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of
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A REPORT ON TRIBAL PEOPLES
IN
CHIENGRAI PROVINCE
NORTH OF THE MAE KOK RIVER

by
Lucien M. Hanks
Jane R. Hanks
Lauriston Sharp
Ruth B. Sharp

Comparative Studies of Cultural Change
Department of Anthropology
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York
1964

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INTRODUCTION

In 1963, the Department of Anthropology at Cornell University contracted with the Agency for International Development to conduct applied social science research. A principal goal of this research is to aid foreign government officials and Agency for International Development project administrators, technicians, policy and program planners to arrive at sound policy decisions through a better understanding of the total socio-economic context of the problems to be solved. The research also aims toward improving the long range planning of U.S. assistance programs. One of the specific problem areas the Cornell research group has undertaken to analyze is that of the integration of tribal, ethnic and other **subordinated** subcultural groups into national societies.

One member of the Cornell University Department of Anthropology, Professor Lauriston Sharp, spent the period from September of 1963 to August of 1964 in Thailand studying precisely this problem supported in part by funds from Contract AID/csd-296. In cooperation with Drs. Lucien M. Hanks and Jane R. Hanks of Bennington College, who are also Research Associates of the Cornell University Department of Anthropology, Sharp surveyed hill tribesmen in Northern Thailand. Now subject to

significant demographic and cultural pressures from Thai, the northern hill tribes have been little studied. Few facts about them are available to permit rational planning or policy formulation. Sharp and the Hanks have contributed materially to knowledge of the tribal villagers. This trio transmitted a report on its research findings concerning tribal peoples in Chiengrai Province directly to the government of Thailand on 5 August 1964. The report constitutes a noteworthy example of applied anthropology which uncovers basic social and cultural facts and communicates them to responsible decision-makers. It is reproduced, **therefore**, for the information and use of the Agency for International Development. The recommendations and conclusions of the authors are, of course, their own, and do not reflect the policy of the Agency for International Development or any other sponsor.

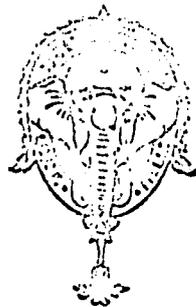
Henry F. Dobyns

BENNINGTON-CORNELL ANTHROPOLOGICAL SURVEY OF
HILL TRIBES IN THAILAND

A REPORT ON TRIBAL PEOPLES IN CHIENGRAI PROVINCE
NORTH OF THE MAE KOK RIVER

DATA PAPER NUMBER 1

1964



THE SIAM SOCIETY

Under Royal Patronage

BANGKOK

2507

Letter of Transmittal

The Siam Society
Bangkok, Thailand

5 August 1964

To:
The Director of the National Research Council
The Director of the Public Welfare Department
The President of the Siam Society

Your Highness, Gentlemen:

We have the honor to present to you this report concerning the tribal peoples of Chiengrai Province north of the Mae Kok River. Because of its roughness and incompleteness, we offer it with apologies; yet its possible usefulness to the many already at work on problems of the hill tribes made us decide to offer this document now rather than wait for a year or more for a final report. We hope it may be acceptable in this spirit.

We offer this report also as a contribution to research which has become an integral part of governing. In the past the Thai Government has drawn on research to define the nature of its problems. From such research official policy emerges.

In dealing with tribal people the government has again recognized the need for research. The Socio-Economic Survey of Hill Tribes in Northern Thailand by the Department of Public Welfare in the Ministry of the Interior, published in 1962, is but the first evidence of research allied with governing the hill peoples. The establishment of a Tribal Research Center is a further outgrowth of this recognition. Our research merely follows this already established precedent.

We are well aware that our recommendations add little that has not already been recommended in the 1962 report of the Socio-Economic Survey of Hill Tribes in Northern Thailand. Indeed, many of the recommendations of this 1962 report, we are happy to observe, are being implemented at present. If the present report has value, we see

/ourselves

ourselves as independent observers confirming the general recommendations already made by earlier research and underscoring their urgency. In addition, we late comers to the scene have possibly been able to build a little further on the results of earlier research, for now we can assume the Tribal Welfare Station, the Tribal Research Center, and the Mobile Development Teams.

Finally, we wish to express our gratitude for the invaluable cooperation of your institutions which made this research and this report possible. Your sponsorship was indispensable to our work, and we hope that this preliminary report may in some small measure repay your kindness.

Very truly yours,

Lucien M. Hanks
Jane R. Hanks
Lauriston Sharp
for the
Bennington-Cornell Anthropological Survey
of Hill Tribes in Thailand

Foreword

During eight months of the year 2506-2507 Bennington College and Cornell University jointly conducted a survey of hill tribes in north Thailand which was designed to investigate systematically the relationships of the inhabitants of defined upland tracts to the land, to each other, and to peoples of the adjacent lowland plains. Members of the survey group spent one month (August) on a reconnaissance of the northern provinces to determine suitable working areas; two months (November and December, heavy October rains preventing an earlier ascent to the hills) were spent working out from the Public Welfare Department's Nikhom Chiengdao, a tribal welfare station in Mae Taeng District, Chiangmai Province, some seventy kilometers by road north of Chiangmai, where study of Lahu and Meo villages helped define problems and develop methods of operating under field conditions; and five months (January through May) were devoted to conducting the survey in the region of Chiengrai Province bounded on the south and east by the Mae Kok River and on the north and west by the Lao and Burma borders. A preliminary summary of data collected in the Mae Kok Region, as we have called it, is presented in this report, together with a discussion of the major policy problems to which these data, in our opinion, are relevant.

This ethno-ecological survey of tribal conditions in a region of north Thailand was planned to help fill an obvious gap in the meager information available on the hill peoples. What little material has been published on the area deals almost exclusively with particular ethnic groups or specific village communities among hill tribes such as the Akha, Karen, Lahu, Lawa, Khmu, Meo, and so on. The relations between the villages of any one tribe, between such villages and the villages of other tribes, between inhabitants of the hill tracts and other ethnic groups dwelling in the lowlands, or between any or all of these and agencies of the Thai government are matters on which there is almost no published information. A survey such as the one reported on here seemed an essential prerequisite to more detailed studies of the complicated networks of human relationships which follow the rivers and the upland trails from the market towns and District Offices of the Chiengrai plains through the hills and along the ridges and over the ranges to Lao and Burma and beyond.

In presenting this report, we would emphasize the word preliminary. Only a portion of the data which we gathered is given, then often by sampling rather than complete presentation. We have included only minimal reference to the work that has gone before us and no comparison of our findings with those of other studies. Instead we have sought to make our findings

/quickly

quickly available to the agencies of the Thai government and professional co-workers, for they, already actively at work with the hill tribes, would be inconvenienced by waiting a year or two for a fuller report. Our recommendations may have value from our position as independent witnesses. Where these recommendations agree with current practices or future plans, we hope they may reinforce the sense of need. Where our recommendations diverge from those of our co-workers, we have not benefitted from discussion with them but speak with innocent candor rather than criticism. If our views have added new or useful insights into current problems of the hill tribes, we shall be grateful.

The Bennington-Cornell survey received financial support from the National Science Foundation and from Cornell University. In Thailand the survey was sponsored by the National Research Council; the Division of Hill Tribes, Department of Public Welfare, Ministry of the Interior; and the Siam Society, all of whom have given invaluable aid, logistic support, and encouragement to the work of the survey. Both in Bangkok and in the field our work was made easier by drawing upon the readily shared experiences, publications and facilities of the Public Welfare Department. Members of the survey group owe a special debt of gratitude to the staffs of the sponsoring bodies, to members of the Border Police Patrol and other local officials

of the Ministry of the Interior, to missionaries of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship and the Church of Christ in Thailand, and to many other individuals who shared with us on the trails and in the towns their skills and their specialized knowledge of the area and peoples surveyed.

The following persons were members of the research group for longer or shorter periods and each has contributed an important share to the work of the survey.

Miss Chamrieng Bhavichatra
M.R. Wutilert Devakula
Miss Chalernsri Dhamnabutra
Mr. Pramote Nakornthab
Mr. Sirin Nimmanahaeminda
Mrs. Ruth B. Sharp
Mr. Suthep Soonthornpeset
Mr. Edward Van Roy
Mr. William H. Wohnus

Lucien M. Hanks
Bennington College

Jane R. Hanks
Cornell University

Lauriston Sharp
Cornell University

On board
m.s. "SAIBURI"
Gulf of Siam
12 July 2507

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The following bibliography has been supplied and annotated through the kindness of Dr. Hans Manndorff, United Nations Advisor on Anthropology to the Division of the Hill Tribes, Department of Public Welfare, Ministry of the Interior. After a pre-publication reading of our report, he indicated the need for at least this minimal reference to existing work, and we are grateful to him for this helpful addition.

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2. United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, Division of Social Affairs, Report on a Field Trip undertaken in connection with the Project on a Socio-Economic Survey of the Hill Tribes of North Thailand. Bangkok, March - April 1961 (Mimeographed).
3. Ministry of Interior, Department of Public Welfare, Report on the Socio-Economic Survey of the Hill Tribes in Northern Thailand. Bangkok 1962.

This report has become an authoritative source of information and its recommendations and conclusions are used as a basis of the present Hill Tribe Development and Welfare Programme as carried out by the

x

Ministry of Interior. The field study was conducted from October 1961 to May 1962 with the support of organizations such as the Asia Foundation, ECAFE and United Nations which provided technical assistance and advisory services of an expert in anthropological research. Cooperation was also received from the Siam Society, USOM and from the Border Patrol Police.

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12. Laurence C. Judd, Dry Rice Agriculture in Northern Thailand. Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, Ithaca, 1964. (Data Paper Number 52).

Finally, an earlier source might be mentioned:

13. Hugo Bernatzik, Akha und Meau. Probleme der angewandten Völkerkunde in Hinterindien. 2 vol. Innsbruck, 1947.

/Although

Although this book is an account of field research undertaken in 1936/37 it is still the only anthropological monograph on hill tribes of Thailand today. Several sections of this book deal with problems relevant to the topics under discussion.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

Since the tribal villages of the Mae Kok Region may be approaching the limits of their ability to support themselves by shifting agriculture, we advise studies to ascertain the minimum and optimum resources of soil, timber and water necessary to support the population. If this research confirms our impression and further immigration threatens overpopulation, we believe resettlement of population in other hill regions will be necessary. Research in the techniques of raising upland rice will help in the future to stabilize some villages, but the most immediate means is the introduction of wet-rice culture to villages already interested, along with new methods for raising livestock. Though improvement of the cash economy seems less urgent than the subsistence economy, we expect cash income to increase as research demonstrates ways of improving the present cash crops and discovers additional ones suitable for the region, but training in marketable skills may begin at once. The introduction of tools leading to industrial development of hill resources must not be neglected. Marketing of native crafts, especially textiles, should be supported - with adequate protection of quality - less perhaps for the cash income it may produce than to provide employment, particularly for women and children during the period of assimilation when it will be important to maintain work habits, morale or

xiv

ethnic identity.

Due to rapid expansion of government services to the hill region, confusion of duties and functions has occurred at several points in the government structure. . Every effort should be made to straighten out these serious difficulties on a local or district basis, it being recognized that this may well require initial action and support by higher levels of government. Only if these efforts fail should radical administrative reorganization be considered. Governing would also become more effective by greater use of tribal languages and the employment of a corps of competent interpreters. Its effectiveness would also increase with better understanding of customary law, tribal government, and related aspects of religion. A medical survey, an extended program of immunization and the establishing of clinics will meet current health problems at least temporarily. Since interest in education occurs in only a few villages, we advise concentrating efforts in these villages where interest lies and introducing professional teachers to hold classes during the dry season. At the same time interest in education may be stimulated by teaching literacy in the tribal languages and by developing a program of radio broadcasts directed to the expanding interests of various tribal peoples.

Friction between Thai and uplanders is retarding assimilation of tribal people. A prolonged campaign on many levels is

/necessary

necessary to increase the respect of both groups for the other.

To enrich the program of the Division of the Hill Tribes, the staff should become familiar with the minority group programs of other countries and visit those countries where problems and methods of solution appear relevant. Since development of the program depends on many kinds of research, we suggest the selection of a group of technical consultants on sciences related to tribal welfare; these technical consultants may advise on research at the Tribal Research Institute and recommend action to the Division of the Hill Tribes.

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DESCRIPTION OF THE MAE KOK REGION

Introduction

At the beginning of our study we planned to visit all tribal villages in the hill region of Chiengrai Province that lay north of the Mae Kok River and west of the highway from the city of Chiengrai to the Burma border at Mae Sai. We would visit not only the upland tribal villages but also upland and lowland Thai villages and market towns that border on the tribal area. Before many weeks the plan had to be changed. Three tribal villages lay to the east of the region which we had designated. Tribal people were moving back and forth from Laos and Burma. Among them lived Shan, Karen and Yunan Chinese. Because of two international borders we were observing the effects of past and present civil disturbances abroad, for displaced people from the nearby countries had moved to the region. Not only the decisions of the Thai government but, indirectly, the decisions of governments in Laos, Burma and China were affecting the region. The scene had both local and international reference.

Our anthropological survey began in January and ended in May, 2507. During this period we gained information on what appear to be all tribal (Akha, Lahu, Lissu and Yao) villages of the area north of the Mae Kok River. There are 130 villages, of which we visited 122. In addition we surveyed 6 Thai, 5

/Karen

Karen, 4 Shan and 3 Chinese villages, as well as certain military encampments. Interviews also took place with representative provincial, district and local Thai officials. In each village our survey team gathered information on the geography necessary to locate the village on a map, on its population and on certain of its socio-economic and cultural features. This report includes data gathered by others and estimates by ourselves, though we shall distinguish these two sources of information from our own first hand observations.

Geography

We shall use the word region to mean the setting of our entire project in the Province of Chiengrai; area refers to a particular part of the region such as the "southwest area". The region north of the Mae Kok River which we shall call the Mae Kok Region, is a segment of the extensive Mae Kong drainage system. All streams flow east from the hills into the broad plain which forms the valley of the Mae Kong River. There the great bulk of the Thai population lives cultivating its paddy fields. Some low-lying, scrub-covered hills rise in these plains, and a few tribal people have moved into some of them to build their villages. But in the main the plains form the setting for lowland Thai culture. From the plain 400 meters above sea level the hills to the west rise to peaks

/varying

varying from approximately 1200 to 1900 meters. Here live the tribal people cultivating upland rice. Though at first the steep-rising hills seem chaotic, a little familiarity reveals their pattern. The hills form a great basin with the highest ranges lying to the north and west along the Burma border. To the south lower hills form the bank of the Mae Kok River. Between this south ridge and the Burma border lie parallel rows of hills running east and west, separated by subsidiary streams. From north to south these streams are the Mae Kham, the Mae Salong and the Mae Chan.

When the upland people clear their fields of brush and weeds before planting, the typical red soil of the region becomes prominent. Black granular and sandy soils occur much less frequently in this well-watered area. These soils overlie a base that appears to be predominantly limestone. Hardwood forest once covered most of the area, but where hill people have cleared fields and the vegetation cycle has begun again, bamboo grows. There, in the shade of these bamboos, seedlings of hardwood trees may take root to begin the forest again.

/ Population

Population

In discussing the population of our region, we use two words with somewhat special meaning. We shall speak of an ethnic group and of a tribal group. We use ethnic when we emphasize the particular cultural tradition of a people, as distinct from its nationality, religion or race. Thus in the region we encountered eight differing ethnic groups: Thai, Shan, Yunan Chinese, Karen, Lissu, Yao, Lahu and Akha. Since three of these peoples lack tribal identity, when we speak of tribal groups, we mean particularly the Karen, Lissu, Yao, Lahu and Akha.

The region of our study consists of four districts (amphoe). Three districts include substantial sections of the hill region. The District of Chiengsaen to the east contains but two tribal villages in its low hills. The following tables enumerate the upland villages, houses and population for each district. Because the District of Mae Chan is heavily populated in several tambons, we also give our ~~enumeration~~ enumeration for the tambons of this district.

A word of caution is necessary in order not to misinterpret these tables. We assigned a village to a particular ethnic group when a majority of the household heads of a given village belonged to that ethnic group. If a village contains

/four

Total number of villages, households and
tribal peoples by tambon and district of the
Mae Kok region

* District of Mae Chan

	Tambon Mae Kham			Tambon Pasang			Tambon Mae Chan		
	<u>Vill.</u>	<u>House</u>	<u>Pop.</u>	<u>Vill.</u>	<u>House</u>	<u>Pop.</u>	<u>Vill.</u>	<u>House</u>	<u>Pop.</u>
Akha	23	443	2774	18	313	1983	4	48	311
Lahu	9	69	314	5	79	454	15	145	844
Yao	-	-	-	1	41	291	7	107	668
Lissu	1	62	366	3	38	252	5	63	414
Karen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shan	-	-	-	2	17	64*	-	-	-
Chinese	1	105	438*	1	16	69*	-	-	-
Total:	34	679	3892	30	509	3113	31	363	2237

	District of Mae Chan (total)			District of Chiengsaen			District of Mae Sai		
	<u>Vill.</u>	<u>House</u>	<u>Pop.</u>	<u>Vill.</u>	<u>House</u>	<u>Pop.</u>	<u>Vill.</u>	<u>House</u>	<u>Pop.</u>
Akha	45	809	5068	2	39	187	4	91	555
Lahu	29	293	1612	-	-	-	2	34	188
Yao	8	148	959	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lissu	9	163	1032	-	-	-	-	-	-
Karen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shan	2	17	64*	1	100	432	-	-	-
Chinese	2	121	507*	-	-	-	1	150	1558*
Total	95	1551	9242	3	139	619	7	275	2301

Total number of villages, households and tribal peoples by tambon and district of the Mae Kok region (cont'd.)

	District of Myang Chiengrai			Total for Mae Kok Region		
	<u>Vill.</u>	<u>House</u>	<u>Pop.</u>	<u>Vill.</u>	<u>House</u>	<u>Pop.</u>
Akha	4	60	471	55	999	6281
Lahu	19	188	1024	50	515	2824
Yao	2	17	126	10	165	1085
Lissu	-	-	-	9	163	1032
Karen	6	169	967	6	169	967
Shan	1	32	151*	4	149	647*
Chinese	-	-	-	3	271	2065*
Total:	32	466	2739	137	2431	14901

*These totals are the number of Shan and Chinese villages surveyed, not the total of the Shan and Chinese villages in any tambon or district.

four Lahu household heads and three Lissu household heads, we have called it a Lahu village. This definition gives a particular meaning to our totals, for in our total for this village we speak of seven households, as if all of them were Lahu. For purposes of this census the three Lissu households have become Lahu. So when we speak of the total households or people in a tambon or district, these ethnically mixed totals contain in varying degrees minor admixtures of other tribal people. They are not the total number of ethnic Karen, Lissu, Yao, etc. households or people. They are the stated number of households and people of varying kinds living in villages which we have defined as Karen, Lissu, Yao, etc.

Population characteristics: We have endeavored to gain a picture of the tribal population by studying a sample of 5,530 people from the total. Though in gathering our data we did not distinguish the sex of the inhabitants, we gained a rough indication of age groupings by asking our informants to count adults and children separately. Most tribal people have fixed on fifteen years of age as the time when a child becomes an adult. This gives a convenient approximation for comparison. Among the people of our sample, 47.0% are classifiable as children and may be compared roughly with 37.4% for India and 26.9% for the United States. Our data on births correspond badly with what we believe probable. We estimate a crude birth rate of

/about

about 40 per 1000, as compared with 24 to 33 for India and 17 to 25 for U.S.A. Data on deaths seem reasonable, for deaths in a tribal village are specially marked occasions. Per 100 of the population there are 25.1 deaths, compared with 10 to 23 for India and 9 to 10 for U.S.A. This is a population with an apparently high birth rate, a high death rate, and, we infer, a low life expectancy. From tribal group to tribal group there are considerable variations; Lahu and Akha seem to have greater numbers of children and shorter life expectancy than Yao and Lissu, but our numbers are too small to make this assertion reliable.

Migration

By observing the distribution of population in the various tambons and districts, we can see the points of highest concentration. Then, knowing some of the history of the individual villages, we can infer migration. The Akha concentrate most heavily in Tambon Mae Kham on the Burma border and become fewer as one moves through tambons Pasang and Mae Chan to the Chiengrai district. Most Akha villages report having moved from Burma within the past 50 years, and old inhabitants of Mae Chan recall when there were no Akha villages in the hills. Thus the Akha seem to be the most recent migrants into the region.

/ The

The concentration of Lahu almost reverses that of the Akha. It is heaviest in the Chiengrai district and diminishes as one moves northward through the tambons of Mae Chan to the Burma border. Except for one new village in Mae Kham (Calae) these Lahu villages report having lived for as long as they can remember in Thailand, often in the same area. Old inhabitants in Mae Chan confirm that Lahu have always been present in the region within the span of their memories.

We can infer less from the distribution of the Lissu villages. The major concentration lies farther south beyond the Mae Kok River. Lissu report having lived in the area for considerable lengths of time, except for the single village of Ban Pang Nun and its new off-shoot, Huei Mak. The Lissu villages tend to be larger than the Lahu, and at least three or four large villages formerly existed in the region. Instead of moving short distances, like the Lahu, the majority moved outside our region south to Doi Chang and beyond.

The foregoing Tribes all came south through Burma. The Yao, however, moved in from Laos. The majority of them came about the time of World War II, moved for a few years to the Mae Chan district and thence by large leaps south into the hills between the provinces of Chiengrai and Chiengmai. The major concentration in Mae Chan is the residual of this migration. The two Yao villages in the Chiengrai district are

/exceptions

exceptions, for they moved into the region from Laos more than 100 years ago.

The Karen, settling always in the lowland of the Mae Kok valley, report having come from Lampang and Chiangmai provinces. The first village reached the area about forty years ago, and the present five villages are still being filled each year by new migrants from these same provinces.

Though evidence is incomplete, the movement of tribal peoples from Burma into Thailand appears to have begun within the last 150 to 100 years. Red Lahu and Lissu were the first migrants, Akha and other Lahu groups following. We believe another major migration route proceeds south and west in the Chiang Khong District where Meo as well as Yao live today.

Transportation

Roads by and large have been made for bullock carts and connect lowland villages. They may also lead along the valley bottoms near some stream into the hills, but generally a short distance beyond the last village they end in some bushy field where the hills rise steeply. At this point the main trails take over, serving only man and his pack animals. They follow the ridges, cut across valleys, and rise again to the heights. Beyond the main trails lie secondary ones where the grade is

/too

too steep or the clearing of jungle too haphazard to risk going even with a sure-footed mule.

A single motor road into the hills has been constructed by the Tribal Welfare Station; it branches from the Chiengrai - Mae Sai highway at Mae Kham, following some eighteen odd kilometers along the Mae Salong River to the Station and thence to two tribal villages. One may also approach the hills from the main highway by side roads at Huei Krai, Mae Kham, Mae Chan, Bang Du, and across the Mae Kok River from the city of Chiengrai at Ban Rong Sya Ten. These roads lead along streams for three to fifteen kilometers and at some risk are usable in proper season by automobiles.

Five east-and-west main trails run along the ridges, one at the Burma border, others at the north sides of the Mae Kham, Mae Salong, Mae Chan and Mae Kok rivers. A sixth trail follows the Mae Kok River, connecting Chiengrai with Myang Ngam and Ta Thuan but is little used by tribal people who prefer the heights. A seventh trail goes diagonally northwest, approximately from the Tribal Welfare Station to Ban Pang Nun in the northwest corner of the region. In addition two trails run north and south; one with alternative routes parallels the western border connecting Ban Pang Nun with Myang Ngam in the southwest corner. A second cuts diagonally southwest from Doi Tung via Saen Chai and crosses the Mae Kok hills near Doi Bau on its way to Doi Chomphu.

Government Services

Government services to the hill region center at the District Offices, and reach only the most accessible villages of the region. The District Officers and their aides have had occasions to visit few that lie deeper in the hills. Some kamnan and village headmen consider it a part of their duties to visit the more remote spots within their jurisdiction; and others have appointed Thai who reside in outlying villages to assist them. From Chiengrai the provincial police in the course of its duties has penetrated over the years most corners of the hills within the District of Chiengrai, but this body does not station permanent forces in the area. In other districts the Border Police is stationed more or less permanently in seven villages: Ban Doi Sango in Chiengsaen, Phami in Mae Sai, and in Mae Chan at Ban Pang Nun, Hin Taek, Caculaba, Saen Chai and Phale. Border Police Assistants of Scouts in an estimated five other villages have the duty of reporting events of interest.

This is approximately the scene when the Tribal Welfare Station entered in August 2506 to build its first roads and buildings. Its presence is felt most in the neighboring villages of Phale and Saen Chai. From these villages, tribal people have come to earn money helping construct its facilities

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and carry out its first trials of new upland crops. The road it has built together with its motor vehicles have already introduced a new era by bringing hundreds of lowlanders to the hills and uplanders to the plains. As the services of this new agency expand, government will have increasing influence in the region.

Security

Because of the presence of an international border, the problems of maintaining peace in this region are somewhat special. Before turning to the international aspects, let us consider local problems. Each tribal village has its own customary means for dealing with disturbances of the peace. In certain tribes, elders acting as judges exact fines, indemnify the aggrieved, and may even have power to exile or execute offenders. None of our data concerns disputes between villages of the same tribe, yet we have heard that in such cases persons of tribal repute in the area are called to judge the cases. Between villages of differing tribal affiliation, disputes seem minimal perhaps because of the relative ease of moving a village; certainly no violence occurred during our stay between villages of the region. We did encounter cases of civil dispute between villages where the aggrieved people appealed to the Border Police or a nearby Thai village headman

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to act as mediator. Where the decision was unacceptable to both parties, the contestants appealed to a higher official.

Though the hills were relatively quiet, along the eastern fringe where contact between tribal and Thai villages is most frequent, friction has developed at many points. Its usual manifestation is frequent thefts and apparently wanton destruction of property by Thai villagers. Indeed, Thai villagers can easily make away with untended tribal buffalo, cattle, pigs and chickens. Tribal people have further accused Thai villagers of setting fire prematurely to fields, and theft or destruction of crops. On the other hand the Thai villagers complained of favoritism shown tribal people; for example, in cases of arrest for cutting forest trees the courts have sometimes dealt leniently with tribal offenders on the grounds that they have always cut the forest in the past without hesitation. In the great majority of losses suffered by tribal villages, prosecution of a case has been difficult because of insufficient evidence. Though courts have awarded indemnity to tribal people, these cases are not sufficiently numerous to overcome tribal suspicion that Thai law enforcement agencies are slow in protecting them. Let it be said, however, that in the jurisdiction of certain headman and kamnan friction between Thai and tribal people seemed minimal and the number of breaches of the peace relatively small, e.g. at Mae Kham and Huei Yano.

/ Special

Special problems of security arise because of the presence of the international border. Trails lead between Burma and Thailand at many points. Though few of these trails appear to be guarded, police and civil officials may have good intelligence concerning the traffic that passes over them. Generally the border can be crossed with ease by foreign agents as well as refugees, by smugglers as well as honest traders. We have no information to say whether the easy passage of these people constitutes a threat to national security in Thailand. The most serious disturbance of the peace for tribal villages was organized groups of bandits which raided villages and withdrew into Burma. Though district and provincial authorities have been quick to send limited tangible relief to afflicted villages, the Border Police with five to ten men in the area can take few steps to prevent recurrence. At best the Border Police has issued a few arms to certain villages and encouraged villagers to defend themselves.

Complicating local affairs, an irregular but disciplined foreign army has received asylum on Thai soil in the west of this region. Some observers claim that this army, several thousand in number, has assisted in preserving the peace. These people point to the shooting of certain outlaws and to less frequent raids by bandit groups across the Burma border since the foreign army has moved in. Indeed, the two raids

of this past year took place in an area without military outposts of this group. However, the very presence of this army has in itself created some disturbances. Runaways from military discipline have been pursued and shot near tribal villages. We know of at least one case of friction between this military group and a tribal village, where two soldiers were shot. Had it not been for the intervention of Thai officials, more lives might have been lost. Thus this army is not an unmixed benefit for maintaining the peace of the region.

A further problem related to the international border concerns refugees. We estimate that during the past year 1,000 tribal people crossed into this region of Thailand, declaring themselves to have left their villages because of inability to live under existing civil conditions in Burma. One observer of the tribal scene indicated that if a mass exodus of tribal peoples were to occur, their numbers might reach more than 20,000. Aside from considerations of political subversion and diplomatic relations to friendly powers, the possibility of settling this many tribal people presents many problems, particularly in an area which we believe to be approaching already the natural limits for supporting a population with present techniques of agriculture and husbandry. A semi-starving, restless population of tribal people in this area may itself become a source of national embarrassment.

Mobility of Settlements

Tribal people move their villages in the face of some crisis. We have noted already that villages move because of civil disturbances, but the most frequently given reason for moving is the desire for better land. However, the readiness to move varies considerably from tribe to tribe in a complex manner. Karen, Lissu and Yao villages move less frequently than Akha and Lahu. In the Mae Kok valley the Karen have succeeded in settling more or less permanently by cultivating wet rice. Lissu and Yao tend to choose sites for their villages with the expectation of having a large settlement and hence seek sites with abundant fertile land. The Akha also consider sickness and death to be sufficient reasons for moving a village at least a short distance. The Lahu not only move because of sickness and poor crops associated with an old site but, judging by the light construction of their houses and frequently small accumulation of property, we believe they are more prepared to move than other tribes. The social organization of a village may also have a bearing. The Lissu seem able to ride out the death of ordinary people without moving a village, but the death of a headman is a signal to move. In contrast Karen and Yao villages continue past the death or immigration of a leader, as if an orderly mode of succession had been worked

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out. Possibly these latter villages are organized on corporated principles, while the Lissu depend on personal loyalty to a headman for sustaining their villages.

Preliminary inspection of our data indicates a low positive correlation between village size and duration of a village at a particular site. This correlation is clearest with the Lissu and Lahu, becoming unclear with the Akha who renew their villages on a new site every five to ten years. With the Yao the correlation is also lower because many of the villages are new, as if the past few years had been a period of reorganization. A correlation between size and stability might be expected on several grounds. Large villages tend to occur in areas where the land is fertile, and fertile land in abundance not only attracts but can support more people. After reaching a certain size, a village becomes too inert to move easily as a body. A few households can and do move away according to their inclinations without disrupting the body of the village, and if the village is sufficiently renowned, new households attracted by the village move in to replace them.

Among all tribes a new village site must have sufficient fertile land near the village, wood for housebuilding as well as for fuel, and a good source of water. Though particular altitudes are reported from Yunan and Laos to be preferred by

/certain

certain tribes, we have been unable to find altitude uniformities in the locations of tribal villages of this region. Occasionally villagers stated that they moved to a higher altitude to find cooler temperatures, but all tribes covered the complete range from the valley to near the peak. Certain tribes, however, indicated topographical preferences, like the Akha who sought hill tops or shoulders midway up a mountain to locate their villages. Lahu villages were almost always on a shoulder midway up a mountain. Yao and Lissu, on the other hand, occupied sizable flat areas regardless of position on a hill; they said they wanted places where many households could live together.

Aside from the village site itself, the inhabitants lay claim to certain of the surrounding areas for their own cultivation. Though we have not studied concrete examples, village lands appear to be fairly precisely defined and separated from the lands of other villages. A new village seeking to find a site for settling ordinarily consults headmen of nearby villages to find unused land before selecting the spot for residing. When Lahu refugees from Burma moved into the Tribal Welfare Station and were settled by the director, the neighboring Akha village of Saen Chai objected, declaring that the new comers had settled on their lands.

/Addressing

Addressing the leader of the refugee group, the Akha said, "We would be glad if you went somewhere else." It appeased the Akha wrath little to learn that the Welfare Station's director had settled the Lahu, and that they would probably remain only until after the growing season.

Basic Economy

Aside from the Karen, who raise both wet and upland rice, all tribal villages of the region grow upland rice for people and maize for their animals. In addition many vary their diets a bit with such produce as soy beans, peanuts, pumpkins, squash, peppers, various tubers, bananas, pineapples and tobacco. The key to subsistence, however, lies in the size and constancy of the rice crop, for the other foods merely supplement rice. We obtained in each village an estimate of the rice produced over the past three years by the person interviewed. Usually our informant was the village headman, and we asked him also how much rice his household needed for a year. Though our technique was not precise, we do have a rough relative measure of this year's crop as compared with the two preceding years.

To obtain some idea of the economy in abbreviated form, we have taken a sample of thirty villages which we hope may be representative. They come from two areas of the region: the

/northwest

northwest and southeast. This group contains 15 Akha, 11 Lahu, 2 Yao, 1 Lissu and 1 Karen villages.

Altogether 90 crops of rice were raised in 30 villages over a period of three years. Of this number of crops 33 reached or exceeded the amount deemed necessary for a year's consumption. In 20 of these 33 crops there occurred a surplus that ranged from 5 to 460% above estimated needs, averaging 117%. The 57 crops which were deficient ranged in loss between 4 and 100%, averaging 40% below estimated needs. Our data further show that in only six of the thirty villages where the crops were grown was there a uniformity of production over three years. Twenty-four villages had crops that varied more than 25%. Of the six cases that produced little variation, only four filled their stated needs for a three-year period. These four villages were of all tribal affiliations and were located both in the northwest and southeast areas.

Unfortunately these data give us no means of knowing whether the rice produced in the region is sufficient for its needs or not. Our impression is, however, that the rice is only barely sufficient and the crop highly unpredictable for any one village from year to year. Headmen in certain areas reported difficulties in finding villages with a surplus to sell. We encountered not infrequently tribal people returning

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to their villages with rice bought in the lowlands. Furthermore the presence of the foreign army, which provides no more than 40% of its own rice needs, is quick to buy up surpluses in the villages. These soldiers too report having to spend many days and travel far to obtain their rice.

Certainly agricultural experts refer to soil conditions most frequently to explain good and bad crops, and tribal people also blame poor soil as the chief cause of poor crops. All villages in our sample cleared new fields each year, and the best crops came from clearing uncut forest. Only in a few Yao villages, not included in our sample, do we find a rotation system for a field of two years' fallow between crops. In a few villages people grow peppers as a cash crop one year followed the next by a rice crop; after that they abandon the field. Besides misjudgment of soil fertility, tribal people offered further explanations for crop variation, such as insufficient rains, drying winds and rats. Among the causes over which man may exert greater control, tribal people blamed poor clearing, poor seed, late planting, poor preparation of the soil and insufficient weeding. However, they also mentioned sickness, civil disturbances and moving a village as contributing factors to making poor crops. During the growing season labor is in demand; any prolonged diversion of it cuts deeply into the size of the harvest.

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The raising of pigs and chickens is a second feature of tribal economy. All thirty of our sample villages reported keeping not only these animals but many also raised cattle, horses, goats, buffalo and dogs, which the Akha use as food. The ordinary household consumes one pig a year at the New Year celebration. Chickens form the exceptional food for visiting guests and other special occasions. Only in case of sickness or some important ceremonial occasion are these animals, particularly the larger ones, killed for food. Yet when these animals are abundant, a household usually eats more richly. Wild animals, said to have been abundant until twenty or thirty years ago, have become relatively scarce. Though occasional barking deer, monkeys, gibbons and small birds supplement the diet, hunting is now a minor source of food in the region.

In the thirty villages were an average of 6.6 pigs owned by the persons interviewed, with a range from 1 to 22. Chickens averaged 17.3 with a range from 0 to 80. Comparing the two areas from which the villages were selected, significant differences exist only in the number of chickens and the number of cattle and buffalo. The southeast has a considerably greater number of chickens; in cattle and buffalo the northwest is superior. Conceivably some of these differences between the areas are due to tribal preferences; the Akha, for
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example, keep cattle and buffalo for sacrifice at funerals, and more Akha are present in the northwest area than in the southeast. Differences in the number of chickens would have been smaller, had the major flock in the northwest not died in an epidemic during the past year.

The size of a herd of assorted livestock varies with the sickness and health as well as the ceremonial obligations of the owner. In a healthy family, sacrifices need not be made. As a person rises in status with his village, his obligations to feed people increase, so that headmen and spirit doctors are apt to have larger herds than the average villager. In addition the health and vigor of these animals depends on the success of the crops raised by the owner. While all animals forage for a portion of their food, twice a day they gather at the owner's door for more substantial fare. When the crops are good, more maize is added to the pig swill, and more paddy is thrown to the chickens. There are differences among tribal groups in feeding practices, the Yao, for instance, adding more grain to the feed for their animals and using smaller quantities of banana stalk. The general vigor of their animals reflects this diet.

/Distribution of Wealth

Distribution of Wealth

On the basis of the foregoing considerations, the number of animals owned by a man may serve as a rough index of his wealth. If at the same time we may accept this index of wealth of the person interviewed, most often the headman, as an index of wealth for an entire village, a rough measure is available to reveal the distribution of wealth among the villages of the present region. The following table shows the distribution of total animals owned by the person interviewed from thirty villages.

The Number of Animals owned
by the Person interviewed
in 30 villages

<u>No. of animals</u>	<u>No. of villages</u>
1 to 9	4
10 to 19	7
20 to 29	7
30 to 39	6
40 to 49	2
50 to 59	1
60 to 69	1
70 to 79	
80 to 89	
90 to 99	
100 plus	2
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	Total: 30

In general the outline of this distribution resembles curves of income distribution. The average is 27.6 animals for these /villages.

villages. The 15 Akha villages stand very near this average at 27.7 with a range from 2 to 56, while the eleven Lahu villages average 24.1 with a range from 1 to 105. The number in the other tribal groups is too small to make the averages useful. It may be of interest to note that a low but positive correlation exists between this index of wealth and the population of villages. On the whole larger villages tend to be wealthier or at least have wealthier headmen.

Cash Economy

Not many years ago all tribal villages grew hemp or cotton and wove their own clothing. Today in this area only the Akha continue this practice, and even among them not all villages grow their own cotton but buy it from neighbors. The majority of hill people buys cloth in the market and makes its own clothing according to tribal styles. Yet ready-made shirts and skirts may be seen in many a village. Individuals from every hill village make at least one annual trip to the market towns of the plains, and those from nearer villages visit these centers as often as once a week during the dry season. From the markets come not only cloth but kerosene, salt and steel. Besides, even the most humble household has somehow acquired a metal pot for cooking. Beginning with this near minimum,

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the range of market goods extends to canvas shoes and wrist watches, to enamel plates and porcelain cups, and to flashlights and radios. Beyond their subsistence, households have special sources of cash which permit greater or less access to the commercial markets.

In our enquiries about sources of cash, we were careful to permit mention of opium but never enquired directly about it. Only a few of our informants volunteered information on this subject, and hence our data concerns almost exclusively sales of livestock and non-narcotic crops. The former include sales of pigs, chickens, cattle and horses; crops were mainly peppers, soy beans, and sesame. A village close to Mae Sai reported earning 10 baht per day from charcoal they had made.

The following table reports cash income, probably not including opium, for the past year from 26 of our sample of 30 villages. Four villages reported sales but did not state the amount received from them.

<u>Income</u>	<u>Number of Villages</u>
0 to 499	11
500 to 999	4
1000 to 1499	7
1500 to 1999	1
2000 to 2499	1
2500 to 2999	
3000 plus	2
Total:	<u>26</u>

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The average income is 808 baht, which came usually from the sale of peppers and pigs. Sesame, chickens, soybeans, rice were relatively minor contributors to income. Though we do not attach great significance to these estimates, the average income of the Akha is 475 baht per year with a range from 0 to 1400, while the Lahu averaged 1090 baht per year with a range from 0 to 4800. The two villages with highest income in our sample were Lahu.

We also analysed our sample of villages by area. Income for the southeast is significantly higher than for the northwest area, 1471 baht per year as compared with 466 baht per year. The modal income for the northwest lies between 0 and 500 baht, while that of the southeast lies between 1000 and 1500. Akha villages are concentrated most heavily in the northwest, while the southeast is predominantly a Lahu region. This difference may merely represent the increased skill of our interviews for gaining data on income, for we visited the northwest first and subsequently changed our mode of questioning when a given method achieved poor results. On the other hand we may be dealing with actual differences between areas within our region. We found in examining distribution of wealth that chickens were more numerous in the southeast, while cattle and buffalo were more numerous in the northwest. These animals

/are

are expensive, and we suggest that the northwest, lying more remotely from the centers of government control, derives a greater amount of cash from opium. Certainly the number and size of poppy fields that we observed were more numerous in the northwest than in the southeast. In addition it is possible that the greater accessibility of the markets in the southeast encouraged villages of this area to produce a greater variety of marketable items. Unfortunately data from this preliminary analysis of the survey cannot provide a conclusive answer.

One further source of cash income must be noted, work for wages, which was reported in five villages of our sample, particularly in the southeast area. A wealthy individual may hire by the day local people to harvest and carry his crops, clear his fields, plant his crops and gather firewood. Sometimes these workers come from other villages. Some stigma seems to attach to working in this manner, for when a village reported hiring workers from a neighboring village, the neighboring village usually denied being hired but sometimes reported hiring others to work its fields. Everywhere pay is the same, 6 baht per day in cash or its equivalent in opium plus a meal. We gained the impression that those who hired out were often poor people who could not readily support themselves. The working season is about three months long, mainly during the
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dry months from January. Perhaps a man could earn as much as 450 baht.

Commerce

Though we have spoken of markets along the Chiengrai-Mae Sai highway, few items of general use cannot be purchased from traders that frequent the hills. Though a major portion of the sales by tribal people to traders occurs in the villages, we do not know what proportion of total income is spent in villages to traders rather than by going to the markets. Certainly the more remote villages make fewer trips to the market per year and hence presumably buy more of their goods from traders. Indeed, if traders in the hills have increased during the past decades, this fact may account for the wide-spread impression of Mae Chan merchants that tribal people formerly came to the market in greater numbers. They also believe that the population of the hills has decreased, though our evidence at present suggests the contrary.

Traders of the region are Yunan Chinese, Thai and Yao by ethnic background. Each of them tends to deal primarily in certain commodities and to confine his activities to certain areas, though considerable overlapping occurs in both respects. Most numerous are the Yunan Chinese who have often been residents

of this region for a long time, many having married tribal women and settled in tribal villages. Their numbers have increased in recent years because of the influx of refugees from China. In the north, west, and central portions of the region trade is largely conducted by them. Typically they come to a village with horses bringing kerosene, salt, semi-refined sugar, cigarettes, flashlight batteries, medicines and cutlery. At the same time they are said to be the chief purchasers, though certainly not the only ones, of opium. Thai traders, since they carry their wares on their backs, bring more limited merchandise such as cigarettes and candy. These men come to buy pigs and peppers and are found most frequently in the hills on the south fringe of the region. Yao traders work in the southern area near their own villages; they too seek to buy peppers and pigs.

To these traders and buyers we must add the military groups granted asylum in Thailand, whose soldiers are often on the trails seeking to buy provisions at tribal villages. They buy rice and pigs, paying slightly higher prices than the traders, and operating mainly in the west and central areas.

Where cash is available, sellers tend to congregate. In the past year Thai women from villages of the plains have appeared at tribal villages on the eastern fringes of the hills with sweets, cigarettes and toys for sale. This kind of

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activity on the part of Thai women, though familiar enough in the plains, seems to have begun during the present year, perhaps as a result of the road to the Tribal Welfare Station.

Between Mae Sai and Chiergrai the chief towns to receive tribal produce are Hwei Krai, Mae Kham and Mae Chan. Among these markets Mae Chan is best known and preferred. There a great variety of merchandise calculated to attract the tribal people may be found. Merchants accept silver coins from Burma and India as well as baht. Two silver smiths reside there who deal in tribal styles of jewelry. Scrap steel is easily available for forging into knives and hoes. Many merchants speak tribal languages. So the bulk of tribal purchases occurs in this town.

Less important but of some local weight in the western area of the region are small markets that have developed at the periphery of the military encampments. Except for a slightly greater variety the wares for sale duplicate those of the Yunan Chinese traders. Elsewhere stores are rare in the hills, though traders residing in tribal villages may make certain items available locally. In one village an Akha has taken to selling salt, medicines and kerosene to his neighbors; he is also known to have sold meat to his fellow villagers after killing a buffalo. Conceivably ventures of this kind occur in other villages.

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Between tribal villages a small commerce goes on in certain special items. When a man runs short of rice, he first seeks to borrow from his neighbors; loans of this sort are usually repaid after the next harvest without interest but may run longer, if necessary. In case a village has no rice to loan, the individual seeks out a neighboring village with a surplus, where he buys paddy at a fixed charge of 0.30 baht per liter. In the months before harvest, rice is scarce in the hills, and some households then must buy more expensive rice from the plains. Certain Akha villages raise surpluses of cotton and sell to other Akha villages where cloth is still being woven at 2 baht per kilo. Lahu villages also buy small quantities of cotton for their New Year celebrations. A few villages manufacture such items as carrying baskets, straps for pack animals, cross bows, etc. which have a market in the immediate neighborhood. Lahu, who never manufacture liquor, are occasional customers of villages where it is made. Aside from these minor items some commerce occurs in services. Villages without blacksmiths or curers of sickness pay fees for such services. Similarly, as noted earlier, rich villages may hire labor from their poor neighbors. So goes a small and intermittent kind of commerce between villages.

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The Sense of the Economy

With this outline of the economy, we feel our picture would be incomplete without noting our impression of the interests and motives of the tribal participants. First let us distinguish a subsistence motive from a profit motive. A person with a subsistence motive is concerned with securing tangible commodities for his own consumption. He labors to obtain the rice he would eat or a gun to go hunting so that he may eat again. A person with a profit motive is concerned not only with obtaining goods for his own immediate consumption needs, but also in acquiring a surplus over and above such needs, a surplus which he can use for exchange or saving. If he is in contact with a cash market or economy, he is as interested in having money to represent his surplus as goods. He seeks to increase the amount of money in his possession. Such a person buys a pig or a dog not in order to eat it but in order to resell it.

Applying this distinction to tribal economic activities, we can see that both motives may enter. At certain times a tribal person needs certain goods and so must labor for them or buy them. If he must buy them he is interested in obtaining the best possible price from a trader for his peppers or pigs. We believe, however, that the subsistence motive,

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orients him toward obtaining commodities for his own consumption, is the dominant one of the region's economy.

Our principal reasons for affirming this are, first, that this region at the present time has an undependable supply of rice which we believe to be barely adequate for the demand. Second, we note that the crops raised by tribal people of this region are in almost every case crops that can be consumed by the producer. By and large people sell only the surplus, satisfying first their own needs. The opium crop is no exception. When it is raised by tribal people who do not smoke opium or raised in excess of personal needs, then the profit motive is operating. He appears to be concerned, not with the opium itself but with the return from it. A third characteristic of the economy seems to run counter to this conclusion. To know about a profit requires knowing both income and expenditure. Tribal people have some idea of both but do not put them together to calculate profits. We attempted to ascertain tribal income by asking directly about cash earnings over the year. This kind of question had been successful in working with Thai farmers of the central plains, who could tell about prices of rice and the amounts sold over many years. Tribal informants could tell about the prices and quantities of their sales but had no idea of total income. Yet if one asked about how much money was needed to make all one's purchases for

a year, most every one could estimate how much he had spent not only during the past year but often in previous years. We believe that since these people only know their expenditures and have never compared them with their income, they cannot know about profit. They only know how to convert goods into cash and to get as many of the goods as they can from the cash they have. Indeed, the commerce between tribal villages works on fixed prices, so that each man can know precisely how much he must sell to buy what he wishes from his neighbors. Only when he becomes a trader does he measure his expenditures against his income.

So we believe that the economy of this region is predominantly oriented toward subsistence. This would not deny that a small number of producers is oriented toward profit. These operators of many enterprises living in well-appointed houses are well known; they trade broadly in pigs, horses and cattle; they hire labor from many quarters to harvest their extensive crops. Numerically they are few, but their numbers are growing with small operators like the Akha man who grasping the idea of profit began to buy and sell to his village. Most tribal people through most of their lives deal with subsistence and not with profit.

/ Leadership

Leadership

Our survey did not enquire specifically about customary government in the villages that we visited. Nevertheless, various incidents and scraps of information have led to certain impressions which may serve some later investigators. Each village appears to have a distinct corporate existence. Strangers wishing to become residents must petition for admission; once resident, the new household is entitled to certain privileges and must fulfill certain obligations; failure to follow the prescribed code may result in expulsion. In each tribal tradition the unwritten articles of its constitution determine the jurisdictions of government and what is left to the will of a group of kinsmen or a household. Such customary regulations further specify the nature of the privileges and obligations as well as the manner of enforcing them. In return for security of person and property against the ravages of man, nature and the spirit world, a resident must contribute his labor to public works, furnish certain commodities to the village as a kind of tax and participate in the ceremonies held for the preservation of the whole. But wide variations occur. Among the Akha the corporate authority seems strong so that there are many public works, few choices left to the individual, and strong sanctions to enforce the collective will. The Lahu in contrast give

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little authority to the headman, enjoy few benefits of public works and are beset with frequent internal disputes. Among the Yao and possibly the Lissu a village is like a federation of family organizations. Village authority seems limited to certain public works and certain village-wide ceremonials, while the family organizations within the village provide for the welfare and discipline of their members.

The power of the leader in a village depends in large measure on his wealth which protects the village, much like the symbols of wealth on an Akha village gate. Ordinarily the headman is one of the richest, if not the richest, men of his village. His house usually serves as a meeting place for discussing village affairs, so that his stores of tobacco, tea and other items must be abundant. He must be able to provide help for the indigent. If sickness strikes he must have access to cure. Since a village, in addition to being a political unit, is a body to protect against threats by the spirit world, the headman is not the sole authority in his village. Frequently decisions fall into the province of special leaders of ceremonials and curing. With the protection of all these authorities the ordinary villager readily gives his labor for a few days per year and a slice of meat from the animals he has killed. The wealthier a headman and his village are, the more people feel attracted, yet a leader may also choose to limit his

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following. A headman whose village had just lost two families stated that they had left in order to get enough to eat. We mentioned our understanding that a headman should provide for indigent people. He replied, "I supported them for two years. That was enough." There are the lazy ones who ride along without contributing.

A different kind of protective system sometimes occurs between villages. Thus three small Akha villages declared themselves under the protection of the Lissu village of Ban Pang Nun. Perhaps this protection helped the three to avoid attack by bandits from Burma, when some of their neighbors were being robbed. A similar relationship exists between Phai and certain of its smaller neighbors, as well as at Hakuma. Among Akha the well-known Phaya Somakid, son of the famous headman and curer, Phaya Khakhae, continues to exert an influence far beyond his village. In two cases of civil disturbance word was sent to the Akha village of Saen Chai, from which armed men went forth to restore order. Possibly the knowledge that Saen Chai is well armed by the Border Police made appeal to this village seem logical.

Other villages stand together because of kinship ties between headmen. Thus the Lahu headmen at Caphy, Saen Chomphu Saen Phom and Kae Mai are brothers or sons of their sisters by

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the same parents. Besides frequent visiting between these four villages, we expect some mutual assistance to occur. Among the Akha we frequently found villages where a son had led a group away from his father's village to establish a new one, Calau Kaw and Calau Mai, for example. Cordial relations between the two villages continue, and when the father dies, another son may sustain the tie with his brother or cousin.

Relations between headmen of tribal villages and the Thai government take no single, consistent form. The Lissu headman at Saen Supha declared that he had received some years ago a letter from the Kamnan of Mae Chan asking him to assume charge over three Akha villages, then in the vicinity of his village. Since Thai officials rarely speak any of the tribal languages and since Saen Supha knew at least the northern Thai dialect and had frequent dealings with the Kamnan during his visits to the market, the selection of Saen Supha was reasonable. The Akha villages, where few spoke Thai, readily agreed to let the Lissu headmen speak for them. Though the authority seems never to have acted in any specific case, the protective understanding continues.

In another instance, a Thai assistant headman sent notice of an assessment of 7 baht per household to a number of villages in his jurisdiction. We infer some active working agreement between the Thai headman and the tribal villages,

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though we do not know its precise nature. We suggest that since many of these villages came from Burma, some of these tribal villages now in Thailand may expect treatment from government comparable to what they once experienced in Burma. There in return for their annual tax and possible labor on public works, officials attempted to keep the countryside safe from brigands, mediated certain disputes between villages, issued titles to deserving headmen, and promptly sent relief in case of crop failure or other disaster. Conceivably the tribal headmen who paid their assessments expect comparable protection. We may not apply this conclusion broadly, however, for elsewhere headmen contrasted living in Thailand with life in Burma. They considered themselves well-off to be free of taxes and governmental pressures; in Thailand they lived independently.

Other kinds of relation of Thai officials have arisen in villages lying near the plains. In many spots few tribal people speak Thai or the northern Thai dialect. Thus anyone with some knowledge of these languages and some experience in dealing with lowland people comes to occupy a special position. In certain instances these skills become a prerequisite for becoming headman, and many headmen have such skills. However, in Kaciu and Ai Saen the Lahu residents have chosen Khmu as
/headmen;

headmen; at the Lissu village of Huei Mahin Fon the headman is Thai. Elsewhere some young man with facility in Thai has become a kind of interpreter or assistant for the headman in dealings with Thai speakers. In most such cases the assistant enjoys no special authority, but occasionally he has become a figure of considerable influence. The case of Saen Chai illustrates such a turn of events. Because of his association with Thai during World War II, this prominent Akha was pushed into the role of dealing with the lowlands. In turn government officials assumed him to be headman of his village. They gave him the special title of Saen Chai; the village in which he lived became known by his name. He, because of this special relationship, has been able to bring many special benefits to his village, and other Akha villages come to ask for his assistance in their dealings with government. Yet Saen Chai is not and has never been the headman of his village. Though influential in village councils, he is more like a minister of foreign affairs than the prime minister.

Even in the remotest villages one frequently finds a portrait of the King, and no villager has the slightest doubt that he is living in Thailand. Furthermore, all understand that they are expected to obey government orders and that communists are dangerous people living in other countries.

/Government,

Government, however, means various things to these people. The meaning is simplest and clearest when the main relations to government issue through a single agency such as the Border Police or a local Thai headman. These people are the protectors who make certain demands upon them but also grant certain benefits. Confusion mounts as intimacy develops, for then tribal people come to deal with not only the Border Police but the District Police, not only with the village headman but the District Officer, not only with district officials but Public Welfare officials at the Tribal Welfare Station. Lines of authority and jurisdiction are not always clear. A tribal delegation seeking aid after a raid by bandits from Burma had to make five trips to various offices before finding out what help, if any, the government could give. In such instances government must seem like a great enigma rather than a great protector. There is also a growing group of sophisticates who are well aware of the complications of government agencies and the problems of administration. They compare the privileges enjoyed by Thai citizens and wonder whether these same privileges will extend to them.

/ Health

Health

A sampling of fifty villages shows the following assigned causes of death.

Causes of Death Reported from
50 Villages

cause unassigned	adults	23
	children	10
fever	-----	25
diarrhea	-----	24
old age	-----	9
accident	-----	6
"swollen belly"	-----	3
unspecified disease	-----	5
		<hr/>
Total:		105

We have already observed that the crude death rate of 25.1 per thousand is a relatively high figure. Enquiry about the known causes of fever suggests that the people may have died from influenza or malaria. Related to diarrhoea and reported in the region are typhoid and various parasites. The District Health Officer in Mac Chan reported that malaria and typhoid are the main causes of death in the hills.

To date, immunization against disease has reached only the villages on the easternmost side of the hills. DDT spraying has occurred on the eastern fringe of the hills, though judging by the number of mosquitoes encountered in the hills during the dry season, it is doubtful whether mosquito extermination in the hills is going to eradicate malaria. Less
/than

than ten villages reported having sent people to the hospital in Chiengrai, yet if we may judge by the requests for assistance in curing diseases that greeted our arrival in a village, all villagers are ready to use medicines from the plains.

Education

Ten schools of the region north of the Mae Kok River have one or more tribal children as pupils. Seven of these schools are conducted by the Border Police in the tribal villages where they are stationed: Doi Sango in the District of Chieng Saen, Pham in the District of Mae Sai, Saen Chai, Phale, Caculaba, Min Taek and Ban Pang Nun in the District of Mae Chan. The other four schools are under the Ministry of Education and serve both Thai and tribal children. Three of these four schools are for Thai communities but include tribal children from nearby villages or tribal families resident in the Thai community. They are at Mae Chan, Naung Waen and Huet Mahin Fon. We have omitted from this count the four Karen villages near Chiengrai which also send children to neighboring Thai schools. The final school of the area is the Welfare School at Mae Chan, a boarding school established primarily for tribal pupils. During the past year the vast majority of children were from Thai and Karen families. Less than 15 of the three

/hundred

hundred odd children were of tribal background, and perhaps a single child from the region was in attendance. School authorities said that it was difficult to persuade tribal parents to allow their children to attend this school. However, four tribal children, by dint of a special charitable grant, were boarding pupils at the Vidhayakhom School in the city of Chiangrai.

In this region interest in education occurs almost exclusively among the Yao. From China this group came with a tradition of literacy, and in the past they hired Chinese to teach their children reading and writing. Indeed, written accounts of Yao history, medicine and ritual existing in their villages are all in Chinese characters. Many in the younger generation are now becoming eager to read and write Thai. Alone in the Yao village of Phale have we heard complaints when the Border Police teacher could not find time from his other duties to hold school. Discussing village problems with headmen of other tribes, we heard only one express an interest in a school: this man seemed, however, to be less interested in education than in keeping his village on a par with neighboring Caculaba where a Border Police School was under construction. In many villages parents wished their children to learn to speak northern Thai, yet they did not consider the teaching of

/this

this language to be a function of the schools.

Special Relationships between Villages

We have already described some of the trading between villages and intimated the need for more thorough study of the political arrangements. Here we deal with visiting, marriage, household migration, and the changes observable in tribal culture.

Men rather than women are the more frequent visitors in other villages. Casual visiting occurs mainly between villages nearest in the network of trails and then principally between villages of the same tribe. Though a man may just wish to pass the time of day, often some transaction occurs along with the visit, the purchasing of a little liquor or the consulting on the purchase of a pig. Less frequently a group of three or four make longer trips, usually to the market, spending the night or passing hot noonday hours in the house of some friend along the trail. Even in Thai villages of the valley there are houses where tribal people feel welcome to return. This kind of traffic moves most frequently east from the hills into the valley and back, much less often north and south across the streams to an adjoining ridge. Thus residents of villages lying to the east visit their western neighbors less often than

/these

these western neighbors come to visit them. The small traffic moving in other directions is mainly young Akha and Lahu out looking for brides; old men and women rarely leave their villages.

On the trail during the dry season one meets many young men dressed in handsome silver-spangled costumes. An eager suitor is most welcomed in one of the villages linked to his own by the fact that others from his own village have gone there in the past for their wives. As an Akha, he would find the brothers of his mother or her sister; as a Lahu, he might find the brothers of his father or his mother. Then after marriage there would continue to be one or more villages where brothers or sisters are living and where one could turn if need arose.

To these very villages where a brother or sister lives, there a family goes when it wishes to move from its present village. We distinguish this movement of a few families from the movement of an entire village, a subject which we considered under the heading of Mobility of Settlements. Here our topic concerns the continuous flow of a few households from one village to another, though the village as a whole remains where it is.

Let us return to the familiar sample of thirty villages. Seven of them showed a net loss of population varying from one to seven families, eight a gain of one to four families.

/Eleven

Eleven other villages had neither gain nor loss, while we lack data on four villages. From these twenty-six villages as a whole we record a net loss of population totaling eleven families. By and large the number of such migrants is small in this region of mobile people and seems to represent only a normal kind of village contraction and expansion. Our data showed no correlation between number of losses or gains in population and our index of wealth.

In a few cases we glimpsed possible reasons for moving. As with migration in general the given reason dealt most frequently with seeking a better living by joining relatives in another village. Behind some such moves we occasionally detected an energetic household head who wished to become richer but also the indigent ones who were drifting from the reluctant help of one relative to that of another. Quarrels also set some families in motion.

Up to this point we have been considering largely the relations between villages of the same tribe. Let us also consider marriage and migration between tribes. The assistant headman in Tambon Pasang who lives at the Shan village of Hin Taek declared that over the years tribal groups are associating with each other more freely. Such events in his village as the building of the Border Police School have brought tribal

/people

people from many villages to his village to see what was going on; then they became better acquainted. If we consider the ethnic mixture in the villages of the region, we gain the impression that the western villages are ethnically more uniform than the eastern, the northern than the southern. If more detailed study of our data confirms this impression, we may infer that where contact with the lowlands is greatest, the mixture of ethnic tradition is most frequent. Particularly in the southeast area we find villages with residents of Lahu, Lissu and Chinese backgrounds all living together. In this same area live Thai and Khmu residents of tribal villages.

Contacts with foreign cultures have long occurred. The Yao, for example, have certainly been adopting children of other tribes for years and have many customs that indicate strong Chinese influences. Other tribal groups were not immune to influences from their previous contacts. Tribal languages contain many words of probable Shan origin; the silver coins that adorn many tribal dresses point to influences from India and China. Though we do not know what changes in custom these and other influences have brought about, these tribal traditions have continued. However, we may ask what changes the present contacts seem to be making:

The best guarded tribal culture appears to be the Akha, for Akha who marry outside the tribe may not live in the village.

Yet this prohibition may be breaking down. Along the north-east corner of our area a dotting of Yunan Chinese occurs in Akha villages. Phami in the Mae Sai District includes four or five Chinese who have married Akha and are living in this village. Yet the children of these marriages will probably remain largely in the Akha tradition, for they are living in an Akha village.

In the southeast cultural blending has occurred and is continuing. It began three generations ago in the region, when Chinese and Lissu men married into a Lahu village. The oldest resultant is found in four villages (Caphy, Saen Phom, Saen Chomphu and Kae Saen), all of which are prosperous under vigorous leadership. The culture seems to be predominantly Lissu in favor over a Lahu base. New Year ceremonies, for example, appear more Lissu than Lahu. Though the people call themselves Lahu Si, their language is more nearly like that of the Lahu Nyi of the locality than of the recent Lahu Si migrants from Burma. In other villages of the southeast region the genetic blending continues through intermarriage of Chinese and Lahu men with Lissu as well as Lahu women. Lissu households also exist in many of these villages, and the cultural resultant appears predominantly Lissu.

Another cultural mixture is occurring where Shan on the one hand and Chinese on the other have married tribal women but

/are

are settling in their own separate communities. In such settings tribal traditions are weak, so that the cultural resultant is more ambiguous. Unfortunately we have little knowledge of these people, but since the children are growing up familiar with the hills and at the same time positively oriented toward the plains, they may well help bridge the gap between uplands and lowlands. The Chinese village of Hwei Mak and the Shan village at Hir Taek exemplify these mixtures.

Uplands and Lowlands

We think of the uplands as the center of ethnically varied people who practise dry agriculture, while the lowlands are the center of Thai civilization with its irrigated rice. Until the last decade the lowlanders took only casual interest in the uplands, but circumstances of history have brought these uplands to the attention of all. Thai traders seem to have entered the hills little more than fifty years ago. Though Shan settlements could be found in upland valleys, jungle lay on both sides of the streams until about forty years ago when the search for paddy lands pushed the newly arrived Thai migrants from Lampang, Lampun and Chiengmai deeper into the mountain valleys. After World War II came the first Christians to this region. A number of missionaries from China transferred to Thailand to specialize on work with the tribal people
/already

already versed in Chinese, Lissu and Akha, they quickly learned Yao and Lahu, then took to the trails. For many a village these foreigners were the first contact with western civilization. Besides their religious activities, they gave counsel and medical aid. About the same time the Border Police began to patrol the hills, representing the extension of government interest which has since grown as district officials moved their services deeper into the uplands. The advent of the Tribal Welfare Station is but the latest move increasing contacts.

To date Thai influences in the uplands have lacked the intimacy of Shan and Chinese. We encountered only two Thai residents in this region who have married tribal women. The tribal people who have moved to live in the lowlands are also few. Mae Chan is the residence of just six households of tribal people. But a single village of uplanders has moved to the plains, and this one still plants its crops on the low-lying hills very much as if it were still in the uplands.

Despite this minimum of intimacy, the very presence of lowland culture has had unmistakable effects on the uplands. The nearer and wealthier villagers wear shoes, shirts and skirts, eat from enamel plates with enamel spoons and listen to programs over their transistor radios just as the lowlanders do. In many villages of this kind the younger generation speaks at least the northern dialect of Thai, and some observers

/believe

believe that northern Thai is beginning to replace Lahu as a common language of the hills. We have heard of an Akha woman who ran away from her village in the hills and lived in a Thai village for several months dressed in Thai costume, until her elders learned of her whereabouts and forced her to return to her native village. Others have spoken of a tribal boy in one of the boarding schools who has fallen in love with Thai culture and no longer wishes to return to the uplands. More than six upland families now living in Mae Chan had originally sought to live there but had to return to the hills because they could not earn enough money to support themselves in this cash-oriented town.

Though still in the uplands, five tribal villages show the influence of Thai culture by their interest in learning to grow wet rice. All these villages recognize the superiority of wet-rice agriculture for producing a dependable supply. Three of these villages (Doi Sango, Mogaunh and Lao San Kwei; i.e. two Akha and a Yao village) have on their own initiative sought advice from neighboring Thai rice cultivators and are trying out on a small scale wet-rice techniques. Phale, situated near the Tribal Welfare Station, is awaiting the assistance of this agency to develop this crop. Huei Hom, a Lahu village, has expressed interest but has taken no steps to implement action. Here we have not considered the five

/Karen

Karen villages in the Mae Kok valley which have been slowly converting from upland to wet rice for many years.

Though a more rapid absorption of lowland culture by the uplanders might seem easy and natural, the process is filled with difficulties. To illustrate some of them, we shall relate briefly the case of Naung Waen, the Yao village which moved, from the uplands to the lowlands in 2402. Acting on government policy of those years, which would solve hill tribe problems by moving villages out of the hills, the Border Police urged many villages located on the Mae Salong range to move to a designated place in the valley. Naung Waen was one of two villages to respond. Subsequently a few households from other Yao villages joined them. The new village settled in three clusters of houses, one representing a traditional Yao community, a second one made up largely of Yao Christians, and a third of mixed ethnic background including both Chinese and Lahu. Except for the new setting, these people might have been still living in the hills. Their houses were of bamboo and plank construction built on the ground; water entered these houses through bamboo pipes; dry rice cultivation took place by clearing the low hills near which the village was located. This habitual practice brought one of their first difficulties, for the Forestry Department prosecuted several cultivators and was able to exact a fine of 5,000 /baht

baht for cutting forest trees. This they paid and set to work again. Then Thai villagers of the neighborhood began to plague them by stealing livestock, which they permitted to roam as freely and untended as if they were still living in the uplands. The headman said that over sixty head disappeared during the five years of their residence. In addition Thai neighbors were accused of wanton destruction of crops and stealing of produce before it could be brought in from the fields. The nearest Thai headman took no steps to redress their grievances. When they sent their children to the school of the neighboring village, the new pupils became involved in fights, where Thai children threatened them with knives. Yet the village, perhaps because of encouragement by the Border Police, continued in its new location.

As the crops from continuous planting of upland hillsides began to diminish through repeated planting on the same plot, interest grew in cultivating wet rice. A few of the wealthier Yao community members bought from Thai villagers uncleared lands at the foot of the hills for planting their crops. (We have not investigated these sales, but knowing that title to unused land generally reverts to the government, we question the necessity and the validity of these sales; no document of title was requested from, or given by, the sellers.) These people themselves chose the land they
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intended to cultivate without benefit of guidance from the District Office or elsewhere. When finally they secured guidance from a Christian agricultural missionary, he reported that the fields they had purchased were of only moderately good quality and could be made productive only after many years of hard labor. Short-cuts using earth-moving machinery exceeded their ability to pay, even if equipment had been available. In the meanwhile they hired their Thai neighbors to help clear the land and instruct them in leveling, dyking and channeling water from the brooks into the fields. At this moment the crop of the present year stands in doubt. Will the trees and bushy weeds that could not be cleared flourish at the expense of the rice crop? For the future still more serious questions arise: Will the returns from the depreciating upland fields suffice until the new wet rice succeeds perhaps three years from now? Or will this community grow discouraged with the fruitlessness of its efforts to live in the plains and return to the uplands? Many a tribal village is watching from the hill tops to see the outcome.

The foregoing case illustrates not only the difficulties of uplanders in learning the techniques of lowland living but popular resistance of the lowlands in receiving them. Of course, when people meet, friction is as frequent a consequence

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as falling in love, and judging by other minorities which have been absorbed into the lowland population, the period of friction will die, if we can allow a generation or two for it to burn out. Any newcomers may be regarded suspiciously at first, particularly those with strange language and customs. Moreover, these Yao may have taken up land which their Thai neighbors hoped eventually to possess. This could easily account for many of the hostile acts, were it not for the fact that similar aggression occurs in other points of contact where questions of land are not involved. Of course, on the part of the newcomers, they too were slow to learn the Thai custom of constantly guarding any article that has value. It would seem easy to pen their animals and send a boy to watch the crops left in the fields.

Other subtle factors also arise when two proud peoples meet. Thai may criticize the costume of an uplander, but uplanders take special pride in the costume which distinguishes them from the Thai. If the Thai ridicules his pronunciation of Thai words, the uplander who may know up to six languages disdainfully points to the ignorance of Thai who know but one. Each glance and gesture intended to humble merely strengthens the pride of the other and increases the separation.

Also the friction continues through lack of direction from Thai superiors, who themselves do not agree. They have
/not

not agreed on whether an uplander born in Thailand is to be treated as a Thai citizen, an alien, or something in between. They have not agreed on whether to bring the benefits of lowland civilization to the uplands or to bring the uplanders to enjoy the benefits of the lowlands. Once policy on these and other questions has been firmly established, many local frictions will decrease through public example. Indeed, where kamnan and village headmen have already taken interest in tribal welfare, as between the Thai Christian village of Huei Yano and the Lahu village of Huei Hom, upland and lowland people live now together with some harmony. The rich culture of Thailand, which has absorbed such different religions as Christianity and Islam, such varied languages as Cantonese and Mon, such divergent races as Negritos and Europeans, will in the end experience only short-lived difficulties in dealing with the uplands. Yet perhaps today two generations of friction are not necessary to weld the uplands to the lowlands, and perhaps the nation cannot wait for two generations to bring this about.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In the discussion that follows, our aim is to emphasize problems which we consider relevant to the process of assimilating tribal peoples of the North into the Thai nation. The various suggestions point to difficulties that have arisen or may arise in this process of assimilation. We cannot maintain that unless these difficulties are overcome, assimilation will not occur. At best we could say that assimilation will be delayed or assume a different form perhaps less congruent with the national interests of the country. Let us look briefly at assimilation.

Assimilation may take place at varying rates; so the Thai nation can assimilate Shans faster than Lahu just because the Shan language is closer than Lahu to the Thai language. Assimilation may take differing forms. In one form tribal languages, dress and customs disappear and are replaced by Thai equivalents; perhaps even the memory of a tribal existence will disappear. This is one form. Yet assimilation may result in a situation comparable to that of the Mon villages where people live separately in their own communities and enjoy their own customs, perhaps speaking their own languages as well as Thai. Another form of assimilation may take place as in a Swiss canton where the people speak their own language, follow their own customs, govern themselves in certain matters but participate in the national government. If assimilation of this
/form

form occurs, we might think of forming Districts in the uplands where tribal people may continue living, govern themselves, but participate in the nation. These are some of the forms of assimilation, and eventually, though not necessarily now, the Thai government will have to decide which kind is preferable.

Assimilation, however, is by no means an easy process to control as is shown by the sad experience of many countries in dealing with minority groups. Such groups may become so culturally impoverished before they have adjusted to the culture of the majority that they are listless, apathetic, and prone to disease, drug or alcohol addiction, and other ills. At the other extreme, the minority group, feeling threatened and frustrated, may react aggressively, becoming fanatically militant against representatives of the majority group, and seeking to preserve its self-respect and group identity by grasping at any means, which seem to promise a better future. Such reactions, known as nativistic movements or cults, have been common among native peoples of the modern world, and have assumed remarkably similar forms. People susceptible to this reaction are most easily swayed by foreign leaders and influences, since their own society and culture have failed to produce their own means of coping with the new situations which confront them. To prevent either reaction from developing during the assimilation period it is essential to maintain or build up the minority's confidence in its own continuing capacities and leadership and its trust in the benevolence, intelligence, and /good

good faith of leadership among the majority group.

We have little evidence that either of these responses is likely to develop in an extreme form in the Mae Kok region in the near future. Nevertheless, the way would be opened to such a development if there were continued discontent or material and psychological distress among the hill tribes. Looking into the future, and the possible susceptibility of these minority peoples to a backwash of propaganda against "colonialism", "imperialism", "exploitation" and "fascist degradation of native populations", it would be intelligent as well as benevolent for those concerned with the well-being of the northern region to follow a policy of preventing trouble before it begins rather than acting later to correct trouble. "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure".

Rather than make precise recommendations for action by government agencies or others, we have chosen to underscore certain problems that have come to our attention. Though we usually indicate our opinions on the general direction in which a solution may be sought, our limited knowledge of available personnel, equipment and funds has made us refrain from attempting to implement most opinions in detail.

Problem of Population

The people living in the Mae Kok region are approaching the limits of satisfactory living set by present methods of making a living and by existing resources, particularly of soil, water and
/timber

timber. Moreover, an increase in population through migration from Burma may occur on account of the civil unrest in that country. If the population increases, the drain on natural resources will increase, and the standard of living decline. Villages will move more frequently and tend to divide into smaller units. Thereby soil, timber and water resources will decline further. If along with these related changes, there should be an increase of dissatisfaction, the entire Mae Kok region may become susceptible to a variety of leadership that is not in the national interest.

Opinion

A. At present land, timber and water requirements of tribal villages are unknown either percapita or for entire communities of different types. Without information on these points, no one can judge whether a given region is overpopulated or not. A knowledge of these requirements is also necessary as a basis for all programs to improve the standard of living of existing villages. Therefore a program is needed which will continue and refine our census so as to determine whether the population is growing and if so, whether by migration as well as by natural reproduction. In addition the program should determine as precisely as possible the soil, water and timber requirements of an average household. Such an investigation should also seek to determine the relation of a stable village to its environment and conversely what environmental as well as social conditions lead to the mobility of other villages.

/B. We

B. We have indicated that attempts to control the influx of immigrants from across the border will be costly and probably ineffective. In view of this the best plan would make their arrival and settlement orderly. Should immigrants appear in large numbers, special posts may be established to register and process them medically as well as to determine their destinations. Normally tribal people may well go to the Tribal Welfare Station for formal processing. We believe, however that these people are quite able to settle and provide for themselves, so that aside from emergencies Welfare Station officials need not be concerned after official processing. Headmen in whose jurisdiction they intend to settle should receive prompt notification of their intended arrival and then report back any irregularities.

C. To make an appreciable effect on the population problem of the region, we estimate that thirty to fifty tribal villages should resettle outside this region during the next five years. The Division of Tribal Welfare may well assume an active but limited role in resettling these villages. The first requisite is to gather information on possible locations where tribal people may expect to establish stable villages. Presumably the Tribal Welfare Station at Tak, Chiengdao and Loai already have rough ideas about the number of additional households that might settle in their areas. In other hill regions where no Tribal Welfare Stations yet exist, Mobile Development Teams may well extend this information by observation and consulting above all tribal villages as well as

/District

District Officers. The second requisite is to find the villages definitely interested in moving. No village should be ordered to move. If the Tribal Welfare Station at Mae Chan has insufficient personnel to carry out this task, a Mobile Development Team may well bring in the preliminary information necessary for selection. We then propose that the Division of Tribal Welfare provide transportation that will enable tribal delegates from one or more villages to visit distant regions for reconnaissance. Each delegation might visit up to three localities and make its decision after talking with tribal people of the new locality. Division responsibility should end with assisting villages to know the resources of other regions and possibly giving limited aid in moving the villages. The Welfare Stations should avoid becoming entangled with the internal problems that a village faces in a new location. However, no one need stint in helping establish relations to all governmental agencies of the new locality, from the local headman and school teacher to those in charge of various services at the District Offices. We might also observe that some of these groups may be able to contribute significantly to national plans of development, should they wish to resettle outside a hill region.

Problem of Subsistence

The stability of a village depends, among many things, on the adequacy of its food supply, particularly the adequacy of its rice. In our judgement the quantity of rice produced in this /region

region is sufficiently small and unpredictable to constitute a problem. Though many villages are firmly settled, others move every few years to satisfy their rice requirements. Though the shortages may not yet be serious, since we found no one starving, the problem would become acute with a sharp population increase.

Opinion

A. There is sufficient confusion about the requirements for growing upland crops and sufficient variation in opinion on the effects of growing these crops to necessitate basic agricultural research. We hear much about depletion of fertility as a factor that necessitates shifting cultivation, yet we have encountered large villages where the inhabitants have reused the same soil after a two-year fallow for nearly twenty years. We have heard it said that annual shifting to new fields is necessary not because of the inadequate fertility but because of the difficulty of clearing the soil of weeds. Yet in certain instances tribal villages use the same plot for two successive years, sometimes for growing the same crop, sometimes for growing two differing crops. If so, some cultivators have not been stopped by weeds or lack of fertility. Much is also said about the evil effects of upland crops in producing soil erosion, floods and progressive dessication of an area. Yet if weeds and bamboo quickly replace the forest, does this new vegetation prevent erosion and hold the water? If agricultural experts answer these questions so differently, the time has certainly come for careful study of basic factors.

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Only on the basis of firm knowledge can we hope to improve present techniques.

B. Though it may require many years for agricultural research to find satisfactory new crops to raise tribal standards of living, in certain cases the means of aiding tribal villages are already present. We found six villages already considering the introduction of wet-rice, some even proceeding by their own trial and error methods. If any of them appealed for guidance to the District Agricultural Officer or the Tribal Welfare Station, these agencies did not act, for no official help or encouragement reached these villages. However, in the case of wet-rice cultivation the answers to their questions already exist and should have been made available to all of these villages. Here is an opportunity to realize quickly the government program to stabilize villages, stabilize food supply and save the forests. In addition to wet-rice a good many techniques of livestock raising are already known and have immediate applicability to the village scene. Where such techniques already exist, there is no need to postpone action.

C. Wide differences exist between villages in their interest and readiness to accept new techniques for improving their standard of living. It serves no purpose to insist that every village or the most accessible ones try out every technique that we consider to be for their own good. Introducing new techniques had best be undertaken only after a survey by Mobile Development Teams of many villages to determine where interest lies. Then the work may begin of introducing a few proven techniques to selected villages.

Problem of the Cash Economy

We tend to regard developing the cash economy solely as a means to diminish opium production and to raise the standard of living. Less often do we consider it as a means for increasing contact between people. One of the reasons that tribal people have little contact with the lowlands is because they lack the money to participate. A tribal boy declined our offer of a ride to town in our automobile because he had no money to spend. Some Yao who had moved to Mae Chan at government request returned to the hills because they could not earn enough to buy their daily food. Increasing the cash income will improve the standard of living and at the same time increase participation with Thai peoples in the total economy of the region.

Opinion

A. In addition to study of new products that may grow in the uplands, research is also necessary to ascertain the problems of cultivation of these new crops in tribal villages and the marketing of these goods. Though the fruit of this research lies ahead, study of existing cash crops may also stabilize and increase outputs to the present markets. We believe the Tribal Welfare Station has no necessary duty to help market present cash crops; for it to enter upon marketing activities will only upset the present arrangements which seem to function adequately under existing circumstances. The Tribal Welfare Station is, however, indispensable in experimenting with new crops and in studying the problems that tribal cultivators encounter.

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B. We must also look to introducing new devices, services, and small industries with their associated skills to tribal villages. Before attempting anything new, the Tribal Welfare Station would do well to determine skills in demand at present and seek to train tribal people in these skills. For example, tea pickers are in short supply at certain seasons. Though no tribal people now pick tea, may they be taught the technique and earn extra money for themselves? After this initial work a Tribal Welfare Station may look for the new. Perhaps the time has not yet arrived for introducing electric generators, but simpler tools are already welcome labor-saving devices. A sewing machine, which may already exist in a few villages, will certainly not increase very much the cash which a household has, even if the skilled operator should sew garments for several villages. Nevertheless, the training in its use as well as the problems of maintenance and repair form bases for valuable new contacts with the lowlands. Such contacts help demonstrate that the lowlands have resources useful in the uplands. Even now some one with the tools and skills of radio repair might be in demand.

C. Now is not too soon to think of industrial enterprises and not just the production of craft items for local sale such as baskets and items for the tourist trade such as costumes. The time has come to think of rice milling and saw mills, for example, using wind, water or solar power. Tribal people are already thinking of such possibilities, and government should have answers
/ready

ready, when persons come asking for guidance. For example, does the government wish to make loans at low interest rates in order to develop upland resources? What other sources of credit, if any, are available to tribal people?

D. Before introducing new crops, animals or objects, the Tribal Welfare Station should survey the surrounding villages to determine where interest and adequate sustaining resources lie. In introducing something new, the Station may demonstrate, give instruction in its use, if necessary, and perhaps encourage villagers to try it. However, the Station should avoid giving anything away free. The payment of even a token fee by a tribal person demonstrates interest, and the Station must avoid being held responsible for failures. Indeed, the Station, instead of undertaking an entire job by itself, may open the way for a Thai or tribal person to act as agent for a new enterprise. Thereby it has contributed to enriching contacts between uplands and lowlands on a normal basis.

Problem of Government Services for Hill Areas

In past years government has extended its interest so rapidly into the hill regions that at certain points confusion and overlapping of functions have taken place. For example, an Akha wishing to report the theft of a buffalo went first to the District Office, where he was told to report to the Border Police nearest his village, who in turn directed him to the village headman. From the administrative side we may ask whether a Tribal Welfare
/Station

Station replaces the District Health Officer in all matters of health for the hill tribes? What are the roles of the Director of a Tribal Welfare Station, of Thai village headmen, of the Border Police and the District Office in handling civil and criminal cases involving tribal people? On what matters of law may tribal villages simply apply their own customary procedures, and in what matters is it necessary for lowland authorities to act? For example, if a man is killed in a tribal village for being a sorcerer, must the government try someone as a murderer, or may it consider that the village has acted according to its own standards and already rendered justice? Eventually we shall have to ask such questions as whether a tribal person is a citizen and can own property, or if he is to be a citizen, under what conditions is citizenship to be given? On the administrative side we may wonder whether it is desirable to establish a department of government to deal specifically in all matters concerning tribal people. The American government established the Bureau of Indian Affairs to deal with the Red Indian minority but never established a comparable one to deal with the negro minority. What are the advantages and disadvantages of specialized agencies with total jurisdiction of this kind?

Opinion

We believe that the substantive answers to these questions go beyond the scope of our professional competence. Nevertheless, we urge that clarification of responsibilities among the various government agencies will assist relations between government and
/tribal

tribal people. On many of the questions raised it seems to us too early for a blanket answer to be given by central government. For the time being the simplest solution is to authorize each District to determine whether confusion or overlapping of duties occurs and to clarify responsibilities wherever necessary by whatever means seem most appropriate. We sensed the need for clarification on the following points: the handling of criminal cases, the handling of tribal migrants from abroad, the extension of agricultural aid, the registration of population and the issue of identity cards, the giving of relief in cases of distress. Ultimate responsibility in this entire administrative sphere rests with the Ministry of the Interior.

Problem of Health

Assuming, with the medical profession, that all human life must be preserved, we are confronted with the high death rate among tribal people together with the absence of medical facilities in many sections of the hill region.

A. Though limited information exists on the incidence of certain diseases in the hills, a medical specialist may well extend this information and at the same time seek to establish the main health hazards that tribal people face.

B. Immunization against the known prevalent common diseases should continue as rapidly as possible into the remote areas. Mobile Development Teams may offer the best means to undertake this work.

/C. Medical

C. Medical clinics should be held periodically at pre-determined spots, and wherever possible, tribal people should be encouraged to pay for the medicines they receive.

D. If medical investigation does not find a serious menace to health in a hill region, we are inclined to postpone programs of public sanitation or restrict them to simple matters such as improving the quantity and quality of the water supply. Unless a village requests aid in combatting a health problem, cooperation in carrying out programs is likely to be small.

Problem of Education

Though many people regard schools as indispensable aids for bringing the tribal peoples into the Thai nation, at present they are of limited usefulness in this regard because few tribal people understand the advantages of literacy in the Thai language. As a consequence the few existing schools suffer from irregular attendance. On the other hand where interest in literacy is high, classes meet so irregularly that learning suffers. Most tribal people are at present reluctant to allow their children to attend boarding schools, and the few children in attendance tend to run away. Education is making a slow start.

Opinion

A. Though Border Police schools are so far not effective in promoting literacy, their presence in a village may indirectly help prepare tribal peoples to recognize the value of education.

The present school program should continue, but unless a school

/is

is requested by a village, we see no need to extend these services. Where villages are interested in education, we recommend the hiring of a full-time professional teacher to replace the Border Police teacher.

B. It may reduce the difficulty of finding teachers willing to live in tribal villages if, for the present, schools were opened only during the dry season and then only after the main harvest, perhaps from February through April. At this time children are less needed for field work and hence may attend classes regularly. During this period volunteer students in teacher training classes may gain valuable practical experience, and interested villages will usually provide food and lodging to the teacher. We also draw attention to certain literate villages, particularly the Christian ones, where many already write their own language and can speak Thai, though not read and write it. Some such persons with no more than a year of training could become literate in Thai and serve as an additional source of teachers for tribal villages. In addition to teaching children, these teachers may find adults interested in becoming literate in Thai.

C. In schools attended by both tribal and Thai pupils we sense the need for special studies of the causes and means of reducing friction between the two groups.

D. If there be interest in stimulating the demand for schools, teaching tribal people to read and write their own language seems to serve this purpose. Systems for writing tribal
/languages

languages in Thai letters are already available through the Ministry of Education for certain languages and for others may be obtained through the Overseas Missionary Fellowship. Though some knowledge of tribal language is desirable prior to teaching, a teacher working with an interpreter need know little more than the symbols necessary to write the language. We add that there exists no necessary conflict between teaching children to read and write their own tribal language with Thai letters and teaching them also to read and write the Thai language. At certain stages the two tasks will reinforce each other.

Problem of Communication

Communications between upland and lowlands are limited to what can be said by one person to another. Few or no lowland newspapers, magazines or radio programs of particular relevance or interest to the tribal people are reaching the hills. The communications become thinner because many tribal people speak little Thai or even the northern dialect of Thai, and the number of Thai who speak tribal languages is smaller still. How can communications be improved?

Opinion

A. Until literacy increases, radio will be an important means of communicating with the uplands; for a time its importance will increase as radio receivers become more widely distributed. New radio programs in several tribal languages are necessary.

/Present

Present tribal radio programs appear too infrequently and for too short a time to be heard. As time keeping arrangements lack precision, special techniques are necessary to announce programs in advance, and they must continue perhaps as long as an hour to reach more than a handful of listeners. Such programs may give world news, lessons in Thai, information of practical use, tribal music and other appropriate entertainment or instruction.

B. At present Lahu is the single language that reaches most hill people, though Mandarin Chinese and Thai will reach many. We believe that official announcements to tribal people should be made both in Lahu and Thai, perhaps using a tape recorder, if repetition is desirable.

C. In official interviews with persons who speak customarily another language than one's own, all persons should have the opportunity of speaking through a competent interpreter. Indeed, to avoid misunderstanding, a competent interpreter may be as necessary in official interviews as being served by lawyers in courts of law. We recommend that government offices in districts where tribal people are living as well as Tribal Welfare Stations draw up a list of competent interpreters of the prevailing local languages and have these persons available on request.

D. In hopes that tribal groups may also communicate more readily with each other and with government, we should like to see Tribal Welfare Stations determine whether periodic meetings of tribal village leaders is useful. At such a meeting they

/might

might discuss, for instance, forest conservation, and it would be hoped that a free but responsible discussion might increase understanding. If successful, such meetings may not only help communication between tribal villages but also between government and the tribes.

Problem of Internelation
between Thai and Tribal people

If Thailand aims to assimilate tribal people into the nation as rapidly as possible, the incidents of active hostility between Thai and tribal people are not contributing to this end. Indeed tribal people are well aware of frequent official indifference to their problems. The wide-spread image of a child-like but dirty people addicted to opium lies behind many acts of lowlanders and causes resentment among uplanders. The hill people are proud of their tribal traditions and to speak unfavorably of their life, as some teachers are wont to do, alienates them from the Thai and hardly serves to welcome these people into the nation.

Opinion

Altering popular images is a slow undertaking which will take many years for any appreciable change. Any altering of the popular image must be carried out in such a way as not to offend but rather if possible to stimulate tribal pride, for this pride in a tribal tradition will later help prevent such problems as demoralization of the people and delinquency when contacts are more intimate. In this line we offer the following suggestions:

/A. Her

A. Her Majesty the Queen has already set an example in becoming patron of the Lissu village of Ban Pang Nun by giving a school building. If others, individuals or corporate groups such as business concerns or municipalities, followed this example, much useful work could be accomplished.

Let us be clear that the important aspect of this relationship is not the gift itself but the continuing interest and development that results from the gift. Former visitors to tribal villages were wont to give food and clothing, but such gifts produce a more patronizing situation and much less enduring benefits than a radio, tools, or good livestock for breeding. So from these beginnings the enlightened patron learns to know his village more intimately by careful observation, return visits and reciprocal visits by the tribal people to see him. Then a patron can judge what will help most, perhaps a visit to a livestock breeding station by a village delegation, perhaps a contribution that enables a child to continue studying in a nearby city.

B. Priests from temples near the tribal villages might visit certain ones much as Christian missionaries have done. The Lissu in particular make frequent use of the concept of merit and have special interest in Buddhism. The Akha are familiar with the concept of reincarnation. Where tribal villages have proven friendly, a temple may invite the villagers to visit the wat and perhaps sleep there on the next trip to the locality.

C. The Hill Tribe Division might publish once or twice a year a magazine emphasizing the accomplishments of tribal people:

/s. visit

a visit to His Majesty's palace, the entry or graduation of tribal children in schools, the participation of tribal people in the work at various Tribal Welfare Stations. All such topics might be used as subject matter. If simply written, attractively printed, well illustrated, and broadly circulated both among Thai and tribal people, this too may help change attitudes.

D. Efforts may be made in schools to have Thai children as well as tribal children read interesting tales about tribal people. In other nations the Boy Scout programs have aroused interest in other groups, such as the American Indians. Thai Boy Scouts might also become interested in tribal life by visiting one of the more accessible villages or learning from a specially invited tribal person about the making of traps or crossbows. Conceivably a tribal village might also be interested in starting a Boy Scout troop as a result of these visits.

Problem of Sustaining
a vital Program of Aid to the Hill Tribes

The main stimulus to the maintenance and enrichment of any program comes from the vivid personal experiences of program leaders and their aides who convey new ideas into the program. Foreign specialists find it very pleasant, even flattering, to have their opinions in demand, but this is only one stimulus to program development. What other ways exist?

Opinion

- A. As an addition to the periodic meetings of all members
/of the

of the Division of Tribal Welfare, we suggest inviting representatives of countries with minority groups to discuss key problems and attempted solutions. Government officials who are dealing directly with comparable problems in such neighboring countries as Burma, Malaysia and the Philippines would have the most to offer, yet possibly an embassy official already in Bangkok from some Scandinavian country might also describe his country's program for dealing with Eskimos or Lapplanders. Common problems and comparable solutions may occur in many remote parts of the world.

B. If a country has a program of special interest and relevance, the Division may send a representative to obtain further information by a visit of inspection to the country. Canada, Australia and New Zealand may have programs of particular interest.

C. We have already encountered not only anthropological and sociological problems but also problems of agriculture, stock-breeding, health, education, law, security, etc. Outlining plans of research on these varied problems, initiating specific research projects, and assessing the results would seem to be a task for the Tribal Research Institute. Though conceived initially as a center particularly for anthropological study, we see no reason why the Tribal Research Institute should not concern itself with all interrelated research problems pertinent to tribal life. If this be acceptable, we then propose a board of technical consultants to be associated with the Tribal Research Institute,

/coming

coming from ministries, departments and universities who represent the specialized fields on which the many aspects of tribal welfare depend. They should be available for monthly or even weekly meetings to plan and review research programs. On the basis of research results this body would recommend new approaches or changes in the working program of the Division of Tribal Welfare. As special problems arose affecting the province of one or more technical advisors, the Tribal Research Institute may solicit additional time.

We envision that much of the actual research planned by this group at the Tribal Research Center will take place in the Tribal Welfare Stations using the local staff and Mobile Development Teams. For example, studies of upland rice cultivation may be planned by the Research Center but would be carried out at all Tribal Welfare Stations. Results would be analysed and compared, and the implications drawn, at the Tribal Research Center.

D. The problems of hill tribes are likely to continue for many years, so that we must also think of staffing the Division for the future. Prior experience in the hills and contact with hill tribes may in some cases be a more important preparation for the present work than formal educational degrees. Ideally one would hope to find personnel with both education and experience with tribal people. In the future the Division may give special attention to enlisting promising young men who have lived near hill tribes, indeed young men of tribal background, to serve their nation as well as their people.

APPENDIX I

Tribal Arts and Crafts in Northern Thailand

Ruth B. Sharp

The argument of this preliminary report on certain limited aspects of the arts and crafts of some hill tribes in northern Thailand is that many native handicrafts which aid in maintaining tribal identities are threatened by extinction; that in the national interest immediate and energetic steps should be taken to preserve them if possible by encouraging their continued steady production at a traditional level of high quality; that this encouragement can best come through attempts to develop private or publicly facilitated marketing arrangements whereby tribal artifacts can be sold to what is estimated to be a considerable potential buying public; and that the chief responsibility for a program along these lines should fall to the Hill Tribes Division of the Public Welfare Department which has already demonstrated its intelligent concern for the welfare of the hill tribes, its professional knowledge of their capabilities, and its capacity to deal with their problems.

The main purpose of such an effort to support the continuing production of tribal arts and crafts, and particularly textiles, would not be simply to provide a needed cash income to tribal people while they are undergoing a difficult period of cultural change and economic transition. Rather, such a program should

/be

be designed primarily to help ease the orderly integration of hill tribes into the Thai national economy, polity, and society as ethnic minorities retaining their self-respect, dignity, and group morale. The dangers of threatened demoralization, apathy, and loss of ethnic identity will soon present serious problems for the tribal peoples and for the Thai government. Such dangers may be minimized if the hill tribes can retain pride in some aspects of their tribal traditions such as their distinctive arts and crafts, and if traditional work habits can be preserved through the transition period, especially among women and children, by the continuation of familiar forms of useful employment.

The tribal peoples to whom this report refers live in the upland areas of the northern Thai provinces of Chiangmai, Chiangrai, and Nan, and they are in touch not only with the Thai peoples who constitute an ethnic majority occupying the plains and valleys of these provinces, but also with upland and lowland populations in Burma and Laos and, through radio and other forms of communication, even with peoples and governments beyond. This report is particularly concerned with such Tibeto-Burman groups as the Akha, Karen, Lahu, and Lissu, many of whom have entered Thailand from the north within recent decades or the last century, and with more sinicized groups such as the Meo and Yao. Thai and Mon-Khmer hill peoples, such as the Shans, Lawa, Khmu, or Thin, do not come within the purview of this paper.

Among

Among all of these tribal peoples of north Thailand, with the exception of many Karens, basic similarities in their subsistence dry rice horticultural, hunting, and gathering technologies exist, and it is these common features of their economic life which permit the outsider to refer to them as "the hill tribes". However, among themselves they are very distinctly differentiated by language, social organization, religious beliefs and practices, and systems of ideas, sentiments, and values. But the most visible and obvious distinctions among them lie in the different styles of their arts and crafts. Village settlements of different tribal groups are found interspersed among each other within a restricted region; but even from a great distance the ethnic affiliation of a village is clearly signalled by distinguishing patterns of settlement, house types, and building styles: Lissu, Meo, and Yao build on the ground, while Akha, Lahu, and Karen houses are elevated wholly or in part on piles. In the busy market towns of the north, the tribesmen and more particularly the tribeswomen can readily be distinguished from each other by their characteristic dress and headgear. Lahu and Karen women may buy similar commercial cloth for their dress, but they choose distinctive colors; Meo and Yao women work similar cross-stitched designs into the same dark blue cloth, but cut their clothes in entirely different styles. Even subdivisions of ethnic groups may be distinguished by differences in their technical treatment of craft products:

/The

The White Meo and the Blue Meo traditionally weave the same plant fiber into cloth, but the former use it undyed while the latter dye it a dark blue, thus giving rise to the two names for the two social groups who are otherwise culturally very closely related. Women from certain Akha settlements in Burma wear headdresses which differ from those of the Akha women of Thailand; and Akha men's jacket designs vary not only from region to region but from village to village. And the ubiquitous shoulder bag carried by all the hill tribes remains as clear a tribal identification as a calling card. General patterns and styles in arts and crafts may vary from tribe to tribe or from village to village; but within the local group or the kinship unit the designs do not vary from person to person or from generation to generation so that clothes and other craft forms become important marks of identification not only for others but for the tribes people themselves.

Such different and distinctive styles of cultural equipment have been preserved among the mobile hill tribes through centuries of time and miles of space. As the mountain peoples periodically shift their settlements along the high ridges or from range to range, much of this equipment must be left behind to succumb to the encroaching forest. The groups are not deeply attached by sentiment to home sites nor long identified with particular places which must regularly be abandoned. Still the particular styles of the arts and crafts of a village group persist and
/wherever

wherever the members resettle they soon emerge with new homes and a whole panoply of artifacts which reproduce the old ones exactly and proclaim the tribal identity and within that the village characteristics of each group with immediate clarity. For, in fact, when they move they do not leave everything behind: skills needed to make the new equipment are carried in their hands; the patterns and designs, in their heads; and the sentiment for these traditional things, in their hearts. Thus wherever they move they recreate a small area of their own culture, reproducing with effortless accuracy the patterns of material things they have always known, things peculiar to themselves which in each new place gives them a familiar environment and a sense of continuing stability and security.

It may be argued that the persistent tribal style differences serve as important symbols of group identification and as a defense against deculturalization for peoples who have lived for centuries scattered over wide mountain landscapes as equals with other tribes or as minority groups under pressure from lowland Chinese, Burman, Shan, or Lao majorities. It would seem that such symbols would continue to be of equal importance to the mountain tribes now established within the political boundaries of Thailand as they encounter not only the wet rice culture of the Thai chao na, not unlike that of peasant farmers they have known before, but also confront a whole new series of products and pressures for change emanating from the markets and capitals

of the modern world. Past experience has taught them to resist or cope with traditional lowland cultures; but the machine made goods of the market towns, the medical and other improvement programs of the officials, schools, roads, buses and the long trips they make possible, and a whole array of new influences are proving irresistible, even though they are just beginning and the force of their impact is still weak. These elementary forces of change, bringing new "advantages" and "luxuries" into the hills where they will soon become "necessities", are already creating increased needs for cash with which to purchase commercial products which in turn are beginning to create external cultural uniformities among the tribes with a resulting potentially demoralizing anonymity.

The market towns fringing the hills of the north offer to the tribes people many items in new form which they have been accustomed to make for themselves: Textiles, mats and baskets, cooking and eating utensils and metal implements. They also offer things never before known or used: Shoes, hats, lamps, radios, cigarette lighters, wrist watches, and, of course, a whole inventory of plastic objects of many types. Already most hill villages have at least one radio, all have flash lights, all have guns, although not all individuals in any village have all these items. Men wear hats or berets, children are given "Mickey Mouse" shirts, and all wear sneakers in town, although removing them for the trails. The women of some tribes (Lahu, /Lissu,

Lissu, Yao) would rather buy cloth made in Thailand, Burma, India or the west than follow their traditional methods of producing their own textile materials. Of the tribes visited, only the Akha and Meo still grow their own fibers and weave their own cloth for clothes. Styles of clothing are beginning to change, too. Men wear old trousers of any design and a shirt from the market for every day. Children also wear such commercial garments as are readily available in the stores. Women are more conservative, and only the Lahu and some Karen have been observed to abandon their own native dress for the Thai pasin and blouse; they do tend to retain the traditional turban which now, however, may be a cheap "good morning" towel. Four Yao girls of Nong Waen, near Mae Chan, who recently entered a Thai school for tribal children took off their turbans, cut their hair, and put on the dark skirt and white blouse of the Siamese school girl. Preparing themselves to stop acting as Yao, they ceased to look like Yao. By the same logic children adopted from other tribes by the Yao assume Yao dress. Such rejections of traditional attire as outward symbols of tribal identity must presage a loss of inner cultural qualities, a loss which in situations of major change may threaten emptiness.

But the world of the mountain people is not yet emptied of artifacts which retain their traditional meanings and which require for their production the expert exercise of old skills. It is important that some of their arts and crafts are still being

/preserved

preserved amidst the confusion of living in two worlds. The Akha and Meo textiles mentioned above are a case in point. Akha, Lissu, Meo, and Yao embroideries are still made with the greatest traditional accuracy and skill. The shoulder bags of all tribes retain their distinctive character. A Yao woman requires almost a year to embroider one pair of trousers for herself, but such trousers so painstakingly made she will continue to make and wear without variation from the age of six or so until her death. The Meo continue not only to weave their cloth but to apply to it their traditional carefully detailed batik designs. A new dress requiring weeks of labor is made by most Meo women for each new year; and in preparation for death years may be spent in producing the finest costume of all as the most proper attire for burial. Akha women may buy some baskets in the market, but they still make the magnificent heavy carrying baskets in which gourds or bamboo tubes full of water are laboriously carried from the traditionally located lower springs up to the village site above. Small baskets to hold the cotton an Akha woman spins as she walks along the trail cannot be duplicated in the market town stores so full of other containers made of plastic. Blacksmiths are still busy in the villages making knives, sickles, and other utensils which retain their tribal distinction. Men and boys, although they may own guns, still make fine cross-bows with their tribally characteristic releases. And they still fashion bird traps, ingenious and delicate, which are used constantly. No machine

/could

could duplicate or replace such native products as these; prime materials are used for them, and on them the tribal worker lavishes the most careful traditional skills.

A small and fluctuating natural market exists which can usually absorb, though it hardly stimulates, any surplus production of such articles of tribal handicraft. Some sales are made directly from the village, facilitated by staff members of Tribal Welfare Stations or by missionaries. Increasingly the tribal people themselves, in their search for cash, carry their own products into the market towns for sale. Here local entrepreneurs, some of them tribal people who have settled in the towns, some Chinese, some Thai, will accept native products, including handicrafts, in exchange for the necessities and luxuries wanted in the hills. In Maesai, Akha from adjacent villages and from across the river in Burma exchange their surplus tribal products such as rice, cotton, seeds, beads, and small rattan stools and tables, for commercial goods. Shops accepting Akha tribal handicrafts have no difficulty in selling them, although the quantities of goods dealt with are admittedly not large. Farther south in Mae Chan there are several dealers, including comparatively wealthy individuals of Yao, Lahu or Lissu backgrounds, through whom tribal products are channelled into the local economy, most of these being exchanged for silver ornaments for which Mae Chan is a noted center among all the tribes north and west of the Maekok

/River

River. Shops in Chiengrai sell Karen cloth by the meter as well as ready-made Karen jackets although the volume of their local business could not be ascertained. A leading Yao family based in Chiengkong has established stores in Chiengkham and in Bangkok which deal primarily in commercial goods but as a side line offer Yao and other hand made tribal products for sale. In these stores can be purchased an entire Yao woman's costume, finely embroidered, for 1000 baht. In Chiengmai, where there is much more Thai and foreign tourist trade than in any of the market towns so far mentioned, there are several shops which regularly stock articles of tribal dress, silver jewelry, and particularly shoulder bags. Here Meo women's skirts sell for prices between 300 and 500 baht depending on the amount and quality of the work. Karen embroidered blouses may be purchased for sixty baht. And in competition with machine made shoulder bags which sell for five to fifteen baht, tribal bags, particularly those made by Lahu and Karen women, sell in considerable quantity at thirty-five to forty baht to buyers who prefer the more distinctive and longer wearing articles of handwork.

Without further research it would be difficult to estimate the volume of tribal handicraft business which is transacted in these local markets. A number of points, however, may be noted about this trade in the north which is comparatively slight in contrast to such lowland Thai cottage industries as

/silk

silk, silver, lacquer ware, and so on. In the first place, there is some trade in tribal craft articles. It moves through "natural" outlets already in existence and is carried on by native initiative. Even tribal merchants in the towns are handling craft goods from the hills for business rather than sentimental reasons. Except for Chiangmai, the buyers so far are almost entirely other tribal peoples or local Thai. Chiangmai, which appears to be the most active northern market for tribal arts and crafts, attracts many more Thai and foreign tourists than does any other northern town, and its ability to distribute tribal products augurs well for a future in which increasing numbers of such tourists will visit northern towns.

A market for native arts and crafts and outlets to it are of little value unless the hill tribes are interested in producing goods which will continue to attract buyers. It takes a Lahu woman three full working days to weave enough material on her belt loom for one shoulder bag which she then sells for thirty baht. Paying five to ten baht in the market for the thread for her bag, she thus earns more per day for her labor than tribal males do for agricultural or other work. However, like other tribal women, she seldom has three full days at a time to devote to her weaving but must use odd moments snatched from house and field work. Time consumed in producing handi-

/craft

craft work, sometimes expressed in terms of the quality or elaborateness of the workmanship, seems to be a common standard among the hill tribes generally for determining costs, especially of textiles. In any case, the prices that hand made tribal goods command in the local markets are firm and such that the tribes people consider that they are profiting in selling their labor in this way.

While there is some possibility of expanding the local northern markets for tribal handicrafts, it is doubtful that they alone can develop a sufficient volume or variety of business to provide adequate incentives to keep such hand work in active production among all of the hill tribes. A still larger market must be found which at the same time will be stable, insistent on high quality of workmanship and materials, and sufficiently remunerative to induce large numbers of tribal people to produce for it. For such a market as this we must look to Bangkok, and particularly to that segment of it which caters to the thousands of foreign tourists who pass through this city each year in search of the exotic. Could Bangkok absorb not only a greater quantity of such tribal goods than is sold in the north but also a greater variety of tribal arts and crafts? The answer at present must be tentative and be based chiefly on the opinions of merchants who know the Bangkok market, for there has been no sustained effort as yet to channel tribal handicrafts from the

/mountains

mountains of the north to the shops of the capital city, and only such a test will provide a positive answer. In the meantime, we can consider the saleability of objects now being produced by the hill tribes for their own use, we can suggest new objects which they could make with their traditional techniques and which would attract new buyers, and we can consult representative merchants in touch with the international buying public in Bangkok regarding their opinion of the prospects of developing outlets in that market for goods which the hill tribes can produce.

Certainly in Bangkok, if in the north, some tribal costumes, hand woven textiles, and shoulder bags can be sold just as they are made in the hills. This list could be expanded to include bead work and silver jewelry, baskets, mats, brooms, parts of costumes with fine embroidery. The sashes, turbans, women's trousers, children's hats and men's jackets of the Yao; the women's skirts, baby-carriers, head bands, embroidered jacket borders of the Meo; the hand woven cloth of the Karen, and the magnificent embroidery of the Lissu as well as their rarely now hand woven cloth and shoulder bags; the very attractive man's jacket of the Akha as well as the women's chains of beads and characteristic hats with their outcroppings of feathers, beads, tassels, silver and jewelry. The bows and arrows of all tribes have been purchased by travellers and carried home in spite of the difficulty of

/packing

packing and transporting.

In addition to these existing products new ones can be created. One of the best possibilities for increasing the supply of marketable goods is to make from articles of clothing that have distinction and charm but are not usable except as curios new articles which have a wider use but still employ the old techniques. An example of this is the Meo woman's skirt. The central part of the skirt is a band of cloth woven from a native grass called "daw". It is about one foot wide and eleven feet long. Over the entire area the Meo women, using an indigenous batik technique, apply exquisite traditional designs with wax. Each design is a panel one foot square, each separated from the next by a two inch border. The patterns differ from square to square using motifs handed down for generations and bearing specific names, "eyes of the pumpkin", "seeds of the gourd", "path through the forest", "ring", "ja". After the design has been applied the cloth is dyed dark blue, then washed, thus producing a dark blue textile with a white design that is the distinctive dress characteristic of the Blue Meo. Khun Chanya of Chiangmai, long interested in the textiles and textile designs of North Thailand, wanted to use this beautiful material in some form other than the woman's skirt, a form which would appeal to a large buying public. She designed place mats, each containing one traditional skirt panel

/and

and a border. By careful instruction and supervision she was able to induce the Meo of Tak to make eight sets, which required three months to complete, and were an immediate success. Examples were shown to Mr. J.H.W. Thompson of The Thai Silk Co., Bangkok, who said that such articles, if the high quality were kept uniform, could easily be sold in the Bangkok market.

The Yao of the village of Phale produced as a little gift, attaching no significance to it, a small pouch about three inches square covered with a cross-stitched embroidery of their ancient symbol called the "grey-monkey". This design is not used so frequently now and only the older women know it. To the student of Southeast Asian art it recalls the Dong-song motifs seen on the ancient bronzes. This little pouch had such charm that others like it could easily be sold in great numbers in an international market, and, further, suggests a way in which ancient designs might be preserved.

With this in mind we interviewed Mr. Thompson, mentioned above, of the Thai Silk Co., Mrs. Kenneth Wells of the Christian Bookshop on New Road which carries native products from all over Thailand, and The Thai Home Industries of Oriental Lane which has for some time specialized in selling and shipping Thai native handicrafts. All were interested. All stressed the importance of a reliable supply, a high standard of workmanship, and the necessity of a middle-man to collect the goods, deliver them to the shops, and handle the payments.

The first serious attempt we know of to collect tribal goods and ship them to market was made by Mr. Harvey Price, an American Peace Corps Volunteer assigned to the Nikhom at Mae Chan, Chiengr. In February, 1964, he collected articles from the Akha of Saen Chai Village and the Yao of Phale Village both situated on Nikhom land. He collected only items which were available without being specially commissioned. These he packed and took to Bangkok to the Thai Home Industries, who, when they saw them, bought all the items and ordered more. A list of the articles commissioned appears at the end of this report.

Mr. Price then returned to the Nikhom and spent two months collecting this order. Many of the items he bought from the Akha and the Yao they happened to have on hand. Others he commissioned, and both tribes were immediately interested and commenced making the articles they did not have. The commissioned articles at first were not of the quality the maker would have produced for his or her own use, for a man making a bow for himself is concerned with perfection of detail that he cannot feel for a bow to be sold to strangers. However, by rejecting the inferior items Mr. Price was able to demonstrate the relationship between quality and demand. He then paid for the articles (using his own capital), and shipped them, no small task. The Thai Home Industries has received the shipment but has not put it on display in the shop so it cannot yet be said how it will

be received in the Bangkok wider market. It can be said, however, that it is possible to stimulate the tribes to create more hand-made goods than they need, and to produce these in sufficient quantity and of a quality to interest sellers in touch with an international buying market.

It should be noted that our own survey group tried commissioning various articles; Lahu bags, Meo embroideries from Chieng Dao Nikhom tribes, Akha jackets and bags from the village of Khaje in Chiengrai. In the first instance the commissioned articles were not a success for there was no one to supervise their manufacture. In the second case we were more successful because the missionary stationed at the village of Khaje, Mrs. Peter Nightingale, volunteered to check the workmanship and so helped the Akha produce jackets which otherwise might have been inferior to their own and so unacceptable.

It would seem, then, that to help the hill tribes of Northern Thailand maintain their arts and crafts, and thus their traditional identity and dignity, to help provide them with additional income and occupation, a market for these products must be found. Such a market is beginning to exist, but is inaccessible to the tribes without the help of a professional assigned to this task. If the Hill Tribes Division of the Department of Public Welfare could provide such a person, the Tribal Welfare Stations already provide a place where the goods can be collected. It is too much to ask the Superintendents

of each Nihom to undertake the entire marketing task, for they are occupied with the administration of their particular stations. It is therefore recommended that the Department of Public Welfare, already deeply concerned with and knowledgeable about this situation create at its earliest convenience a full-time position, the duties of which are to encourage, supervise and facilitate the production and marketing of the arts and crafts of the hill tribes.

Thai Home Industries' order for hill tribe merchandise
placed with Harvey Price, 15 April 1964

<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Item</u>
10	Akha girl's soft hats
10	Akha large shoulder bags
6	Akha small shoulder bags
10	Yao girl's jackets
36	Cross Bows
2	Akha woman's stiff hats (bamboo)
2	Yao girl's hats
24	Bird traps
20	Gourds
12	Akha knives, with sheath
12	Yao rice harvesting knives
12	Yao small hoes
24	Yao short brooms

Total amount of order - 3,348.40 Baht

APPENDIX II

Gazeteer of Tribal Villages in the Province of Chiengrai north of the Mae Kok River.

The following list includes what we believe to be all the tribal villages in Chiengrai north of the Mae Kok River. Since these villages have many names, we have tried to give the most common name as the first name. In some cases the name of the headman is an alternative name for the village, but we have not always duplicated this as one of the names of the village. Orthography is based on the Mary Haas system of transcribing Thai into European letters. Altitude is in meters, and when a village lies on or very near the level of the Mae Chan plain at 400 meters above sea level, we have indicated it as a blank (---). The map coordinates are from maps published by the Army Map Service, U.S. Corps of Engineers, Washington D.C., Series 708, scale 1:50,000. Not every village was visited by members of the survey group and as our information was incomplete in some cases even where we did visit the village, we indicate the absence of information by a question mark (?); our own estimates, by a single asterisk (*); or a headman's estimate, by a double asterisk (**).

<u>Village name and alternatives</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Popu- lation</u>	<u>Headman</u>	<u>Alti- tude</u>	<u>Map coord- inate</u>
<u>Amphoe Myang Chiengrai</u>						
1. Myang Ngam Nya	Karen	16	94	?	480	22-22 x 5-56
2. Myang Ngam Tai	Karen	39	160	Li Silicaj	480	22-20 x 5-53
3. Kiu Sataj Agaun noi Huei Lu	Akha	27	227	Agaun	790	22-23 x 5-62
4. Saen mai	Akha	9	67	Gocy	790	22-22 x 5-61
5. Cawa	Lahunji	8	40	Cawa	775	22-21 x 5-57
6. Capi	Lahunji	27	140*	Capi	1075	22-19 x 5-59
7. Tan Ye Luang Caje	Lahunji	7	45	Caje	575	22-16 x 5-65
8. Anapukae	Akha	8	60	Ana	1035	22-18 x 5-67
9. Mau Phi	Lahunji	7	48	Cady (?)	665	22-16 x 5-66
10. Cati Ca'y	Lahunji	7	39	Ca'y	885	22-14 x 5-67
11. Hale Caha Ale	Lahunji	9	56	Caha	845	22-13 x 5-70
12. Cakae Huei Lu; Saen Caka(?)	Lahunji	12	61	Cakae	905	22-11 x 5-73
13. Maukae	Lahunji	6	34	Maukae	905	22-10 x 5-70
14. Cathu	Lahunji	7	38	Cathu	1000	22-11 x 5-70
15. Saen 'ad Se'ad	Lahunji	6	44	Saen'ad	985	22-12 x 5-72
16. Akau'ae	Lahunji	6	35	Akau'ae	1045	22-15 x 5-70
17. Phu Saen Saung Mia Huei Sak Khaung Apho'ae, Kaucy	Akha	16	117	Apho'ae Kaucy	690	22-17 x 5-71
18. Camaku	Lahunji	5	30	Camaku	670	22-12 x 5-74
19. Canji	Lahunji	12	67	Canji	600	22-12 x 5-77

<u>Village name and alternatives</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Popu- lation</u>	<u>Headman</u>	<u>Alti- tude</u>	<u>Map coord- inate</u>
<u>Amphoe Myang Chiengrai</u>						
20. Kae Khau Pukhaung	Lahunji	9	54	Kae Khau	540	22-12 x 5-78
21. Saen Phrom	Lahusi	11	48	Calae	1000	22-16 x 5-78
22. Phakaung Can'ji	Lahunji	7	38	Canji (Phakaung)	900	22-14 x 5-79
23. Ai khai Huei luang	Lahusi	11	49	Aikhai	1080	22-15 x 5-84
24. Ai Saen Hua Chomphu Mauha	Lahunji	13	64	Ai saen Mauha	870	22-13 x 5-82
25. Ban Fai Yang Ban Pong	Karen	12	82	Nai Tan	---	22-12 x 5-86
26. Huei Bakieng Ca'y	Lahunji	18	94	Ca'y	720	22-11 x 5-74
27. Mae Yao Law Su	Yao	7	62	Law Su Tiu	505	22-11 x 5-76
28. Mae Yao Fak Sai	Yao	10	64	Law Su Tiu	480	22-09 x 5-78
29. Huei Khom	Karen	50	322	Turawaun	---	22-10 x 5-80
30. Huei Khom	Shan	32	151	Ma Samposi	---	22-10 x 5-80
31. Mae Kok Nya	Karen	28	156	Intaung	---	22-07 x 5-73
32. Ban Nam Lad	Karen	24	153**	Saupolosi	---	22-03 x 5-86
<u>Amphoe Chieng Saen</u>						
1. Ban Doi Sagno Kae San	Akha	34	168	Kaete	?	no map coordinates
2. Ban Lum	Akha	5	19	No hdmn.	?	no map coordinates
3. Myang Kiang	Shan	100**	432**	Buntoeng Sriratana	?	no map coordinates

<u>Village name and alternatives</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Popu- lation</u>	<u>Headman</u>	<u>Alti- tude</u>	<u>Map coord- inate</u>
<u>Amphoe Mae Sai</u>						
1. Doi Tung Ban Mai Bapaun Kae San	Akha	11	58	Bapaun	1200	22-50 x 5-87
2. Lota Huei Lota Casy	Lahubala	5	21	Casy	750	22-52 x 5-88
3. Phami	Akha	45	313	Saen Phrom	?	22-56 x 5-89
4. Pataek	Akha	20	115	Abobaun	?	22-57 x 5-90
5. Namlin Phahya	Akha	15	69	Lopomai	?	22-58 x 5-90
6. Doi Tung	Lahubala	29	167*	Calae	?	22-47 x 5-86
<u>Amphoe Mae Chan</u>						
<u>Tambon Mae Kham</u>						
1. Ban Pang Nun	Akha	15	81	Syja	1080	22-49 x 5-58
2. Ban Pang Nun Saen Myang Wan	Lissu	62	366	Asai	1350	22-49 x 5-60
3. Puloj	Akha	13	65	Abc	1025	22-47 x 5-60
4. Phaja Phai Mau niw	Akha	13	84	Agaun	1100	22-47 x 5-63
5. Saen Muku	Akha	15	98*	Mochi	830	22-42 x 5-65
6. Pachi Pache	Akha	17	92	Pachi	1110	22-46 x 5-68
7. Doi Khaw Khiaw Atupusaen Saen Hua Myang	Akha	11	72	Atu	1130	22-46 x 5-75
8. Puna	Lahunji	14	77	Puna	960	22-44 x 5-76
9. Cate Ban Phau Myng	Lahunji	12	71	Catae	1030	22-43 x 5-74
10. Catae (south)	Lahunji	5	22	Catae	1050*	22-42 x 5-75

<u>Village name and alternatives</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Popu- lation</u>	<u>Headman</u>	<u>Alti- tude</u>	<u>Map coord- inate</u>
<u>Amphoe Mae Chan</u>						
<u>Tambon Mae Kham</u>						
11. Caka (west)	Lahunji	4	19	Caka	1050*	22-46 x 5-72
12. Camyn Saen Kham Ly	Lahunji	12	53	Canga	1020	22-45 x 5-71
13. Khakae	Lahunji	9	38	Khakae	910	22-42 x 5-69
14. Ahai Huej Phan	Akha	21	118	Apha	760	22-41 x 5-72
15. Agu	Akha	18	53	Agu	650	22-39 x 5-72
16. Huei Mau Thaw Saen Sanga	Akha	10	66	Tumau	760	22-41 x 5-73
17. Na Ngoe Huei Mau	Akha	8	58	Aga	690	22-40 x 5-75
18. Cate	Lahunji	3	15*	Cate	not visited	22-42 x 5-78
19. Caka (east)	Lahunji	3	11*	Caka	?	22-42 x 5-79
20. Samaki Phaja Samaki Ca'i mai	Akha	32	206	Ca'i	875	22-40 x 5-77
21. Mae Pyn Ca'i kaw Saen Pyn	Akha	37	215	Ago	875	22-41 x 5-80
22. Pasang	Akha	34	203	Ago	1020	22-48 x 5-77
23. Pajang mai	Akha	27	173	Apha	970	22-44 x 5-81
24. Pajang kaw	Akha	17	97	Abiau	1030	22-46 x 5-80
25. Calau kaw	Akha	28	258	Calau	970	22-48 x 5-81
26. Calau mai	Akha	17	114	Tumau Acu	920	22-48 x 5-82
27. Pakwei mai Baby	Akha	14	56	Amy	930	22-46 x 5-84
28. Huei Mongkha	Lahubala	3*	8*	Casya	did not visit	

<u>Village name and alternatives</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Popu- lation</u>	<u>Headman</u>	<u>Alti- tude</u>	<u>Map coord- inate</u>
<u>Amphoe Mae Chan</u>						
<u>Tambon Mae Kham</u>						
29. Pakwei Kaw	Akha	23	117	Aca	960	22-44 x 5-85
30. Khajaeng Ban Farang Khaje Yesu	Akha	6	30	?	850	22-41 x 5-84
31. Khajaeng Kaw Khajaeng nya Saen Myang Di Ania Khaje nji	Akha	28	208	Acy	850	22-41 x 5-84
32. Silang Khaejaeng Ban Tai Halang Bajokhaphu	Akha	24	134	Singkham	800	22-40 x 5-83
33. Khajaeng Tai Khaje Baka Jasakhaphu	Akha	15	116	?	775	22-41 x 5-85
<u>Tambon Pasang</u>						
1. Huei Mak Ban Yao Huei Mak	Chinese	16	69	Law Kung	940	22-35 x 5-64
2. Hin Kaung Saen Saung Phan	Akha	6	36	Losa	800	22-36 x 5-67
3. Caculaba	Lahunji	33	158	Cacu	920	22-34 x 5-67
4. Amae"	Akha	24	165	Amae	900	22-31 x 5-70
5. Jalum	Akha	5	43	Jalum	830	22-31 x 5-73
6. Doi Maesalaeb	Akha	16	103	Lopha	760	22-31 x 5-74
7. Chang Kham noi	Akha	15	77	Chosan	630	22-35 x 5-71
8. Ban Hin Taek	Shan	6	21	Somphong Batinwong	615	22-39 x 5-68
9. Ca'ytá	Lahunji	7	35*	Ca'ytá	?	22-39 x 5-66
10. Abiau Alae	Akha	14	77	Abiau	960	22-39 x 5-65
11. Athu	Akha	11	71	Athu	800	22-36 x 5-67

<u>Village name and alternatives</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Popu- lation</u>	<u>Headman</u>	<u>Alti- tude</u>	<u>Map coord- inate</u>
<u>Amphoe Mae Chan</u>						
<u>Tambon Pasang</u>						
12. Apha	Akha	14	76	Apha	780	22-37 x 5-66
13. Musan	Lissu	5	30	Musan	1190	22-36 x 5-63
14. Adu	Akha	25	138	Adu	1210	22-36 x 5-63
15. Huei Mak Law Ai Cole	Lissu	6	47	Su Lin	1150	22-35 x 5-60
16. Basu Phakae	Akha	19	110	Basu	930	22-40 x 5-60
17. Canau	Akha	14	73	jache	1050	22-44 x 5-57
18. Pong hai Pu Hai	Akha	19	122	gyja	890	22-43 x 5-57
19. Huei Kang	Akha	19	150	Aky	850	22-44 x 5-57
20. Mae Kham	Lissu	27	175*	---	did not visit	
21. Ala Pakwei Ala	Akha	7	48	Ala	720*	22-37 x 5-78
22. Aco achema	Akha	18	106	Aco	770	22-36 x 5-77
23. Saen Chai	Akha	48	317	Longkha	670	22-35 x 5-80
24. Adjo	Akha	22	126	Adjo	670	22-33 x 5-78
25. Huei San Hosa	Akha	22	145	Tumau	650*	22-36 x 5-81
26. Phale Huei Dya Chan Fin Cang Saen Pithak Kirikked	Yao	41	291	Law Chi	550*	22-30 x 5-78
27. Nyn Nau Saen Maj	Lahunji	4	28	Myn Nau	?	22-30 x 5-77
28. Ban Puloej	Shan	11	43	Phat Ninkaew	450	22-30 x 5-80
29. Nikhom Group I	Lahusi	23	154	Phaumyn	450	22-31 x 5-80

<u>Village name and alternatives</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Popu- lation</u>	<u>Headman</u>	<u>Alti- tude</u>	<u>Map coord- inate</u>
<u>Amphoe Mae Chan</u>						
<u>Tambon Pasang</u>						
30. Nikhom Group II	Lahusi	12	79	Caka phaumui	450	22-31 x 5-80.
<u>Tambon Mae Chan</u>						
1. Hakumu Ban Mai	Lissu	33	234	Shipu	1100	22-31 x 5-62
2. Asy Saen sae	Lissu	6	32	Miasy	1050	22-29 x 5-60
3. Saen Supha Mae Chan Luang	Lissu	10	54	Abipha	1300	22-27 x 5-58
4. Lisan	Lissu	4	27	Lisan	1360	22-27 x 5-52
5. Saen Kham Wang Acy	Lahunji	17	101	Acy	1010	22-20 x 5-75
6. Huei Tang Aje	Akha	9	69	Aje	710	22-18 x 5-70
7. Canji (Mae Chan)	Lahunji	5	25	Canji	860	22-22 x 5-73
8. Khaciu	Lahunji	9	33	Kham	?	22-20 x 5-77
9. Kae Ma noi Tong Thung	Lahunji	9	38	Casyciu	?	22-24 x 5-79
10. Huei Mahin Ton	Lissu	10	67	Saen Phrom Sukham	?	on map as Huei Mahin Ton
11. Huei Haum Senji Huei Yano	Lahunji	26	140	Senji	?	22-24 x 5-82
12. Cada	Lahunji	1	12	Cada	?	not visited
13. Huei Hok Caje	Lahunji	4	24	Caje	?	not visited

<u>Village name and alternatives</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Popu- lation</u>	<u>Headman</u>	<u>Alti- tude</u>	<u>Map coord- inate</u>
<u>Amphoe Mae Chan</u>						
<u>Tambon Mae Chan</u>						
14. Kae Mai Saen Mai Asypha	Lahu- Lissu	7	33	Asypha	940	22-19 x 5-79
15. Lopha	Lahu- Lissu	5	28	Lopha	1000	22-19 x 5-80
16. Caphy Saen myang chai Hua Phu	Lahusi	13	99	Caphy	990	22-20 x 5-80
17. Saen Chomphu Hua Huei Phu Nagaji	Lahusi	8	59	Cacubu	740	22-21 x 5-80
18. Huei Kang Pa	Yao	16	81	Law Ta at Naung waen	900	22-19 x 5-83
19. Lolau	Lahu- Lissu	6	38	Ca'y	670	22-23 x 5-84
20. Mogaun	Akha	18	136	Mogaun	?	22-31 x 5-84
21. Cagau Doi Ly Cawau	Lahunji	15	79	Cagau	720	22-27 x 5-82
22. Paphui	Lahunji	9	47	Paphui	770	22-26 x 5-82
23. Huei Kham	Yao	8	44	none	?	22-30 x 5-81
24. Law San Kwei Law San Seng	Yao	6	46	Law San Kwei--		22-28 x 5-79
25. Law Sib Law Chi Law Lu	Yao	12	89	Law Kaw Fu	770	22-26 x 5-78
26. Tung Kwei Law Chi Kwei	Yao	7		Law Chi Kwei	825	22-28 x 5-73
27. Thucy	Akha	14		Thucy	870	22-25 x 5-72

<u>Village name and alternatives</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Popu- lation</u>	<u>Headman</u>	<u>Alti- tude</u>	<u>Map coord- inate</u>
<u>Amphoe Mae Chan</u>						
<u>Tambon Mae Chan</u>						
28. Chakatau	Lahunji	11	88	Caka	880	22-26 x 5-67
29. Law Ta Saung mia Thung Hiang	Yao	17	113	Law San	650	22-23 x 5-70
30. Chang Kham noi (Mae Chan)	Akha	7	45	Chang Kham ? noi		22-25 x 5-64
31. Naung Waen Pong Palang Huei San Heui	Yao	41	241	Law Ta	?	marked on map

APPENDIX III

Work Schedule of Survey and Survey Personnel

1. Survey Schedule and Itinerary in Chiengrai Province

January 7, 1964	arrived Mae Chan; preliminary visiting of approximately 10 villages by day trips from Mae Chan.
January 30 to February 4	from Chiengrai by boat up Mae Kok River to 11 villages of Amphoe Myang, Chiengrai.
February 17 to 24	from Huei Krai to 12 villages of Tambon Mae Kham and five villages of Tambon Pasang.
February 28 to March 8	from Tribal Welfare Station to 17 villages of Tambon Mae Kham and 13 villages of Tambon Pasang.
March 16 to 25	from Tribal Welfare Station to six villages of Tambon Pasang and 21 villages of Tambon Mae Chan.
March 31 to April 5	from Huei Khom to 10 villages of Amphoe Myang, Chiengrai and 17 villages of Tambon Mae Chan.
April 9 to 10	from Ban Pong to 4 villages of Amphoe Myang, Chiengrai.
April 13 to 15	to 3 villages of Amphoe Chieng Saen and 6 villages of Amphoe Mae Sai.
April 16 to May 22	to miscellaneous villages by day trips from Mae Chan.

2. Personnel Associated with the Survey

in Chiengrai Province

Charoen Phinit, interpreter and medical adviser for survey, February 17 to May 22.

Phan Lao San, interpreter and guide for survey, February 17 to May 17.

Lao Jyau, guide, carrier and cook for survey, February 17 to April 17.

Yang Shr Dung, carrier, cook and assistant for survey, February 17 to April 17.

CHIENGRAI PROVINCE

NORTH OF MAE KOK RIVER

