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VILLAGE LEADERSHIP AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE
IN A RURAL COMMUNITY OF NORTHEAST THAILAND

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The present paper treats with the nature of village leadership in connection with the structural aspects within the village, analyzing the data gathered in a clustered-type of village in Northeast Thailand. A fairly high consensus in choosing the village leaders exists in the village, and two types of village leaders are found, based on the structural foundation of the village, but a tendency can be observed that village leaders, especially those in the late middle age, are becoming more active in political activities according to the increasingly multiplied and intensified external relationship of the village, even though it is said that leaders in that-type of villages are not so active in politics as those in the linear type of villages.

1 AIM AND PROBLEM

This paper aims to clarify some distinctive features of the relationship between the village leadership and the sociocultural structure of the village by analyzing data gathered at a village in Northeast Thailand and attempts to make some implications for further study on the subject from an analysis of these features.

In recent village studies of Southeast Asia, it has become evident that village leadership patterns vary according to differences in ecological and sociocultural conditions. An American anthropologist, Ch. F. Keyes, in his

paper titled "Local Leadership in Rural Thailand" points out clearly that the nature of village leadership varies according to the particular nature of village structure by area, although in his paper the focal point is rather on the village headman.

Comparing the Central Thai villages with those in the Northeast, he argues that the village leadership in the former, not being sanctioned by the traditional social system of the "natural community," (the concept of which is not clearly explained in his paper), draws its authority from the national government. In Central Thailand the boundaries of the "natural communities" are not generally identical with the administrative boundaries of the rather arbitrarily demarcated villages, which crosscut the natural ones, and because a solid social structural foundation is lacking, the authority of the leadership must be sanctioned by the national government. In the Northeast, on the other hand, the authority of the leadership is based on the traditional social system within the village, the boundaries of which coincide roughly with the "natural community," and thus, the leaders there are very influential, drawing their authority mainly from within. (Keyes, 1976.)

Another interesting empirical study on this subject of farming villages in Malaysia by Afifuddin Haji Omar, a Malaysian rural sociologist, sheds further light on this problem. Through his extensive research in Kedah State, the northwestern part of Peninsular Malaysia, he found that rural leadership patterns are closely interrelated with settlement patterns and hence with the social structure within the villages.

According to him, the leaders from clustered villages, who are chosen mainly on the basis of the traditional criteria of advanced age and relatively

big landownership, are usually stable but passive and mostly polymorphic. Whereas in the scattered and linear villages, the men usually chosen are relatively younger and own less land. They are selected for their industriousness and generally they are more directive, outspoken, unstable, and very much specialized in their activities. Such differences between the leadership of villages with different settlement patterns can be explained by the nature of group mechanics within the villages.

The clustered villages are usually established villages with a social structure based on a consensus of common values which sanctions the behaviour of its members within accepted norms. In this type of village, the social network revolves mostly around the elders of the kin group in which age and family status structure the relationships among the inhabitants. With this village physically isolated from other villages, the social horizon of the inhabitants usually does not go far beyond the physical boundary. Hence there exists a "we-villagers-against-the-world" pattern of society and the same social sphere of influence. And there is observed a rather fixed or rigid leadership structure in which the elders play somewhat polymorphic leadership roles. Every leader plays many expressive as well as instrumental leadership roles, supported by a high consensus.

On the other hand, linear and scattered types of settlement, particularly the former, can be found stretching for miles and miles along the roads so that it is difficult to demarcate one village from another. This nature of settlement creates an extensive overlapping of social spheres between villages. A village community in this situation can be realistically defined as the sphere of influence of the Islamic prayer house (surau) or the mosque

which is often the center of the socio-religious collective activities in the village. What Keyes means by "natural community" above seems to be such a sphere. The extensive overlapping of social spheres between people of different villages within a linear stretch is due to easy accessibility facilitated by the roads. The social boundaries extend beyond the physical village boundaries and the both seldom coincide.

In this type of settlement, the farmers are most likely to be individually oriented. And the leaders tend to be more active in social, agricultural, and especially political activities. The effect of the structurally loose social group of the linear villages does not negatively sanction these leaders from being very active in politics, whereas in the relatively solid group atmosphere of the clustered village such activity would involve a considerable social risk. In short, they are the task leaders. Their relationship with their followers is mostly based on carrying out tasks rather than on helping to boost the group's morale or to release tension during difficult times. (Afifuddin, 1972.) It is most likely that the headman in this type of settlement needs to be sanctioned by the national government to enable him to fulfil effectively his functions.

The village in Northeast Thailand which I will take up next in this paper is a clustered settlement whose leaders are sanctioned by the villagers with a high consensus and are very active in expressive activities within the village. This study shows, however, a slightly different aspect to the features of village leadership indicated by Keyes and Afifuddin.

2 THE VILLAGE SURVEYED

(~~0/2~~)

~~the minimum level of living.~~

3 VILLAGE SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Administratively Don Daeng is a village (muban) of Don Han commune (tambon) in Muang district (amphoe) of Khon Kaen province (changwat). Don Han commune consists of 10 villages, each of which has a headman called phuyai ban elected by the adult residents of the village. Once elected, the headman usually can retain his post until the age of 60 unless he wants or has to resign for some reason.

The headman officially represents the village and is required to attend the meetings of village headmen called by the district officer and to transmit the substance of these district meetings to the villagers. His duties consist of running village meetings, mediating village disputes, organizing village work parties, collecting village resources, maintaining peace and order, handling official records for the benefit of villagers and promoting the temple affairs which are generally considered very significant for the village.

Whenever he has to decide on an important matter for the village, he consults some of his personal aides among the village elders and then, if necessary, he calls a meeting of the villagers. In 1962 under the national community development program, a village development committee (VDC) was organized. This committee, consisting of influential villagers recommended by the headman and approved by the village general meeting, assists the headman in giving advice and other areas. The members are usually in their late middle age and five or six of them help the headman as his entourage. The

headman also has two official assistants, who and the headman receive some nominal stipend from the provincial government for their service.

The commune is led by a head called kamnan who was previously elected by the village headmen, but since 1973 has been elected by the adult commune citizens every five years. One of his most important duties is to chair the commune council which consists of the kamnan, the 10 village headmen and 10 village representatives, a commune health worker (who is usually called tambon doctor but not necessarily a medical specialist) and a secretary (primary school principal). The latter two are both appointed by the district officer. This council was established in 1956 as a means of promoting local self-government at the commune level. However, it was dormant without any financial resources until the government began giving large grants directly to the commune councils since 1975 so that they could undertake their own development projects. This policy is fixed nowadays under a program called Job Creation Program in the Rural Area (khoo soo choo), through which the council can make substantial development plans to be materialized by the government grants. From 1983, aside from a community development worker assigned by the government to every commune, an agricultural extension worker and a commune clinic worker have been added to the council meetings as advisers to support the council's activities. There are three people from Don Daeng who participate in the council meetings: the headman, the village representative, and the commune health worker.

Besides these self-governing organizations, the main traditional village organizations are all concerned with the temple affairs. As an ordinary Thai village, Don Daeng has a village temple, which is shared by a neighboring

branch village called Don Noi.

A temple committee (thayok wat), which consists of two representatives each from Don Daeng and Don Noi, is formally in charge of the temple affairs, but since senior village elders together with the village headman are very active in the affairs, the temple committee is actually overshadowed. Besides the temple committee, there are a temple money committee (TMC, kammakan kann-gaen wat) and neighborhood organizations called klum. The former is composed of four members, two each from the two villages, and handles the funds contributed for the temple buildings and other temple affairs. As to the klum, Don Daeng is divided into eight groups. These klums serve to organize the villagers and obtain their cooperation for big temple affairs.

Big village festivals are held with help from a youth group which was organized in 1960 by a monk who stayed in the village temple temporarily. Since the monk left the village, the group has become obscure and rather amorphous, but it functions well enough to supply the necessary manpower for the festivals. Other than these groups concerning temple affairs, there exist a few small groups for agricultural credit for obtaining loans from the agricultural bank in Khon Kaen and a school committee composed of some village elders, but the latter has not been as active as other committees.

4. VILLAGE LEADERS RANKED BY THE VILLAGERS

When the villagers were asked what attributes are desirable for village leaders, as shown in Table 1 which lists the responses of all household heads in the village, they believed their village leaders should be honest and impartial, educated, have political connections and be eloquent, capable,

amiable, and religious. Table 2 lists the influential villagers ranked by the household heads and gives information on their age, occupation, ownership of land, education and experience of priesthood, while Table 3 shows the reasons given by the household heads for selecting these villagers.

The followings are the social characteristics of the top ten influential villagers ranked by all household heads of the village.

①The villager S174 is the youngest among those who were ranked, but he is the present (the 12th) village headman recently elected in 1983. The ex-headman resigned from his post because he was censured by some village elders for misusing some of the government grants to the village for his own benefit.

②The villager S097 was the 9th headman of Don Daeng for one year and a member of the commune council representing the village. He is very much respected by the villagers because of his religious abstinence, profound knowledge of medical herbs and help given to the villagers when they get sick. Those who have good knowledge of medical herbs are called moo ya and the exorcist who knows how to practice healing rituals are called moo tham. S097 plays both roles, but is especially known as a good moo ya. He is literally the senior village elder.

③The villager S094 was one of the candidates in the recent election for headman. He is not only a VDC member, a former TMC member, a klum leader and an organizer of an agricultural credit group, but also a good counsellor to villagers who come to him privately and is very active in agricultural development projects at the commune level.

④The villager S030 serves on the commune council as the commune health worker appointed by the district officer and is a former TMC member. As Table

3 shows, he is considered a good adviser on village development because of his extensive knowledge and good sense.

⑤ The villager S125 was the 7th headman of the village for a short period and is very religious.

⑥ The villager S075 is very religious and encourages people to join in temple affairs. He is a moo tham, a good moo ya, a TMC member and a klum leader.

⑦ The villager S067 is not only a moo tham, but also a pious elder in temple affairs.

⑧ The villager S106 is a former VDC member, a klum leader, and a TMC member. He is also well versed in officiating folk rituals called su khwan usually held at main rites of passage.

⑨ The villager S110 was a candidate in the last election for headman and is very active in village affairs. He is a TMC member and a klum leader.

⑩ The villager S131 was one of the assistants to the ex-headman. He is a klum leader and also a moo tham.

⑪ The villager S134 is a moo tham.

The ranking of influential villagers above is distinguished by the fact that the villagers' consensus in ranking is fairly high. 58.2% of all household heads responded by giving the headman's name or his official title, but it should be noted that only fifteen out of one hundred eighty-four respondents responded with his personal name and all the rest, with his title, in spite of the fact that he was recently elected and his ability was yet unknown. This fact seems to reflect the villagers' view concerning the headman; once a man is elected as headman, he should be accepted as headman.

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The elder ranked second got votes from 39.7% of all respondents. He is the most respected among the senior elders who are generally considered the religious leaders in the village. From the person ranked third, the percentage of the number of votes received sharply drops to 19.6%.

When the same survey was carried out in 1981 when the ex-headman was still in office, the result of the top four villagers ranked was as follows:

| | <u>Votes gained</u> | <u>Age</u> |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|------------|
| 1. Headman (S043) | 126 (71.6%) | 55 |
| 2. Assistant headman (S131) | 86 (37.5%) | 55 |
| 3. A senior elder (died) | 65 (36.9%) | 81 |
| 4. A senior elder (S094) | 32 (18.9%) | 72 |

The headman, who had been in office for 8 years, got votes from 71.6% of all respondents and his assistant came next. The most respected senior elder who passed away recently got votes of 36.9%. This pattern of the ranking order of the village elders is very much the same as that in Table 2.

The rank of the ex-headman (S043) who resigned from his post because of his misappropriation of the government's grant dropped to 14th place in our 1983 survey and got only 6% of the votes. The assistant headman (S131) also dropped to 10th place and got only 8.2% of the votes. In our 1983 survey the new headman was ranked first and the senior elder who had been ranked fourth in 1981 became second in place. Since the new headman appointed fairly young assistants, their names do not appear in the list of the top 17 elders ranked shown in Table 2.

It appears that the headman is usually considered the top leader and the top senior elder in the area of religion is considered the second most impor-

tant man in the village. When a big temple affair is held, the villagers form a long procession toward the temple compound from the village residential area, while dancing to a cheerful beating of drums. Then the two leaders take their positions at the head of this procession.

5 . THE SOCIAL STRUCTURAL BACKGROUND OF VILLAGE LEADERSHIP

A social feature is that, of the influential villagers chosen by the villagers described above, there are two types: those in their 60s or 70s with former experience as village headman and/or with high prestige as a religious leader and those in their 50s and very active in administrative and social affairs of the village. Although clear hierarchical categories related to the generational role differences are not recognized in the village, there seems to be a close correlation between age and leadership roles of the village elders.

In an average developmental family cycle of the villagers, when a household head reaches 50 years of age, his older children have grown up and begin to marry. He is expected to help them to become economically independent while being helped in farming. And when he reaches a little over 60 years of age, his youngest child, usually his daughter, gets married and she and her husband live with her parents, taking care of them. Koichi Mizuno who carried out fieldwork in Don Daeng in 1964~65 called this stage after the age of 50 the third stage of family cycle. (Mizuno, 1969.) However a man's socioeconomic role in his household would change when he reaches the age of 60, that is, the final stage of the cycle in which he has no worries any more about his children's marriage and usually leaves his farm's management to his youngest

daughter's family, becoming very active in the village temple affairs. That means he reaches the age of the senior elders.

The types of influential villagers above appears to correspond to this role differences in the developmental family cycle. To be the leading village leaders, however, they are expected to have such attributes shown in Table 1 and 3 and, in case of the senior elders, to have additionally such attributes as moo tham and moo ya which can be acquired only through some training following a master when young and by some religious obstinance and/or as some career having rendered services to the village temple affairs.

All of the influential villagers ranked are wealthier than the average villager, but not outstandingly rich except for a few. The average size of paddy land owned per household in the village is 15.7 rai (2.5 ha) and that of upland fields and garden land owned is 6.13 rai (0.98 ha) and 1.36 rai (0.22 ha) respectively. As shown in Table 1, those influential villagers who own less paddy land than the average are S174, S030, S067, and S043. S174 is the headman who owns a rice mill and S067 has a large area of upland fields. S030 is the commune health worker who is getting a stipend from the government and S142 is raising three buffaloes.

The size of paddy land owned is not a measure of real economic status of the villagers because these days cash income from upland fields, vegetable gardens, animal raising and off-farm jobs has become increasingly important. Paddy land, however, is still the most cherished asset which guarantees a minimum standard of living in case the other sources of income are lost. Many of the landless villagers hope to buy some paddy land in the future when they have saved enough money. Therefore the size of paddy land owned may be

considered a measure of the stability of one's economic life, but since the villagers divide parts of their own paddy land gradually among heirs, usually among their married daughters, on the occasion of the establishment of a new household, the village elders' landowning is not necessarily larger in size.

Concerning the kin background of the village elders, as we see in Table 1, having many good relatives is not considered as important an attribute as the others. When the headman's kin and affinal relatives are analyzed, however, the headman has the largest kin background and many important men as his kin as shown in Figure 1. Of the seventeen influential villagers, he is related to seven (S097, S125, S131, S008, S141, S098, S015) who are considered by the villagers as having many relatives. Moreover, among his very close relatives there were two very respected religious leaders (S122, S132 in Figure 1) who died recently. The other influential villagers have only small groups of close relatives.

It is very interesting to note the kin backgrounds of the candidates for the recent headman's election. Before 1973 when the ex-headman was elected, no official vote casting and counting had been held for electing a village headman in Don Daeng. The potential candidate used to be urged by the elders and the district authorities to stand for the office and he, unwillingly following such encouragement, was unanimously elected without any competitor. There was likely to be a consensus as to the most suitable person. Even in the 1973 election, only a nominal candidate was unexpectedly nominated by some villagers to compete against the main candidate, the ex-headman, who was almost unanimously elected.

The last election, however, presented a different scene with an intense

competition for the post of headman. There were three candidates in the election and 405 votes were cast as follows:

| | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| ① S174 | Receiving 133 votes. |
| ② S131 | Receiving 128 votes. |
| ③ S094 | Receiving 118 votes. |
| Votes that were wrongly marked | <u>26</u> |
| Total | 405 |

Since there were more than 500 voters in the entire voting list, that means more than 1/5th did not vote. All of the candidates appear in the list of the top ten influential villagers ranked in Table 2.

Both S131 and S094 were well known and very active in village affairs. S131 was considered one of the leading persons in the group of about 40 villagers who severely criticized the ex-headman for misappropriating the government's grant to the village. The winner, S174, was the youngest and the least popular among the three candidates and had held no formal position on any of the village committees.

Every candidate engaged in vote buying. Both S131 and S094 promised to pay 25 Baht for each vote while S174 promised to pay 15 Baht through vote canvassers. Moreover, S174 and S094 each promised to hold a big party for all the villagers in case he was elected. Before the election it was thought that S094 would win, followed by S131 and S174. But the results were contrary to the general expectation. It is said that since the winner had the active support of the junior voters, he was elected. But it seems that his having important relatives as described above was also an important factor for his winning. Compared to him, the kin backgrounds of the other two candidates

were very small.

Kinship in this village is characterized by bilaterality with the uxori-local postmarital residence rule. Its group structure is rather amorphous, but mutual help in daily economic life between the parents and their married daughters' families is strongly emphasized and expected for a certain period until the latter become economically independent.

This custom seems to be very much related to the agricultural practices, particularly in the early stages of rice-growing such as plowing the field, preparing nursery beds and transplanting. Family labor is very much needed because every family is busy doing its own work to be in time for the rain. It is thus very important that the families have enough able-bodied members. The parents need the help of their married daughters' families which have to depend economically on the parents in the early stage of the family development cycle, and eventually become independent inheriting a part of the parents' paddy land. When the parents get older, they then depend on the care and help of one of their children, usually the youngest daughter, who, therefore, receives the larger part of the land compared to the other sisters and the house and property of the parents. Labor exchange among the villagers is usually practiced at harvest and threshing time when they are not so pressed for time.

The importance of mutual help among the kinsmen is recognized by the villagers as "work together, eat together and use together (het nam kan, kin nam kan, say nam kan)." This norm is particularly emphasized when a daughter gets married and her husband lives with her parents, because the relationship between father-in-law and son-in-law is a sensitive and delicate matter in

which the latter is required by social norms always to pay respect to the former. Further that norm is frequently symbolically emphasized in religious terms on the main ceremonial occasions when food is prepared for the ceremonies or the food is shared together. It is legitimized in the religious sense.

When 123 samples were requested to rank nine religious acts in order of importance, the results were as shown in Table 4. A distinctive feature of the results is that the specifically Buddhistic way of life is ranked lower [2]. And what is conspicuous is that those acts such as "making gifts at Kathin ceremony" and "having a son become a monk" are ranked higher. According to the villagers, those who host the Kathin ceremony can get not only the greatest merits, but also can transfer the merits to their deceased close kin. And those kinsmen and even non-kin villagers who contribute to the performance of the ceremony in any way can also share in the merits. Having a son become a monk is also important because, by doing so, the son not only can get merits, but also his parents can share in the merits with him. The villagers regard this very highly, because in this way he can repay the favors given to him by his parents. Sharing in the merits among close relatives is very much emphasized.

In all the main annual rites, it is expected for close relatives to gather at the parents' house or visit each other and to cooperate in the performance of the rites at the temple for merit-making. They believe that by doing so the merits can be shared. The temple affairs provide opportunities not only for individual merit-making, but also for the gathering and sharing of the merits. In this way, the moral needs of the villagers are symbolically

emphasized and their moral sense is repeatedly reinforced. Therefore, the religious elders can be viewed as promoting the moral and religious sense fundamental to the villagers' daily life. For this reason even those village leaders who are very active in socio-political affairs cannot ignore the religious and expressive activities. These men are also the earnest supporters of the temple affairs.

6 CONCLUSION

Don Daeng is a clustered type of village. A fairly high consensus of the villagers on choosing the headman can be observed there. And there are two types of village leaders: those senior village elders who lead the religious affairs of the village and those in their late middle age who are very active in socio-political activities. This division is based on the social structural foundation of the village. When the village's relationship with the outside world becomes heightened, however, the latter type seems to become more important, and active in politics as seen in the recent headman's election.

Thus even in the clustered type of settlement the village leadership pattern is not so simple. It is also specialized according, partly, to the internal structure and, partly, to the extent to which the village concerned has close relations with the outside world. The same thing may be said for the linear type of settlement to a greater extent. When I did fieldwork in a linear type of village in Malaysia in 1964-65, I found the village fairly well integrated under the leadership of a religious senior village elder, although the village had the social characteristics of the linear type settlement

pointed out by Afifuddin. (Kuchiba, 1979, 128.) But, when I visited the same village in 1976 for another sociological survey after rice-growing practice had changed from rain-fed single cropping to double-cropping supported by a large scale governmental irrigation project, I found the leadership had become very much specialized (Kuchiba, 1978, 34-35.)

It seems to be that in case of the linear type of villages found in Central Thailand and Kedah, a further study on the leadership in connection with the village structure of "natural communities" pointed out by Keyes and Afifuddin (cf. pp.2-4 in this paper) is necessary in order to clarify further the nature of village leadership pattern. The nature of village leadership seems to vary according not only to the settlement patterns, but also to the distinctive village structure and the extent of the external relationship of the village concerned.

NOTES

(Figures within [] in the paper indicates the following notes' number.)

[1] The village dealt with in this paper was originally studied by Koichi Mizuno. (Mizuno, 1981.) But the data used in this paper was gathered in the village by a group of social scientists under an interdisciplinary research project titled "A Rice-Growing Village Revisited: An Integrated Study of Rural Development in Northeast Thailand" organized by Yoneo Ishii during the periods from June 1981 to December 1981 and from June 1983 to March 1984. Among the project team members, those who are concerned with gathering the data on the social aspects of the village life are Prassert Yamklifung, Takahiko Takemura, Kazuo Funahashi, Yukio Hayashi, and Shinji Suwa, including the writer. The data gathered are still in process, but some results of the survey carried out in 1981 are included in an interim report edited by H. Fukui, Y. Kaida and M. Kuchiba (1983a).

[2] The result of our survey shown in Table 4 is more or less the same of that of Tambiah's survey in the Northeast. (Tambiah, 1970, 149.)

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Table 1 DESIRABLE ATTRIBUTES FOR VILLAGE LEADERS

| ATTRIBUTES | NO. | % |
|----------------------------|-----|-------|
| HONESTY & IMPARTIALITY | 154 | 28.1 |
| EDUCATION | 90 | 16.4 |
| POLITICAL CONNECTION | 79 | 14.4 |
| ELOQUENCY | 61 | 11.1 |
| CAPABILITY | 48 | 8.7 |
| AMIABLENESS | 45 | 8.2 |
| RELIGIOSITY | 38 | 6.9 |
| WEALTH | 26 | 4.7 |
| HAVING MANY GOOD RELATIVES | 6 | 1.1 |
| OTHERS | 2 | 0.4 |
| TOTAL | 549 | 100.0 |

Note: Three attributes are allowed per respondent.

Table 2 RANKING OF INFLUENTIAL VILLAGERS(1983)

| RANK ORDER | VOTES GAINED NO.(%) | NAME ※ | AGE | OCCU- PATION | SIZE OF FARMLAND OWNED | | | EDUCA- TION (yrs.) | EXP. OF PRIESTHOOD | |
|---------------|---------------------------|-----------|-----|-----------------|------------------------|------|-------|--------------------------|-----------------------|-----|
| | | | | | P | U | G | | N | M |
| 1 | 107(58.2) | S174 | 48 | Farmer | 14 | 8 | 1.5 | 4 | 4y | 2y |
| 2 | 73(39.7) | S097 | 74 | R.farmer | 43 | - | 0.25 | 4 | - | 2y |
| 3 | 36(19.6) | S094 | 53 | Farmer | 29 | 20 | 2.75 | 4 | 2y | - |
| 4 | 28(15.2) | S030 | 54 | Farmer | 15 | 2 | 0.5 | 5 | - | 1y |
| 5 | 23(12.5) | S125 | 72 | R.farmer | 20 | 2.75 | 1.25 | 4 | 2y | 2y |
| 6 | 22(12.0) | S075 | 55 | NEAC w. | 19 | 16 | 0.625 | 4 | - | 3m |
| 7 | 21(11.4) | S067 | 72 | Farmer | 12 | 19.5 | 1.5 | 4 | 5y | 10y |
| 8 | 17(9.2) | S106 | 60 | R.M.O. | 26 | 7.5 | 0.5 | 4 | 4y | 2y |
| 9 | 16(8.7) | S110 | 52 | Farmer | 30 | 6 | 0.75 | 4 | - | 3m |
| 10 | 15(8.2) | S131 | 57 | Farmer | 22 | - | 0.2 | 4 | 5y | 2y |
| 10 | 15(8.2) | S134 | 64 | Farmer | 20 | - | 0.75 | 3 | 5y | 3y |
| 12 | 12(6.5) | S008 | 52 | Farmer | 37.78 | 8.61 | - | 4 | 3y | 1y |
| 12 | 12(6.5) | S142 | 78 | M.Th. | 30 | 1.5 | 1.25 | 0 | 4y | 4y |
| 14 | 11(6.0) | S141 | 57 | Farmer | 27.5 | 7.75 | 0.25 | 4 | - | 42d |
| 15 | 10(5.4) | S043 | 66 | Farmer | 14 | - | - | 0 | 1y | 16m |
| 16 | 8(4.3) | S098 | 58 | Farmer | 40 | 9 | 0.75 | 4 | - | 15d |
| 16 | 8(4.3) | S015 | 58 | Farmer | 18 | - | - | 4 | 6h | - |

Note: R=retired; W=worker; R.M.O.=rice mill owner; M.Th.=moo tham; P=paddy field
U=upland crop field; G=vegetable garden; N=novice; M=monk; y=years;
m=months; d=days; unit of land size=rai. ※ S174 = serial number identi-
fying the villagers.

Table 3 REASONS GIVEN FOR CHOICE OF INFLUENTIAL VILLAGERS (1983)

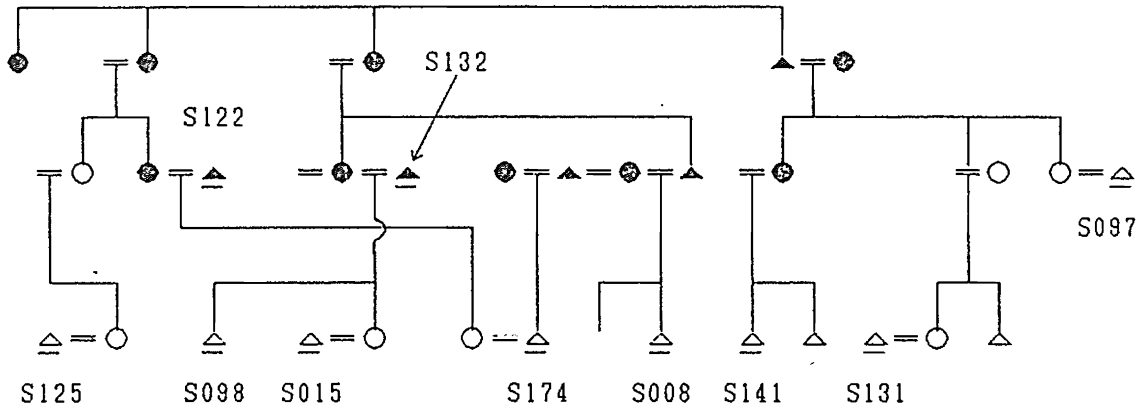
| NAME | HEADMAN | <u>MOO THAM</u> <u>MOO YA</u> | RELIGIOUS LEADERS | GOOD ADVISER FOR THE VILLAGE | GOOD COUNSELOR | HONEST AND FAIR | OTHERS | TOTAL |
|-------|-----------|----------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------|-------|
| S174 | <u>92</u> | - | 2 | 7 | 4 | 2 | - | 107 |
| S097 | - | <u>63</u> | 2 | 5 | 2 | 1 | - | 73 |
| S094 | - | - | 7 | 11 | <u>15</u> | 3 | - | 36 |
| S030 | - | - | 1 | <u>20</u> | 3 | 2 | 1 | 28 |
| S125 | - | - | <u>18</u> | 3 | 2 | - | - | 23 |
| S075 | - | <u>15</u> | 4 | 1 | - | 1 | 1 | 22 |
| S067 | - | 2 | <u>15</u> | - | 3 | 1 | - | 21 |
| S106 | - | 1 | <u>8</u> | 1 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 17 |
| S110 | - | - | 4 | 2 | <u>6</u> | 4 | - | 16 |
| S131 | - | 3 | 2 | <u>5</u> | 4 | 1 | - | 15 |
| S134 | - | <u>15</u> | - | - | - | - | - | 15 |
| S008 | - | - | 4 | <u>5</u> | 3 | - | - | 12 |
| S142 | - | <u>7</u> | 3 | - | 2 | - | - | 12 |
| S141 | - | - | 2 | <u>4</u> | 2 | 2 | - | 11 |
| S043 | - | <u>7</u> | - | 2 | 1 | - | - | 10 |
| S098 | - | - | 1 | 2 | <u>5</u> | - | - | 8 |
| S015 | - | - | 1 | <u>4</u> | 2 | 1 | - | 8 |
| TOTAL | 92 | 113 | 84 | 72 | 57 | 21 | 3 | |

Table 4 RANKING OF RELIGIOUS ACTS BY 123 HOUSEHOLD HEADS

| RELIGIOUS ACTS | NUMBER OF PERSONS ASSIGNING TO EACH RANK | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--|----|----|----|----|-------------|----|----|----|----|
| | HIGHEST RANK | | | | | LOWEST RANK | | | | |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 1 Making gifts at <u>Kachin</u> ceremony | 25 | 10 | 19 | 15 | 11 | 9 | 15 | 6 | 2 | - |
| 2 Donating for building a <u>bot</u> | 16 | 20 | 15 | 9 | 11 | 13 | 13 | 8 | 6 | - |
| 3 Having a son become a monk | 12 | 20 | 24 | 11 | 11 | 10 | 6 | 10 | 7 | - |
| 4 Giving food daily to monks | 7 | 10 | 13 | 24 | 18 | 10 | 13 | 14 | 2 | - |
| 5 Becoming a monk oneself | 11 | 18 | 11 | 19 | 10 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 14 | 2 |
| 6 Strict observance of the five precepts | 12 | 14 | 4 | 12 | 18 | 11 | 17 | 16 | 6 | |
| 7 Participating in main ceremonies and donating money | 5 | 5 | 11 | 9 | 17 | 21 | 12 | 21 | 9 | 1 |
| 8 Observing eight precepts on <u>wanphraa</u> at the <u>wat</u> | 14 | 9 | 11 | 5 | 14 | 18 | 19 | 14 | 6 | - |
| 9 Making <u>tham bun</u> for parents | 8 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 11 | 7 | 12 | 59 | - |
| 10 Other | 1 | - | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |

Note: Twelve samples said that all religious acts had the same significance.

FIGURE 1 RELATIONS OF THE INFLUENTIAL VILLAGERS



Note: ▲ & ⊙ = those who are dead or left the village.

The rank order
in Table 1

| | | |
|------|--|----|
| S174 | The headman | 1 |
| S097 | The former(9th)headman, Religious leader | 2 |
| S125 | The former(7th)headman | 5 |
| S131 | The ex-assistant headman | 10 |
| S008 | | 12 |
| S141 | The ex-headman | 14 |
| S098 | | 16 |
| S015 | | 17 |
| S132 | Former religious leader | |
| S122 | Former religious leader | |