

# TRI-ORSTOM PROJECT

## Toward a Research and Development Plan (1986-87)\*

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(avec la collaboration de Bernard Vienne)

The research development and institution building undertaking known as the TRI-ORSTOM PROJECT (1) commenced work 26 February 1986 when a memorandum from DTEC (2) requesting the services of two experts was signed. The two advisors commenced work immediately.

### RECONNAISSANCE

The first five months was spent in reconnaissance. This work was structured into the task of producing a book of Thai research results, tentatively entitled *Hill Tribes Today*. With the help of a grant from Department H ORSTOM this book will be published before the end of February 87 (White Lotus Press, Bangkok).

Preparation of this text has required close collaboration between TRI and ORSTOM researchers. It has involved a critical review of work completed over the past five years. This review was conducted in the following way :

- a) Copies of all work completed was requested from all researchers.
- b) Biographical information was also requested including details of training, publications and work experience. This was provided by all personnel interested in participating in the work.
- c) Written work was translated by an editorial assistant, edited by a native English speaker and carefully evaluated for publication.
- d) High quality work was discussed with authors and additions and alterations requested. This usually involved questions of scholarship and relevance to current scientific theory.
- e) Where important issues were raised that lent themselves to further investigation, essay outlines were prepared and new interpretations of established data attempted.
- d) Descriptive ethnographic work of a traditional nature is still under review.

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The publication which has emerged out of these considerations will fill a gap in the existing literature. The articles selected for publication review policy, nutritional status, development project work and explore issues arising out of development philosophy as well as adding to the ethnographic literature on the Highlanders.

Out of discussions with a wide range of administrators, academics, project personnel, foreign researchers and a few brief field trips some important lacunae were identified such as, nutrition studies, transformation of socio-economic behaviour, epistemological foundations, policy conflicts and qualitative evaluation of development work. Current reviews will be treated as preliminary and serve as a benchmark for later research.

By making a critical review of available literature and pushing it to the limits of its explanatory power the shortcomings of contemporary work were identified. By preparing discussion papers for wider audiences opinions of others engaged in the highlands was volunteered (eg. Mc Kinnon, *The Role of the Sociological Imagination in Research for Development* (presented to FAO-Payap Workshop on Data Requirements for Highland Farming System Development) ; and, *"instruments and Facts : Development and State Formation in the Highlands"* (with Chupinit Kesmanee) (presented at the Lannathai Conference, Chiang Mai University, August 1986) Vienne, *Facing Development in the Highlands ? A Challenge for Thai Society in Hill Tribes Today.*

## OBSERVATIONS

The assumptions with which the project is now working are as follows. Socio-economic research on the highlands has for sometime been captured by the prevailing preoccupation with development. The Tribal Research Institute has responded with remarkable alacrity to the demand for baseline surveys, problem censuses and the like at the expense of sustained qualitative work of a less pragmatic nature. Promotion of the centre to the status of institute acknowledged the good work already undertaken but the Civil Service Commission by tying individual career paths to ethnolinguistic specialisation narrowed research vision where it needs to be broadened.

As the amount of work has increased available expertise has been drawn into a servicing role for which researchers are not given full credit by the agencies that frequently seek their assistance. This technical servicing role is not healthy if, in the long run, the information so collected is not subject to careful scrutiny ; the intellectual framework in which the work is conducted is not challenged ; the epistemological foundations are not explored as part of a regular evaluation. Research can become repetitive,

predictable and uncreative and fail to adjust itself to the context of Thai society. Uncritical adoption of foreign models may result in a situation in which research is unable to play a generative role in the contemporary administrative, industrial and commercial revolution.

Current work needs to be enhanced in the following three areas :

## 1) INTELLECTUAL FOUNDATIONS

Three sub-topics can be identified, a) ethical, b) epistemological and c) ideological. We will discuss each matter in turn.

a) *Ethical questions* which arise out of current work concerns the matter of basic training in the disciplinary and moral position of modern social science. Investigators who remain unaware of their own cultural bias are ill-equipped to mount research that attempts to articulate the position of those who belong to different cultures without passing on ethnocentric misconceptions which enjoy wide currency in the dominant culture. Feelings of superiority, fear, discomfort, can be a considerable barrier to good scientific work. Many researchers are working in an area of investigation for which they have not been fully trained.

b) *Epistemological matters* are more difficult to clarify because they lie at the very heart of any intellectual endeavour. The deepest assumptions lie embedded in the mind at such a profound level that to explicate them requires more psychological and intellectual courage than sheer technical competence. It is not necessary in this report to explore this matter in depth. The practical issues which come to mind indicate the meaning of the term as it is used here.

First, the nature of Thai culture and society places on researchers, a profound and strong, if subtle, demand for conformity. If it is not understood, it can inhibit the practice of good social science. Although this occurs widely, it tends to be more of a problem in societies with marked hierarchical structures. Knowledge itself is woven into the very fabric of society and the sociology of knowledge produced may become a shroud like covering which is thrown over phenomena that does not easily fit into an established view of reality. A consensus may prevail which precludes consideration of many problematical issues, matters that may require risking an approach that may be misinterpreted as lacking in loyalty or the like. In such a society, what counts most is what one's superiors tell one to believe rather than what the researcher believes to be true. Detailed work can deteriorate to a position where it is based on half truths and false assumptions. Investigations conducted within such boundaries can become a substitute for generative, critical, scientific research.

Second, specific issues like watershed management, deforestation, stopping opium cultivation, although primarily political matters on which the state has long standing policies are also matters on which it is possible to carry out scientific research. However, these issues have become so entrenched in a strategy of state formation that it is very difficult to distinguish their scientific status from their instrumental significance. What is surprising to outsiders is the strength of the intellectual consensus that is focused on these issues. Trees have become sacred, ethnic minorities have become invaders, and according to General Ruamsak, *"the Hmong people pose the most serious threat because some of them... (aspire)... to set up their own state in the future"* (The Nation 16 July 1986 : 6).

Reliable information is becoming increasingly difficult to find. It is dangerous to question information provided by authorities if the questioning implies insubordination, disloyalty or worse...

c) *Ideological issues belong*, in a very real sense, to epistemology. They are separated here because the subject matter warrants special treatment. The ruling ideology of the century, following nationalism, has been the complex idea of development. The general idea that the elaboration of the means of production, distribution and exchange leads to a better life for all is widely and uncritically accepted as a fact of modern life.

The case that can be constructed to argue this proposition is very strong. There can be little doubt that, in simple objective terms, the material resource base has been elaborated and transformed by science and technology in powerful leaps and bounds ; the standard of living of a large proportion of Thailand's greatly increased population is materially better off today than at any other time in recorded history.

However, what is often ignored in such an equation is that the evolution of a modern industrial and monetary mode of production does not treat everybody the same. Modern industrial development so heightens the value of the resource base that this can lead to an unprecedented drive to secure control over hinterlands that may have previously been ignored. In the rush to development other values may be temporarily placed aside.

People who have always lived on the fringes of mainstream civilizations appear to be particularly vulnerable to the changes modernization brings in its train. Those who are less well prepared are often placed at a disadvantage, marginalised and impoverished. Land resources they previously used at will falls under the jurisdiction of nation states. Populations with few institutional entitlements to educational, medical, administrative and natural resources are often placed in a position where they must watch those with generous entitlements claim sovereignty over what remains. Attempts to help are rarely culturally sympathetic or entirely sensitive to the situation in which the people find themselves. The answers to development found to be

successful with capable and motivated farmers are not always relevant to marginalised members of isolated highland communities.

The broader anthropological implications of this need to be explored for the Thai case. This challenge will be taken up by the TRI-ORSTOM PROJECT over the next few months. The theoretical implications will first be explored before any attempt is made to detail relevant research. The need to focus critically on the ideology of development is long overdue.

## 2) PRACTICAL ISSUES

Apart from the intellectual matters discussed above, there are many practical issues to which the project should give attention. Questions about project evaluation, data management and retrieval, publication of research results, staff training and professional development generally have all been raised as matters worth careful consideration.

a) *Project evaluation techniques* favoured in the past have largely favoured a quantitative measure of achievements combined with qualitative assessments of the type of assistance extended by various undertakings. At first, these were naive in many senses of the term. If a project had been set up to identify a suitable replacement crop then, almost regardless of whether or not this was relevant to the situation of the clients, it was this which was measured. What was excluded from assessments was often of more interest and relevance than what was studied.

A case in point is provided by the practise of evaluating single crops in a rigorous scientific manner but in isolation, from the wider socio-economic context in which they must eventually find a home. Many such crops provided only disappointing results when tried in situ.

This observation is not presented to question either the sincerity or competence of the many dedicated people who did this work. Within the terms of their job descriptions, the individuals engaged completed a timely evaluation exercise, much valuable work was done. What is surprising is that the context in which this work was carried out was not expanded to include compatible work in the social sciences such as economics, anthropology and geography.

Many of the objectives pursued directly were not as effective as the spin-offs which accompanied extension work. Training in the use of pesticides, herbicides and chemical fertilizers had a considerable impact (not always positive) on opium crop production and a whole range of agricultural crops. Roads put in to support project work were put to good use by local communities. Projects played a leading role in encouraging highlanders to look a future integrated into the political, social and economic

life of the lowlands. Education, mass media, medicine, missionaries of many faiths contributed to the momentum of change. In a broader historical sense, a necessary and largely humanitarian contribution was made.

Current work is conducted in a much more critical and sophisticated manner than in the past. Evaluation work is of a much higher standard. Projects are much more open and ready to consider alternative strategies. Agencies solicit comments and act on them. Although the emphasis remains on project management there is a growing awareness through the use of problem censuses and the like that the client farmers also need to be better understood.

The most important area in which work remains to be done is evaluative research at the village level. Some important academic commentaries have been prepared (Cooper, 1974 ; Gia Yee Lee, 1978 ; Tapp, 1985) but largely ignored because of their critical tone. More of this work needs to be done by those prepared to attempt the difficult task of articulating highlander patience and competence to deal with contemporary processes of transformation. The inside view of what development is all about is a vital factor because it raises issues concerning potential misunderstandings, communication and the relevance of much project work.

The skills required for this work are not as yet well developed. To work successfully, participant observation requires months of field work. Training in interview analysis, where interviews must be conducted in the native language of the informant, require a big investment in time and effort. However this work must be done. It is something the TRI-ORSTOM PROJECT will attempt.

b) *Data management and retrieval systems* are now within reach of any individual or agency that can afford to invest in PC computers. Available software is designed to be « user-friendly ». There is a large community of skilled hardware and software users on the campus of Chiang Mai University.

The introduction of two 16 byte IBM/PC compatible computers has already proved to be popular. Training is being organised by those enterprising researchers who are most interested in using them.

c) *Work circulation*. One of the most frequently voiced criticisms in biographical notes was that concerning the frustration researchers experienced in circulating their work more widely.

This is a very positive attitude. Formal work circulated to a small group need not face much criticism. The judges of its relevance may, out of friendship, keep their opinions to themselves. It is more comfortable not to have to face criticism but, if one's work is not criticised, it is difficult to learn. If one's work is circulated widely, it is offered not only to teach

readers something they did not know or had not thought of, but also to invite criticism from which one can learn.

The choice, made by most researchers, to place their opinions and judgment before a wider audience is one which the project wishes to strongly endorse. But, because too generous support can create an artificial environment that makes this possible, it is most important to make publication ventures self supporting by maintaining a high standard of work as well as securing and operating an independent publication fund. Publication of academic research on the hill tribes is unlikely to be very profitable and will continue to require subsidies. ORSTOM support for the publication *Hill Tribes Today* should be viewed as a contribution towards this end.

d) Provision for *staff training* should also be viewed in a similar vein. ORSTOM is not an aid agency in any conventional sense of the term. It is a research institute which wishes to develop a fully professional relationship with colleagues. Its role within the TRI is to facilitate the development of professional skills and hence strengthen both TRI and ORSTOM capabilities to perform our tasks well.

To accomplish this end, ORSTOM will do its best to arrange relevant training consistent with the memorandum of understanding agreed to by the cooperating partners and in keeping with both available resources and the pragmatic approach adopted. The advisors assigned to the TRI by ORSTOM do not have authority to grant scholarships or approve study tours ; their task is to advise and facilitate appropriate arrangements and to recommend candidates to institutions both in France as well as third countries.

### 3) COLLECTION AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION

The TRI is in a good position to provide reliable information to the public. It maintains a small museum and employs several people working in an audio-visual unit. Both of these aspects of the Institute lend themselves to playing a wider role in the education of the community. At the moment personnel lack material resources, experience and expertise. This work could be greatly enhanced by the participation of ORSTOM personnel.

There is also a real need to set up a central archives for all information available on the highlands. A good start was made in the sixties under US sponsorship. A comprehensive set of copies was prepared of extant material but owing largely to lack of both funds and qualified personnel this was not maintained. Gaps in this collection need to be filled and a comprehensive effort made to update current holdings. A research librarian would

find full employment in this job alone. Research results from a wide field need to be acquired including medicine, agriculture, forestry as well as the social sciences and the considerable number of project documents. The help of ORSTOM librarians has been solicited and a visit by an expert would be helpful.

There is a great deal that needs to be done. More than what should be attempted by two advisors whose primary qualifications are in field based research.

## RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

On the basis of the observations listed above, the following research and development subprojects are recommended. The categories are not mutually exclusive and identify concerns which provide a start to a process of bricolage: an exercise in which concrete projects and appropriate methodologies will be built in consultation with all those concerned, and optimum links developed between components.

### 1) RESEARCH

a) *Longitudinal studies of villages* where TRI researchers have a long standing relationship. The actual number and location of sites has yet to be determined. The following lend themselves to further investigation to measure and reconstruct the changes that have occurred and how villagers have responded. Micro study techniques will augment with regional surveys to provide cross cultural, inter-and intra-village information. Geographical survey data combined with anthropological analysis will provide a starting point for a more powerful elucidation of the current situation.

TRI researchers have established exceptionally good relations with several communities which present themselves as base camps for such work. Meo Mae Tho studied in the sixties by Geddes and Nusit Chindarsri and again in a TRI follow up study (1975), is of particular interest. Ban Luang, a Lahu village on the border between Amphoe Phrao, Chiang Mai and Amphoe Wiang Pa Pao, Chiang Rai is another good site studied by Sanit Wongsprasert and Walker. The work of Peter Hinton and Somphob Larchrojna conducted in the Pwo Karen village of Dong Luang, Amphoe Mae Sariang, Mae Hong Son is also of interest, as is Lisu Mae Taeng studied by Prasert Chaipigusit.

The mundane goal of such work would be, on the basis of good resource and population baseline surveys reconstruct objective measures of



change and, from extensive and/or carefully selected interviews, explore the dynamics of socio-economic and cultural change to secure the following benefits :

- establish what changes are occurring ;
- what these mean to the people who are experiencing them ;
- what difficulties are entailed ;
- what prognosis the community provides ;
- and make a study that will contribute to professional understanding of the change process.

Project work will also provide an opportunity for further collaborative work between project personnel and promote an exchange of views and understanding.

b) *A study of urbanisation* should also be considered. Many highlanders, especially younger people have taken up residence in towns like Chiang Mai and appear to prefer to remain in the city. The characteristics of this group should be better known including their age distribution, educational qualifications, citizenship status, residential pattern, occupation, and other factors relating to their experience. They may well be exploring the future of highlanders in Thailand as an urbanised population.

The expected benefits of such a study would be as follows :

- to identify the characteristics of highlanders who choose to change their place of residence (and life style ?) ;
- to review the conditions in which highlanders live in urban areas ;
- determine how long they intend to stay (permanent or temporary move ?) ;
- find out how well people cope with this move and what sort of contacts they maintain with family ;
- calculate how many highlanders are likely to choose this option especially if current military and forestry plans for relocation go ahead.

Some PhD work has already be carried out by foreign researchers [Tapp for the Hmong (London 1985), Vatikiotis for the Lisu and Akha (Oxford 1984)]. This work will be reviewed and findings checked for Chiang Mai before other provincial cities are considered for investigation.

c) *Nutrition*. Because of the strong emphasis current development work places on commercial cropping and the continuing decline of domestic food production, fears have been expressed by many qualified people that malnutrition is a serious problem and has largely been ignored. In a recent interview, the anthropologist Dr Leo Alting stated that many people known to him had « *died of diseases related to malnutrition* » [Living in Thailand, December 1985]. At an even more recent conference in Chiang Mai, an American anthropologist (Dr Robert Veyheid) who has specialised

in health issues, observed that « *the symptoms of malnutrition are evident in many places, but are most commonly seen among youngsters between the ages of one and four years of age... »*. The problem is not widely recognised, he stated, because development workers have not been trained to recognise the effects of malnutrition on their target populations. Another speaker at the same conference, Dr Birte Sorenson, a medical doctor and paediatrician, pointed out that the consequences of a poor diet « *could result in children... already disadvantaged politically growing up to be physically and mentally disadvantaged »*. (Payap/FAO Workshop on Data Requirements for Highland Farming System Development, 21-25 April, 1986).

There is an urgent need to establish the facts of the case. Fortunately the TRI has had the foresight to promote training of staff and a resident nutritionist researcher is available to set up the necessary work.

Assistance from ORSTOM would greatly enhance the effectiveness of this research by providing links with their staff.

The benefits expected to accrue from this work are as follows :

- the current nutritional status of highlanders would be better known ;
- if a crisis is indeed at all likely, proper steps can be taken in advance to avoid undue suffering ;
- detailed nutritional data would add significantly to information stored at the TRI which could be made available to development projects ;
- the impact on project planning could well change the current emphasis from commercial, to domestic, agricultural production ;
- this research would extend both the practical and scientific value of work conducted by the TRI.

As such work has yet to become firmly established at the TRI, and as resident ORSTOM expertise is not qualified or experienced in this field, additional support needs to be found. A joint project under which TRI staff could work with ORSTOM specialist consultants should be given serious consideration. A chance for the TRI specialist to visit on going ORSTOM projects would be timely.

d) *Evaluation of Technological Change*. Several project administrators and technical cooperation visitors have expressed the opinion that they would like to have access to information on the qualitative aspects of technological change. This interest, largely contained in the expectation that such work would concern itself almost exclusively with the impact of project work is also overdue. Deliberate attempts at bringing about change may be or no more successful than those which people accept of their own volition in their own good time. A good measure of change needs to be identified in which an attempt is made to separate general societal changes

from specific project changes. Then again, the broader relationship between technology and society needs to be better understood in a manner pioneered by the Frankfurt School of critical sociology (Adorno, Habermas, Marcus) and more importantly test the efficiency of new methodologies. A study mounted primarily within the practical limitations set by development projects as a training exercise in interview techniques would provide a practical starting point.

The expected gains from such an exercise would be as follows :

- provide project people with a direct and internal or inside evaluation of their work ;
- enable projects to design delivery systems that are better adjusted to villager attitudes and needs ;
- train researchers in interview techniques that will enable them to better cope with a more problematical area of social science, the place of opinions ;
- introduce researchers to a more critical school of social science ;
- identify new methodologies constructed and adapted from TRI research experience which will raise work above current routine and provide more sensitive access to information.

## 2) DEVELOPMENT

Development work is arbitrarily separated from research here because it involves a different set of skills and resources but this division should not be seen as more than a reporting expedience. Development work can not, in reality, be separated from research. For the purpose of this paper, we would like to discuss seven matters, library, audio-visual unit, the museum, research equipment, funding for publications, institutional affiliations and training. It is our opinion that each of these areas warrants attention.

a) *Library*. ORSTOM has made a firm commitment in both the original project document and in the subsequent first draft of the memorandum of understanding to help build up the library and to improve its overall standing as a documentation centre.

A modest request from the library has been considered and approved. Money has been put aside to meet the costs of, training the librarian in basic French, the purchase of filing cabinets, xeroxing and binding of documents, and acquisitions journey to Bangkok (for the librarian). Further work will be considered from time to time.

The need to build up a documentation centre, collect documents that are out of print, strengthen inter-institutional affiliations and cooperation

is overdue. Exactly how this ought to be done could profitably be considered by an appropriate library science expert. The project would welcome this type of assistance. Payap University has established an archive for materials on the north and what ever is done should be set up in consultation with them.

b) *Museum*. As consideration is being given to building a new museum, and as a constant stream of Thai and foreign visitors come to the TRI with the sole intention of seeing the displays, a good case can be made out for investing some basic professional support.

Consideration should be given to providing further training for the curator. A relevant, effective and inexpensive way of doing this would be for her to make a tour of smaller museums within the Pacific region (New Caledonia, Fiji, Vanuatu).

c) *Audio-Visual Unit*. Special attention has been given by the TRI to build up an audio-visual unit. The rationale underlying this development has clearly been the wish to more widely disseminate information available at the centre to a wider audience.

Materials prepared so far can be questioned for their ethnocentric content and technical limitations but the idea itself is good and should be encouraged. The list of topics which could be covered is long but those which touch the common experience of all people should be addressed first rather than the quaint or seemingly outlandish matters that tickle the fancy of sensation seeking tourists. Events of daily life such as, child bearing, death, marriage, swidden cultivation, opium production and malnutrition, deserve attention. There are opportunities here for ORSTOM film makers to work with people who know the field but lack the technical and financial resources to produce ethnographic films and recordings. Joint projects would serve well as both production and training opportunities. The high profile of film work would make an important contribution to informing the Thai public about the real situation in the highlands rather than repeating the half truths which now enjoy wide currency. Here again a reconnaissance visit by a specialist would be in order.

The frustration most often repeated by TRI staff is the units lack of equipment and obvious interest in doing video work. Several artists are employed to prepare displays, staff have access to a dark room well equipped for black and white work, sound gear and cameras are mostly about twenty years old. There is a collection of films in bad repair.

Much of what this equipment was designed to achieve could more successfully be accomplished with video gear. Instead of slide shows, more effective video presentations could be prepared using the same photographic resources. Film and sound recordings and documentaries could be made within the context of sponsored or assisted research and, with the

help of professionals, fed into a more effective and sophisticated information stream.

This matter will be the subject of a later memorandum being prepared by one of the authors of this paper.

d) *Research Equipment and Tools.* The project has already purchased two 16 byte IBM PC/XT compatible microcomputers, a printer and software for use on the dual drive, floppy disk system. Two small tape recorders have also been bought. These tools of trade update available equipment and anticipate developments in data management that will become increasingly important as researchers master the necessary operating skills and come to understand how their work load can be lightened and their analytical capability strengthened. As the demand for access to computers grows, the project should be in a position to respond. The memory of the machines now installed should be increased, a hard disk and graphic card added. The cost of other equipment needs can be built into specific undertakings and use demonstrated and incorporated into research work.

e) *Revolving Publication Fund.* Approval should be sought for the TRI to manage a publication fund with money earned from the sale of past publications (Hinton, Mc Kinnon & Wanat Bhruksasri). The authors who contributed to these publications did so on the understanding that any returns from sales beyond the costs of reproduction would be returned to the TRI to support subsequent publications. ORSTOM support for *Hill Tribes Today* is given in the same spirit. A revolving fund needs to be set up which can be operated independently by the TRI.

f) *Institutional Affiliations.* When the TRI was first set up its brief was to engage not only in research, principally of an anthropological nature but also to undertake the responsibility of training government and project personnel assigned to work in the highlands. The logical partner through which to promote this work was the newly established Chiang Mai University. For good pragmatic reasons this did not come about and the relationship with DPW has remained firm and productive in very practical ways.

It is our opinion that the time has come to review this affiliation. In the light of the critical observations offered above a case should be made out and consideration given to restructuring the TRI and its institutional affiliation in such a manner that would strengthen its independence, made more efficient use of both research results and qualified personnel.

It is difficult to exercise, from within the mainstream of the administrative system, the independence that it is so necessary for research (eg. to secure publication and travel funds, promote inter-institutional relations and etc.). It is also extremely difficult within a small isolated institution to maintain either a career structure which makes adequate acknowledgement

of peoples' training and experience or to offer proper promotional opportunities to in-house specialists like librarians, museum curators, photographers and so forth. These matters should also be examined from a planning perspective in which the objectives of the game are to optimise the use of available manpower, information and expenditure.

A wide range of options should be drawn up and a choice made that would better serve the interests of the nation. An independent national Hill Tribes Research Institute like those set up in China could be placed in a position to not only coordinate inter-disciplinary research but promote the establishment of a community of Thai academicians specialising in high-land studies. Such an institution would place researchers in a context within which it would be much easier for them to share the results of their work, increase the likelihood of cross fertilization and forge strong professional links with sister organisations in other countries. As a training and information centre covering agriculture, forestry, social science, medicine, administration, linguistics and the like it would contribute a great deal to overcoming endemic rivalries and breaking down the poor communications between departments, agencies and projects currently working in the highlands by providing a common alma mater.

Many other options could be considered. A closer affiliation with the National Research Council would provide a research partner more compatible with current needs. The University of Chiang Mai could also be considered as an institution with sufficiently broad affiliations to enable the TRI to operate more effectively and recruit highly qualified staff on transfer from around the country to conduct specific research projects. A broader based agency offering good career prospects, with better access to scarce research funds is necessary if the quality of research is to improve.

If it is considered appropriate the TRI-ORSTOM PROJECT could explore this issue and prepare more detailed preliminary recommendations.

g) *Training* is listed in the project document and the draft memorandum of understanding as an issue which both partners wish to explore. Some on-the-job-training has been undertaken and will be continued (eg. collaboration and consultation on pieces still being worked on for the *Hill Tribes Today* publication, funding training in computer use). Study tours should also be arranged to serve specific research needs (eg. nutrition study, resettlement problems, video production, museum management) which will enhance the capabilities of TRI staff and develop inter-institutional links. Scholarships should be secured on a preferential understanding from appropriate French and third country donors, especially for younger members of staff for whom the cross-cultural experience is essential. Details need to be worked out in consultation with all the cooperating administrative agencies.