

***Imagined Futures: Sufficiency Economy and
Other Visions of Rural Thailand***

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A new politics of agrarian change now defines the political economy of Thailand. This politics is emerging in the wake of the Green Revolution - a "post-Green Revolution politics" (Dayley 2007). It is characterized by hotly contested debates over rural life, agricultural choice, and what it means to be "Thai." This new politics is also a product of increased awareness of the opportunities and risks tied to economic globalization. Ultimately, village politics, peasant identities, and moral economies of the past have been replaced by a new politics of competing visions of agriculture and the policy dilemmas these visions generate. The Green Revolution produced years of higher yields as the cost of a host of social, economic, and environmental concerns - concerns that shape and define the Thailand's new politics of agrarian change.

This paper outlines post-Green Revolution politics in Thailand. It summarizes the results of recent field-work on the political economy of agrarian change (Appendix A). Field work included qualitative interviews with over ninety stakeholders. About half of the data pool was composed of farmers spread across 11 provinces spread in the North, Northeast, and Central regions.² The other half came from government officials at the national, provincial, and local levels; NGO leaders; MNC executives; agri-business managers; scientists; development monks; government advisors and others. As part of a broader research project and book-length manuscript, this paper serves as an executive summary of project's findings.³

Post-Green Revolution Visions

Agriculture and rural life remain significant in Thailand, a country known for sustained agricultural self-sufficiency and a national identity inseparable from its rural roots. In spite of recent declines in the total numbers of farmers and agriculture's share of GDP, much of the industrialization of Thailand has been the industrialization of agriculture and food-related industries. As noted by Lindsey Falvey in his encyclopedic study, *Thailand: Golden Cradle of Millenia*, Thailand is consistently among of the world's seven major agricultural exporters, feeds about four times its own population, and has close to 80 percent of it population working in agriculture or agricultural-related industries (Falvey 2000, 2). The majority of rural Thais, together with the country's public and private-sector leaders, remain keenly aware of what is at stake with respect to the future for Thai agriculture. Where Green Revolution methods of multiple-cropping, chemical inputs, and hybrid technologies once dominated, new visions of agriculture and rural life now compete for influence in Thailand. The future of Thai agriculture is up for debate.

Field interviews and research revealed five principal visions of Thailand's agriculture future:

(1) *The Commercial Mainstream:* the remnant of Green Revolution industrial agriculture which is shifting profit strategies from an emphasis on yield to greater attention to value-added production, niche marketing, and environmental-friendly agriculture, or least the appearance of increased green consciousness to satisfy critics and consumer preference.

(2) *The Biotechnology Vision:* the adoption of post-Green Revolution technologies such as genetic engineering and gene marker selection to create everything from crop resistance to viruses, pests, drought, floods and chemical herbicides, to designer fruits and vegetables, to nutraceutical foods designed for health benefits;

(3) *The Organic Markets Vision:* the promotion of organic production of agriculture, labeling, standardization, and marketing networks linking organic producers and consumers locally and internationally;

(4) *Buddhist Agro-populism:* the rejection of mainstream commercial agriculture and economic globalization on principle or cultural-religious grounds in favor of community culture, Buddhist values, and spiritual renewal, often with the aim of recapturing rural roots and the essence of "Thainess";

(5) *Sufficiency Economy:* the promotion of New Theory Agriculture (*thrisidi mai*) as a means for struggling farmers to escape debt traps, achieve agricultural self-sufficiency, and position themselves over the long-term for integration into national and global agricultural markets;

These visions are competing with each other to replace the once dominant Green Revolution production and technology paradigm. This paradigm emphasized increasing crop yield and the transitioning farmers and communities from traditional subsistence to "modern agriculture." Adherents advance new visions as alternative forms of (post)modern agriculture that serve values beyond increasing production. Where some of these visions look internally by drawing inspiration from Thailand's cultural past, others look to science, niche markets, and beyond the country's borders for ideas and limitless technologies. Interviews with the stakeholders in Thai agriculture reveal that post-Green Revolution politics is characterized by deep questions about Thai culture, identity, and differing conceptions of "the good" - questions at the very soul of the nation. Complicated negotiations about Thailand's soul will increasingly underlie the policy debates, political conflicts, and social outcomes related to these visions for many years to come. Moreover, these visions are not fully reconcilable. To the extent they will co-exist, however, proponents and opponents will increasingly clash over them. For scholars studying agrarian change in Thailand, understanding these visions and the passions that surround them will

serves an important key to opening up new understandings of agrarian change in Thailand.

Important questions about these "imagined futures" thus drive this line of inquiry: What characterizes and distinguishes these competing visions? Which are likely to emerge most prominent over time? Given its rising importance, how does the Sufficiency Economy fit into the larger processes of agrarian change today? How is Thailand coping with global changes in agricultural technological and the growing environmental consciousness in the public and private sectors? Where do culturalist trends promoting localism, self-reliance, and organic method fit in Thailand's future?

Eiconics and Analysis

To answer these questions, I employ the underutilized conceptual framework of eiconics, pioneered by Kenneth Boulding (1956). As a form of image analysis, eiconics is concerned with the study of images, mental constructs, human imagination and how visions of the future influence society. Eiconics is interested in policy, politics, and social outcomes but in a way quite distinct from the rational choice, institutionalist, and state-society approaches that dominate studies of political economy. Where these mainstream approaches emphasize preferences, utility, self-interest, rules, incentive structures, power, and collective choice, an eiconical approach places primary emphasizes on image-formation, communication, role expectations, emotion, symbols, values, as well as myth.⁴ In the view of eiconics, the political process is characterized not only by how decision makers screen an idea for its plausibility *but* also they attach emotions to the desirability of particular ideas and how they anticipate future emotions to their realization. An eiconical approach recognizes that such visions of the future are tangibly realistic to the individuals, groups, or nations who create and promote them. Images are not fantasy or wishful dreams; they are "visions of the possible," or, as Boulding also argues, they are "image[s] universally affected with reality." (Boulding 1956: p. 166). Because they seem realistic, these visions can become powerful public images in public debate and policy making. To the extent any particular vision "catches on" and succeeds in capturing the imagination of stakeholders and constituencies it has the potential to affect real change on the ground with intended and unintended consequences.

Putting Sufficiency Economy in Context

Thailand, as a state, country, and nation, remains inseparable from its rural-agrarian roots and yet much of Thai society struggles to come to terms with its agricultural future. What these roots mean today and how they complement or conflict with widespread ambitions for economic growth, modernity, and global status are not just peripheral questions of social science but ones that lie at the center of Thai political life. Increasing economic globalization has produced local responses and a revival of attention to community culture, village-based economics, and Buddhist values. The cultivation of a Thai agrarian myth emphasizing the sufficiency ethic of the past

has grown in tandem with this response (Dayley 2007). Of course, one of the most visible expressions of a Thai response to globalization is the Sufficiency Economy approach, articulated and advanced by the King of Thailand, his Privy Council and like-minded government planners in the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB). Sufficiency Economy (*sethakit phophiang*) offers a vision attractive to many in search of a more culturally-appropriate path to Thai development, especially rural development, through its agrarian application known as "The New Theory" [*thridsidi mai*]. Sufficiency Economy is a philosophy of development that emphasizes the "middle path." It promotes development through moderation, reasonableness, lowering risks, self-reliance, national moral fiber, as well as protection from internal and external shocks and self-immunity at all levels (individual, family, community, and nation) (Ampol 2004; Priyanut 2004).

In spite of the attention given to it, Sufficiency Economy is only one vision among many others which vie for attention and is best understood in context of the competing visions of rural change. To date, much of the published literature tends to examine Sufficiency Economy on its own terms, outside the context of competing visions (Ampol 2004; Priyanut 2004; UNDP 2007). We have learned much about the assumptions, principles, and initiatives of Sufficiency Economy but know less about the new political environment in which the approach is embedded. The findings in the present study move us analysis beyond explication of Sufficiency Economy's assumptions to a greater understanding of its place in post-Green Revolution era and where it is positioned amidst the battle of alternative rural visions.

Post-Green Revolution Politics and Agrarian Change

As a matter of summarizing some of the findings derived from field work, Table 1 (below) provides readers with a comparative look at the five rural visions at the center of post-Green Revolution politics in Thailand. By distinguishing their characteristics, core values, and the stakeholders who shape and promote them, a clearer picture of visions comes into focus.⁵

[Table 1 Here]

Before Thailand's transformative economic boom transformed visions rural Thais held of the future were limited. From the late 1950s to the mid 1980s the expansion of a Green Revolution-oriented commercialization of agriculture served as the dominant vision of Thailand's rural future. Green Revolution techniques were generally accepted and most farmers seem desirous to move beyond a "sufficiency ethic" and embrace rising expectations and the promises of "modern" agricultural techniques. With the notable exception of a small but politically significant coalition of intellectuals and disaffected farmers tied to Thailand's communist movement, rural Thai society shared a common vision of "modern" rural development. Few at the time foresaw the emerging forces now driving the new politics of agrarian change: a rise in environmental consciousness, localist responses to globalization, emerging biotechnologies, the spread of the organic

movement, and a government policy influence by notions of Sufficiency Economy.

Thailand's Vanishing Peasants

It was once possible to identify the interests of "peasant farmers" (*chao naa*) as a general political group - a farmer coalition that exhibited actual or potential class power vis-à-vis political elites. Debates over "moral economies" and "rational peasants" dominating analyses in the 1970s and 80s assumed *a priori* that farmers shared interests and exhibited a common psychology and decision calculus. Field work and scholarship of the era sought to explain "peasant economics," the "subsistence ethic," and the sociology of "peasant choice." Today, it is analytical folly to assume Thai farmers are driven by horizontal interests, or share a common decision calculus or vision of the future. Where some farmers thrive in the commercial mainstream, others suffer terribly. Where some farmers seek out contracts with MNCs and push leaders to permit controversial biotechnologies, others march on Government House with NGOs delivering impassioned calls to restrict corporate-driven globalization, genetic engineering, and free trade agreements. Many profit-minded producers embrace organic production and depend on European export markets and "fair trade" networks, others have turned from chemical agriculture for environmental reasons or to recapture the serenity of Thai agrarian myth by returning to Buddhist values, community culture, and authentic "Thainess." The diversity of farmers not their solidarity now drives the political economy of agrarian change.

The process of agrarian change in Thailand today is largely driven by the competing visions of the commercial mainstream, biotechnology, organic markets, agro-populism, and Sufficiency Economy outlined above. The traditional conflict between peasants and elites has given way to these new lines cleavage and conflict. Given these changes, it is difficult to imagine much utility at all in the term "peasant" as we analyze rural Thailand going forward. Questions as to which of these visions are likely to dominate the future are intriguing. Further work is needed to detail and analyze Thailand's post-Green Revolution politics. I personally have taken up the challenge and am hopeful that this line of inquiry will inspire new questions, and lead us to new concepts, theories, and vocabularies to further our understandings of 21st century agrarian change in Thailand.

Table 1. Post-Green Revolution Visions of Agrarian Change in Thailand

Vision	Core Values	Vision Proponents
<p>(1) Commercial Agriculture:</p> <p>-- mainstream industrial agriculture; Green Revolution origins but much of industry emphasizes value-added over yield and publicly embraces sustainable development rhetoric and in adopts green practices as profit strategies</p>	<p>-- economic neoliberalism -- individual and corporate profit -- Thailand's international competitiveness -- pro-free trade and globalization -- emphasis on value-added over yield increases -- environmentalism (for public image and when parallel with profit opportunity)</p>	<p>-- MNCs, shareholders -- domestic agri-business -- commercially integrated Thai farmers -- Thai government & mainstream economic ministries</p>
<p>(2) Biotechnology:</p> <p>-- post-Green Revolution technologies (transgenics, genetic engineering and modification) for production efficiency and/ or for potential consumer and environmental benefit</p>	<p>-- maximizing the earth's agricultural and agronomic potential through science -- scientific progress -- economic liberalism -- individual and corporate profit; research grant monies -- Thailand's international competitiveness -- human health & environmentalism (as biotech related) -- pro-free trade and globalization</p>	<p>-- Agri-Biotech MNCs (Monsanto/DeKalb, Pioneer/DuPont, Syngenta, etc...) -- intl. and domestic scientific community and universities -- domestic agribusiness -- Thai government & planning bureaucracy -- Thai farmers and agri-business favorable to GE technologies</p>
<p>(3) Organic Markets:</p> <p>--International and local strategies designed to reverse environmentally destructive Green Revolution technologies, corporate-led industrial agriculture, and trends in biotechnology; emphasis on organic production and organic markets</p>	<p>-- environmentalism -- Sustainable Development -- economic livelihood of producers -- anti-globalization and anti-free in posture (but ultimately dependent on international trade and global organic consumer markets) -- intl. environmental movement is emphasized over Thai agrarian myth</p>	<p>-- environmental NGOs (domestic and international) -- organic farmers and producer cooperatives -- global organic movement -- green entrepreneurs -- provincial and local governments promoting organic methods</p>
<p>(4) Agro-populism:</p> <p>--local-based strategies designed to remedy environmental, social, economic, and cultural costs of Green Revolution and globalization; strongly attached to Thai agrarian myth and values of eco-Buddhism; -- Community Culture vision -- Buddhist Model of Society -- Dhammic Socialism -- Santi Asoke Communalism</p>	<p>-- the Thai agrarian myth -- "Thainess" -- Buddhist values -- localized rural economy as it is compatible with Thai culture; -- human development -- environmentalism (sustainable development) -- anti-globalization -- de-linking from market economy</p>	<p>-- Thai NGO community -- Thai intellectual/academic communities -- Socially-engaged Buddhist community -- Santi Asoke (sufficiency economy practitioners) -- anti-globalization activists and groups -- segments of Thai print and broadcast media</p>

<p>(5) Sufficiency Economy</p> <p>--national development strategy inclusive of “New Theory Agriculture” emphasizing individual, family, community, and national development via small-scale, family-based sustainable agriculture</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -- “middle-path” development -- human development -- insulate rural Thailand from internal and external economic shocks; -- adapt rural economy to fit with local and global economic realities -- not opposed to globalization itself but to mindless integration with global markets, -- knowledge, integrity, honesty in individual and organization conduct -- environmentalism (reduction of chemical-based agriculture) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -- King of Thailand and royal-backed development agencies -- post-coup Surayud government -- planning bureaucracy (NESDB) -- UNDP
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²Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Lamphun, Phrae, Sa Kaew, Si Saket, Sukhothai, Suphanburi, Surin, Ubon Ratchathani, and Uttaradit.

³ A full report of evidence, findings, and implications related to this study is not possible here due to space limitations. A book-length manuscript by the author is in progress. It is comprehensive in drawing upon evidence from interviews, field work, and other primary and secondary sources. A companion paper to this one, titled, "Thailand's Agrarian Myth: From Sufficiency Ethic to Sufficiency Economy," is also available from the author. It too is related to the book-length manuscript and was recently presented at the Western Conference of the Association of Asian Studies, September 20-22, 2007, University of Utah, Salt Lake City. It is full length article and has been submitted for publication. It examines the emergence of the Thai agrarian myth and details the Sufficiency Economy and Agro-populist visions referred to in this paper.

⁴ This is not to say that analysis in this book follows the epistemological assumptions of postmodernism, critical theory, or constructivism. Unlike these Humanities-oriented approaches, the eiconical approach here assumes that social reality is observable, that objects and situations do exist independent of human representations and language. In this analysis, I aim to observe and compare are alternative images or visions held by segments of Thai society and how those visions actually impact the course of observable social, economic, and political life in Thailand.

⁵ Space limitations inhibit a full explication and evidentiary support of the content of Table 1.

Appendix A
Interview Data and Field Work

Field research for this project began with a preliminary visit to Thailand's central region in January 2005 followed by a six-month Fulbright Fellowship at Payap University in Chiang Mai (July to December 2006). Data collection during these periods included qualitative interviews with ninety-seven stakeholders across twelve provinces (Bangkok, Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Lamphun, Phrae, Sa Kaew, Si Saket, Sukhothai, Suphanburi, Surin, Ubon Ratchathani, and Uttaradit). About half of those interviewed were farmers the other half included policymakers, local and national bureaucrats, private sector executives, NGO leaders, scientists, agricultural experts, wage laborers, activist monks, and religious leaders. All interviews were conducted by the author. Aside from a few conducted in English, most interviews were in Thai. Interviews were qualitative with open-ended questions related to the interviewees' relationship to Thai agriculture. The fifty-three farmers interviewed were asked a similar set of questions for purposes of consistency in qualitative analysis but not for purposes of statistical sampling. Interview questions for other stakeholders were appropriately crafted to the context of the interviewee. In addition to interviews, field work by the author also included numerous site visits, participation in seminars and workshops, village home-stays, and research visits to farms, plantations, mills, processing plants, agro-tourism sites, research centers, religious communes, Ratchaphruek 2006 (a major international horticultural expo), and multiple lowland and upland villages.

List of Interviewees

no.	Occupation/ organization	name/title	location of interview (province)	(district)	month/ date/ year
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FARMERS

1	Farmer (rice)	Bachin	Sukhothai	Muang Kao	9/30/2006
2	Farmer (rice, soybeans)	Bodcham Waanlom	Chiang Mai	San Patong	9/21/2006
3	Farmer (rice)	Boonchu	Sukhothai	Muang Kao	9/30/2006
4	Farmer (retired)	Chailieu Chaiwant	Chiang Mai	Muang	9/16/2006
5	Farmer (rice, veg.)	Chalad Srithaa	Uttaradit	Muang	11/3/2006
6	Farmer (stevia)	Chamlerm	Chiang Mai	Mae Taeng	9/27/2006
7	Farmer (rice, veg.) Chumchon Phupaafaanam-Asoke	Homla (teacher)	Chiang Mai	Mae Taeng	12/19/2006
8	Farmer (rice, organic)	I-Am Kadam	Surin	Prasat	12/12/2006
9	Farmer (rice)	Jampong Thongtham	Chiang Mai	San Patong	9/21/2006

10	Farmer (corn, veg.)	Jarn Janthorn	Chiang Mai	San Patong	9/21/2006
11	Farmer (rice, veg.) Chumchon Sisa-Asoke	Kaenfa Sanmuang	Sisaket	Kantharalak	12/13/2006
12	Farmer (rice, soybeans, veg.)	Kaew Ranantha	Chiang Mai	San Patong	9/21/2006
13	Farmer (rice)	Kanokphorn Ruangkham	Sukhothai	Muang Kao	9/30/2006
14	Farmer (retired)	Kham Chaiwang	Chiang Mai	Muang	9/16/2006
15	Farmer (rice, soybeans, veg.)	Khamnoi Luangba	Chiang Mai	San Patong	9/21/2006
16	Farmer (rice)	Laithong Ruangkham	Sukhothai	Muang Kao	9/30/2006
17	Farmer (rice, corn, veg.)	Lin	Chiang Mai	Mae Chaem	9/6-8/2006
18	Farmer (rice, fruit, forest products)	Lung Tisae, (phuuyaibaan) Village Head (Lahu)	Chiang Rai	Muang	11/13/2006
19	Farmer (rice, veg.)	Mala Butham	Sisaket	Uthumphon	12/13/2006
20	Farmer (upland rice, veg.)	Mr. Dzoebaw (Akha)	Chiang Rai	Mae Suay	10/15/2006
21	Farmer (fruit)	Nongsak Khumawus	Uttaradit	Muang	11/3/2006
22	Ohmthong Grape Farm	Ohmthong, Owner	Phrae	Denchai	11/3/2006
23	Farmer (rice, veg.) Chumchon Phupaafaanam-Asoke	Phiangphaw	Chiang Mai	Mae Taeng	12/19/2006
24	Farmer/weaver (upland rice, cotton)	Phlai (Lawa)	Chiang Mai	Mae Cheam	9/6-8/2006
25	Farmer (corn, beans, veg.)	Phrai	Chiang Mai	Mae Taeng	8/4/2006
26	Farmer (rice)	Pramod Sripunpleang	Suphan Buri	Muang	12/16/2006
27	Farmer (rice)	Preecha Kaewphaisaa	Sukhothai	Muang Kao	9/30/2006
28	Farmer (rice, corn, veg.)	Rai	Chiang Mai	Mae Chaem	9/6-8/2006
29	Ohmthong Grape Farm	Reed Langdon	Phrae	Denchai	11/3/2006
30	Farmer (stevia)	Saengwan	Chiang Mai	Mae Taeng	9/27/2006
31	Farmer (rice, veg.)	Sali Khaenkham	Sisaket	Uthumphon	12/13/2006
32	Farmer (rice, veg.)	Samorn Op-maneud	Ubon	Warin	12/11/2006
33	Farmer (rice), Surin Rice Fund Cooperative	Somrid Boonsuk, Administrative Chairman	Surin	Muang	12/14/2006
34	Farmer (rice, soybeans)	Somwang Sukhman, (phuuyaibaan) Village Head	Uttaradit	Muang	11/3/2006
35	Farmer (corn, cassava, veg.)	Sorasit Aungkaew	Sisaket	Phayu	12/11/2006
36	Farmer/day laborer	Sunthorn, day laborer	Sa Kaew	Klong Hat	12/9/2006
37	Farmer (rice) (referred by Monsanto)	Sutheb Wongbuttri	Sa Kaew	Klong Hat	12/9/2006
37	Farmer (corn, cassava), (referred by Monsanto)	Suwan Pim-oun	Sa Kaew	Klong Hat	12/9/2006
38	Farmer (corn, veg.)	Thanom Som	Chiang Mai	San Patong	9/21/2006
39	Farmer (fruit)	Thonglaw Suno, (phuuyaibaan) Village Head	Uttaradit	Muang	11/3/2006

40	Farmer (rice)	Ubatham Ruangkhram	Sukhothai	Muang Kao	9/30/2006
41	Farmer (rice)	Wipha Ruangkhram	Sukhothai	Muang Kao	9/30/2006
42	Farmer (rice)	Yun Pumpuang	Surin	Muang	11/9/2006
43	Farmer (rice, veg.) Chumchon Sisa-Asoke	(no name recorded)*	Sisaket	Kantharalak	12/13/2006
44	Farmer (rice)	(no name recorded)	Chiang Mai	Mae Taeng	8/4/2006
45	Farmer (rice) (referred by Khao Khwan Foundation)	(no name recorded)	Suphan Buri	Muang	1/19/2005
46	Farmer (rice)	(no name recorded)*	Sukhothai	Muang Kao	9/30/2006
47	Farmer (rice)	(no name recorded)	Chiang Mai	Mae Taeng	8/4/2006
48	Farmer (fruit, veg., rice) (referred by Khao Khwan Foundation)	(no name recorded)	Suphan Buri	Muang	1/19/2005
49	Farmer (upland rice, veg.)	(no name recorded) (phuyaiaban) Village Head (Lawa)	Chiang Mai	Mae Chaem	9/2/2006
50	Farmer (rice, corn, veg.)	(no name recorded) <i>maw din</i> (local soil authority)	Chiang Mai	Mae Taeng	8/4/2006

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

51	Agricultural Economics Office, Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives	Sudjai Chongvorakitwatana, Economist	Bangkok		8/9/2006
52	Agro-tourism Office - Surin	Rattana Kesongbua, Researcher	Surin	Muang	12/12/2006
53	In-Lam Sub-District (Tambon)	Prachitr Thamkhun, Sub-District Head	Sisaket	Uthumphon	12/11/2006
54	In-Lam Sub-District (Tambon)	Sombun Saikhram, Agricultural Support	Sisaket	Uthumphon	12/13/2006
55	In-Lam Sub-District (Tambon)	Sunthorn Pangsuk, District Chief Secretary	Sisaket	Uthumphon	12/13/2006
56	Mae Taeng Irrigation Project	Bunyuen Samneud, Head Officer	Chiang Mai	Mae Taeng	8/4/2006
57	Midas Agronomics Co., Ltd. (and Mae Fah Luang Foundation)	Anthony Zola, CEO, (Chief Technical Officer)	Bangkok		11/21/2006
58	Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives (MOAC)	Pongpol Adireksan, former Minister of Agriculture and Cooperatives; former Deputy Prime Minister	Bangkok		12/15/2006
59	National Science and Technology Development Agency (NSTDA)	Dr. Sakarindr Bhumiratana, President	Bangkok		11/28/2006
60	Northern Development Study Centre of Sufficiency Economy	Col. Maj. Nopadol Charonroj	Chiang Mai	Mae Rim	12/23/2006

61	Office of Biotechnology, Department of Agriculture (DOA)	Dr. Jaruwan Chartisthean	Chiang Mai	Fang	11/29/2006
62	Provincial Agricultural Extension Office	Somnuek Plordthorng, Agriculture Researcher	Sisaket	Muang	12/11/2006
63	U.S. State Department	Bea Campbell, Consular-General	Chiang Mai	Muang	8/13/2006
64	U.S. State Department	Plai-Auw Thongsawat, Economic and Commercial Assistant	Chiang Mai	Muang	8/13/2006
65	USAID	Peter Lopera, Frm. Director of Asia & Latin America*	Chiang Mai	Fang	11/13/2006
66	Wawi District (Amphoer)	Ya-pee Chupha, District Chairman (Akha)	Chiang Rai	Mae Suay	10/14- 16/2006

**PRIVATE SECTOR AND MULTINATIONAL
CORPORTATIONS (MNCS)**

67	Crookham Seed Co.	George Crookham, CEO	Caldwell	Idaho, USA	5/18/2006
68	Monsanto (Thailand) Ltd.	Kongtat Janchai, Government & Public Affairs	Bangkok		8/8/2006
69	Monsanto (Thailand) Ltd.	Thitbhada Sukitkanaporn, Public Affairs Coordinator	Bangkok		8/8/2006
70	Mung Chaoren Power Co.	Nonggluk Kaake, Secretary	Surin	Muang	12/11/2006
71	P&C Farm Fresh	Chalermchai Wattanakul	Chiang Mai	Mae Taeng	9/27/2006
72	Pioneer Hi-Bred/DuPont (Thailand), Co. Ltd.	Jessada Nihom, Production Manager	Lamphun	Muang	10/6/2006
73	Pioneer Hi-Bred/DuPont (Thailand), Co. Ltd.	Prasong Luksanasomboon, Plant Operation Manager	Lamphun	Muang	10/6/2006
74	Rung Rueng Pol Grain Co.	Amporn Piyathanasri, Plant Manager	Sa Kaew	Khlonghinpun	12/9/2006
75	Sai Thong Orchards	Dr. Ampaiwan Paradornuwat, Consultant	Chiang Mai	Fang	11/29/2006

**ACTIVISTS/NONGOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS
(NGOS)**

76	Center for Knowledge and Restoration of Mae Fang Valley Community, Wat Khlong Sila	Phra Anek Chonthaponyo, Buddhist monk	Chiang Mai	Fang	11/15/2006
77	Earth Net Foundation	Michael Commons, Rice Chain Coordinator	Bangkok		8/7/2006
78	Greenpeace Southeast Asia	Patwajee Srisuwan, Genetic Engineering Campaigner	Bangkok		11/20/2006

79	Khao Kwan Foundation	Daycha Siripatra, President	Suphan Buri	Muang	1/19/2005
80	Mae Chaem Weaving Cooperative	Decha Tiangket	Chiang Mai	Mae Chaem	9/6-9/2006
81	Mae Chaem Weaving Cooperative	Nusara Tiangket	Chiang Mai	Mae Chaem	9/6-9/2006
82	Surin Farmers Network	Arak Saengwon, Coordinator	Surin	Muang	12/13/2006
83	Surin Rice Fund Cooperative	Thanya Saeng-ubon, Lead Supporter	Surin	Muang	12/13/2006
84	Upland Holistic Development Program (UHDP)	Chamlong (Lahu)	Chiang Rai	Muang	11/14/2006
85	Upland Holistic Development Program (UHDP)	Minot (Lahu)	Chiang Rai	Muang	11/15/2006
86	Upland Holistic Development Program (UHDP)	Phat Lawan (Paluang)	Chiang Mai	Mae Ai	11/15/2006
87	Upland Holistic Development Program (UHDP)	Richard Burnette, Director	Chiang Mai	Fang	8/15/2006 & 11/13/ 2006
88	Wat Meud Long	(no name recorded), Buddhist monk*	Chiang Mai	Mae Chaem	9/8/2006

SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY

89	Assumption University	Dr. Narong Chomchalow, Editor, AU Journal of Technology*	Chiang Mai	Fang	11/29/2006
90	Kagawa University (Japan)	Naoko Kozai, Faculty of Agriculture, (former researcher, DOA)*	Chiang Rai	Fang	11/29/2006
91	Multiple Cropping Center, Chiang Mai University	Dr. Phrek Gypmantasiri	Chiang Mai	Muang	9/25/2006
92	National Center for Genetic Engineering and Biotechnology (BIOTEC)	Pinyat Pin-on, Researcher	Bangkok		11/27/2006
93	National Center for Genetic Engineering and Biotechnology (BIOTEC)	Dr. Mali Suwan-ad, Senior Advisor*	Bangkok		7/17/2006
94	Nongkhai Oil Palm Research Centre	Suwit Chaikiattiyos, Professor*	Chiang Mai	Fang	11/29/2006

OTHERS

95	construction worker	(no name recorded) (former farmer)	Surin	Muang	12/14/2006
96	mechanic	Chakan Boonraab (former farmer)	Surin	Muang	11/9/2006

97	Nakhorn Payap International School	Sakaewan Mueangsan, School Administrator	Chiang Mai	Muang	9/16/2006
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* Personal communication
(not formal interview)

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