation of district development plans (NIDA, 1982, p. 19). This leads one to wonder whether the period for plan preparation at local levels is too short and may adversely affect the quality of plan making due to some of the following facts (NRDC, 1983, p. 12):

a. The VDC and the TC of their respective areas do not have sufficient time to identify problems and needs of people in each locality and scrutinize them carefully. While the identification of problems can be done in a short time, the preparation of the detailed project document is a time consuming effort. Identification of local problems and needs may be undertaken by members of the VDC and the TC themselves without consulting other villagers.

b. In the same way, time constraint affects the quality of plan preparation by field agency officers. This relates to the possibility that these officers may identify and screen projects by themselves on the basis of the policy framework (krob) as provided by the central agencies, with minimal consultation with the TC and the VDC.

Participatory Development Activities

c. Each line agency has to complete a complicated process of planning as stipulated by the NRDC within a short duration. An integration of projects proposed by different authorities, therefore, is hardly becoming effective due to time pressure.

6. Budget Constraint

The budgetary system applied to the implementation of the National Rural Development Programme (NRDP) reflects the uncoordinated nature of the budgeting process, as budget allocations are made at the center by the line departments. Each departmental budget is normally scrutinized separately by the Budget Bureau, without the projects of the National Rural Development Programme being treated as interlinked (Demaine 1987, p. 157). Thus, any effort to coordinate projects at provincial level might be frustrated. As a matter of fact, provinces do not receive prior notification about the total annual budget to be granted by the central administration. This, of course, creates some difficulty to the province in planning and setting priorities for development programmes in advance (NIDA, 1982, p. 18). Moreover, this also discourages local units to formulate local development projects more effectively since projects which they have proposed will be added to some sort of "shopping list", with no guarantee of being financed (Vorathepputipong, 1982, p. 33).

III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The presentation of the theoretical framework including definitions and analytical tools is divided into three sections. First, the concept of the planned development process, as used in this study, is described. Various stages and activities in the project cycle are highlighted (sections A. and B.).

Second, these model oriented sections are complemented with an overview of the concept of participation that is inherent to this study. Within the participation concept identified as applicable for this study, emphasis has been laid on four different angles: participation as a manifestation of social activities; principle and type of participation; social costs and benefits of participation; and participation as a process (section C.).

Third, the concluding section introduces the concept of the linking loops which provides the framework and the tool to analyze development at the local level. In presenting the concept of the linking loops, the paradigm underlying this study is first explicated, followed by detailed descriptions of three types of the linking loop. These are the basic, the communal and the formalized linking loops. A summary specifying the major features of all types of the linking loop completes the presentation of the theoretical framework (section D.).

A. THE CONCEPT OF THE PLANNED DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

Planning has many meanings and covers a wide range of activities. To get some idea of the variety which exists, selected definitions are quoted hereunder :

"Planning is in essence, an organised, conscious and continual attempt to select the best available alternatives to achieve specific goals". (Waterston, 1965, p. 26).

"Whatever else we may have in mind when we talk about planning, we must certainly be thinking about decision making. The implication is that there is a better way of going about decision-making, by allowing it to take into account more data about events, or outcomes which are further off into the future". (Schaffer, 1970, p. 29).

Participatory Development Activities

"Planning can be referred to as 'the art of getting future things done'". (Beenhakker, 1980, p. 22).

"Planning is concerned with making decisions and informing actions in ways that are socially rational". (Friedmann, 1987, p. 47).

Various other theorists have defined 'planning' in similar terms. According to their definition, 'planning' is 'concerned with deliberately achieving some objective, and it proceeds by assembling actions into some orderly sequence' (Hall, 1974); 'the laying out of a course of action that we can follow and that will take us to our desired goals' (Churchmann, 1968); 'a process of strategic choice, requiring a capacity to anticipate the future and yet also to adapt to the unforeseen' (Friend and Jessop, 1969); 'a process of human forethought and action based upon that thought' (Chadwick, 1971); as well as 'the process of preparing a set of decisions for action in the future, directed at achieving goals by preferable means' (Dror, 1973).

What is characteristic of all the current definitions of planning is the reference to terms like 'objectives', 'actions', 'goals', 'thought', and 'decision'. The definitions imply that planning involves making decisions or choices, about how best to use available resources to achieve particular aims or objectives at some time in the future.

Whenever planned development is addressed, it is mostly concerned with government or other agencies engaged in bringing about general economic and social changes; this kind of planning is usually known as development planning (Conyers, 1982). The use of this term may be clarified by quoting from a survey of development planning in several countries published by Waterston in 1965. For the purpose of his survey, he introduced the following premise :

"Countries were considered to be engaged in development planning if their governments were making a conscious and continuing attempt to increase their rate of economic and social progress and to alter those institutional arrangements which were considered to be obstacles to the achievement of this aim". (Waterston, 1965, p. 27).

In most countries in the world, the idea of national planning was firmly established in the 1940s and 1950s and continued after the 1960s. The spread of national planning in the late 1940s and early 1950s can be directly attributed to the effectiveness of war mobilization planning in Europe and to the desire of governments attaining post-war political independence for rapid economic growth. Perhaps the greatest impetus to national planning was the insistence of international aid agencies that grants and loans be made in conformity with coherent plans for national development (Rondinelli, 1983).

During these three decades of development planning, national planning in most of the countries was characterized by the principle of functional integration (Friedmann and Weaver, 1979) or development 'from above' (centre-down development). Stohr and Taylor (1981) explain this approach to development as follows :

"Development 'from above' has its roots in neoclassical economic theory and its spatial manifestation is the growth centre concept; until recently strategies of development 'from above' have dominated spatial planning theory and practice. The basic hypothesis is that development is driven by external demand and innovation impulses, and that from a few dynamic sectoral or geographical clusters development would, either in a spontaneous or induced way, 'trickle down' to the rest of the system. Such strategies, as well as being outward-looking or externally oriented, have tended to be urban and industrial in nature, capital-intensive, and dominated by high technology and the 'large project' approach". (Stohr and Taylor, 1981, p. 1).

Based on the above explanation, it is assumed that development, whether spontaneous or induced, starts only in a relatively few dynamic sectors and geographical clusters from where it will spread to the remaining sectors and geographical areas. This 'trickle down' process is essentially supposed to start at the global level and then filter down and outward to national or regional units (Stohr, 1981, p. 41), either through the urban hierarchy (Berry, 1972), or through input-output relations (Perroux, 1964), or through polarization and trickle down (Hirschman, 1958), or through cumulative causation (Myrdal, 1957), or through core-periphery interaction (Friedmann, 1966), or through the internal channel of multi-plant business organizations (Lasuen, 1973; Pred, 1976), or large-scale government organizations.

During the last 30 years, development planning efforts in Third World Countries, dominated by theories of economic growth, particularly the neoclassical model, did not achieve their intended goals. Despite the relatively high growth rates in gross national product (GNP) on the whole, which have been far better than expected (Morawetz, 1977), disparities have persisted in living conditions between social strata (Adelman and Morris, 1973) and between geographical areas (Stohr and Todling, 1977). As Chenery writes,

"It is now clear that more than a decade of rapid growth in under-developed countries has been of little or no benefit to perhaps a third of their population. Although the average per capita income of the Third World has increased by 50 per cent since 1960, this growth

Participatory Development Activities

has been very unequally distributed among countries, regions within countries, and socio-economic groups". (Chenery et al., 1974, p. xiii).

Out of dissatisfaction with past development results, a new development strategy known as development 'from below', has been conceptualized. Yet there seems to be no well-structured theory available as yet for an alternative paradigm of development 'from below', though some efforts in this direction have been made. According to Stohr (1981), some examples of this kind of development approach are observed at international level, as in the search for a New International Economic Order (Tinbergen et al., 1976), or for 'another development' (Netfin, 1977); at the subnational level through such concepts as 'agropolitan development' (Friedmann and Douglass, 1978), 'ecodevelopment' (Sachs, 1976), and the search for a 'theory of rural development' (Haque et al., 1977).

To explain the concept of development 'from below', Stohr and Taylor (1981) point out that

"Development 'from below' considers development to be based primarily on maximum mobilization of each area's natural, human, and institutional resources, with the primary objective being the satisfaction of the basic needs of the inhabitants of that area. In order to serve the bulk of the population broadly categorized as 'poor', or those regions described as disadvantaged, development policies must be oriented directly towards the problems of poverty, and must be motivated and initially controlled from the bottom. There is an inherent distrust of the 'trickle down' or 'spread effect' expectations of past development policies. Development 'from below' strategies are basic-needs oriented, labour-intensive, small-scale, regional-resource-based, often rural-centred, and argue for the use of 'appropriate' rather than 'highest' technology" (Stohr and Taylor, 1981, p. 1).

With a view to the transition from development 'from above' to development 'from below', the question for developing countries and regions today, therefore, is whether to transform the past sectoral and spatial pattern of development 'from above' to incorporate more elements of development 'from below' and thereby reduce existing social and spatial disparities between levels of development. This is due to the fact that there is neither a uniform concept to strive for nor a uniform transition process to follow. The swing between these two approaches in the past seems, among other factors, to have been related to changing scales of societal interaction, to a changing subordination or rationalizing of economic activities under broader societal norms (philosophical, religious, political, social, and cultural), and more recently, to changing rates of economic expansion.

Some theorists began questioning the model underlying the transition period. Among others, Seers (1965) pointed out that the prevailing conditions that made rapid and sustained industrialization possible in Western societies constituted a "special case", and that economic development policies applied successfully under those conditions could not simply be transferred or replicated in developing nations.

To incorporate the two development approaches mentioned earlier into national planning exercises in Asian countries, Asian national planning during the 1950s and 1960s took three basic forms (Rondinelli 1983, p. 3). They comprise of (1) top-down planning, through which a central planning agency formulated policies based on macro-economic, quantitative models for the national economy; (2) bottom-up planning, through which the central planning agency compiled and reviewed the investment proposals of national ministries, local governments and semi-public corporations and allocated resources to them on the basis of centrally determined economic priorities; and (3) mixed systems which used a combination of top-down and bottom-up approaches.

Apart from the economic theories that influenced the formulation of national planning in various countries, models or theories of social change were gradually recognized. Long (1977) mentions three significant approaches that are useful to comprehend the relation between local-level processes and national development. First is the modernization approach which interpretes the issues in terms of 'traditional' social structures becoming incorporated into larger-scale political and economic systems and gradually acquiring the accoutrements of 'modernism'. An investigation of this approach requires documenting the processes by which societies become more differentiated institutionally and achieve new modes of structural integration. Modernization approaches are based on a Western model of growth which posits that Third World countries will follow a similar development path. In scrutinizing this approach Long observes that modernization models are probably largely irrelevant to comprehending the kinds of processes occurring in present-day Third World countries, whose socio-historical and contemporary circumstances are so different (Long 1977, p. 28). The second and third named approaches are the improvement and the transformation approaches, respectively. The former approach aims to bolster existing patterns of economic growth and to promote increased production in the peasant sector (see, e.g., Ruthenberg, 1964; Schultz, 1964; and De Wilde, 1967), whilst the transformation approach seeks to bring about structural change through making a radical break with existing systems (see Chambers, 1969 in his study on "Settlement and Re-settlement Schemes of Africa").

As for the integration of social approaches into national planning, most international development organizations and governments in developing countries during the 1970s adopted what Lindblom (1965) calls a "synoptic" approach to decision making. As he points out, those who hold a rationalistic view of decision making believe that complex

Participatory Development Activities

social problems can be understood through systematic analysis and solved through comprehensive planning. They believe that there is a direct relationship between government action and the solution of social problems (Braybrooke and Lindblom, 1970).

Planned development in the present decades is no longer primarily attached to economic terms. Development is now seen in much broader terms, involving a complex set of social, political, and environmental factors. According to Robertson (1984), national planning in the present decade became one of the principal means by which modern states bring political power to bear on the organization of resource utilization to achieve more rapid growth. Consequently, development planning has also become a much more complex process, with a wide range of goals and objectives. As formulated by Conyers, planning now tends to be viewed not as an isolated activity but as part of a complex process of 'development', which involves a number of related activities, including:

- (i) the identification of general goals or objectives;
- (ii) the formulation of broad development strategies to achieve these objectives;
- (iii) the translation of the strategies into specific programmes and projects;
- (iv) the implementation of these programmes and projects; and
- (v) the monitoring of their implementation and their impact on achieving the stated goals and objectives (Conyers 1982, p. 3).

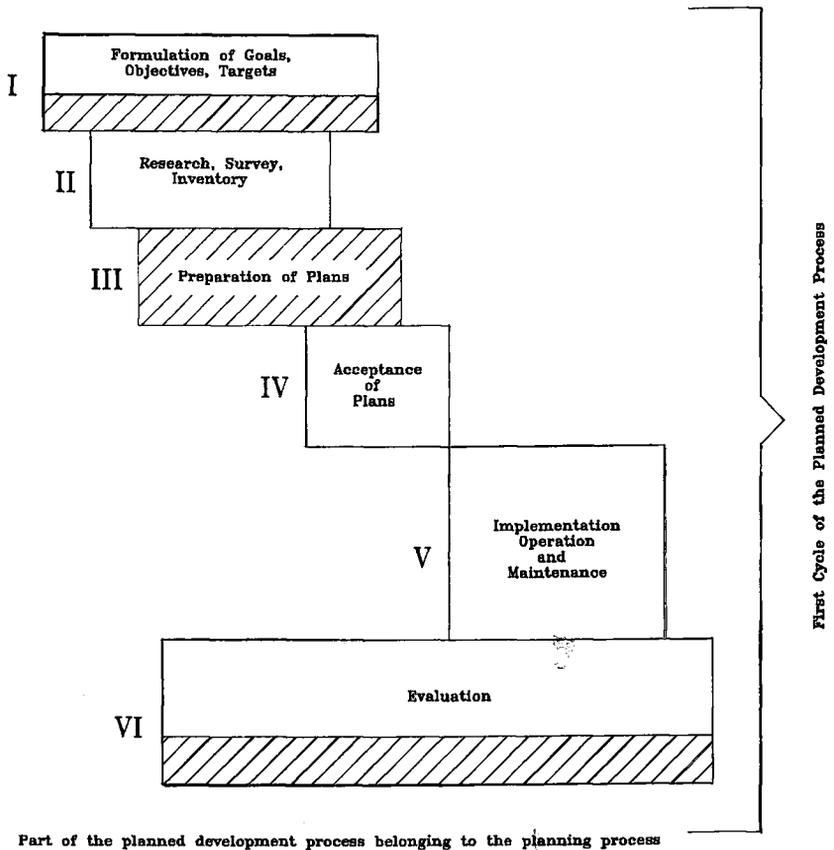
The planning concept, as used in this research study, was investigated through actually planned, partly even implemented development. This is characterized by a set of planning activities, consisting of the formulation of programmes of actions which will change the present situation in such a way that it resembles a situation as indicated by given goals or objectives.

The intricately planned development process has been viewed as consisting of six overlapping and interrelated stages (van Dusseldorp, 1984) which are shown in Fig. 3.1.

1. Formulation of Goals, Objectives and Targets - Stage I

As planned development is goal-oriented, its aim is to realize certain objectives and targets. Thus, formulating of these goals, objectives and targets is the first crucial step in the planned development process.

Figure 3.1: The Planned Development Process



Part of the planned development process belonging to the planning process

Subsequent cycles follow the same process as indicated for the first cycle.

Source: D. van Dusseldorp and K. Zijdeveld, The Preparation and Implementation of Projects in Developing Countries, Department of Rural Sociology of the Tropics and Subtropics, Wageningen Agricultural University, Wageningen, the Netherlands, 1984, p.3.

2. Research, Survey and Inventory - Stage II

In general, local people are the aggregate research object through whom information about situations is obtained by a research team. At this stage, it is indispensable to conduct analyses of existing conditions. Hence, this stage can be called the diagnosis period. Specifically, this stage is important for identifying problems, resources and constraints in order to determine objectives. The problems and needs of the people, their potential or opportunities for development as well as constraints to development might be identified through a socio-economic survey, a resource analysis, an environmental study, or other types of research study that can be undertaken on related issues.

3. Preparation of Plans - Stage III

The activities of this stage are numerous and varied. They entail highly specialized forms of analysis and projection required for the following activities:

- (a) Formulation of programmes and alternative strategies depending on feasibility, acceptability, ease of implementation, and efficiency of resource utilization.
- (b) Identification of programmes and projects, once the realization of objectives is conceptually resolved.

All this would take place in the context of a specified target, employing a selected strategy, and recognizing resources as well as constraints. Considerations of feasibility, acceptability, ease of relating to the target, and suitable technology would also apply in the procedure of selecting projects.

- (c) Ex ante assesment of the resource requirement.

At this stage, the total requirements of financial and other resources should be determined. Methods of mobilizing the required resources and of operationalizing the project should be worked out. Priorities should be indicated, if limited means do not allow the implementation of programmes of action to the extent of realizing all the desired objectives.

- (d) Project and programme formulation and appraisal.

Viability and benefits of the programme should be examined carefully before including them in any plan. Projects would be appraised using benefit-cost

analysis, taking into consideration social and political aspects as well.

- (e) Integration of the programmes of action in cases where there are several programmes that influence each other.

4. Acceptance of Plans - Stage IV

Upon submittal of a plan to an authority or higher level concerned, it reaches the stage of appraisal. During this stage, it would be pointed out what the scarce resources are which have to be solicited from outside, and what allocation of funds from higher levels will be provided. In most instances, due to budget constraints, not all project proposals might be accepted and approved for implementation. Once the required resources are made available, the plan is ready to be implemented as soon as possible.

5. Implementation - Stage V

Within this stage, schedules are drawn up for the phasing of programmes, scheduling of projects, coordination and integration of projects and programmes, identifying tasks and activities, and assigning responsibilities.

6. Evaluation - Stage VI

This is the final stage that links cyclically with the first stage. Although the importance of evaluation has been stressed over and over again, only a limited number of projects and programmes have been formulated complete with built-in evaluation. In most cases, evaluation is done on an ad hoc basis, thus facilitating only a limited feedback into the planning and implementation system.

Various types of evaluation can be distinguished. With reference to the time horizon when evaluation takes place, ex-ante, ex-post, interim and end-of-project evaluation are distinguished. On the basis of who is conducting the evaluation, the distinction is made between internal and external evaluation.

B. INVESTIGATION OF THE PLANNED DEVELOPMENT PROCESS THROUGH THE PROJECT CYCLE

The stages indicated in the planned development process can be recognized in the life cycle of a project. As a plan is a mental construct, for it to become a project requires a clearly spelled out set of actions taking place and resources being made available in a well defined space and over a specified period of time in order to realize specific objectives or targets.

The project cycle can be envisaged in various configurations as shown in Figs. 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3.

It is important to realize that there is a considerable overlap between the various stages mentioned in Figs. 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3. Not only do the stages of the project cycle entail overlapping activities, the process presented in the project cycle is not a linear but an iterative process.

Development projects are seen and analyzed in many perspectives. In this section, projects as perceived through three specific views are outlined hereunder.

1. Project Cycle as an Administrative Device for Allocating Scarce Resources

Several authors like Rondinelli, 1977; Goodman & Love, 1980; and Baum, 1982 described and analyzed projects as administrative devices used by governments in most developing countries to legitimize an allocation of scarce resources for specific actions. Major attention is then paid to the establishment of procedures and regulations. Projects thus conceptualized were criticized as being of a blueprint nature, adopting the top-down approach and fragmenting development efforts, whose expected results could be realized and whose outcome was not sustainable (Chambers, 1983; Morss et al., 1976; Morss & Gow, 1985; and Long & van der Ploeg, 1989).

Projects adhering to this approach include the following activities.

a. Problem identification and formulation of objectives

In most cases, a project comes into existence if specific problems have to be solved. Therefore, an important point to emphasize is the need to scrutinize of what nature the problems are and what their causes are so that one can enter into deliberations on conceptualizing projects.

Figure 3.2 : Project Cycle - Data Requirements and Sources

State	Data Required	Source
Identification	Project area, current outputs. Beneficiaries & environment.	Administrative files, census, national and local survey. MOA estimates.
Preparation	Technical inputs.	Professional review. Feasibility studies.
	Socio-economic characteristics of project population.	Existing rural surveys and/or specially commissioned ad hoc study by NSO or others.
	Market information.	Administrative files, existing market survey and/or specially commissioned ad hoc market study.
	Attitudes of beneficiaries/ constraints affecting them.	Specially commissioned case study.
	If base-line survey required for long term evaluation, specify survey content, basic approach and scale.	Specially commissioned baseline survey 'preferably by NSO'.
Appraisal	Financial and O & M	Ministries, district offices, organizations, agencies.
	Macroeconomic factors.	National accounts, sector studies, development plans.
	Project area indicators.	Area specific data generally available and results obtained at earlier stages.

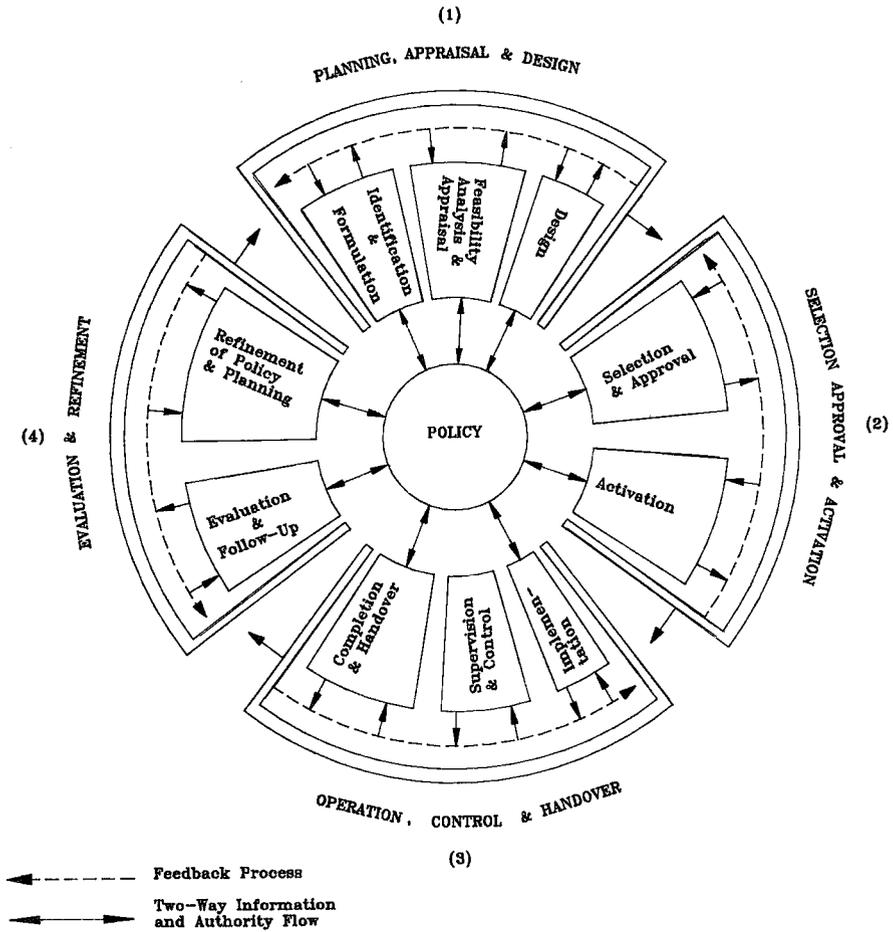
continued

Figure 3.2 cont'd

State	Data Required	Source
Implementation Monitoring	(a) Financial Start Construction Physical inputs Service inputs Marketing Input usage Production Adoption rates	Most of this data will come from internal project activity, either as part of regular reporting process or as a result of special enquiries mounted from project resources.
	(b) Beneficiary reaction. Problem identification if previously planned: Mid-implementation project survey. Time-series and external data.	Here the borderline between monitoring and evaluation is blurred. Case studies and surveys and detailed analyses may require resources from outside the project.
Completion Evaluation	(a) If previously planned : Post-project survey. Coordination of data for review and analysis.	See entry directly above. Evaluation will require analysis involving persons outside project.
	(b) Long-term evaluation of persistence of results.	Specially commissioned survey and/or case studies. Relevant results from continuing NSO & MOA activities.

Source: Casley, D.J. and D.A. Lury, Monitoring and Evaluation of Agricultural and Rural Development Projects, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore/London, 1982.

Figure 3.3: Integrated Project Planning and Management Cycle: The Four Phases



Source: Goodman, L. J. and R. M. Love, Management of Projects. An International Case Study Approach, Pergamon Press, New York, 1980, p.3.

Participatory Development Activities

From a logical point of view, one has to realize that a problem comes into existence when actors have the perception that the present situation, as they experience it, is not in conformity with the situation as it should be according to their objectives. Therefore, it is important that the objectives of actors and their perception of the situation are investigated.

In relation to the formulation of objectives, the following aspects are highlighted:-

(1) Conflicting goals and objectives.

Government initiated plans and projects have to cater for the needs and demands of large groups of people, most or all of whom have different and often conflicting interests. Even when there is general consensus on a set of goals or objectives, due to lack of means an indication of priority becomes necessary. Anyway, there will be disagreement on priority ranking in most cases. One way out of this dilemma is to aggregate objectives into goals at a higher level of abstraction. This can be effective at the level of national, regional or sectoral planning. However, for projects and detailed programmes, general objectives have to disaggregate into specific targets. Once this is done the conflict mentioned earlier can be mitigated.

(2) Explicit and implicit objectives.

When it comes to the formulation of objectives, planners should be aware of the hidden agenda of all the actors involved including both explicit and implicit objectives. Explicit objectives are those that are indicated explicitly in plan documents or in policy papers. Implicit objectives are those that are not or only indirectly mentioned in project documents for policy papers. They have a considerable influence on the design and the implementation of a policy or project.

The dilemma of conflicting objectives does not always become manifest. Normally, public organizations and individuals pursue implicit objectives to secure their existence and to enlarge their sphere of influence. Hence, these objectives often can not be expressed explicitly.

b. Project identification

As soon as problems are identified, the question arises how the problems can be solved or objectives be realized. At this stage, the following activities are undertaken:

- Formulation of specific project objectives.

- Identifying beneficiary groups and areas.
- Formulation of tentative alternatives that can solve the problems or realize the objectives through concrete activities.
- Assessment of the project requirements in terms of
 - . need for political support;
 - . knowledge requirements (research and survey if needed);
 - . estimation of resource commitment (land, labour, skills, funds);
 - . necessary administrative capabilities for preparation and implementation.
- First estimation of costs and benefits.
- Testing the first outline of project alternatives in collaboration with relevant groups and organizations.

c. Project preparation

This will involve a more detailed examination of the various alternative proposals to allow for the selection of the most feasible alternative.

Project preparation is also characterized by a detailed analysis of the project targets and specifications. It is normally the stage at which a project design is finalized, and the proposed implementation schedule is drawn up. It is worth emphasizing here that the project design should not only relate to its physical aspects but to its organizational and managerial aspects as well.

In project preparation, two activities are essential, one relating to the setting up of a data base and the other to ascertaining feasibility.

(1) Data collection and analysis

Related research activities are geared to render explanations of

- processes that have created the present situation, and
- how these processes can be influenced in order to change this situation in such

Participatory Development Activities

a way that it is in conformity with the objectives of a person or a group of persons, as documented in a plan.

Description, diagnosis, analysis and eventually prognosis are indispensable for the sound researching of the stated objectives.

(2) Design and feasibility study

After a project has been identified and an appropriate intervention technology has been formulated, the intervention must be tested for its technical, social, economic and institutional feasibility, including the ways and means needed for successful implementation.

A feasibility study will focus, in particular, on a comparison of the technical options available and on the institutional feasibility. Key issues to be examined here will include the extent to which the techniques to be employed in the project have been taken into account; the ability of existing agencies/institutions/organizations to provide manpower necessary for successful project implementation and management; and the project impact on the recurrent budgets of the implementing agency or government.

d. Project appraisal/approval

At this stage of the project cycle, the various alternatives have been narrowed down to an individual project. The final decision is taken on whether or not to implement the project.

Important requirements to be met include, among others, the following:

- relevant information is available and used in the correct way;
- the report is accurate and consistent;
- the contributions of the various team members are used in the correct way;
- the project is designed according to the criteria indicated by the relevant decision makers and donors;
- the proposed objectives meet the primary objectives; and
- alternatives are indicated.

The appraisal/approval stage is finalized only when the budget or other resources are made available in such a way that the implementation can be started. One of the problems often encountered at this stage is that the project is approved but due to budgetary or other administrative regulations the funds are not directly released, so that the implementation might be delayed.

e. Project implementation

Considering the complexity and duration of this stage, it appears opportune to distinguish at least two phases.

(1) Project activation

When the project is approved, it means that there is a project document or plan of operation available that indicates who have to do what, when and where with what means in order to realize certain objectives. During this phase of start-up, certain activities have to be performed before the real implementation can take place, for instance, any or all of the following five steps:

- Certain organizations have been identified in the project document to be responsible for the implementation.
- There will be a selection and recruitment of personnel that will have to do the work.
- Initiation of procurement of facilities, supplies, materials and equipment should start as soon as possible after the approval is given.
- All the legal matters have to be cleared prior to the start of the project.
- Accountability has to be considered in the context of organizational aspects.

(2) Project implementation

The following activities are equally important in the course of implementation of a project:

- planning the work with a focus on internal requirements;
- planning the work with a focus on external requirements;

Participatory Development Activities

- management of information;
- financial management;
- management of manpower/labour force/people;
- working with counterparts;
- work flow management; and
- working as an advisor/supervisor.

f. Project evaluation

An evaluation of the project can be categorized using two criteria: first, who is performing the evaluation study, and secondly, at which stage of the planned development process will the evaluation take place.

Regarding the first criterion, if the evaluation is performed by persons directly involved in the preparation or implementation of a project, it is called internal evaluation. In contrast, if it is performed by persons who were not involved in its preparation or implementation, it is called external evaluation. A very important type of evaluation is an internal interim evaluation in which there is active participation of the target group.

As for the second criterion, if the evaluation takes place before implementation of the activity, it is called ex-ante evaluation. Only if it takes place after implementation of the activity, it is called ex-post evaluation. In the ex-post evaluation, it is possible to distinguish between an interim evaluation that takes place while the project is on-going, and an end evaluation that takes place when the project has been completed.

Evaluation can be done under many aspects and with one or several foci thus emphasizing effectiveness, efficiency and impact/relevance.

(1) Effectiveness

Effects of the project can be evaluated under several aspects on the basis of

- the objectives of a project; this type of evaluation is mainly concerned with finding out if the project has reached or is going to meet its objectives;

- the effects of a project in general; some projects have effects that are not explicitly intended, however, the unintended effects can be functional as well for the realization of objectives covered by the general policy;
- the effects related to cost; in many instances of ex- ante evaluation with regard to the implementation of a project or of ex-post evaluation, if related to the implementation of project preparations which is known as appraisal, the expected cost and the expected effects (benefits) are related to each other.

In cases where the cost and the benefit can be expressed through a market price, this is called cost/benefit analysis. It is called cost/effectiveness analysis, if only the costs can be expressed in market prices.

(2) Efficiency

In this type of evaluation, attention is focussed on which inputs were used for achieving the objectives, and how they were handled. In other words, it is an attempt to see whether it is possible to achieve the same objective or a set of objectives at less cost, or if it is possible within the limits of given inputs to realize a higher level of output.

(3) Impact (relevance/significance)

In this type of evaluation the frame of reference is not only that of the objectives of a project. This type of evaluation tries to find out, if the effects (the objectives) of a project contribute to goals or objectives formulated at a higher level.

2. Project Viewed from Different Styles of Planning

Styles of planning used in each country depend on its prevailing political context, ideology as well as organizational structure of its government. Each country will have a specific type or mix of planning styles depending very much on its social, economic and political specifications and environment. In this part six selected styles of planning are described.

a. Rational comprehensive planning

This style of planning, called allocative planning by Friedmann (1973), is concerned with the distribution of limited sources among competing users through command, policies or corporate planning. This type of planning is characterized by comprehensive and explicit objectives; system wide balances; and quantitative analysis and functional

f. Process or programmatic planning

This style of planning emphasizes flexibility. There should be an open-ended set of objectives, less clearly defined project means, a flexible budget, and a target group with a strong countervailing power.

This type of planning is also called the "learning process approach" as it is based on a dialogue with the people in the project area. Ideas are shaped into project components with the participation of local officials and the target group. As a result, this kind of planning renders a flexible project design that makes it possible to adjust the plan during its implementation.

This style of planning was given considerable attention in the publications of Honadle and Klauss (1979), Korten (1980), Moris (1981), and Chambers (1983, 1987).

From the above discussion, it is clear that a specific style of planning cannot solve all the problems faced in planned development. It depends very much on the type of project, which style of planning is the most appropriate.

3. Projects Viewed as Arenas of Struggle and Negotiation for Scarce Resources

Recently, development projects have been analyzed as arenas of negotiation for strategic groups (Bierschenk, 1988), or as arenas of struggle among different interest groups (Crehan & von Oppen, 1988). This view provides an insight into why development projects seldom realize the objectives stipulated in the related official documents.

According to Bierschenk (1988), project implementation does not mean carrying out an already-planned programme but is a constant process of negotiation. One must begin with an analysis of the project participants and other interest groups, the goals and reasons for their negotiations, the resources they have at hand and their own on-going projects. The groups involved compete with one another for the economic, political and symbolic resources provided by the project. While the project presents a common arena of negotiation for all groups involved, they act according to their own interests. They play a game in the course of the project which consists mainly of negotiating about establishing generally accepted rules where, indeed, good tactics and strategy count as well.

Similarly, Crehan and von Oppen (1988) stressed the point that project implementation cannot be understood without taking into account the complex web of

Participatory Development Activities

meanings, out of which the different actors weave their competing strategies. A development project should be seen not simply in terms of its goals and their achievement or non-achievement, but rather as a social event, an arena of struggle between various groups with different interests.

Through this view, it is seen that all actors including government organizations and their officers as well as the people in the area where the project is implemented, are aiming at utilizing the scarce resources that are made available via a project or programme, and will do their utmost best to get hold of these resources and use them for their own benefit. When this view is adopted, it becomes necessary to gain a better insight into the behaviour of the actors involved. Such concepts as the basic and communal linking loops and their relation with the formalized linking loops (see Section D.) can be useful tools to understand the processes that are taking place in the arena of struggle and negotiation for scarce resources (van Dusseldorp & Zijdeveld, 1989).

C. THE CONCEPT OF PARTICIPATION

The explicit emphasis of this study on participation necessitates the introduction of definitions that are found applicable to the empirical context; the adoption of a theoretical framework; the explication of strategic considerations; and the stressing of the dynamic quality of participation.

1. Definition

Several definitions of participation have been offered. Most definitions are similar, in principle. They differ mainly in terms of stages of participation identified. Various definitions are thus scrutinized in an attempt to adopt the one suitable for this study.

To define participation, many writers quoted the United Nations Economic and Social Council resolution 1929 (LVIII) in discussing the issue. This resolution distinguishes participation of people in terms of (a) contributing to the development effort, (b) sharing equitably in the benefits derived therefrom, and (c) decision making in respect of setting goals, formulating policies and planning, and implementing economic and social development programmes.

In a document published by the United Nations Research Institute of Social Development (UNRISD) it is pointed out that it is virtually impossible to coin a working

definition that identifies "participation" as an actual social reality (UNRISD, 1980). In an earlier UNRISD document (UNRISD, 1975) popular participation is defined as

"A process of activities comprising people's involvement in : (a) decision-making (b) contributing to the development efforts; and (c) sharing equitably in the benefits derived therefrom".

According to Lele (1975), participation means, in its broadest sense, to sensitize people and thus to increase the receptivity and ability of rural people to respond to development programmes and to encourage local initiatives as well.

In another official publication of the U.N. (U.N., 1971) dealing with participation, its authors say that they are concerned with

"the means of collective action by the various population strata or interest groups and with public measures to stimulate or channel such action".

In their study, Pearse and Stiefel (1979) proposes defining participation as

"the organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulation institutions in given social situations, on the part of groups and movements of those hitherto excluded from such control".

This definition contains a bias toward power relations in society.

Others stress the need for brevity and maintain that the term "participation" substitutes for the expression "effective input into policy formulation and programme design and execution" which, however, clearly excludes any reference to equitable benefit sharing.

Another definition which is clear and less abstract is the definition proposed by Cohen and Uphoff (1979). They define participation in virtually identical terms as

"including people's involvement in decision- making processes their involvement in implementing programmes and decisions their sharing in the benefits of development programmes; and/or their involvement in efforts to evaluate such programmes".

Participatory Development Activities

The basic framework for describing and analyzing rural development participation prepared and proposed by Cohen and Uphoff is given in Fig. 3.4.

Arnstein (1971) constructed a ladder where eight levels of participation are identified, which go from manipulation and therapy via information, consultation through management and minority representation, to the last three levels, on which the members have the most important or even the only voice in the process. In the same vein, the importance of redistribution of power was stressed so as to facilitate real participation (Arnstein, 1971).

Van Dusseldorp (1981) classified the various forms of participation using nine characteristics : level of voluntariness, base of involvement, involvement at different stages of project planning, intensity and frequency, range of activities, organizational level, efficiency, participants, and style of planning.

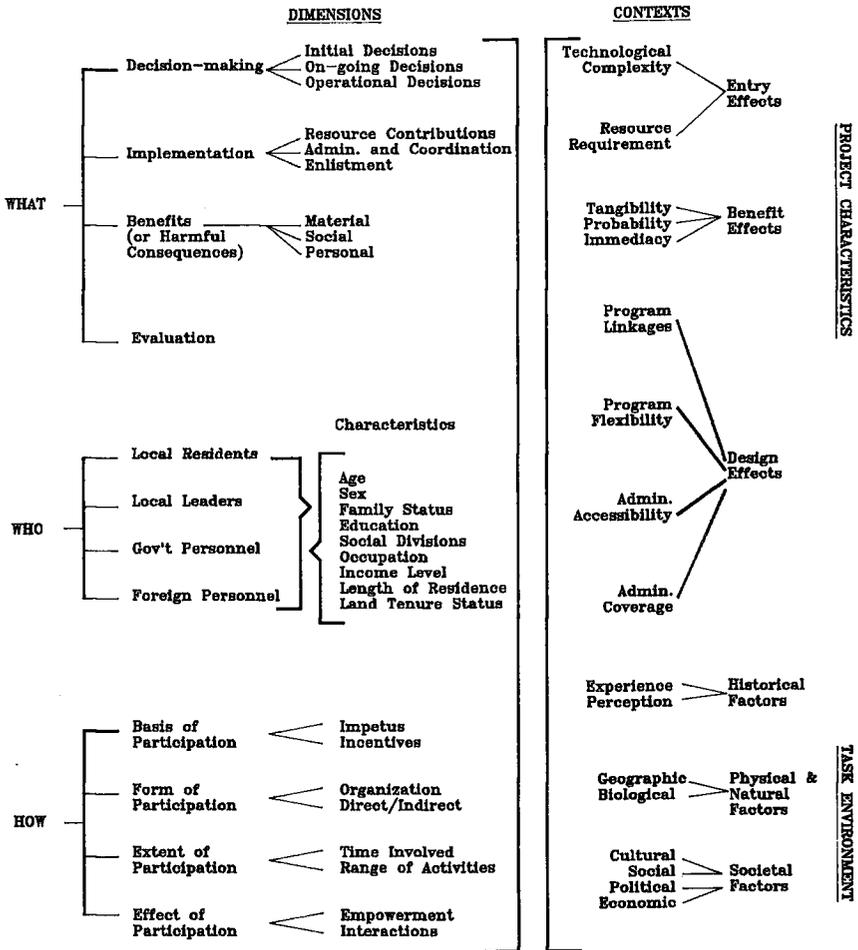
Wolfe (1982) observed that the concept of popular participation was broadly conceived: popular participation not only required the creation of opportunities for political involvement but the adoption of measures that would enable ordinary people to share fully in the development process.

In general, participation is understood as a process and not as a static phenomenon. However, it is still controversial whether participation is a means or an end of development, although it is maintained that this divergence can be reconciled (Bhaduri and Rahman, 1982). Sometimes participation can be an end in itself (Meister, 1977, pp. 87-99), or it can be a means to another goal of development (Buijs and Galjart 1982, pp. 2-3).

The term 'participation' was also used in other contexts. Pateman (1970) underlined that the place of participation is a necessary though insufficient condition for democracy, because even full participation can exist at a low level within a non-democratic structure. Although political scientists studied participation, they limited this concept mainly to participation in elections, especially in canvassing votes. In the mid-seventies some scholars extended the concept of political participation to the exertion of influence on the distribution of public goods, and even to the creation of the latter by self-help (Seligson and Booth, 1979).

In relation to the institutional context of developing countries, Abeyrama and Weber (1983) pointed out that the institutional background of any given society is one of the most important aspects to be considered in dealing with people's participation in development. Physical attributes of any given project are not sufficient for the mobilization of people's participation, unless the institutional background which consists

Figure 3.4: Basic Framework for Describing and Analyzing Rural Development Participation



Source: Uphoff et al., Feasibility and Application of Rural Development Participation: A State of the Art Paper. Rural Development Committee, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. 1979.

Participatory Development Activities

of political, economic and socio-cultural factors as well as the historical background entire or allow people to participate in development.

Poudyal (1990), in his dissertation on "People's Involvement in Planned District Development through Decentralization in Nepal", concluded that six elements, namely, economic condition, education/training, caste, age structure, family size and institutional affiliation influenced the capacity of people to participate. The model presented in his study assumed that participation is influenced by scope, capacity, needs and expected benefits. The environment of participation is favourable if needs and expected benefit from an activity, capacity of people to participate, and possible scope of participation coincide.

During the 1970s, the idea of people's participation attracted the attention of the United Nations and international agencies. Two major documents on this subject were published by the United Nations in the 1970s. The first, "Popular Participation in Development" reviews the emergence of the idea of participation with reference to community development projects in Third World countries (U.N., 1971). The second, "Popular Participation in Decision Making for Development" offers a formal definition of the concept with reference to its implementation (U.N., 1975). Following the above-mentioned publications, a major research programme into popular participation was launched by the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) in Geneva. Members of the UNRISD Popular Participation Programme (Stiefel and Pearse, 1982) reported that "participation" was to become one of the major upcoming activities.

To disseminate the concept of participation, the United Nations Economic and Social Council resolution 1973 recommended to various governments to adopt popular participation as a basic policy measure in their development strategy. Accordingly, suggestions were made to encourage active participation of individuals and government agencies in the development process (Cohen and Uphoff, 1977, p. 1).

A World Bank document (1975, p. 9) emphasized the importance of participation of local people in planning, decision making and implementation of development activities. The International Labour Organization (ILO) World Employment Conference held in Geneva stressed the importance of popular participation as a fundamental goal of development. Accordingly, involvement of people was considered to be a key element for meeting basic needs (Oakly and Marsden, 1984, p. 14).

Further to the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (WCARRD) held in Rome in 1979, the governments represented adopted and accepted the mandate to seek 'the active involvement and organization at the grassroots level of

rural people, with special emphasis on the least advantaged, in conceptualizing and designing policies and programmes' (WCARRD, 1979: Section III).

Through the influence of international agencies and national governments, people's participation became recognized as in need of greater emphasis in the context of community based development projects recently. As Marsden and Moser (1990, p. 3) pointed out, people's participation is considered an essential aspect of development projects and programmes; lack of participation is considered to be equivalent to little chance of progress.

Involving villagers and local organizations in the design and execution of their own development projects can activate an enormous reservoir of local human resources (Korten, 1980, 1984; Tandon and Brown, 1981; Esman and Uphoff, 1984).

Experience in diverse settings confirms the general thrust of participatory theory, though the power of participation is not a uniformly available engine for mobilizing rural development. "While the neglect of participation has often been devastating to project results", concluded two researchers, "striving to introduce it will not necessarily make projects successful" (Cohen and Uphoff, 1980, p. 228).

Studies of development strategies relying upon local decision making and organizations generally confirm the premise that participation can be a critical factor in project success. A review of 36 small-farmer development projects in Africa and Latin America, for example, found, that the most important single determinant of success, among 25 predictors considered, was direct farmer involvement in project decision making (Morss et al., 1976). Another study of 16 countries indicates that a participative environment and a meaningful result of rural development are strongly correlated (Cohen and Uphoff, 1977, p. 4).

Similar results were obtained through reviewing 52 projects sponsored by the US Agency for International Development. Findings show that beneficiary participation, particularly in the final implementation of a project, significantly increased project effectiveness. Furthermore, it reveals that participation had a most favourable influence on project effectiveness, provided the projects involved less complex technologies, were relatively small in scale, and were not located in extremely poor settings (Finsterbusch and van Wicklin, 1989).

In search of effective participatory strategies at the village level, a comparison was made of 21 village project experiences in Southern Thailand. Results confirmed that participatory strategies are more successful in villages that (1) are relatively isolated from competing urban opportunities as villagers are more prepared to invest their own

Participatory Development Activities

resources in the community; (2) have prior experience with development efforts and community endeavours as villagers are more open to learning new approaches; and (3) hold greater confidence in traditional village leaders and local government agents (Useem, Setti and Kanchanabucha, 1988). These findings have implications for village selection in future participatory projects.

Overall, the studies reviewed conclude that people's participation is beneficial and should, indeed, be encouraged in the development process.

2. Participation Framework Adopted for this Research Study

In relation to the study of the planned development process, the concept of participation employed in the study is considered from four different angles (van Dusseldorp, 1981):-

- Participation as a social activity;
- Principles and types of participation;
- Cost and benefit of participation; and
- Participation as a process.

a. Participation as a social activity

In this study attention is given to participatory behaviour that consists of one or all of the following activities:-

- joining gatherings of (a) group(s);
- involving oneself in discussion(s) of a group;
- involving oneself in the organizational aspects of the participatory process such as organizing group meetings, inducing non-members to join, leading discussions, and/or campaigning;
- making available labour, capital, facilities and mental capabilities;
- taking part in the decision process by expressing opinions and by voting on subjects such as:-

- allocating of scarce resources available to the group for the various programmes (priority ranking and acceptance of programmes and projects),
 - policies to be followed by higher echelons of the societal organization,
 - election of persons to represent the group in institutions and activities that can affect the group, and
 - assessment of effectiveness, efficiency and relevance of implemented projects or programmes; and
- sharing the benefits resulting from projects or programmes.

b. Principles and types of participation

Uphoff and Cohen (1979) have used a framework for analyzing participation as shown in Fig. 3.4. Van Dusseldorp (1981) formulates a classification of the different forms of participation using nine characteristics. Classification principles and types of participation are summarized in Fig. 3.5. Thereafter, some of the types of participation mentioned by Uphoff and Cohen and by van Dusseldorp are discussed in more detail. The classifications and definitions of each principle and type are as follows:-

(1) Degree of voluntariness

(a) free participation

which takes place when an individual involves herself/ himself on a voluntary basis in a specific participatory activity. Free participation can be subdivided into two subcategories:-

(b) spontaneous participation

which takes place when an individual starts to participate on her/his own conviction without being influenced via extension or via persuasion by other institutions or individuals; and

(c) induced participation

which takes place when a person starts to participate after he/she is convinced via extension programmes or other influences to voluntarily participate in a certain group activity.

Figure 3.5 : Classification Principles and Types of Participation

Classification principles	Types of participation	Corresponding types or principles for classification (Uphoff et al. 1979) (Muller 1978) (Meister 1969) (Etzioni 1968)			
I Degree of voluntariness	- Free participation	"How"	Formal	volontee	utilitarian org.
	o spontaneous		"	spontanee	
	o induced		"	provoquee	
	- Forced participation	"How"		-	coercive org.
	- Customary participation		Informal	de fait	normative org.
II Way of involvement	- Direct participation	"How"		(Arnstein 1971)	citizen control delegated power partnership
	- Indirect participation				
III Involvement in the planned development process	- Complete participation	"What"	Qualitative		
	- Partial participation				
IV Level of organization	- Organized participation	"How"			
	- Unorganized participation				
V Intensity of participatory activities	- Intensive participation	"How"	Quantitative		
	- Extensive participation				
VI Range of activities that can be influenced	- Unlimited participation	"What"			
	- Limited participation				
VII Degree of effectiveness	- Effective participation				
	o complete				
	o partial				
	- Ineffective participation				
VIII Who is participating	- Members of the local community	"Who"			
	o Local residents				
	. organized on basis of territory				
	. organized on basis of common interest				
	o Local leaders				
	- Government personnel				
	- Outsiders				
IX Objectives and style of participation	- Participation in locality development	"What/How"	(Rothman 1970)	Locality development	
	- Participation in social planning			Social planning	
	- Participation in social action			Social action	

Source : Dusseldorp, D.B.W.M. van, "Participation in Planned Development Influenced by Governments of Developing Countries at Local Level in Rural Areas" in *Essays in Rural Sociology (In Honour of R.A.J. van Lier)*, Wageningen : Department of Rural Sociology of the Tropics and Subtropics, Wageningen Agricultural University, Wageningen, 1981, p. 57.

(2) Forced participation

This can emerge in the form of either of these two types:

- (d) forced participation by law, or
- (e) forced participation resulting from socio-economic conditions

(3) Way of involvement

Two ways are distinguished, namely,

- (f) direct participation

which takes place when a person herself/himself performs a certain activity in a participatory process such as taking part in meetings, joining a discussion, or providing her/his own labour for projects; and

- (g) indirect participation

which happens when a person delegates her/his participatory rights, for instance taking decisions, to another person so that the latter can represent her/him in participatory activities at a higher level.

(4) Involvement in the various stages of the planned development process

The various stages of the planned development process, as discussed earlier, comprise of

- (h) formulation of goals and objectives,
- (i) research and inventory,
- (j) plan preparation,
- (k) acceptance of the plan,
- (l) implementation, and
- (m) evaluation.

Participatory Development Activities

Complete participation is achieved once a person, directly or indirectly, is involved in all six steps of the planned development process.

There is partial participation, if a person is neither directly nor indirectly involved in all six stages. As compared to the framework of Cohen and Uphoff (1979), this classification principle addresses the criterion "what".

(5) Intensity and frequency of activities

Based on the criterion of frequency over time, two degrees of participation are identified, namely,

(n) intensive participation

which is mobilized when there is a high frequency of participatory activities such as regular group meetings to perform certain activities; and

(o) extensive participation

which takes place when there are irregular meetings or other participatory events at long intervals.

(6) Effectiveness

The extent to which set objectives or targets are met serves as the criterion to distinguish between the following two manifestations:

(p) effective participation

which denotes participatory activities that have resulted in the realization of all the objectives for which the activity through participation was undertaken; and

(q) ineffective participation

which occurs when none, or only a small number, of the objectives are realized for which the participatory activity was started.

(7) Persons involved in participation

This classification is subject to the same principle of "who" as mentioned in the basic framework (see Fig. 3.4) of Cohen and Uphoff (1979). Persons involved can be identified as:

- (r) members of the local community
 - local residents
 - local leaders

- (s) government personnel
 - residents in the community
 - non-residents

- (t) outsiders
 - residents in the community
 - non-residents

- (u) elected representatives of the community.

c. Costs and benefits of participation

To some extent, the introduction of participation into a development process aims at greater equity of people's prospective benefits in a community, which may result in a change of their social network and power structure. For the poor and weaker groups in a community, the risk absorption capacity in a material, economic and social sense is very limited. It can be expected that particularly the poor and the weak will involve themselves in a participatory activity only if they are convinced that there is a positive outcome for them as far as the costs and benefits are concerned.

Fig. 3.6 presents a tentative inventory of costs and benefits for various categories of those who become involved in innovative participatory activities directed towards development. The various items included in Fig. 3.6 should only be taken for a kind of a checklist. It serves the purpose of illustrating how the cost and benefit items are going to influence the decisions of the people in the various categories, provided they are involving themselves in a specific type of participation, which can differ from situation to situation and from person to person.

d. Participation as a process

A major characteristic of participation is that a new network of social relationships has to be established. This network should create the social framework for action aiming at the realization of specific objectives. In the process of creating and activating such networks, several steps can be distinguished as shown in Fig. 3.7. Beal (1964) distinguishes twelve steps, while he categorizes three models of the community development process into four stages. Buys (1979) distinguishes five phases in the participation process.

D. THE CONCEPT OF THE LINKING LOOPS APPLIED TO ANALYZING LOCAL LEVEL DEVELOPMENT*

The complexity of any setting in which certain structures and functions are geared to propel development processes makes any analytical interpretation a difficult task. An alternative and innovative answer to the question how to approach the complex reality in the pursuit of explanations of the development dynamics in the rural context is the model of the linking loops. Before the model of the linking loops is presented, two theoretical approaches underlying the concept, namely, the decision making and the interactionist or actor-oriented approaches are discussed to comprehend how local people will decide whether or not to participate in the development process.

Effective people's participation in development programmes requires a careful understanding of why local people behave as they do, what motivates their behaviour, and what elicits their enthusiasm and interest. Decisions as to whether or not to become involved in a project depend on how readily such activity will accomplish one's goals on this basis. Local people may assess the relative costs and benefits of being part of a given project and maximize their utilities. Their goals are normally diverse and may include income, status, prestige, security, influence, ideals and values. Local people will decide whether to participate in a project, depending on how much it is expected to contribute to these goals. Estimated benefits are compared to the costs which have to be incurred. The relative balance controls the decision to participate or not. This, of course, varies from one person to another based on individual decision (Bryant and White, 1982, p. 16).

* This section is based on Linking Loops: A Concept to Analyze Local Level Development by D.B.W.M. van Dusseldorp, Matara, Sri Lanka, April, 1985.

Figure 3.6 : Costs and Benefits of Participation as Assessed for Several Levels in Society

Benefits	Costs
A. National leaders	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Participation can eliminate popular resistance to decisions (p.11). 2. Participation can increase the legitimacy of authority (p.15). 3. Participation can increase the speed of implementation 4. Via participation benefits of projects can be more directed towards the "felt needs" 5. Via participation it is possible to mobilize more resources. 6. Via participation it is possible to decrease the level of conflict. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Participation can lead to curtailment of power of leaders (p.15). 2. As a result of participation the level of conflict in a society may increase (p.16). 3. As a result of participation decisions are formed less on the basis of technical criteria than on the basis of misinformation and prejudices of the masses (p.18). 4. Participation can delay (due to internal conflicts) the decision process concerning projects and programmes of importance for reasons of staying in office of political leaders.
B. Planners and administrators	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Participation can facilitate collecting of information for planning purposes (p.15). 2. Participation can result in more information about present behavioural patterns and likely information (p.15). 3. Participation enables planners to ascertain what people desire (p.20). 4. Participation can give more information on available resources (such as willingness regarding self-help projects) (p.20). 5. Participation can help planners to plan more ambitiously and at the same time more realistically (UN). 6. When plans are prepared in a participatory way they can be implemented quickly; planners will obtain merit by their superiors. 7. Participation can increase the power position of planners and administrators versus politicians. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. As a result of participation, information processing becomes more complex (p.21). 2. Participation requires an effort on the part of planners to present alternatives in such a way that compromises can be made (planning becomes partly a political exercise) (p.21). 3. As a result of participation decision time is lengthened (p.23). 4. Participation can make it more difficult to ensure uniform quality and provide central services (UN). 5. When participation lengthens the planning process and creates conflicts at various levels, planners will lose influence by their superiors. 6. Participation can decrease the power position based on experience. 7. Participation used by planners and administrators can bring them in conflict with politicians.
C. Local administrators of enterprises and government agencies	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Participation can increase productivity (p.23). 2. Participation can improve levels of information for management (p.23). 3. Participation can reduce negative conflicts (UN). 4. Participation can strengthen the legitimacy for action. 5. Due to C1, participation can increase confidence of superiors in local administrators. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Participation increases decision time (p.23). 2. Participation can lead to relative loss of personal power and status (p.23). 3. Participation can lead to conflicts in their areas of competence. 4. Due to C1 and C3 they lose confidence of their superiors.

continued

Figure 3.6 cont'd

Benefits	Costs
D. <u>Local elites</u>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Participation can channel existing conflicts at the local level and therefore stabilize their position (UN). 2. By obtaining position of leadership in participatory organizations they obtain another means to safeguard their power base. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Participation will diminish their power (UN). 2. Participation costs time to attend meetings, to vote and to inform oneself about issues (UN).
E. <u>Individual citizens</u>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Participation has educational effects such as: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o improved skill of self expression o a sense of effectiveness to action and solving of problems o an increased sense of personal efficiency (p.26). 2. Due to D1 an urge for a relative level of self-reliance can be created that mobilizes social energy that can result in a better way of life in the community of the individual citizen. 3. Participation can lead to a better distribution of power among citizens. 4. Participation can lead to a better distribution of effects of development among citizens. 5. Participation can give the participating citizen more status and power (UN). 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Participation costs time to attend meetings, to vote and to inform oneself about issues (p.26). 2. Participation requires to accept a greater responsibility. This is often psychologically costly in case of conflict (p.27). 3. As an elaboration of D2 participation can lead to role conflicts in certain societies and can lead to the diminishing of relative levels of security due to loosening of certain types of relationships (client - patron).

Source: United Nations, Popular Participation in Decision Making for Development, New York, 1975.

Figure 3.7 : Review of Steps in the Organization of the Participation Process and Its Relation to Planned Development

Planned development process van Dusseldorp (1967)	Induced Social action Beal (1964)	Community development process Schler (1970)	Participation Buys (1979)	Three periods in the participation process
	Step 1. Analysis of existing social conditions	Stage I Resource organization	Phase 1 Mobilization	
	2. Convergence of interests	Stage II Engagement of resource system with a community unit		Period 1 Preparation and mobilization
	3. Analysis of prior social situation			
	4. Delineation of relevant social systems			
	5. Initiating sets			
	6. Legitimation with key power figures			
	7. Diffusion sets			
	8. Definition of need by general social system			
	9. Decision by the target system to act			Period 2 First action
First cycle				
1. Formulation of goals and objectives	10. Formulation of goals	Stage III Activating a local oriented system	Phase 2 First action phase	
2. Research survey and Inventory	11. Decision on means to be used			
3. Preparation of plans	12. Plan of work			
4. Acceptance of plans	13. Mobilizing resources			
5. Implementing plans	14. Action steps			
6. Evaluation and monitoring	15. Evaluation			Period 3 Extension, stabilization and operation
Second and following cycles		Stage IV Operation of the local system	Phase 3 The extension Phase 4 The labour division phase Phase 5 The stabilization phase	

Source : Dusseldorp, D.B.W.M. van, "Participation in Planned Development Influenced by Governments of Developing Countries at Local Level in Rural areas" in Essays in Rural Sociology (In Honour of R.A.J. van Lier), Department of Rural Sociology of the Tropics and Subtropics, Wageningen : Wageningen Agricultural University, 1981, p. 57.

Participatory Development Activities

To comprehend what influences local people or farmers in rural areas to decide whether to participate in the development process or not, two approaches related to the issue are discussed hereunder.

1. The Decision Making Approach

Decision making is a continuous process of choosing the best among alternative choices (Kay, 1981; Norton and Mumford, 1982).

The process of decision making can be formalized into a logical and orderly series of steps. Important steps in decision making are :

- (1) identifying and defining the problem;
- (2) collecting relevant data, facts and information;
- (3) identifying and analyzing alternative solutions;
- (4) making the decision: selecting the best alternative;
- (5) implementation of decisions; and
- (6) observing the results and bearing the responsibility for the outcome (Kay, 1981, p. 9).

Norton and Mumford (1982, p. 87) developed another theoretical model of decision making and applied it to pest control decisions. They distinguish three main areas on which decisions of farmers are based :

- (1) outcome of previous decisions;
- (2) perception about problem; and
- (3) whole complex of problem area decision.

Howard and Ortiz (1971) remark that not all kinds of behaviour can be subjected to this decision making approach.

"Conditional behaviour that forms an integral part of a continuous stream such as friendly encounters between intimates cannot really be cast into a decision framework". (Howard and Ortiz, 1971, p. 216).

Many theorists believe that farmers take action in the expectation that it brings the greatest satisfaction to them. According to Moerman (1968) decision making of an individual actor should be based on his or her rationality.

"Rationality implies that when the actor is faced with a set of alternative actions, he will evaluate and rank them according to his own particular preferences. He will choose that course of action which he ranks highest". (Moerman, 1968).

In addition to rationality, some scholars believe that farmers are materialistic maximizers. Schultz (1964, p. 37) is an economist who has strongly emphasized the role of the farmer as economic man. Berry (1984, p. 2) points out, however, that "a rational choice need not be a profit maximization one". Moerman says :

"A decision making approach to social behaviour attempts to comprehend social action from the point of view of how individuals maximize certain preferred values by making decisions about the use of rules, resources and relationships in their environment". (Moerman, 1968).

In conclusion, the decision making approach assumes that individuals confronted with problematic situations will seek out relevant information, process it, evaluate the outcomes, and make a decision. The approach has significant implications to development policies, particularly in the agricultural sector both nationally and internationally.

However, the decision making model is criticized maintaining that it is only applicable in situations of free choice. It is questioned whether an actor in society could operate in the same way in circumstances of force or coercive pressure. Choices perceived by the actor must be seen as mutually exclusive and comparable so that he could rank or differentiate between outcomes according to some notion of preferences. At this point it is necessary to know the rules observed by the actor in determining his preferences and the factors that define the sets of opportunities to be evaluated, which reflect upon the actor's goals (Long, 1977, p. 129).

2. The Interactionist or Actor-oriented Approach

The interactionist or actor-oriented approach has received increasing attention in the field of development studies. Particularly, there is a growing recognition of deficiencies among policy analysts who seek new ways of conceptualizing policy formulation and implementation (see Grindle 1980 and Clay & Schaffer, 1984). Underlying the approach,

Participatory Development Activities

it was argued that implementation should be viewed as a transactional process involving negotiation over goals and means between parties with conflicting or diverging interests and not simply as the execution of a particular policy (Warwick, 1982).

Various scholars believe that an actor-oriented approach is relevant to analyze rural societies in a developing context.

Long (1977) explains the concept of the interactionist or actor-oriented approach as follows :

"The interactionist approach views social relationships primarily as the outcome of face-to-face interaction between particular individuals who are engaged in a series of transactions that evolve over time. It contrasts with the view that behaviour is basically rule-governed and the result of various internalized social conventions, norms, and values. While the interactionist may take account of institutional frameworks, his main concern is with the transactional content of interpersonal relationships and with analyzing the process by which the parties involved negotiate the 'terms of trade' and attempt to maximize their interest". (Long, 1977, pp. 119-120).

Wolf (1966) explains some common structural characteristics that form peasants' interaction mechanisms as follows:

"Peasants' world is not amorphous, but an ordered world, possessed of its particular organization. Moreover, these forms of organization vary from peasantry to peasantry. No one easy formula will do for all". (Wolf, 1966, p. viii).

According to Wolf (1966), there exists a link between peasants and their superiors in society, called patron-client relationship, which Wolf describes as "many-stranded, dyadic hierarchical coalitions". These relations are developed by the peasant expectations of assistance from superiors in coping with the perceived outside threats. In such relations Powell (1970) recognized three typical characteristics which are : friendships between unequal parties, reciprocity in exchange of noncomparable goods and services, and a face-to-face contact. These patron-client networks are very distinct from the formal organizations. They operate without legally forceable sanctions. Mayer (1973) described such groups as "quasi-groups" or "action-sets".

The most common form of patron-client relationships in the context of Southeast Asia is the landlord -tenant relationship. The goods and services provided to landlords by tenants for the use of land include more concrete benefits. Due to commercialization,

the terms of trade shifted in the favour of the landlords who naturally take advantage of the change.

In relation to planning studies, Long and van der Ploeg (1989) propose an action-oriented analysis to view planned intervention as a 'multiple reality' made up of differing cultural perceptions and social interests, and constituted by the on-going social and political struggles that take place between the social actors involved (Long and van der Ploeg, 1989, p. 227). As they view it, if we adopt this actor-oriented approach to the analysis of intervention processes, the arenas, interface struggles, negotiations and transformations that take place could be all identified. Then, evidently, the actors involved, their identities, and their subjective interests and perspectives must be considered independently of intervention rhetoric (Long and van der Ploeg, 1989, p. 238).

Through the actor-oriented model, people's participation in development activities could be traced in relation to its effectiveness. In this model, a participant of a development project is seen as an actor who tries to gain a maximum social profit by minimizing social cost.

The actor-oriented approach has become more and more popular over the last decade, particularly in the field of 'sociology of development'. This is due to the fact that development is seen as a social phenomenon involving a number of social actors and groups of actors on the side of the 'developers' (the institution of development) as well as on the side of those 'to be developed' (the target people) (Olivier de Sardan, 1988). The result is a complex interaction that cannot be understood through a mechanical or linear approach. Any development project necessarily has unpredictable effects, because it is not merely a question of 'good' or 'bad' transmission or acceptance on the ground of a 'well' or 'badly' designed project (see Bierschenk, 1988). Recent studies on development projects reveal that a development project is an 'arena of struggle among different interest groups' (Crehan and van Oppen, 1988), or a 'permanent process of negotiation between different strategic groups' (Bierschenk, 1988).

Based on the above discussion, it is questioned in how far the actor-oriented approach is appropriate for the study of complex actions as manifestations of human behaviour when participating in the development process. This approach, indeed, entails certain deficiencies. It has been criticized for being too individualistic and voluntaristic and for not taking into account structural and institutional influences.

According to Giddens (1979, p. 54), "the analytical philosophy of action lacks the theoretization of institutions". He connects human action more explicitly with structural analysis. In his view, structural analysis involves examining the structuralization of social

Participatory Development Activities

systems understood as a visible pattern, i.e., a pattern in time as well as space through continuities of social reproduction (Giddens, 1979, p. 66).

Recently, the study on development perspectives is focused on the role of an individual actor in the development process (Long 1985; van Dusseldorp and Frerks, 1985; and Frerks 1991). The actor-oriented approach tries to understand how development takes place as a result of the way actors cooperate via social networks in order to realize their individual objectives.

Before the model of the linking loops is presented, its underlying paradigm is outlined, followed by its application to various dimensions as introduced hereunder.

3. Paradigm Underlying this Study

The paradigm of the study focuses on an actor-oriented approach recognizing purposeful action with social cost/ benefit optimization. The actor is seen as an individual who has certain goals or objectives and wants to realize them at the least cost. He/she, then, becomes a social cost/benefit optimizer.

The actor has values which he/she modifies into operating norms. These values and the operating norms are the framework in which objectives are formalized. They provide the yardstick for the estimation of costs and benefits. As her/his operating norms are changing, the objectives and the estimation of costs and benefits are also changing.

To achieve her/his objectives, under the consideration of cost/ benefit optimization retained as her/his operating norms, the following factors are taken into account. First is the structure of the society which governs relations among actors. The actors review the rules and expectations regularly and interpret and sometimes change them into the most profitable way at a given place and time. Second is the position of the actors in a society, this being ascribed or achieved. This denotes the position in the social system which the actors desire to attain. Their resource base includes power. Third is the personal attributes which enable the actors to receive the resources. The personal attributes of the actors include gender, health, labour and mental capabilities.

In sum, the paradigm underlying this study can be outlined as follows:

a. The actors have their specific goals and objectives which they want to achieve by estimation of the costs/benefits as obtained from their operating norms of the society, which are judged by their own values.

b. In order to achieve their objectives, the three following factors are taken into consideration. One is the structure of society which governs relations among actors; another is their position in the social system which is the base to receive the resources and power; still another consists of personal attributes of the actors which are geared to the receipt of the resource base of the actors in addition to their position in a society.

4. The Basic Linking Loop

Based on the above-mentioned paradigm, the manipulation by the actors to achieve their objectives can be systematized as follows:-

a. The actor compares her/his objectives with a situation as he/she perceives it at a specific moment (L1). If the situation as assessed by her/him is not equal to the situation he/she desires, then he/she will identify one or more problems, which he/she herself/himself can not solve (see Fig. 3.8).

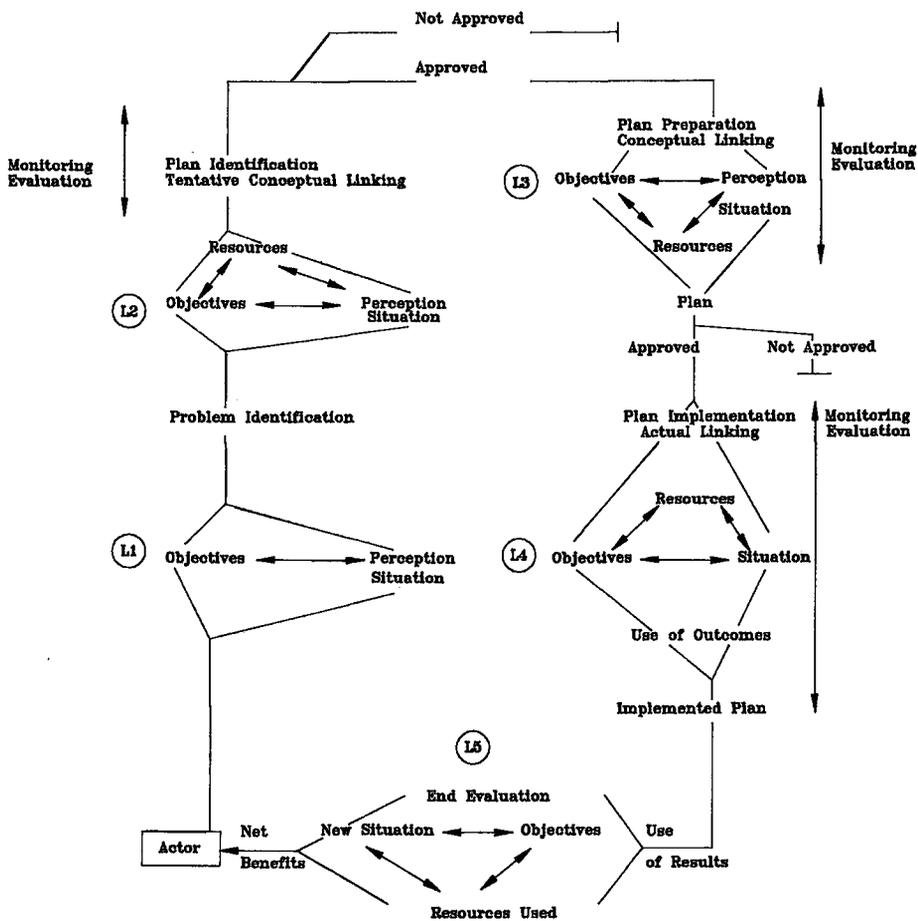
b. Then he/she tries to find out how to solve the problems by starting linking her/his various resources and alternatives (L2), expecting that this could lead to the desired situation.

c. He/she will select one optional set of action and resource allocation after careful consideration of various alternatives. This selection of tentatively possible actions is based on his/her cost-benefit estimation. The cost is an amount of scarce resources required, and the benefit is the degree of realization of expected objectives.

The consideration of the cost depends on her/his operating norms and her/his assessment of the present situation at a given time and place. The assessment of a situation includes her/his position in the social system and resources he/she might desire. If no alternative is found, he/she might reformulate her/his objectives and make a reassessment of the present situation, so that the new process can be started again.

d. In an attempt to achieve her/his expectation, he/she brings her/his own objectives and the assessment of the situation in concurrence with each other by changing one or both of them. During this stage the actor will commit a small amount of resources to the process of purposeful action. The actor's decision on whether to join others to achieve the objectives depends very much on her/his assessment of the situation through consideration of availability and distribution of resources with a view to the cost/benefit optimization. Regarding this consideration, he/she might decide to continue or break off the linking loop of purposeful actions.

Figure 3.8: Basic Linking Loop



Source: D. van Dusseldorp, Linking Loops, A Concept to Analyze Local Level Development, Matara, Sri Lanka, April, 1985, p. 7a.

e. If he/she decides to go through the linking loop, he/she would continue linking her/his objectives with her/his resources and the assessed present situation (L3). The assessment of the present situation deals with the availability of both the directly and the indirectly controlled resources. Doing this is only conceptual and a mental linking construct when drawing up plans.

f. During the implementation of the set of possible actions by the actor, he/she starts actually linking her/his resources with the assessment of reality and her/his objectives (L4). Resources here cover, among others, capital, labour and material inputs, knowledge, social influence, skills, and intelligence.

In actual linking during implementation, the actor is still monitoring and evaluating the progress of her/his actions. The outcome of the end-of-action evaluation, in which he/she compares the new situation with her/his objectives and the resources used (L5), enables the actor to realize how far her/his objectives are realized, including the costs and her/his gross benefits.

The conceptual and actual linking of objectives with the assessment of the present situation, and resource base linking of the various phases in the process of purposeful action, as indicated through the basic linking loop, are illustrated in Fig. 3.8.

5. Salient Features of the Basic Linking Loop

There are three significant points that should be noted, especially with regard to the basic linking loop.

(1) It is realized that each actor has a multitude of linking loops at various stages. In assessing situations at various stages, the actor will decide whether he/she will either continue or leave, or search to start a new linking loop cycle.

(2) It is not obligatory for the actors that once they start a linking loop they will automatically continue and finally go to the last stage which leads to the expected results. On the contrary, their linking loops may be disrupted or change to new loops, if the objectives, their assessments of the situation, resource availability and/or their cost/benefit estimation have changed. As in the development of the basic linking loop, the actors are pursuing their own interest and manipulate interpersonal relationships to solve their identified problems.

(3) In the basic linking loop, several types of linking take place. First is the conceptual linking of objectives with the environment and resources. Second is the actual

Participatory Development Activities

linking of resources with the environment and objectives. Third is the linking of all the aforementioned linking processes into a basic linking loop. The latter takes place when a basic linking loop is implemented.

(4) On many occasions the activities undertaken in the basic linking loop are not performed in an attentive way in the sense that the individual goes consciously through the information screening and decision-making process of the conceptual linking. Often, decisions are made in a pre-attentive way. This term used by Gladwin and Murtaugh (1980, p. 118) means that the information processing and decision making takes place outside the decision maker's ordinary attention and awareness. Giddens (1979, p. 57) uses a similar concept when he speaks of "practical consciousness". This is "tacit knowledge that is skillfully applied in the enactment of the course of conduct, but which the actor is not able to formulate discursively". Pre-attentive decision making will take place when these decisions have been made so often in the past that they are internalized and require few or no scarce resources.

(5) It is sometimes argued that the decision model, as reflected in the basic linking loop, is assuming a rationality that is often not there. Rationality in this model is the logical reasoning, indeed, within the conceptual and cultural framework of the thinking of individuals, their perception and explanation of their surrounding world, and the processes that brought them into being.

(6) Though the basic linking loop reflects the decision process of individuals, it is certainly not an individualistic or voluntaristic explanation of social processes. The individual includes in her/his decision process the social environment, as it expresses itself in norms, values, structure, status and roles, which are important social elements on which he/she has to rely and relate with.

6. The Communal Linking Loop

If an individual actor can not realize her/his objectives by means of the basic linking loop, he/she combines her/his efforts with those of other actors. In other words, the basic linking loops of several actors have to be combined into one communal linking loop.

The formation of linking loops can be described as follows:

a. If the actors have limited control of resources, they need to merge their link with those of others to realize their objectives. This is why and when the communal linking loop is created.

b. The linking can take place at any phase of the basic linking loops. Complete linking happens when the first interaction starts in the phase of problem identification and ends at the implementation and evaluation phase (see Fig. 3.9).

c. The interaction pattern among actors is very significant to build up the communal linking loop. This is due to the fact that the actors do have relations with others, not only because they belong to the same socio-economic group but also because they have forms of interaction with others according to their personal bond. They have social networks which go beyond the social/cultural group to where they belong. In their social network, dyadic relations play an important role. The dyadic relations can be constructed in horizontal and vertical forms, since the actors may have simultaneously equal and unequal status, power and position in the social system. Within this kind of relationship, there is a notion of reciprocity which implies an exchange of resources for all actors to complete their basic linking loops.

Two types of the dyadic relations are relevant to this study, namely,

(1) the patron-client relationship

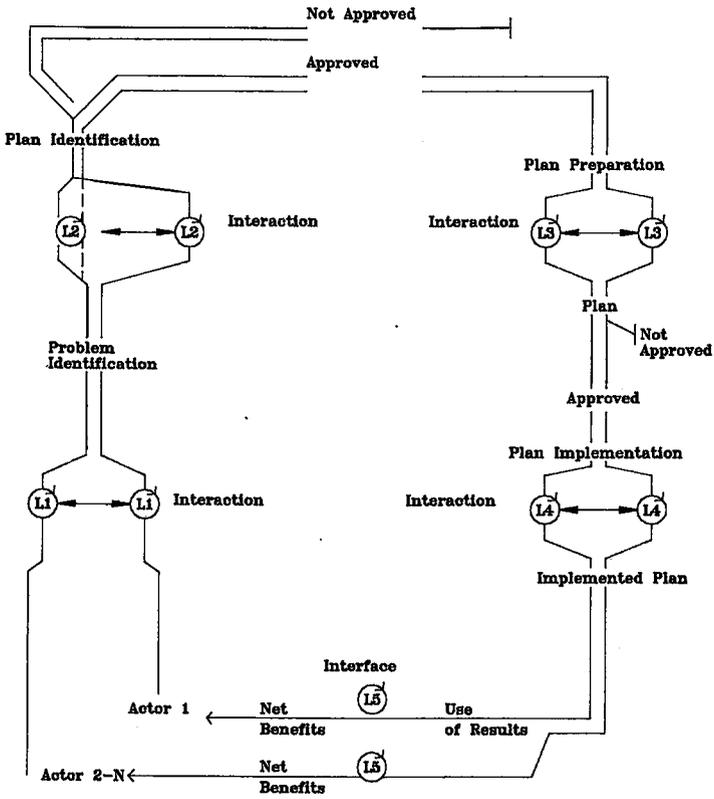
which is a vertical dyadic alliance, i.e., an alliance between two persons of unequal status, power or resources, each of whom finds it useful to have as an ally someone superior or inferior to oneself; both actors in this relationship are exchanging mainly resources; and

(2) the broker

who is an individual without resources of her/his own, except for connections with people who can control resources; the broker is the go-between and performs her/his role in resource manipulation of the linking loops.

d. In order to find out how actors are building up their communal linking loop, an analysis of the social networks of actors is relevant. The network comprises, among others, of the dyadic relations with a combination of patrons and brokers. To recruit other actors into the communal linking loop, the actor will carefully select some persons from her/his network to form her/his action set. It is strongly expected that the selected actors in her/his formulated action set will be the best resource persons to meet her/his objectives, whether explicit or implicit remains to be seen.

Figure 3.9: Communal Linking Loop



Source: D. van Dusseldorp, Linking Loops, A Concept to Analyze Local Level Development, Matara, Sri Lanka, April, 1985, p.12.

7. Salient Features of the Communal Linking Loop

The following characteristics can be highlighted:-

a. Joint action has potential as long as the actors believe that the communal efforts will lead to the realization of their common and individual objectives. It is possible that the actors only join the communal linking loops, notably in the phase of actual linking, to avoid large costs created by other actors.

b. The construction of the communal linking loops is rather fragile due to one or several of these circumstances:

- (1) objectives can change and get different priority during the conceptual linking phases;
- (2) variation in assessment of the situation and costs/benefits, as the actors have several linking loops going on at the same time;
- (3) actors having two types of objectives, namely, explicit and implicit ones; if any of them is not realized by the others, he/she may leave the linking loop;
- (4) free-rider problem in as far as people agree with the explicit objectives of the communal linking loop, yet leave it because their implicit objective will be realized anyway without using their scarce resources;
- (5) opposition to the proposed objectives, where actors join in the communal linking loop (CLL) even though they are against the proposed objectives or activities because it gives them an opportunity to follow closely what is going on; this puts them in a position from which they can change the CLL, regarding the objectives or the resources needed, in such a way that the damage to their own interests remains as small as possible.

c. Two main linking activities are taking place in the communal linking loop. These are:-

- (1) the conceptual linking of several objectives among the actors such as
 - the assessment of situations and resources,
 - problem identification, and

Participatory Development Activities

- assessment of costs and benefits of specific action sets and resource allocations; and
- (2) the actual linking when the members of the communal linking loop are bringing in their scarce resources.

8. The Formalized Linking Loop

This kind of linking loop represents interventions of government in the development process which are normally formalized and institutionalized. Since many developing countries have introduced planning as a tool to accelerate their development, the formalized process of purposeful action by government consists of six inter-related and overlapping phases including formulation of objectives; assessment of the present situation through survey; plan preparation; plan approval; implementation; and evaluation). The formation of this kind of linking loop (see Fig. 3.10) is similar to the creation of the basic and communal linking loops, with the following distinct characteristics:

a. Linkages between the government inputs embodied in the formalized linking loop and its outcome with the basic and the communal linking loops are called "interface". According to Long (1984), the interface conveys the idea of some kind of face-to-face encounter between individuals representing different interests, resources and levels of power. Studies of interfaces aim to bring out the dynamic and emergent character of the interactions that take place and to show how the goals, perceptions, interests and relationships of the various parties may be reshaped as a result of the interactions.

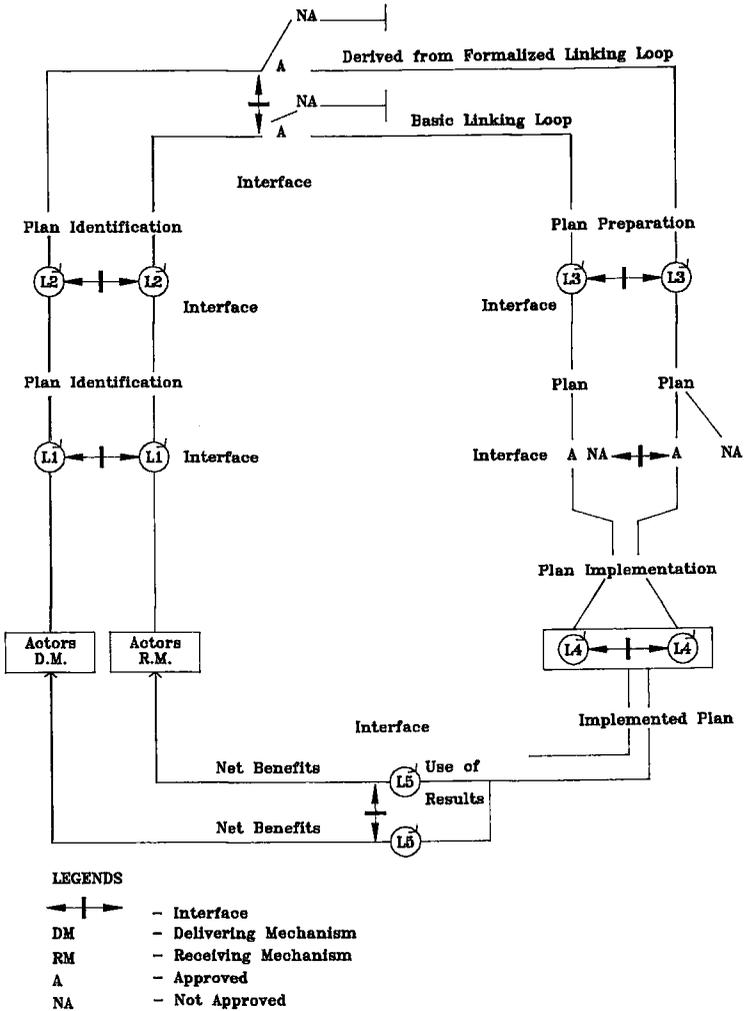
b. In the formalized linking loop, the government institutions or other private organizations are seen as delivering mechanism, and the people using their services are seen as the receiving mechanism. Once inputs and outputs of both sides are interfaced and then integrated, it means that government intervention is accepted.

c. Actions during the interface depend on their interaction between the basic linking loop and the communal linking loop of the receivers, on the one side, and the basic linking loop of the representatives, on the other, functioning in the formalized linking loop of the delivery mechanism.

The interface of the actors of both sides is subject to circumstances such as:-

- (1) There will be complete and direct participation in the purposeful action, if the deliverers and the receivers face each other in the early phases of their basic linking loop.

Figure 3.10: Formalized Linking Group



Source: D. van Dusseldorp, Linking Loops, A Concept to Analyze Local Level Development, Matara, Sri Lanka, April, 1985, p.13.

Participatory Development Activities

Both of them agree to define common objectives, assess the situation and create tentative conceptual linking. Then the actual linking will become mutually accepted.

(2) In contrast to the first circumstance, if the deliverer and the receiver do not reach an agreement regarding their mutual explicit/implicit objectives and differ in their assessment of the situation including resource availability, the outcome is certainly different. This is one of lack of coordination in discussing the issues during the tentative conceptual linking phase. The receivers might reject the resources offered by the deliverer in the actual linking phase. In some cases, the receiver may accept the resources offered but utilize them to fulfill different objectives.

(3) If the deliverer needs to have a linkage with the receiver under the above circumstance, he/she possibly tries to convince the receiver of the usefulness of the government resource induced participation.

(4) If governments are not able to obtain free or induced participation, they sometimes refer to forced participation, for instance conscript labour.

d. The linking mechanism of the government institution can be merged with local linking loops along the procedures illustrated in Fig. 3.10 and outlined hereunder. They reflect the negotiations that are taking place in the arena of struggle for scarce resources.

(1) The government will encourage the actors to express and compare their objectives, assessment of the situation and identified problems.

(2) To realize the objectives and solve the problems, there is a need to assess the resource needed to prepare a plan.

(3) Once the plan is approved, a certain amount of resources and knowledge can be delivered. In this phase, resources of both sides will be actually linked.

(4) It is, in general, supposed that the local officers have basic linking loops to transmit government input. In order to facilitate the transfer of government services, local officers stimulate the creation of the communal linking loop in the receiving mechanism.

e. It is possible, however, that the local officer makes a different assessment of the situation and, therefore, modifies the package of resources he/she has to deliver.

f. As compared to the basic and the communal linking loops, the complications of the formalized linking loop relate to one or several of the following situations.

(1) The government planning is to contribute to the realization of the objectives of a large number of people. Hence, an aggregation of the people's objectives is essential. However, the integration of the objectives is very difficult since people have varied needs and problems, which bear on the formulation of the objectives. Accordingly, conflicting objectives of people can not be avoided in practice.

(2) The geographical and social distances among actors and the number of actors in the formalized linking loop are much larger than in the communal linking loops.

(3) The linking loop of the government's purposeful action is systematized and formalized. Procedures have to go through the various linking activities. Besides, the formalized linking loop will incorporate large organizations at different levels of conceptual and actual linking. Very often there are cases where the conceptual and actual linking is done by different organizations, via their own formalized linking loops.

9. Salient Features of the Formalized Linking Loop

On the formalized linking loop, the following observations can be made:

a. All actors who participate in this kind of linking loop, either a planner, an implementor or those for whom the plans are made, are having their own basic linking loop. As a consequence, it is presumed that each of them tries to change the formalized linking loop in such a way that it best fits with her/his own basic linking loops in any phase where one can use one's influence. It also means that all the problems as indicated for basic and communal linking loops are recurring in the formalized linking loop.

b. Due to its institutionalization and related regulations, the formalized linking loop has the tendency to be rigid and unable to act quickly if situations in the formalized linking loop change. Complex decision procedure related to fund allocation results in delay in making available resources at the local level.

c. Often several formalized linking loops in the delivery mechanism are involved that can lead to conflicts and delay in the project cycle.

Participatory Development Activities

d. In many formalized linking loops, a top-down approach is followed in introducing projects at the local level. This can lead to misunderstanding between the delivery mechanism and the receiving mechanism. This can partly be solved via decentralization.

e. In relation to the delivering and receiving mechanisms, the following concepts are taken into account:-

(1) The area of interest covers a small geographic entity in which there are face-to-face relations, and where people know each other very well. In this circumstance, people are interested in activities that take place in the area because they can exert direct influence on their situation.

(2) The area of competence deals with an area that contains enough people to guarantee the efficient functioning of certain services provided.

(3) The difference under geographical aspects becomes a constraint in linking the basic and the communal linking loops of the receivers with the basic linking loops of the deliverers as derived from the formalized linking loops.

(4) There is a tension between the two concepts because the area of competence (which is that of the actors in the delivering mechanism) is larger than the area of interest (which is that of the actors in the receiving mechanism).

10. Confluent Linking Loop

In situations where there is an interface between the government agents of the delivery mechanism and the local population of the receiving mechanism, there will be a complex interplay of basic linking loops, communal linking loops and formalized linking loops. The interaction between the different linking loops could be called a confluent linking loop (Frerks, 1991, p. 59), which one can actually observe in reality.

11. Potentials and Constraints of the Concept of Linking Loops as an Analytical Tool

In brief it can be concluded that the concepts of basic, communal, formalized and confluent linking loops facilitate the study of local level development. The concept enables us to understand how actors are making their development plan as an individual or as a group. Although the concept of the linking loops has been criticized stating that "it is equally unspecific: it is clearly an adaptation of economic and psychological theories

of rational choice or decision-making (von Oppen, 1990, p. 353-358), this criticism does neither recognize that the rational choice is not of an economic nature only, nor the fact that rationality is seen as a logical sequence of thought within the socio-cultural and religious frame of reference of individuals. The criticism that the concept of the linking loops is too individualistic, as certainly not in specific elaboration of the actor-oriented approach, can be debated on the grounds that properties of the social environment such as values, norms, social structure, status and roles are essential elements used by actors in their basic linking loops. These are automatically included in the communal and formalized linking loops. It can not be debated that linking loops are a reduction of the social reality, which is practically true of any analytical tool that tries to offer an insight into the complexity of the real world.

Therefore, the concept is considered a useful instrument to understand the processes that are taking place in the arena of struggle and negotiation for scarce resources in conceptualizing and implementing development projects.

IV. HYPOTHESES OF THE STUDY

This research study hypothesizes that local level projects initiated by the government are often ineffective because the ways in which they are conceptualized, prepared, and implemented makes that local people are not interested in getting involved in the implementation of such projects or in making use of their results.

Hereunder, six general hypotheses (A.-F.) are formulated in relation to the six stages of the project cycle. For each hypothesis, several characteristics are indicated which, if found true for a specific project, support to justify the major hypothesis. All these hypotheses mentioned below refer to government initiated projects. As a consequence, this created some problems in testing hypotheses for referring to village initiated projects. This issue is discussed further below in Section D. of Chapter V.

A. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO FORMULATION OF PROJECT OBJECTIVES

Local level plans, prepared by government agencies, have objectives that are of little or no interest to the local people; this will be the case if the project has the following characteristics in the initial phase of the project cycle.

1. Local people were not involved in the formulation of the objectives.
2. Local people were involved in the formulation of the objectives, but initiators of the project were not willing to adjust their particular objectives, or to reach a consensus.
3. Several government organizations were involved in plan making. Each of them had different objectives and was unwilling to compromise.
4. Higher levels of the plan making administration formulated specific objectives of the project and did not allow the lower levels of the planning administration to make adjustments.
5. Groups of local people and individuals had different and often conflicting objectives.

Participatory Development Activities

B. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Local people and government agents sometimes arrive at different perceptions of the current situation, for the collection of data and its analysis have the following characteristics.

6. The data was collected only from specific groups of people viz., the rich, the poor, the local leaders, the women, or the youths.

7. The sets of data were collected only over a certain short period when particular situations prevailed or problems arose.

8. The way the sets of data were collected and analyzed was subject to some biases due to the differences in socio-economic background of planners and local people.

9. Data from local people, including their knowledge, were not properly collected, analyzed and utilized in the process of plan making.

C. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT DESIGN

The project design of the local level plans is not valid. This will be the case, if the proposed activities have the following characteristics.

10. Activities were designed without participation and/or consensus of the local population.

11. Activities were planned during a period of the year when the local people are usually too busy notably with agricultural activities, so that they were not able to participate in the project effectively.

12. Resources needed for the project, as indicated by the government, cannot be contributed by the local people at all or cannot possibly be provided by them during the period specified in the project document.

13. Allocation of external resources by the government to a certain project was not in accordance with the magnitude of problems in the area and with the real needs of the local people.

14. Local resources in the area were not effectively explored when the project design had been prepared. As a consequence, these resources became not available when they were needed at particular stages of project implementation.

D. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT APPROVAL

The local population is either not interested or has only a loose interest, since they were not involved in the project approval.

15. The project approval took a long time because

a. the approval of a project was mostly done at higher level, sometimes coming from the national level of the administration, which automatically excluded any participation of people in decision making at the local level.

b. the government organizations were adhering to a complicated approval procedure.

c. there were more than one formalized linking loop (FLL) of the delivering mechanism involved in the coordination at the approval stage, thus taking a long time.

16. If the approval was obtained at the local level, people could lose interest for the following reasons:

a. a conflicting communal linking loop (CLL); and

b. the local leader manipulated the approval stage.

E. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION

In any case where local people are urged only to contribute to project implementation but are not involved in the earlier stages of the project cycle, there is a tendency that they will not participate in such project.

Participatory Development Activities

17. Even if local people were involved in one or more of the earlier stages of the project cycle, there was a chance that they were not willing to continue their participation in project implementation because of

- a. changes in their individual circumstances;
- b. changing priorities among their individual objectives;
- c. a new perception after a reassessment of the erstwhile situation during the earlier stages of the project cycle.

18. Although people were initially participating in project implementation they might discontinue their participation at this stage because of

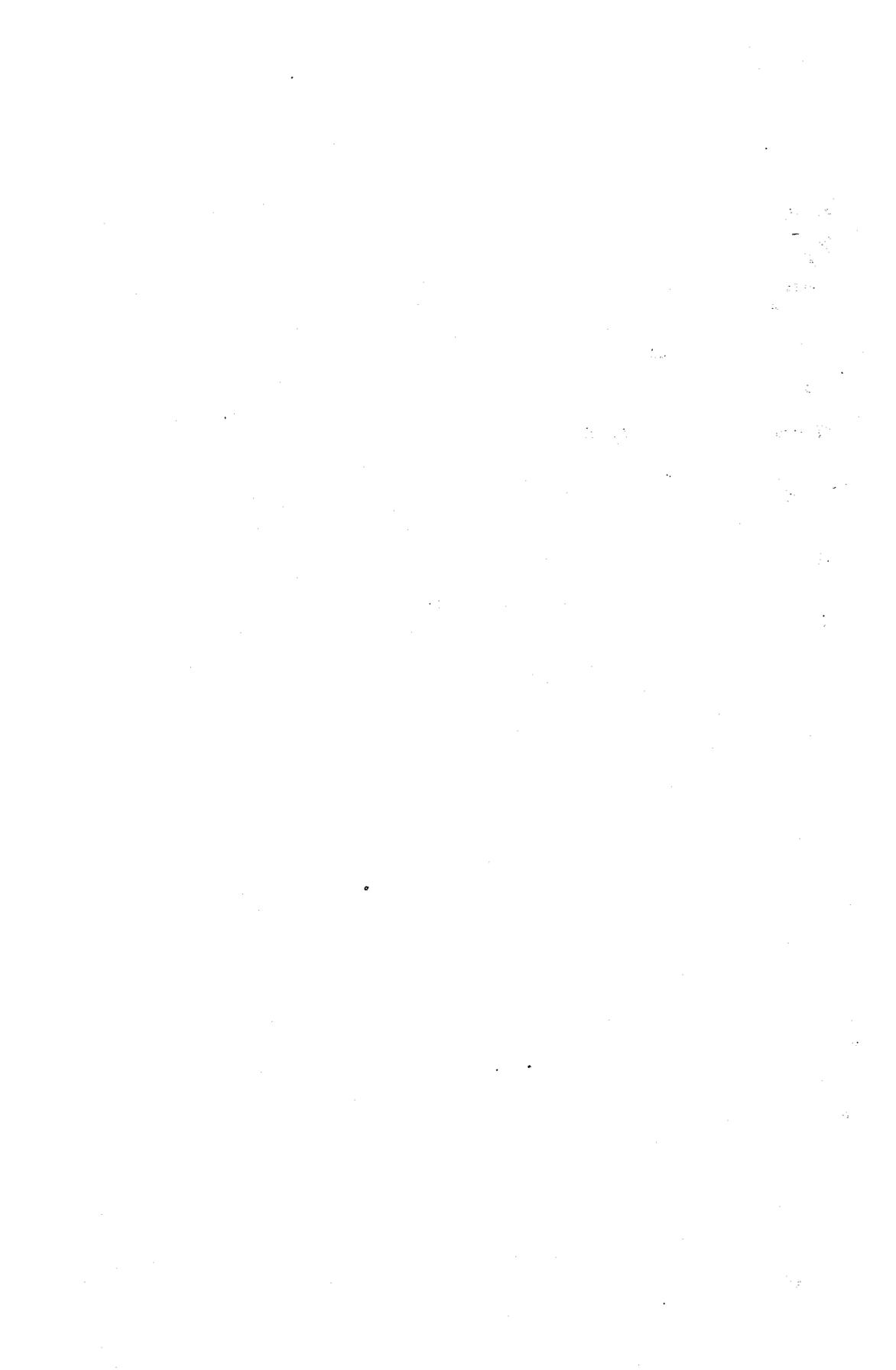
- a. changes in their individual circumstances;
- b. changing priorities among their individual objectives;
- c. a new perception after a reassessment of the erstwhile situation during the implementation stage;
- d. a delay in the implementation due to late arrival of resources (for reasons see Hypothesis D. 15);
- e. poor organizational set-up of the implementing agency in a locality unsuitable for operation and management of the project;
- f. lack of coordination between the implementing agency and other collaborating agencies, so as to accelerate and strengthen project implementation;
- g. conflict between local people and government agent assigned to the area during the time when the project was implemented; and
- h. conflict among local people.

F. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT EVALUATION

Local people not being involved in project evaluation will be the case, if the following conditions exist:

19. Certain problems and constraints obstructing the project preparation and implementation from local people's point of view could not be known to the government agent of the implementing agency. As a result, modifications of the project could not be made in order to make the current project as well as future projects more effective and efficient.

20. Without constant participatory monitoring and evaluation, internal motives of the local people could not be assessed clearly, as to whether these would coincide with the objective(s) of the project or not. Therefore, the formulation of development activities could not be steered in such a way that the objectives(s) of the local people and of the project would be congruent. As a consequence, the chance to maximize people's active participation in the various stages of the planned development process was minimal.



V. RESEARCH DESIGN

The design of this study consists of five components : firstly, the criteria set for defining the research objects; secondly, the conduct of research; thirdly, data collection; fourthly, data analysis; and fifthly, the limitations of the study. These components are supplemented, finally, by an account of the difficulties encountered in conducting this research.

A. CRITERIA SET FOR DEFINING THE RESEARCH OBJECTS

In designing this research, various criteria were employed in selecting the study area, choosing the level of planning, and identifying villages, projects and informants. These criteria are described below in detail.

1. Selection of the Study Area

The area selected for this study is located in Thong Thin Province, about 100 kilometers to the North of Thep Buri, at the eastern fringe of the Central Plain of Thailand.

The main reasons underlying the selection of this area are its relative backwardness in terms of overall development, owing largely to its comparatively narrow base of natural resource endowment and, hence, limited potential for development; its accessibility in terms of roads and transportation as well as distance from the Asian Institute of Technology (AIT); and the extensive network of contacts with villagers, local administration officials and government agency field officers at sub-district, district and provincial levels established by the Human Settlements Development Division (HSD) of the AIT. These links to localities of this province were established within four different areas, namely, Muban Khao Sri of Amphoe Ban Pod, as well as Tambon Pak Chee, Tambon Pho Sop and Tambon Tharn Thong of Amphoe Noi Na for the conduct of Rural Planning Workshops during the years 1982 to 1985. The objective of the Workshops was to provide post-graduate students with an opportunity for experimental learning by formulating a set of integrated development proposals for a selected rural area in Thailand, based on field reconnaissance, household survey and action research.

Participatory Development Activities

Personal contacts to these localities were crucial for the conduct of research, because the main technique employed throughout this study was that of qualitative case studies. This approach required a high degree of mutual trust between local informants and researcher in responding to the questions asked by the members of the survey team in collecting the necessary data. It ought to be assumed that villagers would not volunteer any information to a person, particularly a stranger, unless both parties had established a rapport of trust and confidence. To maintain confidentiality, the names of informants involved in this study and of places in the study area are pseudonyms. This enhanced the opportunity for all interviewees to express their views and give their information freely, as all kinds of sensitive issues were reported.

Moreover, a baseline survey, including popular participation among its parameters, had been conducted in each study area during the said Workshops. This facilitated the selection of the most appropriate area, with a view to people's participation in the planned development process, for this research study.

2. Selection of the Level of Planning

In this research, the focus is on planned development activities at the lowest administrative level and its smallest unit, which is the sub-district or tambon, comprising a cluster of villages or muban. The main reasons for the selection of this level encompass the following considerations:

- community problems and felt-needs of local people can be precisely identified and spelt out;
- attention can be given to particular locations, areas of emphasis and groups of people, specifically among the target group at large;
- opportunities for the study of popular participation at local level are plenty, and information can be elicited directly at the lowest level among local people, representatives and local administration officials concerned; moreover, the understanding of problems can be enhanced regarding the interface between government agency officers (delivery mechanism) and local population (receiving mechanism), encountered when confronted with the cognition of development plans and the task to implement specific programmes and/or projects;
- local resources can be generated, mobilized and utilized to meet local needs and demand; and

- specific forces or factors (social, economic and administrative) could be identified which might have hampered the effectiveness of a plan.

3. Selection of Villages

In selecting villages for this study, the different degrees of their relative progress were taken into account. This is to find out whether the level of village progress determines the effectiveness of plan formulation and implementation undertaken within the respective areas.

To evaluate village development, some standard indicators of village progress level had been drawn up by the National Rural Development Committee (NRDC) of the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB) during the Fifth National Plan period (1982-1986). These indicators have influenced the collection of village level data on a broad front for the entire country. The data has been processed at the Institute for the Processing of Information for Education and Development (IPIED) at Thammasart University, Bangkok, to facilitate assessing the level of village development according to three distinct categories, i.e., "progressive", "medium" and "lagging" villages. This data base is part of an information system which has become known as the NRDC2C (National Rural Development Committee) approach.

In the sub-district selected for this study, one village each represents the "progressive", "medium" and "lagging" category as identified by the IPIED.

4. Selection of Projects

To select the projects under study, the following criteria were set:-

a. Project initiative

There are three ways of initiating projects which were selected for this study :

- projects originated by the villagers themselves or village initiated project (VIP),
- projects initiated at village level but aiming at obtaining resources from on-going government programmes (V/GP), and

Participatory Development Activities

- projects launched and supported by government organizations or government initiated project (GIP).

The focus on these three types of initiative entails participant observation during the different stages of the planned development process, as formulated and executed by different planning subjects.

b. Types of project

Different types of projects have been selected so as to gain insight into how specific inputs and outputs in different types of project were organized.

In this study, three types of project were taken into consideration: projects with an infrastructural, social, or economic focus.

c. Stages of the planned development process

The projects selected for the research should be at the various stages of the planned development process, i.e., they should be either a completed, on-going, or just initiated project. This was done in order to make it possible to gain insight into the actual process of participation, via direct observation by the researcher at all the stages of the project cycle. Some of the on-going projects were eventually finalized during the field research, but they were kept in the category of on-going projects.

5. Selection of Informants

Informants for this study were selected from each project on the basis of their

- participation in its administration, coordination and supervision;
- involvement in its organization and management; and
- participation in its implementation.

Those individuals who were found suiting the three criteria mentioned above included local government officials from various field agencies concerned, local leaders and ordinary villagers. Two or three individuals from each category mentioned played dominant roles in the selected projects. A preliminary identification of key actors based on those criteria was made through an informal meeting and discussion, held on location at the beginning of May 1985 with the sub-district or tambon council members and local

administration as well as of field agency officials. Several discussions with the three Village Development Committees and ordinary villagers of each selected village were held separately in their respective area in order to identify key actors who had reportedly played significant roles in each location specific project. On the basis of these discussions, the individuals were identified who were the key actors in the selected projects.

6. Result of Selecting the Units of Research

All criteria set for the selection of study area, level of planning, villages, projects and informants were applied to the various sub-districts which constitute study areas of the HSD Workshops, i.e., Tambon Pak Chee, Tambon Pho Sop and Tambon Tharn Thong of Amphoe Noi Na, Thong Thin Province. After careful consideration, Tambon Pho Sop, Amphoe Noi Na, Changwat Thong Thin was selected as the study area suitable for this kind of research topic and approach.

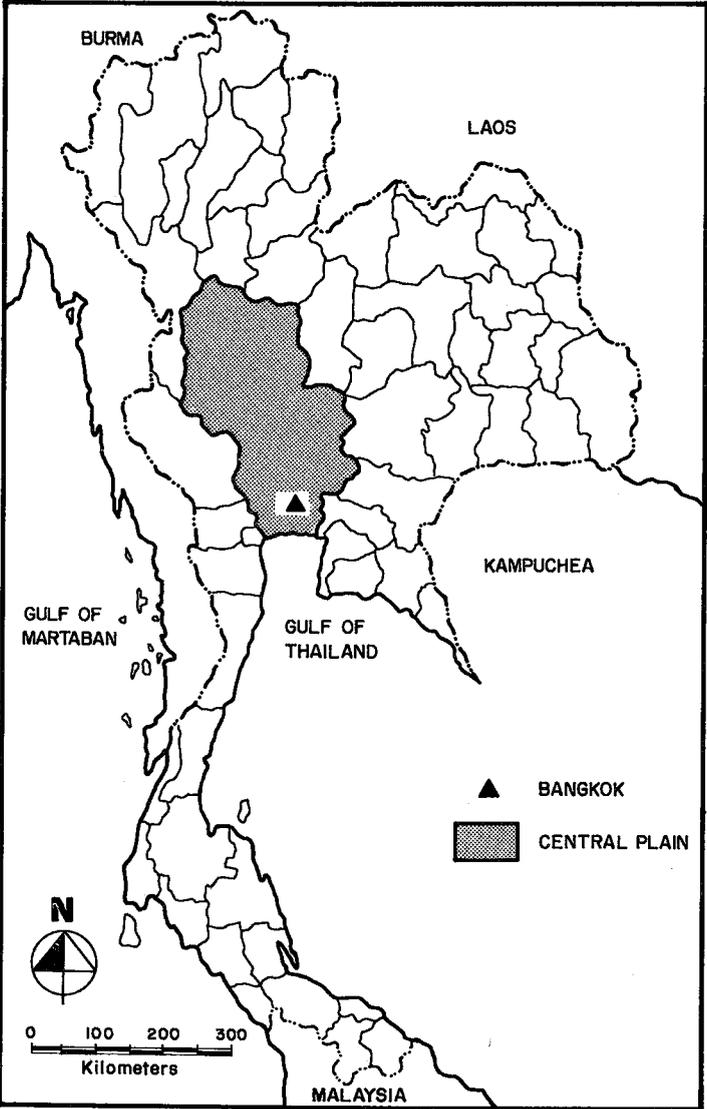
This study area is located in the Central Plain of Thailand (Map 5.1) in Thong Thin Province (Map 5.2). Amphoe Noi Na, of which Tambon Pho Sop is part, is located in the eastern part of Thong Thin Province. Tambon Pho Sop is located to the west of Amphoe Noi Na (Map 5.3), consisting of eleven villages (Map 5.4). Three villages of Tambon Pho Sop, namely, Ban Mae Nam, Ban Phu Khao and Ban Pa Mai were purposively selected to represent the progressive, medium and lagging villages of the tambon in terms of development efforts and accomplishments.

Within the logical framework of time, budget and personnel, the categories and numbers of informants selected from each case study project are shown in Chart 5.1. In addition, the various projects under study are summarized in Chart 5.2.

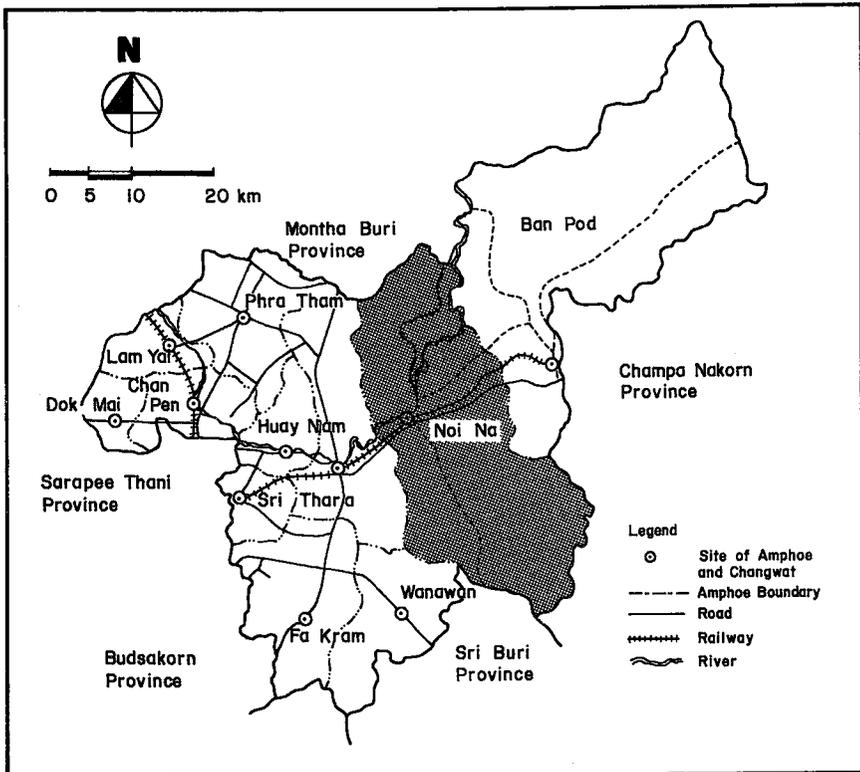
B. CONDUCT OF RESEARCH

This research study was undertaken using an in depth case study approach. Case studies were compiled and formulated on the basis of data generated through interviews, informal discussions, notes jotted down into a working diary and record keeping. In addition, participant observation was incorporated into the field survey of on-going and initiated types of project. Details of these individual techniques are presented hereunder.

Map 5.1: Map of the Central Plain of Thailand

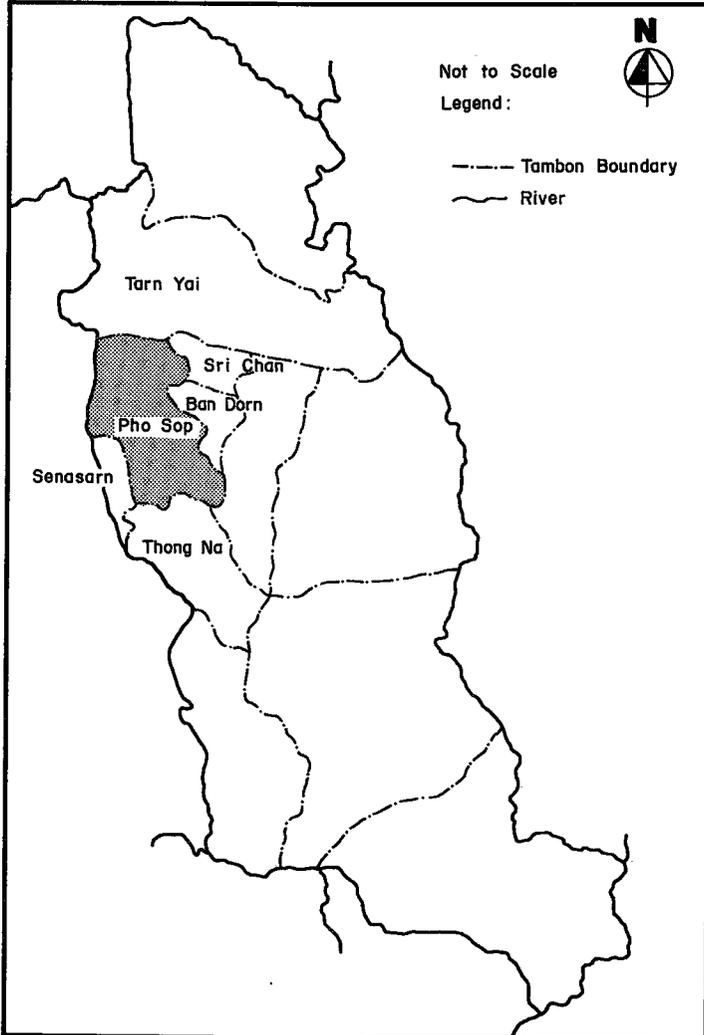


Map 5.2 : Map of Changwat Thong Thin



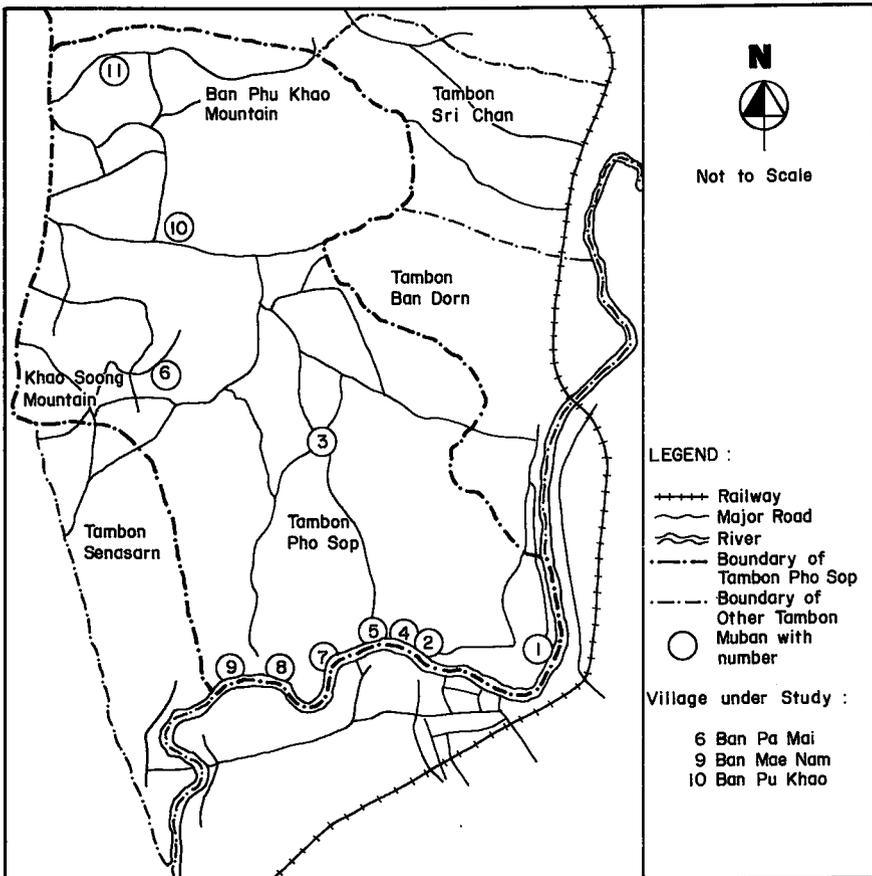
Source : Development Plan of Thong Thin Province (1977-1981)

Map 5.3 : Map of Amphoe Noi Na Showing the Location of Tambon Pho Sop



Source : Noi Na District Office. Background Information of Noi Na District, 1983, p. 4

Map 5.4 : Map of Tambon Pho Sop Showing the Location of the Villages under Study



Source : Adapted from Dias and Durongdej , 1987, P.1.2

Participatory Development Activities

Chart 5.1: Key Informants Selected from Each Case Study Project Area

Name of Village/ Project Area	Type of Project	Key Informants			Total
		Local Government Officer	Local Leader	Ordinary Villager and the Poor	
Ban Mae Nam	Pump Irrigation	2	2	2	6
	Mat Weaving	2	2	2	6
	Income Generation	2	2	2	6
	Sub-total	6	6	6	18
Ban Phu Khao	Road Repair	2	2	2	6
	Medicine Supply Cooperative	2	2	2	6
	Youths Activities	2	2	2	6
	Sub-total	6	6	6	18
Ban Pa Mai	Soybean Cultivation	2	2	2	6
	Savings Scheme	2	2	2	6
	Pond Construction	2	2	2	6
	Sub-total	6	6	6	18
Study Area	Total	18	18	18	54

Chart 5.2: Different Types of Projects under Study

Projects	Project Initiator			Type of Project			Stage of Project Planning		
	VIP	V/GP	GIP	Infra-structural	Economic	Social	Initiated	On-going	Completed
Pump Irrigation		+		+					+
Mat Weaving		+			+			+	
Income Generation			+		+		+		
Road Repair	+			+					+
Medicine Supply Cooperative			+			+		+	
Youths Activities			+			+	+		
Soybean Demonstration			+	+					+
Savings Scheme			+			+		+	
Pond Construction	+			+			+		

Participatory Development Activities

1. Case Studies

According to Yin (1984, p. 23), a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context. This is when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident, given the multiple sources of evidence. Case studies can be used for exploratory, descriptive and explanatory purposes. In general, case studies are used when answers to "how" or "why" questions do not require control over behavioural events and focus on temporary occurrences. The central tendency among all types of case study is that it tries to illuminate a decision or set of decisions with foci on "why", "how" and "with what result".

Yin identifies single or multiple case studies as specific types of research strategy (Yin, 1984, p. 13). The single case design is eminently justifiable under certain conditions where the case represents a critical test of an existing theory, or a rare or unique event, while the multiple case studies are considered as comparative studies. These studies should serve in a manner similar to multiple experiments, with similar results or contrary results predicted explicitly at the outset of the investigation. The rationale of the single case studies cannot usually be satisfied by the multiple cases due to the fact that the unusual or rare or critical or revelatory case are all likely to involve a single case. The multiple case studies have distinct advantages and disadvantages in comparison to the single case one. The evidence from the former is often considered more compelling, and the overall study is therefore regarded as being more robust though requiring extensive resources and time.

Problems encountered in the conduct of case studies are lack of rigor and allowing biased views to influence research findings and conclusions. In addition, the case studies lack the potential for generalization, take too long and may result in massive documentation in a narrative way.

Altogether nine projects were selected as the multiple case study for this research. Each project was treated and investigated as a single case study, with many actors involved in each of them (for case study analysis, see Section D.). The interplay among several actors enabled us to understand how the project was organized, what was done, how things were done by whom, what were the inputs and outputs, and when and where had they materialized. Through these nine coherent case studies, better insight is provided into problems during the interface of the delivery (government agent) and receiving mechanisms (local people), when all parties involved had to absorb and implement the particular development plans.

2. Techniques of the Study

The main techniques employed in this research are geared towards conducting an exploratory study and qualitative analysis, combining in depth participant observation and numerous interviews using open-ended questions in a series of case studies.

a. Interviews

Structured interviews were designed for two different groups, with separate topics and sets of questions, using open-ended questions. One group consisted of local government officials at provincial and district levels. Topics discussed with them covered the planning process and methods used at the local level, including difficulties, problems and constraints which they had been facing as local planners. In this respect, certain recommendations were made so as to improve local planning effectiveness.

The other group represented the main actors in the contexts of different selected case studies. These groups included some few members of each category mentioned above, viz., local government officers, local leaders, and ordinary as well as poor villagers. Interviews with the actors from these different categories varied by topics and questions owing to their specific role and involvement in each particular project. During the interviews, all accounts narrated by the informants were recorded, with emphases on their side of the story and their personal experience in participating and organizing project activities. Interviewing was not restricted to the selected informants but also included any other villagers who were found having been involved in the issues mentioned, so as to facilitate cross-checking for consistency of the personal stories obtained through each case study. Notes of these interviews were systematically taken in writing, and sometimes a tape-recorder was used.

b. Informal discussions

Apart from interviewing the selected informants, several discussions were held from time to time with members of the Village Development Committee and with some ordinary villagers who had been participating in the selected projects. This served to review the data already gathered at the field level and to close gaps as required for the purpose of writing up the case studies.

c. Participant observation

During the field work period, the research team engaged in participant observation at various stages of the planning process of some selected projects. This encompasses the stages of implementation or evaluation of the then on-going projects and the stages

Participatory Development Activities

of project identification, preparation and approval of the initiated projects. The observation of various projects at their different stages of planning highlights how each individual project under this study was organized and proceeded. It is expected that, through this effort, certain common characteristics, some similarities and some differences can be detected by means of which assessments of project effectiveness can be made.

d. Working diary/record keeping

Research heavily relied on the in depth investigation of the actor-oriented approach through case studies, largely using open-ended questions. To this effect, record keeping on a day-to-day basis using a working diary was indispensable in data gathering. Working diary notes focussed on the field researcher's impressions of events and encounters and those of her assistants.

3. Data Sources

Data used throughout this study was collected from two sources, with a strong emphasis on information collected on the spot, supplemented by secondary data.

a. Primary sources

Primary sources of data were the selected local informants in the study area as well as government officials assigned to positions at both central and local levels.

b. Secondary sources

Data sets derived from secondary sources were contained in documents, government records, official reports and handbooks, information materials and statistics related to the planning at local and central levels. A synopsis of all relevant materials gathered from various sources is given in Chart 5.3.

Other relevant materials and reports collected include related literature and documents obtained from various sources that were all taken into account.

C. DATA COLLECTION

Data collection involved several procedural steps and was conducted at the various stages of research.

1. Preparation of Field Survey Materials

Materials were prepared in accordance with the given theoretical framework between March and May 1985. During this preparation period, several visits were made to Tambon Pho Sop, the study area, and to government offices at district and provincial levels. The purposes of these visits included the personal introduction of the research project, ample field reconnaissance, preparation of the logistics necessary for the conduct of field work, collecting baseline data of the tambon, and gathering other relevant information such as materials for the preparation of selecting key informants.

2. Recruitment and Orientation of Field Assistants

At the beginning of May 1985, two field assistants were recruited. Both of them were undergraduate students of Ramkambaeng University, Bangkok, enrolled in political science and sociology, respectively. They had earlier been employed as research assistants at the National Institute of Development Administration (NIDA), with two years experience of working in rural development research at field level. An orientation of the research study and field data collection was given to these assistants to ensure reliability in collecting data. The orientation and practical instruction of field assistants lasted three weeks.

3. Pre-testing

Pre-testing of the structured interview format for local level informants was conducted in the field during the first two weeks of June 1985, following the orientation period. Its purpose was to eliminate unnecessary and repetitive questions as well as to make corrections and modifications. During pre-testing, some preliminary identification of those actors to be selected was made through group discussions with local leaders, villagers and local administration as well as field agency officials in the study area.

Participatory Development Activities

Chart 5.3 : Collection of Documents/Materials Classified by Sources

Source	Type of Document/Material
<p>1. Tambon Council Office - located at Ban Phu Khao (Village No. 10 of Tambon Pho Sop)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Statistical record of population in Tambon Pho Sop 2. Tambon Plan of Operations, 1980-1985 3. Baseline Survey of Tambon Pho Sop, prepared by the Department of Community Development, Ministry of Interior 4. Profiles of Villages Nos. 1-11 of Tambon Pho Sop, prepared by the National Rural Development Committee (NRDC) of the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB)
<p>2. Noi Na District Office and Thong Thin Provincial Office</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. List of Projects Undertaken in Tambon Pho Sop during 1980-1985 2. List of Projects to be Undertaken in Tambon Pho Sop in 1986 3. Sub-district, District and Provincial Current Development Plans (including reports, data and maps available)

continued

Chart 5.3 continued

Source	Type of Document/Material
2. cont'd	4. Manuals for planning at sub-district, district and provincial levels
3. Ministry of Interior Ministry of Public Health Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives	1. Manual for planning at ministerial level 2. Reference frameworks for project formulation of various ministries
4. National Rural Development Committee (NRDC) National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB)	1. New Rural Development Planning Strategy and Policies 2. Direction of rural development in the Sixth Plan period (1987-1991)
5. The Human Settlements Development Division (HSD), Asian Institute of Technology (AIT), Bangkok	Papers prepared by HSD student researchers 1. Socio-economic Field Survey of Tambon Pho Sop 2. Sectoral Reports on Natural Resources, Production, Social Services, Institutional Framework, and Economic Services 3. Profiles of Villages Nos. 1-11

Participatory Development Activities

4. Field Work

The duration of field work was five months, during July to November 1985. Data collection was started at Ban Mae Nam, followed by Ban Phu Khao and then Ban Pa Mai. Interviews were conducted at the homestead of each informant, employing a structured questionnaire. During the peak period in field crop cultivation, i.e., in September, villagers were extremely busy in their fields, thus limiting the frequency of interviews of villagers. Therefore, most of the data collection during that period was targeted to government officials at the district and provincial offices, instead. Field data collection was again obstructed for one week during October when a flash flood caused by the Pana River inundated the study area. Data collected at the field level was cross-checked and edited, while still in the field, through discussions among members of the research team and additional fact finding as necessary.

5. Revisiting

During February to March 1987, revisiting the area served the purpose of collecting additional information so as to bridge some data gaps and to establish missing links as detected during the phase of preliminary data analysis.

6. Summary

The major information gathering at the field level included four distinct foci that entailed the relevant research parameters :

- a. Sub-district and village level administration and planning;
- b. Description of projects according to different phases of the planning process, viz., problem identification and plan conceptualization, preparation, approval, implementation, and evaluation;
- c. Investigation of types and patterns of people's participation characteristics of each stage of the planning process; and
- d. Profile of villages within the study area, covering altogether nine selected aspects of the existing socio-economic conditions :

- (1) history;
- (2) village setting;
- (3) infrastructure including water resources, transportation, housing, electricity supply, and common grounds;
- (4) social aspects including population, education, public health, and social groups;
- (5) economic aspects including social class and landholding, and occupation;
- (6) local power structure;
- (7) cooperation and factions;
- (8) local government officers; and
- (9) problems and needs.

D. DATA ANALYSIS

Three concepts comprising of the planned development process, people's participation, and linking loop were employed as tools to analyze the qualitative data and information. Accordingly, descriptive methods were used in presenting facts, explanations, diagnoses and analyses.

Two types of analysis were employed. These are case-by-case analyses of the nine individual case studies and aggregate analysis of all those cases. Details are presented hereunder.

1. Case-by-Case Analyses

In presenting nine individual case studies, an identical format was adopted. First, an overall account of each case study is given. On the basis of this information a specific analysis is made of people's participation using the concept of the linking loop, which facilitates project evaluation and identifying the determinants of success or failure, as

Participatory Development Activities

outlined in detail hereunder. One unavoidable consequence of this approach is a certain degree of redundancy in the presentation of each case study which was reduced to the largest possible extent, indeed.

a. Case description

Under this heading, each project is described with emphasis on the involvement of numerous actors at specific stages of the planned development process including project identification, preparation, approval, implementation and evaluation. Highlighting the interrelationship among several actors allows to understand how the project was organized, designed and implemented. Through the case study, an insight is provided into manifold problems at different stages of the project cycle.

b. People's participation in the planned development process as unfolded through the concept of the linking loop

In this part, the process of planned development is analyzed employing the concepts of the linking loop and of people's participation, supplemented by graphic presentation and its description.

People's participation in the planned development process was investigated through their involvement at the following stages :

- project identification;
- project preparation;
- project approval;
- project implementation; and
- project evaluation.

Through this approach, the type and pattern of participation in the planned development process were identified, including costs and benefits. Reasons for taking up or abandoning projects are also rendered. The interrelationship among basic, communal and formalized linking loops including their interfaces is explored.

c. Evaluation of the projects under study

For each project, an evaluation was done emphasizing

- (1) its effectiveness with regard to whether the outputs obtained have led to the realization of the stated objectives;

- (2) its efficiency with a view to whether the stated objectives were accomplished using the projected means, or using less means for the same output; and
- (3) its impact on the realization of objectives or goals formulated at a higher level.

It should be noted here that the evaluation of each project was not undertaken in terms of quantitative analysis by using economic criteria. The main focus of this study is on the description and diagnosis of the participatory strategy in the much more complex development process.

d. Factors contributing to success or failure of projects

Factors contributing to success or failure of a project were examined through the investigation of three kinds of linking loops built into any particular project that involves a government line agency representing the delivery mechanism and the local people personifying the receiving mechanism. These linking loops consist of the basic, the communal and the formalized linking loops. Their basic characteristics, individual features and particular structures are explored systematically so that certain constraints impairing their efficiency can be traced and pointed out. This analysis provides insight into what kinds of obstacles and problems existed in the established planning procedures designed by government agencies and/or local people and imposed upon or adopted by local people.

With the help of findings obtained through the aforementioned analyses those underlying forces which hampered the efficiency and effectiveness of the planned development process in each project are identified.

e. Hypothesis testing

In each case study, six general hypotheses, related to the six stages of the planned development process, and their sub-hypotheses are tested. For this purpose, selected criteria and attributes are charted out and cross-checked item by item in a qualitative manner. This is to establish whether each of the general hypotheses and its sub-hypotheses are accepted or rejected. However, some problems were encountered due to the bias in the formulation of the general hypotheses toward government initiated projects, as some of these are not directly applicable to projects initiated by villagers. This dilemma was solved by the help of sub-hypotheses under each general hypothesis which were formulated in accordance with the diverse characteristics of the actors in each and pertinent to all types of project selected under this research study. Therefore, it is possible to arrive at a result of testing each general hypothesis and its respective sub-hypotheses, either in conformity or contrariety.

f. Summary of findings and conclusions

This section is organized to establish a framework for the integration of hypothesis testing results with findings obtained through the application of the linking loops concept to each case study. It consists of two parts. First, a summary of the results of hypothesis testing is presented. Secondly, a summary of the application of the linking loops concept to each case is drawn.

2. Aggregate Analysis

On the basis of the findings presented through analyses of the nine cases, an aggregate analysis is undertaken corresponding to the research hypotheses related to the different stages of the planned development process. In addition, emphasis is laid in this analysis on the comparison of the complex features of the communal and formalized linking loops. Toward this end common factors contributing to success or failure of the projects are identified. As a result, specific aspects of attributes in the planned development process are placed in general perspective that are found being conducive to effectiveness or causing ineffectiveness of a project.

E. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This research study was conducted under certain limitations which are outlined hereunder.

1. The scope of the study is identical with the existing local level planning framework of the smallest administrative unit of the country which is at the sub-district or tambon level. As a consequence, the study is limited to planning perspectives at this level, whose procedures and involvement of local government officials representing various line agencies were taken into account. Its relationship to higher levels of planning, notably at the district and at the provincial level as well, was recognized so as to gain wholesome insight into its linkages with local level plan making.

2. All the government sponsored projects selected for this study were formulated and implemented within the framework of the Fifth Economic and Social Development Plan (1982-1986). The projects selected for this study varied by stages of planning. Evaluation of projects was feasible for only those which had reached the implementation stage. These included the completed and the on-going projects. Moreover, certain

impacts of completed projects could be assessed on a very limited scale only, because their implementation was completed only shortly before start-up of field research.

3. The approach adopted in this research is mainly of a qualitative nature, consisting of in depth case studies. Although findings are mostly based on qualitative variables, some quantitative data were used to present certain facts as well as to substantiate conclusions.

4. Lack of written records, reports, planning materials and documents relating to the selected projects added to the limitations of this study, as it affected the data analysis to a certain extent. Especially the absence of planning materials and documents for evaluation purposes created some difficulty in the endeavour to determine the effectiveness of plans which were, however, overcome by interviewing local people and officials in the field.

F. DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED IN CONDUCTING RESEARCH

The main difficulties with which the researcher had to cope are summarized hereunder for the sake of putting them on record only. As they were overcome, these difficulties did ultimately not jeopardize the conduct of research.

1. Data collection was conducted during the rainy season when the road network throughout the tambon or sub-district was in poor condition. To reach the selected villages required extraordinary efforts. Besides, the villagers and local leaders among the selected informants were very busy with their farm works during daytime. In many cases, interviews had to be conducted during late evenings. Restrictive accessibility of key informants, coupled with poor transportation, caused an unexpected delay in completing the data collection.

2. Another difficulty during the initial stage of data collection arose when information volunteered by the selected informants on each case study, was found to be inconsistent. Contradictions in data were caused through differences in perception of situations by individual actors of the projects. The difficulty was that every respondent confirmed the correctness of the information provided. Once cross-checking of data was applied, it was found that the accounts given by various respondents were contradictory. This shows that different actors have different perceptions in reality. Subsequently, this dilemma was overcome by selecting more individuals to be interviewed, in addition to the originally selected actors, for clarification of any such contradictions. This strategy

Participatory Development Activities

proved very effective in facilitating the probing into and cross-checking of inconsistent information. Thorough scrutiny finally rendered consistent and coherent sets of data and information on each and every project.

3. The analysis of qualitative data met with some difficulty in establishing systematic procedure throughout this study. Attention has been paid to unifying the analyses of all case studies in a manner which ensures conformity. This attempt was difficult, in spite of applying a tool of systematic analysis to quantify certain qualitative variables for better understanding of the findings. The difficulty in doing this arose from the diversity by nature, character and outcome of the case studies, which varied largely and sometimes seemed incompatible. However, an effort was made to systematize the analysis of the case studies despite their divergence in nature, so that they could be presented in the same format.

In spite of the aforementioned limitations and difficulties, the findings of the study provide an accurate insight into the varying aspects of people's participation as it contributed to the effectiveness of planning, implementation, or evaluation. Moreover, the investigation of the interplay between government agents and local people in preparing and accepting plans rendered findings which are essential for constructing a framework and procedure that can strengthen local level plan formulation and implementation.

VI. APPLYING THE CONCEPT OF THE "LINKING LOOPS" TO PROJECTS AT BAN MAE NAM

This and the following two chapters as well present individual analyses of nine case studies. In each case study, the specific analysis is five-pronged: firstly, analysis of the project applying the concepts of the linking loop approach to people's participation and the planned development process; secondly, evaluation of the project; thirdly and fourthly, assessments of causes of success or failure of the project; finally, each case study is wound up testing hypotheses and drawing conclusions.

In each of the three selected locations within the larger study area, three projects were identified at different stages of the project cycle, i.e., one completed project, one under implementation, and one at the stage of initiation.

A. VILLAGE PROFILE OF BAN MAE NAM*

This village is located at a distance of four kilometres from Noi Na District seat and 14 kilometres from Thong Thin Town, to which it is connected by a road enabling villagers to maintain close contacts with people at the district seat and in its surrounding area. The settlement pattern is of the linear type, with houses lined up along the Pana River which is the main source of water; other sources include a village pond, a deep well and shallow wells. First settled more than 100 years ago, its villagers are descendants of migrants either from Northeastern Thailand or from the North of Thailand. The total population was 286 persons distributed among 47 households. Almost all villagers were Buddhists. Members of the younger generation would migrate during the agricultural off-season. Most villagers of school age and above were literate; illiterate persons were found only among the elderly.

Social service facilities included a primary school with classes up to grade 6 and a health centre located in a neighbouring village about three kilometres away. As for occupations, most households were engaged in rice cultivation through double cropping. Other sources of income included corn cultivation, wage labour and livestock rearing.

* A detailed village profile of Ban Mae Nam is presented in Pongquan, Participatory Development in Villages of Central Thailand, Bangkok: Asian Institute of Technology (Studies on Human Settlements Development in Asia", HSD Research Report, 17), 1988, pp. 33-52.

Participatory Development Activities

There were three field officers posted at the tambon or sub-district level working on specific assignments. They were the Tambon C.D. Worker appointed by the Department of Community Development, Ministry of Interior; the Tambon Agricultural Extension Worker (AEW) posted by the Department of Agricultural Extension, Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives; and the Tambon Health Officer, assigned by the Ministry of Public Health.

In relation to their work, various groups had been formed, including a women's group, water users group, village scouts, temple committee, school committee, and village development committee. Other than these, certain forms of traditional cooperation called au raeng and kho raeng, literally translated "receiving" and "requesting labour force", were practiced. Contributions would be solicited in terms of money, food and/or labour for voluntary works such as road repair, pond digging and house building.

The study of the local power structure shows that those who had been assuming positions of leadership included the abbot of the local monastery, the wealthy and influential woman entrepreneur, the former village headman and the current village headman. In relation to the power structure, people in the village are grouped into factions or clienteles of local patrons and leaders striving to maximize their particular interests, who subsequently were getting entangled in conflicts.

Problems faced and identified by villagers can be listed in brief as follows: low yields in rice and corn production, lack of alternative sources of income, insufficient agricultural extension services, and lack of modern agricultural technology and technical know-how.

B. ANALYSIS OF A COMPLETED PROJECT : PUMP IRRIGATION

Employing the standard lay-out, this project is introduced through a description of the case in point. People's participation in its planned development process is summarily traced. Given the fact that this is a completed project, a detailed account of its evaluation is given. Causes of success or failure are scrutinized under several aspects and followed up by conclusions. The analysis is wound up with the presentation of hypothesis testing results.

1. Case Description : Pump Irrigation*

After having visited the pumping station of an irrigation scheme located in a neighbouring area in September 1979, where an electric pump had been installed to lift water from the Pana River to irrigate farm land through a concrete lined canal, implemented by the National Energy Authority (NEA), Ministry of Science, Technology and Energy in 1985 the former headman discussed the necessity of such a project with the sub-district headman or kamnan who agreed to propose this kind of project under the Tambon Plan. Owing to its high cost, it was rejected by the provincial administration.

Not until 1980, when the Chart Thai Party joined the national Coalition Government and took over the Ministry of Science and Technology, the former headman used his political network involving powerful men of that party to secure their approval of the project. As a matter of fact, his family had supported that political party since 1974, and this project could strengthen the local base of that political party.

The project was approved by the NEA in November 1981, which had some preliminary and detailed surveys conducted in consultation with the former headman. This was to ensure that the lay-out of the electrical pump, the main concrete lined irrigation canal and its turn-out channels drawn up earlier were technically feasible.

For five months, the project preparation could not progress because of two problems. First, a complaint was lodged by local people to the NEA officials at the provincial main office. They had come to know that the irrigation facilities were located in such a way that benefits would mainly go to the benefactors and supporters of the village headman. Secondly, there was a conflict between the NEA and the Royal Irrigation Department (RID), as a part of the envisaged area for the construction of the NEA planned irrigation scheme was overlapping with the existing RID irrigation canal network. In an effort to settle this dispute, a discussion was held at the RID provincial office, and field inspections were made by field surveyors of both government line agencies. However, the outcome was inconclusive. Indeed, unresolved issues had frustrated NEA officials as well as local people, given the fact that the project had to be completed before 1st October 1982, otherwise the budget allocation would be foregone.

However, all the obstacles could be cleared soon after the sudden death of the former headman. The new village headman was eager to settle the dispute. He called

* A detailed, descriptive report on pump irrigation is provided in Pongquan (1988), pp. 54-65.

Participatory Development Activities

a village meeting and invited the NEA officials to participate and to discuss the matter. After that meeting, the lay-out map was redesigned, and a consensus was reached between villagers and NEA officials, and also NEA and RID officials came to an agreement.

Owing to time pressure in project implementation, the NEA employed a private contractor for the construction of the main concrete lined canal and of the connecting farmland channels. The village headman organized groups among the beneficiaries of the project, who held adjacent plots of land, with members of two to three households each to dig feeder channels/ditches into the fields utilizing exchange labour. The villagers also agreed to give their land for the construction of channels. To ensure some form of water management, a Water Users Committee was set up to be responsible for scheduling periods of water pumping, arranging financial matters, and finding measures to enforce regulations.

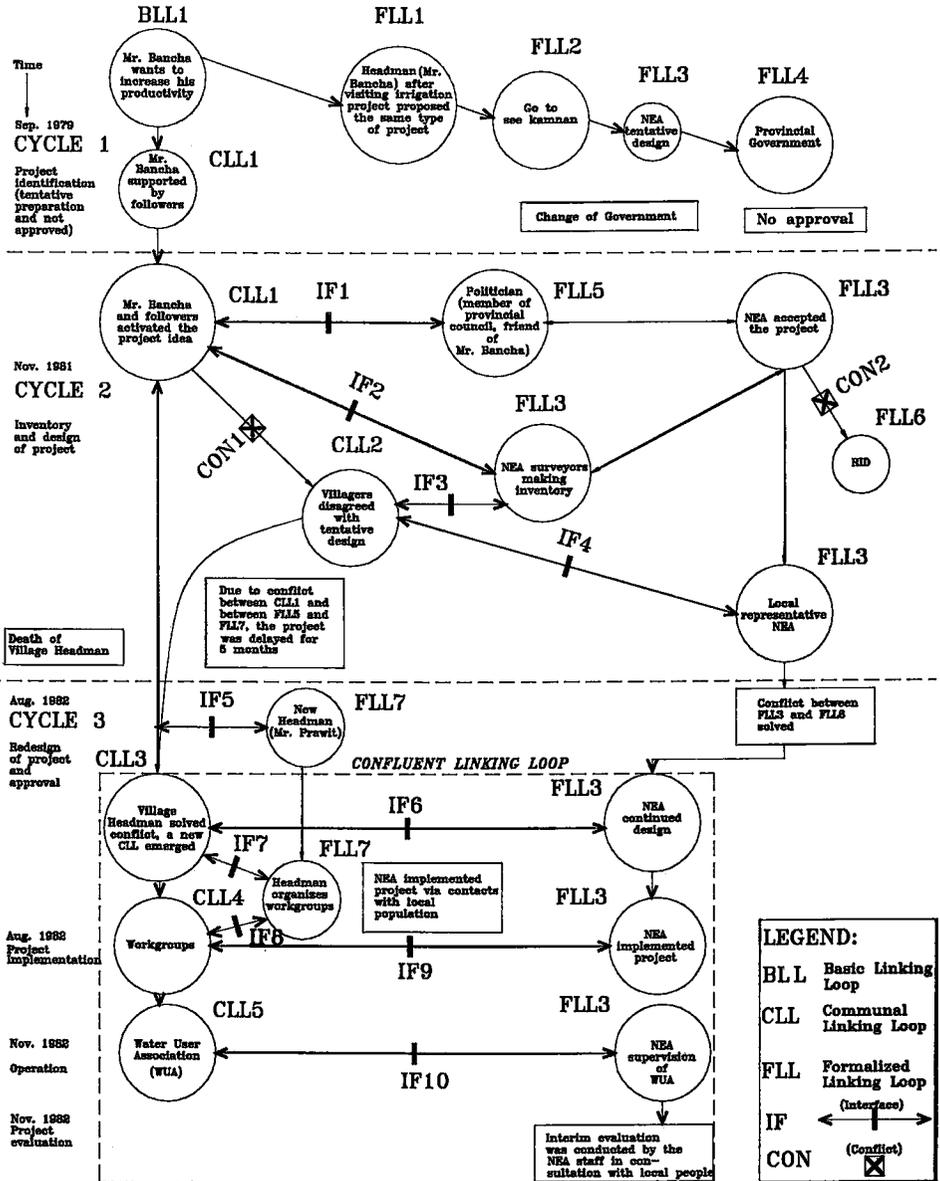
Upon the physical implementation of this project, the structural parts of the irrigation facilities were checked by the NEA staff soon after they had been completed. The NEA staff also inspected the feeding and lateral channels dug through voluntary work of the beneficiaries. Thereafter, the NEA officials visited the village frequently to discuss problems and provided advice and guidance to the villagers. In general, problems occurring in the project were discussed among the villagers and mostly solved by the Water Users Committee members in consultation with the village headman and the local NEA staff.

Once the project had been in operation, some tangible benefits were gained by the direct beneficiaries of the project, because the yields in wet season rice cultivation increased considerably, and dry season rice cultivation could be practiced for the first time ever in the area. Besides many varieties of vegetables could be grown, not only for home consumption but also for commercial purposes. This is clearly demonstrated in the evaluation studies which will be discussed hereafter.

2. People's Participation in the Planned Development Process

Hereunder the information provided in the section above will be analyzed applying the concepts introduced through the theoretical framework, with special attention to the various types of participation, the project cycle and the linking loops. A graphical presentation of the major events that took place in this completed project is given in Graph VI.1. The graphic presentation of this case is divided into three cycles (Cycles 1, 2 and 3) based on descriptive information that is presented in chronological order, as it is a rather complex and complicated matter altogether. Not every stage of the project

Graph VI.1: Pump Irrigation Case Study of A Completed Project



Participatory Development Activities

cycle is shown in each of the three cycles because the course of action had been disrupted every so often. However, all stages of the project cycle were completed in this case, if details of events starting from Cycle 1 and carrying through to Cycle 3 are taken into account.

This project is a combination of an initiative taken by somebody affiliated with the receiving mechanism, followed by a positive reaction from the delivery mechanism. The village headman, when visiting an irrigation project, got the idea that such a project might be beneficial for his village as well. This constituted the stage of project identification. Concurrently, he was a part of the formalized linking loop (FLL1). At the same time he had his own interests, disguised as implicit objectives. He wanted to increase his personal income and to strengthen his political clout. He combined this basic linking loop with the shared interest of some of his friends in a communal linking loop (CLL1), via spontaneous and induced participation. In the receiving mechanism he first contacted the NEA (FLL3) and (IF1), the kamnan of the sub-district (FLL2), who contacted the provincial administration (FLL4). The provincial administration rejected the project proposal due to its anticipated high costs.

After a change of government, however, the village headman had several important friends in his social network. He selected some of them as his action set (IF1), and via his political friends there was another interface (IF3) with the delivery mechanism ((FLL4), the National Energy Authority (NEA)). The NEA approved the project and sent some surveyors into the field for the final project preparation.

The village headman and his friends (CLL1) had contacted the surveyors (IF2) and influenced them in such a way that the design of the project was directly profitable for them. However, various villagers were aware of what was going on, and that the project might adversely affect their interests. They came together, through free participation (CLL2), and contacted the surveyors as well as the NEA officers and explained that there was a conflict of interest between two groups, thus juxtaposing two distinct communal linking loops in their village (CLL1 versus CLL2).

At the same time, a conflict arose between two delivering mechanisms, namely, the NEA and the Royal Irrigation Department (RID). As a result of these two conflicts, the project preparation and implementation were delayed.

The conflict between the delivery mechanisms was solved after some time. The conflict in the village came to an end when the headman died and was succeeded by a new headman (FLL7) who was able to bring the two groups together. Via induced participation a new communal linking loop (CLL3) was formed. The project was

redesigned by NEA officials via an interface (IF6) with the villagers (CLL3). This concluded the project preparation, and the project implementation could start.

During the implementation, resources of the delivery mechanism (FLL4) in the form of funds provided by NEA and used to employ a contractor were combined in a confluent linking loop with the resources of the villagers (CLL4) providing land and labour to dig feeder channels.

The provision of the resources by the local population was achieved via free as well as forced participation, because there existed an agreement between the NEA and the villagers that all should participate. Not all the farmers were happy with this agreement and some complained afterwards.

For the operation of the project, a Water Users Committee (CLL5) was established. This committee laid down rules that had to be followed by everybody participating in the project. Though the farmers participated freely in the project, at later stages this could also be experienced as forced participation.

When the project was completed, two internal end-of-project evaluation studies were conducted by the NEA. Costs and benefits of participation differ among individual actors involved in this case. The costs of participation as viewed by the actors in the receiving mechanism included their time to attend meetings, to discuss with the NEA staff, to mobilize people and resources for project implementation, to redesign the project, and to elect local committee members of the Water Users Association. Apart from this, participation led to a conflict among local people due to their different objectives. This can be considered as the social cost of participation.

In general, it can be concluded that people's involvement in this project was partial, free (spontaneous and induced), direct as well as indirect participation. The assessment of the project shows that people's participation was extensive and effective.

The benefits of participation in the communal linking loop of the receiving mechanism anticipated by local people relate to the increase of their farm income as a result of the project. Benefits of the project were better shared and distributed among its beneficiaries than would have been the case without the intervention by concerned villagers. In addition, this case renders strong evidence that a conflict due to clash of interests can be solved through direct participation. This means that participation instills a sense of mutual trust and assurance among local people in solving their own problems.

3. Evaluation of the Project

Lessons learnt from Ban Mae Nam stimulated the NEA surveyors to pay more attention to direct participation of the target population. They tried to solicit direct participation by the people of six more villages to reach a consensus on the lay-out of the irrigation project originally designed by them. After the agreement on the design had been reached, all the prospective beneficiaries signed up to authorize the village headmen of their respective villages and to allow the use of their land for the construction of irrigation facilities.

Although the project area covered seven villages of this tambon, an in depth investigation of project formulation and implementation was possible only for one of them, i.e., Ban Si Tha Tai, due to time constraints. For the purpose of evaluation, an effort was made to cover not only Ban Mae Nam but also all other villages served by the project, in order to make an overall assessment of its effectiveness, efficiency and impact.

a. Effectiveness

To assess the effectiveness of the project, two evaluation reports of the NEA Office prepared in April 1983 and October 1985 were used as baseline information. The aim of these evaluation studies was to determine whether the output of the project had reached its stipulated targets. Aside from these reports, also judgements by project beneficiaries as well as non-beneficiaries on the functioning of the project were taken into account.

The first evaluation report was prepared in April 1983 by the NEA local officials, two months after completion of the project (NEA, 1983, pp. 2-3). Its objective was to investigate all the problems and obstacles that might have caused a delay in project implementation. The report named the following factors responsible for the delay in project implementation :

(1) unwillingness of some of the beneficiaries to provide land required for canal construction under the project; and

(2) defective construction of the irrigation canal by a private contractor.

To make good for the delay at the initial stage of project implementation, construction work had to be sped up by the contractor so as to complete the assignments within the given deadline. This led to the construction of many defective parts in various spots of the main concrete lined canals and farmland turn-outs, which

resulted in an overall deterioration in project functioning, thus adversely affecting its capacity.

Besides the study of problems in project implementation the aim of the evaluation of project effectiveness also is, as already mentioned, to assess the achievement of the project against its targets set forth during the project formulation stage. This is illustrated with the help of Table 6.1 hereunder.

Table 6.1: Evaluation of the Pump Irrigation Project

Criteria	Existing (year 0)	Project		
		Target (within 3 yrs)	Achievement (after 3 yrs)	Proportionate Achievement %
After under irrigation (<u>rai</u>)		3,000	2,650	88.3
Rice yield increment (<u>tang / rai</u>)				
- For wet season	30	50	50	83.3
- For dry season	*	90	80	88.9

* Not existing as there was no practice of growing rice in the dry season. Still rice is not grown in the area outside of the project during the dry season.

Source: NEA Local Office Report, October 1980, p. 12

Table 6.1 shows that the achievement is particularly satisfactory in relation to the increment in yield of dry season rice. Overall achievements of the project were well above eighty per cent of the targets.

An especial assessment of the achievement of the project in the case of Ban Mae Nam village was made using primary data and first-hand information. The yield of the wet season rice crop increased from an earlier average yield of 33 tang/rai to 45 tang/rai. The yield of the dry season rice crop was found to be 75 tang/rai.

Participatory Development Activities

On the basis of these criteria, for the assessment of project effectiveness, it can be concluded that the project was somewhat less effective than predicted, as its achievements fell short of the stipulated targets.

b. Efficiency

Major difficulties identified by the evaluation of this project are the linking of the resources of the two delivery mechanisms, namely, the National Energy Authority (NEA) and the Royal Irrigation Department (RID), and the linking of the delivery mechanism (NEA) and the receiving mechanism of the local people.

Some of the main problems that affected the efficiency were the following.

The top-down approach in the identification and the first design of the project, combined with the hidden objective of the headman to increase his income and political influence among his friends led to a conflict in the village. Consequently, the project was delayed for 5 months. As a result, little time was left for the implementation which had to be completed before the end of the fiscal year. Otherwise the money was going back to the treasury. This made it necessary to hire a contractor, who in great haste completed the project. However, this led to the defective construction of the main channel.

The analysis of this case study renders evidence that the low efficiency of the pump irrigation project is explained by three distinct manifestations of deficiency in linking up. These are addressed hereunder.

- (1) Ineffective linking of actors' resources in the communal linking loop (CLL) of the receiving mechanism (RM).

A group of villagers is dissatisfied with the lay-out of the irrigation structures and facilities designed by staff who are affiliated with the formalized linking loop (FLL) and act in consultation with a former village headman. The former group opposes the mobilization of resources and establishes a rival CLL.

- (2) Ineffective linking of resources of the receiving mechanism (RM) with the delivery mechanism (DM).

Given the fragmentation and ensuing gap in the CLL of the receiving mechanism (RM), there is neither chance nor potential for building an interfaceable CLL to be linked with the FLL.

- (3) Ineffective linking of resources between two different formalized linking loops (FLL) in a split-delivery mechanism (DM) situation.

There is a problem in connecting the linking loops of the formal agencies involved, i.e., the NEA and the RID to form an effective formalized linking loop (FLL) with the capability of interfacing with the CLL.

c. Impact

The impact of the project was measured in terms of rise in income level of beneficiaries in comparison to that of non-beneficiaries. This can be explained with the help of data presented in Table 6.2 hereunder.

Table 6.2: Impact of the Pump Irrigation Project in Terms of Income Generation

Criteria	Project Beneficiaries	Non-Beneficiaries	Difference	
			Yield	Gross Earnings Baht/ <u>tang</u>
Rice yield (<u>tang</u> / <u>rai</u>)	-	-	-	-
- For wet season	50	30	+ 20	6.40*
- For dry season	80	0	+ 80	2.56*
Proportion of households engaged in vegetable production %				

* Based on the price of Baht 32 per tang of paddy (unmilled rice)

Source: NEA Local Office, May 1986, pp. 4-6.

Table 6.2 reveals that the main benefit of the project is the increase in income owing to dry season rice production. It also shows that only project beneficiaries were in a position to engage in vegetable production, which substantiates an increasing trend toward the commercial production of vegetables in the project area.

4. Causes of Success or Failure

The implementation of this project was not smooth due to the manifest dissatisfaction of a group of villagers with the initial project design. This friction and its ensuing conflict caused some temporary failure during the project implementation phase. Later on, constraints could be removed through the intervention by local officials, thus fostering the participation of local people. Several modifications were made and accepted by the two sides which eventually led to the successful implementation of this project. The analysis of this case study demonstrates that the project comprises of elements of both success and failure, which are presented hereunder in comparison (Chart 6.1).

5. Hypothesis Testing

The result of hypothesis testing for the case study on pump irrigation is presented in Chart 6.2 which is also contains the corresponding supporting evidence relative to each particular aspect of relevance.

Chart 6.1 : Causes of Success or Failure in Pump Irrigation

<u>Failure</u>	<u>Success</u>
F-1: Rigidity of original design owing to centralized planning in Cycle 2 - Implementation of project according to inflexible schedule; otherwise budget forfeited	
F-2: Lack of direct participation in decision making process in Cycle 2 - CLL involving majority of villagers not taken into consideration	S-1: Strengthening direct participation in decision-making process at early stages of planning - Direct interface between DM and RM established to meet the demands of both sides at early stages of planned development process in Cycle 3

cont'd

Chart 6.1 cont'd

<u>Failure</u>	<u>Success</u>
<p>F-3: Coordination problem between government agencies supposedly forming an FLL in the DM solved in Cycle 3</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Different points of view between staff of NEA and RID- Fragmentation of resources between the NEA and RID	<p>S-2: Effective linking of resources and knowledge at certain time and space in Cycle 3</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Local resources and knowledge of actors in CLL3 linked properly with those of FLL3 <p>S-3: Active role of local organization Water Users Association as a BLL and FLL</p> <p>S-4: Bridgehead at the local level maintaining and strengthening vertical connection between actors in CLL5 and FLL3 via IF10</p> <p>S-5: Response to felt need of villagers (objectives of villagers realized)</p> <p>S-6: Local knowledge and resources effectively utilized</p> <p>S-7: Building up of extensive network (role of village leaders)</p> <p>S-8: Flexibility of project decision making represented in FLL was transferred/delegated to local level</p> <p>S-9: Feasibility study prior to project implementation</p>

Chart 6.2 : Hypothesis Testing - The Case Study of Pump Irrigation ^{1/}

Hypothesis	Result of ^{2/} Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>A. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO FORMULATION OF PROJECT OBJECTIVES</p> <p>Local level plans, prepared by government agencies have objectives that are of little or no interest to the local people; this will be the case, if the project has the following characteristics in the initial phase of the project cycle.</p> <p>1. Local people were not involved in the formulation of the objectives.</p> <p>2. Local people were involved in the formulation of the objectives, but initiators of the project were not willing to adjust their particular objectives, or to reach a consensus.</p> <p>3. Several government organizations were involved in plan making. Each of them had different objectives and was unwilling to compromise.</p> <p>4. Higher levels of the plan making administration formulated specific objectives of the project and did not allow the lower levels of the planning administration to make adjustments.</p> <p>5. Groups of local people and individuals had different and often conflicting objectives.</p>	<p>-</p> <p>+</p> <p>-</p> <p>+</p> <p>-</p> <p>+</p>	<p>A project is originated from an implicit objective of a village headman who got support from the NEA. He tried to avert direct participation of local people in project identification.</p> <p>Evidence is affirmative in Cycles 1 and 2.</p> <p>Evidence is not affirmative in Cycle 3, because the local people participated in the formulation of objectives, and local officials were willing to incorporate their objectives.</p> <p>There is a problem in connecting the objectives of the two government agencies involved, i.e., the NEA and the RID in the delivery mechanism due to their different points of view held by their staff.</p> <p>In Cycle 3 of the project, the local officers of the NEA were allowed to adjust the design.</p> <p>In Cycle 2, local people of the RM were divided into two CLLs with different objectives in designing the lay-out of irrigation facilities.</p>

continued

^{1/} As presented in Graph 6.1, this case is divided into three cycles based on the case description. In testing research hypotheses and their respective sub-hypotheses, findings for Cycles 1 to 3 were traced simultaneously.

^{2/} Legend:

- + Affirmative
- Non-affirmative
- N.A. Not Applicable

Chart 6.2 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of 2/ Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>B. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS</p> <p>Local people and government agents sometimes arriv. at different perceptions of the current situation, for the collection of data and its analysis have the following characteristics.</p> <p>6. The data was collected only from specific groups of people viz., the rich, the poor, the local leaders, the women, or the youths.</p> <p>7. The sets of data were collected only over a certain short period when a particular situation prevailed or problems arose.</p> <p>8. The way the sets of data were collected and analyzed was subject to some biases due to the difference in socio-economic background of planners and local people.</p> <p>9. Data from local people, including their knowledge, were not properly collected, analyzed and utilized in the process of plan making.</p>	<p>+</p> <p>+</p> <p>N.A.</p> <p>+</p> <p>+</p> <p>-</p>	<p>In Cycle 2, a group of villagers was dissatisfied with the lay-out of irrigation structures and facilities designed by the NEA staff.</p> <p>In Cycle 2, engineers and surveyors of the NEA collected data only from the village headman and his supporters.</p> <p>In Cycle 2, data collection and analysis were influenced by the village headman and his supporters.</p> <p>Data from local people was not collected and utilized in Cycles 1 and 2.</p> <p>In Cycle 3, people's knowledge was included in the design.</p>
<p>C. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT DESIGN</p> <p>The project design of the local level plan is not valid. This will be the case, if the proposed activities have the following characteristics.</p> <p>10. Activities were designed without participation and/or consensus of the local population.</p>	<p>+</p> <p>-</p> <p>+</p> <p>-</p>	<p>In Cycle 2, disruptions occurred when people came to know about the project and its biased plan designed to further individual interests.</p> <p>In Cycle 3, there was a redesign of the project that was acceptable to the majority of villagers in the area.</p> <p>Local people were not even marginally involved in the design of project activities in Cycles 1 and 2.</p> <p>In Cycle 3, the project design took place with the participation of villagers.</p>

continued

"Linking Loops" —> Ban Mae Nam

Chart 6.2 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>11. Activities were planned during a period of the year when the local people are usually too busy notably with agricultural activities, so that they were not able to participate in the project effectively.</p>	N.A.	
<p>12. Resources needed for the project, as indicated by the government, cannot be contributed by the local people at all or cannot possibly be provided by them during the period specified in the project document.</p>	-	In Cycle 3, the villagers were willing to contribute their resources to the project.
<p>13. Allocation of external resources by the government to a certain project was not in accordance with the magnitude of problems in the area and with the real needs of the local people.</p>	N.A.	
<p>14. Local resources in the area were not effectively explored when the project design had been prepared. As a consequence, these resources became not available when they were needed at particular stages of project implementation.</p>	-	In Cycle 3, the availability of local resources was effectively explored and fully utilized.
<p>D. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT APPROVAL</p>		
<p>The local population is either not interested or has only a loose interest, since they were not involved in the project approval.</p>	+	Local people did not participate in the approval stage because of the interference of the village headman. As a result, they opposed the project in Cycle 2.
<p>15. The project approval took a long time because</p>	-	In Cycle 3 the majority of the people were interested in the project approval.
<p>a. the approval of a project was mostly done at higher level, sometimes coming from the national level of the administration, which automatically excluded any participation of people in decision making at the local level.</p>	+	Final approval of the project was endorsed at the central level of administration of the NEA.

continued

Chart 6.2 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>b. the government organizations were adhering to a complicated approval procedure.</p>	+	<p>Several levels within the same administration (NEA) were involved in the approval stage.</p>
<p>c. there were more than one formalized linking loop (FLL) of the delivering mechanism involved in the coordination in the approval stage, thus taking a long time.</p>	+	<p>There are two delivery mechanisms, namely, the NEA and the RID involved in the approval of resources for the project. It took a long time due to a conflict between the local staff of NEA and the RID in Cycle 2. This was later on solved in Cycle 3.</p>
<p>16. If the approval was obtained at the local level, people could lose interest for the following reasons:</p>	+	<p>This happened when local people decided to make their resources (especially land) available for the project.</p>
<p>a. a conflicting communal linking loop (CLL); and</p>	+	<p>There was a conflict among the local people regarding different objectives of the lay-out of the irrigation facilities. Therefore, the project approval was delayed in Cycle 2.</p>
<p>b. the local leader manipulated the approval stage.</p>	+	<p>Village headman tried to avoid direct participation of local people in the approval of the lay-out of the irrigation facilities in Cycle 2 so that he could manipulate the local approval.</p>
<p>E. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION</p>		
<p>In any case where local people are urged only to contribute to project implementation but are not involved in the earlier stages of the project cycle, there is a tendency that they will not participate in such project.</p>	+	<p>In Cycle 2, the local people even opposed the project because they were not involved in the design.</p>
<p>17. Even if local people were involved in one or more of the earlier stages of the project cycle, there was a chance that they were not willing to continue their participation into the stage of project implementation because of</p>	-	<p>Once they were involved in the redesign of the project during Cycle 3 they then participated actively in the scheme.</p>
<p>a. changes in their individual circumstances;</p>	-	<p>This was not observed except for some farmers who did not want to make land available for the distribution canals.</p>
<p>b. changing priorities among their individual objectives;</p>	-	

continued

"Linking Loops" —> Ban Mae Nam

Chart 6.2 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
c. a new perception after a reassessment of the erstwhile situation during the earlier stages of the project cycle.	-	
18. Although people were initially participating in project implementation they might discontinue their participation at this stage because of	-	See Hypothesis E. 17.
a. changes in their individual circumstances;	-	
b. changing priorities among their individual objectives;	-	
c. a new perception after a reassessment of the erstwhile situation during the implementation stage.	-	
d. a delay in the implementation due to late arrival of resources (for reasons see Hypothesis D. 15);	-	
e. poor organizational set-up of the implementing agency in a locality unsuitable for operation and management of the project;	-	
f. lack of coordination between the implementing agency and other collaborating agencies, so as to accelerate and strengthen project implementation;	-	
g. conflict between local people and government agent assigned to the area during the time when the project was implemented; and	+	See Hypothesis E. 17.
h. conflict among local people.	+	See Hypothesis E. 17.

continued

Chart 6.2 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>F. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT EVALUATION</p> <p>Local people not being involved in project evaluation will be the case, if the following conditions exist:</p> <p>19. Certain problems and constraints obstructing the project preparation and implementation from local people's point of view could not be known to the government agent of the implementing agency. As a result, modifications of the project could not be made in order to make the current project as well as future projects more effective and efficient.</p> <p>20. Without constant participatory monitoring and evaluation, internal motives of the local people could not be assessed clearly, as to whether these would coincide with the objective(s) of the project or not. Therefore, the formulation of development activities could not be steered in such a way that the objective(s) of the local people and of the project would be congruent. As a consequence, the chance to maximize people's active participation in the various stages of the planned development process was minimal.</p>	<p>+</p> <p>-</p> <p>+</p> <p>-</p>	<p>In Cycle 2, disruptions occurred and caused further delay in project implementation when people came to know about the biased plan designed to benefit a particular group of villagers.</p> <p>In Cycle 3, the local people in CLL2 evaluated the project. According to them, the project was accepted and their information was included and utilized in the design during Cycle 3.</p> <p>In Cycle 2, a group of villagers were dissatisfied with the lay-out of project structures and facilities designed by the NEA (FLL3) without consulting them. This antagonized group refused to mobilize and contribute their scarce resources. Their participation then became very passive.</p> <p>In Cycle 3, internal motives of the local people regarding the adjustments of the project design were integrated into the project through direct and induced participation by the local NEA staff. As a result, local participation in the village could be maximized.</p>

6. Findings and Conclusion

This section deals with two headings. A summary of hypothesis testing results is presented first, which is followed by a conclusion on the application of the linking loops concept to the case under study.

a. Summary of hypothesis testing results

This project is a combination of a village initiated project aiming to get support from government sources and of the routine intervention of government field agencies representing the delivery mechanism.

The project originated from the initiative of a village headman who had a vested personal interest to have this project in his village. In Cycles 1 and 2 of this project it is found that local people did not participate in the formulation of objectives but they became involved in Cycle 3 when the local officers of the NEA incorporated their objectives into the objectives of the project. Not only were differences of objective found among the local population participating in the project but also two government organizations (NEA and RID) involved in plan making faced a problem of coordination due to differences in opinions held by their respective local staff.

In data collection and analysis, local people and local officers (NEA staff) arrived at different perceptions of the situation because the data was collected only from a specific group consisting of the village headman and his supporters as shown in Cycle 2. That is why the way in which the data was collected and analyzed was biased. Eventually, data from the local people including their know-how was collected, analyzed and utilized in Cycle 3.

The design of this project was invalid in Cycle 2 because it was formulated and designed by the NEA officers without the direct participation of the local population. However, the project design became valid in Cycle 3 because the villagers directly participated in redesign of the scheme. As a result of local participation in this cycle, the availability of local resources was effectively explored, and the local people were willing to contribute their scarce resources to the project.

Local people did not participate in the approval stage in Cycles 1 and 2 because of the interference of the village headman. As a consequence, they were strongly opposing the project design which was manipulated by the village headman. Although the project had been approved at the local level, local people lost interest because they got drawn into a conflict caused by their dissatisfaction with the lay-out of the irrigation structures and facilities, which caused a delay in the approval stage. The village headman had

manipulated the approval at the local level for his prospective personal gains by trying to avoid any direct participation of local people.

As a consequence, approval of this project during Cycle 2 took a long time because several administrative levels within the NEA were involved as the final approval was given at the central level of administration. Moreover, there were two delivery mechanisms, namely, the National Energy Authority (NEA) and the Royal Irrigation Department (RID) involved in the approval of this project. A delay in this stage was caused by a coordination problem.

At the implementation stage, it is found that local people involved only in project implementation but not in the earlier stages of the project cycle opposed the project as evident in Cycle 2. Once they became involved in the earlier stages they then participated actively in the project as found in Cycle 3.

In this project, when people did participate neither in monitoring nor interim evaluation of the scheme during Cycle 2, many disruptions occurred which led to further delay in project implementation caused by the dispute over the biased plan designed to benefit a particular group of villagers. Those who were dissatisfied with the design refused to mobilize and contribute their resources to the project, which resulted in passive participation among the local population. This problem was subsequently resolved in Cycle 3 when the local population was mobilized by the NEA staff and joined in the redesign of the project. Their direct participation in the decision-making process made this project efficient and effective.

b. Application of the linking loops concept

With regard to the application of communal and formalized linking loops to the case, the following observations could be made.

The communal linking loop (CLL1) of the receiving mechanism was established in Cycle 2 during the design stage, originated from an implicit objective of a village headman (FLL1) aiming to avail himself of resources from the delivery mechanism of the National Energy Authority (NEA). In this case the formation of the CLL1 was barely effective in Cycle 2 because the village headman tried to manipulate expected benefits of the project to achieve his personal objectives. As a result, a rival communal linking loop (CLL2) was constituted comprising of a group of villagers who were dissatisfied with the initial lay-out of the irrigation structures and facilities. This caused the delay in the implementation stage because direct participation in the design was not utilized by the NEA staff of the delivery mechanism (FLL3). Also, the village headman avoided the participation of local people in project identification and preparation. This

Participatory Development Activities

really made the mobilization of resources among the local population ineffective until the rival communal linking loop (CLL2) was established and became functional.

The case shows that a new communal linking loop (CLL3) of the RM was effectively constituted, indeed, by a new local leader succeeding as village headman (FLL9). He played a vital role in settling the conflict among the local population by their direct participation in the redesign of the project. Through this direct and induced participation, people became convinced that the project would benefit them, and they were willing to participate freely contributing their scarce resources like land and labour. This is a lesson that direct or indirect participation induced by local leaders is very important because it gives a certain guarantee that people will continue to participate at the later stages of the project, provided their objectives and perception of the situation have not changed. When considering the actors of the communal linking loop of the receiving mechanism in a project, it ought to be expected that there are seldom only winners, especially if these are projects that require land. Also, in this irrigation project there were several farmers who complained that for them the costs were higher than the benefits. This underlines the fact that there are always differences in the objectives of all villagers.

Once all the communal linking loops (CLL3, CLL4 and CLL5) of the receiving mechanism (RM) were functional and effective, the interface between them and the formalized linking loop (FLL3) of ultimate the DM was also successful. This contributed to the ultimate effectiveness of the project.

With reference to the formalized linking loop of the delivery mechanism of this case, some observations are made hereunder.

The formalized linking loop of the NEA followed the top-down planning approach. As a result, the local officers of the NEA (FLL3) excluded people's participation in the formulation of objectives, data collection and analysis, and project design in Cycle 2. This offered an opportunity to the former village headman (FLL1) to manipulate the project design for his personal benefit. The crisis was overcome when direct participation of the local people in decision making on the project design was facilitated.

When two formalized linking loops, namely the NEA (FLL3) and the RID (FLL6) in the delivery mechanism were involved in the plan making of this project, this resulted in a problem of connecting the linking loops of the delivery mechanisms involved with the communal linking loop of the receiving mechanism. This kind of conflict not only resulted in a less efficient preparation and implementation of the project but also contributed to the delay in the approval and delivery of resources to the receiving mechanism.

An important fact, as found in this case, was that the NEA officials (FLL3) were willing to redesign the project as proposed through direct participation of the local people during Cycle 3. This means that the local officials (NEA staff) eventually allowed for the kind of flexibility in the project design, though at a relatively late stage of the project cycle, which made the project become effective in facilitating its successful implementation at the following stages.

C. ANALYSIS OF AN ON-GOING PROJECT : MAT WEAVING

Witnessing the dynamics of a currently implemented project, though over a short span of time, provides some unique insight into the intricacies of people's rationale for partaking or not involving themselves, as it were. After a short project description, participatory planning is reviewed, followed by some sort of mid-way evaluation, identification of causes of failure, hypothesis testing and a detailed account of findings and conclusion of the case.

1. Case Description : Mat Weaving*

Some women with basic skills and technical know-how of mat weaving had produced mats employing a very simple technique and using locally available raw materials. In an attempt to improve their technical know-how, one of the group members, the Chairperson of the Women's Group, and the village headman approached the Community Development (C.D.) Worker of their tambon with the request to find a qualified person to train women on mat weaving. The project was endorsed by the Community Development Department (Ministry of Interior) under the condition that it would be implemented through self-help, since time constraints did not permit to make the project feasible according to C.D. Department normal procedure that includes the provision of materials. This implied that lack of financial support by the C.D. Department obliged the women to support the project in the form of material inputs. The training schedule was fixed for a period when most women would be free from agricultural works.

To prepare the training, a meeting was convened by the Women's Group to assign specific responsibilities and mobilize local resources like material inputs and handlooms. Meanwhile the Tambon C.D. Worker contacted the Department of Industrial Promotion

* A detailed, descriptive report on mat weaving is given in Pongquan (1988), pp. 70-77.

Participatory Development Activities

(DIP/Ministry of Industry) so as to get technical assistance as well as a qualified trainer and additional inputs. Unexpectedly, the formal procedure to get project approvals from the C.D. and the I.P. Departments took two months. Moreover, the training was delayed by one more month due to the work schedule of the trainer from the I.P. Department. Owing to these reasons, the training was delayed until June 1985, which coincided with the transplanting period in rice cultivation.

The delay of the start-up of the project affected two aspects of its implementation: firstly, the training could not be held at the village school according to the original plan since the school term had started. Secondly, essential inputs, i.e., handlooms to be borrowed from the I.P. Department by the Tambon C.D. Worker were no longer available. The training lasted for 20 days and, initially, there were 20 trainees, out of whom only five participated till the end. Some reasons given for dropping out include work commitments in transplanting rice, lack of material inputs, and unavailability of handlooms for practicing.

For evaluation purposes, an evaluator from the C.D. Office at the provincial level and the C.D. Worker came to the village in July 1985 to hold an open discussion among the participants in the training course which 15 women attended. Major feedbacks given by them to those officers included the following items. Firstly, the period of training was too short for the trainees, most of whom were old and not able to follow instructions easily. Secondly, the training was scheduled during a period when participants would be busy, thus lowering their rate of attendance. Thirdly, the delay of project implementation had caused spoilage of the material inputs prepared earlier. Fourthly, the number of handlooms available for practicing was insufficient because only three handlooms were free to use.

Those trainees who had completed the training considered it very useful, for they had improved their technical know-how. At the level attained, however, the women could not possibly produce mats that were commercially viable, unless they would further improve their skills, which would take much longer time.

2. People's Participation in the Planned Development Process

This case study belongs to the category of projects where the initiative is coming from the local level and aims at obtaining resources from on-going government programmes. It shows that people's participation at all stages of the planning process of the project was complete and direct.

In Graph VI.2 a simplified overview is given of the interrelationships between the various basic and communal linking loops, and the interfaces between communal and formalized linking loops.

This project identification originated from the initiative of a woman in the village, thus exemplifying spontaneous participation. She induced the village headman to establish a communal linking loop (CLL1), and together they had an interface (IF1) with the formalized linking loop (FLL1) of the Department of Community Development by contacting the local community development worker.

At the same time she stimulated other people to link their basic linking loops with her basic linking loop so as to form another communal linking loop (CLL2) via induced participation.

It was in close cooperation (IF2) between the communal linking loop (CLL2) and the formalized linking loop (FLL1), represented by the C.D. Worker, that the project preparation took place. This included the identification of activities and resources (handlooms) that were needed, of the time when the activities should take place, and the mobilization of resources. This made it possible for the actors, during the conceptual linking of the resources of the delivery and the receiving mechanisms, to perceive and assess the present situation and the existing problems and constraints. As a result, the people were motivated and willing to contribute their scarce resources. An important constraint was, however, that these resources (time and labour) could only be made available at a specific point in time.

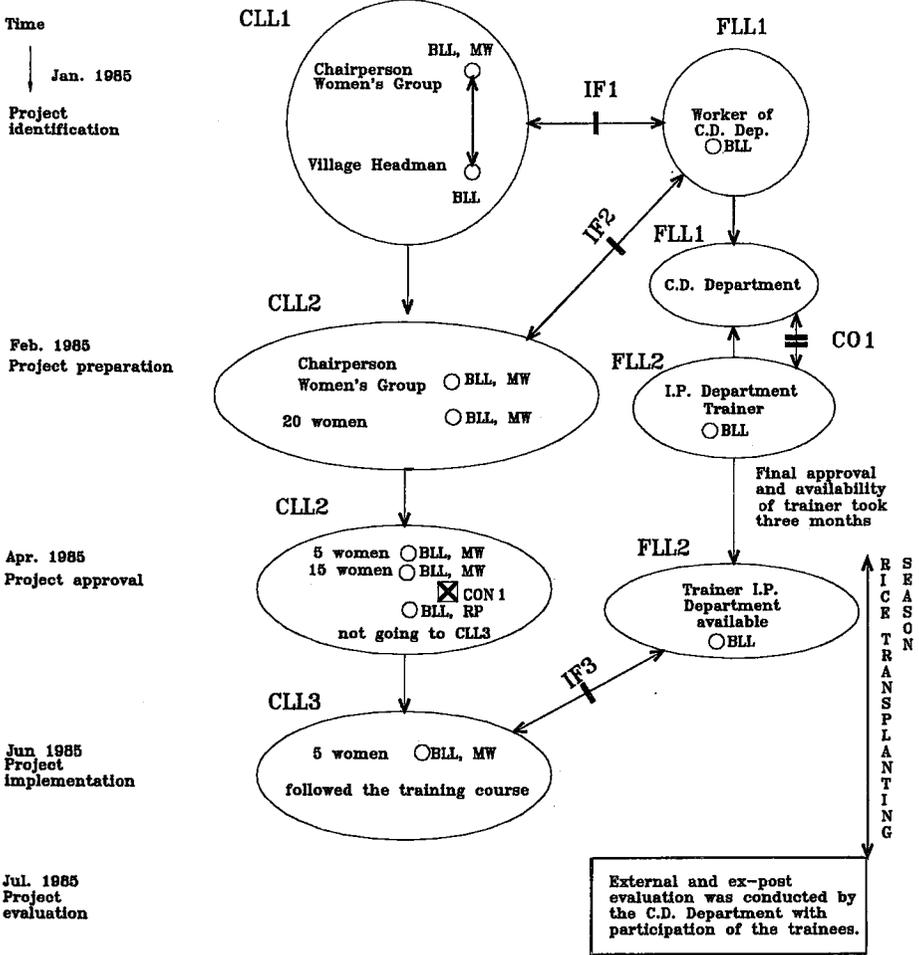
The project approval in the communal linking loop (CLL2) was obtained without delay. However, within the delivery mechanism two organizations had to be involved. The Community Development Department (FLL1) and the Industrial Promotion Department (FLL2), because the latter organization had to provide the resources. In this case that resource contribution was limited to providing the services of a trainer in mat weaving.

The formalized decision process for approval of the project in the two organizations and the coordination (CO1) took two months. Another month had to pass before the basic linking loop of the trainer made it possible to realise the third interface (IF3).

As mentioned earlier the delay, of the project implementation created considerable problems because then 15 out of the 20 women involved in the earlier communal linking loop (CLL2) faced a conflict between two basic linking loops of the women. They had to deliver an important resource, their time. At the time, however, when the actual linking of resources should take place, in the third interface (IF3), they needed their time

Participatory Development Activities

Graph VI.2: Mat Weaving
Case Study of An On-going Project



LEGEND:	
BLL	Basic Linking Loop
CLL	Communal Linking Loop
FLL	Formalized Linking Loop
MW	Mat Weaving
RP	Rice Planting
IF	(Interface)
CO	(Coordination)
CON	(Conflict)

for transplanting rice. For most women the basic linking loop focused on transplanting rice (BLL,RP) had a higher priority than the basic linking loop focused on learning how to weave mats (BLL,MW). As a result, they could not join the communal linking loop (CLL3) required for project implementation. After the completion of the training course, an external end-of-project evaluation was conducted by the C.D. Officer from the provincial level office with direct participation of the former trainees. This means that there was people's participation at the stage of project evaluation.

In project identification, preparation, approval, implementation and evaluation there was direct and free (induced as well as spontaneous) participation from the local population. An overall assessment of this case shows that people's participation is complete and intensive yet ineffective.

Costs of participation anticipated by the actors of the communal linking loop (CLL) of the receiving mechanism (RM) included their time and energy to attend many meetings to prepare the project with the C.D. Worker, to mobilize people and resources for project implementation and to prepare material inputs for the training. In addition, they spent their time of 20 days to participate in the training session, although the training schedule coincided with the transplanting period in rice cultivation.

Benefits of participation gained by actors of the receiving mechanism mainly deal with the increase of technical skill in mat weaving which could raise their income afterwards. Apart from this, the case shows that participation facilitates the mobilization of local resources. This is due to the fact that inputs into this project consisted mostly of self-generated resources of the participants.

3. Evaluation of the Project

To evaluate this project, planning documents prepared by the C.D. Department and feedback of trainees on their achievement were used. Therefore, this evaluation may be considered as an internal evaluation of the project.

a. Effectiveness

The effectiveness of the project was measured by comparing achievements with stipulated targets. The main objective of the project, as mentioned in the project proposal prepared by the C.D. Department, was to increase the supplementary income of women by upgrading their mat weaving skill. This proposal also mentioned the targets which are as follows :

Participatory Development Activities

- (1) twenty women will benefit from this project; and
- (2) sixty per cent of the trainees, i.e., twelve women will earn supplementary income from this activity after the completion of the training.

The field survey revealed, however, that only five women completed the training, and only four out of these earned a small amount of income from this activity. Therefore, the project may be considered as totally ineffective because its achievements are far below the stipulated targets.

b. Efficiency

It was found that the major problem arose in the coordination of the resources of two formalized linking loops in the delivery mechanisms, in linking the resources of the delivery mechanisms with those of the receiving mechanism, and in the limited availability of training staff. This led to a delay in the release of funds, owing to rigid administrative procedures of the delivery mechanism and aggravated by the belated assignment of training staff. Some crucial problems resulting from this delay are mentioned hereunder.

- (1) Ineffective linking of resources between basic linking loops (BLL) of various formalized linking loops (FLL) due to :

- Centralization of decision making at higher level.

The authority of decision making on resource allocation and project approval is retained at the central level of administration in Bangkok. The decision is then passed to the lower level offices, strictly following the hierarchical system which takes a long time.

- Delay in procurement of supplies caused by fragmentation of administration and lack of coordination and communication between main implementing agency and cooperating agency prior to plan making.

The case shows that resources to be provided by the delivery mechanism of this project, i.e., the Industrial Promotion (I.P.) Department and the Community Development (C.D.) Department, consisting of a qualified trainer for general coordination and implementation of the training and equipment, were not released according to schedule. Under this circumstance, it was essential to link the basic linking loops of the people with two formalized

linking loops of the delivery mechanisms separately. The project could have been approved if those offices had been approached on an individual basis.

- (2) Ineffective linking of resources between the delivery mechanism (DM) and the receiving mechanism (RM) in the actual linking phase, as it is not taking place at the specified point in time and space. As a matter of fact, actors in the communal linking loop (CLL) face coupling constraints because their resources can be made available during a certain span of time only.

c. Impact

No noticeable impact of the project could be observed at the time when the field survey was conducted. Training provided had, indeed, strengthened people's motivation as it was evident that all those few former participants who had completed the course made an attempt to produce mats commercially. In fact, it was too early by then to assess the impact of this project. But taking into account the objectives that were realized the impact will be very limited.

4. Causes of Failure

The case study shows that the following factors led to the ineffectiveness of this project.

a. Centralization of decision making at the highest level of administration

The authority of decision making on resource allocation and project approval is retained at the central level of administration. The decision is then passed to the lower-level offices strictly following the line of command of the established hierarchical system. This case demonstrates that this process takes a long time.

b. Complicated administrative procedures for the coordination of the government agencies involved

Complicated approval procedures involved not only several levels of the administration within the same implementing agency but also other collaborating agencies. As a result, the following problems arose:

- (1) Low efficiency in the resource release process of the delivering mechanisms, i.e., government departments.

Participatory Development Activities

(2) Delay in project implementation due to the above mentioned cause. This delay made the project ineffective and, thereby, lowered the rate of attendance because:

- the training session had to be rescheduled; as a result it fell into a period when most people were engaged in farm works and could not make the earlier allocated resources available;
- the delay in implementation caused misutilization of resources; and
- the venue and the handlooms arranged for the earlier scheduled training course were no longer available during the rescheduled training period.

(3) Lack of access for the poor households to mat production means.

Those women who could produce mats commercially came from relatively better-off households in the village. These women were well-equipped with capital, handloom and technical skills for producing mats. For those who lacked these resources, this project was not beneficial. Perhaps the provision of credit supply and marketing facilities should have been incorporated into this project as supporting components.

5. Hypothesis Testing

The result of hypothesis testing for mat weaving is presented in Chart 6.3. There, supporting evidence is presented in brief for each hypothesis and components in as far as relevant.

6. Findings and Conclusion

This part deals with two topics. A summary of the hypothesis testing results is presented first, followed by a conclusion of the application of the linking loops concept to the case under study.

a. Summary of hypothesis testing results

The case is a project which followed the bottom-up approach to planning. It was initiated by the local population aiming to obtain resources from a special government assistance programme. As a result, several of the hypotheses and their respective sub-hypotheses as formulated for this research study do not apply. Anyhow, an effort was

made to fit the findings of this case study into the framework for hypothesis testing presented in Chart 6.3. The following observations can be made.

The project was initiated and identified by local people, therefore, the project prepared by them was in their interest. Also, there was no conflict of interest or objectives among the local people.

During the plan identification and preparation, data from the local people including their know-how was properly collected, analyzed and utilized.

The design of this project was valid because local people were involved directly.

The local population lost their interest in the approval stage because the project approval by the delivery mechanism took a long time. This was due to the involvement of several levels within the administration of the C.D. Department for endorsement before approval at the central level. In addition to this, two government organizations viz., the C.D. and I.P. Departments were involved as the two formalized linking loops of the delivery mechanisms.

During the implementation stage, it is found that some of the local people discontinued their participation although they had been involved in earlier stages of the project cycle because of changing priority of their individual objectives. This was a consequence of the delay in the approval stage and the belated release of a trainer provided to the project through the delivery mechanism. Due to this delay, the training session was then rescheduled during the transplanting period of rice cultivation, when most participants of the training were busy with work commitments in rice transplanting. Thus the rate of attendance was lowered drastically.

Local people participated directly in project evaluation. Therefore, individual internal motives underlying their problems encountered during the implementation period could be clearly assessed and made known to the local officer. However, people's active participation could not be maximized during the implementation stage due to complications in the administrative set-up of the delivery mechanisms in the approval stage.

Chart 6.3 : Hypothesis Testing - The Case Study of Mat Weaving ^{1/}

Hypothesis	Result of ^{2/} Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>A. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO FORMULATION OF PROJECT OBJECTIVES</p> <p>Local level plans, prepared by government agencies have objectives that are of little or no interest to the local people; this will be the case, if the project has the following characteristics in the initial phase of the project cycle.</p>	N.A.	The project was initiated and identified by the local people.
<p>B. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS</p> <p>Local people and government agents sometimes arrive at different perceptions of the current situation.</p>	N.A.	Data from local people as well as their knowledge were properly collected, analyzed and utilized in the plan making.
<p>C. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT DESIGN</p> <p>The project design of the local level plan is not valid.</p>	N.A.	The design was valid because local people were involved directly.
<p>D. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT APPROVAL</p> <p>The local population is either not interested or has only a loose interest, since they were not involved in the project approval.</p>	+	The local population lost their interest because the project approval by the delivery mechanism took too long time.

continued

^{1/} Only those sub-hypotheses relevant for the project are shown. The complete list of all research hypotheses and their respective sub-hypotheses is presented in Chapter IV.

^{2/} Legend:
 + Affirmative
 - Non-affirmative
 N.A. Not Applicable

Chart 6.3 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>15. The project approval took a long time because</p> <p>a. the approval of a project was mostly done at higher level, sometimes coming from the national level of the administration, which automatically excluded any participation of people in decision making at the local level.</p> <p>b. the government organizations were adhering to a complicated approval procedure.</p> <p>c. there were more than one formalized linking loop (FLL) of the delivering mechanism involved in the coordination in the approval stage, thus taking a long time.</p> <p>16. If the approval was obtained at the local level, people could lose interest for the following reasons:</p> <p>a. a conflicting communal linking loop (CLL); and</p> <p>b. the local leader manipulated the approval stage.</p>	<p>+</p> <p>+</p> <p>+</p> <p>-</p> <p>-</p> <p>-</p>	<p>The C.D. Worker at the sub-district level submitted the project proposal for approval to the central level through the offices at district and provincial levels.</p> <p>Several levels within the same administration of the C.D. Department were involved in project approval.</p> <p>Not only several levels of the administration within the C.D. Department but also the I.P. Department as a collaborating agency was engaged.</p>
<p>E. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION</p> <p>In any case where local people are urged only to contribute to project implementation but not involved in the earlier stages of the project cycle, there is a tendency that they will not participate in such project.</p> <p>17. Even if local people were involved in one or more of the earlier stages of the project cycle, there was a chance that they were not willing to continue their participation into the stage of project implementation because of</p>	<p>N.A.</p> <p>+</p>	<p>In this case, local people were involved since earlier stages of project cycle.</p> <p>Some of the local people discontinued their participation during the implementation stage.</p>

continued

Chart 6.3 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
a. changes in their individual circumstances;	-	
b. changing priorities among their individual objectives;	+	The training was rescheduled during the transplanting period of rice cultivation. Then, local people gave higher priority to rice transplanting than to mat weaving.
c. a new perception after a reassessment of the erstwhile situation during the implementation stage.	-	
18. Although people were initially participating in project implementation they might discontinue their participation at this stage because of	+	Most local people no longer participated in the training session because of their work commitments in transplanting rice.
a. changes in their individual circumstances;	-	
b. changing priorities among their individual objectives;	+	Same as Hypothesis E. 17 b.
c. a new perception after a reassessment of the erstwhile situation during the implementation stage.	-	
d. a delay in the implementation due to late arrival of resources (for reasons see Hypothesis D. 15);	+	A trainer from the Industrial Promotion (I.P.) Department was provided far behind the intended schedule.
e. poor organizational set-up of the implementing agency in a locality unsuitable for operation and management of the project;	-	
f. lack of coordination between the implementing agency and other collaborating agencies, so as to accelerate and strengthen project implementation;	+	The coordination between the Community Development Department and the Industrial Promotion Department in the release of resources to the receiving mechanism was poor.

continued

Chart 6.3 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>g. conflict between local people and government agent assigned to the area during the time when the project was implemented; and</p>	-	
<p>h. conflict among local people.</p>	-	
<p>F. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT EVALUATION</p>		
<p>Local people not being involved in project evaluation will be the case, if the following conditions exist:</p>		
<p>19. Certain problems/constraints obstructing the project preparation and implementation from local people's point of view could not be known to the government agent of the implementing agency. As a result, modifications of the project could not be made in order to make the current project as well as the future projects more effective and efficient.</p>	+	<p>Local people who participated in the training session gave some feedback to the officers of the FLL in the DM. As a result, problems encountered during the implementation period were made known to them and could be considered for future improvement.</p>
<p>20. Without constant participatory monitoring and evaluation, internal motives of the local people could not be assessed clearly, as to whether these would coincide with the objective(s) of the project or not. Therefore, the formulation of development activities could not be steered in such a way that the objective(s) of the local people and of the project would be congruent. As a consequence, the chance to maximize people's active participation in the various stages of the planned development process was minimal.</p>	+	<p>In this case, meetings were convened between actors of the CLL in the RM and the FLL of the DM. Thus, internal motives of local people could be clearly assessed. However, people's active participation could not be maximized during the implementation period due to complications caused by the administrative set-up of the FLL.</p>

b. Application of the linking loops concept

With regard to communal and formalized linking loops in the project, the following observations can be made.

As the project is a village initiated project, the communal linking loop (CLL1) of the receiving mechanism (RM) was established since the earlier stages of the project cycle. The establishment of the CLL1 was quite effective because its actors were willing to allocate their scarce resources to the project, including labour and raw materials. It is observed that the members of the local population who participated in project implementation (CLL2) were women from relatively better-off households. Hence, participation of the poor was limited because of their inability to contribute resources in the first instance.

As for the formalized linking loop (FLL), it is seen that the C.D. Worker (FLL2), being an officer of the implementing agency, played an important role as a broker in coordinating and linking of resources (a trainer and other inputs) from another delivery mechanism (I.P. Department) with those of the local people. This is related to the fact that the project was operated mostly using self-generated resources of the project participants.

The cause of the ineffectiveness of this project was mainly the complicated procedure of coordination between the two delivery mechanisms (C.D. Department and I.P. Department) in the approval stage. Obtaining endorsement and approval by these two delivery mechanisms took a long time, thus delaying the release of resources from the DM to the CLL1 of the RM. As a result, the interface of the actual linking of resources during the implementation stage took place when the actors of the CLL1 already had another basic linking loop going in rice transplanting that had to be given higher priority than mat weaving. Moreover, the venue where the training sessions should have taken place was no longer available after it was rescheduled. The consequence was that only women of better-off households were able to attend the training course, because the other women could not afford to abandon the rice transplanting activity, many of them being landless and, therefore, dependent on this seasonal income generating opportunity - in short, they were "too poor to participate".

This case study makes clear that in a project where resources of the receiving and delivery mechanisms have to interface, the timing with regard to when the resources from the delivery mechanism are available has to be attuned carefully to the availability of the resources contributed by the receiving mechanism. This requires flexibility and, most likely, decentralization or delegation of authority in the delivery mechanism.

D. ANALYSIS OF AN INITIATED PROJECT : INCOME GENERATION

This section deals with the appraisal of a project that was in its initiation phase. Further to an overall description of the case, people's participation in the planned development process is scrutinized, the prospect of having low potential for success is appraised, the set of hypotheses of the overall study is tested, and findings and conclusion are presented.

1. Case Description : Income Generation*

In August 1985, the district level office of the Community Development (C.D.) Department at Noi Na was informed of the existence of a national programme for financial aid for income generating activities. This programme was funded by the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). Noi Na District, Thong Thin Province had been selected to launch a pilot project, with the objective of up-lifting the standard of living through an allocation of Baht 3,000 per project and village. The Tambon C.D. Worker called a village meeting to encourage villagers to make an effort to come up with project proposals. The meeting generated five proposals, including home gardening, fish farming, chicken rearing, pig raising, and mushroom growing. To work out the details of these project proposals, the C.D. Worker discussed with each project proponent. She then came to know that the proponents of the pig raising and the chicken raising projects had withdrawn their proposals, whereupon the remaining three persons confirmed their intention to seek funding for their project proposals. For each proposed activity, the C.D. Worker needed further information on prospective participants and their sharing of responsibilities. Furthermore, she investigated the location of each project to ensure the feasibility of its implementation.

Interestingly, a rumour was spread among the project proponents to the effect of discrediting each other. Similarly, social influence through a patron-client relationship was used to coerce one project proponent of inferior social status to withdraw his proposal so that the competition would be minimal. To approve a project proposal, the result of a feasibility study conducted by the C.D. Worker was used for the selection. Therein, it was stated that the mushroom growing project lacked technical expertise, while the fish farming project was questionable given the annual flooding of the site of the fish pond, close to the river bank. Compared with these two projects, the home gardening project was having the greatest potential and eventually got approval by the

* A detailed, descriptive report on income generation is given in Pongquan (1988), pp. 81-88.

Participatory Development Activities

C.D. Officer at district level in October 1985. This was done on the basis of its estimated economic feasibility, expected profitability and credit worthiness, based on the proponent's previous experience in the proposed activity. However, the project implementation could not start at the point in time specified by the project proponents due to the delay in the release of funds by the central office of the C.D. Department.

2. People's Participation in the Planned Development Process

The programme, in whose context this project took place, was designed as a pilot project at the national level of the delivering mechanism. It aimed to uplift the standard of living of rural people by providing equitable distribution of benefits to them. It shows that people's participation in the development process was free (induced), direct and of the partial participation type.

Interactions among various basic linking loops and the interfaces between those basic linking loops and the formalized linking loops are illustrated in Graph VI.3.

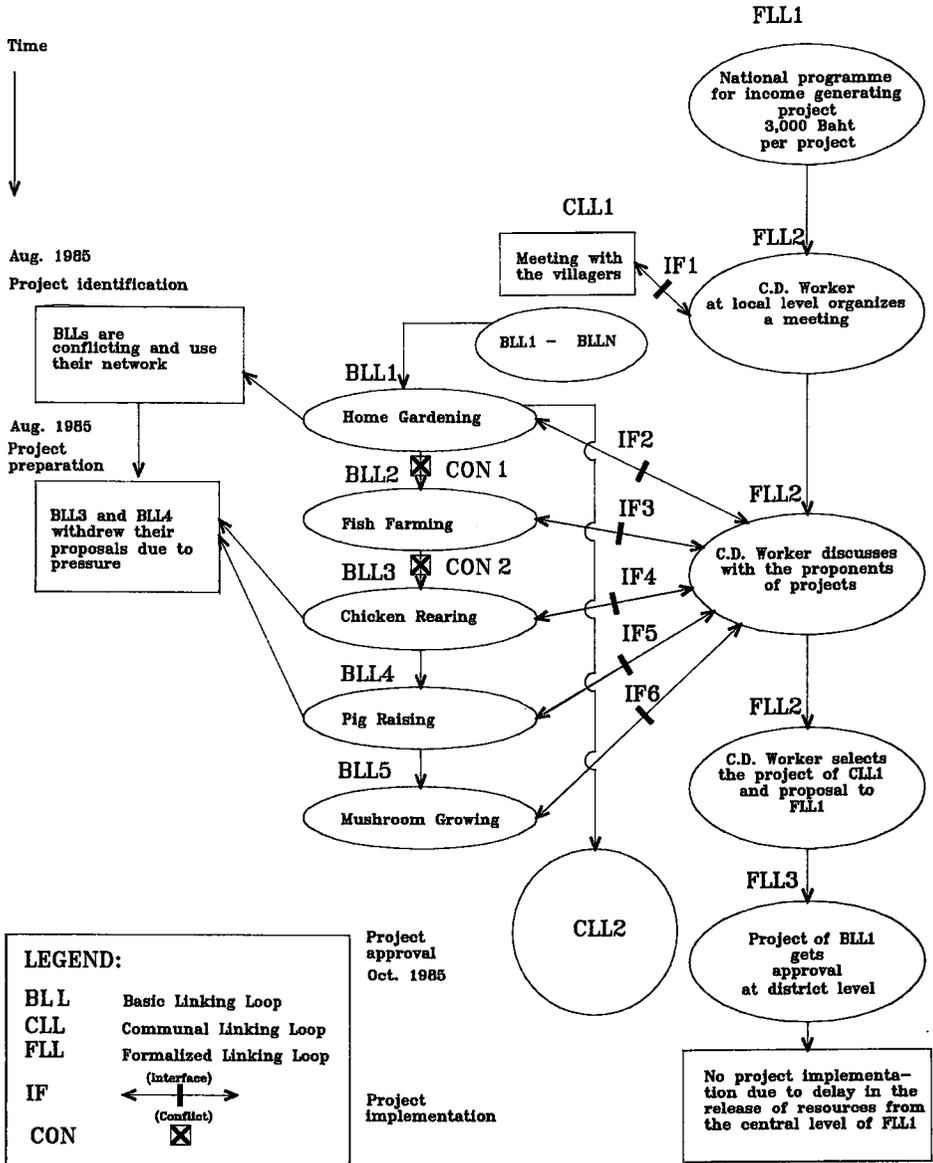
The project identification originated at the central level of the formalized linking loop of the C.D. Department (FLL1). Directives were passed on to the government line agency administration at local level to start a project (FLL2).

To respond to the commission of this pilot project, the C.D. Worker mobilized local people to form a communal linking loop (CLL1) through induced participation, and together they had an interface (IF1) with the formalized linking loop of the C.D. Department through direct participation.

On this occasion, she persuaded other people to link their basic linking loops with hers, thus inducing participation so that activities of the project could be identified.

Many activities were proposed by various proponents through their basic linking loops (BLL1 - BLL5), all of whom wanted the activities proposed by themselves to be included in the project. Then the project preparation took place when all the basic linking loops of local people in the receiving mechanism had their interface (IF2 - IF6) with the formalized linking loop (FLL2) represented by the C.D. Worker in the delivery mechanism. It is noteworthy that all the interfaces were continued without any concrete agreements on the selection of activities made by local people.

Graph VI.3: Income Generation
Case Study of An Initiated Project



Participatory Development Activities

In preparation of the project, prospective beneficiaries of each basic linking loop took part via direct participation in working out details of the project activity, specifying their partner, and identifying the types of activity and resource contributions including the period for implementation.

The project approval in the basic linking loops of the proponents in the receiving mechanism were obtained without delay. However, the two basic linking loops (BLL3 - BLL4) withdrew their proposals due to unfavourable circumstances. The rest of them had some conflict with each other due to great tension among them because only one out of all proposals submitted was to be finalized and processed for financial support. As a consequence, the proponents who wanted to win government approval used their social influence and relationship so as to thwart the proposals made by others.

Eventually, the formalized decision for approval of the project focusing on home gardening (BLL1) was made by the C.D. Officer at the local level of the formalized linking loop. This was finalized after a feasibility study was conducted by the C.D. Worker for the selection of the most feasible project in terms of social, economic and technical suitability.

The project implementation could not start according to the proposed schedule specified in the project preparation. This was due to the delay in the release of resources from the central level of the formalized linking loop of the C.D. Department at the time when the actual linking of resources should take place.

In sum, people's participation in the planned development process of this project was partial, free (spontaneous and induced), direct and extensive but ineffective.

Costs of participation incurred by actors of the receiving mechanism include time spent in attending the meeting organized by the C.D. worker of the formalized linking loop to identify activities and resources and specify the partner. In this case, it is obvious that a rumour was spread among local people to discredit each other. This can be considered as social cost of participation because it leads to role conflict of the proponents. It is found out that social influence through a patron-client relationship was used to coerce those of inferior social status to withdraw their proposal in order that the competition would be minimal.

The benefit of participation as viewed by local people in the receiving mechanism is a possibility to increase household income and uplift their standard of living. In addition, the benefit of participation in the formalized linking loop attained by the C.D. Worker of the delivery mechanism is related to the identification of needs as well as resources of local people required for the project.

3. Appraisal of the Project

As the project had just been started when this study was conducted, an evaluation could not be made in terms of its impact and effectiveness. However, an assessment of its expected outcome was made considering the efficiency in work performance during plan preparation and approval stages. From this interim evaluation, it is found that the major problem confronted by the project was delay in the release of funds by the central office of the C.D. Department. Thus, the project could not be started at the point in time specified as suitable by the project proponents.

4. Reasons for Having Low Potential for Success

Based on the above appraisal it stands to reason that this project may face a problem at the implementation stage. Some of the possible reasons are given hereunder.

a. Top-down planning approach

The central office of the C.D. Department had established detailed and rigid procedures for project approval. The delivery mechanism allocated limited resources and also did not pay much attention to local circumstances. Hence, the magnitude of people's participation in this scheme became minimized.

b. Centralized budget allocation system

Government adheres to a bureaucratic administration system in which everything has to be passed through hierarchies. Decision-making power is also centralized. This has always caused delays in the release of resources, which led to a situation in which resources of the delivery mechanism could not possibly be linked with those of the receiving mechanism. While resource linking of both sides could not take place within the desired span of time, intended beneficiaries maintained their participation in the project. These beneficiaries were found still waiting for the release of funds and other resources from the delivery mechanism by the time when the area was revisited.

5. Hypothesis Testing

The result of hypothesis testing for the case study on income generation is presented in Chart 6.4. Given the reduced scope of study in this case, several components of the

Chart 6.4 : Hypothesis Testing - The Case Study of Income Generation ^{1/}

Hypothesis	Result of ^{2/} Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>A. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO FORMULATION OF PROJECT OBJECTIVES</p> <p>Local level plans, prepared by government agencies have objectives that are of little or no interest to the local people; this will be the case, if the project has the following characteristics in the initial phase of the project cycle.</p> <p>1. Local people were not involved in the formulation of the objectives.</p> <p>2. Local people were involved in the formulation of the objectives, but initiators of the project were not willing to adjust their particular objectives, or to reach a consensus.</p> <p>3. Several government organizations were involved in plan making. Each of them had different objectives and was unwilling to compromise.</p> <p>4. Higher levels of the plan making administration formulated specific objectives of the project and did not allow the lower levels of the planning administration to make adjustments.</p> <p>5. Groups of local people and individuals had different and often conflicting objectives.</p>	<p>-</p> <p>-</p> <p>-</p> <p>N.A.</p> <p>-</p> <p>+</p>	<p>The general objective of the programme was formulated at the central level of administration. However, enough room was left for local people to formulate specific objectives.</p> <p>See above</p> <p>The C.D. Department was willing to adjust the programme to the specific objectives of the local people.</p> <p>Only one government organization (C.D. Department) was involved in this project.</p> <p>Specific objectives were formulated by the local people.</p> <p>Local people of the communal linking loop (CLL1) in the receiving mechanism (RM) had different objectives in identifying the project.</p>

continued

^{1/} Only those sub-hypotheses relevant for the project are shown; the complete list of all research hypotheses and their respective sub-hypotheses is presented in Chapter IV.

^{2/} Legend:

- + Affirmative
- Non-affirmative
- N.A. Not Applicable

Chart 6.4 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>B. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS</p> <p>Local people and government agents sometimes arrive at different perceptions of the current situation.</p> <p>C. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT DESIGN</p> <p>The project design of the local level plans is not valid.</p> <p>D. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT APPROVAL</p> <p>The local population is either not interested or has only a loose interest, since they were not involved in the project approval.</p> <p>15. The project approval took a long time because</p> <p>a. the approval of a project was mostly done at higher level, sometimes coming from the national level of the administration, which automatically excluded any participation of people in decision making at the local level.</p> <p>b. the government organizations were adhering to a complicated approval procedure.</p> <p>c. there were more than one formalized linking loop (FLL) of the delivering mechanism involved in the coordination at the approval stage, thus taking a long time.</p>	<p>-</p> <p>-</p> <p>+</p> <p>+</p> <p>+</p> <p>+</p> <p>-</p>	<p>There was no difference in perception of the situation between the local people and the local officer (C.D. Worker).</p> <p>The local population was involved in the design of their project proposal.</p> <p>Local people were not involved in project approval.</p> <p>Final project approval was endorsed by the central level of administration of the C.D. Department.</p> <p>Final project approval was made at the central level of administration of the C.D. Department.</p> <p>Several levels within the administration of the C.D. Department were involved in project approval.</p> <p>Only one government organization (C.D. Department) was involved in the approval of the project.</p>

continued

Chart 6.4 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>16. If the approval were obtained at the local level, people could lose interest for the following reasons:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. a conflicting communal linking loop (CLL); and b. the local leader manipulated the approval stage. <p>E. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION</p> <p>In any case where local people are urged only to contribute to project implementation but not involved in the earlier stages of the project cycle, there is a tendency that they will not participate in such project.</p> <p>17. Even if local people were involved in one or more of the earlier stages of the project cycle, there was a chance that they were not willing to continue their participation into the stage of project implementation.</p> <p>F. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT EVALUATION</p> <p>Local people not being involved in project evaluation will be the case, if the following conditions exist:</p> <p>19. Certain problems and constraints obstructing the project preparation and implementation from local people's point of view could not be known to the government agent of the implementing agency. As a result, modifications of the project could not be made in order to make the current projects as well as future projects more effective and efficient.</p>	<p>-</p> <p>-</p> <p>-</p> <p>N.A.</p> <p>-</p> <p>+</p>	<p>The local population was involved in this project since earlier stages of the project cycle.</p> <p>Though the local population (CLL2) could not possibly start-up implementation of their initiated project, there is no indication that they would not participate in the continuation of the delayed project due to late arrival of funds.</p> <p>The real implementation had still to be started.</p>

continued

Chart 6.4 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>20. Without constant participatory monitoring and evaluation, internal motives of the local people could not be assessed clearly, as to whether these would coincide with the objective(s) of the project or not. Therefore, the formulation of development activities could not be steered in such a way that the objective(s) of the local people and of the project would be congruent. As a consequence, the chance to maximize people's active participation in the various stages of the planned development process was minimal.</p>	<p>N.A.</p>	<p>Same as above.</p>

Participatory Development Activities

standard set of hypotheses were irrelevant. The test results for relevant hypotheses, however, are supplemented with summaries of supporting evidence.

6. Findings and Conclusion

This section offers a summary of the hypothesis testing results and draws a conclusion on the application of the linking loops concept to the case under study.

a. Summary of hypothesis testing results

This case is a government initiated project in which general objectives of the particular programme were formulated at the central level of administration of the C.D. Department. However, enough room was left for formulating specific objectives for the local project under the programme. The local population could not arrive at a consensus on the specific objectives after five different project proposals had been submitted.

The collection of data and its analysis including a feasibility study were conducted by a local officer (C.D. Worker), with the direct participation of the local population.

The design of this project was valid because the local population participated.

The local population was not involved in project approval. Obtaining the approval took a long time because it was given by the Community Development Department at the central level of administration. As a result, the project implementation could not start due to the delay in the release of funds by the central office of the C.D. Department.

In this case, there was no project implementation yet and, hence, no evaluation either because the real implementation had still to start.

b. Application of the linking loops concept

With a view to the basic, communal and formalized linking loops of this case, the following observations are made.

The communal linking loop (CLL) of the receiving mechanism (RM) was established through direct and induced participation by the local officer (C.D. Worker). In this case, the local people were encouraged to stimulate several basic linking loops according to their diversified objectives (BLL1 - BLL5), without reaching consensus on how to finalize their proposed activities. Some villagers rescinded their project proposals when they

sensed that they could not expect any assistance to achieve their objectives. Thus participants' joining or leaving a project depend very much on their circumstances and perceptions of expected assistance and benefits.

It is learnt from this case that spreading rumours was used by the project proponents to discredit each other. Moreover, social influence through dyadic relationships (patron-client) was used to compel other basic linking loops of inferior social status to withdraw their proposal so that the number of competitors would be reduced and the chance of winning approval from the delivery mechanism (C.D. Department) improved.

It is also found that group rivalry among local people increases, if limited resources are provided under a government programme. This leads to a conflicting situation because every group wants to maximize its benefit from the limited resources. Recognizing ubiquitous constraints and limitations, only better-off households have relatively better opportunities to participate in this kind of project. This is due to the fact that these people have comparatively greater surplus and more resources, enabling them to meet the requirements that are stipulated in the project design. Thus a scheme like this tends to generate benefits to the richer households of the community rather than to the poorer.

As for the formalized linking loop (FLL) of the delivery mechanism (DM), the interface between the DM and the RM could not take place due to the delay in the release of resources from the delivery mechanism. Given the centralized budget allocation system along with a top-down planning approach, everything had to be passed through hierarchies. Once this happens in a project, one ought to expect low potential for successful linking between the DM and the RM, depending on whether the intended beneficiaries (CLL2) will uphold their participation in the project or not. Nevertheless, there is no indication in this case that the local population (members of the CLL2) will not participate in the continuation of the delayed project and its implementation due to the late disbursement of funds by the delivery mechanism (C.D. Department).

VII. APPLYING THE CONCEPT OF THE "LINKING LOOPS" TO PROJECTS AT BAN PHU KHAO

The second among the three distinctly different locations under study contrasts sharply with the one presented in the preceding chapter. While that one referred to a riverine location, as the name of Ban Mae Nam indicates, the village in which the projects analyzed below took place is located in an upland area, as again indicated by its name which is Ban Phu Khao. To ensure compatibility and for ease of comparison, this chapter is presented in the same format as the preceding chapter. The following sections provide an insight into the processes of local level development at Ban Phu Khao.

A. VILLAGE PROFILE OF BAN PHU KHAO*

This village is situated in the upland area, at a distance of seven kilometers from the Noi Na District seat, which is accessible on two laterite roads. It was first settled about one hundred years ago by in-migrants from the Northeast and the North of Thailand. Two types of settlement patterns were in existence : while numerous houses were built in a linear manner along the two roads, several other homesteads were scattered in the village area. Electrical power has been supplied since 1980, but only ten per cent of all households could afford using it. Water was drawn from various sources ranging from deep wells, shallow wells, spring wells and village ponds to stored rain water. Given the hilly terrain, simple irrigation by gravity was unfeasible; thus, field and tree crop cultivation were entirely dependent on rainfall. The total population was 701 persons distributed among 136 households. Almost all of them were Buddhists. The migration rate, both inside and outside the area, was very low, with a temporary increase owing to seasonal migration of youths during the dry season.

Social service facilities included a primary school with classes leading up to prathom 6 (elementary grade 6) level, established in the village in 1965 by the Ministry of Education. Most of the adult villagers had completed only the primary level of formal education, enabling them to read and write. Medication was dispensed either at the Tambon Health Center located within the village area or at the district hospital at Noi Na District seat. The most common illnesses were diarrhoea and flu. As for occupations, the majority of the households were engaged in rice and upland crop

* A detailed, exhaustive village profile of Ban Phu Khao is presented in Pongquan (1988), pp. 91-112.

Participatory Development Activities

cultivation. Rice was grown only during the rainy season in upland areas. Other important upland crops included corn and mungbean. Only few households were engaged in other occupations including trading, wage labour, horticulture, and cattle rearing.

To this village, three government agency field officers were assigned at tambon level, including the Tambon Community Development Worker posted by the Department of Community Development, Ministry of Interior; the Tambon Agricultural Extension Worker posted by the Department of Agricultural Extension, Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives; and the Tambon Health Officer, posted by the Ministry of Public Health.

In relation to their work, several social groups were established including the Village Development Committee, the women's group, the youths' group, a medicine supply cooperative, the Village Scouts, the National Defense Volunteers group, the school committee, the temple committee, and the Bank of Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives group. Traditional forms of cooperation known as au raeng (receiving manpower) and kho raeng (asking for helping hands) were widely practiced in the village. These kinds of cooperation usually involved large numbers of people who offered their services free of charge in mobilizing labour force for communal work like house building, road repair, pond digging and even for exchange labour used in harvesting and transplanting. Taking into account past records of voluntary work organized in the tambon, it ought to be expected that the degree of people's participation in this village was relatively higher than in other villages within the Pho Sop area.

The study of the local power structure revealed that those who had been occupying positions of leadership included the abbot of the local monastery; the schoolmaster of the primary school; the wealthiest landlord; the sub-district headman (kamnan); and the village elders. On the basis of this local power structure factions were not apparently manifest and distinct. Instead, informal factions were detected in relation to geographical places of origin and associated with cultural differences between the in-migrants from the Northeast and those from the North.

Problems and needs of the village as perceived by villagers are enumerated in brief as follows: low yields in rice, corn and mungbean production; lack of water and irrigation facilities during the dry season; lack of alternative sources of income, particularly in non-agricultural production; and insufficient agricultural extension services, especially in corn and mungbean production.

B. ANALYSIS OF A COMPLETED PROJECT : ROAD REPAIR

Access and linkage were the major concerns which led to the repair of a rural road connecting the village under study to places important for the marketing of agricultural produce. The following section describes the involvement of the local population in the planning of the project, its evaluation, the causes of its success, and the result of hypothesis testing.

1. Case Description : Road Repair*

A trader from the Noi Na District seat had complained about the poor condition of the connecting road whenever he came to buy field crops and fruit produce in bulk. He warned his suppliers in the village that he might not be able to continue collecting their produce, as the poor road condition had damaged his truck, particularly during the rainy season when the road was in the worst condition. As a result, talks were held in November 1979 by a group of three men who faced similar problems and eventually arrived at a consensus, coming up with the village road repair project. They agreed to put this project under the responsibility of the Temple Development Committee.

In January 1980, on the occasion of a religious festivity, the abbot of the local monastery mentioned the road repair project to villagers, who had joined in a merit-making ceremony at the temple, and called for their participation and contribution of necessary resources, including organizing the task, by invoking the blessing of Lord Buddha. Since then, the members of the Temple Development Committee solicited resources from many individuals inside and outside the area, both in cash and in kind. Overall, a total amount of Baht 44,000 was collected in cash, supplemented by eight bags of white rice and assorted other food. Contributions in kind included equipment necessary for road repair that was given by offices of government line agencies at the Noi Na District seat and obtained from a military camp. Heavy construction machinery was borrowed from a private construction company in a neighbouring province. Likewise, a pick-up truck was provided for use in the project by a trader at the district seat. The project received large amounts of gravel for levelling the road from the owner of a quarry and stone grinding factory through a contact established by the abbot of the local monastery.

* A comprehensive, descriptive report on road repair is provided in Pongquan 1988, pp. 115-126.

Participatory Development Activities

To schedule all the tasks and to pool resources for the project, a series of meetings were held by the Temple Development Committee at the local monastery. Project implementation was started during April 1980, with some two hundred individuals participating in the voluntary work. The majority of volunteers were residents of the village, while the rest of the participants came from adjacent villages mobilized by their village leaders. The District Chief of Noi Na District and his assistants came for a brief inspection of work progress, contributed some cash and assured all participants of their moral support.

Owing to volunteers' relentless efforts, the road repair was completed two days ahead of schedule. As gravel was left over and sufficient manpower was available for road extension work, it was decided to extend the length of the road into the direction where it would meet the village main road close to the hillocks in the north of the village.

The road extension thus was an additional task incorporated immediately into the project. However, the routing of the extension was not discussed with the organizing committee. Some project participants tried to cut the track into the direction of their own houses, without seeking the consensus of the majority. In effect, some participants took advantage by using voluntary and free labour as well as other resources to manipulate this project for their personal benefits. This brought the work to a halt, and many participants were about to quit. Eventually, it was the abbot of the local monastery who played a vital role in mitigating the conflict.

To solve the problem, the Temple Development Committee members redesigned the direction of the road extension along the track leading to the houses of those three men who had initiated the project, passing through the land of the sub-district headman (kamnan) and ending at the main road of the village. Given this new routing, those who had disagreed with the proposed track withdrew their support from the project. Anyhow, the project was completed with great success and generated manifold benefits to the villagers. The traders from the district market could easily reach the village to pick up agricultural produce at the farm gates. Villagers and people from neighbouring areas could easily get to the monastery to worship. Moreover, a folk band and a touring theatre company henceforth regularly visited the village offering popular forms of entertainment.

2. People's Participation in the Planned Development Process

This project was found different from other projects in that it is an outflow of a different approach of planning. People themselves designed and implemented the project

using mostly their own resources. It shows that people's participation at all stages of the planning process was complete via direct and indirect participation.

The interrelationships between various basic linking loops and communal linking loops and the interface between the communal and formalized linking loops are shown in Graph VII.1.

The project identification originated from a trader (BLL1) who lodged a complaint to a villager about the poor condition of the village access road. This villager then mobilized two more people to link their basic linking loops with his basic linking loop (induced participation) so as to form a communal linking loop (CLL1) among them. Furthermore, the three villagers who thus initiated the project convinced the communal linking loop of the Temple Development Committee (CLL2) and the basic linking loop of the abbot of the local monastery (BLL2) to join their communal linking loop.

Via induced participation many people were mobilized to join in this communal linking loop (CLL3) centered at the monastery, where the project preparation took place, through direct participation of the local population. This preparation includes the identifying of project activities and resources, assigning of responsibilities, mobilizing of people and resources, and decision making on the period of implementation and benefit sharing. As a result, the people were motivated and willing to contribute their scarce resources.

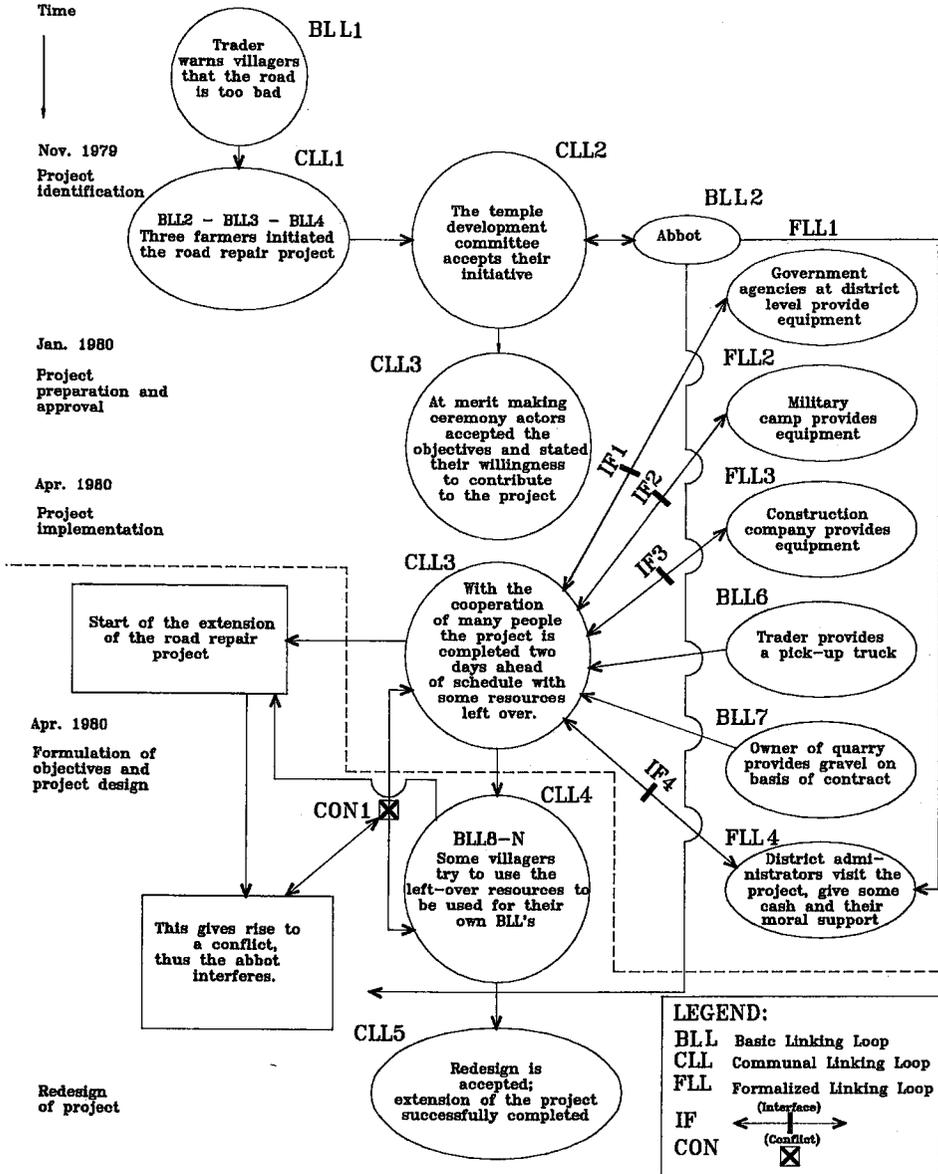
The project approval in this communal linking loop was obtained without delay. The project implementation then started according to the specified schedule.

During the implementation, resources of various formalized and basic linking loops, i.e., government line agencies at district level (FLL1), a military camp (FLL2) and a construction company resulting in IF1, IF2 and IF3, a trader (BLL3), and the owner of a quarry (BLL4) were combined with the resources of the villagers (CLL4) who provided cash and food. Apart from this, a formalized linking loop at district administration (FLL4) level represented by the district chief and other administrators contributed some cash and gave moral support (IF4) to the local people. The provision of the resources by all of them was achieved through free participation. Some of those were mobilized by the abbot of the local temple through his social network.

With the cooperation of many people the project was completed two days ahead of schedule, with some resources left unutilized. This became a cause of conflict between two communal linking loops of project participants (CLL3 vs. CLL4). Some of them tried to extend the road into the direction of their own houses, without seeking the consensus of the majority.

Participatory Development Activities

Graph VII.1: Road Repair
Case Study of A Completed Project



The conflict between them was settled through the interference by the abbot who was able to bring the two groups together. Via induced participation a new communal linking loop (CLL5) was formed. The road extension was redesigned by the two groups and successfully completed with the direct participation of the local people. Those who disagreed with the track of the road did not join in CLL5.

In general, it can be concluded that people's involvement in this project was complete, free (induced), and entailed direct as well as indirect participation. The assessment of the project shows that people's participation was intensive and effective.

Costs and benefits of participation are explored in this case. It shows that costs of participation include resources contributed to the project both in cash and kind. Much time was spent among the organizing committee and other people in holding meetings, preparing activities, mobilizing people and resources, and recruiting a task force. Aside from this, the social conflict of the project participants with regard to the road extension caused some social cost.

Benefits of participation in this project contributed to the success of the scheme. It is seen from this case that participation facilitates the mobilization of many people and resources to the project. As a result, it could accelerate the implementation.

3. Evaluation of the Project

It was difficult to evaluate this project because of the lack of records and documents. As this project was formulated and implemented by local people, hardly any records and documents were maintained. It has to be realized that this is typical for nearly all projects coming from and implemented by the local people.

a. Effectiveness

The main objective of the project was to repair a road about 460 meters in length. In addition to repairing it, the road was also extended by 180 meters. The project succeeded in achieving more than its stipulated target.

b. Efficiency

The assessment of the project shows that its efficiency was very high due to the following facts. Firstly, the mobilization of internal and external resources, inside and outside the area, was very effective. This means the successful linking of resources in the

Participatory Development Activities

receiving mechanism (RM) occurred within a given span of time. It is observed that effective communal linking loops were formed by combining the basic linking loops of the people in the area. Secondly, local knowledge and expertise in repair and construction of the road could be utilised for this project. Lastly, the result was impressive in that the intended objective was accomplished at comparatively little cost. Considering these accomplishments, the project implementation should be rated as successful and efficient.

c. Impact

It was observed that people benefit from this project in various ways. Now, villagers have easier access to a marketing channel which enables them to ship their produce to distant markets as well. Villagers are able to participate more frequently in social and religious activities, festivals or recreational functions outside their village. This project also helped in consolidating social cohesion. In this sense, the impact of the project seems to be strong both in the sphere of social welfare as well as in terms of economic development.

4. Causes of Success

Factors which contributed to the success of the project are mentioned hereunder.

a. Active and effective people's participation

People's participation in the project was spontaneous, induced and direct. At the initial phase of project planning, complete direct and indirect participation of people helped to form an effective communal linking loop. Initial conflicts between two groups of people were mitigated when the matter was transferred to the Temple Development Committee.

This type of project planning takes account of people's motives, their situation and resources, conditions, local knowledge and expertise. The active participation of the people resulted in the effective mobilization of their resources. That led to the achievement of the objectives of the project.

b. Simple and flexible project planning procedure

Road repair is a physical infrastructural project and, it being of a single sector type, not much complication was observed in forming an effective communal linking loop. The selection of means and their use were efficient. The technique used in road repair was

not only simple but also familiar to the people. As a result, local people were capable to manage and organize the activities by themselves. Besides, there was a high degree of flexibility in project implementation.

c. Effective leadership

Project success resulted partly from an effective mobilization of resources from inside and outside the project area under the leadership of the Temple Committee. It is noteworthy that all the Committee members were respected leaders. The abbot of the local monastery and the Temple Committee performed a pivotal role in forming an effective communal linking loop from among the basic linking loops of the people. As for the generation of resources, the communal linking loop also covered people from outside the project area through the network of kinfolk, in-laws and friends of the local people. In addition, the Temple Committee facilitated the interface with the delivery and the horizontal linking of resources of various government line agency offices with the communal linking loop. People of the village contributed resources in cash or/and kind. Moreover, road construction and repair equipment were brought in from a military camp. Government officials of local level offices also made some donations in cash.

d. Short duration of implementation phase

It is understood that the success of this project was also associated with the short duration of the implementation phase. This is commensurate with the fact that a communal linking loop can exist only for a limited period. Due to these reasons, a short-duration project in a specific location evidently has a good chance to succeed.

e. Adherence to religious precepts

An effective communal linking loop was formed due to the efforts of the Temple Committee. Otherwise, there was the possibility of a conflict between two groups of people, which might have jeopardized the formation of a communal linking loop. The people regarded their contribution as a merit making activity. As a result of their religious motivation, a significant amount of resources could be generated.

5. Hypothesis Testing

The result of hypothesis testing for this case study on road repair is presented in Chart 7.1. Supporting evidence is provided in an abridged form for all hypotheses tested.

Chart 7.1 : Hypothesis Testing - The Case Study on Road Repair ^{1/}

Hypothesis	Result of ^{2/} Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>A. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO FORMULATION OF PROJECT OBJECTIVES</p> <p>Local level plans, prepared by government agencies have objectives that are of little or no interest to the local people; this will be the case, if the project has the following characteristics in the initial phase of the project cycle.</p>	N.A.	The project was originated and prepared solely by local people.
<p>B. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS</p> <p>Local people and government agents sometimes arrive at different perceptions of the current situation.</p>	N.A.	No government agent was involved in data collection and analysis of this project.
<p>C. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT DESIGN</p> <p>The project design of the local level plans is not valid. This will be the case, if the proposed activities have the following characteristics.</p> <p>10. Activities were designed without participation and/or consensus of the local population.</p>	<p>+</p> <p>-</p> <p>-</p> <p>+</p>	<p>This project (road repair) was designed by the local population via direct and indirect participation.</p> <p>A new proposed project design (road extension) was not known to the local population.</p> <p>Activities of road repair were designed with indirect participation of the Temple Development Committee and received the consensus of the local population.</p> <p>Road extension was neither previously discussed with the local people nor supported by consensus before going through the implementation stage.</p>

continued

^{1/} Only those sub-hypotheses relevant for the project are shown. The complete list of all general hypotheses and their respective sub-hypothesis is presented in Chapter IV.

^{2/} Legend :

- + Affirmative
- Non-affirmative
- N.A. Not Applicable

Chart 7.1 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>11. Activities were planned during a period of the year when the local people are usually too busy notably with agricultural activities, so that they were not able to participate in the project effectively.</p> <p>12. Resources needed for the project, as indicated by the government, cannot be contributed by the local people at all or cannot possibly be provided by them during the period specified in the project document.</p> <p>13. Allocation of external resources by the government to a certain project was not in accordance with the magnitude of problems in the area and with the real needs of the local people.</p> <p>14. Local resources in the area were not effectively explored when the project design was prepared. As a consequence, these resources became not available when they were needed at particular stages of project implementation.</p>	<p>N.A.</p> <p>-</p> <p>-</p> <p>-</p>	<p>Resources needed for this project were identified by the local people themselves and partly provided by them as well.</p> <p>Given the social network of members of the Temple Development Committee and the abbot, external resources were quickly and efficiently mobilized.</p> <p>Due to complete and active participation, the need for local resources was estimated correctly and resources mobilized quickly.</p>
<p>D. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT APPROVAL</p> <p>The local population is either not interested or has only a loose interest, since they were not involved in the project approval.</p>	<p>N.A.</p>	<p>The local population was interested in the project because they were indirectly involved in its approval. The project was directly approved by the Temple Development Committee.</p>
<p>E. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION</p> <p>In any case where local people are urged only to contribute to project implementation but are not involved in the earlier stages of the project cycle, there is a tendency that they will not participate in such project.</p>	<p>N.A.</p>	<p>People were involved in earlier stages of the project.</p>

continued

Chart 7.1 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>17. Even if local people were involved in one or more of the earlier stages of the project cycle, there was a chance that they were not willing to continue their participation into the stage of project implementation.</p>	-	This did not happen in this case due to the short duration of planning and implementation of the project.
<p>18. Although people were initially participating in project implementation they might discontinue their participation at this stage because of</p>	+	Villagers who had disagreed with the proposed routing of the road extension quit by withdrawing their support from the project.
<p>a. changes in their individual circumstances;</p>	-	
<p>b. changing priorities among their individual objectives;</p>	-	
<p>c. a new perception after a reassessment of the erstwhile situation during the implementation stage.</p>	+	Some villagers realized that some other villagers intended to take advantage by using free labour and resources for their personal benefits. They then terminated their participation.
<p>d. a delay in the implementation due to late arrival of resources (for reasons see Hypothesis D. 15);</p>	-	
<p>e. poor organizational set-up of the implementing agency in a locality unsuitable for operation and management of the project;</p>	-	
<p>f. lack of coordination between the implementing agency and other collaborating agencies, so as to accelerate and strengthen project implementation;</p>	-	
<p>g. conflict between local people and government agent assigned to the area during the time when the project was implemented; and</p>	-	
<p>h. conflict among local people.</p>	+	There was a conflict between two groups of project participants. A dispute on road extension motivated some of them to quit the project. The abbot, however, could ensure continuation through forming the new CLL4 that became functional.

continued

Chart 7.1 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>F. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT EVALUATION</p> <p>Local people not being involved in project evaluation will be the case, if the following conditions exist:</p> <p>19. Certain problems and constraints obstructing the project preparation and implementation from local people's point of view could not be known to the government agent of the implementing agency. As a result, modifications of the project could not be made in order to make the current project as well as future projects more effective and efficient.</p> <p>20. Without constant participatory monitoring and evaluation, internal motives of the local people could not be assessed clearly, as to whether these would coincide with the objective(s) of the project or not. Therefore, the formulation of development activities could not be steered in such a way that the objective(s) of the local people and of the project would be congruent. As a consequence, the chance to maximize people's active participation in the various stages of the planned development process was minimal.</p>	<p>N.A.</p> <p>+</p>	<p>The project is prepared and implemented by the local people using mainly resources generated locally.</p> <p>During the implementation stage a conflict arose because some project proponents did not express clearly to others their objectives of the proposed routing of road extension. As a result, people's participation in the implementation decreased when the new proposed activity (road extension) could not be reconciled with the original objective of the project and the concern of some local people. However, this problem was solved through the strong local leadership of the abbot.</p>

6. Findings and Conclusion

This section relates a summary of the hypothesis testing results and a conclusion on the application of the linking loops concept to the case under study.

a. Summary of hypothesis testing results

In this project, the initiative for the project came from local people who were aware of their needs and local resource availability. There was no problem to enlist direct, complete, free (induced as well as spontaneous) participation, as the local people identified and formulated the objectives of the project by themselves.

The collection of data and analysis were conducted by members of the local elite who brought the proposal forward for consideration and feasibility scrutiny by the villagers.

The design of this project was valid because local people (Temple Development Committee members) involved themselves directly and local people participated indirectly in this stage. Local resources needed for this project were identified by the local population and partly provided by them. Also, external resources were quickly and efficiently mobilized because of the extensive social network of members of the Temple Development Committee and the abbot of the local monastery.

The local population was involved in project approval. As a result, the need for local resources was estimated correctly and inputs were mobilized quickly.

Due to the complete participation in this project, people who participated in earlier stages of the project cycle also upheld their active involvement in the implementation stage. Participation of local people in a short-duration project at a specific location is found to be very effective, because the linking of resources among them can normally exist for a limited period only. They discontinued their participation, however, after realizing that the routing of the road extension was made in the direction where some villagers would gain personal benefits using voluntary and free labour and other resources without discussing with other villagers and the organizing committee in advance. This conflict was mitigated due to the intervention of the abbot of the local monastery who commands respect among villagers, thus sustaining the continuation and completion of project implementation.

In this village initiated project, neither a formal evaluation nor informal monitoring and evaluation were conducted. As a result, people's participation in the implementation stage declined because those villagers who proposed the routing of the road extension did not express their objectives clearly to others. This means that lack of direct

participation of the local population in the decision making process particularly in regard of benefit sharing, led to a conflict between local groups. It is important that a consensus on major issues of the project should be reached via direct or indirect participation of the local people. This is to convince them that their objectives will be realized, so that they will continue their participation at the later stages of the project.

b. Application of the linking loops concept

With regard to the concepts of communal (CLL) and formalized linking loops (FLL), the following aspects can be observed.

Through induced participation, many villagers were mobilized by the Temple Development Committee members (CLL2) to join in a communal linking loop (CLL3) of the receiving mechanism (RM). During the implementation stage, various resources from several basic and formalized linking loops of both the government and private sectors were merged into the CLL3. The provision of those resources was mobilized by the abbot of the local monastery. This shows that a traditional leader like the abbot who commands respect among villagers, played a vital role in tapping resources for the project inside and outside the village.

The CLL4 of the RM was adversely affected by diverse implicit and explicit objectives of its actors, as some villagers tried to route the road extension into the direction of their own houses, without discussing their (implicit) objectives with the organizing committee in advance. In other words, they wanted to use the left-over resources for their personal benefit. This diminished the participation of the actors in the CLL3 because some of them quit the project. Anyhow, the new CLL4 was formed and became functional for the road extension activities due to the intervention of a strong local leader.

In this project, the formalized linking loops of the delivery mechanism (DM) did not play a vital role, except in providing moral support and limited resources to the CLL3 of the receiving mechanism. The case shows that not only the linking of resources between the DM and the RM in a short-duration project implementation at a specific location is found to be very effective. It also renders proof that people's participation in the RM (CLL3) was quite active and effective. It can be concluded from this case that the linking of resources between the delivery and the receiving mechanisms could normally be expected to exist for a limited period only.

C. ANALYSIS OF AN ON-GOING PROJECT : MEDICINE SUPPLY COOPERATIVE

Health being an omnipresent concern and ailments often remaining untreated by officially licensed health care or medical practitioners, the access to and supply of medicines has been a most precarious bottleneck in both non-formal and formal efforts towards improving health and medical care. In a situation of severe financial constraints faced by the vast majority of the rural population, the provision of adequate and reliable medication at acceptable cost is a fundamental necessity. Introduced through a brief description of the case in point, the extent of people's participation is analyzed, a mid-way evaluation is made, causes of failure are identified, conclusions are summarized in detail and hypothesis testing results are presented.

1. Case Description : Medicine Supply Cooperative*

During the period under the Fourth Five-Year National Economic and Social Development Plan (1977-1981), the Ministry of Public Health at central level initiated medicine supply cooperatives to be established in rural areas for the provision of essential drugs to villagers at cheap cost. A set of project objectives was formulated by the Ministry through which rigid rules of operation were provided for implementation at the local level.

From the central level, directives of the project were passed on to the local level where there is a Tambon Health Officer responsible for health activities in the area. It is of relevance that several complaints had been lodged by local people about the local Health Officer's work performance prior to the start of this project. However, the complaints raised against him remained without consequence. To some extent, those events had caused some degree of animosity and conflict between the officer and some villagers, which diminished the magnitude of people's participation in health related activities and projects in the area.

To start the project, the Tambon Health Officer had organized a meeting at village level in January 1984 to give an orientation on project objectives and operation. During the meeting, some villagers opposed the project idea, stating their reason that medicines were easily available and could be bought at many retail shops inside and outside the village. From February to March 1984, the Tambon Health Office and other local health personnel, i.e., the local midwife and the health volunteer as well as communicators of

* A comprehensive, descriptive report on the medicine supply cooperative is provided in Pongquan (1988), pp. 130-145.

the village had put much effort into mobilizing individuals to purchase shares so as to establish the fund of the mandatory cooperative by launching the sale of these shares through a door-to-door campaign. As a consequence, 46 individuals had purchased 68 shares paying cash at the cost of Baht 20 per share. The fund established through the sales of shares amounting to Baht 1,360 was earmarked to finance the purchase of medicine. Shareholders were expected to receive an annual dividend at the rate of 15 to 30 per cent of the sales volume, while the individual in charge of local committee members would receive some bonus equivalent to about 20 per cent of the revenue. In the same month, the cooperative started its operation despite the absence of support from the kamnan, who is the sub-district (tambon) headman and a local leader of the community. This was related to the fact that the objective of the project was directly competitive with the retail business in medicines which the kamnan had operated in the area.

Before starting the enterprise, a Medicine Supply Cooperative Committee was formed in the village according to the regulations issued by the Ministry of Public Health. The main tasks of the committee were issuing and collecting shares, accountancy, fund raising and distribution of dividends.

During the operation of the cooperative, a number of problems were encountered. Firstly, members of the cooperative did not trust the drug dispenser's competency in distributing medicines to them. Secondly, the rumour spread in the village that medicines had been sold to members by the cooperative whose recommended period of therapeutic effectiveness had expired, thus implying the risk of ineffectiveness or toxic hazards. As a result, all the members stopped buying medicine from the cooperative. Thirdly, there was a frequent shortage of certain types of medicine to be supplied by the Public Health Office at the district seat. Lastly, the committee members became inactive and inert, as evident from the fact that no meeting was called either among themselves or with the shareholders, and no efforts were made to improve the efficiency of the project. This happened after the committee had realized that the officer did not even try to help them solve the problems in the operation of the scheme. Moreover, the officer lodged a complaint to them accusing them of irresponsibility in the management of the project. As a result, altogether 28 members of the cooperative agreed to cancel their shares and withdrew their membership from the cooperative. Their proposal, however, was rejected by the local committee members.

The most serious problem was, indeed, that the treasurer and the auditor of the cooperative could not handle the project accounting properly. The drug dispenser also rejected the request made by the Tambon Health Officer to check the balance of the account saying that it was not his responsibility. As a result the account of the project remained unbalanced. This also annoyed the Tambon Health Officer because he was

Participatory Development Activities

unable to submit a financial report on the management of the cooperative to offices at higher levels. Also, the members were in doubt whether there was a case of corruption or misuse of their funds by some of the committee members. As a consequence of these problems, the project ceased its operations by June, 1985. This was immediately after the drug dispenser of the cooperative had left the village after much pressure had been exerted to this effect by the Tambon Health Officer. According to his wife, he decided to quit the project because he was offered to join a cotton plantation in the Northeast of the country, with the support of the kamnan. Members of the cooperative presumed that the drug dispenser had escaped from the village to avoid harassment by the Tambon Health Officer and some committee members stemming from his alleged misappropriation of fund.

To submit an official report, to the Public Health Officer at the district level for project evaluation, the Tambon Health Officer called a meeting of all local health personnel in July 1985 in order to assess the problems and constraints that had obstructed the implementation of the project. However, neither the committee members nor villagers were invited to join. In that meeting, the three reasons spelt out as the major obstacles leading to the failure of the project were lack of responsibility among the committee members, irregular supply of medicines, and interference by a powerful leader (apparently implying the kamnan) to foil the implementation of the project.

2. People's Participation in the Planned Development Process

This case represents the top-down approach of project planning because its main components were formulated at the central administration level of the Ministry of Public Health. To uniformly operationalize project implementation throughout the country, central administration had formulated rigid rules. As a result, the project planning system of this case was rigid to the extent that there was no flexibility to provide the diversity needed when people's participation takes place.

A graphic presentation of major events showing basic linking loops and the interrelationships between a formalized linking loop and a communal linking loop is given in Graph VII.2.

The project proposal was passed on to the Tambon Health Officer who represents the delivery mechanism (FLL2) at the local level. He mobilized local people to form a communal linking loop (CLL) of the receiving mechanism through induced participation and built an interface (IF1) with the formalized linking loop.

In the receiving mechanism, the communal linking loop is divided into two groups. First, there are the local committee members (CLL1a) of the cooperative who were elected by members of the scheme. Second, there are the members of the cooperative (CLL1b).

The project preparation took place in cooperation between the local Committee members (CLL1a) and the local officer (FLL2). This entailed the mobilization of people and resources, and the management and operation of the project.

The project implementation started without delay, following the interface (IF2) between the communal linking loop of the members of the cooperative and the formalized linking loop (FLL2), after those members had directly concurred to join in the scheme and contributed their cash for the purchase of shares.

During the implementation, resources of the delivery mechanism (FLL2/medicine supply by the Public Health Office at district level to the cooperative) were combined with the resources of the villagers (BLLA-N/providing cash for the purchase of shares) in a confluent linking loop (IF3). The provision of resources of the local population was, indeed, achieved via free (spontaneous and induced) as well as forced participation, because it was required for the members of the cooperative to contribute Baht 20 for each share.

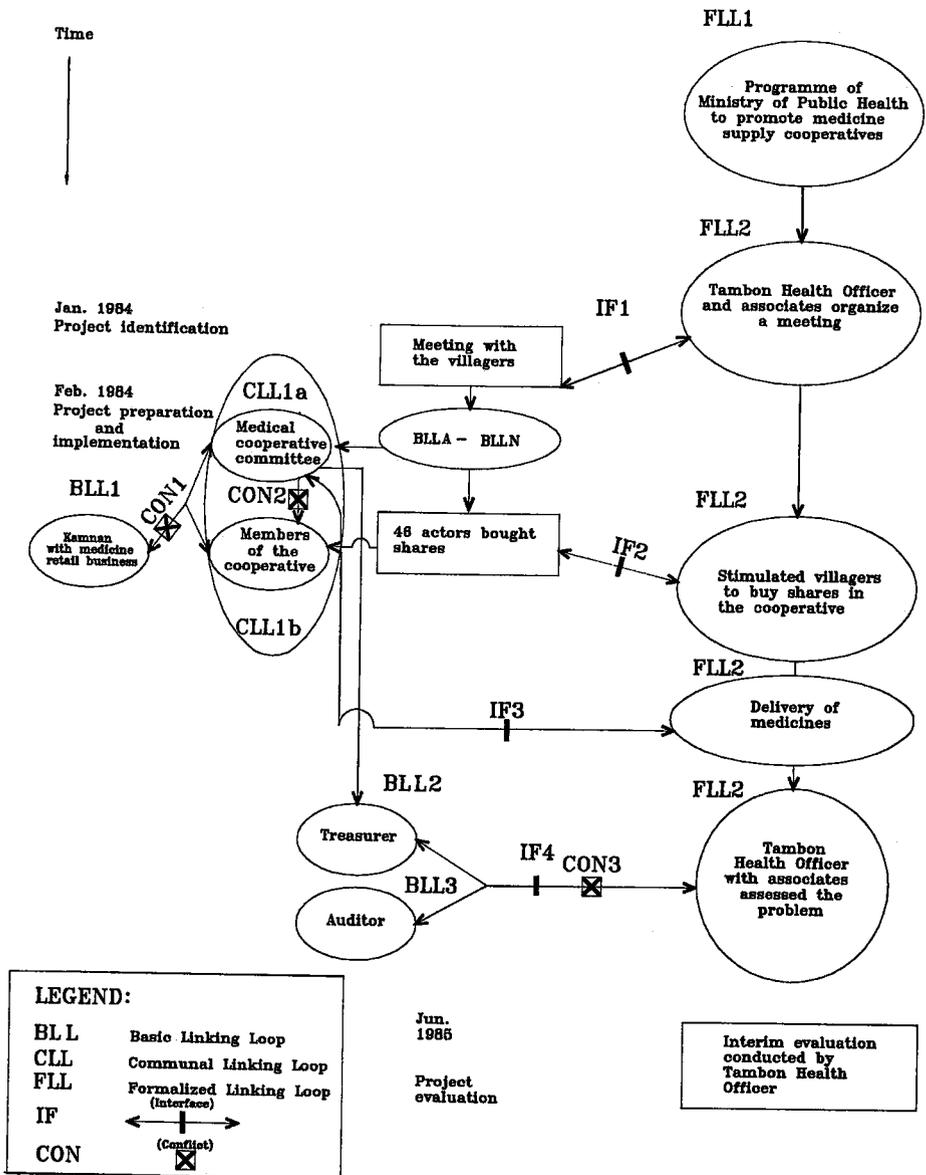
It was at this stage when participation of the members of the cooperative became passive and some of them were about to quit the scheme. This happens as a consequence of an ineffective linking of resources provided by the delivery mechanism (frequent shortages of medicines to be supplied to the local cooperative) and the receiving mechanism (IF3). Moreover, the communal linking loop was harmed by the rumour questioning the therapeutic effectiveness of medicines and unfavourable circumstances emerging in the local committee (distrust of the drug dispenser's competency, complaints lodged to the committee about inertness in running agreed activities, and accusations of misuse of funds).

The operation of the scheme came to a stillstand with the conflict between the Tambon Health Officer (FLL2) and the treasurer (BLL2), including the auditor (BLL3) of the local committee, regarding the unbalanced account (IF4). This automatically jeopardized the interface between the communal linking loop (CLL1a + CLL1b) of the receiving mechanism and the formalized linking loop (FLL2) of the delivery mechanism.

Regarding the collapse of the cooperative, it is assumed that the kamnan had exerted his influence to block the implementation of the project. He had his implicit personal reason (BLL1) to reject this project, because the purpose of this scheme was directly

Participatory Development Activities

Graph VII.2: Medicine Supply Cooperative
Case Study of An On-going Project



competitive with his retail business. Moreover, he was accused of driving away the drug dispenser out of the village.

After the scheme got stuck, an interim evaluation was conducted by the officer and his associates without any participation by local people.

Costs and benefits of participation in this case varied among individual actors. Members of the local committee and members of the cooperative bore the costs of participation in spending time on meetings, organizing activities of the project, and paying cash for the purchase of shares. Expected benefits entailed the buying of essential drugs in their village at cheap cost. In addition, an annual dividend would be paid to the members, and some bonus would be given to the local committee members. During the implementation of the project many members decided to quit from the scheme when they realized that the expected benefits would no longer materialize.

The costs of participation expected on the part of the kamnan were even higher than those of project members and of local committee members. As the kamnan was accused of exerting his influence, through spreading bad rumours to disrupt the operation of the scheme and persuading the drug dispenser to leave the village, he incurred some social cost in taking such risk. However, the benefit gained from his participation was also very high because his retail business in selling medicines in the village was extensive and still operational.

In sum, people's participation in the planned development process of this project was free (induced), direct and indirect as well as partial. An overall assessment of this case shows that people's participation was extensive yet ineffective.

3. Evaluation of the Project

An interim evaluation was made of the implementation of this project to assess its on-going activities. The findings are presented hereunder.

a. Effectiveness

The Ministry of Public Health stipulated the following two criteria for the assessment of progress of the scheme upon completion of the first year of its implementation. Effectiveness was measured in terms of project achievements in relation to its stipulated targets. The targets set for the first year of implementation (Ministry of Public Health, 1985, p. 2) were:

Participatory Development Activities

- (1) distribution of one hundred shares by the end of the year 1986; and
- (2) social benefits will be provided to local members in the form of inexpensive medicines, distributed through a qualified person.

Regarding the achievements of the scheme, it was found out that only 68 shares had been purchased by its local members. This is about two thirds of the target population. With regard to social benefits, it was found that some of the local members did obtain benefits in terms of subsidized medicine. There was, indeed, evidence of irregularity in the service due to inadequate and irregular medicine supply by the Public Health Office. This proves that the project was not effective during its first year of implementation.

b. Efficiency

The problems which this project encountered can be located foremost in the supposedly complementary mechanisms handling resources, from where they spilled over into virtually all linking loops.

- (1) Interface starts right away during actual linking; thus it does not include the conceptual linking as the FLL of the delivery mechanism can not get people to accept the conceptual part of the formalized linking loop (FLL).
- (2) The communal linking loop (CLL) of the receiving mechanism (RM) is loosely constructed and, moreover, often disrupted by rumours and unfavourable circumstances.
- (3) Problems in linking resources between the delivery mechanism and the communal and basic linking loops of the receiving mechanism (RM) impair project efficiency.

This refers to the delay in the supply of medicines by the delivery mechanism.

- (4) The Tambon Health Officer's basic linking loop is not effective.
- (5) The Committee members (CLL1a) in charge of the operation of the scheme lacked competency and efficiency in distributing medicines. Most of them were inexperienced in managing such type of enterprise. They were incapable of keeping records and maintaining accounts, which were vital for the financial administration.

- (6) The conflict between the local officer as a representative of the formalized linking loop of the delivery mechanism and the communal linking loop of the receiving mechanism.

In this case, there is evidence that the local officer can not get along well with the committee members and members of the cooperative as well.

c. Impact

The impact of the project could not be assessed because its implementation was in too early a phase.

4. Causes of Failure

The following factors were found responsible for the failure of project implementation to date.

a. Top-down project formulation

The format of the project was decided at the central administrative level. Then it was passed down to the local level and eventually to the people for implementation. This top-down approach in project planning takes for granted that localities are similar. Several location specific features were ignored in the formulation of this project.

(1) Neglect of local information and response

The project was implemented without analyzing locally available information and people's responses. As a result, problems and needs of the people and their willingness to join in the scheme were not assessed in advance by the planners while formulating the project.

(2) Lack of a pre-feasibility study for project formulation

In the absence of a pre-feasibility study, a project appraisal could not possibly be conducted to assess whether the project design is applicable in the context of existing human and financial resources, administrative and organizational structures, and the local environment of the community. The case renders evidence that the medicine supply cooperative was even rejected by some of the villagers, reasoning that medicines were

Participatory Development Activities

easily available and could be bought at retail shops within the village as well as at Noi Na District seat.

(3) Rigidity and inflexibility in project design

For project implementation, procedures were spelt out in great detail at the central administration level and had to be followed very strictly. Following are instances of evidence observed in this case :

- (a) the value of the share was fixed at Baht 20;
- (b) number and structure of various committees were fixed;
- (c) inflexible, authoritarian and egocentric leadership role assumed by the local officer.

b. Poor management of the project

Implementation problems also arose from poor management practices on the part of the delivery and the receiving mechanisms of the project itself. Following are the items of evidence of this deficiency :

- lack of management skills among the members of the committee in charge of operation and management of the cooperative;
- incompetency of the drug dispenser in distributing medicines; as a consequence, the number of recipients of this service declined;
- irregular service by the cooperative because the drug dispenser had also to look after his farming enterprise;
- poorly organized storage of medicine and poorly kept inventory;
- project account not handled properly by treasurer and auditor, leading to a situation of financial crisis;
- perception of the villagers that the medicines were not of the proper quality because they were beyond expiry date; and
- irregular supply of medicines from the delivery mechanism to the receiving mechanism caused a sharp fall in the sale of medicine in the critical inception

period; this destroyed the trust of the local members of the cooperative; some members even reached the stage of cancelling their shares by withdrawing their membership.

Due to those shortcomings, a successful linking of the communal linking loop of the receiving mechanism with the linking loop of the delivery mechanism could not take place.

c. Interference of a powerful leader

This case shows the effect of conflicting objectives among individuals in a community. The sub-district chief administrator or kamnan of the study area had opposed this project, because he feared that this project would damage his medicine selling business. He even tried to convince the people not to take part in this project.

5. Hypothesis Testing

The result of hypothesis testing on the case study of the medicine supply cooperative is presented in Chart 7.2. In as far as relevant, supportive evidence related to hypotheses and sub-hypotheses is summarized therein.

6. Findings and Conclusion

This part comprises of two topics, a summary of hypothesis testing results followed by a conclusion on the application of the linking loops concept to the case under study.

a. Summary of hypothesis testing results

This case is a government initiated project. It was formulated at the central administrative level of the Ministry of Public Health and delegated to the local level. The case shows that the project had objectives that are of limited interest to local people, as some villagers even opposed the project idea stating that medicines were easily available and could be bought at many shops inside and outside the village. Also, the sub-district headman (kamnan) had personal objectives conflicting with the objectives of the project.

Chart 7.2 : Hypothesis Testing - The Case Study on the Medicine Supply Cooperative ^{1/}

Hypothesis	Result of ^{2/} Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>A. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO FORMULATION OF PROJECT OBJECTIVES</p> <p>Local level plans, prepared by government agencies have objectives that are of little or no interest to the local people; this will be the case, if the project has the following characteristics in the initial phase of the project cycle.</p> <p>1. Local people were not involved in the formulation of the objectives.</p> <p>2. Local people were involved in the formulation of the objectives, but initiators of the project were not willing to adjust their particular objectives, or to reach a consensus.</p> <p>3. Several government organizations were involved in plan making. Each of them had different objectives and was unwilling to compromise.</p> <p>4. Higher levels of the plan making administration formulated specific objectives of the project and did not allow the lower levels of the planning administration to make adjustments.</p> <p>5. Groups of local people and individuals had different and often conflicting objectives.</p>	<p>+</p> <p>+</p> <p>N.A.</p> <p>N.A.</p> <p>+</p> <p>+</p>	<p>Local people did not participate in the project identification.</p> <p>Objectives of the project were formulated at the central level of the Ministry of Public Health.</p> <p>(See A. 1).</p> <p>Only one government line agency was involved in this project.</p> <p>The project identification was initiated at the central level where the objectives of the project were also formulated.</p> <p>Some villagers opposed the project idea stating that medicines were easily available and could be bought at many shops inside and outside the village. The <u>kamnan</u> had personal objectives conflicting with the objectives of the project.</p>

continued

1/ Only those sub-hypotheses relevant for the project are shown. The complete list of all research hypotheses and their respective sub-hypotheses is presented in Chapter IV.

2/ Legend:

- + Affirmative
- Non-affirmative
- N.A. Not Applicable

Chart 7.2 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>B. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS</p> <p>Local people and government agents sometimes arrive at different perceptions of the current situation, for the collection of data and its analysis have the following characteristics.</p> <p>6. The data was collected only from specific groups of people viz., the rich, the poor, the local leaders, the women, or the youths.</p> <p>7. The sets of data were collected only over a certain short period when a particular situation prevailed or problems arose.</p> <p>8. The way the sets of data were collected and analyzed was subject to some biases due to the difference in socio-economic background of planners and local people.</p> <p>9. Data from local people, including their knowledge, were not properly collected, analyzed and utilized in the process of plan making.</p>	<p>+</p> <p>N.A.</p> <p>N.A.</p> <p>N.A.</p> <p>+</p>	<p>According to the Ministry of Public Health, the project is quite essential and will interest many people in the village. Contrarily, some local people considered that the project is not interesting enough to attract people to join in.</p> <p>No data collected.</p> <p>Same as above.</p> <p>Same as above.</p> <p>Data collection and analysis were not conducted at field level in the process of plan preparation.</p>
<p>C. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT DESIGN</p> <p>The project design of the local level plans is not valid. This will be the case if the proposed activities have the following characteristics.</p> <p>10. Activities were designed without participation and/or consensus of the local population.</p>	<p>+</p> <p>+</p>	<p>The project was designed by the central level of the delivery mechanism (Ministry of Public Health).</p> <p>Project design and its activities were passed on to the local level soon after the completion of project identification without securing the consensus of local people before the start-up of the project.</p>

continued

Chart 7.2 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>D. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT APPROVAL</p>		
<p>The local population is either not interested or has only a loose interest, since they were not involved in the project approval.</p>	+	<p>Local people did not participate in project approval because the approval of this project was made through a top-down approach only by the delivery mechanism of the Ministry of Public Health. Yet a certain proportion of the population in the village joined the project.</p>
<p>E. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION</p>		
<p>In any case where local people are urged only to contribute to project implementation but not involved in the earlier stages of the project cycle, there is a tendency that they will not participate in such project.</p>	-	<p>Only a part of the population participated temporarily in the scheme after its inducement.</p>
<p>17. Even if local people were involved in one or more of the earlier stages of the project cycle, there was a chance that they were not willing to continue their participation into the stage of project implementation.</p>	+	<p>A part of the population participated in the scheme after its inducement at the implementation stage.</p>
<p>18. Although people were participating in project implementation they might discontinue their participation at this stage because of</p>	+	<p>Some members of the cooperative proposed to cancel and withdraw their shares from the scheme after many problems had occurred during the implementation stage.</p>
<p>a. changes in their individual circumstances;</p>	N.A.	
<p>b. changing priorities among their individual objectives;</p>	N.A.	
<p>c. a new perception after a reassessment of the erstwhile situation during the implementation stage.</p>	+	<p>Members of the cooperative assumed that the cooperative might collapse due to many obstacles and wanted to sell their shares but this was not allowed.</p>
<p>d. a delay in the implementation due to the late arrival of resources (for reasons see 15);</p>	+	<p>The delay of the medicine supplies by the delivery mechanism to the receiving mechanism caused a sharp fall in the sale of medicines and then diminished people's participation in the implementation stage.</p>
<p>e. poor organizational set-up of the implementing agency in a locality unsuitable for operation and management of the project;</p>	+	<p>Local committee members enlisted for the operation of the scheme were inactive and inert, and no efforts were made to improve the efficiency of the project.</p>

continued

Chart 7.2 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>f. lack of coordination between the implementing agency and other collaborating agencies, so as to accelerate and strengthen project implementation;</p> <p>g. conflict between local people and government agent assigned to the area during the time when the project was implemented; and</p> <p>h. conflict among local people.</p>	<p>N.A.</p> <p>+</p> <p>+</p>	<p>Only one government line agency concerned.</p> <p>The relationship between local officer and local committee members was not good during the operation of the scheme.</p> <p>A powerful local leader (<u>kamnan</u>) had exerted his influence to block the operation of the scheme run by the local committee members of the cooperative.</p>
<p>F. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT EVALUATION</p> <p>Local people not being involved in project evaluation will be the case, if the following conditions exist:</p> <p>19. Certain problems and constraints obstructing the project preparation and implementation from local people's point of view could not be known to the government agent of the implementing agency. As a result, modifications of the project could not be made in order to make the current project as well as future projects more effective and efficient.</p> <p>20. Without constant participatory monitoring and evaluation, internal motives of the local people could not be assessed clearly, as to whether these would coincide with the objective(s) of the project or not. Therefore, the formulation of development activities could not be steered in such a way that the objective(s) of the local people and of the project would be congruent. As a consequence, the chance to maximize people's active participation in the various stages of the planned development process was minimal.</p>	<p>+</p> <p>+</p>	<p>Local people did not participate in project evaluation, although related elements contributed to project failure, i.e., the conflict between the local officer and local committee members, and the inactive role of the local officer, all of which were not spelt out in the government report nor was the conflict with the local leader (<u>kamnan</u>) mentioned.</p> <p>Neither direct nor indirect participation of the local population was used by the local officer to assess the problems they faced in accepting the scheme and their growing resentment. Some members would like to quit the scheme when realizing that their desired objectives could no longer be achieved.</p>

Participatory Development Activities

Any collection of data at field level before the actual implementation had not taken place. Local people were not asked to provide information during the plan preparation. This is why the local people and the local officer (Tambon Health Officer) arrived at different perceptions of the situation. According to the Ministry, the project is quite essential and will serve many people in the village. In contrast, some local people considered the project not of sufficient relevance to attract many people to join because the medicines to be supplied were already available locally.

The design of the project was invalid because it was formulated at the higher administrative level without any participation of local people.

Also, local people did not participate in the project approval because the project had been resolved at the central level.

In the implementation stage, it is found that a part of the local population participated temporarily after its inducement by the local officer. However, it is evident from this case that local people who had joined in the implementation stage almost relinquished their participation because of many reasons. Firstly, a false rumour was spread by a powerful local leader, the kamnan. Secondly, poor management of the scheme was reflected in the delay of the medicine supplies by the delivery mechanism to the receiving mechanism, aggravated by the ineffectiveness of the members of the committee set up for the operation of the scheme. Thirdly, conflicts arose among members of the committee and between the committee members and the local officer.

In this project, only an internal and interim evaluation was conducted by the local officer without involving any villagers. As a consequence crucial elements contributing to project failure, i.e., the conflict between the local officer and the local committee members, the inactive role of the local officer and the poor management of the project were not spelt out in the official report to the government line agency.

b. Application of the linking loops concept

In relation to the application of communal and formalized linking loops, the following observations could be made.

The communal linking loop (CLL1) of the project was formed by the Tambon Health Officer only in the implementation stage through induced and direct participation. The CLL1 of this project was impaired by an implicit personal objective of the kamnan, a powerful local leader (BLL1) who rejected this project. He had exerted his influence to block the operation of this scheme (BLL1 vs. CLL1). In addition to this, the CLL1 was disrupted by the conflict between the local committee members and the members of the

cooperative (CLL1a vs. CLL1b) due to lack of management skills among the members of the committee in charge of operating the scheme. As a result, the communal linking loop (CLL1) of the receiving mechanism (RM) was fragile and no longer effective.

In the formalized linking loop, a top-down approach was followed in this project, as the project was formulated and designed at the higher administrative level of the Ministry of Public Health (FLL1). The interface between the CLL1 and the FLL2 started for the first time in the implementation stage and was ineffective because of the irregular supply of medicines by the delivery mechanism (DM) to the receiving mechanism (RM). Moreover, their interface was disturbed by the conflict between the Tambon Health Officer (FLL2) and the members of the CLL1a. This is because the officer enforced rigid official procedure in project implementation without paying attention to the local members' response. Neither direct or indirect participation by the members of the scheme (CLL1b) nor by the local committee members (CLL1a) was used to mobilize them to express their ideas so as to solve the problems or remove the obstacles faced during the implementation of the scheme. This is why the FLL2 of the DM could not solicit any active participation of the CLL1, and their interface was not successful, leading to the ultimate failure of the project.

D. ANALYSIS OF AN INITIATED PROJECT : YOUTHS ACTIVITIES

As this project was still in the initiation stage, the focus of attention is on the planning process and the incipient stage of project implementation. A brief on this case leads to an outline of people's participation in the planning process, an appraisal of the project, a discussion of factors likely leading to failure, a summary of conclusions and a presentation of hypothesis testing results.

1. Case Description : Youths Activities*

In December 1984, the Community Development (C.D.) Department at the central level initiated a programme aiming at the creation of an income generating activity for youths. Financial aid was provided by the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) through a total allocation of Baht 3,000 in cash for each project. It was only Tambon Pho Sop of Noi Na District that was selected to launch a project within this

* A comprehensive, descriptive report on youths activities is given in Pongquan (1988), pp. 149-158.

Participatory Development Activities

programme on account of its good record in the implementation of youths activities under various C.D. projects.

A meeting was organized among the Youths Group members in the village by the Tambon C.D. Worker to identify activities that could be sponsored under a special programme. As a result of the meeting, certain activities were proposed by two proponents: the chairperson of the group recommended soybean cultivation, while the vice chairperson proposed sesame and peanut cultivation. In addition, rules of operations for the project were formulated by the Youths Group members. The Group agreed to give one third of the total yield to the landowner and the remaining two thirds would be kept as project gross earnings.

No consensus on the kind of crop to be grown under the project could be reached during the meeting. However, two proponents prepared and arranged their fields for field checking together with some of their friends. They tried their best in order to be selected for the project. One proponent made an effort to search for a good plot of land through a friend of his father's. Likewise, the other proponent proposed the plot of land belonging to her father who is a sub-district headman (kamnan). Both proponents mobilized their friends who were members of the Group to join them so that land preparation could be done properly. For the inspection of the two fields, the Tambon Agricultural Extension Worker (AEW) was approached by the C.D. Worker. During the on-site visit, the AEW met the kamnan who owned the plot proposed for sesame and peanut. During this field check the kamnan pledged his full support for the project, offering equipment, inputs and farm labour if required during the implementation stage. On this plot all kinds of technical investigations were made. In contrast, the other plot proposed for soybean cultivation was visited by the AEW in a very rushed manner because he had to return to attend a meeting at his office that same afternoon. He also complained that this site was located quite far away and difficult to reach on a village road. As a result, not all technical tests were carried out in this plot because of time pressure. After the field check, the AEW selected the plot proposed for sesame and peanut cultivation, which belonged to the kamnan, because of its alleged technical feasibility.

The C.D. Worker was very unhappy, indeed, with the decision of the AEW, because the selected plot was owned by the sub-district chief (kamnan). The latter was suspected by the C.D. worker of usurping the leading role in running the project. This could adversely affect participation of the youths. With no alternative in sight, she informed the other proponent about the decision made by the AEW, who was very disappointed and minimized his active role in other activities but still committed himself

to continue supporting the project in the form of his marginal labour contribution during the implementation stage.

The C.D. Worker prepared a short report and submitted the project proposal, identifying detailed activities of the sesame and peanut cultivation. The project got approval in March 1985. However, the budget was not released from the central level, although the land was cleared and everything was ready for the project to start. The budget disbursement was delayed for three months. It was finally released and transferred to the district level in May. The arrival of the budget was too late to facilitate implementing the project because the land owner had already cultivated his own crop of soybean on the prepared land since he could no longer wait for the implementation of the project. As a result, the C.D. Worker decided to defer project implementation until October of the same year.

2. People's Participation in the Planned Development Process

The case shows varying aspects of people's participation right from the project identification stage, despite the fact that the project was originated at the central administrative level in a top-down planning framework.

An overview of interaction between basic linking loops and communal linking loops and the interfaces between communal linking loops and formalized linking loops is given in Graph VII.3.

The project identification was initiated at the central level of the formalized linking loop (FLL1) of the C.D. Department. The project was channelled to the local level, where the C.D. Worker (FLL2) was in charge as a representative of the delivery mechanism.

To induce the youths to join in the project, the C.D. Worker organized a meeting (IF1) among the Youths Group members (CLL1) in the village. At this meeting, she stimulated them to combine their basic linking loops (BLL1 - BLLN) in order to form a communal linking loop in the receiving mechanism that could receive resources from the delivery mechanism (FLL1). In this meeting, two kinds of activities were proposed for implementation under the project, and rules of operation for project implementation were drawn up among the youths group members through free, induced and direct participation. However, no consensus (direct and/or indirect participation) was reached on the selection of proposed activities.

Participatory Development Activities

Each proponent stimulated other members of the Group to join in his or her basic linking loop to form a communal linking loop via induced participation. As a result, two communal linking loops (CLL1a and CLL1b) were built, based on different basic linking loops on soybean or sesame and peanut cultivation, respectively.

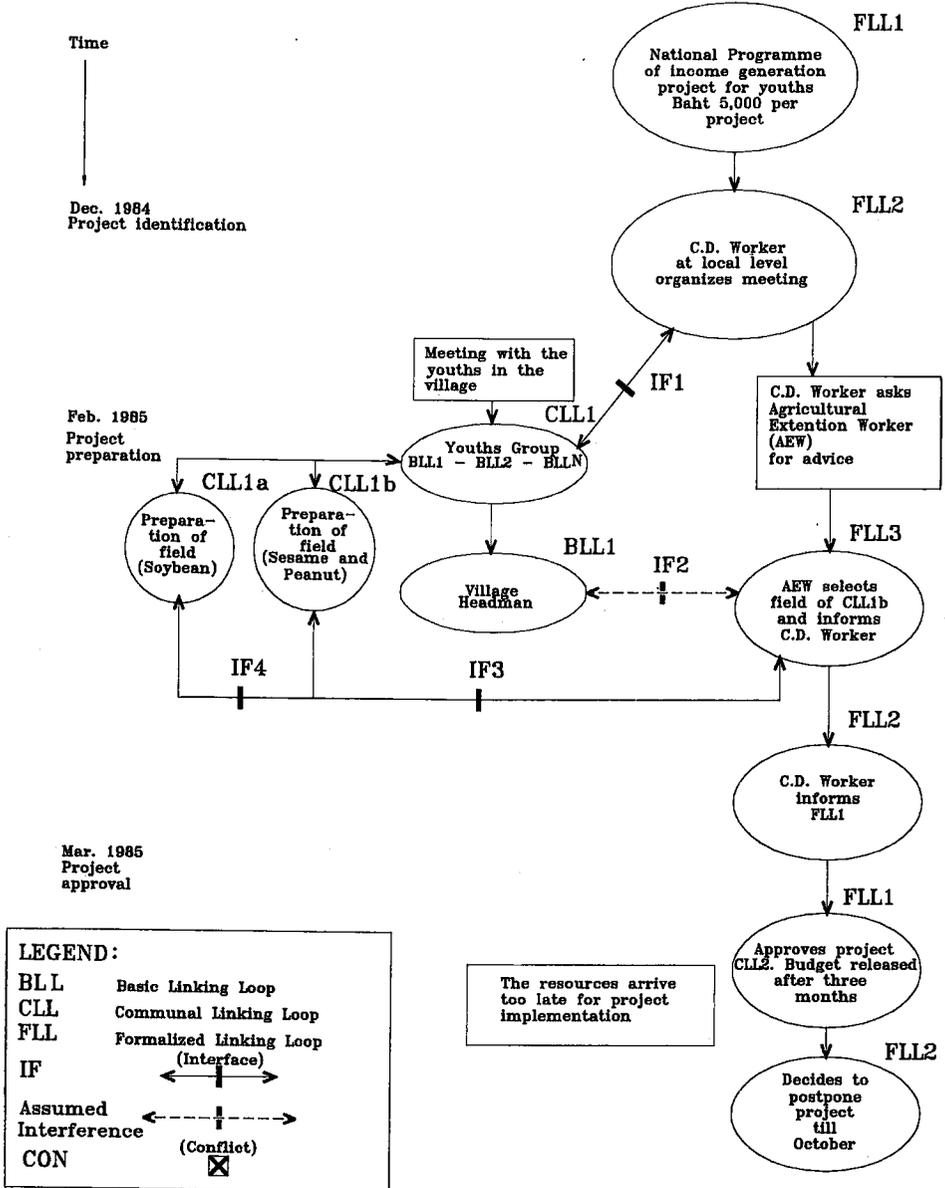
Field investigations were made (IF3 and IF4) by the AEW (FLL3) on the two plots of land prepared by CLL1a and CLL1b involving their direct participation. The AEW chose the field prepared by the CLL1b who proposed to grow soybean, and informed the C.D. Worker (FLL2). This shows that people's participation in decision making on site selection was very restricted. It was assumed that the kamnan had interfered, exerting his influence as leader on the AEW (IF2) regarding the site selection.

The project approval by the delivery mechanism was endorsed by the formalized linking loop of the C.D. Department at the central level (FLL1), submitted by the C.D. Worker at local level (FLL2). Yet the release of budget from the central level of the delivery mechanism was delayed for three months. By then it was too late because the land owner already had decided to cultivate his own crop of soybean. Then the Officer decided to defer the project implementation until October of the same year. This means that an interface between the communal linking loop of the receiving mechanism and the formalized linking loop of the delivery mechanism did not take place, because resources (budget) from the latter side were not yet released for linking purposes.

At the time of this research study, the project was not yet implemented. Due to this reason, people's participation and its effect on project performance could not be assessed. People's participation in the stages of plan preparation and approval was found being partial, free (induced) and direct as well as indirect. People's participation at those two stages was assessed as extensive and ineffective.

Whatever kinds of costs and benefits of participation in this case can not be observed because the project was in the stage of initiation. However, it was observed by then that costs and benefits among the members of the Youths Group did not differ much. They joined in the scheme because they expected some viable benefits to be gained from project implementation. This is why they had incurred some cost in terms of time spent in the meetings conducted to identify activities and to draft rules of operation. It was only the two project proponents, the chairperson and the vice chairperson of the Group who invested more costs in terms of time, cash and other inputs in order to win approval on the site selection, as they expected some benefit to be gained from the project in terms of one third of their total crop yield.

Graph VII.3: Youths Activities
Case Study of An Initiated Project



3. Appraisal of the Project

As the project was underway when this study was conducted, an evaluation could not be made in terms of its effectiveness and impact. However, an assessment of its expected outcome was made considering the efficiency in work performance during plan preparation and approval stages. From this interim evaluation, it is found that the major problem encountered in the project was the delay in the release of funds by the central office of the C.D. Department. This was due to the centralized control over the grant given by ASEAN, which was administered by the C.D. Department. Consequently, the fund could not be released in time causing a considerable delay in project implementation.

4. Factors Leading to Likely Failure

By then, it was observed in this case that there was at least one factor that could jeopardize the success of this project, namely, the delay in the release of funds for project implementation

Owing to the centralized budget control system of the Government, the budget required for the purchase of inputs could not be released in time. Furthermore, the soybean crop was going to be cultivated outside the proper season. Considering this dilemma, the land owner decided to cultivate a crop of soybean at his own expense, because he could not run the risk of leaving his land fallow. This shows that resources of the receiving and delivery mechanisms must be utilized at the right time.

5. Hypothesis Testing

The result of hypothesis testing for the case study on youths activities is presented in Chart 7.3. The limited scope of activities at the incipient stage makes for a reduced number of hypotheses relevant for testing. Supporting evidence is presented in an abridged form.

6. Findings and Conclusion

This section comprises of two parts. First is a summary of the hypothesis testing results. Second is a conclusion on the application of the linking loops concept to the case under study.

Chart 7.3 : Hypothesis Testing - The Case Study on Youths Activities ^{1/}

Hypothesis	Result of ^{2/} Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>A. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO FORMULATION OF PROJECT OBJECTIVES</p> <p>Local level plans, prepared by government agencies have objectives that are of little or no interest to the local people; this will be the case, if the project has the following characteristics in the initial phase of the project cycle.</p> <p>1. Local people were not involved in the formulation of the objectives.</p> <p>2. Local people were involved in the formulation of the objectives, but initiators of the project were not willing to adjust their particular objectives, or to reach a consensus.</p> <p>3. Several government organizations were involved in plan making. Each of them had different objectives and was unwilling to compromise.</p> <p>4. Higher levels of the plan making administration formulated specific objectives of the project and did not allow the lower levels of the planning administration to make adjustments.</p> <p>5. Groups of local people and individuals had different and often conflicting objectives.</p>	<p>-</p> <p>-</p> <p>+</p> <p>-</p> <p>-</p> <p>+</p>	<p>The general objectives of the programme were formulated at the national level. However, enough room was left for formulating specific objectives for the local project under the programme.</p> <p>The Youths Group members could not arrive at a consensus on the objectives, and two competing project proposals were forwarded.</p> <p>See Hypothesis A. 2.</p>

continued

1/ Only those sub-hypotheses relevant for the project are shown. The complete list of all general hypotheses and their respective sub-hypotheses is presented in Chapter IV.

2/ Legend:

- + Affirmative
- Non-affirmative
- N.A. Not Applicable

Chart 7.3 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>B. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS</p> <p>Local people and government agents sometimes arrive at different perceptions of the current situation, for the collection of data and its analysis have the following characteristics.</p> <p>6. The data was collected only from specific groups of people viz., the rich, the poor, the local leaders, the women, or the youths.</p> <p>7. The sets of data were collected only over a certain short period when a particular situation prevailed or problems arose.</p> <p>8. The way the sets of data were collected and analyzed was subject to some biases due to the difference in socio-economic background of planners and local people.</p> <p>9. Data from local people, including their knowledge, were not properly collected, analyzed and utilized in the process of plan making.</p>	<p>+</p> <p>-</p> <p>-</p> <p>+</p> <p>-</p>	<p>The AEW was influenced by the <u>kammen</u> in the assessment of field preparation and the selection of the site.</p> <p>See above.</p>
<p>C. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT DESIGN</p> <p>The project design of the local level plans is not valid.</p>	<p>-</p>	<p>The way the fields were prepared was decided by the members of the CLL1a and CLL1b, respectively.</p>
<p>D. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT APPROVAL</p> <p>The local population is either not interested or has only a loose interest, since they were not involved in the project approval.</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>The local population was not involved in project approval.</p>

continued

Chart 7.3 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>15. The project approval took a long time because</p> <p>a. the approval of a project was mostly done at higher level, sometimes coming from the national level of the administration, which automatically excluded any participation of people in decision making at the local level.</p> <p>b. the government organizations were adhering to a complicated approval procedure.</p> <p>c. there were more than one formalized linking loop (FLL) of the delivering mechanism involved in the coordination at the approval stage, thus taking a long time.</p>	<p>+</p> <p>+</p> <p>-</p> <p>+</p>	<p>As a result, the project had to be postponed.</p> <p>There were three levels of approval: (1) the AEW decided which field was to be selected for the project. (2) the C.D. Worker approved the selection of the AEW, and (3) final project approval was made at the central level of the C.D. Department.</p> <p>See Hypothesis D. 15 a.</p> <p>There are two government organizations (delivery mechanisms) involved in the approval of site selection i.e., the Department of Agricultural Extension and the Department of Community Development (See 15 a.).</p>
<p>16. If the approval was obtained at the local level, people could lose interest.</p> <p>E. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION</p> <p>In any case where local people are urged only to contribute to project implementation but not involved in the earlier stages of the project cycle, there is a tendency that they will not participate in such project.</p>	<p>N.A.</p> <p>N.A.</p>	<p>No people's participation in decision making in project approval at local level.</p> <p>Though the Youths Group members were mainly involved in the implementation stage, there was no indication that the members of the CLL1b would not participate in the continuation of the delayed project regardless of the late arrival of funds.</p>

continued

a. Summary of hypothesis testing results

The case is a government initiated project in which general objectives were formulated at the central level of the C.D. Department. However, enough room was left for the target group to formulate specific objectives of the project. Also, it is found that the Youths Group members could not arrive at a consensus on the objectives and two competing project proposals emerged.

In this case, the collection of data at field level before the actual implementation was feasible. The local people and the Agricultural Extension Worker (AEW) arrived at different perceptions of the situation. This is due to the fact that the AEW was influenced by the sub-district headman (kamnan) in the assessment of field preparation and the selection of the site for the proposed crop to be grown.

The design of this project was valid because the local people participated as shown in the cases where the fields were prepared as decided by the target group.

The local population was not involved in the project approval. The approval stage in this project took a long time because it went through three levels of consideration. Firstly, the AEW finalized the site selection. Secondly, the C.D. Worker approved the site selection proposed by the AEW. Thirdly, the project approval was finally given at the central level of the C.D. Department.

The implementation of this project could not start during the conduct of field research due to the delay in the release of resources from the C.D. Department. However, the landowner had already cultivated his preferred crop on the prepared land. There was also no indication that the youths would not participate in the project if the resources arrived.

There was no monitoring and evaluation in this project because the real implementation had still to be started.

b. Application of the linking loops concept

With a view to the communal and formalized linking loops, the following observations could be made.

The communal linking loop (CLL1) of the receiving mechanism (RM) in this project was constituted during the preparation stage through direct and induced participation of the C.D. Worker (FLL2). The Youths Group members could not arrive at a consensus on their common objective because they had two competing project proposals. As a

Participatory Development Activities

result, the CLL1 of the RM was split into CLL1a and CLL1b based on their proposals on soybean and on peanut and sesame cultivation, respectively. The case shows that members of the CLL1a and the CLL1b used their social network and influence to establish their own communal linking loops so as to pursue their individual interest. Due to viable benefits to be gained from the project, actors of both CLL1a and CLL1b invested lots of costs including time, cash and other inputs in order to win approval by the AEW of their site selection.

In this case, the CLL1 of the RM was hampered by different perceptions of the situation between the members of the CLL1 and the local officer (AEW) regarding the site selection. As a consequence, the communal linking loop of the receiving mechanism could not be built up effectively.

As far as the formalized linking loop of the delivery mechanism (DM) at the local level was concerned, the sub-district chief (kamnan) who was familiar with the government system and procedure utilized his knowledge for his personal benefit. The case shows that the AEW was influenced by the kamnan in the assessment of the field preparation and the finalization of the site selection. The lesson learnt from this case is that if more than one project activity is proposed, an appraisal of the proposed activities should be conducted by the delivery mechanism, before any project proponent prepares some groundwork for the implementation of her/his proposal. Otherwise, such proponent will become disappointed and unhappy if her/his proposal is rejected, which will adversely affect their active participation in the future.

The project approval of this case took a long time because there were two formalized linking loops (C.D. Worker and AEW) involved in the site selection. This caused a delay in the approval stage. In addition to this, the project implementation could not start because of ineffective provision of resources by the delivery mechanism (DM) of the C.D. Department to the receiving mechanism (RM) of the CLL1b. The delay of resources from the DM to the RM jeopardized their successful interface, because the communal linking loop of the RM had a coupling constraint. It was activated only within a given span of time. It is learnt from this case that the kamnan used his own resources to implement the project without waiting for the resources to be provided by the central level of the delivery mechanism of the Community Development Department (FLL1).

VIII. APPLYING THE CONCEPT OF THE "LINKING LOOPS" TO PROJECTS AT BAN PA MAI

The third village under study is, like the second one covered by the preceding chapter, located in an upland area. Like that village, Ban Pa Mai does not have the advantage of easy access to a major source of water as in the case of Ban Mae Nam situated on the bank of the Pana River. However, unlike Ban Phu Khao, this upland village was much better connected to locations of the next higher order in the hierarchy of places, notably the district office seat and markets. In comparative perspective, one completed, on-going and initiated project each are analyzed in this chapter, which completes the presentation of the three-times-three case studies.

A. VILLAGE PROFILE OF BAN PA MAI*

This village is situated in an upland area, at a distance of three kilometers from the Noi Na District seat to which it is well connected by a laterite road. A minibus was the means of public local transport operating on a schedule of three daily return trips between the village and the district seat at a charge of Baht 4.00 per person. Apart from stored rain water, villagers depended on assorted water resources including deep wells, shallow wells and village ponds. Field crop cultivation in the hilly terrain of the area was entirely dependent on rainfall. Electrical power was supplied since 1980, whereupon half of all households could afford using electricity. The total population was 303 persons distributed among 50 households. Almost all villagers were Buddhists. Seasonal migration was practiced by members of the younger generation during the agricultural off-season period.

Formal education was provided through a primary school, established by the Ministry of Education, with classes leading up to prathom 6 level (elementary grade 6). Most villagers including those of school age were literate; illiterate persons were found only among the elderly. The nearest local health center was located in an adjacent village which is only one kilometer away. Most common illnesses were flu and diarrhoea. The major occupation of most village households were agricultural enterprises of rice and upland crop cultivation. Rice was produced only during the rainy season in the upland area, using a traditional seed variety and applying chemical fertilizer. Rice was solely

* A detailed, exhaustive village profile of Ban Pa Mai is presented in Pongquan (1988), pp. 161-179.

Participatory Development Activities

grown for home consumption. Upland crops were mainly corn and mungbean. Other occupations included orchard cultivation, wage labour and trading.

Three government agency field officers were working in the respective tambon area including the Tambon Community Development (C.D.) Worker assigned and posted by the Department of Community Development, Ministry of Interior; the Tambon Agricultural Extension Worker (AEW) posted by the Department of Agricultural Extension, Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives; and the Tambon Health Officer assigned by the Ministry of Public Health. As a result of their work in the village, various groups had been formed by different agencies for several purposes comprising of the village development committee, the women's group, a savings group, the school committee, the temple committee and an agricultural cooperative group. In addition, traditional cooperation was practiced in the form of au raeng or exchange labour, particularly in field crop production, and kho raeng for other activities like communal works, e.g., pond digging, road repair, or individual house construction.

As for the local power structure, it was observed that certain individuals exerted and maintained influence, having built their power base in the area. Those who had been assuming positions of leadership included the abbot of the local monastery; the schoolmaster of the primary school; an influential entrepreneur; the former village headman, and the current village headman. The study of factions in this village shows that they were apparently not extant on the basis of geographical places of origin among village settlers. Instead, factions were manifest and distinct between powerful families in the area. Factions in this village were not restricted to their family members but included their numerous friends, followers and clients which had led to the decline or absence of people's participation in local development activities on a community basis.

At village level, many problems and needs were identified by villagers which can be listed as follows : low yields in cash crop production; inadequate domestic water supply; lack of irrigation facilities during the wet season; lack of alternative sources of income, particularly in non-agricultural production; insufficient and inefficient agricultural extension services; lack of agricultural credit; and low level of participation in social and development activities.

B. ANALYSIS OF A COMPLETED PROJECT : DEMONSTRATION PLOT ON SOYBEAN CULTIVATION

Field cropping enterprises being the economic mainstay of the vast majority of the local farmers and their dependents, who virtually constituted the entire village population,

demonstration activities by the national agricultural extension services are mandatory. It is in the nature of this endeavour that the active participation of the largest possible number of target group members is indispensable to make an impact. This section relates, in brief, the case of an important cash crop whose promotion entailed people's participation in project planning. Its evaluation is complemented by a rendition of causes of project failure. A summary of findings through application of the linking loops concept as well as results of hypothesis testing and conclusions complete this account.

1. Case Description : Soybean Cultivation*

Crop diversification had been stipulated as a major policy to increase agricultural productivity throughout the country during the implementation period of the Fifth National Economic and Social Development Plan (1982-1986). The Plan had laid emphasis on diversification through promotion of new economic crops so as to minimize the risk of price fluctuations in marketing the existing major cash crops grown throughout the country.

To implement the stated policy measures, the Department of Agricultural Extension, Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, had established demonstration plots in localities for which specific crops were physically appropriate and technically suitable. In Thong Thin Province, where Tambon Pho Sop is located, the introduction of crop diversification by the Department of Agricultural Extension emphasized the cultivation of soybean in upland areas. To launch this project, Ban Pa Mai in Pho Sop area had been selected as the site of a demonstration field, on the grounds that this crop had never been grown in the village area.

To start a related project, the Tambon Agricultural Extension Worker (AEW) called a village meeting in June 1982 to prepare activities for project implementation. During that meeting villagers were initially criticizing the technical feasibility both of soybean growing in the area and of marketing the produce. However, they were pleased with the explanations given by the AEW to clear their doubt. Still, many participants felt not assured yet about pricing prospects and marketing potentials. On this occasion, the AEW announced rules of operation as formulated by the Department of Agricultural Extension. The main contents of these rules were that a committee should be set up among villagers to serve as a working group in charge of operating a demonstration plot whose members would work as field inspectors under the supervision of the AEW. In running the demonstration plot, the Department would provide inputs like land, fertilizer

* A comprehensive, descriptive report on soybean cultivation is given in Pongquan (1988), pp. 183-194.

Participatory Development Activities

and pesticide. Other production inputs like farming equipment and labour would have to come from local farmers. The project was organized in such a way that the person who provided the land would look after the crop and be assisted and advised by the field inspectors. Technical supervision would be provided by the AEW. The total yield from this demonstration plot would go to the landowner.

During the actual implementation schedule between the middle of October and the end of November 1982 the project encountered various difficulties. These emerged with split opinions between the AEW and the members of the Committee, set up for running the project, regarding the search for land where to operate a demonstration plot. In fact, two sites of 20 rai of land were proposed by two proponents; after on-site inspection, a prospective site located closely to a natural stream was selected by the AEW considering its great advantage on account of its technical feasibility, as water could be lifted by an irrigation pump in case of water shortage during the cultivation period. The Committee members, however, were not satisfied with the decision made by the AEW, for the plot of land selected by him was situated too far from the village centre. This would cause inconvenience to other farmers in reaching the demonstration plot, which might hamper the participation of interested farmers in following up on the demonstration activities. Hence, the Committee as a whole played a marginal role in the preparation and implementation of the demonstration plot after realizing that the AEW did not even try to listen to their opinions. Some of them even tried to quit from the project due to increasing tension between the group and the AEW.

In return, the AEW complained about the irresponsibility of the field inspectors and was also upset about the absence of most Committee members whenever he conducted spot-checks in the field. Likewise, the field inspectors and the Committee members of the project lodged a complaint with the AEW that he had never adhered to the given field checking schedule. Moreover, the landowner and the Committee members had not been on good terms before engaging in this joint venture of running a demonstration project. Indeed, the Committee members and the field inspectors were frustrated when the landowner rejected their advice. The demonstration plot project ended up with crop failure, because the soybean plants had been infested with a serious pest. This damage occurred just three weeks before harvesting was expected.

For project evaluation purposes, the AEW sent an official report on the implementation of the demonstration plot to the Agricultural Office at the district level in December 1982. Based on this report, the dominant factor having caused the entire crop loss while running the project, according to the AEW, was related to serious pests having infested the demonstration plot. The AEW himself believed that the failure of the project was caused by the irresponsibility of the Committee members in running and following up on the required project activities. In contrast, the Committee members of

this demonstration project blamed the AEW that he had exerted his influence on activities related to the demonstration plot without hearing the members' opinions. In general, villagers perceived the failure of the demonstration on soybean cultivation as a consequence of plant diseases spreading all over the demonstration field. Since then, soybean had never been cultivated again by any farmer of Ban Pa Mai.

2. People's Participation in the Planned Development Process

This project was implemented via a demonstration plot for soybean cultivation designed within a top-down approach. The case study shows that a project which is subject to rigid procedures for its implementation inhibits people's participation in varying forms.

A graphical presentation of the major events that took place in this case and of the interrelationships among various kinds of linking loops including the interface between the delivery and the receiving mechanisms, is given in Graph VIII.1.

The rules for project formulation were indicated by the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives in its programme for crop diversification (FLL1). In this case, identification, preparation and approval of the project were made at the central level of the FLL in the delivery mechanism. Project implementation was delegated to the local level, where the Agricultural Extension Worker (AEW) was in charge (FLL2).

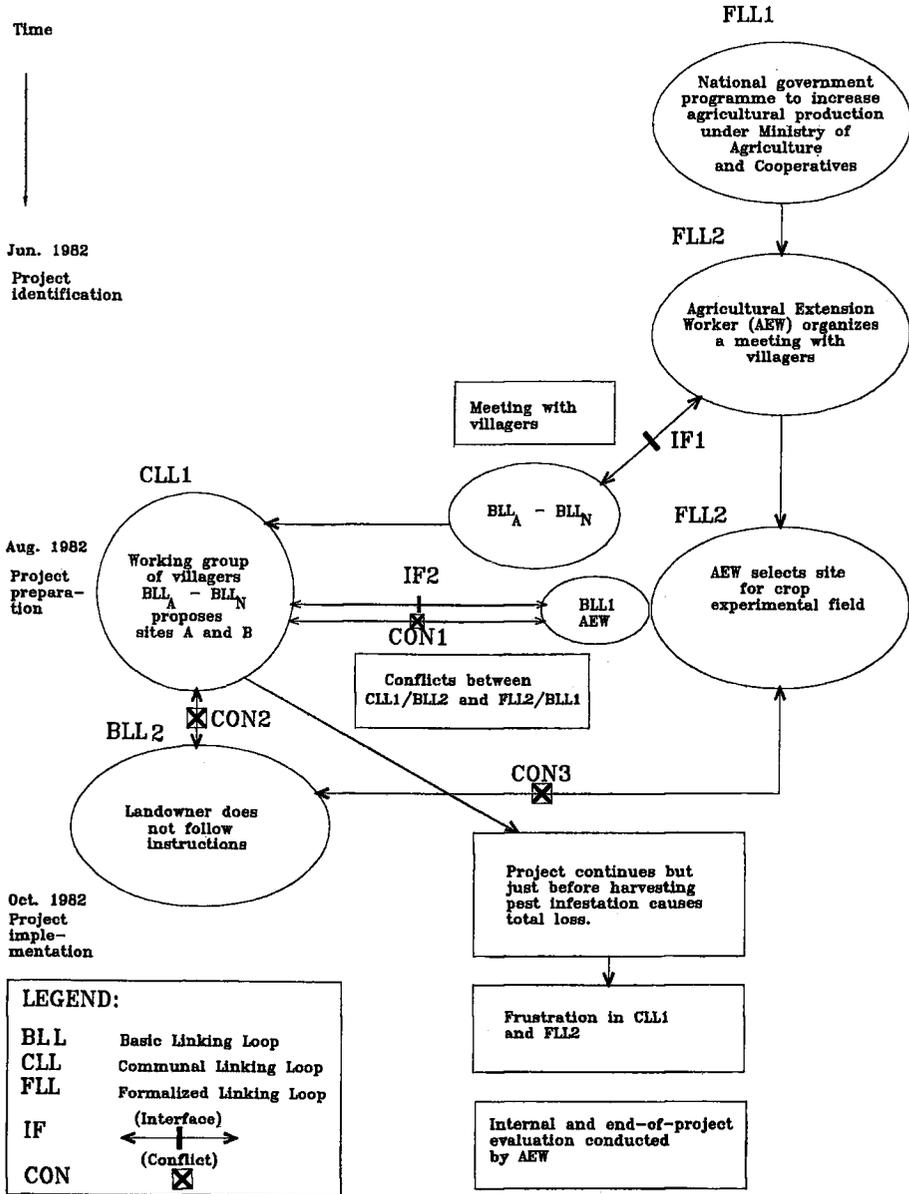
To prepare the groundwork for project implementation, the AEW induced villagers to come together in a meeting. This was the first interface (IF1). He also stimulated villagers to link their basic linking loops (BLLA - BLLN) in order to form a communal linking loop of the receiving mechanism through which the inputs of the delivery mechanism could be channelled.

For the purpose of implementation, a local committee was set up among villagers as a working group to take charge of operating the demonstration plot under the supervision of the AEW. This means that the Committee served partly as an agent of the formalized linking loop of the delivery mechanism and partly acted as the communal linking loop of the receiving mechanism. The committee members were elected by direct participation of the local people.

Soon after the second interface (IF2) between the formalized linking loop (FLL2) and the communal linking loop (CLL1), the demonstration plot started its operation. In this scheme, local people participated indirectly at the implementation stage, while the working group members were involved directly in organizing activities. This included

Participatory Development Activities

Graph VIII.1: Soybean Demonstration
Case Study of A Completed Project



searching for land for demonstration purpose, mobilizing people and conducting field inspections of the demonstration plot.

During the implementation, resources of the delivery mechanism (FLL2) including seed, fertilizer, pesticide and technical advice were combined with the resources of the villagers (CLL1), consisting of land, labour and farming equipment, in a confluent linking loop.

However, the interface between CLL1 and FLL2 was interrupted and discontinued as a result of several conflicts. In the first instance, a conflict broke out between the working group members (CLL1) and the AEW (FLL2). The AEW did not listen to the working group members concerning the selection of the plot. The AEW was not forced by regulations of the delivery mechanism but followed simply his own opinion (BLL1). Secondly, there were conflicts between the working group members (CLL1) and the landowner of the demonstration plot (BLL2); and thirdly, between the AEW (FLL2) and the landowner (BLL2).

As a consequence, there was great frustration affecting the interface between the CLL1 and the FLL2 which led to inactive participation of the Working Group members of the CLL1. The project then ended up with crop failure due to unsuccessful linking of knowledge and resources between the delivery and the receiving mechanisms. Upon the completion of project implementation, an internal end-of-project evaluation was prepared by the AEW, without any participation of representatives of the local population. This means that there was no people's participation at the stage of project evaluation.

In sum, it is highlighted in this case that there was no people's participation in project identification, preparation, approval, and evaluation. In project implementation, participation of local people was free (induced as well as spontaneous), direct (for the local committee members), and indirect (for local people). In general, people's participation in this case was partial, free (induced), and direct as well as indirect. An overall assessment of this project shows that people's participation was not only extensive but also ineffective.

Costs and benefits of participation in this case were shared to varying degrees among local people in the receiving mechanism. Members of the local committee (working group) had incurred some costs in spending their time and efforts when attending meetings, identifying the land for demonstration purpose, mobilizing people, operating the demonstration field and conducting field inspections. This is merely commensurate with their expected benefit of gaining technical know-how of soybean cultivation as provided by the AEW. The cost of participation among other local people is low,

Participatory Development Activities

accounting only for their time spent when observing the demonstration plot during the implementation period. In contrast, it is observed that costs and benefits of participation anticipated by the landowner of the demonstration plot are high and risk prone. He had to contribute his land and labour for the demonstration purpose, in addition to other production inputs like farming equipment. If the project is successful he will gain the total yield from the demonstration plot. However, the case shows that his expectation was not fulfilled due to crop failure.

3. Evaluation of the Project

This project is evaluated on the basis of achievement of its targets set by the Department of Agricultural Extension. An official report on the implementation of the project, prepared by the Tambon Agricultural Extension Worker and submitted to the Agricultural Extension Officer at the Noi Na District Office, was also utilized for this purpose. The project is evaluated in terms of its effectiveness, efficiency and impact.

a. Effectiveness

In fact, two targets were stipulated by the Department of Agricultural Extension at the central level in order to measure the effectiveness of the project (Department of Agricultural Extension, 1982, p. 1). These are as follows:

(1) In all the demonstration plots within the Noi Na area, the yield of soybean crop should be raised to an average in the range of 200-230 kg/rai, the average yield at the national level being 211 kg/rai.

(2) After the completion of the demonstration field, it was expected that ten per cent of the households in the village would practice soybean cultivation.

The soybean crop in the demonstration plot was completely destroyed by a pest. The damage was so serious that the crop was left unharvested. Due to this disappointing result, farmers of the village did not show any interest in adopting this crop. The effectiveness of the project was zero. In his report the local officer mentioned the ineffectiveness of the pesticide provided to the project in controlling the pest. Here, it is noteworthy that official blame was put on 'external factors' as the cause of project failure.

b. Efficiency

Various factors were responsible for the inefficiency. Neglect of basic requirements in project formulation and conflicting interests at the critical junction of the system hampered the performance of prospective actors and beneficiaries along the vital linking loops.

- (1) With a focus on the formalized linking loop (FLL) two major deficiencies are detected :
 - no data collection in the project area to ascertain whether villagers were interested in the project, or not; and
 - no field testing of the suitability of the disseminated technology for the area; there should have been a research project instead of a pilot-cum-demonstration project.
- (2) There were certain constraints to the linking of resources between the delivery mechanism (DM) and the receiving mechanism (RM), owing to the fact that the basic linking loop of the AEW (BLL1) impeded the second interface (IF2) by not listening to the farmers. As a result, the members of the working group lost their interest, and their participation was negligible. Consequently, the interface (IF1) could not become effective.

c. Impact

Because of the failure, the project had no positive impact whatsoever. Farmers did not grow soybean despite the attempt of the local AEW officer to revive the cultivation of this crop. One can even assume that the impact was negative. After such a failure farmers were not willing to accept new advice from the AEW.

4. Causes of Project Failure

The major reasons for the failure of the project are pinpointed hereunder.

a. Top-down planning via blueprint design approach

This project was formulated at the central administrative level under the assumption that a given project is suitable in all kinds of situations at local level. Thus, information gathering and field testing before the actual implementation were neglected. Planners

Participatory Development Activities

were probably of the opinion that local level problems are known to them so that a solution proposed by them works well in all circumstances.

The local field officer, responsible for project implementation, played a dominant role in taking initiatives and in decision-making. People's responses were largely neglected.

Interfacing between actors of the delivery and receiving mechanisms took place only at the implementation stage in order to link the resources attached with the communal linking loop and the formalized linking loop. Due to the lack of direct interaction at earlier stages of the planning process, and the unwillingness of the AEW to listen to the farmers and the working group, an effective linkage could not be established at once at the implementation stage. As a result, only few farmers paid attention to the demonstration.

b. Poor management

The following examples show how lack of knowledge on the part of the Committee members and poor management of the demonstration plot contributed to the failure of the project.

(1) Lack of technical know-how on the part of the committee members

None of the committee members had any skill and technical know-how of soybean cultivation. Thus, they could not manage the crop properly. In fact, some training should have been offered to these people before the actual implementation of the project.

(2) Poor scheduling of the field work

There was lack of coordination between the local officer and the target people. Mostly, the local officer had to inspect the crop individually, whereas at the same time local farmers had been complaining about him not being available for consultation. In other words, there was a lack of effective interfacing.

c. Passive participation of local people

People's participation in this project remained partial, whereas both direct and indirect forms of people's participation had been anticipated by the local officer. This lack of proper participation was due to the rigidity in operational procedures of the project. In fact, people were involved in site selection and mobilization of labour and resources for the cultivation of the soybean crop for demonstration. The site proposed by them was, however, not accepted by the local officer. This action of the local officer

Chart 8.1 : Hypothesis Testing - The Case Study of the Demonstration Plot on Soybean Cultivation

Hypothesis	Result of Testing*	Supporting Evidence
<p>A. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO FORMULATION OF PROJECT OBJECTIVES</p> <p>Local level plans, prepared by government agencies have objectives that are of little or no interest to the local people; this will be the case, if the project has the following characteristics in the initial phase of the the project cycle.</p> <p>1. Local people were not involved in the formulation of the objectives.</p> <p>2. Local people were involved in the formulation of the objectives, but initiators of the project were not willing to adjust their particular objectives, or to reach a consensus.</p> <p>3. Several government organizations were involved in plan making. Each of them had different objectives and was unwilling to compromise.</p> <p>4. Higher levels of the plan making administration formulated specific objectives of the project and did not allow the lower levels of the planning administration to make adjustments.</p> <p>5. Groups of local people and individuals had different and often conflicting objectives.</p>	<p>+</p> <p>+</p> <p>N.A.</p> <p>N.A.</p> <p>+</p> <p>+</p>	<p>The project prepared by the Department of Agricultural Extension (A.E.) had objectives that were of little interest to local people.</p> <p>The objectives of the project were formulated by the Department of Agricultural Extension (A.E.).</p> <p>The project objectives were formulated at the central level of the A.E. Department and passed on to the local level.</p> <p>Many villagers felt not assured about the pricing prospects and marketing potential of soybean. Difference of objectives was found between the landowner and the committee members of the working group.</p>

continued

* Legend:

- + Affirmative
- Non-affirmative
- N.A. Not Applicable

Chart 8.1 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>B. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS</p>		
<p>Local people and government agents sometimes arrive at different perceptions of the current situation, for the collection of data and its analysis have the following characteristics.</p>	+	<p>Local people and the A.E. Department had different perceptions of the situation in this project. As a consequence, local people were not so clear about the imposed design and objectives of the project.</p>
<p>6. The data was collected only from specific groups of people viz., the rich, the poor, the local leaders, the women, or the youths.</p>	N.A.	(No data collected.)
<p>7. The sets of data were collected only over a certain short period when a particular situation prevailed or problems arose.</p>	N.A.	(No data collected.)
<p>8. The way the sets of data were collected and analyzed was subject to some biases due to the difference in socio-economic background of planners and local people.</p>	N.A.	(No data collected.)
<p>9. Data from local people, including their knowledge, were not properly collected, analyzed and utilized in the process of plan making.</p>	+	<p>No data collection in the village was done for plan making to ascertain the interest of villagers. Also, no field testing was made to assess the suitability of the promoted technology for the area. No use was made of the knowledge of the local population.</p>
<p>C. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT DESIGN</p>		
<p>The project design of the local level plans is not valid. This will be the case, if the proposed activities have the following characteristics.</p>	+	<p>The project was formulated under the assumption that the design of this typical demonstration plot is suitable to whatever circumstance at the local level.</p>
<p>10. Activities were designed without participation and/or consensus of the local population.</p>	+	<p>Local people did not participate in the project design. When they made suggestions, the AEW ignored them.</p>
<p>11. Activities were planned during a period of the year when the local people are usually too busy notably with agricultural activities, so that they were not able to participate in the project effectively.</p>	-	

continued

"Linking Loops" —> Ban Pa Mai

Chart 8.1 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
12. Resources needed for the project, as indicated by the government, cannot be contributed by the local people at all or cannot possibly be provided by them during the period specified in the project document.	-	
13. Allocation of external resources by the government to a certain project was not in accordance with the magnitude of problems in the area and with the real needs of the local people.	-	
14. Local resources in the area were not effectively explored when the project design had been prepared. As a consequence, these resources became not available when they were needed at particular stages of project implementation.	-	
D. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT APPROVAL		
The local population is either not interested or has only a loose interest, since they were not involved in the project approval.	+	
15. The project approval took a long time because	-	
a. the approval of a project was mostly done at higher level, sometimes coming from the national level of the administration, which automatically excluded any participation of people in decision making at the local level.	-	
b. the government organizations were adhering to a complicated approval procedure.	-	
c. there were more than one formalized linking loop (FLL) of the delivering mechanism involved in the coordination at the approval stage, thus taking a long time.	-	

continued

Chart 8.1 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>16. If the approval was obtained at the local level, people could lose interest for the following reasons:</p> <p>a. a conflicting communal linking loop (CLL); and</p> <p>b. the local leader manipulated the approval stage.</p>	<p>-</p> <p>-</p> <p>-</p>	
<p>E. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION</p>		
<p>In any case where local people are urged only to contribute to project implementation but not involved in the earlier stages of the project cycle, there is a tendency that they will not participate in such project.</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>The majority of villagers did not participate in project implementation.</p>
<p>17. Even if local people were involved in one or more of the earlier stages of the project cycle, there was a chance that they were not willing to continue their participation into the stage of project implementation because of</p>	<p>N.A.</p>	
<p>a. changes in their individual circumstances;</p>	<p>N.A.</p>	
<p>b. changing priorities among their individual objectives;</p>	<p>N.A.</p>	
<p>c. a new perception after a reassessment of the erstwhile situation during the earlier stages of the project cycle.</p>	<p>N.A.</p>	
<p>18. Although people were initially participating in project implementation they might discontinue participation at the stage because of</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>Some members of the Committee even tried to quit the project due to their conflict with the local officer (A.E.W.).</p>
<p>a. changes in their individual circumstances;</p>	<p>N.A.</p>	

continued

Chart 8.1 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
b. changing priorities among their individual objectives;	-	
c. a new perception after a reassessment of the erstwhile situation during the implementation stage.	+	The committee members of the working group were no longer active in operating the demonstration plot after the disagreement between them and the AEW regarding major decisions on running the scheme.
d. a delay in the implementation due to late arrival of resources (for reasons see Hypothesis D. 15);	-	
e. poor organizational set-up of the implementing agency in a locality unsuitable for operation and management of the project;	+	There was lack of coordination between the local officer and the committee members as evident from the poor scheduling of the field work and lack of technical know-how of those members in managing the project.
f. lack of coordination between the implementing agency and other collaborating agencies, so as to accelerate and strengthen project implementation;	N.A.	
g. conflict between local people and government agent assigned to the area during the time when the project was implemented; and	+	There were some clashes during the operation of the demonstration plot between the local officer and local committee members.
h. conflict among local people.	+	The landowner of the demonstration plot and the committee members had not been on good terms before running this project.
F. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT EVALUATION		
Local people not being involved in project evaluation will be the case, if the following conditions exist:		
19. Certain problems and constraints obstructing the project preparation and implementation from local people's point of view could not be known to the government agent of the implementing agency. As a result, modifications of the project could not be made in order to make the current project as well as future projects more effective and efficient.	+	Local people did not participate in project evaluation. Therefore, some internal factors such as conflict between local committee members and local officer, which contributed to poor management of the project, were not spelt out in the official report prepared by the local officer for the government line agency.

continued

Chart 8.1 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>20. Without constant participatory monitoring and evaluation, internal motives of the local people could not be assessed clearly, as to whether these would coincide with the objective(s) of the project or not. Therefore, the formulation of development activities could not be steered in such a way that the objective(s) of the local people and of the project would be congruent. As a consequence, the chance to maximize people's active participation in the various stages of the planned development process was minimal.</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>Neither monitoring nor interim evaluation took place; as a result, no attempt was made to solve the conflict.</p>

Participatory Development Activities

The design of this project was invalid because it was identified and formulated at the higher administrative level. Therefore, local people had no direct say about the project design. When they made suggestions, the local official (Agricultural Extension Worker or AEW) ignored them.

The local population did not participate in the project approval because the project had been endorsed by the central level.

At the implementation stage, it is found that the majority of the local people were not involved themselves in the scheme, because they did not participate in the earlier stages of the project cycle. It is shown, indeed, that local people who were joining at the implementation stage quit participating because of the two following reasons. First, they had some disagreements and conflicts with the local officer (AEW) during the operation of the demonstration plot. Second, there was lack of coordination between local people (committee members of the working group) and the local officer as reflected in poor scheduling of the field work.

For this project, only an internal and ex-post evaluation was conducted by the AEW. Neither monitoring nor interim evaluation were undertaken. As a consequence, the conflicts between the local committee members and the local officer, which contributed to the poor management and further led to the failure of the project, were not spelt out in the official report.

b. Application of the linking loops concept

With regard to the application of communal and formalized linking loops, the following observations can be made.

The formation of the communal linking loop (CLL1) of the project was accomplished only at the implementation stage through induced and direct participation of the Agricultural Extension Worker (FLL2). The CLL1 of this project was not impaired by different implicit and explicit objectives of its members. However, they were disrupted by conflicting opinions of the landowner of the demonstration plot and some committee members of the working group (BLL2 vs. CLL1) in charge of operating the demonstration plot. The conflict remained unsolved and led to the ineffective formation of the communal linking loop in the receiving mechanism.

Through the formalized linking loop, a top-down approach was followed in this project, as it was formulated and designed at the higher administrative level of the A.E. Department (FLL1). The interface between CLL1 and FLL2 took place in this project only at the implementation stage via partial and induced (free) participation by the AEW

(FLL2). However, it was subsequently interrupted and discontinued as a result of several conflicts between the AEW (FLL2) and the working group members (CLL1). It is quite clear in this case that the local official or AEW (FLL2) failed to stimulate the creation of an effective CLL1 in the receiving mechanism because of his rigidity in working with them. The AEW played a vital role in taking initiatives and making decisions without listening to members of the CLL1 though. In this case it is shown that the AEW (FLL2) was not forced by regulations of the delivery mechanism (FLL1) but guided by his own opinion (BLL1). As a result, the interface between the delivering mechanism (FLL2) and the receiving mechanism (CLL1) ended up with a failure.

C. ANALYSIS OF AN ON-GOING PROJECT : SAVINGS SCHEME

Mobilizing local financial resources has been recognized as an important component of any strategy for sustainable development. Proof of people's capability in the form of savings, however small, has been considered as a prerequisite for financial assistance through loan schemes and credit delivery. Given the marginal savings which especially the poor are able to make, it is far more the organizational and administrative than the financial aspects that matter. In the absence of any material assets that could serve as collateral, the poor have been advised to get organized in groups so as to become eligible for loans to be disbursed to individual members, with the group as a whole acting as guarantor. It is in this vein that the concept of group savings has been introduced to and promoted among economically weak population groups such as small farmers. The case under study is described in brief to provide the background against which people's participation is summarized, a mid-way project evaluation is made, causes of likely failure are identified, conclusions are drawn and hypotheses are tested.

1. Case Description : Savings Scheme*

A savings group initiated by the Community Development (C.D.) Department of the Ministry of Interior was launched as an activity of its campaign for local capital formation so as to enable villagers to establish their own group savings fund. The group was some type of thrift society, aiming to save money regularly on a monthly basis to serve as a funding resource for local credit and in cases of emergency. To operate the scheme, local

* A comprehensive, descriptive report on the savings scheme is provided in Pongquan (1988), pp. 197-208.

Participatory Development Activities

members of the group were obliged to adhere to the rules of operation stipulated by the C.D. Department.

A savings group had been established in Tambon Pho Sop for the first time in 1977. It had ended up in failure caused by corruption and misuse of the local savings fund by some committee members.

In 1982, another savings group was established in Ban Pa Mai by the Tambon C.D. Worker, mobilizing 18 out of the total of 25 poor households to join the scheme. The explicit rationale was that these were the most disadvantaged in the village who suffered from poverty and lacked capital in situations of emergency. Before participating in the scheme, an orientation on the principles and objectives of a savings group as well as its rules of operation was given to its prospective members by the C.D. Worker. According to the rules of operation stipulated by the central level of the C.D. Department, regular savings would be made on a monthly basis by the local members. The members must keep their promise to deposit their savings at the fixed amount of cash affordable to them in order to form the central group savings fund. The savings will be made every month for a period of one year, after which the members are entitled to withdraw their capital. The group savings fund will be deposited in a commercial bank account at the district center, so that revenue can be obtained in the order of the annual bank interest rate.

After five months of project implementation, the scheme started facing difficulties. A few committee members detached themselves from the group because of a lot of domestic pressure and exigencies. Thus, new committee members replaced them. In addition, some of its local members could not afford to make regular savings every month because of lack of marginal surplus capital after household expenditures in certain periods of the year. As a result, the rule of monthly savings to be deposited at fixed amounts was reviewed so that all the members could maintain their savings commitment to the scheme. However, some few members left the group because of personal conflicts with new committee members.

As a consequence, the C.D. Worker enticed twelve new members from better-off households to replace those who had quit the group. Under the changed circumstances, there was a gross disparity in saving amounts between members of poor and rich households; the former could afford deposits ranging from only Baht 5 to Baht 15 in cash per month and person, whereas the latter contributed Baht 50 to Baht 150 in cash per month and person. This was the root of the conflict which arose between members over investing their capital when the central savings fund had accumulated Baht 14,000 by August 1984.

The majority of the savings group members from rich households agreed to use the fund to purchase chemical fertilizer against cash for re-sale to farmers in their area during the wet season cultivation period, while those representing the poor households had planned earlier to use this fund to set up a village co-operative retail store. Eventually, the proposal to invest the group savings in the trading of agricultural inputs was carried by majority vote. The endorsement of this major decision was obtained from the C.D. Worker, whereupon all those members having disapproved of the proposal cancelled their group membership. The poor members felt that benefits to be obtained from the activity would accrue to the richer farmers who preferred cheaper inputs for crop cultivation over the supply of low priced daily provisions.

Again, seven additional members from well-to-do households were recruited to the savings group by November 1984, followed by six more members as of January 1985. Overall, the savings group membership increased to 25 persons. As a consequence, the total amount of group savings increased considerably to Baht 20,785 in cash by February of the same year. This sum was sufficient for the purchase of chemical fertilizers to be sold by the group within the village and in the neighbouring area.

An evaluation of this project was documented in a small report prepared by the Tambon C.D. Worker in June 1985 for submittal to the C.D. Officer at the Noi Na District seat. In the report, the result of the savings scheme was termed successful as manifest in the increase of local membership, tangible benefits in cash accrued to its members, and in the continuously good performance in group savings. Since no participatory evaluation took place in this project, the reasons as to why all former group members representing poor households had quit the savings group were not specified in that official evaluation report.

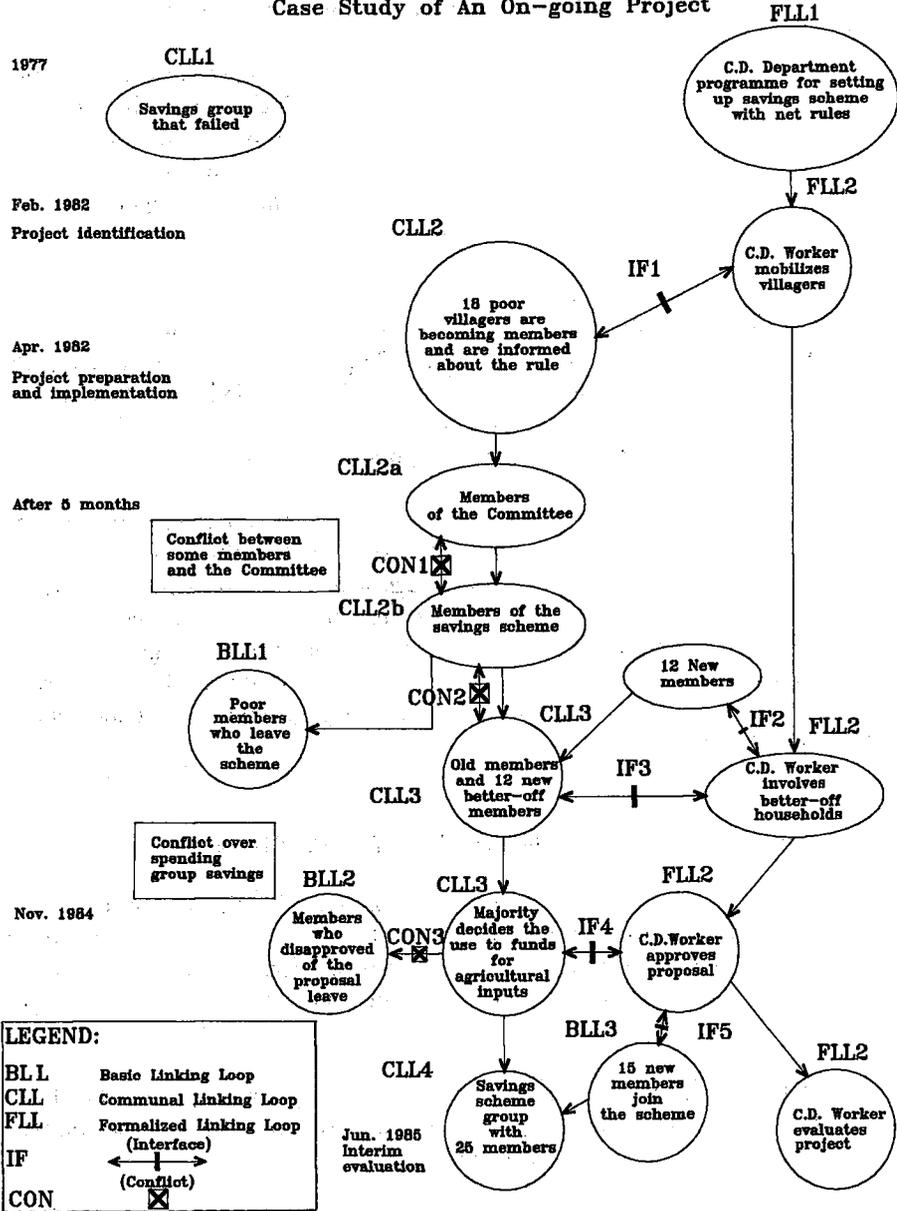
2. People's Participation in the Planned Development Process

This case study relates a project which is formulated by the top level of the government administration within a top-down approach. Since the main components of the project had been fixed at the central level of administration, people's participation in the planned development process was partial. A graphic presentation of the major events that took place in this project is given in Graph VIII.2.

Savings schemes were not new to the area, because a savings group (CLL1) had been set up some time earlier which ended up as a failure. Four years thereafter, another savings group (CLL2) was established in the village.

Participatory Development Activities

Graph VIII.2: Savings Scheme
Case Study of An On-going Project



The project identification was initiated with rules of operation stipulated by the central level of the formalized linking loop of the C.D. Department. The project was delegated to the local level, where the C.D. Worker (FLL2) was in charge of project implementation. She induced poor people to form a communal linking loop (CLL2) by having an interface (IF1) in order to provide an entry point for the delivery mechanism.

In the receiving mechanism, there are two groups constituting the communal linking loop. One includes the members of the local Committee (CLL2a) who were elected by the members of the scheme and entrusted with the responsibility of operating and managing the savings scheme. The other one consists of local members (CLL2b) who play the decisive role in the resource contribution to the scheme. Thus, direct and indirect participation of the local people were solicited during project preparation and implementation, depending upon their position and duty in the project.

During the project implementation, all members were obliged to deposit a fixed amount of cash to form a group savings fund. During the operation of the scheme, there were frequent interruptions due to irregular deposits of savings by some members because of lack of money in certain periods. Therefore, the rules of operation were reviewed to maintain participation of the local members in the project. However, some of them had left the group due to personal conflicts with the committee members. New members from the better-off households were mobilized by the Community Development Worker (FLL2) through establishing the second interface (IF2) with the 'new' communal linking loop (CLL3) of the receiving mechanism via induced participation. Again, the CLL3 of the receiving mechanism was interrupted by conflicting objectives between members from poor and rich households about how to invest the group savings so as to generate the most revenue. The third interface started between the C.D. Worker and the CLL3 when she endorsed the majority vote, which was opposed by members from poor households who disapproved of the proposal and quit the project after the conflict of objectives. People from poor households terminated their participation when they realized their underdog position indicating that their expectations would not be fulfilled through this project. They felt that benefits to be obtained from the group activity would accrue to the rich farmers who preferred cheaper inputs for crop cultivation over the supply of low priced daily provisions. The poor members who had left were replaced by wealthier members which led to the creation of CLL4. In 1984 the C.D. Worker (FLL2) sent an interim evaluation report to her organization (FLL1) in which she reported that the performance of the project was successful, but in which no mention was made of the reasons why the poor households had left the project.

The examination of the case shows that the following three factors caused a decline in poor people's participation. The first was the lack of cash on the part of poor local members who were not able to deposit regularly the specified amount into the savings

Participatory Development Activities

fund. The second factor was the rigid operational procedure of the project requiring a fixed deposit every month throughout the year. The third factor was conflict among its members about how to invest the group savings to generate more revenue. Due to these conflicts, members from the poor local households relinquished their membership because of their perception that those from the better-off households would exert stronger pressure so as to secure greater benefits on their own terms.

In this project, people's participation is found in project preparation and implementation. There is no participation of people in project identification, approval and evaluation. Therefore, it is concluded that people's participation in this project is partial, free (induced), and direct as well as indirect from the local people's point of view. An overall assessment shows that people's participation in this project is extensive but effective.

Costs and benefits of participation anticipated by local people in the receiving mechanism differ among members from the poor and the rich local households. The costs of participation of the former are higher than those of the latter. Although they are poor, they have to spend their scarce resources in terms of time spent on attending meetings, organizing activities, and paying cash into the savings scheme, while the members from the rich households have more resources to generate savings. Benefits to be gained from their participation were also not obvious, and the ensuing controversy gave rise to serious conflict. The members from the poor households expected to use the savings fund to set up a village retail cooperative, while those representing the rich households wanted to invest the group savings in the purchase of agricultural inputs. Unsurprisingly, the poor members all left the scheme once they realized that their objectives and expected benefits were not achieved.

3. Evaluation of the Project

The interim evaluation was conducted by the C.D. Worker, and its report was submitted to higher levels of the C.D. Department. The evaluation report gave some hints of its effectiveness, efficiency and impact as follows:

a. Effectiveness

The local officer had set two targets to be realized after the completion of the first year of project implementation. These are as follows (C.D. Department 1984, p. 1):

- (1) all the 25 poor households in the village will be mobilized to join in the savings scheme; and

- (2) the central group savings fund is expected to accumulate the amount of Baht 5,000 within one year of implementation.

At the time of this study, the project implementation had been going on for more than one year. Thus, the above targets can be used as the standard against which to assess the effectiveness of the project.

The achievement of the first target shows that the savings group initially consisted of 15 members representing 25 poor households. By the time when the survey was conducted, all of them had already relinquished their membership in the scheme. Although new members had entered into the project, none of them came from a poor household. Thus, the project was no longer beneficial to the poor.

Regarding the achievement of the second target, the central group savings fund generated Baht 2,800 by the end of the first year of its operation. Thus, this project could achieve slightly more than half of its second target in the first year. However when richer households joined the savings scheme, the savings went rapidly up to ฿ 14,000 by August 1984 and over ฿ 20,000 by February 1985.

The above analysis shows that the project achievements fell short of the stipulated targets. Therefore, it may be considered as of little effectiveness as far as the poor households were concerned.

b. Efficiency

This project was beset with problems whose causes can be traced back to deficiencies in both the delivery mechanism and the linking loops. The analysis offers explanations related to four distinct operational components.

- (1) Rigidity of the formalized linking loop of the delivery mechanism.

The project is formulated at the central administrative level. Local members of the savings group were obliged to adhere to the rules of operation stipulated by the C.D. Department. One of these rules was that a fixed amount of cash has to be contributed every month. This was impossible for the poor members of the savings group. A more flexible regulation could have most probably retained the poor farmers in the savings scheme.

- (2) Ineffective functioning of the communal linking loop (CLL2).

Participatory Development Activities

Some members left the group because of personal conflicts with some committee members.

- (3) Fragmentation of the communal linking loop (CLL2) leads to ineffectiveness in pooling local resources from among the poor participants.

The savings group comprises of members from the local poor households and those representing the rich households. There was a gross disparity in savings amounts between members of poor and rich households, which became the root of conflict between these two groups, aggravated by different objectives of investing the savings to generate maximum return.

- (4) Unsuccessful interface between the C.D. Worker and the target group (CLL2).

It is observed that the linking of resources of the poor actors in the receiving mechanism (RM) through their communal linking loop was not efficient. Only those members who came from the richer households were capable of depositing the specified amount regularly. Inefficiency of the interface between RM and DM was caused by the incompatibility in creating a revolving fund through contributions by the rich and the poor alike who were falsely perceived of as one target group.

c. Impact

As this project had been implemented shortly before the field survey was conducted, it was difficult to assess its impact. However, it is found that the prime, original target group of the project, which is members from the local poor households, had quit their participation and been replaced by better-off households. No mention was made in the C.D. interim evaluation report of the fact that the poor household had relinquished their membership, much less of the reasons for their discontinuance the project.

4. Causes of Likely Failure

The main factors contributing to the ineffectiveness of the project are summarized hereunder:

a. Lack of a pre-feasibility study

The project was initiated at the top level of the administrative hierarchy within a top-down planning framework and then was passed down to the local level for

implementation. Project implementation procedures were spelled out in great detail with specification of resources for various activities. In this approach, it was assumed that management techniques identified at central level are appropriate to all kinds of situations. Thus, this project was implemented without conducting a pre-feasibility study. Consequently, the actors of the delivery mechanism were unable to estimate the availability, with the target population, of financial and other resources.

b. Lack of people's participation in the target group

This case shows that an interface between the delivery and the receiving mechanisms started just prior to the project implementation stage. The project was formulated under the premise that solutions to the problems of the poor and their needs are known to government officials. In this vein, the government agency identified the project and formulated its design for the benefit of the poor. In this light, the knowledge of the poor, their interest and motivation, and their resource endowment were not taken into consideration while formulating the project. In the absence of direct participation with the poor, the government officials were not aware of their problems and constraints. This is reflected by frequent interruptions of the scheme due to irregular deposits of savings by some of its members because of their inability to spare precious cash.

5. Hypothesis Testing

The result of testing the standard set of hypotheses is presented in Chart 8.2. Except for those sub-hypotheses found not applicable, supporting evidence is summarized for most items as relevant.

6. Findings and Conclusion

This part consists of two topics: a summary of the hypothesis testing results is presented first, followed by the application of the linking loops concept to the case under study.

a. Summary of hypothesis testing results

The project was formulated at the central level of the Department of Community Development (C.D.) and delegated to the local level. As a result, the project had objectives that were of limited interest to local people, who consequently had little confidence in joining the savings scheme. This was the effect of not having involved them during the initial stages of the project cycle.

Chart 8.2 : Hypothesis Testing - The Case Study of the Savings Scheme

Hypothesis	Result of Testing*	Supporting Evidence
<p>A. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO FORMULATION OF PROJECT OBJECTIVES</p> <p>Local level plans, prepared by government agencies have objectives that are of little or no interest to the local people; this will be the case, if the project has the following characteristics in the initial phase of the project cycle.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Local people were not involved in the formulation of the objectives. 2. Local people were involved in the formulation of the objectives, but initiators of the project were not willing to adjust their particular objectives, or to reach a consensus. 3. Several government organizations were involved in plan making. Each of them had different objectives and was unwilling to compromise. 4. Higher levels of the plan making administration formulated specific objectives of the project and did not allow the lower levels of the planning administration to make adjustments. 5. Groups of local people and individuals had different and often conflicting objectives. 	<p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p style="text-align: center;">N.A.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">N.A.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p style="text-align: center;">-</p>	<p>In the beginning there was little confidence among the poor in the savings scheme. However, after some time 18 poor families were induced by the Community Development Worker to join.</p> <p>The objectives of the project were formulated at the central level of the Community Development (C.D.) Department.</p> <p>The project objectives were formulated at the central level of the C.D. Department and passed on to the local level.</p> <p>This problem emerged during the implementation of the scheme.</p>

continued

* Legend:

- + Affirmative
- Non-affirmative
- N.A. Not Applicable

Chart 8.2 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>B. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS</p>		
<p>Local people and government agents sometimes arrive at different perceptions of the current situation, for the collection of data and its analysis have the following characteristics.</p>	+	<p>According to the C.D. Worker, a savings scheme could help poor households to save money regularly for relief of distress or in situations of emergency. However, in a later stage of the project it became clear that her assessment was not correct.</p>
<p>6. The data was collected only from specific groups of people viz., the rich, the poor, the local leaders, the women, or the youths.</p>	N.A.	
<p>7. The sets of data were collected only over a certain short period when a particular situation prevailed or problems arose.</p>	N.A.	
<p>8. The way the sets of data were collected and analyzed was subject to some biases due to the difference in socio-economic background of planners and local people.</p>	N.A.	
<p>9. Data from local people, including their knowledge, were not properly collected, analyzed and utilized in the process of plan making.</p>	+	<p>Data collection in the village was not done earlier to assess villagers' interest and their willingness to join the project. It was only the assessment of the Community Development Worker that could be considered as some sort of data base.</p>
<p>C. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT DESIGN</p>		
<p>The project design of the local level plans is not valid. This will be the case, if the proposed activities have the following characteristics.</p>	+	<p>The project was designed in such a way that local members of the savings scheme were obliged to adhere to the rules of operation stipulated by the C.D. Department.</p>
<p>10. Activities were designed without participation and/or consensus of the local population.</p>	+	<p>Local members of the scheme did not participate in project design and the formulation of regulations.</p>
<p>11. Activities were planned during a period of the year when the local people are usually too busy notably with agricultural activities, so that they were not able to participate in the project effectively.</p>	-	

continued

Chart 8.2 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>12. Resources needed for the project, as indicated by the government, cannot be contributed by the local people at all or cannot possibly be provided by them during the period specified in the project document.</p>	-	<p>It was specified in the project document that regular savings on a monthly basis were required from among local members of the savings scheme but they could not afford to make regular savings because of lack of marginal surplus capital after household expenditures in certain periods.</p>
<p>13. Allocation of external resources by the government to a certain project was not in accordance with the magnitude of problems in the area and with the real needs of the local people.</p>	-	
<p>14. Local resources in the area were not effectively explored when the project design was prepared. As a consequence, these resources became not available when they were needed at particular stages of project implementation.</p>	+	<p>It became clear that the Community Development Worker's perception of the poor people being able to save every month was wrong.</p>
<p>D. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT APPROVAL</p>		
<p>The local population is either not interested or has only a loose interest, since they were not involved in the project approval.</p>	-	<p>The delivery mechanism approved the project by providing a Community Development Worker to conduct her activity. However, no savings scheme could be established unless a group of people also gave their consent by joining the scheme.</p>
<p>15. The project approval took a long time because</p>	-	
<p>a. the approval of a project was mostly done at higher level, sometimes coming from the national level of the administration, which automatically excluded any participation of people in decision making at the local level.</p>	N.A.	
<p>b. the government organizations were adhering to a complicated approval procedure.</p>	N.A.	
<p>c. there were more than one formalized linking loop (FLL) of the delivering mechanism involved in the coordination at the approval stage, thus taking a long time.</p>	N.A.	

continued

Chart 8.2 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>16. If the approval was obtained at the local level, people could lose interest for the following reasons:</p> <p>a. a conflicting communal linking loop (CLL); and</p> <p>b. the local leader manipulated the approval stage.</p>	<p>+</p> <p>+</p> <p>-</p>	<p>Local members of the savings scheme participated in the approval procedure by joining the scheme, but the target group lost interest after some time.</p> <p>Members from the poor households and those representing the rich households had different objectives about how to invest the group savings to generate revenue.</p>
<p>E. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION</p>		
<p>In any case where local people are urged only to contribute to project implementation but not involved in the earlier stages of the project cycle, there is a tendency that they will not participate in such project.</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>The target group (poor villagers) were not involved in formulating the regulations (project design).</p>
<p>17. Even if local people were involved in one or more of the earlier stages of the project cycle, there was a chance that they were not willing to continue their participation into the stage of project implementation because of</p>	<p>N.A.</p>	<p>Local people were involved in this project only in the implementation stage, not in earlier stages of the project cycle.</p>
<p>a. changes in their individual circumstances;</p>	<p>N.A.</p>	
<p>b. changing priorities among their individual objectives;</p>	<p>N.A.</p>	
<p>c. a new perception after a reassessment of the erstwhile situation during the earlier stages of the project cycle.</p>	<p>N.A.</p>	<p>When the group members from the poor households got into the conflict of interest with those from the rich households, they reassessed the situation and left the savings scheme.</p>
<p>18. Although people were initially participating in project implementation they might discontinue their participation at this stage because of</p>	<p>+</p>	<p>Local members from the poor households relinquished their membership in the savings scheme.</p>
<p>a. changes in their individual circumstances;</p>	<p>-</p>	

continued

Participatory Development Activities

Any collection of data at field level before the implementation stage had not taken place. Data collection in the village had not been done earlier to assess villagers' interest and their willingness to join the project as well as their resource endowment. According to the local official (C.D. Worker) a savings scheme could help poor households to save money regularly for relief of distress or in situations of emergency. However, it became clear in later stages of the project cycle that her assessment of the situation was not correct.

The design of this project was invalid because it was identified and formulated at the central level. It was designed in such a way that local members of the savings scheme were obliged to adhere to the rules of operation stipulated by the C.D. Department. One of the regulations was that regular savings on a monthly basis were required from among the local members of the savings scheme, many of whom, however, could not afford to make regular savings because of lack of marginal surplus capital after household expenditures in certain periods. The case shows clearly that unless the project is carefully prepared and designed corresponding to the objectives and needs of the poor households which are the target group, the rich will win the struggle for scarce resources.

The local population did not participate in the project approval because the project had been endorsed at the central level. However, a group of people gave their consent by joining the group so that the savings scheme could be established in the village, and yet the target group members lost their interest after some time.

Not all the poor households which intentionally formed the target group of the scheme participated in the project implementation because they had not been involved in the earlier stages of the project cycle. It is found in this case that the local members who were joining in the implementation stage quit during the implementation stage because of the two following reasons. Firstly, they had a conflict with some committee members of the scheme. Secondly, the members from poor households left the scheme over the conflict of objectives with members from rich households as to how to invest the group savings to generate maximum return.

In this project, an internal and interim evaluation was conducted by the local official (C.D. Worker). The local members of the scheme were not involved, neither in its monitoring nor its evaluation. As a result, internal motives of the local members could not be assessed clearly as evident from the fact that the objectives and opinions of the members from poor households were not known to the C.D. Worker. The real reason why the group members from poor households had left the project were not identified in the official report. The benefits of project were consequently not accruing to the poor households who are the target group but to members of relatively rich households.

b. Application of the linking loops concept

In relation to the formation of communal and formalized linking loops, the following observations could be made.

Not until the implementation stage of the project cycle had been reached, the communal linking loop (CLL2) of the receiving mechanism (RM) was formed by the C.D. worker (FLL2) through induced and direct participation.

The CLL2 of the RM consisted of two groups: members of the local committee (CLL2a) and local members (CLL2b). The CLL2b was frequently disrupted due to irregular deposits of savings by some members. Therefore, the rules of operation were reviewed to ensure participation of the local members in the CLL2b. However, the CLL2b suffered a set-back when some local members left the scheme due to their personal conflict with some committee members. Thereafter, the new communal linking loop (CLL3) was formed when new members from better-off households replaced those who had left the project. The formulation of this CLL3 was not effective because of conflicting objectives between members from poor and rich households about how to invest the group savings with a view to generating maximum return. The CLL3 of the RM was disrupted when all local members representing poor households quit the scheme. Again, a new communal linking loop (CLL4) was formed by recruiting new members from wealthier households replacing all those from poor households who had left the project. The CLL4 was subsequently made up exclusively of members from better-off households.

Through the formalized linking loop, a top-down approach was followed in this project as evident from the fact that the project was formulated and designed at the central level of the C.D. Department (FLL1). The interface between CLL2 and FLL2 took place only in the implementation stage via partial and free participation induced by the C.D. Worker (FLL2).

The project was designed without the participation of local people in the formulation of its objectives as well as in data collection and analysis. As a result, the delivery mechanisms (FLL1 and FLL2) were unable to estimate the availability of financial and other resources with the target group of the project. The case proves that the assumption of the C.D. Worker (FLL2) that poor people could save a certain amount every month was not correct because in reality they could not afford to make monthly savings due to lack of marginal surplus capital. However, the C.D. Worker (FLL2) tried very hard to stimulate an effective function of the communal linking loop (CLL2) in the receiving mechanism (RM) by allowing some flexibility for making certain adjustments, through a revised rule of operation, in order to solicit participation among the local poor.

Participatory Development Activities

It is quite clear from this case that room for marginal adjustments of project components, if provided in the top-down planning system, would have been useful to strengthen people's participation. The case shows that the C.D. Worker (FLL2) was not strictly following the regulations stipulated by the central level (FLL1) but allowed marginal adjustments to suit potential local members (CLL2). Nevertheless, the C.D. Worker could not ensure the participation of the members from poor households because direct participation of the poor had not been facilitated during the formulation stage. The local official (FLL2) was thus not aware of the objectives and problems of the poor. This resulted in the termination of their participation. Eventually members from better-off households won the "struggle for scarce resources" by retaining their membership in the scheme and utilizing the benefits to achieve their particular objectives.

D. ANALYSIS OF AN INITIATED PROJECT : POND CONSTRUCTION

Securing steady water supply through the storage of rainfall and natural surface water resources serves the most fundamental needs. In the absence of large-scale water supply systems, the small-scale pond or medium-scale tank are viable means to store water in volumes that can fulfill the requirements of a limited number of households and enterprises. Construction of ponds or tanks was undertaken particularly all over Northeastern Thailand, to remedy periodic shortages and avert the disastrous effects of seasonal droughts. The case of pond construction at Ban Pa Mai is described in brief. People's participation in its planned development process is analyzed, the project is appraised, the reasons for its likely success are identified, conclusions are drawn and a set of hypothesis is tested.

1. Case Description : Pond Construction*

The project was initiated by three men who shared the common problem of lacking reliable water supply for home consumption and agricultural use. To solve this problem, the three initiators consulted with the village headman with whom all of them had a good relationship. The headman promised to support their proposal on pond construction under the rubric of a village development project for implementation under the Rural Job Creation Programme 1986-1987 and to forward it to the provincial office for approval and funding.

* A comprehensive, descriptive report on pond construction is given in Pongquan (1988), pp. 211-219.

A village meeting was held in June 1985 to get the consent of the Village Development Committee. Two committee members strongly opposed the idea and introduced their proposal of village road repair. In their opinion, direct benefits to be gained from the pond construction proposal would be limited to only seven individual households in the neighbourhood of the pond, whereas their proposal could generate greater benefits for a larger number of people. In addition, the site selected for pond construction was located far away from the dense cluster of village houses. The village headman could not establish consensus among the participants on the project proposals. He feared a split vote and wanted to avoid a violent confrontation between the two proponents who themselves were powerful leaders.

Then the proponent of the pond construction project approached the sub-district headman (kamnan), who was on friendly terms with him owing to reciprocal labour contributions in several village based activities, and asked him to exert his power to get an approval of his proposal. The kamnan discussed the issue of conflict between the two proponents with the Deputy District Officer for Development of Noi Na District. Eventually, the pond construction was approved by the district administration, with an allocation of Baht 24,300 in cash, left over from the contingency fund for development activities in other tambon during Fiscal Year 1985. Meanwhile, the village road repair scheme, which required a bigger budget, would be incorporated into the official request under the Tambon Development Plan for 1986-1987.

After the approval of the pond construction project had been conveyed to the three initiators, another meeting was held, including the seven households which would be the direct beneficiaries of the project, in order to discuss planning details, assign responsibilities and mobilize resources. Just before the start of project implementation in November 1985, there was an incident that almost foiled the entire scheme. The landowner was no longer willing to give his land for the construction of the pond, after he had overheard his two neighbours discussing their plan to start vegetable cultivation at a commercial scale on their own land. He suspected that these neighbours had been looking forward to using water from the pond in his land for their individual crop production enterprises which would be directly competitive with his own business. He felt that he had committed his scarce resources to the project, while his original partners were about to take them for granted. As a result, the project was delayed until the kamnan could settle the conflict by conducting several talks with the three initiators.

Finally, the problem was resolved when the kamnan had formulated an agreement among all beneficiaries of the project stating that water could be taken from the pond by individual households for domestic supply solely, and that water could not be diverted for commercial use without the consent of the owner of the land in which the pond was

Participatory Development Activities

situated. Accordingly, the construction of the pond was started and successfully completed by January, 1986.

2. People's Participation in the Planned Development Process

This case study belongs to the category of projects for which the initiative is coming from the local population with the aim of obtaining resources through government support.

Major events took place in the process of launching this project represented by interrelationships between various basic linking loops and communal linking loops, and the interfaces between the communal linking loops and formalized linking loops, which are shown in Graph VIII. 3.

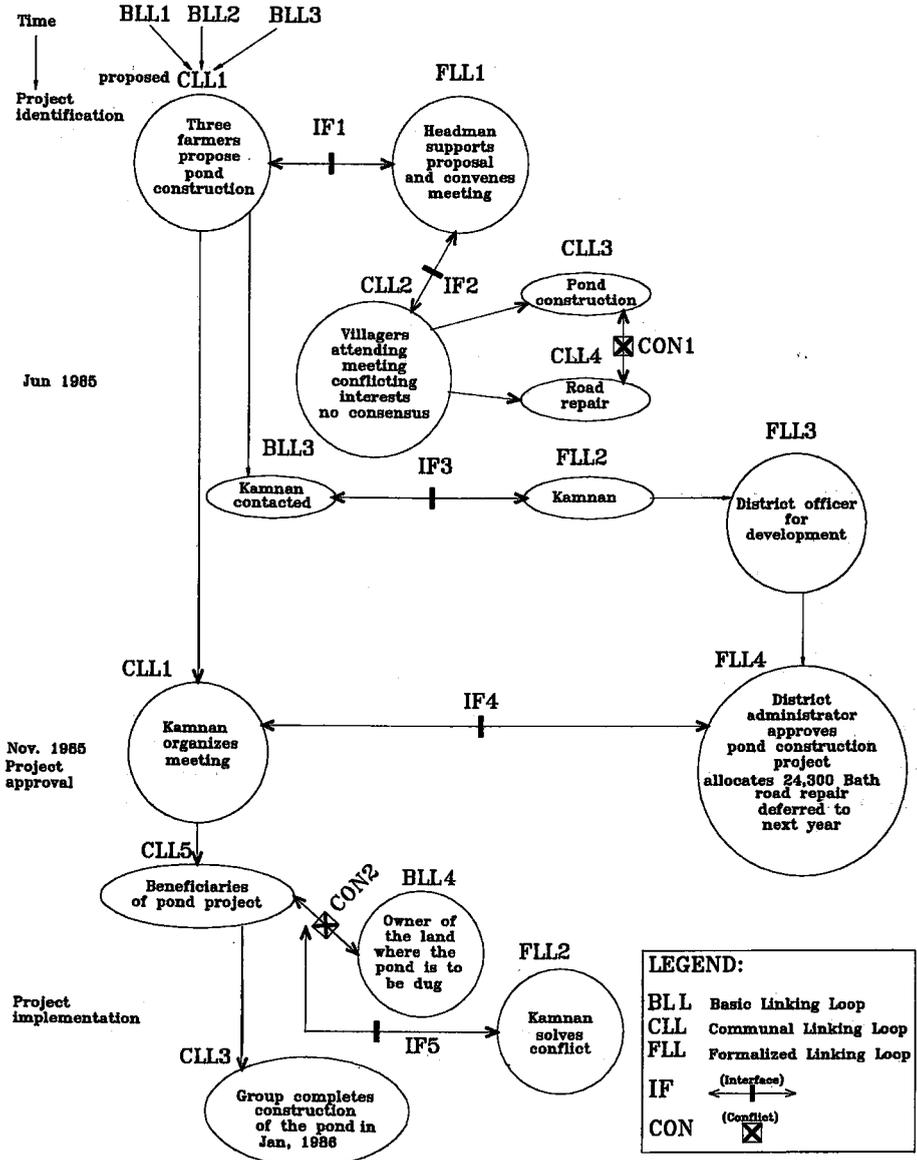
The identification of a pond construction project originated from an initiative (BLL1) of a person in the village (spontaneous participation). He induced two friends (BLL2 and BLL3) to build a communal linking loop (CLL1) and established an interface (IF1) with the village headman, who is part of the formalized linking loop of the delivery mechanism. He stimulated other people and the Village Development Committee members to link their basic linking loops with him (CLL2) so as to support his idea of pond construction (CLL3).

Meanwhile, another project proposal on road repair (CLL4) came up, which led to a deadlock when the village headman could not make his final decision on either one of the two proposed projects. This highlights the conflict of interest between two groups of actors in the communal linking loops of the receiving mechanism (CLL3 versus CLL4).

The proponents of the pond construction project (CLL1) contacted the kamnan (BLL3), who approached (IF2) the district administration (FLL3) through the district officer for development. The district administrator (FLL4) approved the pond construction project and informed the CLL1.

For the final project preparation, another communal linking loop (CLL5) was formed among the intended beneficiaries of the project via induced and direct participation. They came together for discussion and preparation of activities which required assigning responsibilities and mobilizing people and resources. The preparation for project implementation got stuck due to an internal conflict in the communal linking loop of the receiving mechanism. The owner of the land in which the pond was to be located

Graph VIII.3: Pond Construction
Case Study of An Initiated Project



Participatory Development Activities

(BLL4) was not willing to give his land for pond construction. As a result, the preparation of the project got delayed for long until another interface (IF4) was exerted by the kamnan to settle the conflict between actors of the CLL5 and the BLL4. The pond construction was then successfully implemented as planned.

Overall, the participation of local people in project identification, preparation and approval was complete, free (induced as well as spontaneous), direct as well as indirect, intensive and effective. People's participation occurred in diverse forms. They participated in all the activities of the project, e.g., decision making and taking initiatives, organizing and managing activities, mobilizing people and resources, as well as contributing time and knowledge.

Regarding costs and benefits of participation in this case, it is shown that immediate and direct beneficiaries were willing to contribute more scarce resources than others, in terms of their time, cash and labour. This is due to the benefits they would gain from storing water to be used during the dry season.

3. Appraisal of the Project

When revisiting the site, it was observed that the pond was completely constructed. This shows that the project had been effective. As this case was just then completed, therefore, its impact could not be assessed. The efficiency of the project at the approval stage was high as proven by the release of resources from the delivery mechanism linked to the receiving mechanism efficiently. In fact, the high efficiency in the utilization of inputs was due to the delegation of decision making and budget controlling power to the local administrative level. As a result, decisions regarding the release of resources could be made right away by the local level administration. This facilitated the effective linking of resources of the delivery mechanism with those of the receiving mechanism.

4. Reasons for Potential Success

At the time of the field study, success or failure of the project could not be assessed because the project was just in its initial phase. However, when the area was revisited the project was found successfully implemented. Moreover, the pond was also found potentially suitable for storing rainwater. The following factors were found having contributed to the success of the project.

a. Utilization of local knowledge and expertise

People could apply their knowledge and expertise to this project. The technology used for the project was not only familiar to them but was also simple. Since this project was formulated and designed by the people themselves, it was bound to fulfill their immediate needs. In this sense, it may be considered as a need based project.

b. Decentralization of budget control

Decentralization of the budgeting system under the government administration at local level facilitated the release of funds at the proper time.

c. Direct participation of local people in earlier stages of the planned development process

Involvement of people in the planning process since its early stage enabled local officers to gain knowledge of problems and motivations of people, which helped them to formulate a mutually acceptable plan. As a result, the mobilization of people and resources could be done effectively.

d. High degree of flexibility in the design of the project and its implementation

This case is a village initiated project which was also implemented by the villagers themselves. Through direct participation of the intended beneficiaries, they could make their own project design and were capable to manage and organize the activities by themselves. This is due to a high degree of flexibility in the design and implementation of the project, which contributed to its success.

5. Hypothesis Testing

The result of hypothesis testing for the case study on pond construction is shown in Chart 8.3. In as far as relevant, the test results for the applicable hypotheses and sub-hypotheses are supplemented with supporting evidence.

Chart 8.3 : Hypothesis Testing - The Case Study of Pond Construction^{1/}

Hypothesis	Result of ^{2/} Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>A. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO FORMULATION OF PROJECT OBJECTIVES</p> <p>Local level plans, prepared by government agencies have objectives that are of little or no interest to the local people; this will be the case, if the project has the following characteristics in the initial phase of the project cycle.</p>	N.A.	The project was not prepared by government agencies; it was formulated by local people.
<p>B. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS</p> <p>Local people and government agents sometimes arrive at different perceptions of the current situation, for the collection of data and its analysis have the following characteristics.</p> <p>6. The data was collected only from specific groups of people viz., the rich, the poor, the local leaders, the women, or the youths.</p> <p>7. The sets of data were collected only over a certain short period when a particular situation prevailed or problems arose.</p> <p>8. The way the sets of data were collected and analyzed was subject to some biases due to the difference in socio-economic background of planners and local people.</p>	N.A.	Local government agents did not participate in data collection and analysis for this project.
	N.A.	

continued

^{1/} Only those sub-hypotheses relevant for the project are shown. The complete list of all general hypotheses and their respective sub-hypotheses is presented in Chapter IV.

^{2/} Legend:
 + Affirmative
 - Non-affirmative
 N.A. Not Applicable

Chart 8.3 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>9. Data from local people, including their knowledge, were not properly collected, analyzed and utilized in the process of plan making.</p>	-	Local people used their knowledge in the site selection and the formulation of the project.
<p>C. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT DESIGN</p>		
<p>The project design of the local level plans is not valid. This will be the case, if the proposed activities have the following characteristics.</p>	-	As the project design was in the hands of a local leader, there was no problem in the design itself.
<p>10. Activities were designed without participation and/or consensus of the local population.</p>	N.A.	
<p>11. Activities were planned during a period of the year when the local people are usually too busy notably with agricultural activities, so that they were not able to participate in the project effectively.</p>	-	Project design was prepared by the local people.
<p>12. Resources needed for the project, as indicated by the government, cannot be contributed by the local people at all or cannot possibly be provided by them during the period specified in the project document.</p>	-	The resources were made available from a government source.
<p>13. Allocation of external resources by the government to a certain project was not in accordance with the magnitude of problems in the area and with the real needs of the local people.</p>	N.A.	
<p>14. Local resources in the area were not effectively explored when the project design was prepared. As a consequence, these resources became not available when they were needed at particular stages of project implementation.</p>	-	Local resources were effectively explored by the local community.

continued

Chart 8.3 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>D. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT APPROVAL</p> <p>The local population is either not interested or has only a loose interest, since they were not involved in the project approval.</p> <p>15. The project approval took a long time because</p> <p>a. the approval of a project was mostly done at higher level, sometimes coming from the national level of the administration, which automatically excluded any participation of people in decision making at the local level.</p> <p>b. the government organizations were adhering to a complicated approval procedure.</p> <p>c. there were more than one formalized linking loop (FLL) of the delivering mechanism involved in the coordination at the approval stage, thus taking a long time.</p> <p>16. If the approval was obtained at the local level, people could lose interest for the following reasons:</p> <p>a. a conflicting communal linking loop (CLL); and</p> <p>b. the local leader manipulated the approval stage.</p>	<p>-</p>	<p>The project approval stage did not take a long time.</p> <p>A decision was made locally and quickly by the Village Development Committee (VDC), and also the government support was released on time.</p> <p>Before forwarding the project proposal to the provincial office for approval and funding, the project was discussed at village level to get the consent of the Village Development Committee. Those who initiated the pond construction retained their interest.</p> <p>Two groups of villagers had different ideas and proposed two different projects (road repair versus pond construction). As a result, a consensus among the local population could not be established, thus risking open confrontation.</p> <p>No local leader had any formal influence at the approval stage.</p>

continued

Chart 8.3 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>E. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION</p> <p>In any case where local people are urged only to contribute to project implementation but not involved in the earlier stages of the project cycle, there is a tendency that they will not participate in such project.</p> <p>17. Even if local people were involved in one or more of the earlier stages of the project cycle, there was a chance that they were not willing to continue their participation into the stage of project implementation.</p> <p>18. Although people were participating in project implementation, they might discontinue their participation at this stage.</p>	<p>-</p> <p>N.A.</p> <p>-</p>	<p>The project did not reach the implementation stage during the period of the field research. When revisiting the village it was observed that the pond construction was implemented.</p> <p>When revisiting the village, it was reported that no local people had discontinued their participation during the implementation stage.</p>
<p>F. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT EVALUATION</p> <p>Local people not being involved in project evaluation will be the case, if the following conditions exist:</p> <p>19. Certain problems and constraints obstructing the project preparation and implementation from local people's point of view could not be known to the government agent of the implementing agency. As a result modifications of the project could not be made in order to make the current project as well as future projects more effective and efficient.</p>	<p>N.A.</p>	<p>No evaluation activities inside or outside the community were known. Revisiting could be seen as an external ex-post evaluation.</p>

continued

Chart 8.3 cont'd

Hypothesis	Result of Testing	Supporting Evidence
<p>20. Without constant participatory monitoring and evaluation, internal motives of the local people could not be assessed clearly, as to whether these would coincide with the objective(s) of the project or not. Therefore, the formulation of development activities could not be steered in such a way that the objective(s) of the local people and of the project would be congruent. As a consequence, the chance to maximize people's active participation in the various stages of the planned development process was minimal.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">+</p>	<p>The initial stage of project implementation was delayed due to the fact that the landowner was almost not willing to give his land for the pond construction because other direct beneficiaries had some implicit objectives which would be directly competitive with his own business. However, this problem was solved owing to the intervention of the <u>kamman</u>.</p>

6. Findings and Conclusion

This section consists of two parts. First, there is a summary of the results of hypothesis testing. Secondly, conclusions are drawn based on the application of the linking loop concept to the case under study.

a. Summary of hypothesis testing results

As the overall hypotheses are focussing on government initiated projects, several of the hypotheses and sub-hypotheses do not apply. Still an effort was made to fit the findings of this case study into the framework for hypothesis testing presented in Chart 8.3. The following observations can be made.

Due to the fact that the initiative for the project came from local people in the village who were well aware of the needs and resource availability, there was no problem to enlist direct, complete and free participation. This does not mean, however, that there were no problems during the project identification stage, because two projects were identified, pond construction and road repair. This required an intervention by government officers to solve the problem.

The collection of data did not result in serious problems, but during the design of the project in which the location of the pond had to be decided, a new problem arose. The landowner was no longer willing to give his land. It required again external intervention to solve this problem. The approval and implementation stages took place after the field research had been completed. However, during a revisit it was observed that the pond was completed. Information was obtained that, due to decentralization, the resources from the government were made available in time.

This case makes clear that village initiated projects can be rather quickly implemented with the active participation of the local population. However, conflicting objectives of individuals and groups can endanger such project. It is questionable whether the pond would have been constructed, if government officials had not used their influence to solve the conflict that arose. Also, the quick delivery of resources by the government was an important factor in the smooth implementation of the project.

b. Application of the linking loops concept

Referring to the concepts of communal linking loop (CLL) and FLL the following aspects can be observed.

Participatory Development Activities

The CLLs of the pond construction project were not troubled by different implicit and explicit objectives of its members. There was one exception though where the landowner, also one of the beneficiaries of the pond construction project, thought that for him the cost/benefit ratio of participation in the project were not favourable. However, he avoided incurring large social cost after having been visited by the headman, finally consenting to the construction of the pond on his land. There were also CLLs with conflicting interests between the group that favoured pond construction and those who preferred road repair. The conflict was solved in favor of the pond construction project, due to the good relationship between the BLL3 and the kamnan (FLL2).

As far as the FLL was concerned, the headman (FLL2) exerted several times his influence by solving the two conflicts in favour of pond construction. He also played an important role as a broker in obtaining funds from the delivery mechanism. This case shows that an important factor in the success of the CLL3 favouring the pond construction was firstly, an effective constitution of CLL1 and later on becomes CLL3 of the RM. Secondly, it was the good relationship between the kamnan (FLL2) who established and facilitated the contact between the local people (CLL3) of the RM and the district officer for development (FLL3) as well as the district administrator (FLL4) of the DM.

IX. AGGREGATE ANALYSIS

Based on nine individual case studies which were presented in Chapters VI., VII. and VIII., this aggregate analysis is divided into six topics corresponding to the six main hypotheses, each of which addresses a particular stage of the planned development process. Hereunder, the six general hypotheses and their sub-hypotheses are tested in parallel against the evidence generated through the nine case studies (see Chart 9.1).

For analytical purposes, the nine cases are classified into three categories based on the criterion of project initiation. One is the category of Village Initiated Projects (VIP) comprising of road repair and pond construction. Another includes projects initiated at village level and aimed at obtaining resources from on-going government programmes; that category is identified throughout this chapter as the V/G Projects (V/GP), consisting of pump irrigation and mat weaving. The third category is that of Government Initiated Projects (GIP) comprising of soybean cultivation, savings scheme, income generation, youths activities and medicine supply cooperative.

The focus on these three categories of initiative, as presented in Chart 9.1, encompasses similarities and differences in hypothesis testing and analysis of the nine cases at aggregate level. Specific attributes are traced that are identified as potentials or constraints in the planned development process of a project.

Setting out with the detailed record of hypothesis testing presenting results for each of the nine projects under study, these cases are grouped into categories by initiation and resources (Chart 9.1).

The hypothesis testing results are then summarized by degree and direction of affirmation (Chart 9.2). Hypothesis testing results are classified according to eight different degrees of affirmation which can be defined as follows:

- (1) "fully affirmative" results are obtained where evidence from all cases is positive;
- (2) "largely affirmative" results are obtained where evidence from almost all cases or from all applicable cases is positive;
- (3) "barely affirmative" results are obtained where non-applicability outweighed the number of cases with positive evidence;
- (4) "ambivalent/ambiguous" results are obtained where evidence from as many cases is positive as it is negative, or where non-applicability reduces evidence to equal numbers of positive and negative cases;

Chart 9.1 : Aggregate Analysis of Hypothesis Testing on the Nine Case Studies

Hypothesis	Village Initiated Project		V/G Project*		Government Initiated Project				
	Road Repair	Pond Construction	Pump Irrigation	Mat Weaving	Soybean Cultivation	Savings Scheme	Income Generation	Youths Activities	Medicine Supply Cooperative
A. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO THE FORMULATION OF PROJECT OBJECTIVES									
Local level plans, prepared by government agencies, have objectives that are of little or no interest to the local people; this will be the case if the project has the following characteristics in the initial phases of the project cycle.	N.A.	N.A.	-	N.A.	+	+	-	-	+
1. Local people were not involved in the formulation of the objectives.	N.A.	N.A.	+	N.A.	+	+	-	-	+
2. Local people were involved in the formulation of the objectives, but initiators of the project were not willing to adjust their particular objectives, or to reach a consensus.	N.A.	N.A.	-	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	-	+	N.A.
3. Several government organizations were involved in plan making. Each of them had different objectives and was unwilling to compromise.	N.A.	N.A.	+	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	-	N.A.
4. Higher levels of the plan making administration formulated specific objectives of the project and did not allow the lower levels of the planning administration to make adjustments.	N.A.	N.A.	-	N.A.	+	+	-	-	+
5. Groups of local people and individuals had different and often conflicting objectives.	N.A.	N.A.	+	N.A.	+	-	+	+	+

continued

Legend for result of hypothesis testing : + Affirmative

- Non-affirmative

N.A. Not Applicable

* Projects initiated at village level by villagers and aimed at obtaining resources from on-going government programmes.

Chart 9.1 cont'd

Hypothesis	Village Initiated Project		V/G Project		Government Initiated Project				
	Road Repair	Pond Construction	Pump Irrigation	Mat Weaving	Soybean Cultivation	Savings Scheme	Income Generation	Youths Activities	Medicine Supply Cooperative
B. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS									
Local people and government agents sometimes arrive at different perceptions of the current situation, for the collection of data and its analysis have the following characteristics.	N.A.	N.A.	+	N.A.	+	+	-	+	+
6. The sets of data were collected only from specific groups of people viz., the rich, the poor, the local leaders, the women, or the youths.	N.A.	N.A.	+	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	-	-	N.A.
7. The sets of data were collected only over a certain short period when particular situations prevailed or problems arose.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	-	-	N.A.
8. The way the sets of data were collected and analyzed was subject to some biases due to the differences in socio-economic background of planners and local people.	N.A.	N.A.	+	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	-	+	N.A.
9. Data from local people, including their knowledge, were not properly collected, analyzed and utilized in the process of plan making.	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+
C. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT DESIGN									
The project design of the local level plans is not valid. This will be the case when the proposed activities have the following characteristics.	+	-	+	N.A.	+	+	-	-	+

continued

Chart 9.1 cont'd

Hypothesis	Village Initiated Project		V/G Project		Government Initiated Project				
	Road Repair	Pond Construction	Pump Irrigation	Mat Weaving	Soybean Cultivation	Savings Scheme	Income Generation	Youths Activities	Medicine Supply Cooperative
10. Activities were designed without participation and/or consensus of the local population.	- +	N.A.	+ -	N.A.	+	+	-	-	+
11. Activities were planned during a period of the year when the local people are usually too busy notably with agricultural activities, so that they were not able to participate in the project effectively.	N.A.	-	N.A.	N.A.	-	-	-	-	-
12. Resources needed for the project, as indicated by the government, cannot be contributed by the local people at all or cannot possibly be provided by them during the period specified in the project document.	-	-	-	N.A.	-	-	-	-	-
13. Allocation of external resources by the government to a certain project was not in accordance with the magnitude of problems in the area and with the real needs of the local people.	-	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	-	-	-	-	-
14. Local resources in the area were not effectively explored when the project design had been prepared. As a consequence, these resources became not available when they were needed at particular stages of project implementation.	-	-	-	N.A.	-	+	-	-	-
D. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT APPROVAL									
The local population is either not interested or has only a loose interest since they were not involved in project approval.	N.A.	-	+ -	+	+	-	+	+	+

continued

Chart 9.1 cont'd

Hypothesis	Village Initiated Project		V/G Project		Government Initiated Project				
	Road Repair	Pond Construction	Pump Irrigation	Mat Weaving	Soybean Cultivation	Savings Scheme	Income Generation	Youths Activities	Medicine Supply Cooperative
15. The project approval took a long time because	N.A.	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-
a. the approval of a project was mostly done at higher level, sometimes coming from the national level of the administration, which automatically excluded any participation of people in decision making at the local level.	N.A.	-	+	+	-	N.A.	+	+	+
b. the government organizations were adhering to a complicated approval procedure.	N.A.	-	+	+	-	N.A.	+	-	-
c. there were more than one formalized linking loop (FLL) of the delivering mechanism involved in the coordination at the approval stage, thus taking a long time.	N.A.	-	+	+	-	N.A.	-	+	-
16. If the approval was obtained at the local level, people could lose interest for the following reasons:	N.A.	-	+	-	-	+	-	N.A.	-
a. a conflicting communal linking loop (CLL); and	N.A.	-	+	-	-	+	-	N.A.	-
b. the local leader manipulated the approval stage.	N.A.	-	+	-	-	-	-	N.A.	-
E. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION									
In any case where local people are urged only to contribute to project implementation but not involved in the earlier stages of the project cycle, there is a tendency that they will not participate in such project.	N.A.	-	+	N.A.	+	+	N.A.	N.A.	+

continued

Chart 9.1 cont'd

Hypothesis	Village Initiated Project		V/G Project		Government Initiated Project				
	Road Repair	Pond Construction	Pump Irrigation	Mat Weaving	Soybean Cultivation	Savings Scheme	Income Generation	Youths Activities	Medicine Supply Cooperative
17. Even if local people were involved in one or more of the earlier stages of the project cycle, there was a chance that they were not willing to continue their participation into the stage of project implementation because of	-	N.A.	-	+	N.A.	N.A.	-	N.A.	N.A.
a. changes in their individual circumstance;	-	N.A.	-	-	N.A.	N.A.	-	N.A.	N.A.
b. changing priorities among their individual objectives;	-	N.A.	-	+	N.A.	N.A.	-	N.A.	N.A.
c. a new perception after a reassessment of the erstwhile situation during the earlier stages of the project cycle.	-	N.A.	-	-	N.A.	N.A.	-	N.A.	N.A.
18. Although people were initially participating in project implementation they might discontinue their participation at this stage because of	+	-	-	+	+	+	N.A.	N.A.	+
a. changes in their individual circumstances;	-	-	-	-	N.A.	-	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
b. changing priorities among their own objectives;	-	-	-	+	-	-	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
c. a new perception after reassessment of the erstwhile situation during the implementation stage.	+	-	-	-	+	+	N.A.	N.A.	+
d. a delay in the implementation due to late arrival of resources (for reasons see Hypothesis D. 15).	-	-	-	+	-	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	+
e. poor organizational set-up of the implementing agency in a locality unsuitable for operation and management of the project;	-	-	-	-	+	-	N.A.	N.A.	+

continued

Chart 9.1 cont'd

Hypothesis	Village Initiated Project		V/G Project		Government Initiated Project				
	Road Repair	Pond Construction	Pump Irrigation	Mat Weaving	Soybean Cultivation	Savings Scheme	Income Generation	Youths Activities	Medicine Supply Cooperative
f. lack of coordination between the implementing agency and other collaborating agencies, so as to accelerate and strengthen project implementation;	-	-	-	+	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
g. conflict between local people and government agent assigned to the area during the time where the project was implemented; and	-	-	+	-	+	-	N.A.	N.A.	+
h. conflict among local people.	+	-	+	-	+	+	N.A.	N.A.	+
F. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT EVALUATION									
Local people not being involved in project evaluation will be the case, if the following conditions exist:									
19. Certain problems and constraints obstructing the project preparation and implementation from local people's point of view could not be known to the government agent of the implementing agency. As a result, modifications of the project could not be made in order to make the current project as well as future projects more effective and efficient.	N.A.	N.A.	+	+	+	+	+	N.A.	+
20. Without constant participatory monitoring and evaluation, internal motives of the local people could not be assessed clearly, as to whether these would coincide with the objective(s) of the project or not. Therefore, the formulation of development activities could not be steered in such a way that the objectives(s) of the local people and of the project would be congruent. As a consequence, the chance to maximize people's active participation in the various stages of the planned development process was minimal.	+	+	+	+	+	+	N.A.	N.A.	+

Participatory Development Activities

Chart 9.2 : Summary of Hypothesis Testing Results

Hypothesis Testing Results	VIP	V/GP	GIP
Fully affirmative	F 20	D 15	
Largely affirmative	A 1, 14, A 5 C 10	A 1, A 3, A 5 B, B 6, B 8 D F 19, F 20	A 5 B D, D 15a E 18, E 18c, E 18 h F 19, F 20
Barely affirmative			A, A 1, A 4 B 9 C 10 E, E 18e, E 18g
Ambivalent / ambiguous	C E 18, E 18c, E 18h	B 9, C, C 10 D 16 E, E 17, E 17b, E 18 E 18b, E 18d, E 18f, E 18g, E 18h	A 2 B 8 E 18d
Rather not affirmative			A 3, E 17, E 17a, E 17b, E 17c, E 18a, E 18b
Largely not affirmative	C 11, C 13 D E, E 17	A, A 2, A 4 C 12, C 14	B 6, B 7 C, C 14 D, D 15, D 15b, D 15c D 16

continued

Chart 9.2 cont'd

Hypothesis Testing Results	VIP	V/GP	GIP
Not affirmative at all	B 9, C 12, C 14 E 18a, E 18b, E 18d, E 18e, E 18f, E 18g	E 17a, E 17c, E 18a E 18c, E 18e	C 11, C 12, C 13
Not applicable / irrelevant	A, A 2, A 3, A 4 B, B 6, B 7, B 8 F 19	B 7 C 11, C 13	E 18f

The combined letter & number codes represent the particular hypotheses presented in Chart 9.1 complete with the testing results.

NB : "Fully affirmative" results were obtained where evidence from all cases is positive (example : all hypotheses D 15 for V/G P).

"Largely affirmative" results were obtained where evidence from almost all cases or from all applicable cases is positive (example: hypothesis A 5 for all categories).

"Barely affirmative" results were obtained where non-applicability outweighed the number of cases with positive evidence (example: hypothesis A 1 for GIP).

"Ambivalent / ambiguous" results were obtained where evidence from as many cases is positive as it is negative, or where non-applicability reduces evidence to equal numbers of positive and negative cases (examples: hypotheses C for VIP and V/GP, and hypothesis B 8 for GIP).

"Rather not affirmative" results were obtained where non-applicability outweighed the number of cases with negative evidence (example: hypothesis A 3 for GIP).

"Largely not affirmative" results were obtained where evidence from almost all cases, or from all applicable cases is negative (examples: hypothesis C 14 for V/GP and GIP, and hypotheses B 6 and B 7 for GIP).

Results "not affirmative at all" were obtained where evidence from all cases is negative (examples: hypothesis C 12 for VIP and GIP).

"Not applicable / irrelevant" were those hypotheses which address matters not compatible with the stage of the project under study in the project cycle, as evidence obtained varied depending upon a project having been completed, initiated, or being in the process of implementation.

Participatory Development Activities

- (5) "rather not affirmative" results are obtained where non-applicability outweighed the number of cases with negative evidence;
- (6) "largely not affirmative" results are obtained where evidence from almost all cases, or from all applicable cases is negative;
- (7) results "not affirmative at all" are obtained where evidence from all cases is negative; and
- (8) "not applicable/irrelevant" are those hypotheses which address matters not compatible with the stage of the project under study in the project cycle, as evidence obtained varied depending upon a project having been completed, initiated, or being in the process of implementation.

This intermediate step of establishing the degree and direction of affirmation leads to the identification and distinction of both the range and strength of explanations, which are presented in matrix form to facilitate the analytical interpretation of the research findings at the aggregate level (Chart 9.3). The ranges of explanations according to this chart are defined as follows:

- (1) "narrow" where explanations are valid for one category of projects only;
- (2) "medium" where explanations are valid for two categories of projects and of either combination; and
- (3) "wide" where explanations are valid for all three categories of projects.

A. FORMULATION OF THE PROJECT OBJECTIVES

The related set of general hypotheses (Hypothesis A.) assumes that local level plans prepared by government agencies have objectives that are of little or no interest to the local people. Firstly, the range of the findings shows that explanations obtained are valid for the narrow range of two categories separately. These comprise of V/GP and GIP, since this hypothesis was not applicable to VIP. Secondly, the result obtained for the case of V/GP is largely not affirmative which entails the rejection of the hypothesis, stressing that local level plans prepared by government agencies are, indeed, of interest to local people engaged in a village initiated project (VIP). Likewise, this hypothesis is

Chart 9.3 : Matrix Showing the Range and Strength of Explanations

HYPOTHESIS	NARROW	MEDIUM	WIDE
<p>A. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO THE FORMULATION OF PROJECT OBJECTIVES</p> <p>Local level plans, prepared by government agencies, have objectives that are of little or no interest to the local people; this will be the case if the project has the following characteristics in the initial phases of the project cycle.</p> <p>1. Local people were not involved in the formulation of the objectives.</p> <p>2. Local people were involved in the formulation of the objectives, but initiators of the project were not willing to adjust their particular objectives, or to reach a consensus.</p> <p>3. Several government organizations were involved in plan making. Each of them had different objectives and was unwilling to compromise.</p> <p>4. Higher levels of the plan making administration formulated specific objectives of the project and did not allow the lower levels of the planning administration to make adjustments.</p> <p>5. Groups of local people and individuals had different and often conflicting objectives.</p>	<p>LNA : V/GP BA : GIP</p> <p>LA : V/GP BA : GIP</p> <p>LNA : V/GP A/A : GIP</p> <p>LA : V/GP RNA : GIP</p> <p>LNA : V/GP BA : GIP</p>		<p>LA : VIP & V/GP & GIP</p>

continued

Chart 9.3 cont'd

HYPOTHESIS	NARROW	MEDIUM	WIDE
<p>B. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS</p> <p>Local people and government agents sometimes arrive at different perceptions of the current situation, for the collection of data and its analysis have the following characteristics.</p> <p>6. The sets of data were collected only from specific groups of people viz., the rich, the poor, the local leaders, the women, or the youths.</p> <p>7. The sets of data were collected only over a certain short period when particular situations prevailed or problems arose.</p> <p>8. The way the sets of data were collected and analyzed was subject to some biases due to the differences in socio-economic background of planners and local people.</p> <p>9. Data from local people, including their knowledge, were not properly collected, analyzed and utilized in the process of plan making.</p> <p>C. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT DESIGN</p> <p>The project design of the local level plans is not valid. This will be the case when the proposed activities have the following characteristics.</p>	<p>LA : V/GP LNA : GIP</p> <p>LNA : GIP</p> <p>LA : V/GP A/A : GIP</p> <p>NAA : VIP A/A : V/GP BA : GIP</p> <p>BA : GIP</p>	<p>LA : V/GP & GIP</p> <p>A/A : VIP V/GP</p>	

continued

Chart 9.3 cont'd

HYPOTHESIS	NARROW	MEDIUM	WIDE
<p>10. Activities were designed without participation and/or consensus of the local population.</p>	<p>LA : VIP BA : GIP A/A : V/GP</p>	<p>LA - BA : VIP & GIP</p>	
<p>11. Activities were planned during a period of the year when the local people are usually too busy notably with agricultural activities, so that they were not able to participate in the project effectively.</p>	<p>LNA : VIP NAA : GIP</p>	<p>LNA - NAA : VIP & GIP</p>	
<p>12. Resources needed for the project, as indicated by the government, cannot be contributed by the local people at all or cannot possibly be provided by them during the period specified in the project document.</p>	<p>LNA : V/GP</p>	<p>NAA : VIP & GIP</p>	<p>LNA - NAA : V/GP & VIP & GIP</p>
<p>13. Allocation of external resources by the government to a certain project was not in accordance with the magnitude of problems in the area and with the real needs of the local people.</p>	<p>LNA : VIP NAA : GIP</p>	<p>LNA - NAA : VIP & GIP</p>	
<p>14. Local resources in the area were not effectively explored when the project design had been prepared. As a consequence, these resources became not available when they were needed at particular stages of project implementation.</p>	<p>NAA : VIP</p>	<p>LNA : V/GP & GIP</p>	<p>NAA - LNA : VIP & V/GP & GIP</p>
<p>D. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT APPROVAL</p> <p>The local population is either not interested or has only a loose interest since they were not involved in project approval.</p>	<p>LNA : VIP</p>	<p>LA : V/GP & GIP</p>	

continued

Chart 9.3 cont'd

HYPOTHESIS	NARROW	MEDIUM	WIDE
15. The project approval took a long time because	FA : V/GP	LNA : VIP & GIP	
a. the approval of a project was mostly done at higher level, sometimes coming from the national level of the administration, which automatically excluded any participation of people in decision making at the local level.	FA : V/GP LA : GIP LNA : VIP		
b. the government organizations were adhering to a complicated approval procedure.	FA : V/GP	LNA : VIP & GIP	
c. there were more than one formalized linking loop (FLL) of the delivering mechanism involved in the coordination at the approval stage, thus taking a long time.	FA : V/GP	LNA : VIP & GIP	
16. If the approval was obtained at the local level, people could lose interest for the following reasons:	A/A : V/GP	LNA : VIP & GIP	
a. a conflicting communal linking loop (CLL); and	A/A : V/GP	LNA : VIP & GIP	
b. the local leader manipulated the approval stage.	A/A : V/GP	LNA : VIP & GIP	
E. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION			
In any case where local people are urged only to contribute to project implementation but not involved in the earlier stages of the project cycle, there is a tendency that they will not participate in such project.	LNA : VIP A/A : V/GP BA : GIP		

continued

Chart 9.3 cont'd

HYPOTHESIS	NARROW	MEDIUM	WIDE
<p>17. Even if local people were involved in one or more of the earlier stages of the project cycle, there was a chance that they were not willing to continue their participation into the stage of project implementation because of</p> <p>a. changes in their individual circumstance;</p> <p>b. changing priorities among their individual objectives;</p> <p>c. a new perception after a reassessment of the erstwhile situation during the earlier stages of the project cycle.</p>	<p>LNA : VIP A/A : V/GP RNA : GIP</p> <p>LNA : VIP NAA : V/GP RNA : GIP</p> <p>LNA : VIP A/A : V/GP RNA : GIP</p> <p>LNA : VIP NAA : V/GP RNA : GIP</p>	<p>[LNA - RNA : VIP & GIP]</p> <p>[LNA - RNA : VIP & GIP]</p>	<p>[NAA - LNA - RNA : VIP & V/GP & GIP]</p> <p>[NAA - LNA - RNA : VIP & V/GP & GIP]</p>
<p>18. Although people were initially participating in project implementation they might discontinue their participation at this stage because of</p> <p>a. changes in their individual circumstances;</p> <p>b. changing priorities among their own objectives;</p> <p>c. a new perception after reassessment of the erstwhile situation during the implementation stage;</p> <p>d. a delay in the implementation due to late arrival of resources (for reasons see Hypothesis D. 15);</p> <p>e. poor organizational set-up of the implementing agency in a locality unsuitable for operation and management of the project;</p>	<p>LA : GIP</p> <p>RNA : GIP</p> <p>NAA : VIP A/A : V/GP RNA : GIP</p> <p>LA : GIP A/A : VIP NAA : V/GP</p> <p>NAA : VIP</p> <p>BA : GIP</p>	<p>A/A : V/GP & VIP</p> <p>NAA : VIP & V/GP</p> <p>[NAA - RNA : VIP & GIP]</p> <p>A/A : V/GP & GIP</p> <p>NAA : VIP & V/GP</p>	<p>[NAA - RNA : VIP & V/GP & GIP]</p> <p>[NAA - RNA : VIP & V/GP & GIP]</p>

continued

Chart 9.3 cont'd

HYPOTHESIS	NARROW	MEDIUM	WIDE
<p>f. lack of coordination between the implementing agency and other collaborating agencies, so as to accelerate and strengthen project implementation;</p> <p>g. conflict between local people and government agent assigned to the area during the time where the project was implemented; and</p> <p>h. conflict among local people.</p>	<p>NAA : VIP A/A : V/GP</p> <p>BA : GIP A/A : V/GP NAA : VIP</p> <p>LA : GIP</p>	<p>A/A : VIP & V/GP</p>	
<p>F. HYPOTHESIS RELATED TO PROJECT EVALUATION</p> <p>Local people not being involved in project evaluation will be the case, if the following conditions exist:</p> <p>19. Certain problems and constraints obstructing the project preparation and implementation from local people's point of view could not be known to the government agent of the implementing agency. As a result, modifications of the project could not be made in order to make the current project as well as future projects more effective and efficient.</p> <p>20. Without constant participatory monitoring and evaluation, internal motives of the local people could not be assessed clearly, as to whether these would coincide with the objective(s) of the project or not. Therefore, the formulation of development activities could not be steered in such a way that the objectives(s) of the local people and of the project would be congruent. As a consequence, the chance to maximize people's active participation in the various stages of the planned development process was minimal.</p>	<p>FA : VIP</p>	<p>LA : V/GP & GIP</p> <p>LA : V/GP & GIP</p>	<p>FA - LA : VIP & V/GP & GIP</p>

continued

Chart 9.3 cont'd

Abbreviations :

FA - fully affirmative
LA - largely affirmative
BA - barely affirmative

A/A - ambivalent / ambiguous

RNA - rather not affirmative

LNA - largely not affirmative

NAA - not affirmative at all

VIP - village initiated
project

V/GP - project initiated at
village level and aimed
at obtaining resources
from government programmes

GIP - government initiated
projects

NB : Ranges are defined as follows : -

"narrow" where explanations are valid for one category of projects only;

"medium" where explanations are valid for two categories of projects and of either combination;

"wide" where explanations are valid for all three categories of projects.

[] Combined entries presented in brackets show tendencies in the direction of either "affirmative" or
[] "not affirmative" evidence.

Participatory Development Activities

found barely affirmative for GIP, which is due to the participation of some members of the local population in the respective projects.

Several reasons were given in relation to hypotheses A. 1 to 5 to find out why the local population are little interested in local level plans. Based on the results obtained, their direction and range are presented hereunder.

Firstly, local people were not involved in the formulation of the objectives (Hypothesis A.1.), as confirmed through the results of testing according to which this finding is valid for the narrow range of two categories separately. These consist of V/GP and GIP, as this hypothesis was not applicable to VIP. The explanation is largely affirmative (LA) for V/GP and barely affirmative (BA) for GIP. Hence, this hypothesis is accepted.

Secondly, local people were involved in the formulation of the objectives but initiators of the project were not willing to adjust their particular objectives, or to reach a consensus (Hypothesis A.2.). This relates to the narrow range of two categories separately comprising of V/GP and GIP as this hypothesis is not applicable to VIP. The result for V/GP is largely not affirmative (LNA) which rejects this hypothesis, underlining that the initiators of the V/GP were willing to adjust objectives and reach a consensus. The result was ambivalent / ambiguous, however, for GIPs as evidence was scarce and did not lend itself to substantiating neither rejection nor confirmation. The question has, therefore, to remain open.

Thirdly, several government organizations were involved in plan making. Each of them had different objectives and was unwilling to compromise (Hypothesis A.3.). The results of testing are valid for the narrow range of two categories separately, including V/GP and GIP because this hypothesis is not applicable to VIP. The result for V/GP is largely affirmative (LA), meaning that differences in objectives and lack of compromise were, indeed, experienced. In contrast, the result is rather not affirmative (RNA) for GIP, thus rejecting this hypothesis. The inference can be drawn that confusion and delay in project formulation are symptomatic of V/GP, whereas GIP face much less difficulty in this regard.

Fourthly, higher levels of the plan making administration formulated specific objectives of the project, not allowing the lower levels of the planning administration to make adjustments (Hypothesis A.4.). This is valid for the narrow range of two categories separately, including V/GP and GIP because this hypothesis is not applicable to VIP. For the V/GP, the result is largely not affirmative (LNA), which means clear rejection of the hypothesis. Hence, adjustments to V/GP were feasible at the lower levels of the planning administration. In contrast, the result is barely affirmative for GIP which

implies confirmation of the hypothesis referring to the almost exclusive setting of objectives at the higher levels of plan making administration.

Lastly, groups of local people and individuals had different and often conflicting objectives (Hypothesis A.5.). This hypothesis is valid for all categories and at the wide range. The test result is largely affirmative (LA) for VIP, V/GP and GIP alike. Therefore, it can be concluded that this hypothesis is significantly accepted, confirming the occurrence of different and often conflicting objectives.

Hypothesis A., by its very focus, addresses almost exclusively projects with only some or virtually no direct involvement of local people in the formulation of objectives. The test results allow to draw inferences that explain the mechanism at work in the cases of V/GP and GIP.

V/GP are characterized by objectives that are, in fact, of interest to local people, though they were rather not directly involved in their formulation. There is a strong indication, indeed, that initiators were inclined to establish consensus and make adjustments. This is also reflected in the involvement of lower levels of the planning administration. As one ought to expect, differences and conflicting objectives remained nonetheless.

GIP are characterized by plans that are barely of interest to local people who were hardly involved in their formulation. Although the matter of adjusting objectives might be of minor relevance, as indicated by the ambiguous test result, there is some indication that government organizations involved in plan making shared the objectives and were willing to compromise. Evidence of neglect of adjustments by lower levels of the planning administration is weak. Like in the cases of VIP and V/GP, and therefore of wide ranging and strong evidence, differing and conflicting objectives were symptomatic of GIP as well.

B. DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

The general hypothesis (Hypothesis B.) subsumes that local people and government agents sometimes arrive at different perceptions of the current situation during plan making with regard to data collection and analysis. The results obtained are valid for two categories at medium range, consisting of V/GP and GIP since this hypothesis was found not applicable to VIP. In both cases evidence is largely affirmative (LA) which means acceptance of the hypothesis stressing that the fact finding conducted by

Participatory Development Activities

government agents in preparation of local level plans gives a distorted picture of local people's perceptions.

It is learnt from this analysis of grouped case studies that local people and government agents might have different rather than congruent perceptions of the existing conditions due to several reasons. Based on the results of testing the corresponding sub-hypotheses (Hypotheses B.6.-9.), the validity of explanations was established for the narrow range throughout.

Firstly, the hypothesis (Hypothesis B.6.) that the sets of data were collected only from specific groups of the local population was found valid for the narrow range of two categories separately, consisting of V/GP and GIP, since this hypothesis was found not applicable to VIP. The evidence for V/GP is largely affirmative (LA), meaning acceptance of the hypothesis. The pump irrigation project is a suitable example of a V/GP where detailed information for project preparation was solicited only from a village leader and his supporters. In contrast, this hypothesis is found largely not affirmative (LNA) for GIP, which means that data collection was representative rather than biased.

Secondly, the sets of data were collected only over a certain short period when particular situations prevailed or problems arose (Hypothesis B.7.). This is found pertinent to only one category at the narrow range, which is that of GIP since this hypothesis is not applicable to VIP and V/GP. The case of GIP is largely not affirmative (LNA) implying that data sets were not just narrowly reflecting extreme conditions within brief periods.

Thirdly, the way the sets of data were collected and analyzed was subject to some biases due to the differences in socio-economic background of planners and local people (Hypothesis B.8.). This is applicable to the narrow range of two categories separately consisting of V/GP and GIP. This hypothesis was found not applicable to VIP. The evidence from V/GP is largely affirmative (LA) which means acceptance of the hypothesis as illustrated by the case of pump irrigation. For GIP, however, the evidence is ambivalent and ambiguous (A/A), not lending itself to making any inferences.

Lastly, it was assumed that data from local people, including their knowledge, were not properly collected, analyzed and utilized in the process of plan making (Hypothesis B.9.). This is valid for all categories of projects at the narrow range only. Evidence is not affirmative at all (NAA) for VIP which means rejection of the hypothesis because local people's knowledge and data provided by them for projects were, indeed, utilized in the plan making. For V/GP the result is ambivalent and ambiguous (A/A) and, hence, void of any explanation. The barely affirmative (BA) evidence for GIP indicates

that for several government initiated projects (e.g. soybean cultivation, savings scheme and medicine supply cooperative) data from local people including their knowledge might not have been properly gathered, analyzed and utilized in the process of plan making. In these projects, contacts with villagers were established just upon initiating project implementation. Any projects meant to provide services to poor people were initiated without prior consultation with them about their capacity to participate, as observed in the case of the savings scheme. This shows that local officers' perceptions of poor people's conditions were probably not based on first-hand experience.

By and large, Hypothesis B. is applicable to V/GP and GIP, with only the sub-hypothesis relating the source of data and knowledge pertinent to VIP as well.

V/GP render ample evidence of differences in perception between local people and government agents. In this vein, the required data sets were collected from specific sub-groups only. As a likely and direct consequence, the data collected and analyzed reflect a bias that might be attributed to discrepancies in socio-economic background. The question remains open, however, whether or not data including people's knowledge was properly utilized in plan making.

GIP likewise reflect differences in perception between local people and government agents. In stark contrast to V/GP, however, by and large GIP were not planned using data collected from particular sub-groups only. Likewise, data was not related merely to certain short periods when particular situations prevailed or problems arose. On the matter of biases caused by socially and economically determined perspectives of different groups of actors involved, the evidence is ambiguous and, hence, does not provide any explanation. There appears to be some indication, indeed, of inadequate utilization of local people as a source of data and indigenous knowledge.

VIP are addressed through the ultimate, respective sub-hypothesis (B.9.). The clear result is based on the strong evidence of proper utilization of local people as a source of data and knowledge in the process of plan making.

C. PROJECT DESIGN

The general hypothesis (Hypothesis C.) assumes that the project design of local level plans is not valid. Firstly, the ranges of the findings vary, as some results of testing are valid for the medium range comprising two categories and another result is valid for the third category. Secondly, the validity of the explanation for the case of GIP is barely

Participatory Development Activities

affirmative (BA) which implies acceptance of the hypothesis. This is because most of the government initiated projects were identified and designed at a higher administrative level without the participation and concurrence of the local population. As a result, active participation of the local population could not be effectively solicited in project implementation. Evidence available for both VIP and V/GP leads to ambivalent and ambiguous (A/A) results. It is thus not possible to give any explanation of the broad issue for the very important medium range of VIP and V/GP. In this regard the following five sub-hypothesis are of explanatory value, indeed.

Several sub-hypotheses (Hypotheses C.10.-14.) address matters relevant to project design in the context of local level plans. Based on the results obtained through testing the following sub-hypotheses, the explanations are summarized hereunder.

Firstly, activities were designed without broad participation and/or consensus of the local population (Hypothesis C.10.). This is found valid for all three categories of projects only at the narrow range, given the variation in strength of test results. For VIP, it is largely affirmative (LA), while it is barely affirmative (BA) for GIP, which means acceptance of the hypothesis in both cases. The ambivalent and ambiguous result for V/GP does not allow to make any inference.

Secondly, activities were planned during a period of the year when the local people are usually too busy notably with agricultural activities, so that they were not able to participate in the project effectively (Hypothesis C.11.). This is found valid for the narrow range of two categories separately, comprising of VIP and GIP, since the hypothesis was not applicable to V/GP. In the case of VIP, the result is largely not affirmative (LNA) and even not affirmative at all for GIP which means outright rejection of the hypothesis. It is thus an established fact that local people's regular work commitments are not hindering them from participating in the design of a local project.

Thirdly, resources needed for the project, as indicated by the government agency concerned, cannot be contributed by the local people at all or cannot possibly be provided by them during the period specified in the project document (Hypothesis C.12.). This is virtually valid at the wide range, as the result is largely not affirmative (LNA) for V/GP and not affirmative at all (NAA) for both VIP and GIP. Thus, this hypothesis is rejected. All evidence proves that local people make their contributions as and when required.

Fourthly, the allocation of external resources by the government to a certain project was not commensurate with the magnitude of problems in the area and with the real needs of the local people (Hypothesis C.13.). This is found virtually valid for the medium range, through represented by two categories separately yet of similar strength, consisting

of VIP and GIP, as this hypothesis is not relevant for V/GP. In the case of VIP, the result is largely not affirmative (LNA) and even not affirmative at all (NAA) for GIP which means rejection of the hypothesis. There is strong evidence that the allocation of external resources was, indeed, matching the local requirements.

Lastly, local resources in the area were not effectively explored when the project design had been prepared. As a consequence, these resources became not available when they were needed at particular stages of project implementation. This was found applicable in all three categories of project. Although there appears to be a fine distinction between VIP where the result is not affirmative at all (NAA) and V/GP as well as GIP, where the results are largely not affirmative (NAA), this is considered sufficient evidence of wide range relevancy. Therefore, this hypothesis is rejected. The important finding thus is that local resources were effectively explored in designing projects and became available when required.

Overall, the findings on matters related to project design in the context of drawing up local level plans highlight certain implications that are of great relevance.

While the unspecified validity of project design remains, by and large, an ambiguous issue, addressing the specifics renders distinct evidence.

VIP activities were largely designed without the broad participation and/or consensus of the local population. The notions, however, stemming from assorted deficiencies attributable to the local population. Local people's regular activities did not interfere with their participation in project design. Contributions were made as and when required. External resources were allocated to meet the requirements. Complementary local resources were effectively explored and made available when needed.

V/GP activities were, likewise, facilitated through timely contributions by local people, seemingly after effective exploration at the stage of project design and availability on schedule.

GIP activities were barely designed with the broad participation and consensus of the local population. Yet the notion is outright rejected that local people's regular activities did jeopardize their participation in project design. In the same vein, contributions were made as and when required, matched by the allocation of external resources. Area based resources were effectively explored, indeed, and made available as and when needed.

The salient feature of the research findings on the stage of project design in the process of participatory local level planning is their virtually wide ranging validity. Specifically, the corresponding evidence renders the unrestricted involvement of local

Participatory Development Activities

people, their contributions to meet particular requirements as expected, the adequate allocation of external resources, and the effective exploration and utilization of local resources.

D. PROJECT APPROVAL

The general hypothesis (Hypothesis D.) states that the local population is either not interested or has only a loose interest, since its members were not involved in project approval. Firstly, regarding the range of findings, this hypothesis is valid for two categories at the medium and one at the narrow range. Secondly, the results show that the general hypothesis is largely affirmative (LA) for V/GP and GIP, which means confirmation of the fact that lack of interest is related to lack of involvement. In contrast, it is found largely not affirmative (LNA) for VIP, thus rejecting the hypothesis because the local population is interested, having been involved in project approval.

Two major possible constraints were addressed in its sub- hypotheses (Hypotheses D.15. to 16.), focussing on time consuming procedure above the local level and, alternatively, causes of loss of interest even if approval at local level is authorized.

The first complex constraint expressed through Hypothesis D.15. states that project approval takes a long time. This is found valid for all three categories, two of them at the medium and one at the narrow range. As for the results, this is fully affirmative (FA) for V/GP, as evident in the cases of pump irrigation and mat weaving, which means acceptance of the hypothesis, based on evidence of long time required. In contrast, the results are largely not affirmative (LNA) for both VIP and GIP, underlining the fact that project approval was obtained within relatively short time.

Three particular matters are addressed through Hypotheses D.15.a.,b. and c., calling up reasons for project approval by government agencies taking a long time.

Firstly, the approval of a project is mostly given at higher level, sometimes coming from the national level of the administration, which automatically excludes any participation of people in decision making at the local level (Hypothesis D.15.a.). This constellation is found valid for all categories at the narrow range. Given the fact that the result is fully affirmative (FA) for V/GP and largely affirmative (LA) for GIP, meaning acceptance of the hypothesis, this might be interpreted as valid at the medium range. The result is, however, largely not affirmative (LNA) for VIP, which is a direct

consequence of the fact that VIP originate at the local level in the context of certain already stated strategies and policies and thus seldom require explicit approval.

Secondly, the adherence of government organizations to a complicated approval procedure, with several hierarchical levels within the same administration involved before approval at the central level (Hypothesis D.15.b.), is reflected in results valid for two categories at the medium and one at the narrow range. Evidence is fully affirmative (FA) for V/GP, however, largely not affirmative (LNA) for both VIP and GIP.

Thirdly, there are more than one formalized linking loop (FLL) of the delivering mechanism involved in the coordination at the approval stage, thus taking a long time (Hypothesis D.15.c.). This is authentic in two categories at the medium and one at the narrow range. While the result is fully affirmative (FA) for V/GP only, it is largely not affirmative (LNA) for both VIP and GIP, which means rejection of the hypothesis. This is the cause of delay in project approval as a result of lack of coordination among local level field agency officers in the V/GP, particularly the cases of pump irrigation and mat weaving. Overall, the formalized linking loops of the delivering mechanism of VIP as well as GIP were conducive to relatively prompt project approval.

Another set of reasons is stated in Hypothesis D.16. indicating that local people may loose interest if the approval is obtained at the local level (Hypothesis D.16.). This is valid for two categories at the medium and one at the narrow range. For V/GP the result is ambivalent/ambiguous (A/A), while it is largely not affirmative (LNA) for both VIP and GIP. Thus, the hypothesis is rejected meaning that particular approval procedures at local level do not deter people's interest. Two hypothetical reasons were tested to elicit if and why local people may loose interest. These include conflicting groups of interest (communal linking loop) among the local people (Hypothesis D.16.a.) and manipulation of the approval stage by a local leader (Hypothesis D.16.b.). Both results are valid for two categories at the medium and one at the narrow range each. In both cases, evidence for V/GP was ambivalent/ambiguous (A/A), while it was largely not affirmative (LNA) for both VIP and GIP. Therefore, the hypothesis should be rejected, as all indications are that conflict and manipulation in the process of securing approval at the local level do not diminish people's interest.

The striking outcome of hypothesis testing related to project approval is the near uniformity of most detailed results.

The broad introductory hypothesis aside, the variation among the three project categories under study is rather limited.

Participatory Development Activities

VIP matters related to project approval are not in conformity with the hypotheses all of which maintain certain deficiencies, obstacles or shortcomings. Neither did project approval take a long time, were people excluded from participation, was approval procedure found complicated, nor was the delivering mechanism causing any undue delay. Likewise, VIP were not jeopardized by people's diminishing interest, neither in situations of conflict nor in cases of attempted manipulation.

VG/P related findings are distinctly different. Approval obviously took a long time, caused by the routing of the project proposal and design to higher administrative levels and at the risk of excluding local people from decision making. Government organizations concerned were found adhering to complicated procedure, as proven by the involvement of more than one formalized linking loop. On the matter of local people's interests, the evidence is ambiguous and does not allow to make any inference whatsoever.

GIP findings almost completely resemble those for VIP with the sole exception of the matter of project approval at higher administrative levels leading to the virtual exclusion of local people from decision making. Nonetheless, approval procedure was not found complicated, nor was the delivering mechanism causing any undue delay. Likewise, GIP were not jeopardized by people's diminishing interest, neither in situations of conflict nor in cases of attempted manipulation.

Overall, three approval related matters appear to have restrictively affected notably VG/P, all causing delay given the required administrative involvement at high level, complicated procedure and tedious coordination between/among several agencies.

E. PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION

The general hypothesis (Hypothesis E.) assumes that in any case where local people are urged only to contribute to project implementation but are not involved in the earlier stages of the project cycle, there is a tendency that they will not participate in such project. Firstly, the results vary by project category; hence, the explanations obtained are valid for the narrow range. Secondly, the evidence from VIP is largely not affirmative (LNA) meaning that the hypothesis is rejected. The obvious reason is that VIP are characterized by active involvement of local people at the early stages of the project cycle. However, it is found barely affirmative (BA) for GIP. This result suggests that evidence of a tendency towards reluctance to participate is not strong really. With regard to V/GP, this cause and effect relationship is ambiguous, thus not allowing to make any inference.

Evidence subjected to testing Hypothesis E.17. which reads that even if local people are involved in one or more of the earlier stages of the project cycle, there is a chance that they are not willing to continue their participation into the stage of project implementation proves that it is valid for each project category only at the narrow range. The results show that this hypothesis is largely not affirmative (LNA) for VIP and rather not affirmative (RNA) for GIP. Therefore, this hypothesis is rejected. The result based on evidence from V/GP is ambiguous (A/A), thus not allowing to make any inference.

Three hypothetical reasons (E.17.a.,b. and c.) were tested. The results show that the explanations obtained are largely similar in that they are not affirmative. The results are valid in each category only at the narrow range. The notion that changes in local people's individual circumstances explain unwillingness to uphold participation (17.a.) is not at all substantiated (NAA) in V/GP, largely not confirmed (LNA) in VIP and rather not evident (RNA) in GIP. The same evidence is found for VIP and GIP, if considering changing priorities among individual objectives (17.b.), with V/GP rendering ambiguous evidence that does not lend itself to making any inference. The possibility of a new perception after reassessment (17.c.) explaining reluctance and discontinuation of participation is rejected likewise.

Similar case studies contain evidence that people may discontinue their participation (Hypotheses E.18.) although they are initially participating in project implementation. The results of testing the general hypothesis (E.18.) prove that it is valid for two categories at the medium and for one at the narrow range. An explanation, however, is only obtained for GIP where the evidence is largely affirmative (LA), which means acceptance of the hypothesis, as substantiated by the cases of road repair, mat weaving, soybean cultivation, savings scheme and medicine supply cooperative. The results are ambivalent and ambiguous (A/A) for both V/G P and VIP, thus not allowing to make any inference.

The analysis of the case studies showed that many reasons were responsible for the slackening in people's participation during the course of project implementation. Altogether eight hypothetical reasons were tested (Hypotheses E.18.a.-h.). Based on related evidence, the detailed results of testing are presented hereunder.

The first hypothetical cause of withdrawal of participation from project implementation is changes in their individual circumstances (Hypothesis E.18.a.). The result is applicable for all categories, one for the narrow and two for the medium range. While the evidence is rather not affirmative (RNA) for GIP, it is not affirmative at all (NAA) for VIP and V/GP. Therefore, this hypothesis is rejected, meaning that changes in individual circumstances did not cause discontinuation of participation in on-going

Participatory Development Activities

project implementation. This implies that when there were no changes they would have no reasons to leave the project.

The second hypothetical cause is changing priorities among people's objectives (Hypothesis E.18.b.). The result is valid for each category, though diverse and, hence, at narrow range. It is ambivalent and ambiguous (A/A) for V/GP, as found in the case of mat weaving, but rather not affirmative (RNA) for GIP and not affirmative at all (NAA) for VIP. Therefore, this hypothesis should be rejected, meaning that changing priorities do not bear on continuation or discontinuation of participation.

The third hypothetical cause is a new perception after reassessment of the erstwhile situation during the implementation stage (Hypothesis E.18.c.). The results refer to each category differently and, hence, to the narrow range only. As the evidence is rather varied, the explanation is largely affirmative (LA) for GIP, as proven by the cases of soybean cultivation, savings scheme and medicine supply cooperative, but ambivalent and ambiguous (A/A) for VIP and not affirmative at all (NAA) for V/GP. In short, a new perception after reassessment in GIP would probably cause discontinuation of local people's participation in further project implementation.

The fourth hypothetical cause is a delay in implementation due to late arrival of resources (Hypothesis E.18.d.). This is valid for all categories, one at the narrow and two at the medium range. While the evidence is ambivalent and ambiguous (A/A) for both V/GP and GIP, as evident in the cases of mat weaving and medicine supply cooperative, the evidence is not affirmative at all (NAA) for VIP. It is this category solely for which a causal relationship between delay and discontinuation is disproven.

The fifth hypothetical cause is poor organizational set-up of the implementing agency in a locality unsuitable for operation and management of the project (Hypothesis E.18.e.). The result is valid in all categories, one at the narrow and two at the medium range. The evidence is barely affirmative (BA) for GIP, such as in the cases of soybean cultivation and medicine supply cooperative. It is, indeed, not affirmative at all (NAA) for VIP and V/GP, meaning that even poor organizational set-up, in an unsuitable locality at that, would not per se lead to discontinuation of participation in implementation. This would be more likely the case in GIP, however.

The sixth hypothetical cause is lack of coordination between the implementing agency and other collaborating agencies, so as to accelerate and strengthen project implementation (Hypothesis E.18.f.). The results of testing are valid for the narrow range with two categories separately, including VIP and V/GP, as this hypothesis was found not applicable to GIP. The evidence from VIP is not affirmative at all (NAA), while it is ambivalent and ambiguous for V/GP, as evident in the case of mat weaving.

The explanation thus relates to VIP only where lack of coordination was not a cause of discontinuation of participation in on-going project implementation.

The seventh hypothetical cause is a conflict between local people and government agent assigned to the area during the time when the project was implemented (Hypothesis E.18.g.). This is valid in all categories, at the narrow range though, given the variation in strength of evidence. The evidence is barely affirmative (BA) for GIP, meaning the hypothesis is accepted as conflict between local people and government agent might well have caused discontinuation. The result is ambivalent and ambiguous (A/A) for V/GP, thus not allowing to make any inference. Evidence is not affirmative at all (NAA) for VIP, implying that the hypothesis is rejected as conflict did not cause discontinuation of participation.

The eighth and last hypothetical cause is conflict among local people themselves (Hypothesis E.18.h.). This is valid for two categories of project at the medium and one at the narrow range. The evidence is largely affirmative (LA) for GIP, as proven by the cases of soybean cultivation, savings scheme and medicine supply cooperative. However, it is ambivalent and ambiguous (A/A) for the cases of both VIP and V/GP and, hence, does not allow to make any inferences. The sole explanation obtained identifies conflict among local people as a cause of discontinuation of participation in the on-going implementation of GIP.

While the comparison of evidence from the three project categories serves the important purpose of differentiation, the sheer number of criteria employed might lead to confusion. Again, the matter of project implementation addressed by one general hypothesis and specified by two topical hypotheses and several sub-hypotheses is summarized hereunder with foci on each of the three categories.

VIP are not beset with the problem of lack of participation in implementation that might stem from lack of involvement at earlier stages of the planning cycle - most probably owing to the very nature of these "grass-roots" level projects (E.). Local people are, by and large, willing to take part actively (E.17.), regardless of changes in their individual circumstances (E.17.a.) and priorities among their individual objectives (E.17.b.), and irrespective of new perceptions after reassessment of the situation (E.17.c.). By far most hypothetical causes of discontinuation of people's participation in on-going project implementation (E.18.a./b./d./e./f./g.) do not apply to VIP. There seems to be some possibility, indeed, that a new perception after reassessment of the erstwhile situation during the implementation stage (E.18.c.), in contrast to the turning point of entering that stage (E.17.c.), might cause discontinuation of participation. Likewise, conflict among local people might have the same adverse effect. The aggregated

Participatory Development Activities

evidence, however, is ambivalent and ambiguous and, hence, leaves it open if these were potential causes or not.

V/GP do not reveal much in terms of explanations, if compared to VIP. The coupling of local people's initiatives and expectations of instrumental government assistance necessitates complex interfacing that is, in all likelihood, characterized by a fair measure of ambivalence and ambiguity, if a systematic attempt is made to aggregate, analyze and systematize. Then the question remains open if local people not having been involved in earlier stages of the project cycle will or will not participate in project implementation (E.). In the same vein, there is no evidence of either willingness or unwillingness to uphold participation into the stage of implementation (E.17.). Specifically, changing priorities among local people's individual objectives may or may not influence their willingness to continue to take part actively (E.17.b.). Two distinct explanations, however, are clearly rendered. Neither do changes in individual circumstances (E.17.a.) nor does a new perception after reassessment (E.17.c.) lead to local people's unwillingness to carry on participating into the stage of project implementation. Regarding possible causes of discontinuation of participation in on-going project implementation, there is strong evidence that several such hypothetical causes have to be ruled out (E.18.a./c./e.). Like the overall issues, most causes remain unexplained (E.18 & E. 18.b./d./f./g./h.) because the evidence obtained is ambivalent and ambiguous. It is, therefore, not feasible to make inferences to the same extent as for the VIP category.

GIP differ substantially from VIP and also from V/GP, if factors influencing project implementation are considered. A tendency among local people toward not participating in project implementation, if only urged to make contributions without prior involvement in planning, is evident though vaguely rather than strongly (E.). On the matter of local people's willingness to engage in participatory implementation in continuation of participation at earlier stages of the planning cycle (E.17), there is sufficient evidence to conclude that this is not an issue. The irrelevance of this assumption of a negative impact is substantiated threefold in that changes in people's individual circumstances (E.17.a.) and priorities among their individual objectives (E.17.b.,) as well as a new perception after reassessment do not lead to discontinuation of participation when a project is proceeding to the stage of implementation. In stark contrast to VIP and differing from V/GP to some extent, GIP have seen several specific causes of discontinuation of local people's participation in on-going project implementation. There is clear evidence for such "mid-way" discontinuation (E.18.), which can be caused by a new perception after reassessment of the erstwhile situation (E.18.c.), poor organizational set-up of the implementing agency (E.18.e.), conflict between local people and government agent assigned (E.18.g.), and conflict among local people (E.18.h.). The causes of conflict found irrelevant for GIP are few, including changes in individual

circumstances (E.18.a.) and priorities (E.18.b.). The relevance of another, very tangible cause (E. 18.d.), delay in implementation due to late arrival of resources, remains unknown, as the evidence obtained is ambivalent and ambiguous.

F. PROJECT EVALUATION

The hypothesis (F.19.) states that local people not being involved in project evaluation will be the case, if certain problems and constraints obstructing the project preparation and implementation from local people's point of view could not be known to the government agent of the implementing agency. As a result, modifications of the project could not be made in order to make the current project as well as future projects more effective and efficient. Through the assorted evidence this hypothesis is found valid for the medium range represented by the two categories of V/GP and GIP, since this hypothesis is not applicable to VIP. As for the explanations, the result is largely affirmative (LA) for both the V/GP and GIP, which means acceptance of the hypothesis. In most GIP and in some V/GP, the local people did not participate in project evaluation. Hence, they could not pinpoint certain problems and constraints that jeopardized a project or led to its failure. This is evident from the case studies on soybean cultivation, savings scheme, medicine supply cooperative and pump irrigation.

The problem is that the chance for the local population to participate in project evaluation depends very much on the flexibility of the local officer who is in charge of a project. It is found in some case studies (i.e., soybean cultivation, medicine supply cooperative and savings scheme) that the local officer is characterized as inflexible, authoritarian and egocentric, restricting people's participation in expressing their opinion and offering feedback. If the local population had been enticed to discuss problems and constraints of the project, they could have contributed toward solving problems and speeding up project implementation, as evident in the cases of pump irrigation and savings scheme.

Another hypothesis (F.20.) states that without constant participatory monitoring and evaluation, internal motives of the local people could not be assessed clearly, as to whether these would coincide with the objective(s) of the project or not. Therefore, the formulation of development activities could not be steered in such a way that the objective(s) of the local people and of the project would be congruent. As a consequence, the chance to maximize people's active participation in the various stages of project planning was minimal. Hypothesis testing proves that it is truly valid in all categories, one at the narrow and two at the medium range. As for the strength of these

Participatory Development Activities

explanations, it is fully affirmative (FA) for VIP and largely affirmative (LA) for both V/GP and GIP. Therefore, this hypothesis is fully accepted and its underlying evidence may be considered of virtually wide range relevance.

Due to the fact that constant participatory monitoring and evaluation were not conducted in most government initiated projects, people's participation in those projects became passive, and in some cases they disassociated themselves from projects. This is because it could not be assessed clearly whether the objectives of the project and their own individual objectives were consistent, which was evident in the cases of soybean cultivation, medicine supply cooperative and savings scheme. As for the village initiated projects like the cases of road repair and pond construction, people's participation in both projects was very active as evident from the mobilization of people and local resources, which were very efficient and effective indeed.

The analysis of the case studies rendered proof that people's participation is necessary not only at the implementation stage but from the start of the project cycle. If villagers were given the opportunity to identify and implement projects which meet their expectations and fulfill their objectives, they would continue participating until the last and final step.

For planning purposes, it is deemed necessary to involve villagers in evaluating their projects for the two following reasons. Firstly, villagers would realize the importance of their participation in securing successful project implementation and understand the relevance of benefit sharing. Secondly, villagers would be enabled to contribute effectively to future projects, as problems and constraints encountered by local people that might lead to ineffectiveness of projects could be identified by planners so as to consider proper adjustments when implementing future projects.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Three distinct sections are presented hereunder. First, the summary of findings of the case studies offers a systematic synopsis of the dynamics of participatory development at village level. In the second section conclusions drawn from the findings present the analytical inferences. The final section outlines implications for policy formulation, plan making and implementation, in other words, feedback into future participatory development planning at village level.

A. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The five main topics presented in this summary of findings include characteristics of people's participation in all cases under study; people's participation in the planned development process; elements contributing to effectiveness or causing ineffectiveness of people's participation; factors explaining high or low efficiency of the projects under study; and a summary specifying determinants of success or failure of the projects at specific stages of the planned development process.

1. Characteristics of People's Participation

Evidence of people's participation is provided through the systematic observation of nine projects undertaken in three villages of Central Thailand. Various patterns of people's participation are explored applying the theoretical framework of the "linking loops" presented in Chapter III. The synopsis of various types of participation in different phases of the planned development process in nine cases is presented through Chart 10.1. Based on this Chart, a summary of types, patterns and aspects of participation is presented in Chart 10.2.

a. Degree of voluntariness

People were free to join in all projects under study. There was neither formalized coercion nor evident pressure to take part in project activities. Within a framework of free participation comprising of induced and spontaneous approaches, the induced form was observed in four cases where people were generally mobilized by local leaders, ordinary villagers acting as project initiators or local government field agency officers. The remaining five cases represent combinations of induced and spontaneous participation.

Chart 10.1: Synopsis of Various Types of Participation in Different Phases of the Planned Development Process in the Nine Cases under Study

Stages of the Planned Development Process	Village Initiated Project (VIP)		V/G Project ^{1/}			
	Road Repair ^{2/}	Pond Construction ^{3/}	Pump Irrigation ^{4/}			Mat Weaving ^{5/}
			Cycle 1	Cycle 2	Cycle 3	
1. Project Identification	- BLL1 free (induced) participation - CLL1 free (spontaneous) and direct participation regarding interaction between BLL1 to BLL3	- BLL1 free (induced) participation - CLL1 free (spontaneous) and direct participation mobilized by BLL1	- BLL1 free (spontaneous) participation supported by CLL1 free (induced) participation	- CLL1 reactivated project through free (induced) and direct participation		- BLL1 free (spontaneous) and direct participation - CLL1 direct and free (induced) participation regarding the interaction between BLL1 and BLL2
2. Project Preparation (Inventory and Design)	- CLL2 prepared design and inventory with direct and free (induced) participation of CLL3 in consultation with BLL2	- CLL1 prepared project design and inventory via direct participation		- FLL3 (NEA) prepared design and inventory without local participation	- FLL3 (NEA) made inventory through direct and free (induced) participation	- FLL1 prepared design and inventory with direct and free (induced) participation of CLL2
3. Project Approval	- Approved by CLL3 with direct participation of local people	- Approved by FLL4 with indirect participation of Kamman (BLL3)			- Approved by NEA with direct participation of CLL3	- Approved by FLL1 with direct participation
4. Project Implementation	- Implemented by CLL3 with direct, free (induced) participation of BLLs 6 and 7 and FLLs 2, 3 and 4	- Implemented by CLL5 of local people by free (induced) and direct participation			- Implementation by NEA through direct and free (induced) participation of CLL4	- Implemented by CLL3 through direct and free (induced) participation - Due to different priority in BLL, 15 people quit CLL3, only 5 women remained
5. Operation	- Temple Development Committee (CLL2) via indirect participation	N.A.			- Water Users Committee (indirect participation)	N.A.
6. Project Evaluation	- No formal evaluation	- No formal evaluation			- Two internal end-of-project evaluation studies conducted by NEA without local participation	- External end-of-project evaluation conducted by FLL1 with direct participation of former trainees from CLL3

continue

^{1/} Projects initiated at village level by villagers and aimed at obtaining resources from on-going government programmes

^{2/} Based on Graph VIII.3 presented in Chapter VIII.

^{3/} Based on Graph VI.2 presented in Chapter VI.

^{4/} Based on Graph VII.1 presented in Chapter VII.

N.A. Not applicable

Chart 10.1 cont'd

Stages of the Planned Development Process	Government Initiated Project (GIP)				
	Soybean Cultivation ^{6/}	Savings Scheme ^{7/}	Income Generation ^{8/}	Youths Activities ^{9/}	Medicine Supply Cooperative ^{10/}
1. Project Identification	- Initiated by FLL1 and delegated to FLL2 at local level	- Initiated by FLL1 and delegated to FLL2	- Initiated by FLL1 - CLL1 direct and free participation (spontaneous and induced) regarding interaction between CLL1 and FLL2	- Initiated by FLL1 and delegated to FLL2 - CLL1 direct and free participation (spontaneous and induced) through interaction between CLL1 and FLL2	- Initiated by FLL1 - CLL1 direct and free (induced) participation by FLL2
2. Project Preparation (Inventory and Design)	- FLL1 prepared design and inventory without local participation	- FLL1 prepared design and inventory without local participation	- BLL1 to BLL5 prepared design and inventory with direct and induced participation by FLL2	- CLL1a and 1b prepared design and inventory via direct participation - Field investigations and decision made by FLL3	- FLL2 prepared design and inventory with free (induced) and indirect participation of CLL1a
3. Project Approval	- Approval by FLL1 without local participation	- Approved by FLL1 without local participation	- FLL2 selected project proposal - Approved by FLL1 without local participation	- Approved by FLL1 without local participation	- Approved by FLL1 without local participation
4. Project Implementation	- Implemented by CLL1 in operating demonstration plot (indirect participation) under supervision of FLL2 - Local people participated directly and freely (induced participation)	- CLL2 mobilized to join in the scheme by FLL2 via free (induced) participation - Implemented by CLL2a via free (induced) and indirect participation - Local members (CLL2b) participated directly and freely (induced participation)	- No implementation due to the delay in the release of resources from FLL1	- No implementation because of delay in budget disbursement by FLL1	- Implemented by CLL1a via indirect and induced participation - Local members (CLL1b) participated directly and freely (induced participation)
5. Operation	N.A.	- Operated by CLL2a (indirect participation) with members from CLL4	N.A.	N.A.	- Local Committee members (CLL1a) via indirect participation
6. Project Evaluation	- End-of-project evaluation conducted by FLL2 without local participation	- Interim evaluation conducted by FLL2 without local participation	N.A.	N.A.	- Interim evaluation conducted by FLL2 without local participation

^{6/} Based on Graph VIII.1 presented in Chapter VIII.

^{8/} Based on Graph VI.3 presented in Chapter VI.

^{10/} Based on Graph VII.2 presented in Chapter VII.

^{7/} Based on Graph VIII.2 presented in Chapter VIII.

^{9/} Based on Graph VII.3 presented in Chapter VII.

N.A. Not Applicable

Chart 10.2 : Synopsis of Types, Patterns and Activities of People's Participation in the Nine Projects under Study

Type and Pattern of People's Participation	Village Initiated Project (VIP)		V/G Project*		Government Initiated Project (GIP)				
	Road Repair	Pond Construction	Pump Irrigation	Mat Weaving	Soybean Cultivation	Savings Scheme	Income Generation	Youths Activities	Medicine Supply Cooperative
1. Degree of Voluntariness	Free (Spontaneous + Induced)	Free (Spontaneous + Induced)	Free (Induced)	Free (Spontaneous + Induced)	Free (Induced)	Free (Induced)	Free (Spontaneous + Induced)	Free (Spontaneous + Induced)	Free (Induced)
2. Mode of Participation	Direct/ Indirect	Direct/ Indirect	Direct/ Indirect	Direct	Direct/ Indirect	Direct/ Indirect	Direct	Direct/ Indirect	Direct/ Indirect
3. Intensity of Participation	Intensive	Intensive	Extensive	Intensive	Extensive	Extensive	Extensive	Extensive	Extensive
4. Effectiveness of Participation	Effective	Effective	Effective	Ineffective	Ineffective	Ineffective	Ineffective	Ineffective	Ineffective
5. Participation in the Stages of the Planned Development Process	Complete	Complete	Partial	Complete	Partial	Partial	Partial	Partial	Partial

continued

* Projects initiated at village level by villagers and aimed at obtaining resources from on-going government programmes.

Chart 10.2 cont'd

Type and Pattern of People's Participation	Village Initiated Project (VIP)		V/G Project*		Government Initiated Project (GIP)					
	Road Repair	Pond Construction	Pump Irrigation	Mat Weaving	Soybean Cultivation	Savings Scheme	Income Generation	Youths Activities	Medicine Supply Cooperative	
6. Activities Performed through Participation	Decision-making	Identifying problems	Decision-making	Taking initiative and decision-making	Preparing, organizing and managing activities Discussing and mitigating problems and constraints	Contributing resources	Decision-making	Identifying and finalizing activities	Contributing resources	
	Organizing activities	Preparing activities	Providing information	Providing local information		Operating and managing the scheme	Providing information for feasibility study	Specifying period for implementation	Operating and managing the cooperative	
	Meeting and discussing	Operating and managing activities	Organizing activities	Providing local information		Reviewing and adjusting the rules of operation	Contributing resources	Designing the mechanism of benefit-sharing	Keeping records	
	Operating task force	Mobilizing people and contributing resources	Mobilizing people and contributing resources	Preparing activities		Keeping records and preparing simple accounts	Contributing resources	Preparing activities	Preparing simple accounts and making financial arrangements	Evaluating the project
	Mobilizing people and contributing resources									
	Managing budget and keeping records		Managing financial arrangement	Managing the training						
	Evaluating the project		Operation and maintenance	Operating and managing the training						
			Evaluating the project							

* Projects initiated at village level by villagers and aimed at obtaining resources from on-going government programmes.

in village initiated projects (VIP) though designed within a bottom-up planning framework. In contrast, people's activities performed through participation were rather limited in government initiated projects formulated under top-down directives. The various participatory activities documented for all case studies are presented in Chart 10.2.

g. Costs and benefits of participation

The study of the nine cases provides ample evidence that people calculate costs and benefits of their participation in development projects. The analysis applying the "linking loops" concept confirms that local people have objectives or goals in mind which they want to realize through their participation in certain development processes. The concept of the linking loops facilitates to prove that basic linking loops influenced the formulation and implementation of development activities. Communal linking loops were formed when local people linked their common objectives. Furthermore, local people merged their communal linking loops with the formalized linking loop of government line or field agencies, when they could obtain additional resources needed to realize their objectives. This means that in some instances the objectives of the communal and formalized linking loops are identical.

As costs and benefits of participation differ among individual actors involved in local development activities, depending upon their assessment of the individual actors, they have to be appraised from an individual actor's point of view.

The study of the nine cases shows that the cost of participation as viewed by individual actors is determined as follows. Firstly, it includes the time to attend meetings, to elect local committee members, to disseminate information on project activities, and to mobilize people and resources for project implementation. Secondly, several case studies show that people had different objectives which led to social conflict in their community, given their desire to achieve individual objectives by different means. In this regard, participation could raise the level of conflict potential in society, as people get under tension in terms of role conflict among groups pursuing diverse objectives or interests. Thirdly, monetary contributions were made by villagers. In certain cases, local people contributed cash and other scarce resources. Apart from this, in a few cases local people provided certain amenities to local government field agency officers through contributing food, offering accommodation or offering their own house as a venue for training, or a demonstration plot in their land. Regarding the cost of participation it is important to note that people were only willing to join a communal linking loop, if they could not realize their objectives with the resources at their individual disposal.

Participatory Development Activities

The benefits of participation in a communal linking loop as perceived and anticipated by local people are identical with achieving various objectives associated with a project, ranging from raising their income, increasing crop productivity, upgrading their technical know-how, purchasing agricultural inputs, setting up a village cooperative, improving the quality of life, gaining access to irrigation facilities for agricultural production and domestic water supply, and making merit. Benefits of projects were to be equitably shared, and local power and fruits of development were to be better distributed among local citizens.

2. People's Participation in the Planned Development Process

Interactions between local people and local government agency officers assigned to the area highlight constraints and problems that arose at different stages of the planned development process.

The focus of this section is on the results of hypothesis testing and analysis of the nine cases at aggregate level. The nine cases are grouped into three categories for analytical purposes based on the criterion of project initiation. Accordingly, distinctions are made between village initiated projects (VIP), projects initiated at village level and aimed at obtaining resources from on-going government programmes (V/GP), and government initiated projects (GIP).

This summary highlights in how far the current planning system adopted by the local government administration was capable to respond to local needs.

a. Formulation of the project objectives

The general hypothesis assumes that local level plans prepared by government agencies have objectives that are of little interest to the local people. Except for the VIP, to which this hypothesis is not applicable, the hypothesis could be applied to the cases of V/GP and GIP. On the basis of the findings, this hypothesis had to be rejected. Local level plans prepared by government agencies are indeed of interest to local people engaged in V/GP and GIP. However, the tests of the corresponding sub-hypotheses which are valid for all categories, confirm that groups of local people and individuals had different and often conflicting objectives.

The test results allow to draw the following inferences for the cases of V/GP and GIP.

V/GP are characterized by objectives that are of interest to local people, though they were rather not directly involved in their formulation. It is found that project initiators were inclined to establish consensus and make adjustments.

GIP are characterized by plans that are barely of interest to local people who were hardly involved in their formulation. This is because local people were neither involved in the specification of objectives nor in the formulation of projects, because these steps had been taken at higher levels in the administration, without even allowing officials at lower levels to make any adjustments.

b. Data collection and analysis

The general hypothesis subsumes that local people and government agents sometimes arrive at different perceptions of the current situation during plan making with regard to data collection and analysis. Except for the cases of VIP, the result of hypothesis testing was affirmative for V/GP and GIP, stressing that the fact finding conducted by government agents in preparation of local level plans gives a distorted picture of local people's perceptions.

In relation to findings on matters related to data collection and analysis, specific explanations were obtained.

For VIP the result is clear showing that data from local people, including their knowledge, were not properly collected, analyzed and utilized in the process of plan making.

V/GP render ample evidence of differences in perception between local people and government agents. It was evident that required data were collected from some though not all specific sub-groups. As a result, the data collected and analyzed reflect a bias that might be attributed to discrepancies in socio-economic background that bore on the approach to fact finding.

GIP also reflect differences in perception between local people and government agents. There appears to be some indication of inadequate utilization of local people as sources of data and indigeneous knowledge.

c. Project design

The general hypothesis assumes that the project design of local level plans is not valid. The test results were affirmative for the cases of GIP but ambivalent and ambiguous for VIP and V/GP. Therefore, it is not possible to give any explanation of

Participatory Development Activities

the broad issue. These test results point to certain implications of VIP, V/GP and GIP which are explicated hereunder.

VIP activities were largely designed with the broad participation and/or formal consensus of the local population. People's routine activities did not interfere with their participation in project design, indeed. Contributions were made as and when required. Local resources were effectively explored and made available as required.

V/GP activities were likewise designed without the broad participation and/or formal consensus of the local population. Related activities were facilitated through timely contributions by local people, after effective exploration of local resources.

GIP activities were hardly designed with even limited participation and tacit consensus of the local population. Contributions to the project were made as and when required. Resources in the area were effectively explored and made available as and when needed.

d. Project approval

The general hypothesis states that local people are either not interested or have only a loose interest since they were not involved in project approval. The test results show that this hypothesis was confirmed in the cases of V/GP and GIP which means acceptance of the hypothesis. In contrast, it is found rejected in the cases of VIP because of local people's interest and involvement in project approval.

The striking outcome of hypothesis testing related to project approval is the near uniformity of the testing results among the cases under study within each category of projects.

VIP matters of project approval required little time, and the procedure was not complicated. As a result the approval phase of VIP was brief and did not diminish local interest, neither in a situation of conflict nor in a case of manipulation.

Dealing with V/GP matters related to project approval was different. This took a long time caused by their routing through the hierarchical levels of government administration, virtually excluding local people from decision making. The delay in approving V/GP projects is caused by complicated procedures in government organizations concerned. This is apparent in the fact that it was not only the several administrative levels within one implementing agency but likewise those of whichever collaborating agencies engaged from which approval had to be sought. This means that

eventually more than one formalized linking loop of the delivering mechanism was involved.

GIP related findings show that project approval was given at higher administrative levels, leading to the exclusion of local people from decision making. However, the approval procedure was neither complicated nor delayed by the delivery mechanism. This is due to the two following reasons. Firstly, it was found that mostly only one formalized linking loop of the delivering mechanism was involved in the approval procedure. As a result, most of the projects were passed on for approval to several levels within the administration of one and the same implementing agency only. Secondly, most of the projects had been endorsed by the higher levels of government organization involved before the projects were delegated to the local level for implementation. Thus, there was no cause for delay in approving such project by the government agency concerned.

e. Project implementation

The general hypothesis assumes that in any case where local people are urged only to contribute to project implementation but are not involved in the earlier stages of the project cycle, there is a tendency that they will not participate in any such project. The results of hypothesis testing vary by project category. The hypothesis is rejected for the cases of VIP, accepted for GIP and ambiguous for V/GP.

VIP are characterized by active involvement of local people at the early stages of the project cycle. They do not lack participation in implementation.

V/GP do not render much evidence in terms of explanation. Only two distinct implications are clearly rendered. Neither do changes in individual circumstances nor does a new perception after reassessment lead to local people's unwillingness to carry on participating into the stage of project implementation.

GIP differ substantially from VIP and also from V/GP, if factors influencing project implementation are considered. There is clear evidence of discontinuation, which can be caused by a new perception after reassessment of the erstwhile situation, poor organizational set-up of the implementing agency, conflict between local people and government agent assigned, and conflict among local people.

f. Project evaluation

There are two general hypotheses addressing this stage of the planned development process. The first hypothesis states that when local people are not involved in project

Participatory Development Activities

evaluation, certain problems and constraints obstructing the project preparation and implementation from local people's point of view could not be known to the government agent of the implementing agency. As a result, the project could not be modified in order to make the current project as well as future projects more efficient and effective. Except for the cases of VIP, to which this hypothesis is not applicable, the test results are affirmative for V/GP and GIP implying acceptance of this hypothesis.

In most GIP and in one V/GP, the local people did not participate in project evaluation. Therefore, they could not possibly identify certain problems and constraints that led to failure.

Moreover, evaluation was conducted in these projects plainly to meet procedural requirements of the administration at higher level, which resulted in short summary reports on project implementation with no indication of factors hampering project success or causing failure. In short, no assessment of any project was made in terms of its efficiency, effectiveness and impact.

The second hypothesis states that without constant participatory monitoring and evaluation, internal motives of the local people could not be assessed clearly, as to whether these would coincide with the stated objective of the project or not. Therefore, the formulation of development activities could not be steered in such a way that the objectives of the local people and of the project would be congruent. As a consequence, the tendency to maximize people's active participation in the various stages of project planning was minimal. The test results show wide acceptance and relevance for the cases of VIP, V/GP and GIP.

In most cases of V/GP and GIP, continuous participatory monitoring and evaluation were not conducted. As a consequence, people's participation in those projects became passive, making it unfeasible to assess whether the objectives of the project and their individual objectives were consistent.

As for VIP, people's participation was very active as evident from the mobilization of people and local resources, which was truly efficient and effective.

3. Elements Contributing to Effectiveness or Leading to Ineffectiveness of People's Participation

Numerous elements were either conducive to effectiveness or causing ineffectiveness of people's participation in the nine cases under study.

The ingredients necessary for effective participatory project planning and implementation, singled out through these case studies, are categorized by important aspects as listed below.*

- E-1 : Response to felt needs of the local people reflecting their goals or objectives.
- E-2 : High degree of flexibility in project planning procedure regarding design and implementation.
- E-3 : Flexibility of local government officers in adjusting to local reaction and conditions.
- E-4 : Solid social cohesion in the local community to facilitate linkages among people and resource mobilization.
- E-5 : Strong leadership and active local organization as bridgehead at local level, maintaining and strengthening vertical connection between the local community and government line agencies.
- E-6 : Simple project of short implementation duration with no complication in terms of structure, procedure and technology.
- E-7 : Decentralization of decision-making and delegation of budget controlling power by the central to the local level.
- E-8 : Involvement of intended project beneficiaries in the decision-making process at early stages of the project cycle.

In addition, the analysis of the nine cases renders strong evidence that ineffectiveness of people's participation in the planned development process is determined by multifarious factors related to several aspects of the planning procedure. Hereunder, the factors leading to ineffectiveness of people's participation are identified.**

- I-1 : Internal conflict among prospective and hopeful project beneficiaries caused by differing interests or objectives.

*E = elements leading to effectiveness

**I = elements leading to ineffectiveness

Participatory Development Activities

- I-2 : Conflict between local people and local level government agents assigned to the project.
- I-3 : Rigidity and inflexibility of project planning procedure.
- I-4 : Centralized decision-making power and budget allocation control at the highest administrative level.
- I-5 : Lack of response to felt needs of local people.
- I-6 : Poor coordination among government line agencies in charge of project implementation.
- I-7 : Rigid adherence of local government officers to imposed project design.
- I-8 : Poor management and coordination in local organizational set-up for project implementation.
- I-9 : Interference of powerful local leaders.
- I-10: Delay in the release of funds and other resources from line agencies in charge of project implementation.
- I-11: Lack of feasibility study in project design on appropriateness of the project to the locality and felt-needs of local people.
- I-12: Lack of supporting resources from government line agencies in charge of project implementation.

4. Factors Explaining High or Low Efficiency of the Projects under Study

This part summarizes factors determining the high or low efficiency of the projects under study. The application of the "linking loops" concept facilitates the identification of certain factors causing variation in project efficiency.

a. Factors explaining high efficiency

The analysis of the nine case studies shows that only two cases can be considered efficient. It is noteworthy that both projects were initiated and implemented by local people with minimal intervention from government administration. Factors explaining

high efficiency in those two cases are related to operational and interfacing mechanisms and fully activated linking loops, as summarized below.

- (1) Successful linking between the communal linking loop (CLL) of the receiving mechanism (RM) and the formalized linking loop (FLL) of the delivery mechanism (DM).
- (2) Successful linking of resources among actors of the receiving mechanism (RM), which occurred within a given span of time and space.
- (3) Formation of an effective network of the communal linking loop (CLL), thus mobilizing people and resources in the CLL of the receiving mechanism (RM) effectively.
- (4) The formalized linking loop (FLL) of the delivery mechanism (DM) is not fragmented in the sense that not too many FLLs are involved.
- (5) Actors in the basic linking loop (BLL) of the formalized linking loop (FLL) are active and effective.
- (6) Due to operational interface during the conceptual linking phase via direct contact, successful linking of resources between delivery and receiving mechanisms is established within a given time and space and facilitated by the communal linking loop (CLL).

b. Factors explaining low efficiency

Through the application of the "linking loops" concept certain factors impairing the efficiency of project planning and implementation under investigation are identified. All factors explaining low efficiency are related to structural relationships, interactions between elements and their operationalizing functions. They comprise of the following constellations:

- (1) The structure of the formalized linking loop (FLL) in the delivery mechanism (DM) is rigid, inflexible and centralized in terms of decision making; this causes ineffective linking in transferring resources to the communal linking loop (CLL).
- (2) The formalized linking loop (FLL) in the delivery mechanism (DM) is fragmented, thus causing ineffective linking of resources in the DM.

Participatory Development Activities

- (3) The formation of the communal linking loop (CLL) of the receiving mechanism (RM) is loosely constructed, entailing ineffective linking of actor resources in the CLL of the RM. In some cases, it is disrupted by rumours or unfavourable circumstances.
- (4) Fragmentation of the communal linking loop (CLL) relates to divisiveness of actors in the receiving mechanism (RM).
- (5) The basic linking loops (BLL) in the formalized linking loop (FLL) fails to facilitate linking with the communal linking loop (CLL), in terms of linking of resources of the receiving mechanism (RM) with the delivery mechanism (DM) due to :
 - internal conflict as a consequence of diverse and conflicting objectives of the BLL in the FLL, thus impeding the formation of an effective confluent linking loop;
 - the absence of an interface between the BLL of the FLL of the DM and the CLL of the RM in the actual linking phase, which is not taking place at the specified point in time and space.

5. Determinants of Success or Failure of the Projects under Study

Among the nine projects under study, three were effectively and successfully implemented; four projects were ineffective and failed; and another two were doomed to fail. In sum, most of the projects under study were ineffective and prone to fail. Determinants of success or failure inherent to these effective or ineffective projects are presented hereunder.

a. Determinants of success

Very few projects under study were found to be effective. The ingredients necessary for effective participatory project planning and implementation represent a combination of the elements summarized below.*

- S-1 : Strengthening direct participation of intended beneficiaries in the decision-making process at the early stages of the project cycle.

*S = determinants of success

- S-2 : Effective linking of resources and knowledge at a certain time and place.
- S-3 : Active role of the local organization and leadership functioning as a bridgehead at local level, maintaining and strengthening the vertical connection between the government line agency concerned and local people.
- S-4 : Local knowledge and resources effectively utilized.
- S-5 : Building up of an extensive network (role of village leaders).
- S-6 : Flexibility in project related decision making displayed by the government agencies involved is extended to the local level.
- S-7 : Feasibility study prior to project implementation.
- S-8 : Simple project design without complication in terms of structure, procedures and technology.
- S-9 : High degree of flexibility regarding design and implementation.
- S-10: Short duration of the implementation phase.
- S-11: Effective mobilization of people and local resources.
- S-12: Complete, active and effective participation at all stages of project planning.
- S-13: Monitoring and evaluation of project performance.

b. Determinants of failure

As most projects under study were ineffective, the analysis of the corresponding case studies pinpointed multifarious elements causing their failure. These elements are scrutinized and listed hereunder.*

- F-1 : Rigidity of project design owing to centralized planning.

*F = determinants of failure

Participatory Development Activities

- F-2 : Lack of direct participation in the decision-making process.**
- F-3 : Lack of coordination between government line agencies regarding different points of view between local staff of various government field agencies involved in the planned development process.**
- F-4 : Fragmentation of resources by various government line agencies.**
- F-5 : Rigid and strict adherence of local government field officers to blueprints handed down to the local level.**
- F-6 : No data collection during the project preparation period in the field area to identify the felt needs of local people.**
- F-7 : Lack of a feasibility study to test whether techniques to be introduced are appropriate for the project area, or not.**
- F-8 : Lack of intervention techniques and training of local people on technical know-how before project start-up.**
- F-9 : Poor management of the local organizational set-up in undertaking the project.**
- F-10: Neglect of understanding and appreciating people's felt needs and objectives.**
- F-11: Inappropriate timing of project implementation (delayed start-up of project implementation).**
- F-12: Delay in the release of resources.**
- F-13: Centralization of decision-making at the highest level of administration; local field officer not authorized to make decisions even on local matters.**
- F-14: Complicated administrative procedure in interactions between various government agencies involved in the project.**
- F-15: Ineffective local organization set-up for project implementation.**
- F-16: Conflict between local people and local government agents assigned to the area.**

- F-17: Resources required for project implementation unaffordable to target group members.
- F-18: Partial, indirect and ineffective participation.
- F-19: Lack of continuous monitoring and evaluation.
- F-20: Local knowledge and resources underutilized or not utilized.
- F-21: Top-down planning via the blueprint design approach.
- F-22: Delay in procurement of supplies by the government organization in charge.
- F-23: Centralized budget allocation from the highest level.

B. CONCLUSIONS

The following conclusions are drawn based on the findings of this study and its overall analysis.

1. In a project designed within a bottom-up planning framework, complete, direct, free and active participation could be accomplished. In contrast, a project which was characterized by a top-down planning approach had a rigid design and formalized procedures governed by certain rules and standards of operation. This kind of project, then, left little room for people's participation, which was always partial and sometimes non-existent.

2. The study indicates that people's participation at various stages of the project cycle contributed substantially to the success of a project. However, it is learnt from several case studies that type and pattern of participation at each stage of the project cycle should be selected carefully. Otherwise, this might have a negative impact on the implementation of the project.

3. People who joined a project freely believed that this is the way to realize their objectives. However, some people might quit from the project any time and at any stages of the project cycle when they realized that the project was not anymore beneficial for

Participatory Development Activities

them. Their decision to leave the project depended very much on their assessment of social costs and benefits, which was tied to individual perceptions.

4. Objectives of local people involved in the scheme were often not identical, as they had both explicitly and implicitly differing objectives to be realized. To achieve their objectives, people used their action sets, selected from their social networks, to mobilize other people and resources.

5. Among the various stages of the planned development process, project formulation and preparation were the stages at which people's direct participation was vital for the success of the project. However, the introduction of people's direct participation during these stages, without giving due consideration to the mode of reaching a consensus at later stages, created a negative impact on people's aspirations.

6. In small communities, direct participation via face-to-face interaction, specifically at the early stages of the project cycle, was found necessary and crucial to ensure effectiveness of people's participation and success of a project, in general.

7. Direct participation was only effective if followed by some concrete outcome carried by consensus among local people, which could be defined in operational terms.

8. The analysis of the nine case studies shows that once an interface between actors of the delivery and the receiving mechanisms took place at the identification phase of the planning process through their active participation in a project, many positive prospects for the success of the project emerged. These are summarized hereunder:

- people showed a tendency to participate also at later stages of the project cycle;
- people were motivated to join in the project cycle because they expected certain benefits;
- people and officials had a good understanding of project objectives;
- actors at the interface of the delivery and receiving mechanisms had the opportunity to perceive and assess each others' current situations; as a result, they were mutually aware of existing problems and constraints from the beginning; and
- people were motivated to commit themselves to contribute some of their scarce resources to the project, which facilitated the actual mobilization of people and their resources.

9. The study of types and patterns of people's participation in village based development projects shows that instances of free, direct and indirect, complete, intensive and effective participation were found in village initiated projects within the bottom-up planning framework. In contrast, free, direct and indirect, partial, extensive and ineffective modes of participation were observed in the government initiated projects embodied in the top-down planning system.

10. The case studies render evidence of variation and diversification in people's participation in village initiated projects. These variations became very limited in government initiated projects; especially participation at the identification, preparation and approval stages was almost non-existent.

11. Through the application of the "linking loops" concept to the nine case studies, evidence is obtained that participation of individual actors in the development process depended very much on their assessment of costs and benefits which, of course, differed among individual actors involved in local development activities. The costs of participation in the cases under study included time spent on starting up activities, land and cash contributions, the risk to get into conflict with other groups of villagers, and financial contributions to be invested in creating a network and establishing linkages to local government field officers. The expected benefits of participation, as perceived by local people, ranged from raising their income via increased crop productivity or upgrading their technical know-how to improving the quality of life by gaining access to water for domestic consumption. As found through the case studies, participation was instrumental in increasing the speed of project implementation and mobilizing local people and resources. As far as projects had been implemented successfully, their benefits could be distributed, local power shared and effects of development in the locality better spread.

12. In formulating a development project, it should be realized that objectives and interests of all the people joining in the same scheme may not be identical. Ignoring this diversity may lead to conflict among prospective project beneficiaries. As observed in the case of the savings scheme, the poor and the rich were mobilized to join in undertaking the same project. Eventually, all the members from poor households withdrew from the project after realizing their competitive disadvantage and unaffordability of required contributions, being too poor to participate, at least on a regular basis.

13. Where the objective of a project was directly competitive with some business undertaken by a member of the village elite, it was said that the local leader spread bad rumours, like in the case of the medicine supply cooperative that its medicines could be hazardous, in order to diminish people's participation in the project.

Participatory Development Activities

14. Project implementation of any project designed at higher level in the administrative hierarchy will be effective only if some adjustments in its design and implementation can be made by local government field officers with the direct participation of local people. In the design of projects there should be room for modifications of project components through soliciting the effective participation of local people.

15. Participation often creates tensions in a village society, particularly if delivery of limited goods goes through government initiated projects. In such situations, evidence of actions ranging from unfairness to conflict was found among local people who got carried away in their efforts to gain access to those scarce resources. Alliances were built to pursue their particular interests to the disadvantage of their competitors or opponents, so as to get their individual objectives realized.

16. The study reveals that nine elements contributed to the effective participation of local people in the planned development process, namely : -

- objectives of a project responsive to the felt needs of the local people;
- high degree of flexibility in procedures of the project cycle;
- flexibility of local government field officers to adjust plans to local conditions;
- solid social cohesion in the locality;
- strong leadership and active local organization;
- simple project with short duration of implementation;
- decentralization of decision making and budget control;
- involvement of intended project beneficiaries in the identification, preparation and approval of the project; and
- constant monitoring and evaluation.

17. The analysis of the case studies proves that people's participation is a major factor contributing to the success of a project. Another important factor was the proper linking of knowledge and resources between the delivery and the receiving mechanisms. Proper linking of resources of both mechanisms should be accomplished within a specified span of time and preferably within a small geographical area, a so-called area

of interest for successful project implementation. This is explained by the fact that the communal linking loop of the receiving mechanism has a coupling constraint. It can be activated only for a short period and within limited space. Once it disintegrates, there is no guarantee that it can be rebuilt.

18. Some development projects under study were unsuccessful because the resources provided by the delivery mechanism were limited. This led to the creation of several competing and simultaneous communal linking loops among local people in what was supposed to be a single, coherent receiving mechanism. As a result, a 'rat-race' was started among local groups in their attempt to link their linking loops with the formalized linking loops. Thus, a communal linking loop could not be formed.

19. Local people used their alliances, social networks and action sets to mobilize other people and resources for building communal linking loops in the receiving mechanism. Those who could develop a linkage with the formalized linking loop of the government obtained more benefits than others.

20. Leadership plays a significant role in the formation of the communal linking loops and the effective mobilization of resources for projects. Local leaders have larger social networks than common villagers because of their existing relationships with people inside as well as outside the local area. This means that strong leaders in a community have the capacity to tap resources inside as well as outside their village.

21. A local leader who is familiar with the government system, procedures and channels could effectively utilize his knowledge for his personal benefit. This is why he has a higher capacity to reap benefits from government initiated and sponsored projects than others. Thus, the right choice of a development project and its implementation procedure can only be made, if proper attention is paid to the existing power dynamics in a locality.

22. Only some of the projects studied were efficient and effective. Expressed in terms of the concept of the linking loops, efficiency is determined by the following factors: the formation of preferably one effective functioning CLL in the receiving mechanism (RM); flexibility of the formalized linking loop (FLL) in the delivery mechanism (DM); and successful interface between the basic linking loops (BLL) of the FLL in the DM and the CLL of the RM at early phases of the linking process. The successful and partially successful projects show that the smaller the number of participants is, both in the CLL of the RM and in the FLL of the DM, the higher is the efficiency and effectiveness of a project. Factors explaining low efficiency in ineffective projects comprise of the following : rigidity and centralization in the structure of the formalized linking loops (FLL) in the delivery mechanism (DM); conflict or lack of

Participatory Development Activities

coordination between FLL in the DM; fragmentation of the communal linking loop (CLL) or conflicting CLLs in the receiving mechanism (RM); ineffective interface between the basic linking loop (BLL) of the FLL in the DM with the CLL in the RM.

23. Success of the projects under study was determined by many elements which varied from one case to another. However, common factors conducive to the effectiveness of the successful projects include the following elements: feasibility of flexibility in project design and implementation; active and effective participation at all stages of the project cycle; strong leadership; stable communal linking loop; and simple project design coupled with short duration of its implementation.

24. Certain social and administrative aspects were found to impair the efficiency and effectiveness of the projects under study. Determinants of failure are very diversified. This notwithstanding, common factors responsible for the failure of several projects are : rigidity in project design owing to top-down directives; centralization of decision-making power and budget allocation control at the highest level of administration; lack of feasibility studies and deficiencies in project design; lack of direct participation of local people in the decision-making process; poor coordination between government line agencies and local people; ineffective local organization and leadership; and social conflict within the local power structure.

25. It is the concept of the "linking loops" and its application which facilitates the identification of factors that determine forces impairing the efficiency and the effectiveness of a development project. Certain elements contributing to success or failure of the project were examined through the investigation of three kinds of linking loops, namely, the basic, the communal and the formalized linking loops. These concepts were used in the case studies in order to explore basic characteristics as well as individual features and structures including interactional processes among the various linking loops. The case studies show that success of the projects under study is determined by effective operational and interfacing mechanisms among the basic, communal and formalized linking loops. In contrast, the failure of many projects is caused by shortcomings in both the structure and operationalization of these linking loops.

26. The results of hypothesis testing of nine case studies at the aggregate level show that local-level projects initiated by government agencies were ineffective not because the way in which they are initiated, prepared and implemented preempts local people's interest in getting involved in implementation or availing of their results. The test results prove that local level plans prepared by government agencies are, indeed, of interest to local people. Based on the aggregate analysis of the nine case studies, it is found out that local level projects initiated by the government are mostly ineffective because of particular and multifarious factors associated with various stages of the planned

development process. These include differences in and conflicting objectives among local people; differences in perception between local people and government agents with regard to fact finding and interpretation; inappropriateness of project design; complicated procedure engaging several government organizations at the approval stage; discontinuance of local people's participation in on-going project implementation; and lack of people's involvement in project evaluation in the absence of continual participatory monitoring and evaluation.

The analyses of the case studies show that villagers would continue participating until the final step of project implementation, if they were given the opportunity to identify and implement projects which meet their expectations and fulfill their objectives. The hypothesis test results imply that if local people are involved in the early stages of the planned development process, more active and effective participation can be expected in the later stages to ensure more effective and efficient development projects.

C. IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION

Based on the findings and the overall analysis of this research study, implications for policy formulation and implementation of development activities in rural Thailand can be formulated in the following domains.

1. Any developmental programme emphasizing people's participation in rural Thailand might not be successful if it is based on the assumption that its villagers are blessed with the kind of serendipity which makes them to act like co-operative, amicable and mutually supportive members of an egalitarian society in a setting of limited goods. Village people are grouped into factions, as clients of local patrons, followers of local leaders, or members of both formal and informal groups striving to maximize returns according to their particular interests. As documented in this study, conflicts were not merely focused on the utilization of limited resources, but were also caused by efforts to strengthen personal relationships and to reaffirm individual interest in broadening one's power basis. Thus, it is imperative to study the existing local power structure, dynamics and distribution before introducing any participatory strategy in support of a development project. This is to ensure that benefits of projects are equitably shared and salutary effects of a development project reach all local citizens.

2. It becomes clear through this study that participatory planning has no standard form in operational terms through which it could be executed. A great success of one project in terms of its effectiveness, attributed to people's participation may not be

Participatory Development Activities

relevant to another project in a different area due to variations in local environment. There is thus a great need to take empirical factors, including local socio-economic, cultural, political and administrative settings into consideration in order to design suitable participatory interventions in a particular area.

3. From what has been documented in this study, it could be concluded that the development process at village level is complex, peculiar and unpredictable due to the perception of costs and benefits by individual actors, among other factors. As a consequence, a village based development project, which is formulated under rigid specifications expressed in terms of pre-defined objectives, identification of a certain target group, tightly scheduled duration of implementation, defined specific activities and available resources, and detailed prescription of management structure and control functions, can not likewise be appropriately reconciled with participatory features and interventions by a local population, as its members are largely volatile and their behaviour is hardly predictable. This study shows that some room for adjustments at all stages of the project cycle is required to facilitate efficient participation and to ensure overall positive results. Continual project monitoring and evaluation should be conducted to assess the current situation, emerging problems and wavering motivations of the local people. This implies that modifications of the project design must be feasible within the general framework of the planned development process, to be made by local-level government field officers in consultation with local people to ensure project efficiency and effectiveness. In addition, the opportunity for people's participation at the various stages of the planned development process should be maximized.

4. The participatory approach can be used in the framework of rigid project formulation based on blueprint design only in situations where solutions to problems and constraints are obvious, which is not often the case. Whenever project implementation is a long-term affair, participatory interventions will be complex and unpredictable. This is due to the fact that people oriented development projects are very dependent on the dynamics set free by raised expectations, heightened awareness, broadened knowledge and strengthened motivation.

5. A participative project, oriented to groups at a low level of development, can only be successful with intensive and specific assistance providing complementary resources. The study brings out the difficulties encountered in enabling the poor and underprivileged people in the polarized society of village communities, which are centered around some few powerful local leaders and characterized by conflict among groups, to organize themselves. The assessment of the assorted projects studied illustrates that most of them had been initiated by rich or well- to-do individuals to serve their personal interest. The lower income groups hardly participated because the poor could afford neither the time nor the means required for any diversions from earning

their livelihood. In some instances they were coerced under pressure of the local patron-client relationship to discontinue their participation in certain projects. As a consequence, the government initiated projects under study did not succeed in reaching the poor and underprivileged. It is, therefore imperative not only to encourage but to enable the poor to participate in the political and administrative process, precisely because in the present set-up decisions on development activities are generally made by rich persons holding positions of local leadership. Moreover, an effective mode of organizing poor people should be established at the local level to safeguard their interest with the ultimate objective of realizing a genuine participatory development strategy.

6. A top-down bureaucratic apparatus, like the current government planning system, is not appropriate to facilitate and conduct a participatory project. It is essential to introduce some degree of "decentralization" as a means to strengthen people's participation in the development process, particularly within the project cycle. Some delegation of responsibility in terms of decision-making power and budget allocation as well as finance control to the local level administration is essential to create the kind of flexibility that is conducive to success of participatory projects, as demonstrated and proven by the successful cases under study. The local government agency field staff should be trained to work intensively and flexibly within the local people's participatory setting on location. The local officers should be given the authority to adjust directives received from the higher level of administration so that they will fit local conditions and circumstances.

Apart from this, it is essential to improve various aspects of the current practice of plan formulation for government initiated projects. Systematic data collection and analysis should be undertaken in consultation not only with intended and prospective project beneficiaries but also with other groups in the local population. This should be followed by a feasibility study after project formulation to appraise its socio-economic and financial aspects. This study detected deficiencies in project design leading to the failure of some projects. Systematic monitoring and evaluation of government initiated projects (GIP) should be adopted to identify, in time, problems encountered during various stages of project preparation and implementation so that necessary modifications could be made at once to ensure effectiveness.

This research renders strong evidence of the vital importance of people's participation for project identification, preparation, approval, implementation and evaluation with a view to the efficiency and effectiveness of village based development projects. The types and patterns of participation determined the success or failure of the projects. Related to participatory elements, distinct social and administrative factors were found having jeopardized the efficiency and effectiveness of the projects under study.

Participatory Development Activities

Modifications of the current system of development planning in Thailand are needed to strengthen the efficiency of planning procedures.

The findings and conclusions of this study, supplemented by specific recommendations for plan making and implementation might be of use to government agencies and non-governmental organizations especially for the appraisal of people's participation in the planned development process for rural development in Thailand.

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Appendix

Checklist

for Structured Interviews

Applied to the Investigation into

People's Participation in the Planned Development Process

A. FORMULATION OF PROJECT OBJECTIVES

1. How did the idea of this project originate?
2. Did that idea lead to the initiation of this project?
3. What was/were the objective(s) of the project?
4. How clearly and explicitly were the objectives of the project stated or defined?
5. What was/were the major factor(s) that was/were considered while formulating the project/its objectives?
(environmental, economic, social, cultural, technical, or others)
6. Who was/were the individual(s) or group(s) that first proposed the project?
7. Who, other than the proposers, supported the project idea?
8. Who opposed it?
9. Did other organizations involve in defining the project/objectives?
10. Was the project related to problems identified as most common in the area?
How were the beneficiaries identified?
11. Were they the same group/individuals who encountered such problems?

B. PROJECT PREPARATION

1. If there were a number of identified projects, how did you make a choice between these alternatives?
2. Who was/were responsible for the project design and preparation?
3. Did you do some data collection for the project design? If yes, from whom?
What methods did you use?

Participatory Development Activities

4. What did you propose for designing the following aspects of the project : administrative, financial and management structure?
5. What types of resources and technical assistance was/were required in the project?
How did you get them?
From where?
6. How did you estimate costs and benefits of the project?
7. How did you estimate resources commitments (land, labour, skills, funds)?
From where did you obtain these resources?
8. After identification of the project, how did you ascertain that the project is feasible?
9. What criteria did you use to determine the feasibility of the project?

C. PROJECT APPRAISAL AND APPROVAL

1. Was the project appraised?
If yes, who did it?
2. What aspects were appraised by them (financial, technical, organizational, managerial, institutional, social and cultural)?
3. What were the criteria for appraising the project?
4. Did you give any priority to any particular criterion of project appraisal?
If yes, what was it?
5. Did you send all the project proposals for approval?
6. If no, how did you screen them?
7. What were the criteria that you used for screening?
8. Who were responsible for the project screening?

9. Where did you send the project proposal for approval?
Who had the authority to approve the project?
10. Did you know the criteria used for approving the project?
What kind of project received high priority?

D. PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION

1. Did you know any groups or individuals who was/were responsible for implementation?
2. If yes, who were they?
What were their duties?
3. If no, how could you assign responsibilities?
4. Who were responsible for the coordination with the line agencies of the project?
5. How about the management skill, the know-how and other resources of the people?
Did those contribute to the project implementation?
Who was/were responsible for managing these resources?
6. Who made decisions when major or minor changes had to be made with regard to project implementation?
And to what extent were such changes brought about?
7. How was the communication with other line organizations and beneficiaries directly or indirectly involved in the project implementation?
Who received much of the benefits of this project?
Was there any conflict on benefit sharing?
8. How did the reporting take place?
Who performed the internal and external audit in the case of financial matters?
How were those informed of the result of auditing?

Participatory Development Activities

9. What were the problems encountered during the implementation?
10. How were these problems solved?
Who made decisions on solving these problems?
11. Did you receive any supervision during implementation? If yes, from whom?
12. Did you have any system of monitoring the project?
13. If yes, who was given the charge of monitoring?
When did he/she do this work?
14. What aspects of the project were monitored?
How?
15. If no monitoring was done, how could you assess the progress and bottlenecks of project implementation?

E. PROJECT EVALUATION

1. Had the project been evaluated?
2. If yes, who performed the evaluation study?
3. Was/were the evaluator(s) concerned with the project directly?
4. When was the project evaluated?
How often were such studies done?
5. What indicators did the evaluator(s) use for evaluation?
6. How did the evaluator(s) determine the success or failure of the project?
7. How could the evaluator(s) measure those indicators?
8. If no evaluation was done, how could you determine the result of the project
- whether it was a failure or a success?

9. What were the results of the evaluation?
10. Do/did you have any idea as to how to improve the project?
11. If yes, what are/were they?
How can/would you apply them?