

V. The Socio-Economic Behavior of Peasants in Central Java and Central Thailand

— A Summary Report —

by

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Introduction

A comparative study of the village lives in Central Java and Central Thailand was carried out to find the differences as well as similarities in the villagers' socio-economic behaviors. Three sample villages were chosen from Central Java and the Bangkok Plain respectively as those representing the characteristics of each areas's natural environments already discussed in earlier papers. The villages in Central Java were chosen from volcanic fan area (Klaten Village), coastal plain (Demak Village), and limestone plateau (Gading Village), while those in Thailand were from delta area (Pathum Thani Village), flood plain (Ayutthaya Village), and fan area (Saraburi Village). The volcanic fan areas have been the center of traditional paddy cultivation in Central Java, while the delta area has been developed since the 19th century to form the present ricebowl of Thailand. Thus Klaten Village and Pathum Thani Village are characterized by advanced and commercialized paddy cultivation. Gading Village and Saraburi Village are newly opened villages located in the marginal zone of cultivation. Demak Village and Ayutthaya Village are placed in-between.

Thirty to fifty households were randomly chosen in each village among those with male household-heads of 25–59 years of age and primarily engaged in agriculture. The exact number of the sample households in each village is as follows: Klaten 30, Demak 33, Gading 30, Pathum Thani 49, Ayutthaya 33, Saraburi 41.

A questionnaire schedule was prepared for this research. Its main items are the following: (i) peasants' evaluation of natural environments, (ii) attitudes toward agricultural

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Table 1 Average area of landholding

Village	Area owned per sample household (ha)		Area cultivated per sample household (ha)		Percent of owned to cultivated
	mean	SD	mean	SD	
Klaten	.71	.54	1.12	.51	63.2
Demak	.69	.20	.89	.75	77.6
Gading	.49	.40	.56	.48	87.8
Pathum Thani	2.56	4.16	6.67	4.43	38.3
Ayutthaya	4.35	3.65	6.85	4.59	63.4
Saraburi	4.40	3.76	4.88	2.83	90.3

innovation, (iii) attitudes toward labour, and (iv) attitudes toward saving. Interviews were conducted by university senior students with the supervision of participating researchers in July and August, 1973. The duration of interview was about one week in each village.

The average acreage of land owned and cultivated by sample households in each village is given in Table 1. A marked difference in the scale of cultivation is found between Thai and Javanese villages.

1. Natural Environments and Peasants' Response

The use of water is critically important for paddy cultivation. The three sample villages in Java differ each other in the way of controlling water. In the volcanic fan area in which Klaten Village is located, small streams are quite numerous and easy to manage. The water control in this area had traditionally been done by peasants themselves but improved later by the Dutch government. In contrast, the water control in delta in which Pathum Thani is located became possible through a large scale of canal schemes in the recent period. In other areas an efficient control of water has been impossible with existing level of technology and an available amount of capital. As a result, villages on a limestone plateau or on a fan like Gading and Saraburi often suffer from drought, whereas villages on a plain like Ayutthaya from flood. Villages on a coastal plain like Demak suffer from both flood and drought.

Evaluation of water control in each sample village by the specialists in our team and evaluation of irrigation efficiency by villagers seem to reflect the above situation. See Table 2. Evaluation of irrigation by Ayutthaya Villagers, however, seems to be unduly higher than that of specialists. For the question is asked not about water control in general but only about irrigation.

Evaluation of rainfall in each village by farmers is shown in Table 3. The highest scores are found in Klaten and Ayutthaya. The fact that both villages seldom suffer from water shortage seems to be related to this evaluation. The actual rainfall in the area may be not evaluated as such.

Evaluation of soil fertility in each village by specialists and villagers is shown in Table 4. According to the villagers' grading, no significant difference is found among three

Table 2 Evaluation of water control

Village	Evaluation of water control by specialists	Evaluation of irrigation by villagers
Klaten	5	3.6
Demak	3	2.7
Gading	1	no irrigation
Pathum Thani	4	3.7
Ayutthaya	2	3.7
Saraburi	2	no efficient irrigation

5-very good, 4-good, 3-ordinary, 2-poor, 1-very poor

Table 3 Evaluation of rainfall

Village	Evaluation of rainfall by villagers
Klaten	3.5
Demak	3.0
Gading	3.0
Pathum Thani	2.6
Ayutthaya	3.3
Saraburi	3.1

Table 4 Evaluation of soil

Village	Evaluation of soil fertility by specialists	Evaluation of soil fertility by villagers
Klaten	2	3.6
Demak	3	2.6
Gading	4 & 2	2.8
Pathum Thani	3	2.9
Ayutthaya	2	3.1
Saraburi	1	3.0

villages in Thailand in spite of the existing difference evaluated by specialists. In Java, grading by villagers shows the highest value at Klaten where specialists found the poorest quality of soil. Villagers' grading seems to be biased by the high yield in the village owing to good irrigation system and extensive application of fertilizer. Judging from this observation, it may be assumed that the quality of soil is not duly appreciated by ordinary farmers, unless the soil is not extremely poor.

The mean and median amounts of harvest in the best, ordinary and worst years are shown in Table 5. The highest harvest among all sample villages is found at Klaten Village on the volcanic fan in Java. Within Thailand, Pathum Thani on delta shows the best harvest. These two villages are characterized by their good water control systems. The

Table 5 Average yield of paddy

Village	(1) Mean amount of harvest (ton/ha)			
	best	ordinary	worst	index of fluctuation
Klaten	7.1	5.5	3.4	.67
Demak	1.4	1.0	.6	.80
Gading	1.1	.8	.5	.75
Pathum Thani	3.5	2.8	1.5	.71
Ayutthaya	2.6	2.0	.4	1.10
Saraburi	2.0	1.5	.5	1.00

Village	(2) Median amount of harvest (ton/ha)			
	best	ordinary	worst	index of fluctuation
Klaten	7.2	5.7	3.8	.60
Demak	1.4	1.2	.5	.75
Gading	1.4	.8	.7	.88
Pathum Thani	3.7	3.2	1.8	.59
Ayutthaya	2.8	2.3	.4	1.04
Saraburi	2.2	1.8	.5	.94

Table 6 Major causes of bad crops

Village	Flood	Drought	Insects	Diseases	Rats
Klaten	0%	0%	100%	20%	87%
Demak	67	18	64	82	45
Gading	3	50	33	17	20
Pathum Thani	6	0	35	39	80
Ayutthaya	94	0	0	0	6
Saraburi	0	98	7	0	0

annual fluctuation of harvest indicated by (Best harvest—Worst harvest)/(Ordinary harvest) is also relatively small in these two villages. The ordinary harvests in other two villages in Java are lower than those of Thai villages, though the range of annual fluctuation is smaller. Considering the scale of cultivation at the same time, we can say that the paddy growing of the marginal Thai villages is characterized by its uncertainty of crops whereas that of marginal Javanese villages is characterized by its self-consuming subsistence existence.

The main causes of bad crops in each village in recent years are shown in Table 6. The villages with poor water control suffered mainly from floods or droughts. The villages with adequate water control suffered only from secondary disasters such as insects, diseases and rats. Table 7 shows that the bad crops caused by flood or drought in Thailand tend to occur only in a specific year. This confirms the above-mentioned gamble-like uncertain character of paddy growing in those villages.

Table 7 Year in which most respondents experienced bad crops

Klaten	1 year ago	63%
Demak	2 years ago	45%
Gading	5 years ago	20%
Pathum Thani	2 years ago	27%
Ayutthaya	4 years ago	94%
Saraburi	1 year ago	93%

Table 8 Countermeasures against crop damages

Village	Percent of those tried any countermeasure to prevent damages	Kind of countermeasure applied	Evaluation of effect*
Klaten	90%	insecticide, poison	100%
Demak	36%	insecticide	50%
Gading	35%	insecticide	100%
Pathum Thani	93%	poison, insecticide	84%
Ayutthaya	38%	small earth bank	100%
Saraburi	5%	pump	50%

*Percent of those who gave positive answer to those who tried any countermeasure.

The countermeasures taken against the damage from disasters are particularly noticeable in the commercialized paddy-growing villages which are free from both flood and drought. Table 8 shows that they find the application of chemical insecticide or poison especially effective against diseases and rats. On the other hand the villagers suffering from flood or drought seem to find their individual efforts effective only for the limited area of paddy fields (Ayutthaya), or almost beyond human control so that very few try to get water through pumps (Saraburi).

As for the improvement of the methods to avoid damages, farmers suffering from flood suggest to build small earth banks by themselves (Ayutthaya) or to build permanent banks or dams through government budget (Ayutthaya, Demak), whereas farmers suffering from drought suggest to observe the climate carefully (Gading) or to apply artificial rains (Saraburi), although the effect of such methods is in fact dubious at present. Only Villagers suffering from insects, plant diseases and rats are able to find an effective way of preventing damages through individual or community effort: to apply chemicals (Demak, Gading) or to apply chemicals and poison collectively by whole villagers (Klaten, Pathum Thani).

2. Adoption of Recommended Varieties: An Aspect of Agricultural Innovation

The process of adopting recommended varieties of paddy, an aspect of technical innovation, was examined in each village. The acceptance of recommended varieties is shown in

Table 9 Acceptance of recommended varieties

Village	Use	Not Use
Klaten	18 (60.0)	12(40.0)
Demak	13 (39.3)	20(60.7)
Gading	25 (83.3)	5(16.7)
Pathum Thani	49(100.0)	0 (0.0)
Ayutthaya	25 (75.7)	8(24.3)
Saraburi	1 (2.5)	40(97.5)

*Number of households and percentage.

Table 9. No marked difference exists between Thai and Javanese villages. But this table needs a careful interpretation in the light of field observation. First of all, Gading Village must be put aside because it is a new settlement; and secondly Klaten Village percentage should be interpreted as unduely low because the survey conducted during the wet season when IRRI variety is more suitable would have shown much higher percentage of adoption. Accordingly, the degree of acceptance of recommended varieties is, in the order of better adoption, Pathum Thani Village, Ayutthaya Village, and Saraburi in Thailand, whereas Klaten is more progressive than Demak in Java. In conclusion, higher scores are seen in Pathum Thani and Klaten which are both provided with well-controlled irrigation systems constructed by national governments; lower scores in the Villages of Ayutthaya and Demak, where water control is not so efficient. Lastly comes Saraburi Village which has no large scale irrigation but some simple devices provided by local community. Marketing conditions unfavorable for new varieties are also intercepting the acceptance in this village. On the whole, patterns and efficiency of water control and marketing conditions are two decisive factors whether villagers actually adopt the recommended high-yielding varieties of paddy.

Table 10 shows the number of respondents by the year when they adopted recommended varieties for the first time, and Table 11 the same by the year when they obtained information about these varieties. Tendencies are that Pathum Thani and Klaten have concentration in a few years between 2 to 4 or 2 to 6 years before; whereas Ayutthaya has a scattered form. Demak Village resembles somewhat to Klaten, and Saraburi is insignificant because there is only one respondent who ever tried to adopt a recommended variety. The most interesting is Gading which gives an extremely wide range of distribution in contrast with other villages. It covers almost the thirty years since the foundation of the village up to the present day. A possible interpretation is that the development of this village does not have a long history yet for villagers to establish any stable and suitable variety of paddy. The farmers of Gading Village have been trying, therefore, over these years eagerly to find the best variety among those recommended by authorities. On the other hand, the Saraburi Villagers have already established the local varieties suitable for the village during eighty years since its foundation.

Table 10 Adoption of recommended varieties

Year	Village	Klaten	Demak	Gading	Pathum Thani	Ayutthaya	Saraburi
0 ~ 2		3	3	4	1		
2 ~ 4		12	8	7	20	2	1
4 ~ 6		3	2	3	26	3	
6 ~ 8				1	1	6	
8 ~ 10				3		2	
10 ~ 12				2		6	
12 ~ 14				2		6	
14 ~ 16				1			
16 ~ 18							
18 ~ 20							
20 ~ 22							
22 ~ 24							
24 ~				2	1		

Table 11 Information on recommended varieties

Year	Village	Klaten	Demak	Gading	Pathum Thani	Ayutthaya	Saraburi
0 ~ 2		13	9		2		
2 ~ 4		2	3	8	36	2	1
4 ~ 6		3	1	6	11	6	
6 ~ 8				2		5	
8 ~ 10						1	
10 ~ 12				2		7	
12 ~ 14				2			
14 ~ 16				3			
16 ~ 18							
18 ~ 20							
20 ~ 22							
22 ~ 24							
24 ~				2			

Table 12 Average time lag between information and actual adoption

Village	Information	Adoption	Time lag
Klaten	2.277	1.611	0.666
Demak	2.384	1.153	1.231
Gading	9.120	8.240	0.880
Pathum Thani	3.666	3.041	0.625
Ayutthaya	8.760	7.240	1.520
Saraburi	—	—	—

In Pathum Thani and Klaten introduction of new technology seems more active than in other villages. This is proven by Table 12 on the speed of introducing new varieties. The time lag between information and actual adoption is the shortest in Pathum Thani and Klaten where governmental effort is very intensive, whereas it is the longer in Ayutthaya and Demak where such effort is less ascertainable.

Referring to the way in which the varieties have spread, we could reasonably assume that each village holds a few persons who were rather inquisitive in their character at the first moment of introduction. See Table 13. These persons together with other village leaders served as pioneers who introduced the recommended varieties of rice into their villages. Other villagers adopted the varieties under the influence of village headmen or some influential persons nearby. This is the general pattern of introduction which can be seen in Table 14.

Table 13 Number of inquisitive persons

Village	I	II
Klaten	4	0
Demak	3	2
Gading	5	1
Pathum Thani	2	0
Ayutthaya	2	1
Saraburi	0	0

Note: I. Those who show innovative attitude both in question 16 (see Table 14) & 17 (see Table 15).

II. Those who show innovative attitude in question 16 but not in question 17.

Table 14 Reason for adopting recommended varieties

Village	Klaten	Demak	Gading	Pathum Thani	Ayutthaya	Saraburi
A	4(22%)	5(38%)	5(20%)	2 (4%)	2 (8%)	1(100%)
B	11(61%)	7(54%)	6(24%)	17(35%)	8(32%)	
C	6(33%)	8(61%)	16(64%)	24(49%)	10(40%)	
D		2(15%)	2 (8%)	3 (6%)	1 (4%)	
E	7(39%)	1 (8%)			2 (8%)	
F	1 (6%)	2(15%)	3(12%)	5(10%)	2 (8%)	
Respondents	18	13	25	49	25	1

A. It is worth to try any variety which is new.

B. Recommended by the government or village headman.

C. Seeing results of neighbors.

D. Seeing results of surrounding villages.

E. Seeing results of extension farm (or village seeds plots).

F. Other

Note: Multiple answers are permitted.

Table 15 Attitude toward a new variety recommended by the government

Village	Klaten	Demak	Gading	Pathum Thani	Ayutthaya	Saraburi
A	11(37%)	8(24%)	6(20%)	37(76%)	17(52%)	11(27%)
B	10(33%)	2 (6%)	16(53%)			
C	12(40%)	20(61%)	6(20%)	7(14%)	12(36%)	28(68%)
D		4(12%)	3(10%)		3 (9%)	2 (5%)
E		3 (9%)		5(10%)		
Unknown		1 (3%)			1 (3%)	
Respondents	30	33	30	49	33	41

A. I would try to plant it before anybody else.

B. I would try to plant it after it has been tested at village seeds plots.

C. I would try to plant it if somebody else succeeds.

D. I would not be interested in it.

E. Other

Note: Multiple answers are permitted in Java.

It may be noted that the villagers with the most innovative attitude (item A) in Table 14 are superseded by the most innovative villagers (item A) in Table 15 in number, except for Gading Village. This is an interesting observation and may be a result of their previous success in adopting new varieties. It is also worth noticing that the most positive villages among three sample villages in each country, are Klaten and Pathum Thani respectively, and that there is no person in these villages who does not show any interest in governmental introduction of new varieties.

Slight differences are discernible, however, between Pathum Thani in Thailand and Klaten in Java. Firstly, according to Table 14, the Klaten farmers were more strongly influenced by government or village headman than Pathum Thani farmers, whereas the latter were more strongly influenced by neighbours than the former. This difference may be an outcome from their headmen's idiosyncratic personality's variation or an effect of their different socio-cultural patterns of village organization.

Secondly, the Villagers of Pathum Thani and Ayutthaya in Thailand are more positive than those of Klaten and Demak in Java. The meaning of this difference seems to be understood by the existence of very progressive or rational farmers in Pathum Thani Village. They are those five, classified as 'other', persons and asserted that they would decide only after they have tried the new variety and compared its productivity with those of the varieties they had ever used.

From these observations, the following conclusions on agricultural innovations may be drawn. First, water control is the most important limiting factor for adopting new varieties. Secondly, commercialization of paddy cultivation seems to reinforce peasants' incentives to adopt recommended varieties. Thirdly, government's effort of introducing new varieties tend to be concentrated and well accepted in those commercialized areas

equipped with good water control system. Lastly, along with these similar tendencies in both countries, the differences exist between Thai and Javanese peasants in their attitude towards government and spontaneous action to adopt new varieties of rice, which requires a farther investigation.

3. Farming as an Occupation —Obstacles and Incentives

Farmers were asked to respond to each of the following eight factors whether they regard it as bothering their farming or not: (a) crop's dependence on weather, (b) hard work under the sun and hot weather, (c) irrigation, (d) soil, (e) hard work with small revenue, (f) instability of price, (g) dangerous working condition, and (h) high rent. The results are shown in Figure 1.

Not many respondents feel the climate as an obstacle to efficient working in any one of six sample villages. No significant difference is detected between Thai and Javanese villages, though there exist a slight difference reflecting the severer climatic conditions in Thailand. Danger in farming is felt to a certain extent in Thai villages, whereas no one feels so in Javanese villages. The strongest danger is felt in Ayutthaya Village, where the danger of poisonous snakes is reported. Thai farmers seem to be more exposed to the uncontrolled nature than Javanese farmers.

Dependence of harvest on weather bothers the farmers in the villages with poor control of water supply. The farmers in Klaten, for example, have no problem on this matter. In this village irrigation is also no problem. The farmers in Pathum Thani Village, where water control system is well established, still have some problems on irrigation.

The farmers in all Thai villages and Demak Village in Java sense some problem in

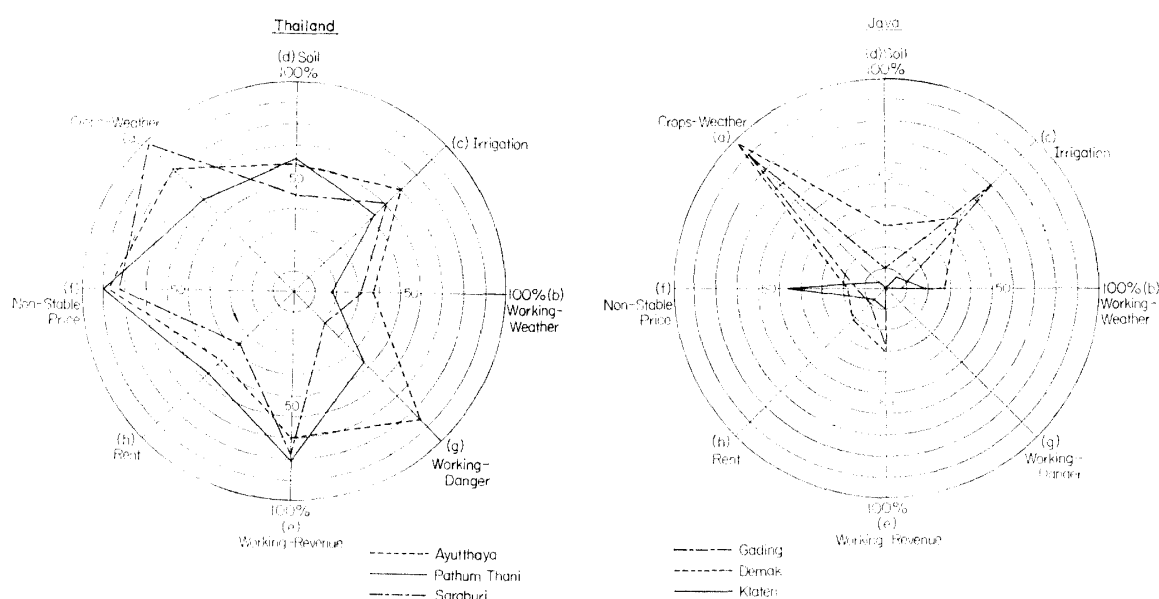


Fig. 1 Factors bothering farmers

Table 16 Attitude toward work and income

Village	Klaten	Demak	Gading	Pathum Thani	Ayutthaya	Saraburi
A	12(40.0)	17(53.0)	10(33.0)	5(10.0)	9(27.0)	7(17.0)
B	18(60.0)	16(47.0)	20(67.0)	44(90.0)	24(73.0)	34(83.0)
Total	30(100)	33(100)	30(100)	49(100)	33(100)	41(100)

A. Same income but less working hour.

B. More income with more working hour.

soil fertility. Klaten Villagers, on the contrary, feel no problem on the part of soil. Since they have increased the harvest by applying modern technology, they have been able to neglect soil problems so far. In Gading Village, actual farming seems to be well established according to the traditional classification of soil, and this fact may be the reason for relative easiness felt by villagers on soil problems.

Remarkable differences appear, however, between Thai and Javanese farmers with regard to economic difficulties. Thai farmers feel the difficulties more keenly than Javanese farmers. But difference is not so much among the villages within the same country.

Table 16 shows the farmers' attitude toward work and income. They were asked to choose one of the two statements concerning attitude toward labour: "the same income but less working hours" or "more income with more working hours." Although there is some difference in attitude even among three villages in the same country, Thai villages as a group gained a significantly higher percentage than Javanese villages as a whole in choosing the attitude "more income with more working hours." This, however, does not necessarily imply that Thai villagers are likely to work harder than Javanese villagers.

Since Thai villagers have more chances of favourable nonagricultural labour than Javanese villagers, the former are more likely to conceive work in terms of income than the latter. Thai villagers are more pragmatic in this sense. Therefore, when they were asked which they would prefer, "the same income but less working hours" or "more income with more working hours," they were quick to respond to the latter. Javanese villagers with less opportunities to work for pecuniary income, however, may not have been ready to respond spontaneously to "more income with more working hours." Thus, more of the farmers were inclined to reply, responding to "the same income but less working hours."

We tried to find some factors which would explain this difference between Thai and Javanese farmers' attitude by cross-tabulations, but it has proved that we can not assume any significantly patterned correlation between this subject and other factors such as age, land-ownership, cultivated land, villagers' innovativeness, attitude toward paddy farming, or degree of satisfaction.

Farmer's evaluation of paddy cultivation was examined from two aspects: (1) in terms of income, (2) in terms of labour. Thai farmers tend to regard paddy cultivation as hard in respect of labour. This tendency may be related to a larger scale of cultivation in Thai-

Table 17 Evaluation of paddy cultivation

in terms of income	in terms of labor	Klaten	Demak	Gading	Pathum Thani	Ayutthaya	Saraburi
good	hard	20%	30%	17%	29%	35%	32%
good	not hard	43	67	83	18	13	32
not good	hard	7	3	0	49	39	20
not good	not hard	30	0	0	4	13	17
good	(ignore)	63	97	100	47	48	64
(ignore)	hard	27	33	17	78	74	52

land than in Java. Almost all the respondents in Gading and Demak in Java regard paddy cultivation as good in terms of income. In these two villages paddy cultivation does not constitute the exclusive economic activity because of severe conditions of the physical settings. Thus their strong desire for paddy cultivation might have caused those responses. The farmer's responses were cross-examined by age, land ownership, and cultivated land acreage employing t-test. As a result the following significant differences were detected:

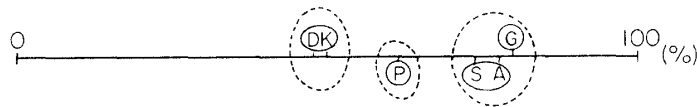
- (1) In terms of income
 - a. the mean age at Klaten Village (46.26 years for "good"; 51.45 years for "not good": $t=2.1015$, $df=28$)
 - b. the mean age at Ayutthaya Village (44.53 years for "good"; 38.50 years for "not good": $t=2.0698$, $df=29$)
 - c. the mean area of cultivation at Ayutthaya Village (5.81 Ha for "good"; 3.17 Ha for "not good": $t=2.0537$, $df=29$)
- (2) In terms of labour
 - a. mean age at Pathum Thani Village (42.34 years for "hard"; 48.73 years for "not hard": $t=2.1068$, $df=47$)

In Pathum Thani and Saraburi older farmers tend to regard paddy cultivation as good in terms of income, though significant difference is not detected. Note that in all Thai villages older farmers tend to regard paddy cultivation as good in terms of income, and that the reverse is true in Klaten Village of Java. It may lead to new findings if an investigation is made further into the effect of age on farmer's evaluation of paddy cultivation.

A question dealing with perception of relative happiness of being a farmer in comparison with a non-farmer was asked in Thailand and Java. Factory labourer and government employee were chosen as representatives of non-farmer in Thailand and in Java respectively. The difference in these representative occupations might have caused some difference in peasants' responses of two countries, making the comparison somewhat meaningless. The result is shown in Figure 2.

In Thailand more than 60% of the respondents chose farmer as a happier status than labourer. The most important reason for this choice is the freedom on the part of farmers

Fig. 2 Percentage of those who chose farmer as happier than non-farmer



Note: The circles indicate homogeneous groups of villages based on statistical results by χ^2 -test at 1% level and 5% level.

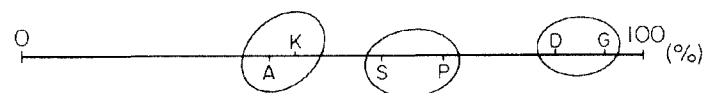
throughout three villages. In Pathum Thani Village the percentage is lower than in Ayutthaya and Saraburi. Accessibility to better jobs as well as knowledge of them in Pathum Thani which is closer to urban districts than other two villages seem to be related with the respondents' lower appreciation of farming. A higher percentage of tenants in Pathum Thani Village offers another reason for the respondents' choice for non-farmers. The most important reason for choosing non-farmers in Pathum Thani Village is income and followed by less worry and more comfortable working conditions. In two Javanese villages (Klaten and Demak), about a half of the respondents chose farmer as happier than government employee. The most important reason for this choice is freedom as it is in Thailand. Income and security are the most important reasons for respondents choosing government employees in Klaten Village and Demak Village respectively. A different pattern of answers appears in Gading Village, where 80% of the respondents appreciate the farmer's life. The reasons of their choosing farmer are not only freedom but also income. The fact that chances to get good status as a government employee are very limited in this newly opened remote village might be related with this type of responses. A few people who have chosen government employees as happier in this village put their emphasis on security and physical working conditions rather than income. As a general trend, the farmer's life is fairly well appreciated in connection with freedom they enjoy, especially in the villages located far from urban districts.

4. Saving and Success

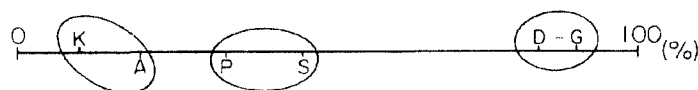
a. Saving

A question was asked regarding the balance between income and expenditure. It may sound strange that a higher percentage of respondents with balanced income and expenditure were found in relatively poorer Villages of Gading and Demak, and that expenditure exceeded income in richer Klaten and Ayutthaya. Thus, it seems that the absolute amount of income itself is not important for balancing income and expenditure, but the pattern of expenditure among the villagers.

The next question asked was whether the farmers are satisfied with present amount of income or not. The answers to this question show similarity in differences among six villages. See Figure 3. The same tendency seem rather exaggerated. This exaggeration is caused by the two inconsistent responses: (1) dissatisfaction in spite of balanced

Fig. 3 Percentage of those with balanced income and expenditure

Percentage of those expressed satisfied with present income

**Table 18** Character of the satisfied and unsatisfied

Village	% of sample			the average age for			the average acreage of land holding			the average acreage of cultivation		
	"yes"	"no"	N.A.	"yes"	"no"	T-test	"yes"	"no"	T-test	"yes"	"no"	T-test
Klaten	13	87	0	47.00	48.35		0.74	0.70		1.15	1.12	
Demak	82	18	0	40.56	41.83		0.69	0.71		0.91	0.85	
Gading	90	10	0	45.07	38.33		0.49	0.50		0.57	0.50	
Pathum Thani	35	65	0	49.35	40.81	**	3.85	1.87		9.07	5.40	**
Ayutthaya	21	70	9	39.57	42.30		5.28	4.48		7.89	7.10	
Saraburi	44	54	2	45.56	41.45		4.02	4.63		5.95	3.93	*

** significant by t-test at 1% level

* significant by t-test at 5% level

income and expenditure and (2) satisfaction in spite of excess of expenditure over income. Those inconsistencies may be interpreted as some indicators reflecting the discrepancy between farmers' aspiration level and realized consumption.

Table 18 shows the householder's average age, the average size of landholding, and the average scale of cultivation for those who expressed satisfaction with the present income (yes) and for those who did not (no). T-test was applied to see if the difference between two groups is statistically significant. In Demak and Gading, most respondents express their satisfaction regardless of their scale of landholding and cultivation. This suggests that aspiration for consumption is not yet playing an important role in the value system of all the villagers there. A reverse situation is found in Klaten and Ayutthaya: most farmers are not satisfied with their present income regardless of their landholding and cultivation size. In these villages aspiration for consumption seems important for all the villagers and the gap between aspiration and realized consumption is always felt by almost all of them. In Pathum Thani and Saraburi the farmers, cultivating a large acreage of land tend to be satisfied whereas those cultivating a small area were not. In these two villages, where more income through more working hours is strongly desired as shown before but agriculture is a major source of income, the scale of cultivation rather than income is directly

Table 19 Method of keeping surplus money

Method	Village	Klaten	Demak	Gading	Pathum Thani	Ayutthaya	Saraburi
Cash		○	◎	○	○	◎	
Bank deposit					○	◎	◎
Precious metal & stones		◎	○	◎			○
Land		○	○	○		○	○
Cattle or fowls			○	◎			
Paddy or dried cassava		○	◎	○			
Boat or motor-cycle		○	◎				
Lending out						○	
Mutual aid				○			

Note: ◎ indicates high percentage

correlated with the farmers psychological satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

The major forms of keeping surplus money in each village are shown in Table 19. Saving at bank is found only in Thai villages, reflecting the relatively developed stage of commercialization in rural Thailand. Keeping money in cash is found in all the villages of both countries except for Saraburi which is not safe enough against robbers. The traditional method of saving in precious metal or stone is still important in Javanese villages. It is noteworthy that this form shows the highest percentage even in Klaten Village which is the most commercialized of three Javanese villages. Distrust in bank-notes may be still unforgettable among Javanese farmers who experienced a serious monetary inflation in the past. Among Thai villages, this form of savings is found only in Saraburi the most remote village. Investment in land is practiced in all the villages of both countries except for Pathum Thani. The land around this village has become too expensive for the local people to invest in, because it is already the object of investment by urban speculators. Miscellaneous devices of investment such as raising cattle or fowl, keeping paddy or dried cassava, or buying boats or motor-cycles to lend out are found mainly in Javanese villages.

Three important purposes of farmers' saving in each village are shown in Table 20: It is noteworthy that better farming and education are considered as the first two motivations in Klaten and Pathum Thani, the most advanced and commercialized village in each country.

Table 20 Three most important purposes of saving

Village	1	2	3
Klaten	Better farming	Education	Children
Demak	Emergency	Old age	Children
Gading	Old age	Better farming	Emergency
Pathum Thani	Better farming	Education	Emergency
Ayutthaya	To buy land	Better farming	Emergency
Saraburi	Emergency	Better farming	To buy land/Old age

Other important purposes are for emergency (including illness and calamities), old age, buying land, and children's sake. If buying land is regarded as a kind of better farming, then better farming becomes the most important purpose in Ayutthaya and the second most important in Saraburi.

b. How to become rich

Two related questions were asked to identify the factors for becoming rich; about those interviewed themselves, and second, about those who were more successful than the interviewed. Generally speaking, villagers gave very pragmatic answers to both questions. The number of those who regarded "good faith or making merit" as a key to success was smaller than we expected in both countries. But the difference between Thais and Javanese is of great interest. In Javanese villages a number of respondents chose "working hard" and "luck" as the important factors in both questions, whereas in Thai villages they chose "working hard" and "not to do anything luxurious." This difference suggests that pragmatic attitude is more prevalent among Thai villagers, while Javanese villagers feel dominated by something unmanageable by human effort. Particularly in Klaten and Demak of Java, "not to do anything luxurious" is regarded as a more important factor by the interviewed himself, but "good judgement" as a cause of success for other successful villagers. In Ayutthaya Village of Thailand, on the other hand, only a small number of villagers marked "working hard" for other successful persons, and 30% of the respondents considered "inheritance" as the main factor of success.

To summarize the above observations on saving and success, we may say as follows.

(1) Involvement in commercialization seems to cause an imbalance between income and

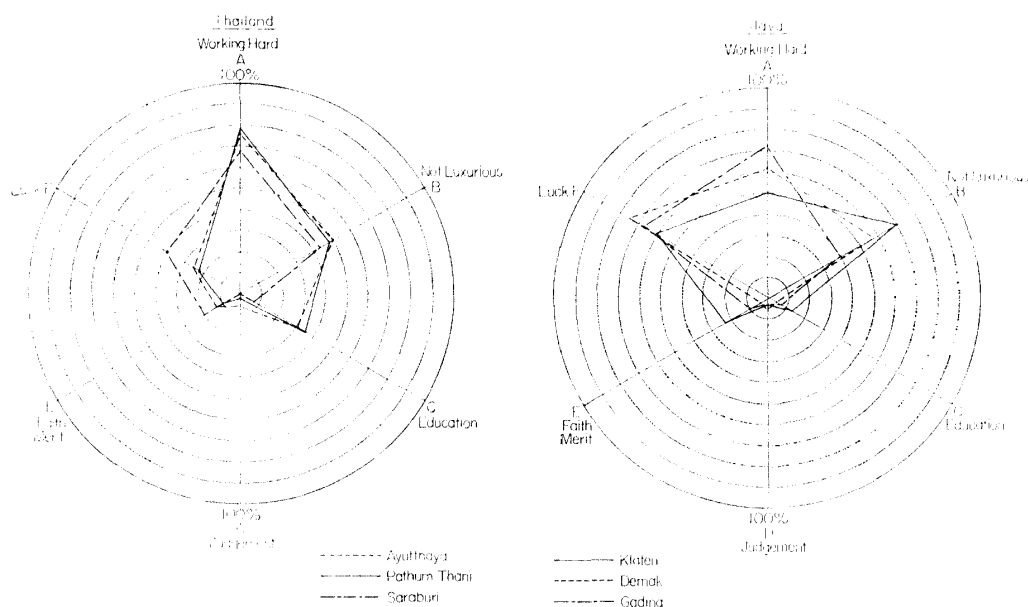


Fig. 4 The most important factor of becoming rich for oneself

Table 21 Factors related to becoming rich for the interviewed himself

Village	Klaten	Demak	Gading	Pathum Thani	Ayutthaya	Saraburi
A	15(50%)	20(61%)	22(73%)	38(78%)	24(73%)	27(66%)
B	21(70%)	19(58%)	12(40%)	24(49%)	16(48%)	17(41%)
C	4(13%)	1 (3%)	2 (7%)	17(35%)	10(30%)	3 (7%)
D	1(3%)	2 (6%)	1 (3%)	1 (2%)	2 (6%)	0 (0%)
E	7(23%)	1 (3%)	3(10%)	5(10%)	4(12%)	8(20%)
F	18(60%)	25(76%)	20(67%)	11(22%)	8(24%)	16(39%)
Respondents	30	33	30	49	33	41

A. Working hard

B. Not to do anything luxurious

C. Education

D. Good judgement

E. Good faith or making merit

F. Luck

Table 22 Factors related to becoming rich for the most successful farmer in the area

Village	Klaten	Demak	Gading	Pathum Thani	Ayutthaya	Saraburi
A	17(68%)	22(71%)	22(81%)	27(77%)	8(31%)	29(78%)
B	8(32%)	4(13%)	11(41%)	20(57%)	11(42%)	19(51%)
C	0	0	0	13(37%)	0	4(11%)
D	14(56%)	5(16%)	2 (7%)	5(14%)	0	2 (5%)
E	6(24%)	4(13%)	7(26%)	0	0	8(22%)
F	13(52%)	27(87%)	12(44%)	7(20%)	10(38%)	0
Respondents	25	31	27	35	26	37

A. Working hard

B. Not to do anything luxurious

C. Education

D. Good judgement

E. Good faith or making merit

F. Luck

expenditure. The advantageous physiographic conditions, therefore, is not directly combined with attitude toward more saving. (2) Yet, the modern way of economic thinking is more or less penetrating into the lives of villagers at advantageous location. (3) Thai and Javanese peasants show somewhat different ways of thinking concerning the factors to become rich. Thais are rather pragmatic, and Javanese are rather fatalistic. These conclusions can be observed by Tables 21 and 22 and summarized by Figure 4.

5. Some Cultural Premises

The final part of our interview was to ask villagers to give one or two proverbs or mot-

toes that came to their mind as those which they are fond of and therefore have a preference to follow. We did not force them to do so, but many villagers responded positively to this request, so that we could collect more expressions than we had expected. Previous questions were primarily concerned with the socio-economic behavior of farmers, but the proverbs collected are hoped to reveal some aspects of the contemporary native culture which have been inculcated in villagers' mind.

The rate of respondents to the total number sample is 96% (89 out of 93 persons) in Java and 61% (75 out of 123 persons) in Thailand. The differential ratio is significant at 1% level by χ^2 -test ($\chi^2=44.915 > \chi^2_{0.01}=6.635$; d.f.=1). This suggests that the verbal statements, which are transmitted from generation to generation, play a more important role in Javanese villages than in Thai villages.

The expressions collected were originally written in vernacular languages, and then translated into English word for word by the native participants in each country. Rejecting free translation, we preferred this method because we wanted to avoid any bias which might enter the process of free translation, and also we wanted to define a particular meaning of each word in its context. In the analysis, similar expressions were grouped together into

Table 23 List of proverbs and mottoes collected from villagers

[Working]

Thailand

Forbearing and hard work can overcome any obstacle. (P3A6S3)

1. When you are used to anything you don't feel it is difficult. (A1)

Perseverance, delight. (A1)

Delight will make you better. (S1)

2. I want to be rich, even if I have to work hard. (A1S1)

Working in honest occupation. (P4)

Good payment induces people to work hard. (P1)

Money is work, work is money. (S1)

Java

Ever health, everyday work hard. (D2K1)

Work hard and believe in God. (D1)

1. Health, safety is always prayer to God. (D1)

Safety, hygiene and eat enough. (D5)

2. Work hard to want enough food, better home, to build a better living. (K5D1G5)

If you need something, you have to do something, too. (K4G2)

You have to do something hopeful. (K1)

You have to do honestly. (K1)

Living is for hard working. (G2)

The man must receive according to his work, and then the man always has to exert oneself. (G1)

3. We can only try, and God will make decision. (K1)

Work hard and don't care for the result. (K1)

Life is like a wheel. Sometimes it's up and sometimes it's down. (K1)

[Sociality]

Thailand

One can depend only on oneself. (P4A1S3)

Help each other; conscious of merit-demerit. (S1)

1. Don't give difficulties to other people. Rely on yourself. (P1)
 2. If you wouldn't help someone to do something, you shouldn't interrupt his work. (S1)
- Diligence, saving, good friend; right way of living. (A1)

Java

Unity makes strength, so you have to do mutual aid.

1. Come together, whether one can eat or not. It is very difficult for the people to move to other areas. (D3)
- Farmer is the foundation of the nation. (K1)
- Farmer must progress. (K1)
- To be a farmer, have to live simple life. (G1)
- To be a good farmer (G1)
2. Work together, shoulder by shoulder. (D2)

[Way of living]

Thailand

Be honest. (P5A1)

Merit making, one's luck and further life depends on one's past life. (P4S1)

Try to save quarters until one baht. (P5)

1. Good deed leads to good result. Evil deed leads to evil result. (P3A2S6)
- Must be honest. An honest man always have, a dishonest man is rich only for a short time. (A1)
- Five Buddha teachings. (A1S1)
2. Take it when you have the opportunity. (P1A1S2)
 3. If you have little money, you cut down your eating. (P1)
- Don't spend more than the money you have. (A1)

Java

If you want to become rich, you must be economical. If you want to become clever (skilful), you must be diligent. (K3G1)

If you do a good thing, you will receive a good reward, but if you do a bad thing, you will receive a bad disaster. (K3G1)

1. If some day you become rich, don't forget when you're still poor. So don't be proud of your richness. (K1)

[Miscellaneous]

Thailand

One should beat children, just like one's cattle, because we love them. (P2)

Do everything for my children. (A1)

Follow the elder's foot step. (S1)

Java

Living gladly, quiet, save. (D2)

Life must be prosperous. (G1)

Happiness does not come from wealth (richness) or from social status. (K1)

While ducking under water, drink water. (K1)

a single representative statement in such a way that each statement represents other similar verbal expressions. Thus we acquired 25 statements from Thai villagers and 27 statements from Javanese villagers. Table 23 presents a list of these statements arranged under three categories of "working", "sociality" and "way of living." In order to make this arrangement, we first sorted all the statements into groupings by a key word in each statement and using it as a clue; then we acknowledged the groupings as categories if every statement was assigned a core- or sub-status and all the statements in a group make up a meaningful set. Core-statements are those which substantially explain the key word in the statement. In Table 23, core-statements are shown on the first line of the statements of each category. Underlined are the words which we treat as key words; the capital letter next to the statement indicates the village where the expression was collected; and the number shows the frequency in which they were uttered. From these core- and sub-statements, we tried to infer cultural premises which would shape the behavior pattern of villagers.

In Thai villages the most frequently stated theme on working is "forbearing and hard work can overcome any obstacle." As sub-statements imply, working is regarded in terms of money and it should be in honest occupation. Work as such, however, is "hard in nature" since it is something for a man to "forbear". But one should conceal the hardship in a mental state of "delight". These cultural premises on working display an emphasis put on occupational conditionality and self-control of emotion. In contrast, in Javanese villages,

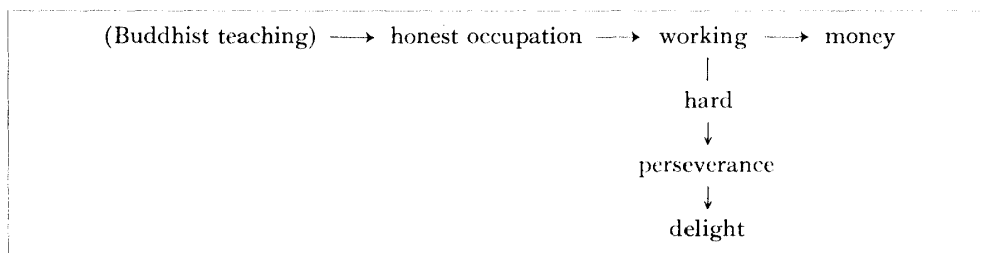


Fig. 5 Working (Thailand)

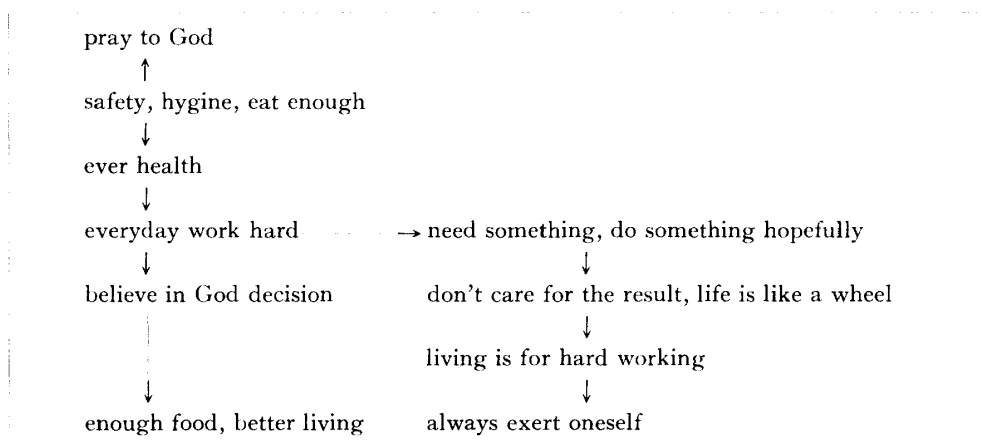


Fig. 6 Working (Java)

work is valued somewhat for its own sake, not as a measure for getting money as in Thai villages. The main theme is "one should work hard every day," and "health" is valued for this purpose. Furthermore working itself has culturally a specific value as shown in a statement saying "one has to always exert oneself." The themes on working in Thailand and Java are schematically summarized in Figure 5 and 6.

The most frequently stated theme on sociality in Thailand is: "one can depend on oneself", which implies belief in self-reliance. This does not mean that "mutual help" is devalued, but on the contrary it constitutes one of crucial elements of social organization both in actual and ideal levels. These two premises may seem contradictory at a first glance, but in fact they limit each other so as to make a good balance. Thus, as is shown in sub-statements, at occasions one should help each other in such a way as it reinforces his self-support, but not in such a way as it gives him any importunity, interference, or interruption. This is the way that villagers are getting along with others. Thus we may assume that Thai villagers are more individualistically oriented and to each individual social entity is felt as a network of dyadic relations which extend centering upon him. Javanese theme is contrasted with the above Thai view of individual existence in society. "Unity makes strength so you have to do mutual aid (*gotong-rojong*)" is a favorite statement of Javanese villagers. "Mutual aid" is valued because it brings people unity or force which emerges from being together and doing something shoulder by shoulder. In this sense, although dyadic relations may be still one of characteristics of Javanese social organization as it is for Thais, Javanese villagers are more socially oriented and are likely to perceive themselves as a social group to be called farmers. The themes on sociality in Thailand and Java are schematically summarized in Figure 7 and 8.

One of the differences between Thai and Javanese cultural premises concerns with notion of "luck". To the mind of Thai villagers any creature, whether it is an animal, human

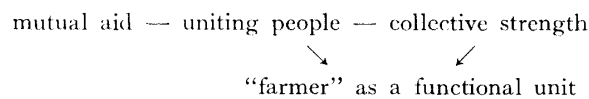


Fig. 7 Sociality (Java)

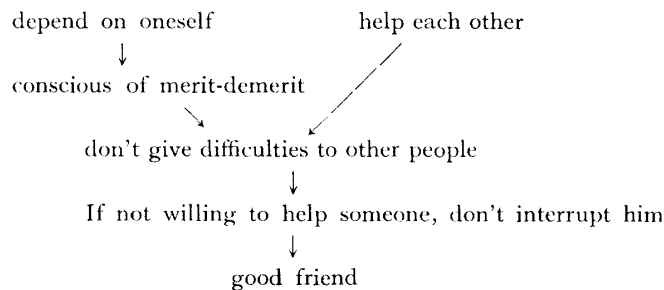


Fig. 8 Sociality (Thailand)

being, or super natural being, can live a lengthy cycle of lives. One's good luck in the present life is considered as a result of what he did in his past life, and his good luck in the next life depends on what he does in this life. On the other hand, for the Javanese villagers luck is endowed by the judgement of God, so long as we rely on a villager's single statement saying "only try and God will make decision." Another interpretation of luck is that the traditional Javanese society was hierarchically ordered so well that an individual's effort was not easily rewarded in terms of higher economic status. In either way, however, to wait for a luck without doing anything is devalued, and "one should do something if he wants to have something." These cultural characteristics in Thailand and Java are summarized by Table 24.

Table 24 Summary of cultural characteristics from analysis of proverbs and mottoes

Thai	Javanese
(Working)	
Occupational conditionality to working	Cultural acceleration for working
Direct relationship between money and working	Result is a decision of God
Basically, work is hard	Working itself has a value
Self-control of emotion	Bodily conditions for continuous working
(Sociality)	
Individually oriented (self-reliance)	Socially, or group oriented
Helping other's self-support	Mutual aid to get strength
Dyadic relationship	Collective strength