THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL UNITY

AND THE INTERACTION BETWEEN THE SHAN PEOPLE AND THE THAI STATE:

A CASE STUDY OF PIANG LUANG VILLAGE, WIANG HAENG DISTRICT,

CHIANG MAI PROVINCE, THAILAND

von THEERAPON VICHCHURUNGSI

geboren am 27.03.1971 in PHATTHALUNG

Referent : Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Gabbert

Korreferent : Prof. Dr. Mathias Bös

Tag der mündlichen Prüfung : 16 July 2014

ABSTRACT

This study concerns a Shan community living in the frontier village of Piang Luang, Wianghaeng district, Chiang Mai province, Thailand. Its main objective is to study the interaction of the Shan people's self-identification in Piang Luang village and the Thai nation state's attempt to create and strengthen a national, social and cultural unity. The creation of social unity is an effort of the nation state to bring all the diverse peoples living within the fixed political boundaries of Thailand under the authority of the central government in Bangkok by emphasizing the borderline state, state territory, and citizenship. It is the goal to create a single cultural unity.

Ethnicity is the key concept dealt with in this study. The collection of information that had been performed for one year was conducted along qualitative research methods. The historical and ethnographical research emphasized on oral histories of representatives of the local community, and included the study of documents and literature on the region and field studies through the application of observation and interviews.

It was found that the state used measures of border control, territory control, people control, national identity creation and the creation of national consciousness as its strategy and other tools in creating a social and cultural unity, complying to the overall national efforts, and that all this had a deep impact on the members of the Shan community living in Piang Luang village. The Shan villagers reacted by a complex combination of self-adjustment and resistance that changed in correspondence with the expansion of the state power in the following three periods:

First Period: Prior to 1958 A.D. when the Shan army moved in to establish its command in the village, the Thai state power was still obscure or vague and the notions of borderline, territory, citizenship, national identity and national consciousness in Piang Luang village were unclear. The Thai nation state had no control over the borderline, territory and people. There was neither identity nor national consciousness creation among these ethnic minority people. As a result, the borderline, different citizenship, and Thai national consciousness had no impact on the daily life of the Shan community. Therefore, the villagers did not have to self-adjust or resist the Thai state authority. The people's self-definition was community-oriented and determined by their ancestry, shared descent.

I

Second Period: Between 1958 and 1976, the Shan army established its headquarter in the area. The Thai nation state still did not control the border, territory and people, and there was no creation of Thai identity or national consciousness. However, the villagers' self-identification changed in an important way. The people in Piang Luang village defined themselves as Shan, both from common ancestry and family ties, as well as their joint cultural features, forming an over-arching ethnic consciousness. This was fostered by the Shan Army to build up a collective Shan consciousness against the Myanmar state.

Third Period: After the Thai state's power was firmly established in 1976, the Shan community in Piang Luang village came under the direct control of the Thai nation state which tried to create a common Thai social and cultural unity by dismantling the notion of Shan ethnicity, by means of establishing the control of the border, of the territory and of the people simultaneously, in an attempt to create a Thai national consciousness amongst the villagers. In fact, many villagers of the Shan community in Piang Luang still tried to maintain ethnic identification as Shan while others (especially the younger) sought to instantiate from that trying to be accepted as Thai and identify themselves as Thai.

The attempts by the Thai state to create a social and cultural unity has marginalized some of the Shan people in Piang Luang village and resulted in major changes in their lives, e.g. by inhibiting free movement across the state border to Shan State, Myanmar. Villagers reacted by a complex combination of self-adjustment and resistance employing different strategies, such as the construction of social spaces, the invention of traditions, the adjustment of Shan cultural symbols, the adoption of symbols of being Thai , the reconstruction of Shan cultural activities and the construction of ethnic collective consciousness. Self-adjustment and resistance of the Shan community in Piang Luang village mainly reflected their self-identification: First as loyal Thai citizens, who are not harmful to the state's security. This manner of self-identification can be seen in the self-adaptation of the villagers in their interactions with state officials, which is considered as an out-group interaction. Second, villagers identified themselves as Shan and expressed their Shan cultural traits to show that they belonged to a prominent group with an ancient history and civilization. This manner of self-identification is often revealed when the villagers interact with each other, which is considered an in-group interaction. Most villagers try to build their own social spaces, practice Shan culture and construct an overarching ethnic consciousness.

Nevertheless, the two manners of self-identification of the Shan living in Piang Luang village are not necessarily contradictory. Their self-identification as Thais does not necessarily mean that they have to suppress the expression of Shan cultural traits. On the contrary, the majority of the Shan in Piang Luang village still show their Shan cultural traits in various situations and circumstances. They attempt to express both, Shan cultural traits and loyalty to Thailand, according to the particular circumstances. This demonstrates the Shan community's effort to adjust to the power relationship with the Thai state, but at the same time refuse a complete state control. It also indicates that the Shan people of Piang Luang village tried to preserve their ethnic boundaries for the best interests of the group.

Therefore, Shan ethnicity and self-identification of the community living in Piang Luang village are constructed in response to specific objectives. It is an unstable process that changes depending on historical contexts and on the power relationship between the Shan people and the Thai nation state. The Shan ethnicity of Piang Luang village is constructed in a continual process to create social and cultural unity.

The case study of the Shan community in Piang Luang village indicates that phenotype, emblems or common cultural features are no exact criteria for ethnic classification. The relevance of these features can change as a result of a mixture of factors in different situations. The ethnicity of the Shan community cannot be regarded as resulting from the people belonging to a unique culture that is fixed in time and space with a stable and standardized social structure. In addition, the categorization of the Shan people varies depending on different social contexts. Therefore, the classification of the Shan needs to be considered in various terms, both from the perspective of the Shan community itself and from that of the outsiders in different situations. Thus, the decisive features determining ethnic categorization are not stable but can be rebuilt in order to serve specific political and social purposes. These findings confirm the assumption of the study that ethnicity and ethnic identification of the Shan in Piang Luang village are not stable in accordance with the constructionist approach in ethnic studies.

Key Words: Shan, Thai nation state, ethnicity, assimilation, national integration, ethnic identification, ethnic distinction, Piang Luang village

ABSTRACT

Die vorliegende Studie beschäftigt sich mit den Auswirkungen der Anstrengungen des Nationalstaats zur nationalen Integration ethnischer Minderheiten in Südostasien. Im Zentrum steht die empirische Untersuchung der Gemeinschaft von Shan im Grenzdorf Piang Luang, Bezirk Wianghaeng, Provinz Chiang Mai, Thailand. Das Schlüsselkonzept zum Verständnis dieser Problematik ist die Ethnizität.

Der Untersuchung liegt neben dem Studium einschlägiger Literatur und der Analyse von Dokumenten zur Untersuchungsregion eine etwa einjährige Feldforschung zugrunde. Dabei wurden qualitative Forschungsmethoden angewandt, insbesondere teilnehmende Beobachtung, Interviews mit Mitgliedern der Shan-Gruppe und staatlichen Funktionsträgern, die Sammlung historischer und ethnographischer Daten sowie mündlicher Überlieferungen.

Durch die Ausweitung der Kontrolle über die Staatsgrenzen, das Staatsgebiet und die Staatsangehörigkeit sollten die verschiedenen Bevölkerungsgruppen, die innerhalb der politischen Grenzen von Thailand unter der Autorität der Zentralregierung in Bangkok leben, in eine nationale kulturelle Einheit integriert werden. All dies hatte tiefgreifende Auswirkungen auf die Mitglieder der Shan-Gemeinschaft im Dorf Piang Luang. Dabei lassen sich drei Perioden unterscheiden:

I. Bis zum Einzug der gegen die Regierung des benachbarten Birma (Myanmar) kämpfenden Shan-Armee in das Dorf 1958 war die thailändische Staatsmacht in der Region kaum präsent und die Vorstellungen von Grenzenlinien, der Ausdehnung des Staatsgebietes, von Staatsangehörigkeit, nationaler Identität und nationalem Bewusstsein im Dorf Piang Luang unklar. Der thailändische Nationalstaat hatte keine reale Kontrolle über die Grenze, das Gebiet und die Menschen. Infolgedessen hatten die Grenze, unterschiedliche Staatsbürgerschaften und die Vorstellung eines nationalen Thai-Bewusstseins keine Auswirkungen auf das Alltagsleben der Shan-Gemeinschaft. Die Selbstidentifizierung war gemeinschaftsorientiert und bezog sich auf gemeinsame Vorfahren und Abstammung.

II. Zwischen 1958 und 1976 unterhielt die Shan-Armee ihr Hauptquartier in der Region. Der thailändische Nationalstaat hatte immer noch keine Kontrolle über die Grenze, das Gebiet und die Menschen. Doch lässt sich eine grundlegende Veränderung der Selbstidentifizierung der Dorfbewohner feststellen. Die Leute des Dorfs Piang Luang bezeichneten Menschen nun als Shan sowohl aufgrund gemeinsamer Vorfahren und familiärer Verwandtschaft als auch aufgrund geteilter kultureller Merkmale, so dass sich ein übergreifendes ethnisches Bewusstsein herausbildete. Dies wurde von der Shan-Armee aktiv gefördert.

III. Nach der Verdrängung der Shan-Armee 1976 kam die Shan-Gemeinschaft im Dorf Piang Luang erstmals unter die direkte Kontrolle des Thai Nationalstaats. Dieser war bestrebt, eine gemeinsame soziale und kulturelle Thai-Einheit zu schaffen und die Shan-Ethnizität zu schwächen. Während viele Dorfbewohner versuchten, ihre ethnische Identifizierung als Shan aufrecht zu erhalten, begannen andere (vor allem die jüngeren) sich als Thai zu identifizieren, um als solche akzeptiert zu werden.

Die Reaktionen der Dorfbewohner auf die Integrationsbestrebungen des Thai-Staates bestanden aus einer komplexen Kombination von Anpassung und Widerstand. Sie umfassten u.a. die Erfindung von Traditionen, die Anpassung von kulturellen Shan-Symbolen und die Aneignung von Symbolen des Thai-seins. Die Anpassung zeigte sich u.a. in der zunehmenden Selbst-Identifikation der Dorfbewohner als loyale Thai Bürger in ihren Interaktionen mit staatlichen Beamten. Diese wird als Außen-Interaktion betrachtet. Wenn die Dorfbewohner unter sich interagierten, identifizierten sie sich demgegenüber meist als Shan und demonstrierten spezifische kulturelle Merkmale, um zu demonstrieren, dass sie zu einer prominenten Gruppe mit einer alten Geschichte und Zivilisation gehören.

Dies zeigt die Bemühungen der Shan-Gemeinschaft, sich in ihrer Beziehung zur Autorität des Thai Staaten anzupassen, gleichzeitig aber die vollständige staatliche Kontrolle zu verweigern. Die Shan-Ethnizität und Selbst-Identifikation der Gemeinschaft im Dorf Piang Luang wurden also jeweils für bestimmte Zwecke konstruiert. Sie waren instabil und veränderten sich je nach historischen Kontexten und dem Machtverhältnis zwischen den Shan und dem Thai Nationalstaat.

Die Fallstudie der Shan-Gemeinschaft im Dorf Piang Luang zeigt, dass Phänotyp, Embleme oder gemeinsame kulturelle Merkmale keine eindeutigen Kriterien für die ethnische Klassifizierung sind. Die Bedeutung dieser Merkmale kann sich durch unterschiedliche Faktoren in verschiedenen Situationen ändern. Die Ethnizität der Shan-Gemeinschaft ergibt sich keineswegs unmittelbar aus einer geteilten Kultur, die zeitlich und räumlich mit einer stabilen und standardisierten sozialen Struktur befestigt wird. Darüber hinaus unterscheidet sich die Kategorisierung der Shan in verschiedenen sozialen Kontexten. Die Ergebnisse der empirischen Studie bestätigen also die Thesen konstruktivistischer Ansätze zum Verständnis von Ethnizität.

Stichwörter: Shan, Thai Nationalstaat, Ethnizität, Assimilation, nationale Integration, ethnische Identifikation, ethnische Unterscheidung, Dorf Piang Luang

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

ABBREVIATIONS

CPC   Communist Party of China

ICG   International Crisis Group

KMT   Kuomintang

PULO   Patani United Liberation Organization

SPDC   State Peace and Development Council

SSA   Shan State Army

SURA   Shan United Revolutionary Army

SWAN   Shan Women's Action Network

TRC   Tai Revolution Council

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

The state's interaction with ethnic groups is one of the most import factors in strengthening the sense of ethnic consciousness today. A state is defined by territorial boundaries and, generally, claims to represent a particular "national" community. States are products of historical, political and colonial processes. They are made, broken and remade as groups and/or individual leaders vie for control over territory (Eller, 1999, pp. 16-21, cited in Sachiko Nakayamn, 2003, pp. 16-17). For the categorization of the concept of "state" there exist various opinions and definitions which are partly contradictory. The state normally follows one of three policies to unify society: Plural societies are characterized by the domination of one ethnic group often proclaiming its culture as the core of national identity and trying to produce a mono-ethnic state. Clientelist states promote the politics of competitive ethnicity, in which inter-ethnic rivalry is pursued through the activities of entrepreneurs, patrons and brokers (Brown, 1994, p. 52). In corporatist states ethnic communities are sometimes considered as groups that articulate particular interests towards the state. Usually, when there is a need to subordinate political participation to an overall effective economic strategy, the state follows corporative policies. In the same way, ethnic identity is able to continue and is even more emphasized in most interactions with other ethnic groups (Brown 1994, pp. 49-58, cited in Sachiko Nakayamn, 2003, pp. 16-17).

Eller (1999, p. 17, cited in Sachiko Nakayamn, 2003, pp. 16-17) suggests that there are two main ways for the state to deal with ethnic groups to achieve becoming a nation-state:

1. Hegemonic states recognize only one identity as legitimate. The identity of the dominant ethnic group becomes the national identity and the culture of the dominant group the national culture.

2. A pluralist state recognizes the legitimacy of other cultures. Ethnic groups feel that their cultural continuity, personal security, economic prosperity and political participation are possible. Brown (1994, p. 37) argues that when cultural differences within states become a potential for conflict, states may try to de-pluralize their society, usually through assimilation policies, so that it becomes increasingly homogenous. Some states may try to maintain existing patterns of pluralism

1

by officially recognizing a multi-ethnic or multi-cultural situation as a legitimate and continuing reality, and some may try to reduce the political voice of a minority group's solidarity, while accepting social pluralism as a continuing reality (Brown, 1994, p. 37). Correspondingly, ethnic minority groups may try to attempt assimilation into the larger economic, political and social milieus, arguing the validity of their own culture and ethnic pride, or developing adaptive strategies in the society they live in (Rajah, 1990, pp. 245, cited in Sachiko Nakayamn, 2003, pp. 16-17). From all the different opinions for state policy which have been abstracted from real states, one can see that state policy is a choice, and the choice or the way/direction could be altered.

Meanwhile, the state is indicated that the Thai nation state did not obviously hold any typology as Eller's classification but the change depends on periphery areas or part of state's territories. If it is found that the state uses the policy in the form of Hegemonic states recognizing only one identity as legitimate. The identification of the dominant ethnic group becomes the national identification and the culture of the dominant group the national culture as Patcharin Nawichai (2008) concluded that in the former times although periphery areas are part of state's territories resulted from their distance from the centre, the central government or the majority of the population did not pay attention to these areas. Considering there were only minorities, primitive and marginal people who used these areas. The state, thus, intervened in the population of these areas. The occurrence of several matters, such as security of the country (resulting from communist rebellions, opium plantation, and emigration) as well as preservation recognition (due to the rapid decrease of natural resources related to shifting cultivation, deforestation and over-utilization), the residents of periphery areas became to focus on the state's interest and it was called as "a menace to the Thai nation state."

The menace to the Thai nation state becomes a central view that policies applied to ethnic groups who lived in these periphery areas and helped to control and integrate them into the state's system, to prevent the natural resources and the state's national security from invasion. Furthermore, a hierarchical relationship among the state and the ethnic groups were induced by this integration. The state can perform over the people due to legitimacy by its authority. The state also requires legitimation for the subsistence systems of every ethnic group to be intervened within its boundaries. Nonetheless, the level of the state's intervention in ethnic groups depends on the confine of threat against the national security. The national security influences in the state's policy so

2

the groups assumed to be a threat will be closely observed. As a result the government has paid much attention to the hill people considered as destroyers of the environment, drug produres, etc.

Combining the periphery minorities into the Thai society, "the originality" probably reduced is expected the loyalty creation in the Thai state. On the contrary, integration of Thai social space is a form of inclusion in the process of Thaiization, integration of the Thai nation state through policies and projects, so there is at least the possibility that minority people and the hill people become Thai citizens. Civil rights, property rights, and opportunities are provided in approaching the economic and social welfare and participating in the state administration. They, however, confront new environments having great influence on their subsistence systems and their traditional practices as its nature.

The formation of nation states in Southeast Asia in the 19th century, whether in Thailand (see endnote 1), Myanmar, Laos, Malaysia and Vietnam, has had a profound impact on the social and cultural transformations of the region's diverse populations (Jamaree Chiangthong, 2003, p. 26). This induced them to self-adjust or to resist the states' power. The emergence of nation states in Southeast Asia took place after colonizers integrated territories that belonged to different groups of ethnic people together in the same states. As a result, at present nation states in Southeast Asia encompass people with great diversity in terms of race, language and culture. This fact has preoccupied the national governments who doubt the loyalty of the ethnic or cultural groups and fear future ethnic conflicts or separatist movements, which might become harmful to the strategic security of the nation states. Thus, governments have tried to eliminate the ethnic and cultural diversity and to construct a social and cultural unity in the nation state instead (Pattramon Kayem, 2009). This has negatively affected groups of people who have been living in the territories before the emergence of the nation states.

Southeast Asia is a world region with a tremendous cultural and ethnic diversity. Therefore, the nation states in Southeast Asia are packed with many different ethnic groups as can be witnessed in Myanmar, Thailand (Keyes, 1997), Indonesia (King, Wilder & William D, 2003, pp. 231-232), Malaysia (Nagata, 1979) or Laos, where there might be as many as 800 ethnic groups (Kossikov, 2000, p. 47). The diversity of ethnic groups can also be seen in villages along the 2,532-kilometer Thailand-Myanmar borderline, which are full of communities of different ethnic groups (The Geographer Bureau of Intelligence and Research, 1966, p. 5). Besides, the interaction between the

diverse ethnic groups has been complicated. Ethnic groups have had to adjust themselves continually to changing circumstances such as the change from colonial to post-colonial rule, for example (Yos Santasombat, 2008, pp. 44 - 45). Their history includes the preservation of their cultural traits, the adjustment of their culture to match a changed reality, or processes of cultural revival.

The ethnic diversity in Southeast Asia, prior to the emergence of nation states in the 19th century, is clearly confirmed by academic works that demonstrate the relationship between ethnic groups and cultures. Most of these works describe trade, politics, marriage, traditions and beliefs of different ethnic groups (Luce, 1958; Milne, 1910; Pattaya Saihoo, 1959; Scott, 1906). For instance, Sir James George Scott (1906) in the book "Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan State" offered a description of the diversity of ethnic groups in Myanmar. This work demonstrated that among the ethnic groups there was constant social interaction.

The diversity of ethnic groups in Southeast Asia can also be seen in the work of Gordon H. Luce (1958), which showed that the Shan community had a close relationship with the people of Myanmar in terms of politics, economy and religion. Ethnic groups from Myanmar, for example, came to buy and sell items in the markets that were set up in Shan villages on a regular basis (Milne, 1910, p. 50). Before the formation of the nation states, the close co-existence of a variety of ethnic groups was common (Pattaya Saihoo, 1959).

The emergence of nation states in Southeast Asia transformed the existing ethnic groups into minorities, which were considered problematic by the governments aiming at the creation of a unified national culture, identity and consciousness. The minority groups' attempts to stick to their own cultures, identities and ethnic consciousness have often been considered a threat to the states' security.

To create national social and cultural unity the states tried to reduce the cultural distance of the ethnic minority people from the majority, to instill loyalty to the state and to spread national identity and consciousness (Likhit Dhiravegin, 1978; Suthep Sunthornpasat, 1997, p. 169). This included the generalization of the majority people's history, literature, culture, traditions, rites and cultural symbols as national ones to make people in the nation states feel that they are part of the same culture and world view. The states created hero cults, for example. These heroes could be political leaders, famous people, religious leaders, kings or soldiers. Their stories were made part of

the school curriculum or spread in the mass media. Learning about these heroes was aimed at creating the feeling among people in the nation states that they belong to the same race and are descendents of the same ancestors. This approach can be clearly seen in Vietnam where Vietnamese people try to glorify Ho Chi Minh as a hero who created national unity (Evan, 1999, p. 177). Another obvious example is Myanmar, a country that is characterized by ethnic diversity and brutal conflicts between ethnic minorities and the nation state. The Myanmar government has tried to dominate, block and suppress the ethnicities of minority people as well as to create national identity and Myanmar citizenship through a process of Burmanization (Sukanya Baonoed, 2006, p. 249). It has tried to eradicate the identities of other ethnic groups by using military force, formulating laws which forbid the study of the minority people's languages, destroying their historical landmarks, praising Myanmar people's identities and making Myanmar a unified country by allowing children to learn only about Myanmar history and use the Myanmar language as an official language, etc. (Atchara Rakyutidharm, 2005). These operations by the state have affected ethnic groups in Myanmar which have attempted to liberate themselves and to establish their own states as well as to defend a social space that will allow them to show their ethnicities. The construction of social and cultural unity of the Myanmar nation state was carried out by four methods, which are: 1. Preventing ethnic minority people from supporting their own military forces that resisted the Myanmar government by imposing compulsory labor and collecting taxes and provisions from the villages until villagers could no longer support their own forces anymore, 2. forcing ethnic minority people to leave their villages and destroying their houses and farmlands, 3. slaughtering ethnic minority people who were suspected of collaborating with ethnic minority forces which resisted the Myanmar government, without any investigation and 4. raping and harming minority women and children (Shan Human Rights Foundation, 2002; Foreign Affairs Commission, 2004; Amnesty International, 2000)

This strategy of the Myanmar military government has forced a huge number of Shan people to emigrate since March 1996, because the Shan armed group (Mong Tai Army, MTA) laid down their arms, and Myanmar soldiers forced the villagers to leave their villages in the central part of the Shan State, closing schools of ethnic minority people and prohibiting them from organizing social and cultural activities that indicated their ethnicity. The villagers were also compelled to do forced labour in governmental development projects such as the road projects to encourage tourism or to

5

create the infrastructure for the Burmese army. Many other villagers escaped into the forests and migrated to Thailand (Pinkaew Lungaramsri, 2005, pp. 2-6).

The construction of social and cultural unity as an element of nation building in Thailand has been mainly pressed ahead by the ruling authorities. It started in the late nineteenth century when Western countries invaded Southeast Asia and ruled over Thailand's neighboring countries. At the end of the nineteenth century, King Chulalongkorn started to administer his territory according to the western concept of a nation-state to avoid being colonized by the British and to keep a relationship based on equal terms with Western countries. The king and the Thai elite began to draw boundaries between Thailand and the colonial domains on its borders in order to determine who belonged within the realm of the Thai Kingdom (Keyes,1995,p.144). Winichakul (1994,p.129) calls the fixed boundaries of Thailand as the "geo-body" of Thailand. The king incorporated autonomous tributary territories in each region into its own one in Thailand (see end note 10).The local rulers were gradually replaced by central officers in a bid to centralize power. Though there were various ethnic groups, including hill dwellers, in each tributary territory, ethnic differences were not construed to be threatening during this time. Keyes, alongside many other scholars, believed the diversity of cultures that were represented by both migrants and indigenous peoples had not posed problems for the rulers of the pre-modern Thai state as long as they faithfully performed their duties to the monarchy (Keyes,1997,p.6).Ethnic diversity and a heterogeneous society in Thailand only became an issue after the absolute monarchy system ended in 1932. Since the end of Thailand's absolute monarchy, the Thai government has sought to define a "Thai nation" or to create a "National identity" because neither all nor even a majority of the people living within Thailand's boundaries shared a common sense of belonging. "Speaking central Thai, loyalty to the King and being Buddhist" became the fundamental pillars, of being Thai". In other words, Thai policies since the late 1930s have sought to favor ethnic Thais as defined by Buddhism and have excluded or subordinated other ethnic groups. The first targeted ethnic group of "demobilization" and "depoliticization" were Chinese. Since some of them had significantly threatened the Thai nation's creation and during that period the Chinese established the Chinese Language School, published a Chinese newspaper in Thailand, and fostered patriotism for Chinese people resulting in Chinese nationalism in Thailand. Thus, the Thai nation state considered that they would impact on the security of the state so they controlled Chinese newspapers and schools under the state's control (Chavivun Prachuanmoh and Chaiwat Satha-Anand, 1985, p23). Thus, the state has attempted to impose a dominant national ideology. Sachiko Nakayamn (2003,pp.16-17) argues that Thai

national beliefs on Thai identity and what they feel in their hearts-of-hearts, such as their foods, language, kinfolk, King, monarchy, and so on, have been spread by the state in order to cultivate a shared sense of belonging. Official promotion of National identity has been especially exercised through the control over a statewide system of mass education (Sachiko Nakayamn,2003,pp.16-17). Thus, the Thai state has made a great effort to create social and cultural unity in order to make ethnic groups loyal to the Thai national state. This also affected the populations of the border areas which are ethnically extremely diverse.

Another good example for the suppression of ethnic minorities is the integration of the inhabitants of the Pattani State into Thailand. The Pattani state was inhabited by ethnic Malay Muslim people in what is now the southern part of Thailand. They had a culture and traditions that were obviously different from the Thai people. Pattani state was once a glorious ancient kingdom since it was an important seaport that connected the Andaman Sea with the South China Sea. It used to be recognized by the name "Langkasuka kingdom" which had its own rulers who ruled the kingdom for many centuries. When a ruler of the kingdom converted to Islam in the 15th century, most its citizens did the same. The territory changed its name to "Pattani City-State" and was later called "Pattani Darus Salam" in 1457. In 1789, the then Thai king moved his troops to attack Pattani, and Pattani became a colony of Thailand from that time onwards. Later in 1902, Pattani was annexed by Thailand. However, the Malay Muslims desired to liberate themselves again from Thai domination. The fight for independence became the major cause of the continual political conflict between Malay Muslim people and Thai state officials, especially after 1954 when several armed movements emerged in the area. These movements included the National Liberation Front of Pattani, Barisan Revolusi Nasional: BRN, Pattani United Liberation Organization: PULO, etc. (Abdulchakul Binchafie, 2010).

In Malaysia, there were educational, career and economic policies that benefited the ethnic Malay people only. As a result, the Malay people had a higher social status than the Indian people living in Malaysia. Therefore, these Indian people tried to resist the Malaysian government, aiming at getting the same rights that the Malay people had. This protest started on November 25, 2007, for example, when as many as 20,000 Indian protesters demanded a just treatment, justly in the center of Kuala Lumpur. At that time, approximately 8% of Malaysia's population were Hindus. However, they had the lowest social status both in terms of politics and economy. During the protest movement, Hindu people made use of Hindu culture, the symbol of India and Mahatma Gandhi to

7

create a shared consciousness among the Hindu community who wanted to preserve their group's conditions even though they were living outside their country. This protest movement strengthened the Hindu ethnicity and the categorization of being or not being Hindu become clearer. It raised the awareness among the general public on the existence of a Hindu identity as being something different from those of other groups in the country.

Therefore, it may be concluded that the ultimate aim of construction of national unity causes the state to create a unified culture and ideology to control ethnic minority people in every way. The majority people, who are considered the representatives of the nation and are equipped with the state's power and resources, will try to suppress those who are the minority people (Kerdmongkol Rakyutidharm, 2008, p. 25). These actions have an impact on ethnic groups and cause inequality between ethnic minority people and the state that has the superior power. As a result, the superior groups discourage and dominate the inferior groups by claiming their rights for the representation of the state's development. The minority groups that have been excluded may join together to develop and maintain a distinct ethnic group identification (Alonso, 1994, pp. 397-405; Chavivun Prachuamoh, 2004, p. 34). These phenomena can be witnessed in almost all regions of Southeast Asia.

1.2   Statement of the problem

As other parts of Southeast Asia, most of the regions in Thailand are characterized by a great variety of groups, cultures and languages (Kunstadter, 1972, p. 70; Thirayuth Boonmi, 2000, pp. 5-8), which had been a typical feature of Thai society prior to the emergence of the Thai nation state that took place during the transitional period between the late 19th and the early 20th centuries (see end note 2). Back then, Thai people, and those from other ethnic groups, mutually lived in harmony. Before the 19th century, the state did not control or organize people to be complied with the certain extents based on the clear and determined political boundaries of state. Furthermore, the identification of the dominant ethnic group is not the national identification and the culture of the dominant group is not the national culture. As a result, differences among people are not emerged. In the 19th century, the rulers, however, desires to establish a modern Thai nation state, socio-cultural unity and clearly defined territory because building the modern nation-state. The duties of boundaries of nation state are to control and organize the citizens to live in the defined areas

8

whereas the state tries to homogenize people within the boundary by inventing culture as the national identity.

As a result, social and cultural unity was strongly encouraged by the Thai state with an aim to make ethnic minority people loyal to Thailand. For this purpose, the Thai authority made use of law and education to assimilate the ethnic people in the border areas and to spread national ideology among them (Sunait Chutintaranond, et al., 2006). Ethnic minority people were also allowed to become legal citizens of the Thai state.

Presently, the basic issue about obligatory resettlement and dislodgment is mainly caused by the Thai authority's attempt to attach people to places according to the state's interest, in order to emphasize Thai nationalism and to make the creation of a national state perfect, because ethnic diversity with its variation of languages, behavioral codes, economic models and cultural preferences is seen as a threat to a homogenous national population that would serve an easier national development in modern style on the global arena.

In most countries in Southeast Asia, including Thailand and Myanmar, the establishment of modern nation states started from identifying territories in order to define the state's power (Winichakul, 1994), followed by the classification of ethnic groups, official language introduction and the creation of national history, national identities and citizenship. All these "technologies of power", as Foucault calls them, have been used as efficient tools to create a nation: an imagined community (Anderson, 1983; Keyes, 1995). Strict territorial marking automatically turned some inhabitants of a state into ethnic minorities (Keyes, 2002). This is because, formerly, the members of these ethnic groups had not to care for their belonging to a state, did not need to present any ID-card when travelling freely over uncertain and uncontrolled boundaries to cross the other side where larger populations of their ethnic groups lived. People who were not included in the construction of nation states had to accept their positions as "the others within" (Winichakul, 1994, p. 85).

With regard to the limitation of the framework of modern nation-state, these cross-border immigrants, the unidentified ones are particularly classified as "threats to national security", "invaders of territorial supremacy", "causes of crime", "transmitters of disease" and "political troublemakers" (Soguk 1999; Grundy-Warr 2004). Therefore, such general stereotypes not only explain uncertain state policies towards cross-border immigrants but also originate an unproven bias in the society. In addition, the Shan cross-border immigrants remain unique and remarkable

positions within the Thai state. Firstly, the Shan and the Thai are similar to the same Tai-language speaking groups in ethics and cultures. They provide Theravada Buddhism, language, and historical aspect (Turton 2000). Secondly, the treatment of Shan cross-border immigrants are differed from other ethnic groups from Burma such as the Karen, the Karenni and the Mon resulting in no recognition of the Thai government and allowance of the Shan as refugees to set up temporary shields along the Thai-Burma boundary. As a result, their places within the Thai State come to be vague and uncertain. The Shan cross-border immigrants are considered as both "problem" and "resource" simultaneously under such circumstances (Grundy-Warr 2004: 244-245), and the Thai society emerge both exclusion and inclusion. On the one hand, they are kept out as "unwanted" and "illegal" immigrants leading negative impacts to the Thai State and supporting Thailand's economic growth and strong requirement for cheap labors including compensation for the lack of unskilled labor, labor-intensive and low wage (Sachiko Yasuda, 2008).

One of the major groups that have been affected by the fixing of territories is the Shan people. Their lives depend on their locations and political situations. For more than fifty years, the Shan people have been resisting the Burmese authority and refused the Burmese state's power, territorialization and national identity. It is also the fight for their motherland and identity.

Additionally, in the present global age the movement of people, cultures and capital between countries has augmented. Consequently, the main function of borderlines as national and territorial indicators has been largely questioned. This is because networks, movements and actions that go beyond boundaries cannot be seized in the framework of nation-state discussion or center-periphery theory anymore. For this reason, borderlands have gained more and more interest since there are lots of activities and reactions going on between states and their inhabitants in such areas. Therefore, it is not sufficient to regard borderlines merely as geographical indicators (Donnan and Wilson, 1998, p.15).

A great number of pieces of research in the past had the objective to learn about the creation of a transnational social field among those who spoke the Tai-language. They discovered that their cross-border activities were related to strong relationships between relatives, commerce, religion and cultural networks, which transcended the geographical and political boundaries of states (Carsten, 1998; Davis, 2003; Wasan, 2007). Nevertheless, one should understand that regional progress that will contribute to the easier and more convenient movements across borders may not

10

take place generally and consistently, which means that transnationalism may happen differently depending on the cases. In the Thai-Burma case, migration and dislodgment across borders involved suffering and struggle since this area has been strictly controlled. Many studies have demonstrated the chaotic situations along the Thai-Burma border.

For example, Lang (2002) analyzed the Thai-Burma border issue by focusing on the case of a Mon immigrant camp in Thailand. Following the Karen's migration into the Thai-Burmese border areas, Decha (2006, pp. 405-409) clearly illustrated the Karens' daily lives. The research by Dudley (2007, pp. 77-106) demonstrates that the collectiveness of Karen people was created by the teaching of nationalism by the Karen National Union (KNU) in the refugee camps. According to these examples, transnational activities are not universal, but they mostly happen in particular zones with different economic, political and historical dimensions on both sides of the border.

The Shan people who have migrated from Myanmar to Thailand live in a peculiar position within the Thai periphery. In Thailand, these people are categorized as cross-border migrants and therefore are treated in a different way from normal Burmese refugees or short-term immigrants along the Thai-Burma border. Subsequently, they do not fit in any category according to Thailand's contradictory policy. Instead, they are positioned somewhere between "political and economic", "refugee and foreign worker", "obligatory and voluntary" and "legal and illegal" (Grundy-Warr, 2004, p. 244). Therefore, they have to lead uncertain lives, as their identities in Thailand are unclear. Such circumstances cause the cultural complexity and diversity immanent to Shan immigrants to Thailand to decline. In other words, the Shan lose much of their rich culture. It also makes these migrants incapable of expressing their collective power or claiming their rights (Sachiko Yasuda, 2008, pp. 9-10).

Moreover, a number of scholars, especially those who are from ethnic minorities themselves, indicate that the pursuit of identity is always regarded by the state as unwanted or forbidden "political activities" since it usually involves conflicts and resistance against the power of the state. The newly emerging "identity politics" of the social movement evolves from the dissimilarities between how people view themselves and how they are perceived by others (Calhoun, 1994). Among other scholars, Hall (1999, p. 302) suggested two ways of viewing cultural identity based on two axes: similarity/continuity and difference/rupture. The first way described cultural identity as

shared experiences and cultural codes of conduct. The second way explained that cultural identity keeps changing. Cultural identity, in his opinion, was only a positioning and not a quintessence.

Thus, a politics of identity or of position, which does not totally confirm a trouble-free "law of origin", always exists (Hall, 1999, p. 303). Since a great diversity of social movements and activities between groups happen along the borderline, border areas are considered perfect for the study of identity politics and alternative identities, which come after the state's national identity. Due to the fact that ethnic boundary and state boundary are not always identical, the conflict between the state's predominant power and the ethnic minorities is always present. This tension is the origin of identity politics as well as multiple and flexible "border identities" (Donnan and Wilson, 1998).

By emphasizing the everyday lives of those who inhabit borderline areas, the study of border culture and identity (Carsten, 1998; Grimes, 1998; Nishii, 2000) enables us to witness how the ethnic people's unique identities have been constantly changed, adjusted and reconstructed. The increase in practices and movements of people across borders in the global age has defied the state's concepts of border, power and national identity. This change also raised a question about the conservative analytical framework that used to believe that identity signified people's response to their homeland. Hence, the study of culture and identity used to be carried out inside fixed areas, for example, community, society and nation-state. The disconnection of culture and place mostly happens to refugees, migrants and exiles, who are people that are constantly on the move to new locations (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997). In such circumstances, imagined society, mother country or nation plays a major role in these migrant's process of creating new identities that are not attached to any particular place or culture. As far as imagined nation is concerned, the expression of social history immensely affects the procedure of constructing and reconstructing collective identities. People's experiences today are significantly influenced by their recollection and understanding of the past that has been built up gradually over time (Connerton, 1989). Regarding social memory, it is a way of expressing common past events and history that are shared or chosen by groups of people in the society. Social memory also presents a foundation of its identity and acts as a tool for creating thoughts and feelings that affect the group members' movements and activities (Tanabe and Keyes, 2002).

The narration of social memory takes place in many different forms. A good example is when older family members let their children know about their origin, history, myths and cultural heroes

through narrations, folklore tales, songs, etc. Besides, memories can be recollected by ceremonies that are held in remembrance of particular historical events, by rewritten history and by education (Olick and Robbins, 1998). A community or an ethnic group whose members have the same set of cultural traits such as language, religion, history and activities in most cases also shares a sense of historical connection that was created through a common or similar historical experience.

Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983, p. 12) suggest that particular groups of people make portrays of themselves and their history which may act like the cement of group cohesion, and this making is controlled during the process of the invention of tradition. Furthermore, Anderson (1983, pp. 85-115) puts a strong emphasis on the significance of history as "technology of power", that was invented or re-shaped with the purpose to make the people feel and believe that they are part of "imagined" communities.

The Shan community of Piang Luang village, they live their lives in the village, which is situated next to the Thailand-Myanmar border in the north of Thailand. For a long time, the Shan who dwelled in this zone had been facing and resisting the Burmese government's policies. This area used to be the location of the headquarters of the Shan United Revolutionary Army (SURA), the Shan (see end note 3) ethnic minority force which fought against Myanmar's military government. Consequently, most villagers are ex-soldiers of the SURA or their family members. Most of the inhabitants are not Thai citizens since the Thai authorities still consider them still as potentially harmful to the state's security. Besides, The Thai government is concerned that the dissimilarity between the Shan ethnic minorities and the majority Thai people may also cause insecurity (Soguk, 1999; Smith, 1991, 2002).

Regarding their characteristics, the Shan people of Piang Luang village take pride in their history of fighting against the Myanmar government. The villagers attempt to preserve their Shan ethnicity and their adoration and gratitude for their Shan ancestors. Since these people live inside Thai territory, it might not be easy for them to maintain their uniquely Shan ethnic identity in the long-term. The Shan people of Piang Luang village are living in border areas of Myanmar and Thailand and are, therefore, viewed as ethnic minority people in both counties. In fact, the Shan are the largest ethnic minority group in Myanmar, and this group has influenced the country's politics for a long time as their number is quite high and they have their own State in the Federation.

13

In Thailand, a smaller minority group of the Shan probably caused one of the reasons that the Thai government has not paid enough attention to them. Even though some Thai people regard the Shan inhabitants in Thailand as fellow members of the Tai-speaking family, others look at them negatively due to the fact that they do not possess Thai citizenship. Therefore, the social position of the Shan who reside in Thailand is not the same as that of non-Tai speaking hill tribes or minority people who also are denied Thai citizenship. Since the Shan used to be associated with the drug trade in the past resulting in many social problems in Thailand for decades , Thais mostly consider them as only equal status to other ethnic refugees form Myanmar (McLean, 2012, p. 1). In this way, the potentially positive factor of being a Tai ethnic group is impaired.

With regard to previous ethnographic studies on the Shan, most of them were conducted as village studies in the north of Thailand. Mae Hong Son is the particular place of the majority of the residents or Tai Yai population (Durrenberger and Tannenbaum 1990; Murakami 1998; Kaise 1999; Tannenbaum 2002; Eberhardt 2006; Niti 2006). These studies greatly support understanding the historical development of the foundations such as the socio-economic change of subsistence of people in the village, the importance of cultural and religious customs, and adaptation and absorption of Shan immigration to the villages. The goal of these studies was to mainly focus on settlement of the Shan in a fixed place and moved to the local areas of the new settlement. However, place-based ethnography did not consider the dynamics of changeability and movement of the increase of recent Shan immigrants who steadily move and it was superior in the village, state and national boundaries.

Whereas the Shan immigrants in the north of Thailand under the traditional study on international migration tend to be subject of limited studies within a circle of immigrated labors as part of the global economic mechanism but making brightness and cultural views of immigration and displacement. On the other hand, their current practices of displacement are more complicated than the social scenario by explaining under the "cause and effect" or "push and pull" concept of labor flowing as shown in this study. Involvement of supremacies between Burma and Thailand as well as the historical formation of border and boundary of this region lead the situations of Shan cross-border immigrants to be more complex and debatable. After independence from Britain, on the contrary, Burma's militarization and Burmanization have changed the situations of Shan and other ethnic groups to "ethnic minorities" resulting in "politicized" ethnicity has become a motivation

14

for performances such as ethno-nationalism and ethnic resistance movement. On the other hand, the socio-economic advantages and political involvements influence Thai state policy toward cross-border migrants which has been steady shifting, between national security and economic development. Thus, Shan cross-border immigrants are regarded as both "problem" and "resource" under such circumstances. They are the "resources" that substitute Thailand's labor deficiency whereas they are the "problems" that invade the territory of Thailand and put a threat to national sovereignty and security resulting in that they simultaneously have to face both exclusion and inclusion within Thai society. In this regard, Shan cross-border immigrants are not same as persons who are granted full Thai citizenship though historical connectivity and ethnic/cultural concurrence were shared by them with the Northern Thai in terms of language, religious belief and historical awareness. Social difference between the Shan and the Thai within the Thai state also differ from that between the Thai and the other non-Tai ethnic minorities categorized as "hill tribe" or "chao khao" in Northern Thailand. Particularly, the displaced Shan who live in the urban areas such as Chiang Mai are partially recorded to the local Thai society as cheap laborers.

To be granted legal or humanitarian protection within Thai territory, their experiences of displacement seem to be little regard and less comparison with other ethnic groups from Burma. The related studies on the Mon (Lang 2002), the Karen (Decha 2006; lee 2005), and the Karenni (Dudley 2007) specially focus on anecdotes of displacement of the marginalized population along the Thai-Burma border. The question is the factors result in difference of the Shan cross-border immigrants from other displaced people from Burma. It can be said that it is significant to take them the remarkable and complicated positions within the Thai state into consideration in understanding their changeability and determining this study theoretically as well as methodologically. As long as the research methodology is considered, this study has used multi-site.

The purpose of ethnography is to deal with the changeability and mobile people. With regard to the Shan cross-border immigrants in Northern Thailand, changeability results in building their everyday life and social identifications as the displaced Shan. Their changeability is full of limitations and barriers under the state sovereignty as shown in this study. It is, nonetheless, their transnational networks and social relationship that simplify their limited changeability and relieve the tension with the state power. The Shan cross-border immigrants manage a wide range of social networks which is superior to the state boundaries in order to negotiate their risk position. In this regard, practices of

displacement, this study also carefully considers their transnational networks and social relations as useful negotiation strategies.

In recent years, different approaches have been used along with important attention to Shan ethnic identification from a variety of views such as the counter-discourse against the Burmese military regime (Wandee 2002); caused recognition in nation building (Pinkaew 2005); and within the concept of transnational immigration and cultural flows(Sachiko Yasuda, 2008). As the tendency of these works to some confines, this study has drawn specific intension to identification of construction among the Shan who steadily concerned about the changeability and settlement far from their homeland. This study has sought out an alternative approach to go beyond the traditional concept by closely looking at the experiences of Shan cross-border immigrants every day, especially their practices beyond the geo-political boundaries of nation-states. This study has also problems of the traditional concept of "forced and voluntary" or "political and economic" immigrants for the state-centered recognition. The dichotomous classification results in concealing the complicated motivations and processes behind their changeability and immigration. As disclosure of many anecdotes of Shan cross-border immigrants in this study demonstrated that they are not "either" of them but they can be simultaneously "both" at the same time. It should be also mentioned that there are several limitations of this study. Firstly, no clear definition of "Shan cross-border migrants" as the unit of analysis might take a vague risk. However, it is an important step to understand the dynamic nature of changeability and displacement of the Shan in the modern transnational world. It is not my intention to homogenize different degrees or levels of displacement for diverse groups of Shan migrants but loosely identifying them as "Shan cross-border migrants" has been conducted instead. Explanation of this study has demonstrated their constant multiple and smooth positioning and identifications under negotiation and transformation. Secondly, it is not necessary to cope with immediate problems and difficulties such as serious health and human rights issues which should also be most seriously considered in future studies that many Shan cross-border immigrants are encountering in everyday life.

By and large, the theoretical importance of this study is to allow us to understand the transnational circumstances from the concepts of socially marginalized and displaced Shan through their own anecdotes and life stories. The Shan immigrants performed a series of transnational practices differing from those done by the "ordinary" or "privileged" people in the modern world.

The last happens under great restriction resulting in involvement of a good deal of negotiation, manipulation and resistance. Most previous studies regarding the Shan have emphasized ethnography according to Shan villages in Mae Hong Son Province (Durrenberger and Tannenbaum 1990; Murakami 1998; Kaise 1999; Tannenbaum 2002; Eberhardt 2006; Niti 2006). These village-based ethnographic works help us understand the historical development of the settlements, socio-economic change of the village subsistence, the role of cultural and religious practices and various interactions among multi-layered operators within a determined location of villages. Pinkaew (2005) inspired other works by providing intention to the methods that the Shan form seditious identification in the part of the nation-building projects against the Burmese hegemony. Most recently, Amporn (2007) conducted rich ethnographic research by illustrating how the Shan immigrants in Chiang Mai craft Shan ethnic identification through transnational media flows, specifically consumption of Shan pop music. This study is to some confine relating to these recent works about the dynamic character of identification politics especially within and across territorial boundary of nation-states.

These cross-border migrants and the undocumented ones in particular under the concept of modern nation-state are often remarked as "threats to national security", "transgressors of territorial sovereignty", "generators of crime", "transmitters of disease" and "political troublemakers" (Soguk 1999; Grundy-Warr 2004). As a result, such general stereotypes not only justify uncertain state policies towards cross-border immigrants but also manage and unsubstantiated bias in the society. In addition, the uniqueness of the Shan cross-border immigrants and detached positions remain within the Thai state. Firstly, the Shan and the Thai are ethnically and culturally related as the Tai-language speaking groups. They share Theravada Buddhism, language and historical recognition (Turton 2000). Secondly, treatment for the Shan cross-border immigrants is quite different comparing with other ethnic groups from Burma such as the Karen, the Karenni and the Mon. The Thai government does not give importance for the Shan as refugees and does not allow them to build temporary shelters along the Thai-Burma border resulting in ambiguity and risk of their positions within the Thai State.

The formation of modern nation-states in Thailand and Burma, as well as most Southeast Asian countries as a result of western imperialism and colonization was pioneered by drawing and preserving territorial boundaries to define its sovereignty (Thongchai 2005).

Foucault calls "technology of power" as ethnic classification, introduction of official language, national history, citizenship and national identification used to identify and build a nation as "imagined" community (Anderson 1991; Keyes 1995, 2002). Territorialization with strict line separation caused changes of some people living within the state boundary into ethnic minorities (Keyes 2002) and excluded from this nation-building project so they have come to live as "the others within" (Thongchai,2005). The Shan as well as other Tai-language speaking people are one of numerous groups that have been taken a short cut by national boundaries. The political and economic circumstances have become subject to and influenced in their everyday lived experiences wherever they are located to. Theoretically, the Shan resistance movement in a half century is the contestation over territorialization, sovereignty and ethnic Burman domination and control, national identification. The Shan people struggle for their place, homeland and their own identification. In the advent of the global age, transnational practices including flows of people, culture and capital have been further severe. As a result, the primary role of border as a builder of nationhood has become challenged to a great confine, practices, movements, and networks which are superior to state boundaries and it can no longer be understood in the concept of nation-state discourse or center-periphery dichotomy. As a result, boundaries have been paid much attention as active agents where dynamic interaction and negotiations between states and people become severe rather than just symbols or static geopolitical line separation (Donnan and Wilson, 1998, 1999).

Many previous studies have supported an understanding of a transnational social creation among the Tai-language speaking people. It is interesting to reveal that their cross-border practices link with well-established kinship, commerce as well as cultural and religious networks beyond Geo-political state boundaries (see Carsten 1998; Cohen 2001; Davis 2006; Wasan 2007; Aranya 2008). However, it should be remarked that the advent of regional development resulting in more flexible changeability across national boundaries does not emerge universally and equally. On the other hand, globalization and transnationalism differently existed among diverse groups of people in case the Thai-Burma boundary, transnational immigration and displacement take the most intense pattern because the border between Thailand and Burma has been greatly politicized. The complication of the bustling Thai-Burma border and despairing struggles of people who attempt to cross the border have been trouble by several essential studies.

For instance, Lang (2002) has provided analysis information on the Thai-Burma border by using the case of a Mon refugee camp in Thailand. According to the forcibly displaced Karen into the Thai-Burmese "in-between spaces", Decha (2006) has obviously described anecdotes of their daily lives and revealed how to exclude from the exploitation of what Appadurai coins five "scapes". Dudley (2007) also demonstrates how a collective perspective of Karenni-ness has emerged in the space of the refugees.

The Karen Nation Union (KNU) led camps through nationalistic education. Transnational practices did not happen arbitrarily or universally as these studies show. On the contrary, most of them are the parts relating to specific locations surrounding different historical, economic and political dimensions.

A little study, nonetheless, has been conducted on the Shan displaced people and their experiences of displacement. The settlement of the Shan cross-border immigrants are in the distinct position within the Thai state that they are ethnically and culturally similar to the Thai but nevertheless are viewed mostly as different "others", as previously mentioned. As cross-border immigrants, they are also treated differently from other ethnic groups stemming from Burma, as they are recognized as refugees or temporarily sheltered people along the Thai-Burma border. As a result, they are not suitable for any static labels under Thailand's conflict state policy and fall between the classifications of "political and economic", "refugee and migrant worker", "forced and voluntary", and "legal and illegal" (Grundy-Warr 2004: 244). Hence, they terminate being stuck in limbo both in theory and in practice on the Thai-Burma border. This sarcasm not only homogenizes the essential complexity and diversity of Shan cross-border immigrants, but also provides individual immigrants powerless and voiceless.

This study, therefore, focuses on breaking the silence by locating the Shan cross-border immigrant-people on changeability under great restriction. Much light will be shed on their everyday practices, including experiences of displacement, transnational networking, and the becomingness of Shan. With this regard, the central dispute put forward in the study is whether they are not only "victims" who quietly accept the risk positions but rather are "active agents" who perform, make decisions, feel concerns and craft identifications through dynamic interaction and negotiation on both sides of the border as well as in the social concept without a territorial foundation (cited in Sachiko Yasuda, 2008, pp.177-181).

As described above, the complicated relationship between the Thai state and the Shan community living in Piang Luang village is the subject matter of this research. This study concentrates on the Thai nation state's effort to construct socio-cultural unity and the Shan people's strategies to resist Thai authority. Since there are still few studies of the relationship between the Thai government and various ethnic groups in Thailand, this dissertation aims at partially filling this academic void. The study begins with the assumption that the construction of ethnicities is carried out through social processes that are largely influenced by governmental policies.

Theoretical approaches applied in ethnic studies have shifted from essentialism to instrumentalism and constructionism since the 1960s.

From the point of view of essentialists, social features including ethnicity, gender and class were envisaged as universal, stable and implanted in culture and society. Consequently, it was believed that people with common cultural traits shared the same social identity as well, which meant that identity was considered something unchanged and structured, as it was defined , for example, by social attributes of ethnic origin, class or gender role (Sachiko, 2003, p. 38).

Scholars like Edmund Leach (1954), Fredrik Barth (1969), and Michael Moerman (1965) claimed that ethnicity was a very useful tool that could be utilized to organize social relations. Therefore, they defied the essentialist's concept of ethnicity and viewed identity as something dynamic and changeable (see an extensive discussion of ethnicity below).

Edmund Leach (1954) and Michael Moerman (1965) already attempted to show that ethnicity was far more complex than former approaches equating cultural-bearing units with ethnic groups suggested. These sample studies show that being Kachin or Lue is constructed in the context of the relationship with other ethnic groups. Ethnicity is constantly changing, relating to context (McLean, 2012, p.15) and ethnicity was constructed and re-made by the forces of history. However, ethnicity is neither simply the result of the manipulation by elites nor an arbitrary notion. Categories of ethnic self-identification are grounded in deep and shared historical experience (South, 2008, p. 4).

The early studies of Shan ethnicity in Thailand, on their part, still applied the essentialist approach. Ethnicity was hardly viewed as a social construction. Instead, the focus lay on the ethnography of single villages (a Shan village in Mae Hong Song province, for example) and the scope of the studies was generally restricted to a village (Institute of Ethnology Laos committee on Social Sciences, 1991, p.131). These ethnographic studies which were based on the village in Mae

Hong Song province enabled to comprehend the chronological development of the settlements, social and economic developments of the village, the powerful influence of culture and religion as well as a variety of interactions between actors within the village. The findings of these pieces of research were used by development planners and workers (Institute of Ethnology Laos committee on Social Sciences, 1991, p.131).

Nicholas Farrelly (2003, pp. 36-40) examined the opinions of Thai scholars and activists who wrote about the Shan people in a way that covered a wide range of issues. Some had an emphasis on language, social history and culture (Sompong Witayasakpan, 1999), while others aimed to study other related issues like proverbs, local wisdom and responses to tourism (Banyen Charntanawat, 2001).

At present, there are no fewer than 100 major academic works that study specific aspects of the Shan in general and only few refer to the Shan in Thailand so the void is studies of Shan in Thailand while there are 100 studies on the Shan in general and what their particular ethnicity cannot be exactly summarized.

There is also research that mainly aims to study the Tai and other related issues but have certain sections that are devoted to the Shan. For instance, Teeraparp Lohitagul's study of the Tai people in the Southeast Asia region has a section on the "Shan of Mae Hong Son" (Theeraparp Lohitagul, 1994, pp. 106-121). Some pieces of writing about the Shan people in Tai research have become well known. One of the best academic works, which focuses on the interpretation of the Shan, is Sompong Witayasakpan's newly published "Shan History." Based on his inspection of Tai and Chinese language sources, it has the main objective to gain a comprehensive synopsis of the Shan history, particularly in Myanmar and China (Sompong Witayasakpan, 2007, cited in Farrelly, 2003, pp. 38-39).

These studies about the Shan in general used the conventional model of a tribe or an ethnic group as cultural-bearing units as the foundation for analysis of the ethnic group classification (Keyes, 2002, p.170) without concentrating on the relationship between ethnic groups and the state. These studies understand Shan ethnicity in an essentialist perspective as something static and embedded in culture and society. Thus, those who share the same culture traits also come to share the same social identity. Cultural traits are employed to differentiate between being Shan or not being Shan.

Therefore, it is promising to explore Shan ethnicity in the context of the complex power relations between and the Thai state using Piang Luang village as an example. Of special interest are the villagers' reactions to government policies ranging from attempts to maintain their own ethnicity to various forms of adjustment and resistance. This study employs a constructivist perspective which has not been employed in the study of the Shan in Thailand yet. The cultural symbols and ethnicity of the Piang Luang villagers can be explored, as well as the tools used for self-ethnic identification. This study will show how Shan ethnicity in Thailand changed due to the changing relations to the Thai nation state.

1.3   Research Objectives

The main objective of this study is to study the reaction of the Shan people towards the Thai nation state's attempt to create social and cultural unity, studying in depth the case of the Shan community in Piang Luang village. Moreover, this study examines the Shan's ethnic identification.

1.4   Definition of Terms

1.4.1 Creating social and cultural unity

Effort of the state is to bring all the diverse peoples living within the clear and proper political boundaries of Thailand and living under the authority of the central government in Bangkok by emphasizing a borderline state, state territory and citizenship, and cultural unity creation by supporting the Thai central culture as the national culture.

1.4.2 National consciousness

Expression of perceptive as people in the same border and adhere to the same ideology resulting from the Thai state emphasized the importance of the symbols that represented the nation state with the objective of making all people who lived in the clear and fixed political boundaries of Thailand realize that they were dwellers within Thai territory who needed to have the same faith as Thai citizens.

1.4.3 National identity

Nation identity is a set of Thai cultural traits developed by Thai language, culture, traditions, costumes and performances demonstrated on the nation's important occasions like the King and Queen's birthdays, Chakri day, Coronation day, etc., it influencing people by emphasizing the importance of Thai cultural traits in order to create national identity.

1.5 Research Questions

The attempts of the Thai nation state to try to disintegrate the ethnicities of people and to create 'Thainess' among the inhabitants of Piang Luang village had a deep impact on the Shan people. Their reactions ranged from attempts to maintain their own ethnicity to various forms of adjustments to the government policies. Therefore, the main research questions of this study are:

1.5.1 The strategy of the Thai nation state to disintegrate the Shan

The Thai nation state categorizes the Shan people in Piang Luang village as members of an ethnic minority who do not possess Thai citizenship and might be a threat to the security of the state. Thus, this study analyzes the strategies that the Thai state uses to disintegrate the ethnicity of the Shan people in Piang Luang village.

1.5.2 Strategies to spread 'Thainess' among the Shan in Piang Luang village

The Thai state considers the Shan to be ethnically distinct from the Thai majority. Therefore the Thai state tries to foster 'Thainess' or national identity and consciousness among these people. Hence, this study considers the mechanisms and methods that the Thai state uses to create 'Thainess' among the Shan people in Piang Luang village.

1.5.3 The Reaction of the Shan to the Thai nation state's attempt to disintegrate Shan ethnicity and to spread 'Thainess' among the villagers.

This study scrutinizes how the Shan living in Piang Luang village interact with the Thai state, and how and when this interaction causes the Shan people to make use of cultural symbols or phenotypic markers to define and identify themselves as similar or different from other people in various forms. In addition, it studies how the villagers express their membership in the Shan ethnic group and how they demonstrate their ethnic differences from other groups.

1.6 Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized into six chapters including this introduction.

Chapter 1 has outlined the rationale and contextual background of this study, its objectives and research questions.

Chapter 2 introduces the conceptual framework by reviewing previous studies and approaches to ethnicity and presents the study's main propositions.

Chapter 3 describes the research design, research methodology, organization, sources of data, data collecting procedures and data analysis. This chapter also explains how the research was conducted.

Chapter 4 presents information about the site of field research (Piang Luang village). The first section covers the context of Piang Luang village, including information on the community, geography, demography, social situation, cultures, economy, working groups/organizations in the community. The second section covers the historical background of the community.

Chapter 5 presents the core of this study. It covers all data from the anthropological field work in Piang Luang village, which allows an understanding of the creation of social and cultural unity as implemented by the Thai nation state and its impact on the Shan people of Piang Luang village. It describes the roles, missions, types and the operation strategies of the government agencies that act as representatives of the nation state in the disintegration process such as military units, police units, educational units, public health units. It also describes how the construction of 'Thainess' in Piang Luang village implies different strategies such as the creation of national identity and national consciousness. It also discusses the interaction of the Shan people in Piang Luang village with the Thai state, which ranges from self-adjustment to resistance to the power of the nation state. Activities such as rites and traditions are used as symbols of resistance as well as to demonstrate adaptation towards the Thai nation state.

Chapter 6 summarizes the aspects studied and links the content of the previous chapters to provide a better understanding on the Thai government strategies to create social and cultural unity and the Shan people's attempts to maintain their own distinct ethnicity. Discussions include the context of the Thai nation state, the concept of ethnicity used, the study's main results. It highlights how the Thai state's integration policies have affected Shan ethnicity.

CHAPTER II
CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

This chapter offers a review of the concept of ethnicity, which is central to the present study, discusses previous research on ethnicity in Southeast Asia and provides the conceptual framework for the subsequent chapters.

2.1 The concept of Ethnicity
2.1.1 Concepts and Definitions

In order to understand the concept of ethnicity, we should start from examining its etymological origins. The terms "ethnicity" and "ethnic" derive from the Greek word "ethnos" which was used by the Greeks to refer to non-Greeks whom they considered alien or barbarious (Tonkin, 1996, pp. 18-24). The Romans also used the Latin word "natio" in a similar way. Both terms were exclusively applied to foreigners (Gabbert, 2006, p. 86). However, "ethnicity" is a relatively new term in the social sciences. The word "ethnic" has had various meanings through time. In its earliest usage it meant "heathens" or "pagans". In the 19th century it was associated with racial characteristics. In the USA, particularly, in the 20th century, it was used to denote those immigrants who had non-Northern or non-Western European descent (Eriksen, 1993, p. 4).

When the term "race" became problematic after World War II, anthropologists increasingly employed the concept of ethnicity as an alternative for human classification (Zenner, 1975, p. 393). The concept was more widely used since the mid-1950's and early 1960's (Raoul Naroll, 1964, pp. 283-291, 306-312). According to the Oxford English Dictionary 1972 edition, the word was first used in the sciences by David Riesman in 1953 (Montserrat Guibernau and John Rex, 1999, p. 33).

The term gained importance in the social sciences particularly in the 1960s as anthropologists started to frequently employ it to refer to the populations of African and other third world countries (Eade, 1996, p. 58). Fredrick Barth (1969) shows that ethnic identity depends on the nature of interaction between groups and therefore, ethnic identities are fluid and changeable. He is concerned mainly with the generation, maintenance and negotiation of ethnic boundaries. The content of a group's culture may change, and the membership of the group may change through assimilation or other processes, while the ethnic boundary remains. From this view, the identity of each group depends on the maintenance of its

boundaries, although these boundaries can be crossed under certain conditions (Barth, 1969, p. 10). Barth sees ethnicity as a special form of social categorization (Gabbert, 2006, pp. 88).

Despres wrote in 1975 that the concept of ethnicity is still controversial and problematic due to its ambiguous definitions. There is still no general consensus on the exact meaning of the term; thus, various scholars have defined "ethnicity" in different ways. (Despres, 1975, p. 194)

According to Naoli (1978, pp. 6-8; cited in Teshome, 2008, p. 781), the concept of "ethnicity" consists of 4 features. Firstly, it could only be present in a political society that had various ethnic groups. Secondly, ethnicity implies a shared sense of belonging to the same group. Thirdly, a likely prerequisite is to have a unique language, culture and social structure. This is a typical approach of essentialism. Finally, it is frequently related to conflict as an expression of the collision of interests between various ethnic groups (e.g., majority and minority). The study by Isajiw (1974, p. 111) revealed that in only 13 out of 65 studies in sociology and anthropology that were related to ethnicity defined the term.

In addition, the definitions of ethnicity vary. For instance, Isajew considered ethnicity the same as ethnic group. Cohen (1974) defined ethnicity as a society that conformed to common standards in terms of social interaction. Moreover, some researchers, including Barth, have used "ethnic group" instead of the term "ethnicity", as they avoided this term. Obidinski (1978, p. 214) defined ethnicity as "degrees of reciprocal, common identification (or 'peoplehood') marked by:

    (a)   symbols of shared heritage;

    (b)   an awareness of similar historical experience;

    (c)   a sense of in-group loyalty or a "we-feeling" associated with shared social position, common ancestry, designation by those outside the group, similar values or interests, and often, but not inevitably, identification with specific national origins".

Naroll (1978, pp. 6-8) defines ethnicity as something that "exists only within a political society consisting of diverse ethnic groups; it "is characterized by a common consciousness of being one in relation to other relevant ethnic groups"; it "tends to be the exclusive acceptance and rejection on linguistic-cultural grounds that characterizes the social relations"; and it "is characterized by conflict". "Ethnic identity" is defined by Spicer (1972, p. 347) as "… a set of symbols, the symbols which a people develop together with their meanings, concerning their experience as a people… Thus, the persistence of a people rests on a set of meanings about actual events of history, as uniquely experienced by the people and stored as it were in a stock of symbols…"

Despres (1975, p. 194) concludes that so far "prevailing conceptions of ethnicity are perhaps too ambiguous in their overall construction to significantly advance the comparative study of ethnic phenomena beyond the work of Barth and… there is an absence of an established and generally acceptable theoretical framework" (Despres, 1975, p. 189).

However, this does not mean that there were no important theoretical issues discussed in the literature. As indicated before, the central common theme in the discussion of "ethnicity" is the process and function of ethnic distinctions. While some scholars are interested in the mechanisms that maintain ethnic distinctions, others, like Schein (1975, p. 83) investigate the relationship between ethnic identity and other aspects of the social structure such as class. Relatively few scholars, such as Izikowitz (1969), are interested in the processes and factors of ethnic identity change.

Smith (1991, p. 32) identifies an ethnic group as those people who have the following characteristics, "a collective name, a common myth of descent, a shared history, a distinctive shared culture, an association with a specific territory or a sense of solidarity". Smith's definition is similar to that of Cohen (1974, pp. IX - X), who defined an ethnic group as "a collectivity of people who: a) share some patterns of normative behavior and b) form a part of a larger population, and who have interaction with people from other collectivities within the framework of a social system". Ethnicity in Cohen's sense is "the degree of conformity by members of the collectivity to those shared norms in the course of social interaction" (Cohen, 1974, p. X). The normative behaviors in Cohen's definition are "symbolic formations in activities found in such contexts as kinship, marriage and friendship, rituals and other types of ceremonies". It is pointed out that symbols are essentially objective – not subjective – forms in the sense that they are accepted by others in the course of social interaction within a collectivity (Chavivun Prachaupmoh, 1980, pp. 7-8).

On the other hand, Barth (1969) suggests that ethnic groups are categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves and thus have the characteristic of organizing interaction between people. Barth points out that it is not the cultural content that defines the group, but rather the symbolic cultural contrast which people regard as important for ethnic distinctions. It is thus important to explore the different processes that seem to be involved in generating and maintaining ethnic groups. Consequently, we shift the focus of investigation from internal constitution and history of separate groups to ethnic

27

boundaries and boundary maintenance. The implication of his suggestion is that it is more important to study ethnic categories and boundaries (Chavivun Prachaupmoh, 1980, pp. 7-8).

In his case study of the Pathan, Barth points out that they "constitute a large, highly self-aware ethnic group inhabiting adjoining areas of Afghanistan and West Pakistan" (Barth 1969, p. 117). The interesting phenomenon is that the diversity of their lifestyles does not significantly impair the Pathan's self-image as a distinctive ethnic unit. The Pathans select certain cultural traits as characteristic of their group. According to Barth (1969, p. 119), the Pathans regard patrilineal descent, Islam and Pathan customs, as necessary attributes associated with Pathan identity. It appears that "this model provides a Pathan with a self-image, and serves him as a general canon for evaluating behavior on the part of himself and other Pathans" in the course of social interaction (Barth 1969, p. 120). This seems to be the base of Barth's argument on ethnic identity and boundaries (Chavivun Prachaupmoh, 1980, pp. 7-8).

Chavivun Prachaupmoh (1980, p. 8) made a remark about the differences between the definition of ethnic groups by Barth and Cohen. First of all, Barth emphasizes ethnic categories and ethnic boundaries defined by critical features. It is thus assumed that this cognition will affect human behavior in social interaction. His approach emphasizes the features which the people themselves identify as critical. On the other hand, Cohen emphasizes behavior regardless of the consciousness. He chooses to view a population's general culture, not just the features which they identify as distinctive.Second, contrary to Barth, Cohen emphasizes intra-group interaction since he assumes that an ethnic group, to operate successfully, must develop such things as distinctiveness or boundaries (this would be similar to Barth's viewpoint), communication, authority structure, decision-making procedures, ideology and socialization. This leads us to investigate the internal organization.

Chavivun Prachaupmoh suggested also some similarities in Barth's and Cohen's approaches to ethnic groups. First, their attention is directed to the investigation of interactions. Second, the function of ethnic groups is explained in terms of the interest of individuals and groups (Chavivun Prachaupmoh, 1980, p. 9).

The comprehension of the term "minority group" is important in order to define the meaning of ethnic group. Yetman and Steel (1975, p. 72) suggested that "ethnic group" had a similar meaning to "minority group". The terms minority and ethnic groups were used by these two researchers to refer to groups of people with their own cultures who were under the authority of another group. Francis (1947, p.

397-400) used the term "ethnic group" to discuss a minority people who lives in a state (see Gabbert, 2006, p. 87).

According to Gittler (1956, p. vii), ethnic groups were discriminated against and considered inferior to the main group in the society. Noel (1968) specified that the relations between ethnic groups were power-related. There are several attempts to utilize dichotomous terms to define ethnic group, for example "superordinate-subordinate" (Lieberson, 1961), "dominate-subordinate" (Yeteman and Steele, 1975; Noel, 1968; cited in Niyaphan Pholwaddhana, 1986, pp. 16-17), "indigenous-migrant" (Lieberson, 1938; cited in Niyaphan Pholwaddhana), etc. Most Thais, when they hear the term "ethnic group", immediately think of "minority groups". According to Niyaphan Pholwaddhana (1986, pp. 15-16), people usually assume that the term minority group had the same meaning as ethnic group. Such understanding was a problem for the Thai authorities since the term ethnic group was used to refer to a group of people who had different beliefs and conduct from Thai people. In case that these groups did not actually cause trouble to the state, they would not be regarded as minorities. This means that ordinary people equate ethnic and minority group while the government considers only those groups as minorities who "make trouble" (resistance to state policies and directives, concerning their culture, language, dress, etc.).

Contradictory opinions to the above mentioned ideas are expressed by the following scholars, in their definition of "ethnic group". Regarding the notion of "ethnic group", scholars find it difficult to define ethnic groups in each society explicitly and thoroughly while still keeping the definition open to all the multiplicities of these groups. Many different facets of social relations have been focused on in order to identify what an "ethnic group" comprises (Niyaphan Pholwaddhana, 1986, p. 16). Thus, various scholars have defined ethnic groups in different ways. The meaning of ethnic group suggested by Weber (1980, p. 237, cited in Gabbert, 2006, p. 88) was based on the idea of shared ancestry. Besides, he indicated that such beliefs were generally derived from the notion of resemblance in terms of culture and phenotype.

Chavivun Prachaupmoh (1980, p. 5) suggested that "ethnicity" always was an ambiguous term, and this ambiguity caused it to lose its heuristic value. First of all, the meaning of ethnicity is often undefined.

Charles F. Keyes (1979, p. 78), suggests that ethnic identity has long been nurtured by the commitment to a shared descent, a common language, shared myths or tales, a belief in a source of origin or common historical experiences. In addition, Keyes describes more extensively than other theorists that

the modern nation state (certainly through the policy makers and other influential stakeholders) has decisively shaped the shift of traditional ethnic identities to new ones.

Nicholas Tapp (1989, p. 86) argues that consciousness of history is an important factor in determining ethnic identity. It is based on particular events or situations chosen by group members to represent their self-significant value (not necessarily historical facts) which are presented as true events of their ethnic history.

As a consequence of different interests and approaches, different key concepts such as "ethnic identity", "ethnic boundaries" and "ethnicity" have been developed and applied, and the term "ethnic group" has been differently interpreted (Chavivun Prachaupmoh, 2004, pp. 6, 40) and analysis on different levels has been carried out (Gabbert, 2006, p. 90).

Wsevolod W. Isajiw (1993, p. 5) argued: "The meaning of the concept of ethnicity depends on the meaning of several other concepts, particularly those of ethnic group and ethnic identity. The concept of ethnic group is the most basic, from which the others are derivative. It refers to ethnicity as the collective phenomenon. Ethnic identity refers to ethnicity as an individually experienced phenomenon. Ethnicity itself is an abstract concept which includes an implicit reference to both collective and individual aspects of the phenomenon…"

The concept of "ethnic identity", which is used in order to comprehend ethnicity, emphasizes an individual level of analysis. Ethnic identity could mean symbolic expression shared by members of the community, which is given or inherited from generation to generation (Geertz, 1993, p. 112).

Wsevolod W. Isajiw (1993, pp. 8-9) broadened the meaning of ethnic identity by indicating that it could be separated into external and internal aspects. External ones included cultural and social behavior which could be observed, for example

(a) cultural expressions through ethnic languages and traditions,

(b) involvement in ethnic personal networks like friends and families,

(c) involvement in ethnic organizations like religious places, educational institutions, companies, media, etc.

(d) involvement in voluntary organizations of the ethnicity like associations and clubs and,

(e) involvement in events supported by ethnic organizations like trips, musical and dancing performances, seminars, trainings, rallies, etc.

Charles F. Keyes (2002, pp. 1163-1203) indicated that ethnicity was formed by social relations and was a type of social organization, which is in accord with the opinion of Thomas Hylland Eriksen (1993, p. 3), who suggested that ethnicity should not be viewed as a property of a group. Instead, it should be considered as characteristic feature of a relationship and social procedure (Eriksen, 1993, p. 6). This opinion of Charles F. Keyes corresponds to the opinion of a group of anthropologists on Thai studies, who see "Thainess" as adoptable by anyone, including Chinese, Malay people, etc. Again, other scholars think, the matter is more complicated and complex.

As for the internal aspects of ethnic identity, they included figures, thoughts, viewpoints and emotions, which were also deeply related to the external behavior. Nevertheless, it is not appropriate to assume that the two aspects of ethnic identity depended on each other in all cases. Instead, they could also differ. A good example was the fact that people from the third generation might hold a greater level of internal aspects than of external ones. Internal aspects of identity could be divided into three kinds: cognitive, moral, and affective.

The cognitive aspect included people's self-images and those of their group, which could be stereotypes of oneself or of one's group, and stereotypes of oneself and one's group that were perceived by outsiders. This aspect also consisted of one's group's heritage and its history. Even though this information needs not to be objective or widespread, it might have a strong emphasis on certain features, occasions or historical characters that have strong symbolic meanings for the group and, therefore, are considered its heritage. Lastly, the cognitive aspect contains the values of the group that are also components of the group's heritage. Next, the moral aspect of ethnic identity is connected to the group's feeling of obligations. Generally, the group's feeling of obligations depends on a person's level of attachment to the group and also the group's implications towards the person's conduct. In particular, the feeling of obligation is crucial for certain activities of the ethnic group like language teaching, marriage between people from the same group or cooperation between group members. Such feeling is an explanation for the group member's loyalty and unity (Wsevolod W. Isajiw, 1993, pp. 8-9).

The affective,or cathectic ,dimension of identity refers to feeling of attachment to the group. Two types of such feelings can be distinguished: (1) feelings of security with,sympathy and associative preference for members of one's group as against members of other groups and (2) feelings of security and comfort with the cultural patterns of one's group as against the cultural patterns of other groups or societies(Wsevolod W. Isajiw, 1993,p.9).

According to De Vos (1995), members of ethnic groups use any aspect of a subjective, symbolic or emblematic culture, or a perceived separate origin and continuity in order to differentiate themselves from other groups. Ethnic identity is a feeling that is maintained as an essential part of one's self-definition (De Vos, 1995, p. 24-26 cited in Sachiko Nakayama, p. 16).

Yos Santasombat (2008, p. 22) concludes that ethnic identity cannot be determined by blood relationship or biological traits. On the contrary, ethnic identity is determined by each ethnic group's invention of historical consciousness. Therefore, ethnic identity is not a package feature with definite trademarks, but involves the determination in self-identifying at a certain period of time based on the consideration of ultimate benefit.

Wsevolod W. Isajiw (1993, p. 6) defined the ethnic group as a community of people who belong to the same culture or who are the descendants of such people even though they might not share the culture. De Vos (1995, p. 24) defines ethnic groups as collectivities within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood (De Vos, 1970, p. 12, cited in Sachiko Nakayama, 2003, p. 15).

In order to avoid confusion regarding the meaning of ethnicity, this study decided to follow Gabbert's (2006, p. 60) definition: "Ethnicity refers to a phenomenon of social differentiation in which actors use cultural or phenotypic markers or symbols to distinguish themselves from others. It is a method of classifying people into categories that includes individuals of both sexes and all age groups organized into several kin groups using a (socially constructed) common origin as its primary reference" (Gabbert, 2006, p. 90).

In summary, many scholars use the term ethnic group (Vincent, 1974; Tambiah, 1989; Fenton, 2003) to describe forms of socio-cultural differentiation within existing states (Gabbert, 2006, pp. 88). Ethnicity was used by anthropologists in a wider sense to analyze the differences of human beings both at the collective and individual levels (Isajiw, 1993, p. 5; Zenner, 1975, p. 393).

The above literature review and theoretical debates have shown that the usages of concepts of ethnicity have changed over time. Its meanings have also been understood differently. The discussion of concepts and definitions of ethnicity can be summarized as follows: Ethnicity is used as a concept for the study of human beings both at individual as well as collective levels. Most scholars do not think that the similarities and the differences between people or groups were determined by heredity, biology or fixed

cultural traits. These are considered, in contrast, as changeable and flexible since they are defined by the actors and used to let others (members of the same ethnic group or outsiders) know who they are by making use of cultural or phenotypic traits.

2.1.2 Main Approaches or Schools of Thought on Ethnicity

There is still controversy about the concept of ethnicity (Bank, 1996, p. 84). As a consequence, there are several competing paradigms in the discussion about ethnicity such as primordialism or essentialism, instrumentalism, constructionism, new ethnicity or revisionism, modernism and postmodernism (Anderson 2003, pp. 209-223). Furthermore, the approaches on ethnicity can be divided into subjective and objective approaches. The subjective approach is based on Barth's (1969) focus on the sentiments of ethnic group members in self-classification, while the objective approach follows Cohen's (1974) focus on the behavioral traits of ethnic group members (Chavivun Prachaupmoh, 1980, pp. 4-50). Although there are many different approaches in the study of ethnicity, three major paradigms can be discerned (Office of the National Culture Commission in Ministry of Culture, 2003, pp. 7-9):

(1) Primordialism or Essentialism

The primordial approach is the oldest approach for the study of ethnicity that is used by anthropologists to study groups of people. This approach regards ethnicity as something naturally inborn, fixed and stable (Teshome, 2008). Moreover, it views ethnic groups as social units that are ascribed at birth, deriving from the kin-and-clan-structure of human society, and hence, something more or less fixed and permanent (Isajiw, 1993; Isaacs, 1975; Stack, 1986), which Hall (1997) indicated as "an integral, originary, and unified identity". Therefore, ethnic groups have essential characteristics and are defined as distinct cultures because of geographical differences and isolation, as Barth (1969, p. 11) says in his discussion of the primordialist position, "each group develops its cultural and social form in relative isolation, mainly in response to ecological factors".

Therefore, an internal core of ethnic characteristics is supposed to endure despite changes in the environment and there is a strong sense of ethnicity recognition among group members through their perception of common ancestors, language, and religion passed down through enculturation. This enhances a strong sense of commitment and attachment among ethnic group members.

Typical examples of the primordial or essential approach to ethnicity can be found in Raoul Naroll (1964), Clifford Geertz (1963) and Harold Isaacs (1975). Raoul Naroll (1964) suggested that

each group of people had its own cultural traits that indicated its own ethnicity, while Clifford Geertz (1963, pp. 105-157) suggested that some essential elements of the primordial ties were blood ties, race, language, region, religion, and custom. According to Geertz (1963, pp. 105-157), the people's sense of membership in an ethnic group was automatically a by-product of being born and living in such society. Geertz's opinion is in accordance with that of Harold Isaacs (1975), which focused on the significant concepts of "basic group identity" or "ethnic identity" originating from being a member of an ethnic group, thus leading to an outstanding commitment and attachment to other group members. Geertz, however, seems to be on the threshold of approaches as his formulations are somewhat ambiguous since he speaks of the "assumed" givens of blood.

The primordial approach focuses on individual groups regardless of their relationship and interaction to others. Each group is studied in isolation. However, there is much empirical evidence indicating that ethnicity is not absolutely fixed. On the contrary, it depends on different historical, social, economic and political contexts. Besides, ethnicity is changeable and flows with the shifting situations and circumstances. Members of ethnic groups choose to categorize themselves whether to become similar or different from other ethnic groups in order to pursue their best interests. Thus the study of ethnicity should not be limited to a single group or area but must take into account the relationship between groups and the procedure of ethnic identification. Such perspectives have caused scholars to become interested in the instrumentalist approach.

(2) Instrumentalism

This approach indicates that situation and circumstances have great influence on ethnicity. Instrumentalism is the view that ethnicity is a useful instrument to determine social relationships. Some scholars consider existing cultural traits, such as language, music, folk tales, food, dialect and religion, as representing the identity of the ethnic group and of ethnicity. However, this ethnicity is regarded as a social status that is not permanent and is always changing in accordance with circumstances and conditions. Furthermore, ethnicity is significant only when dynamic interactions with other ethnic groups take place (Brass, 1985, p. 55). Therefore, the ethnic self-identification of groups or individuals is not primordial. Instead, it results from the utilization of cultural or phenotypic markers to distinguish themselves from others in the way that suits various situations and circumstances. As already mentioned, the study of ethnicity in this approach can be found in the academic works of Edmund Leach (1954), Michael Moerman (1965) and Fredrik Barth (1969).

34

Edmund Leach (1954) has argued that ethnicity is a social status originating from interrelations among ethnic groups under a particular ecosystem rather than language. Ethnic groups should be conceived of as social entities that exist in structural opposition to other social entities. According to his findings on the political systems of highland Burma, Leach (1960, pp. 49-68) clearly illustrated that the people in Northern Burma can be classified into two groups: the valley people (the Shan) and the hill people (the Kachin) according to ecological categories as well as political and social organization. These two categories of people have been, however, symbiotic and interpenetrated territorially, politically and culturally for many centuries. For example, the Kachin who live in the valley working as laborers for the Shan's rice-fields and adopting the manner, dress and language of the Shan would become valley people. This indicates that the contrasts of culture and language that have led to the conventional classification of tribes and peoples of Burma are not permanent (cited in Shiko Yasuda, 2008, p. 39).

The analytical study of the Kachin people in terms of nature and formation demonstrated that this single ethnic group could be divided into 6 subgroups that used different languages. The most interesting feature was that the social and political structure that was commonly used by each subgroup was classified by the feudal hierarchical gumsa system and the democratic gumlao system that "oscillated" as time went by. Leach (1954, pp. 213-287) emphasized his idea by giving an explanation of the policy that the Kachin people had towards the Shan and the cases of Kachin people turning into Shan. Leach (1954) believed that ethnic identity was not stable. Instead, it depended largely on relations between other groups and interactions that occurred within inter-groups. This opinion was clearly stated as Leach stressed the difference between "actual" and "ideal" manners and social ladders of the Kachin people. Nevertheless, there were numerous numbers of intellectuals who did not agree with this assumption and disputed that there were too many generalizations in Leach's discoveries. According to Maran La Raw (1967), Leach's theory was incompatible with the reality of the society due to the fact that "oscillation" was connected to 3 types of political systems, which were gumchying gumsa, and gumsa gumrawng, not just 2 types of political systems as presented in Leach's model (1954, pp. 136-140). In addition, Maran La Raw stated that the categorization and methodology proposed by Leach had certain flaws regarding the classification of entities into orderly groups, for example, Shan vs. Kachin or valley culture vs. hill culture.

Wijeyewardene (1990) came up with a similar dispute, stating that it was inaccurate to verify ethnic identity by using the categories of habitat and agricultural methods. Wijeyewardene also argued that Leach's conclusion that people's identity changed when their agricultural practices altered failed to explain why there were still a number of individuals who used the method of wet-rice agriculture but still remained Kachin (Wijeyewardene, 1990).

In his article "Ethnic Identification in a Complex Civilization: Who Are the Lue?" Michael Moerman (1965) studied the Lue farmers of Ping village in the northern part of Thailand in around 1959. Moerman suggested that the self-identification of the members of one ethnic group relied on their power-based relationship with other groups. Moerman argued that 'Lueness' was a thing that might exist, change or disappear at any time in the Lue daily life. To support his statement, Moerman gave an example that when the Lue people from Ping village traveled out of their village to trade and associate with Thai people who lived in the plains area or with other groups, they were able to switch from being Lue into being Thai easily by refusing to speak the Lue language people. Nevertheless, when the Lue people of Ping village met or communicated with other Lue people in Lampoon Province, it was discovered that they were able to revert back to their 'Lueness'. From this study, Moerman found out that the Lue people of Ping village all chose to cover or reveal their 'Lueness' in various ways depending on the different periods and social contexts. Furthermore, Moerman also indicated that, language could not be used as a single criterion to define a person's ethnicity since the Lue people in each village in the northern part of Thailand had their own distinctive spoken dialects, but all still identified themselves as Lue. Thus, the analysis of the difference between being or not being a Lue was difficult, as Moerman stated that, "... I further suspect, … that the optative and motivated nature of ethnic labeling is connected to the fact that traits are used retrospectively, not inductively. To put it boldly, once a native decides to give some person an ethnic label, he finds some traits which that person has that can be used to demonstrate that the label has been applied correctly (1965, p. 30).

An instrumentalist approach is also used by Fredrik Barth (1969) in his book "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries". His work is known for its study of ethnic boundaries (Isajiw, 1993, p. 6). The model of ethnic boundaries was created by Fredrik Barth, an anthropologist who proposed a theoretical deconstruction of ethnicity near the end of the 1960s by shifting the focus from the cultural content, which was regarded by many anthropologists as the heart of ethnicity, towards the border which defined the

36

boundary of an ethnic community. Under this perspective, ethnicity was about who stayed inside and outside of an ethnic boundary (Barth, 1969, cited in Nagel, 2003, p. 44).

Barth suggested that ethnicity did not exist without people's interactions with other groups. Also, he believed that ethnicity was not naturally inborn but was constructed by the selection of some cultural traits in order to separate one particular ethnicity from those of other groups for economic and political advantages. Barth (1969) also proposed that a person could change his ethnic ascription by choosing languages, religions, costumes, etc., to distinguish his own ethnic group from others. This phenomenon could be witnessed when members of an ethnic group had to associate with members of another ethnic group. These groups chose whether to use their ethnic identities or not by emphasizing or not emphasizing their shared ethnic identities to express their being or not being members of certain ethnic groups for the best interests of themselves and their groups.

Furthermore, Barth stated that ethnic identity was dynamic since it could vary depending on the part that a person played in his relations with people outside of the group. Leach considered ethnic groups as social entities that were different from other social entities. Meanwhile, Barth put a stronger emphasis on ethnic boundary as a tool to indicate the insider and the outsider. In his opinion, ethnicity played a significant role in social organization and ethnic boundary, which kept changing depending on social interactions with various groups (cited in Fee and Rajah 1993). We have a feeling that we are a part of a group of which characteristics can be emphasized when compared with other groups. Therefore, in this sense, ethnic identity relies on different circumstances and relations with other groups since it is caused by social interactions with people outside of the group, and it is always power-related.

(3) Constructivism

This approach considers ethnicity not rooted in primordial ties, but as the product of a continued construction process of social organization (Jack David Eller and Reed M. Coughlan, 1993, pp. 188-189). Ethnicity is defined to result from power relations and discursive practices. A person's belonging to an ethnic group is not the outcome of primordial ties such as blood ties, race, language, region, religion and customs. Besides, ethnicity or a person's ethnic self-identification is strongly related to social relations between the more powerful and the less powerful groups. The superior group tries to dominate and influence the inferior group. Such relations mould ethnicity, which is an aspect of a relation, not the cultural property of a group (Gabbert, 2006, p. 99). It includes aspects of contestation, reformulation, negotiation and resistance (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992, pp. 18-19). In addition, ethnicity is not essential or fixed, but

37

fluid and constantly rebuilt (Jenkins, 1996, pp. 3-4). Thus, constructionists challenge the essentialist's notion of ethnicity and look at identity as something dynamic and constantly changing (Shiko Yasuda, 2008, p. 39).

In anthropology, many scholars of Southeast Asia also lean towards constructivism as can be seen from the following studies which do not lead a general debate but provide specific studies that make constructivism in the region visible. All these works are well-known and discussed among scholars of Southeast Asian anthropology, especially Thai studies and ethnicity in respect to Thailand.

Examples of the application of constructivism on the Tai Lue, a first example is the work of Charles F. Keyes is "Who are the Lue? Revisited: Ethnic Identity in Laos, Thailand, and China" (1992). This research is a respond to the earlier works of M. Moerman (1965 and 1974), which had put the question of ethnicity of the Tai Lue in Thailand, and answered it first in a simple way and later in a more complex way. Keyes suggest that ethnic identity is constructed not only through social interaction between different groups, but also within the broader context of the modern nation-state. He shows that the classification and self-identification of the Tai Lue is a product of national processes. Significant in his study is that Keyes has shown that "ethnic identities are constructed, invented and changed in a continual and complicated process not only by the external forces and arbitrary labeling by outsiders, but also by their own social process of creating self-image" (Keyes, 1995, p. 151). Social identities are, therefore, not static but multiple, flexible and shifting according to various social conditions (Shiko Yasuda, 2008, p. 40).

An example from the Tai Ahom in Assam (India),Damrongphon Inchan (2002) analyzed the process of cultural revival of the Tai Ahom, the largest Tai population in Upper Assam, North East India. The Tai Ahom are living there in close neighborhood with other ethnic groups who are the majority. Nevertheless, the Tai Ahom had built a flourishing Tai state there from the 13th century onwards. Due to strong cultural influences from so-called Aryan ethnic groups who brought with them a strong religious setting of Brahmanism and an Aryan language (Indo-European language) these Tai Ahom slowly lost several of their own cultural traits and merged them with the surrounding majority ethnic groups who were subjects in their state. As the Tai Ahom are supposed to have migrated from Tai settlements in neighboring Shan state in Myanmar, they still resemble the Shan (Tai Yai) ethnic group in the northern part of Myanmar in some respects. Nevertheless, except to some representatives of the priestly clan, they do not know Tai language any more. Their history is still recorded in Shan (Tai Yai) script in the Tai language, in manuscripts which are kept by the families.

According to their history, in the 13th century, the Tai Ahom migrated from Mao Lung Kingdom, which had its capital located on the banks of the Mao River (Shweli River in Chinese) and established the kingdom of Ahom in the basin of the Brahmaputra River in the northeast region of India. The Tai Ahom people were the rulers of that zone, which is the Assam state today, from then until the 19th century when it became a British colony. It had been several centuries since the Tai Ahom started using Assamese language and taking Vaisana-Hinduism as their major belief. The Tai language was no longer in use in the wider public. Instead, priests of the traditional Tai faith, who were the keepers of the antique manuscripts of Tai Ahom called Ahom-Buranji, tried to conserve the language by still applying it in their regular rituals. In the manuscripts written in Tai Yai (Shan) script stories regarding the history and society of the Tai Ahom as well as beliefs in supernatural supremacy and the worship of their antecedents have been compiled and stored (Sumit Pitiphat and Damronghon Inchan, 2003, p. 4). The Tai Ahom was an ethnic group who settled in the Assam state that consisted of populations from many different ethnic groups especially in the upper Assam area. The study by Damrongphon Inchan explained that the Tai Ahom stopped using their Tai language for approximately two centuries. Instead, they spoke Assamese like other native Assam people. Also, they all practiced Hindu Vaisanavism. The cultural revival of Tai Ahom had been operational from the period of the British colony in the 19th century until India became independent, with varying strength. In this movement, the knowledgeable Ahom people set up several organizations that operated to distinguish and support Tai Ahom ethnic identity, which was unlike that of the dominating Assamese. The main objective of establishing these organizations was to upgrade the Tai Ahom's social status so that the group might be accepted by the Indian government and might receive economical and social support like other minority groups. Nowadays, the Tai Ahom people are considered by the Indian state as principally equal to other majority ethnic groups in the Assam state and, therefore, are not given any special rights that are granted to several minority groups, including other minor Tai groups (Tai Khamthii, Tai Khamyang, Tai Phake, Tai Aiton, who all speak Tai and live in their own villages in Assam. The pride in their historical kingship and social status as well as the fact to be not provided with the advantages of being categorized as a distinctive ethnic minority group are the main reasons why the Tai Ahom community makes attempts to revive their Tai Ahom culture (Damrongphon Inchan 2002, p. 70).

For the purpose to re-invent and to create a separated ethnic identity of the Tai Ahom there are three major organizations that work for the Tai Ahom cultural revival, namely the Eastern Tai Literary Association or Ban Ok Pup Lik Mioung Tai, the All Assam Phuralung Association and the All Assam

Mohan-Deodhai-Bailung Association. These organizations try to make use of ethnic and historical consciousness, language and culture including Tai Ahom heroes of the past, a Tai museum, Ahom language classes, and literary and academic works to put a greater emphasis on the Tai Ahom culture and to distinguish themselves from the other Assamese people. The center of the Tai Ahom cultural revival is the Patsaku community located in Sibsagar district. There, traditional Ahom religious ceremonies, meetings and social congregations are continuously held with the aim to emphasize the importance of 'Ahomness' and to create unity among the Ahom people. At Patsaku, the Ahom ritual called "Me-Dam-Me-Phi" and a well-known festival called "Bihu" are organized annually in order to strengthen the Tai Ahom ethnic identity. During these events, Ahom from every corner of the Assam state would gather to participate in such meaningful meetings. After the events are over, the Ahom leaders who organized these congregations would make an evaluation of their work and create action plans for future operations.

The revival of customary beliefs and ceremonies caused a feeling of satisfaction among the Tai Ahom people who had been longing to express themselves distinctively. In addition, it was a clear evidence of how the Tai Ahom community tried to refresh their social status of the pre-colonial period when their people still spoke their own language and followed their own cultural traits, which were unlike those of the Assamese. The Tai Ahom people who took pride in their glorious past were claiming the rights and social status that they deserved in the Assam state as the historical rulers, an area where numerous ethnic people lived since millennia, and to which even more ethnic groups moved during the time of the British colonial rule and finally dominated the zone once ruled by the Ahom. One should view this also in the change from traditional power relations where an ethnic majority could be the ruling class or people, towards the democratic system which is strongly committed to the actual proportions of the population. The revival of the Tai Ahom language and culture stimulated the Indian authorities to solve their existing problem of inequality (Sumit Pitiphat and Damronghon Inchan, 2003, p. 4).

Hence, the revival of the Tai Ahom culture could be considered as the social and political activity that had the aim to upgrade the social and economic status of the Tai Ahom community in the Assam state. It could also be viewed as the politics of the Ahom ethnic identity in demanding a fairer share of power in the society. The Ahom elites who led this movement made use of the Ahom cultural symbols in the past to stimulate this cultural reinvention, which was done to better suit the varying circumstances in the Assam state and in India (Damrongphon Inchan, 2002, pp.3-4).

An Example from the Shan in Myanmar,Phuphat Chetiyanoth (2003, pp. 3-4) was particularly interested in the formation of the ethnic identity of the minority people in the Nyaungshwe - Inle (Lake) area, which is located in the Southern Shan State in the north of Myanmar. Nyaungshwe is the Burmese writing of what is actually the Shan "Nong-huai". This zone, which was the location of Chetiyanoth's fieldwork, was one of the major ancient communities in Shan State where there had been the ethnic Shan (Tai Yai), the Inta and the Pa-o living together for a long period of time. The Shan and the Inta lived in the plains and lake zones, whereas the Pa-o inhabited the adjoining mountainous areas. According to history, Nyaungshwe was founded in the 14th century by a Shan King, (Chao) Si-Saeng-Fa. From that time onwards, it had been an important cultural and political center of the Southern Shan State. The Tai Yai (Shan) had previously been dominating the area.

According to Chetiyanoth's argument, Myanmar has had a great ethnic and cultural variety since a long time. The citizens of Myanmar consist of more than 30 ethnic groups. The Shan ethnic group ranked second in terms of population size among the minority groups in Myanmar. According to history, the Shan were the prevailing group that had been residing in the upper part of Myanmar for ages. The Shan people succeeded in establishing many independent states called "mueang" (an indigenous state system of the Tai peoples in many countries of Southeast Asia which were governed by their own Chao-fa (Kings)(Oliver Raendchen and Jana Raendchen,1998;pp.5-11).

Even during A.D. 1826-1947 when Myanmar became a British colony, these states were still governed independently from other parts of the country. Their ruling patterns were changed only after the Panglong Agreement (1952), which caused them to come under the rule of the Burmese. Even if they owned a state in the Myanmar Union, they had been heavily restrained by the Myanmar government, who destroyed the palace of the Chao-fa (King), the power and the whole dynasty. At the same time, the Burmese military government had been established and the teaching of Shan language in school was prohibited. Also, the government did not encourage Shan cultural activities, which resulted in the Shan people's loss of power and importance in the Nyaungshwe – Inle (Lake) area (Phuphat Chetiyanoth, 2003, p. 189).

After the Burmese military government was resolutely established in 1962 (after the Shan States indicated they would withdraw from the Panglong Agreement of being a State in the Union of Burma), the previous ruling by Shan Chao-Fa (Kings) was put to an end. Consequently, the ancient political and cultural system in the "Nyaungshwe-Inle" area was totally changed. It became the Pa-o's and

41

the Inta's turn to be allotted greater economic and political power than the Shan. This was because the Shan people were forcefully deprived of the power to rule over the territory (Phuphat Chetiyanoth, 2003, p. 13). It is interesting how the Shan people turned to be more like the Inta people in terms of culture and ethnicity. Factors that encouraged the alteration of ethnicity were marriage across ethnic groups, bilingual speaking and a shared Buddhist culture and traditions (Phuphat Chetiyanoth, 2003, p. 4).

Examples of the application of constructivism on the Hmong,The academic work on the Hmong in the northern part of Thailand by Nicholas Tapp (1989) is another good example of a constructivism approach in the study of ethnicity. Tapp found that the Hmong in Thailand live under the sovereignty of the Thai State. Therefore, the Hmong had to confront the economic and cultural domination by the Thai state, which caused some of the Hmong to accept the Thai state's power and to agree to present themselves as Thais by changing their names and surnames into Thai. Nevertheless, there were other Hmong who resisted this domination and tried to maintain the cultural characteristics of the Hmong, which were different from those of Thai culture. The study by Nicholas Tapp also pointed out that a person's membership in an ethnic group or how they identify themselves depended on power relations and their own best interests (Nicholas Tapp, 1989).

Aranya Siriphon (2001) conducted a large study on a Hmong community that resided in the mountains of Chiang Rai province regarding the power relations between the ethnic Hmong as a minority and the dominating Thai state. The prevailing Thai society stereotyped the Hmong people as the producers, traders and users of opium and, therefore, caused them to be viewed as immoral. The researcher pointed out that Hmong identity resulted from the pessimistic images that the Thai state authority had of this group, which caused them to be regarded as "unwanted" in Thai society in four specific depictions. The first one portrayed the Hmong as illegal drug producers and dealers. The second one viewed the Hmong as a possible danger to the Thai state's security. The third regarded the Hmong as destroyers of forests and natural resources (shifting agriculture). The fourth one saw the Hmong as tourist attractors, as the Thai would like to have the tourists among themselves. Additionally, tourists are generally thought to consume much heroin when getting access to it at Hmong villages. All these negative viewpoints were somehow accepted by society in general. In this case, it seemed righteous for the state to legally expand their power to rule over the Hmong community. Nevertheless, in the world of globalization, people around the world became more interested in the international point of view rather than national ones in terms of economy and politics. International issues regarding human and community rights, political bio-

networks and ethnicity were being viewed in a wider perspective with greater respect for the ethnic people. Aranya Siriphon stated that the new way of thinking undermined the Thai state and allowed the Hmong to gain a broader social space to react against the state.

The Hmong's reactions to this change of ideas can be divided into two types. The first one opposed the Thai state and its negative points of view, which might be categorized into 3 major groups: (1) the Hmong were not drug planters and dealers, but they were healers using traditional medicine; (2) the use of opium was explained and rationalized by the Hmong practitioners, and (3) opium was used as a type of medicine just like in the previous period.

On the other hand, the second reaction was self-adjustment to match the Thai nation state's requirements and practices. Therefore, there were numerous numbers of Hmong who showed their community as "free of drugs" and changed to conduct other kinds of agricultural work in accord with the state development projects. The good examples included a project to plant winter fruits instead of opium and to participate in agricultural work in accordance with the approaches that were suggested by the state through abandoning the practice of shifting agriculture. Hmong people of the new generation showed themselves more and more as properly educated people who accepted the viewpoints of Thai society in general. Additionally, Aranya Siriphon's research argued about the diversity, vitality and complication of the social understanding and reaction of the Hmong towards dominant practices. The research suggested that it was impossible to define ethnic boundaries by one particular group of people, whether they were the Hmong elderly, the new generation of the Hmong or the dominating Thai state. Nevertheless, it was plausible for ethnic identities to be constructed and reconstructed depending on the changing factors and circumstances. For this reason, they were changeable, convertible and negotiable. Furthermore, factors like human class, generation, social experiences and ethnic identities were different, active and complicated (Aranya Siriphon 2001, pp. 175-186).

The academic work on the Hmong in the northern part of Thailand by Prasit Leepreecha (2001) also shows that ethnicity is constantly changing, relating to context. He indicates the reproduction and construction of the Hmong ethnic identity by discussing the Hmong diaspora in Thailand. The Hmong have migrated from Laos into Thailand, which results in the emergence of transnationalism. The Hmong have tried to reproduce and recreate the Hmong ethnic identity. They publish books and newspapers in the Hmong language, produce and distribute movies, videos, websites and documentary CDs with contents related to the culture and history of the Hmong. Even though the Hmong ethnic group does not

have its own country with clear geographical boundaries, its members have succeeded in building their "social space" thanks to communication technology that helps to link the scattered Hmong together and make them feel that they belong to the same ethnic group. As a result, Hmong ethnicity has become distinct. The case of the Hmong clearly indicates that ethnicity is a man-made thing that is flexible, movable and able to go across the boundaries of nation states.

Examples of the application of constructivism on the Karen, Rajah (1990) has paid close attention to the relationship between ethnicity and nation-states as well as ethnic boundaries and national boundaries. He examines how national boundaries between Thailand and Burma have had a strong impact on the local Karen communities that are divided by those borders. This has led to a partial loss of Karen ethnic consciousness and identity. Rajah argues that the Karen in Thailand do not sympathize with the nationalism led by Karen Nation Union (KNU) in Myanmar, whose ultimate goal is to establish an independent Karen State. The Karen in Thailand tend towards holding multiple identities: They can be ethnic Karen and a Thai (national identity) simultaneously.

In contrast, for the Karen in Burma, the KNU (Karen National Union) has tried to construct a Karen national identity through ethnic education. According to Rajah, the capability of the state to control and secure the national security within the state boundaries determines the conditions in the border areas to a large extent. Thus, the Thai-Burma border can be seen as a site where the Thai border and the Burma-Karen frontier and two state approaches intersect. Rajah's work shows that the concepts of border and boundary are neither universal nor monolithic, but need to be understood under specific historical, political, economic and cultural circumstances (Rajah 1990, p. 130; Schiko Yasuda, 2008, pp. 26-27).

Example of the Mon,The work of Juajan Wongpolganan (2006) on "Identity Construction of Mon Women at the Thai-Burma Border and their Interaction with Burmese and the Thai: The Case of a Mon Community in Kanchanaburi Province" revealed the experiences of the Mon working-class women who had been marginalized since they did not have Thai citizenship. This research had a major emphasis on the creation of identity by the Mon women who lived in the Thai-Burma border area. Basically, their experiences did not gain a major interest in the Mon community as the Mon mainstream believed that politics was a man's job. In fact, Mon females constructed their own methods of informal fighting. Even so, their secret battles only had an insignificant effect on the identity politics in the overall Mon community. Using the feminist approach and participatory field investigations, the researcher concluded as follows:

The identity construction procedure was connected with the marginalized Mon community's interactions in many different circumstances and under various contexts, which included economics, politics, education, and mass media. Due to the fact that they lived at the border area, the Mon women made use of a variety of tactics in order to gain social space both for themselves and for their families. The Thai authorities let them lead dignified lives in a multi-ethnic society with proper rights and access to some resources. It was found out that those from the first generation of Mon women who came to Thailand many decades ago were the ones who were able to maintain their 'Mon-ness' effectively and entirely. Nevertheless, the Mon women from the second generation who were born in Myanmar and followed their families to live in Wangka village, Sangkhlaburi district at the Thai-Burma border were found to be more flexible. This was as a result of the mechanisms of Thai politics, the educational system, the influence of the mass media and the daily interactions with people from different ethnic backgrounds. Hence, their identities were a mixture of 'Mon-ness' and "Thainess". Even so, they always tried hard to preserve their Mon culture and to reproduce it. One of the reasons for the revival of old traditions was the promotion of tourism, as it showed that presenting their unique cultural features interested the tourists who came in greater numbers. The third generation of Mon women had to meet their families' and community's expectations of maintaining their 'Mon-ness'. Nevertheless, there were many outside factors that caused them to be different from the original Mon women and to be more flexible in Thai society, including education, occupations and marriage choices. Therefore, these women were deeply connected with "Thainess", and this phenomenon was the origin of the saying "Being Mon by flesh and blood, but being Thai by heart".

2.2   Conceptual Framework

The overview of ethnicity concepts above indicates its complexity and diverse dimensions. Ethnicity is about the classification and identification of people as well as the groups' relationships both at the individual and collective levels. Ethnicity is a dynamic and unstable process depending on the historical context, among them processes of nation state building. These perspectives have built the theoretical and methodological framework for collecting, analyzing and presenting the data concerning the interaction of the Shan people and the Thai nation state in the present study.

A social constructivist approach, which pays attention to power relations, has served as a guideline for the analysis and for answering the research questions.

Power relations are visible in the efforts of the Thai nation state to reduce cultural diversity and to create 'Thainess' by monitoring, controlling and suppressing the ethnic groups. As a consequence, both self-adjustment and resistance to the Thai state are present in the case of the Shan people of Piang Luang village.

```
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│    The Thai Nation State    │
└─────────────────────────────┘
              │
              ▼
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│ The Thai Nation State's attempt to │
│   Create Social and Cultural Unity  │
└─────────────────────────────┘
              │
              ▼
```

| The Strategy of the Thai Nation State on Shan Ethnicity disintegration | The Shan People of Piang Luang Village

- History of the Community
- Institutions, Groups and Organizations
- Activities, Festivals and Events
- Traditions
- Language Culture
- Ritual | The Strategy of the Construction of Thainess Implemented to the Shan Ethnic Group |

```
              │
              ▼
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│ The Interaction of Shan People with │
│         the Thai State              │
│         - Self-Adjustment           │
│         - Resistance                │
└─────────────────────────────┘
              │
              ▼
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│    The Shan Ethnicity in    │
│     Piang Luang village     │
└─────────────────────────────┘
```

Figure   2.1 Conceptual Frameworks

2.3   Assumptions of the Study

Since this study focuses on the reaction of the Shan people in Piang Luang village towards the Thai nation state's attempt to create social and cultural unity, this assumption branches off from theoretical issues in the nation building field and goes in the direction of ethnicity. The following paragraphs attempt to illustrate the theory of ethnicity used in forming the assumption of the study. Based on a social constructivist approach, this study implies that the formulated Shan ethnicity or Shan ethnic identification of the Piang Luang villagers is constantly oscillating between "Thai" and "Shan" through interaction with the state. Thus, the Shan ethnicity in Piang Luang village is not ascribed at birth, deriving from the kin-and-clan-structure of human society and culturally given but the product of an interaction with the state.

The Shan ethnic identification of the Piang Luang villagers cannot be considered as fixed in time and space but it is important to note that the Shan ethnic identification of the Piang Luang village is neither a fixed nor static phenomenon but rather should be understood as a mechanism of self adaptation and resistance to the state. Thus, Shan ethnicity is constructed, invented and changed in a continual and complicated process not only by the external forces and arbitrary labeling by outsiders, but also by their own social process of creating self-image (Keyes, 1995, p. 151). In accordance with the above discussion of Shan ethnicity, this study assumes that the Thai state's efforts to establish social and cultural unity among the ethnic groups on the state level has an effect on the Shan ethnicity. This causes the Shan people in Piang Luang village to make use of cultural symbols or phenotypic markers to define and identify themselves as similar or different from other people in various forms. It can be seen that Shan ethnic identification in Piang Luang village is constructed in such a way as to serve a particular purpose. It is at the same time fluid, flexible and changeable with regards to various periods of time and to differing contexts of the state's power.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This study utilizes qualitative research, which was carried out through observation and interviewing during field research in Piang Luang village. The results of the research are presented in the form of descriptive analysis from the perspectives of both an outside-etic viewpoint of the researcher, and an inside-emic viewpoint, which is that of the Shan people in Piang Luang village. The research methodology that has already been performed is as follows:

3.1   LOCATION DESIGNATION FOR THE RESEARCH

In selecting Piang Luang village, Piang Luang sub-district, Wiang Haeng district, Chiang Mai province in Thailand as the study area of this research, the researcher used the method of purposive sampling from the criteria of field selection, which the researcher has defined in 3 aspects, i.e., place, actors and social activities (Spreadley,1980, p. 40). The details are as follows:

3.1.1 Place

The first criterion that the researcher has defined is that the research area must be the border area between Thailand and Myanmar, since this borderline zone has special characteristics that are different from other areas in Thailand. This is because in most of the Thailand-Myanmar border areas certain issues are pronounced that have an impact on Thai state's security. Unlawful activities that are found in border areas include drug plantations and production, illegal immigration and goods smuggling. Moreover, minority armies, who resist the power of Myanmar's military government, control most of these border areas. In an effort to solve these problems, the Thai state tries to strictly control the Thailand-Myanmar borderline in many different ways. In the researcher's opinion, the Thai state's stringent control over the Thailand-Myanmar borderline may be able to clearly demonstrate the power relations between people who live within the border areas and the Thai state. For this reason, the researcher has chosen Piang Luang village, a Shan community located on the northern Thailand-Myanmar borderline as the study area of this research project.

3.1.2 Actors

Actors is another criterion that the researcher has chosen for the selection of the study area since the main objective of this research is to learn about the interaction between the Thai state and the inhabitants of this area who live under the state's power. As a result, the study area of the research should have both the state's officials and the inhabitants, who interact with each other in many different ways, as the actors. Therefore, the researcher considers Piang Luang village an appropriate area because most of the villagers are Shan people who are regarded by the Thai state as "the exiled Burmese minorities who entered the kingdom without the normal immigration process" and "who may be a threat to the state's security."This is a general assumption found widespread among the people in Thailand that was certainly spurred by some nationalist strategists and the mass media. This is one of the reasons that legitimize the Thai state's attempts for a strict control of the Shan people of Piang Luang village by sending state officials from various sectors to work in the village with the purpose of maintaining the state's security as well as to create socio-cultural unity.

3.1.3 Social activities

Piang Luang village is a community that has a wide variety of social and cultural activities that are organized by the Shan people and by the Thai state sectors every month. The ones organized by the Shan people are especially interesting from the researcher's point of view. Nevertheless, activities that can be witnessed in Piang Luang village are not only held by the Shan. It was discovered that many Thai state agencies, as teachers, policemen, cultural and social workers who are sent and paid by the state try to organize a variety of activities to create and promote the national cultural unity, to implant the consciousness of being a member of the Thai state including the superiority of Thai (Siamese) culture among the Shan people in the village and to contribute to make them feel attached to Thai identity. The fact that there are different types of activities being held constantly, both by the Shan people and Thai state officials in Piang Luang village, enabled the researcher to observe them over and over again. This repetitive observation makes the data that the researcher has collected from Piang Luang village clearer and more reliable.

3.2 POPULATION

This research is a case study. Therefore, the unit of analysis is Piang Luang village, and the population of the research is the Shan people who live in Piang Luang village.

3.3   DATA COLLECTION PERIOD

Intensive data collection was done in a period of 12 months from April 2009 to March 2010. Before that, material and data (literature and newspaper review, media reports) was collected loosely, for approximately another year.

3.4   DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES

The researcher divided the data collection into two stages, which are the literature review and the field work with the following details:

3.4.1 The document and literature review

The review of documents and literature related to the research topic was the first step completed before the field study. The researcher has reviewed relevant documents and literature using the following scientific methods:

1) The collection of documents and literature

Firstly, the researcher collected documents and literature that were considered reliable and relevant to the objectives of the research under the scope of contents that the researcher had determined. The documents and literary works that the researcher scrutinized were related to the following aspects:

1.1)   Basic information of Piang Luang village, which consists of the history of the Shan people of Piang Luang village as well as their society and culture. Most of the relevant documents and works of literature were collected from Wat Piang Luang temple, Wat Fa Wiang-In temple and Piang Luang sub-district Administrative Unit.

1.2)   Information regarding the creation of national socio-cultural unity by the Thai state, which comprises documents and works of literature, the contents of which are related to the disintegration of the Shan ethnicity in Piang Luang village and the construction of 'Thainess'. Most of the documents and literary works in this category were collected from military sources, police, health care, educational, and other governmental institutions that are related to this research. These materials were found either inside Piang Luang village or in the neighboring areas.

1.3)   Information regarding the interaction between the Shan people in Piang Luang village and the Thai state, which consists of documents and literary works that are related to the Shan people's adaptation and resistance to the Thai state. Most of the documents and literary works in this

50

category were collected from Wat Piang Luang temple, Wat Fa Wiang In temple, Buddhist Scripture Teaching School, House of Monks Piang Luang village and Shan Women's Action Network (SWAN).

2) Criticism of the documents and literature

After having compiled the documents and works of literature from different sectors as mentioned above, the researcher continued to verify their accuracy in two parts: 1) internal criticism of the documents and literature from styles of writing and contents of the documents and, 2) external criticism of the documents and literature from writers, sources, years of publication and years of distribution.

3) Analysis of the documents and literature

The documents and literary works that the researcher had already verified as reliable and relevant to the subject matters were compiled and categorized in order to facilitate the content analysis that would be done together with the field study.

The review of the related documents and works of literature by the above methods allowed the researcher to define the topics, objectives, questions and hypotheses of the research as well as theories, frameworks and research tools. The details of these subjects are presented in Chapters 1- 3 of this dissertation.

3.4.2 Conducting fieldwork

After reviewing the documents and literary works that were related to this research, the researcher began the fieldwork in order to collect data from Piang Luang village, analyzing them and discussing the phenomena that had taken place according to the questions of the research and the hypotheses that the researcher had defined. To complete the fieldwork study of Piang Luang village, the researcher spent a total period of 12 months, from April 2009 to March 2010. This fieldwork study was divided into 3 stages as demonstrated below:

Stage 1 - The beginning of the fieldwork

The researcher began the fieldwork by sending a letter of self-introduction together with the documents that described the details of his research to the head of the governmental sectors located in Piang Luang village. This letter was also sent to the leader of Piang Luang village to inform about the objectives of this research and also to briefly present the researcher. Afterwards, the researcher went to meet the head of the governmental sectors and the leader of Piang Luang village to explain about the objectives of this fieldwork study as well as some additional details of the research that had not been mentioned in the previous letters. After an encounter with the head of the governmental sectors and the

leader of Piang Luang village, the researcher continued to introduce himself to the Shan people in Piang Luang village during a village meeting, which was held every month. This self-introduction allowed everyone in Piang Luang village to get to know the researcher and understand the purposes of this field study. Besides, it allowed the researcher to collect data in Piang Luang village smoothly and receive good coordination from the Shan people there. The governmental officials also trusted the researcher and agreed to provide the data that was necessary for this research.

After that, the researcher started studying the fundamental information of Piang Luang village. The researcher began by collecting the data about the location, size, geographical features, climate, natural resources, transportation, and important places in Piang Luang village. It was found out that most of the basic information had already been collected by the governmental sectors in Piang Luang village. Thus, the researcher sent another letter to acquire this basic data from the governmental sectors in Piang Luang village, who cooperated with the researcher very well. The police station in Piang Luang village sent the researcher the data regarding people who had committed an offence in the village as well as the information about the police station's service procedure. The Piang Luang sub-district Administrative Unit gave the researcher the data about the village's geography, population, economy and other details regarding groups or organizations that worked in Piang Luang village. In addition, Amphoe Wiang Haeng District Office provided the researcher with information concerning the administration procedures of Piang Luang village.

After receiving all the basic information about Piang Luang village, the researcher asked Piang Luang villagers to verify its accuracy. Also, the researcher utilized some parts of the data to create a map of Piang Luang village. Together, the basic information and the map of Piang Luang village allowed the researcher to see the overall picture of the village. Afterwards, the researcher started to search for further information regarding the history of the village and of immigration as well as the Shan people's economic, social and cultural background. These data could be acquired from Wat Piang Luang temple, Wat Fa Wiang In temple and Baan Piang Luang School, which had already compiled and organized some information. However, the researcher discovered that some parts of the data were still ambiguous. Therefore, the researcher made a plan to collect further information, both from in-depth interviews and observation in the 2nd stage of this field study.

Apart from the search of Piang Luang village's basic information in the 1st stage, another important task that the researcher completed during this stage was to find key informants from among both

the Shan people and the Thais who lived in Piang Luang village or somewhere else, but who still had information about Piang Luang village. The researcher applied the purposive sampling technique to find these key informants; they had to be key informants who knew about the history of the community and the immigration issues, the construction of national socio-cultural unity, the aimed-at disintegration of ethnicity, the creation of 'Thainess' and the interaction between the Shan people and the Thai state. The researcher eventually found 15 key informants who later provided the researcher with in-depth information during interviews.

In addition to the researcher's self-introduction and search for key informants, the researcher also began to look for extra information in Piang Luang village by observing various activities that took place in the village by non-participant observation. The reason why the researcher used this means of observation was because, in the early period of the field work, the researcher was not yet familiar with the Shan people of Piang Luang village and they in turn might not trust the researcher well enough to divulge important or sensitive information. Hence, the researcher decided not to use the method of participant observation, which was reserved for later when the researcher was more acquainted with the Shan people of Piang Luang village.

The researcher took approximately 5 months to complete the 1st stage of the field work, allowing the researcher to receive the basic information about Piang Luang village as well as to get more accustomed to the Shan people and the governmental officials who worked there. The researcher also found key informants who could provide information on the subject matters that the researcher would like to study. Most of the data that the researcher received from the 1st stage of the fieldwork is presented in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

Stage 2 - Field Study

In the 2nd stage of the fieldwork, the researcher began by building feelings of familiarity and intimacy with the 15 key informants. After that, the researcher made an appointment to have in-depth interviews with these key informants and also gave them the in-depth interview forms that the researcher had created. This form had been tested to ensure that it was appropriate for the 15 key informants in order to make them understand the subject matters of the researcher's interview. Apart from the in-depth interview with the key informants, in the 2nd stage of the fieldwork, the researcher also participated in different activities that the Shan people and the governmental officials organized in Piang Luang village with the aim to observe activities as well as to find an opportunity to unofficially interview the Shan people or the governmental

officials who were able to provide information that was relevant to the research. For the 2nd stage of the fieldwork, the researcher targeted obtaining information regarding the following subject matters:

1) **The disintegration of the Shan ethnicity in Piang Luang village**. Regarding this subject, the researcher would like to find out which governmental sectors were situated in Piang Luang village and how each of them treated the Shan people, especially in terms of the control of borderline, areas and people.

2) **The creation of 'Thainess' in Piang Luang village**. Regarding this subject, the researcher collected information by observing and participating in various activities that were related to the national identity creation and the construction of national Thai consciousness that the governmental sectors organized.

3) **Action of the Shan Community in Piang Luang village**

The researcher gathered data by participant observation in the rites and cultural activities arranged in Piang Luang village. The purpose was to investigate how Shan people in Piang Luang village adjusted themselves against Thai state power, how this action impacted on their ethnic categories and identifications, when the action occurred, and what methods were used. The fieldwork study in stage 2 took five months and the results are presented in Chapter V.

Stage 3 - Working with data

During this phase, the researcher reviewed all gathered data to inspect the completion of all issues. In case some data was still incomplete, the data in that part was gathered again. Later on, the data were checked for accuracy, summarized, analyzed according to the research question and hypothesis, and presented in chapter VI of the dissertation. This phase took two months in total.

3.5   RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

In order to derive the data covering all aspects that could answer the research question and hypothesis, mixed research techniques were applied based on the situations in the village as follows:

3.5.1 Participant observation

Participation observation was the main technique the researcher used throughout the fieldwork study. The researcher took part in many activities of all groups, sexes, and ages in Piang Luang village depending on the appropriate opportunities. In general, Shan society is quite open, and there are for example, not restrictions to women to talk to men, etc. There were both Shan and Thai people's activities that the researcher participated in. The activities of the Shan people included the Poi Sang Long

Festival, the Kingkara Bird Dance, the Poi Awk Wa Festival, the Poi Wan Khu Maw Lik Tai Festival, the ceremonies of remembrance of the Shan people's important figures, the ceremony to worship the holy spirit of the village, ceremonies of birth, ordination, marriage, funerals, and so on.

The researcher also took part in Thai people's activities that Thai government organizations arranged such as HM the King's Birthday, HM the Queen's Birthday, etc.

3.5.2 General observation

This was the main technique used by the researcher in Piang Luang village. The researcher observed operations of the government officers from other organizations, as well as the operations of institutions, groups and organizations in Piang Luang village, and the way of life and culture of the Shan people in Piang Luang village. For general observation, an observation recording form was used as a research instrument. The form consisted of three sections as below.

Section 1. Record Situations: All details derived from the observation would be recorded, covering environment, location, persons, situations, wording. The information was noted based on who, what, where, when, how, with whom, and why.

Section 2. Primary Interpretation: Initial information derived from the observation according to the concept of ethnicity, and the researcher's opinions was recorded.

Section 3. Methodological Note: Details about the methods of deriving the data, faults or weak points of the methods of gathering the data, researcher's opinions, and how to gather the missing data later.

3.5.3 In-depth Interview with Key-informants

In terms of the technique of key-information, 15 people were interviewed, consisting of 3 males and 3 females who were Shan people and 6 male authorities from the Thai state. Open-ended questioning was employed so that the informants would be free to express their opinions and feel at ease with the interviewer. Moreover, open-ended questions would allow flexibility according to the situations and interviews. A prepared in-depth interview form was used as the research instrument to gather the data from these 15 key-informants. Pre-testing was conducted with Shan people in Laktaeng village, close to Piang Luang village to adjust it to get an appropriate and clear form of in-depth interview record. After that, the form was submitted to Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Gabbert, Institute of Sociology, the Leibnitz University of Hannover, Germany, to check its contents before taking in-depth interviews.

The form of in-depth interview record consisted of 4 sections, covering (part 1): the questions about context of Piang Luang village, (part 2): the questions about disintegration of Shan ethnicity by Thai authorities, part (3): the construction of 'Thainess' for national unity, (part 4): the questions about Shan ethnicity and interaction with the Thai government sector, and (part 5): the questions to receive the interviewees' opinions. The key informants from both the Thai authorities and Thai people were as follows:

1) **Thai Authorities**

For the key informants who are Thai authorities, the researcher conducted in-depth interviews with all informants without asking about personal information to avoid any impact on their operations. As a result, only the position of the key informants was displayed. Positions of the key informants in this dissertation consisted of six persons who were all in positions of the state sector, or public administration. In order to refrain from any impacts on these persons possibly resulting from my research findings, their names and positions are not provided.

2) **Shan people**

The key informants who were Shan people in Piang Luang village also did not want to disclose their names to avoid possible repercussions. Therefore pseudonyms were used in this dissertation as follows:

2.1) Mrs. Suaymia Chaiyen, a 61 year-old village health volunteer who was experienced in primary health care. She was a teacher teaching the Shan language to children in Piang Luang village. She also had great capabilities in cooking Shan food and had insight and knowledge about the political history of the Shan community.

2.2) Mrs. Bua Ngernhorm, a 55 year-old volunteer who was experienced in assisting HIV patients and providing suggestions and knowledge for HIV patients in the village.

2.3) Mrs. Saiwan Pew-on, a 57 year-old local servant who had a great capability for composing and singing Shan songs. At that time, she was working as a DJ, broadcasting in the Shan language. She also understood Shan culture and tried to promote and transfer Shan culture to other communities.

2.4) Mr. Faymung Laisai, a 69-year-old man who used to serve in the SURA army fighting against Myanmar's military. He was a member of the Shan traditional dramatic performance group (LIKE). He spoke the Shan language and was knowledgeable about Shan performing rites. He had

passed on his knowledge about Shan history to Piang Luang villagers so as to help preserve their ethnic heritage.

2.5)   Mr. Teng Yun, a 57-year-old leader of Piang Luang village. He took part in governing Piang Luang village and became the core leader in arranging activities concerning Shan culture in Piang Luang village. He assisted Piang Luang villagers when they experienced difficulties.

2.6)   Phakru Preecha, a 37 year-old monk from Wat Fa Wiang Buddhist temple, who had an essential role in developing the community and society in many aspects, such as helping orphans and children who had fewer opportunities in Piang Luang. He was the mainstay in arranging activities on Buddhist occasions and in developing Wat Piang Luang to be a place for learning Shan culture.

2.7)   Phakru Amornverakrun, a 73 year-old monk from Wat Papao Buddhist temple who had an essential role in promoting and developing the education of Shan people who migrated to work in Thailand. He also had a key role in propagating Buddhism among the Shan people in Chiang Mai province.

2.8)   Phakru Amornkuntsrilanuyut, a monk from Wat Konglom Buddhist temple who had an essential role in promoting and developing education for poor youths who mostly were from the hill tribes and other ethnic minorities and who lacked opportunities to access education from government schools. He also worked to propagate Buddhism for the Shan people around the frontier.

2.9)   Phamaha Kaisorn, a monk from Wat Piang Luang Buddhist temple who had an essential role in promoting and developing education for the Shan people who were poor. He also took part in promoting and driving the arrangements of Shan cultural activities in Piang Luang.

3.5.4 Informal interviews/Non-structured interviews

The researcher also used informal interviews with 60 Shan people selected by using the Snow Ball Sampling Technique. The topics for interview consisted of 1) context of Piang Luang village, 2) disintegration of Shan ethnicity by Thai authorities, 3) creation of 'Thainess', and 4) Shan ethnicity and interaction with the Thai government. Each question was open-ended, so the interviewees were free to express their opinions. While interviewing Shan people in Piang Luang village, the researcher exchanged opinions with Shan people under friendly circumstances depending on the location and situation. The main purpose was to gather the data relating to Piang Luang village as much as possible by using the form of interview record as a research instrument.

The informants for this informal interview can be classified into 10 males and 10 females aged 20-39 years old, 10 males and 10 females aged 40-59 years old, and 10 males and 10 females aged 60-79 years old. The reason for interviewing Shan people of differing ages was that people with different ages would have different ways of thinking, attitudes, and values. In other words, Shan people aged 60 years or upwards would have many relationships to other Shan people and identify themselves clearly as Shan. The group of 40-59 year-old people would have more relationships with Thais an 'Thainess', and their self-identification would be between being Shan and Thai; whereas the 20-39 year-old people were only growing up and living during the time when the Thai state already had a strong appearance in the village. Opinions from these three groups would reflect in different ways the community history, the collapse of ethnicity, the creation of 'Thainess' by various activities of the Thai state, and the interaction between the Shan people and the Thai state.

3.6   Data Verification

Data verification for this research applied data triangulation as follows:

3.6.1 Data triangulation of time, place and person such as life style or tradition of the Shan people that was popular during each period is constant or not. Data verification of same places and different places was changed or remained the same.

3.6.2 Investigator triangulation was conducted to examine how data received from a villager, an interviewer, or an observer is different.

3.6.3 The methodological triangulation; This study used different data collection methods for the same issues, such as, observation, inquiry, and study of documents at the same time. Apart from receiving correct data and reliability to write a report or conclusion of each issue from an in-depth interview or an observation, the Shan people who lived in Piang Luang village were asked to review such data in a report or conclusion to see whether or not they were correctly concluded and interpreted.

CHAPTER IV

SHAN COMMUNITY, PIANG LUANG VILLAGE, WIANG HAENG DISTRICT,

CHIANG MAI PROVINCE, THAILAND

4.1   Overview

This Chapter presents information and data obtained from field research in the Shan Community, Piang Luang village, Viangheang District, Chiang Mai Province, Thailand, derived from interviews with key informants of the Shan refugees and persons related to the public/government sector. Data were collected continuously from November 2008 to March 2010. After that, data was gathered during community festivals and major activities. In addition to interviews with key informants, data were gathered from documents, printed matter, research work and various electronic media relating to the area under study.

In the study of the Piang Luang village it was found that the interaction between the Thai nation state and the Shan people has affected the the latters ethnicity. This is seen in the development of the village, which can be divided into three periods: In the first period prior to 1958 A.D. the the Thai nation state's power or authority in the Thai-Burmese border areas was unclear or ambiguous. Consequently it did not affect Shan ethnicity. Membership of the Shan ethnic group was identified by kin ties.

The following period between 1958 and 1976 was the period of the establishment of the Shan Armed Group in the area. A headquarter was set up in Piang Luang village. The Thai nation state's power emerged began to be felt in this period. At the same time, Thai authorities gradually admited the existing community of Piang Luang village and the armed forces headquarters of the Shan people. The Thai nation state still compromised and did not strictly control the area and did not try to change the Shan ethnicity either. In this second period, the Shan began to develop an encompassing ethnic consciousness beyond the kin groups determined byidentification of ancestry.

The third period from 1976 to the present was characterized by the firm establishment of the Thai nation state's presence in the region. In this period, Shan militants began disappearing from Piang Luang village and the Thai nation-state's power and authority began to exert influence over Piang Luang village. The Thai nation-state's power was exerted through several agencies aiming to create intensive social and cultural unity through the control of territory, citizenship, the creation of a national identity and the awareness of the nation-state Thus, the Thai nation state's presence began to be felt more intensely. This affected Shan ethnicity, causing the Shan people in Piang Luang village to activities of self-adjustment and certain forms of resistance to the Thai state authority. However, the Shan people in Piang Luang village

neither offered political resistance nor used violent means against the Thai state. Instead, resistance was made in a symbolic manner through cultural and traditional activities, so as to open their social space to express their identification as Shan.

The developments in each period reflected the use of state power/authority to construct social and cultural unity amongst the Shan ethnic community in Piang Luang village and the resulting changes in Shan ethnicity. The details of these processes will be presented in the next chapter. The following presentation is divided into two parts. The first part presents the fundamental information of Piang Luang village in order to comprehend the overall context of the community, while the second part presents the historical background of the village's development.

4.2 Fundamental Information about the Community
4.2.1 Trips to the village

The most convenient way of traveling to Piang Luang village was to start from Chiang Mai, a province located in the north of Thailand.Piang Luang village lies about 166 kilometers away from downtown Chiang Mai. One may travel conveniently by car, driving for about 3-4 hours, but travelling by public bus would take about five hours. Public bus services made transport of five round trips per day, that is, two morning trips, one noon-time trip and two evening trips. The road (see end note 4) throughout the journey from downtown Chiang Mai to Piang Luang village was paved with asphalt, winding up and down along the foothills of a complex mountain range. When traveling down from the valley, one moves toward the plain of Vianghae district in which there is the Thai state's government center housing different agencies. Further on from this point, about 16 kilometers, one reaches Piang Luang village and the road comes to an end at the Thai-Burmese border called "Thai-Myanmar Border Checkpoint (Lak Tang). Passing this point one enters the territory of the Shan state, Union of Myanmar / Burma.

It is also possible to reach Piang Luang village from Shan state in the Union of Myanmar. However, the travel would be more difficult than traveling from the Thai territory since the route is not paved with asphalt all the way through. The road is also full of gravel with streams of water running across, making it much harder to travel during the rainy season. Currently, traveling from Shan state to Piang Luang village is no longer possible since the Thai government closed the Thai-Myanmar border Checkpoint in 2002.

Such closure resulted from the fighting between Burmese soldiers and Shan State Army (SSA) militants because the Thai state feared that the opening of the route from Shan state to Piang Luang village

might threaten the Thailand's stability. Besides, the Burmese soldiers buried a large number of landmines along the route from Shan state to Thailand's territory while sending troops from Yangon to control the transportation route, in order to prevent Shan people from migrating into Thailand, and to close the food supply routes from Thailand being used to support Shan militants. The closure of the Thai-Myanmar border checkpoint of Lak Tang was regarded as the end of an ancient transportation route of the Shan people (interview with Mr. Teng Yun, December 25, 2009).

4.2.2 Geographic condition

The area of Piang Luang village covers 7,750 rai (see end note 5). Its consists of plains and small hilly areas with an average altitude of the village being approximately 750 meters above the sea level. The village is situated in the Taeng River basin and surrounded by the Thanon-Thongchai, Daen Lao and Phee-Pun-Nam mountain ranges. The village territory to the north and west borders the Shan state in the Union of Myanmar. Its southern and eastern boundaries adjoin Wianghaeng district, Chiang Mai province, Thailand (Piang Luang sub-district Local Administration Organization, 2010).

Regarding the climate, there are three seasons, namely: summer, rainy season and winter or cool season, the weather is mostly cool all year round during nighttime and in the morning. In winter, the weather is normally cold with heavy fog in the morning. Cool weather starts in the period of rainy season, or around October until February, with minimum temperatures of about 5 degrees Celsius. The rainy season starts around May until October with heavy and rather constant and long rainfall due to mixed forests in the areas around the village. Summer usually starts in March with maximum temperatures of about 35 degrees Celsius (Piang Luang sub-district Local Administration Organization, 2010).

Figure 4.1 Topography of Piang Luang village is that of a plain situated in the area of the Taeng River basin and surrounded by Thanon Thongchai mountain range, the Daen Lao mountain range and the West Phee Pan Nam mountain range.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi, 2010

61

Piang Luang District

Republic of the Union of Myanmar

Thailand

Wat Fah Wiang Inn

Thai-Myanmar Border
Check Point (Ban Lak Tang)

Rut Rat Upatham
School

Market
Piang
Luang

Main Road

Piang Luang
School

Main Road

Main Road

Wat Piang
Luang

Sanitarium
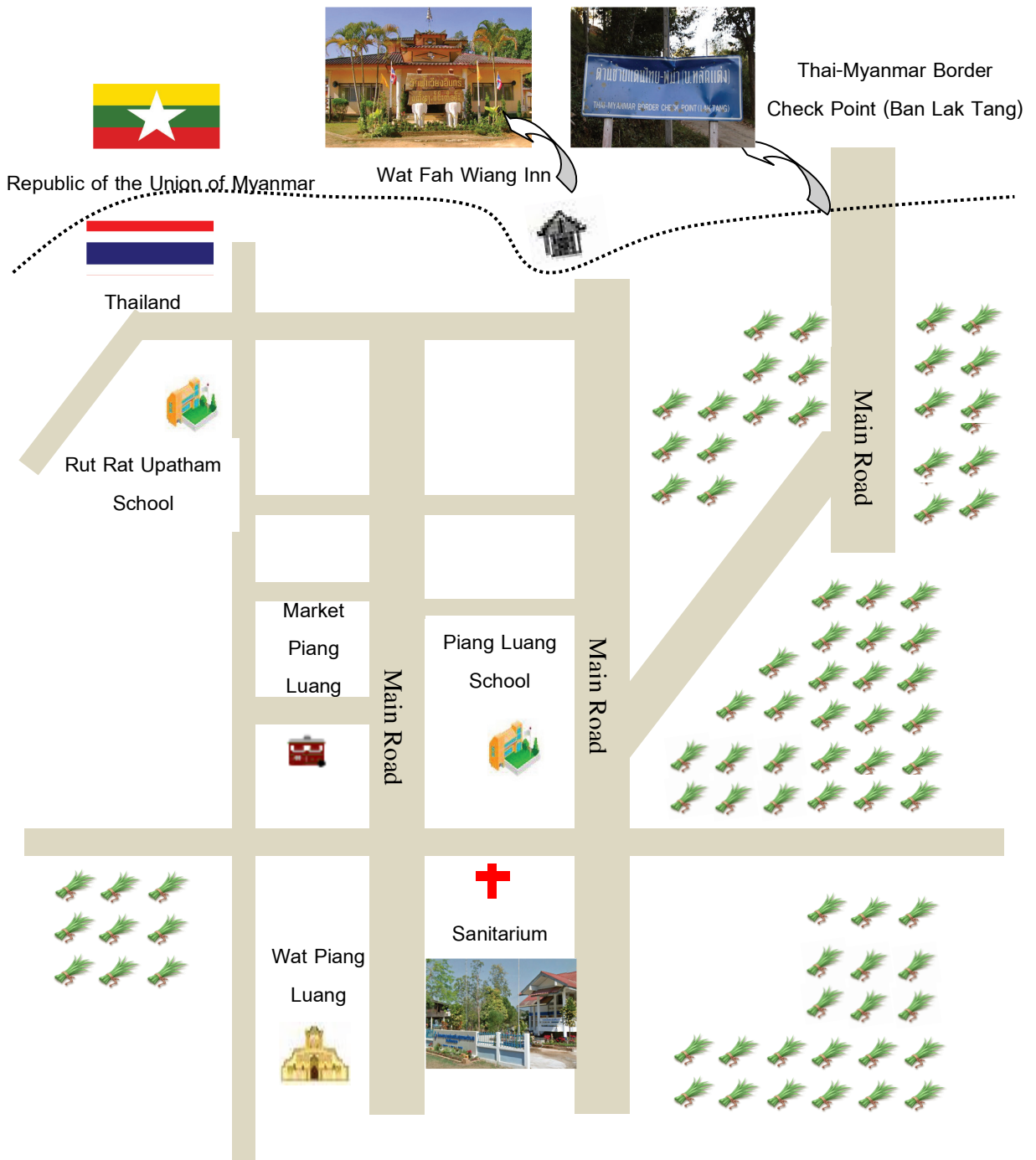
Figure 4.2 Map of Piang Luang village

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

4.2.3 Demography

The village population consists of several ethnic groups, Haw Chinese, Lisu, Lahu and Palaung, Tai Yuen or city people and Thais. The majority of the population (over 90%) belonged to the Shan ethnic group due to the fact that Piang Luang village was located next to the Shan state territory of the Union of Myanmar and was also situated in the area that used to be an ancient transportation route Shan merchants used as their trade route from Chiang Mai, Thailand to the south of Shan state, Union of Myanmar (Piang Luang sub-district Administrative Organization, 2010).

The non-Shan ethnic groups were regarded as a minority population of the village. Since the Shan ethnic group was regarded as a majority population of the village, the Shan culture had been dominant in the area until very recently. However, the Shan people maintained relationships in terms of employment, trade and exchange of various goods with other ethnic groups, including groups living in the highlands and lowlands.

The Shan people in the village were divided into three groups according to the time of their settlement in the village. The first group was the original Shan people who were family members of the Shan caravans using oxen for loading them with merchandise and peasant farmers. The second group consists of family members of the Shan militants known as "The Tai armed group Noom Suek Han" and families of the Shan militants of the SURA (Shan United Revolutionary Army). The third and last groups were those that immigrated since 2002 from Pang Kum Kaw village, Pang Mai Soong village, Pang Hauk village and Pang Yao village in the Shan state of the Union of Myanmar due to political problems. The Thai government made an arrangement to settle these groups of Shan people in a specifically designated area called "Ban Mai Kung Kyaw" center. According to the data from the registration office of Wiang Haeng district in 2010, the total number of Shan people registered amounted to 544 persons, made up of 257 males and 287 females (see end note 6).

The official data from the Piang Luang sub-district Administrative Organization in 2010 stated that the Piang Luang village had a population totaling 1,165 people classified as 606 males, 559 females; among them, 67 aged people or senior citizens, 35 infants, 222 school children and 5 disabled/ handicapped persons. The population was divided into 332 households (Piang Luang sub-district Administrative Organization, 2010). These numbers excluded the groups living in the Ban Mai Kung Kyaw refugee center since the Thai government has not officially permitted these Shan people to move in to live

in the village. The majority of the village population did not have Thai citizenship, and were thus not holding national identification cards, although some of them had lived in Thailand for more than 30 years.

Figure 4.3   Lisu ethnic group residing on the upland and being a minority group of Piang Luang village.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

Figure 4.4   Women of the Shan ethnic group in Piang Luang village.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

Figure 4.5   Men of the Shan ethnic group in Piang Luang village.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

4.2.4 Economic data

Concerning the economy of Piang Luang village, it was found that most Shan people were engaged in agriculture as their main occupation, planting both short-term and long-time crops for sale and household consumption such as rice, garlic, chili, tea, oranges, mangoes, lychees / litchis, longans, corn for animal fodder, peanuts/ground nuts, peppers and cabbages. Most of the agricultural activities or cultivation depended mainly on rainwater but some parts relied on the irrigation system of the Thai state.

Utilization of land for agriculture in Piang Luang village varied according to the altitude of the land. On the hilly sloped areas, the villagers planted corn, chili, tea, oranges, mangoes, lichens, longans, soybean, peaches and coffee, while on the plain they mainly planted rice paddy and garlic. As for crop planting on highland and hillsides, their cultivation would be in crop-rotation systems. After completing three years of cropping, they would plant crops on other land areas and would return to the old land when the soil had regained fertility. The key economy of the village was garlic cultivation and orange trees that were planted in several areas in the village and nearby land.

Most Shan people in Piang Luang village raised pigs and chickens, while cows, water buffaloes and horses were kept only by wealthy families. Besides occupations of cropping and livestock, some families were engaged in small trading businesses, most of which were businesses run by the

Chinese Haw ethnic group. At the same time, most of them were also business owners, with business activities such as barbershops, internet shops, photo shops, food shops, agricultural materials/supplies shops and furniture shops as well as shops selling necessary goods for daily use or those brought in from downtown Chiang Mai, the Union of Myanmar and the people's Republic of China. Most agricultural products would be sold by the hill tribes and the Shan people.The products were placed for sale on the pavements early in the morning every day instead of being sold in a permanent shop.

According to the official information from the Piang Luang sub-district Administrative Organization, the few Shan people with Thai citizenship mostly had high school or secondary education. Most of their occupations and professions were in the tourism business, government service or private company work. The Shan people without Thai citizen status but having work permits, would work as housemaids, shop employees, and factory employees. Shan people without work permits mainly worked as laborers at construction sites, as shop employees or as agricultural workers. The Shan people working outside the village would remit the money they earned to their families in the village. Average monthly income was in the range of 2,000 – 2,500 Baht per person and average annual income per person was 30,790 Baht (Piang Luang sub-district Administrative Organization, 2010).

There was no bank in the village. Those wishing to conduct financial transactions had to travel 16 kilometers to the commercial bank located in a business center in Wiang Hang District. There, apart from the bank, one could find a credit company which privately provided loans and sold goods by installment payments. Those financial services were rendered only to those who held Thai citizenship and had a national identification card.

Figure 4.6   Beds of garlic planting as key economic crop of Piang Luang village.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

Figure 4.7   Rice paddy fields in Piang Luang village where Shan people mostly grew rice by transplanting paddy seedlings and relying mainly on rainwater. Rice paddy planting is an original occupation of the Shan people and still practice to date.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

Figure 4.8   Shops selling goods necessary for everyday life of people in Piang Luang village most of which are business run by the Haw Chinese ethnic group.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

4.2.5 Administration/Governance

The official leader of the village was Mr. Teng Yun Pai Nang, appointed by the state under the Local Administration Act B.E.2457 (see end note 7) (1914 A.D.), reporting directly to the Wiang Heang Chief District Officer. At the same time, Piang Luang village still had its informal administration or governance by the elders and the religious leaders who played vital roles. The former Shan militants and ex-leaders and their kin, in contrast, played no role in the politics and administration of the village but they were well respected by the village people. Apart from this, Piang Luang village was an area declared as

under the Martial Law Act B.E. 2457 (1914 A.D.) thus, soldiers were taking part in controlling and supervising the village as well.

Figure 4.9   Government officials appointed by the Thai State coming in to control and supervise Piang Luang village under the Local Administration Act B.E. 2457 (1914 A.D.) Roles of the Thai state officials became clearer since the Shan army moved its command unit headquarters from the Thai boundary in 1976. After that, the Thai state used its state apparatus in several farms to create social and cultural unity intensively with great impact on Shan ethnicity.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

4.2.6 Groups/Organizations in the Community

There were both state and ethnic Shan social groups in the village, distinguished by whether they were organized by state officials or Shan people, and by whom they were supported and operated.

1) The organization of the Shan people

There were important groups or organizations in Piang Luang village that the Shan people established and which supported the budget and operation as follows:

1.1)   Wat Fa Wiang In temple

Wat Fa Wiang In temple was a Buddhist temple and an important place to arrange Piang Luang village's activities. It was established in 1968 by General Mo Hang or Zao Kornzurng, who was the leader of the Shan United Revolutionary Army (SURA). Wat Fa Wiang In temple was located in overlapping territorial claim areas between the borders of Thailand and Myanmar. Besides being used for

68

arranging religious activities, it was the place the Shan people used for seeking further knowledge about Buddhism, art and culture. It was indicated that a temple leader arranged festivals and people supported its budget. During a semester recess, Wat Fa Wing In would set up a Shan morality and culture training program for youths, the Shan people, and others.

1.2) Wat Piang Luang temple

Wat Piang Luang was an ancient temple revered by the people, and the center of religious activity arrangements for the community and the gathering place for important occasions, especially activities which the Thai nation state arranged at this temple. Wat Piang Luang was established in 1687. It then was deserted and restored by General Mo Hang or Zao Kornzurng in 1968. At present, there are 7 monks and 4 novices at Piang Luang temple.

1.3) Buddhist Scripture Teaching School

The Buddhist Scripture Teaching School was established in 1980 A.D. as a place where Buddhist Dharma scripture learning and teaching were conducted both in the Thai and Shan languages. Formerly, there used to be as many as 350 students who were Shan monks and novices studying there. After General Mo Hang or Zao Kornzurng passed away, the number of students decreased because of the lack of support for the educational budget, and this school was closed in 1991 after more than 10 years of teaching about Buddhist scriptures. In 2006 A.D., the Buddhist scripture education was provided again with the intention of offering education to the underprivileged Shan children who had no opportunity to study, especially children of refugees from the Shan state in Myanmar.

A tradition observed in the Shan state was ordination as Buddhist monks and novices to be educated through study of the Dharma principles of Buddhism in the Buddhist Scripture Teaching School. The Shan males had to obtain their education in Buddhist temples. Males of between 7-10 years of age would be sent to stay in the monastery to attend to the monks for a period of about 1-2 years. Before being sent to the monastery, these boys would have to learn from their parents about the proper way to behave while being in the temple and monastery. For instance, taking off their shoes before entering the chapel, polite conversation with the monks, proper posture of sitting, polite posture to pay homage to Buddha statues and monks (called "Kraab") and learning about giving more than taking. When the boys reached the age of 10-15, they would be ordained as novices by learning and taking lessons from the abbot or monks in the temple. Required subjects included elementary mathematics, Tai language, Pali language, geography, study trips and training in homiletics or preaching. It can be seen that

Buddhism has played a vital role as a source of knowledge in the life of the Shan people, in addition to being a spiritual refuge.

Figure 4.10   Shan Buddhist novices in Piang Luang village studying in a Buddhist Training School. It was customary for Shan people to send their sons to be ordained as a novice for education purposes.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

1.4)   **House of Monks Piang Luang village**

House of Monks Piang Luang village had two houses of monks jointly set up by the Shan people namely, Ban Mai Kung Kyaw and Ban Mai Kung Kyaw House of Monks. Ban Mai Kung Kyaw House of Monks was established through the faith of the Shan people. This House served as a venue for religious activities during various festivals located in the Shan refugee center. It also served as a venue for conducting other activities of the Shan people migrating into the village in 2002.

1.5)   **Shan Women's Action Network (SWAN)**

Shan Women's Action Network (SWAN) is a network of the Shan women working both in Shan state and Thailand. It was the Shan people's organization since it was established by them on 28 March 1999 and they supported an action budget. Most activists were Shan women, and their objectives were to support women and children, and to oppose taking advantage of and committing acts of violence against women and children. The Shan Women's Action Network coordinated with the national

Thai organizations as well as domestic and foreign private development organizations to build peace and freedom for better quality of the Shan women's lives.

2) Organization or group of the state

Key social organizations to act as representatives of the state and serve as the state mechanisms for performing the tasks in Piang Luang village were as follows:

2.1) Pre–school Child Care Center Wat Fa Wiang In

Piang Luang Sub–district Administrative organization as a local administration unit, set up the Pre-school Child Care Center, Wat Fa Wiang In temple to use as a venue for caring for children aged approximately 4-6 years old, since their parents did not have time to look after their children. Later on, other government agencies stepped in to take care of the children. Major activities of this center included the promotion of child health, child development, and the provision of a clean and safe food service for children.

2.2) Ban Piang Luang School

The Ban Piang Luang School was established on 2 March 1957. It operated in teaching pre-primary, primary and secondary levels. It was a famous secondary school in Wiang Hang District. As a result, not only students in Piang Luang village, but also other villages studied there so the amount of students was more than the population of the village. There were a total of 1,260 students divided into 619 males and 621 females, and 43 officers, according to data from 2009.

2.3) State–Civil Support School

The State–Civil Support School was established in April 1976 by migrating Haw Chinese. In the early stages it operated in as a private school, adopting the curriculum of the Ministry of Education. Later on, the Ministry of Education accepted the transfer of this school to become a public/government school under the Ministry of Education on September 17, 1982. The total number of students was 384, most of whom were Chinese Haw people. Education provided by this school started from kindergarten to primary education grade 6.

2.4) Ban Piang Luang Health Center

The Ban Piang Luang Health Center was a work unit of the Ministry of Public Health, providing services of medical care, disease control and prevention and health promotion such as prenatal care. Other services included an immunity building, vaccine injection for children, child nutrition care, health care in school, basic medical checkups for students and scrutiny of abnormal conditions such as diabetes, hypertension or high blood pressure, pap-smear check for cervical cancer for women of

childbearing age, care for the handicapped/disabled, care for working-age people, care for the elderly and basic medical checkups.

4.3   The historical Background of the Community

Piang Luang village has a long history. There is no clear evidence indicating when the village was founded. However, statements of the elderly in the village, suggest that the village has existed for more than 100 years. In this period it was unclear whether Piang Luang village belonged to the Thai territory or to the Shan state, Union of Myanmar/Burma. The main reason was that the Thai - Burmese borderline was unclear and the Thai state at that time did not emphasize the importance of the border as it does now. Later when the border between the Thai state and the Shan state was clarified, Piang Luang village thus became the only one village which was close to the border checkpoint from Thailand to the Shan state, Union of Myanmar or the so-called Lak-Tang Border Checkpoint. The areas around the checkpoint turned to be a major place for the exchange of goods between the Shan people living on the Thai side of the border and those on the Shan state side. People crossed the border back and forth for trade purposes, and the checkpoint also served as a customs point for collecting duties on goods in transit across the border. Such trading and duties collection created a tremendous amount of income for the Shan troops that set up their command headquarters at Piang Luang village and an agreement was not made with the Thai state since this area is very far from Bangkok. The Thai state, thus, did not give importance to this area.

Thus, trade and travel to visit Shan people and other ethnic groups along the Thai-Burmese area had been normal practices for a long time (Sunait Chutinatharanond, 2006, pp. 15-19). Later in 1996, the fighting between the Myanmar army and the Shan Army in the area of Shan state next to Piang Luang village became more severe. Therefore, the Thai government decided to close the border checkpoint and exercised strict control over the border area of Piang Luang village.

Apart from the importance in respect of being the trade route and route for ancient troops, Piang Luang village used to be the headquarters of the Shan revolutionary "The Tai Armed Group Noom Suck Han" (interview with the abbot of Wat Papaou Buddhist temple, December 23, 2009) and the Shan United Revolutionary Army (SURA) (interview with Mr. Teng Yun, December 25, 2009). At present, Piang Luang village is still the site of the Shan Refugee Center for those fleeing the war or human rights violations by Myanmar troops.

Thus, the history of Piang Luang village can be divided into three periods, namely: the Shan ethnic community prior to 1958 A.D, the dominance of the Shan Army from 1958 to 1976 A.D. and firm establishment of Thai state power in there after 1976. Details of each period are as follows:

4.3.1 Period of Shan Ethnic Community prior to 1958 A.D.

The community in Piang Luang village had been formed prior to 1958 A.D. The geographical characteristics of this area were conducive to founding a village, as it was located on the Taeng river basin among mountain ranges, which was the Shan people's trade route and was also the route for ancient troops. This location was also important for them since it was the shortest route from the Shan state in the south to Chiang Mai city, which was important in the north of Thailand. Thus, this area served as the route for the Shan caravans of pack oxen laden with goods traveling across mountains to and from Chiang Mai for a long time. They took a rest when they arrived at the plain areas and continued to other cities in the south of the Shan state (Chaiyong Chaisri, 2007, p.7). The Shan caravans constructed 10 houses in 1928 and developed them as Piang Luang village. The name 'Piang Luang' originated from the word "Piang" in the Shan language, which means a smooth plain at the same level and the word "lung" which means great or large. Therefore "Piang Luang" means a great or large plain, according to the Abbot of Wat Papaou Buddhist Temple:

> *"…………The area of* Piang Luang village *served as a route for the Shan ox-drawn caravans loaded with goods to traveling from Chiang Mai to the Shan State. These goods would be carried while traveling along the Mae Taeng River and the valleys and through the* Piang Luang village *in order to take some rest and take along a variety of goods such as silk cloth, tea, opium, fur, deer horns, galls of bears, rhinoceros horns, betel nuts, silverware, woven cloth, metals, hats and ornaments from Chiang Mai to the Shan State. On the way back, the merchants on the caravan would bring silk fabric, lacquer ware, ceramics and clothes back to Chiang Mai as well………"*

(Interview with abbot of Wat Papaou Buddhist temple, December 23, 2009)

Piang Luang village prior to 1958 A.D. was a community far from Chiang Mai city, which was an important prosperity center of the north of Thailand and Nai, which was an important city of the southern part of the Shan state. Travel to other villages or important cities of Thailand and the Shan state was difficult. Travelers faced obstacles due to the lack of roads and complex mountains also blocked the route.

The transportation of goods between Piang Luang village and other communities commonly occurred by using pack-oxen and carts to carry goods, before roads were built in the ealry 20th century.

As a consequence the village's remotenes, Thai state power did not reach the village. The pack-ox merchants were familiar with the village and provided news and goods from other rural villages to Piang Luang village when they took a rest there. Therefore, the Shan merchants of this period had an important role in the village. They were wealthier than most people in Piang Luang village, who were mainly farmers. The wealth of the Shan merchants was accumulated from both the manufacture and trade of various goods. Due to their wealth, they had many tracts of land that they no longer worked, and often were selected to be village headman or a sub-district leader. At present, pack-ox caravans no longer appear in Piang Luang village. They gradually disappeared 1975-1976 when roads and railways were built to connect many northern areas of Thailand (Chusidh Chuchart, 1982 ,pp.1-4). The society of Piang Luang village of this era is described by a community leader as follows:

> "........Piang Luang village prior to 1958 was a very remote place, taking a week for a return trip to and from Chiang Mai. The village was full of big tall trees and each of them would take at least three days to be felled. Moreover, the village was full of forest products such as deer horns, deer hide/leather and tiger hides for the villagers to sell in downtown Chiang Mai while carrying necessary goods such as salt and dried fish back to their village…"

(Interview with Mr. Teng Yun, December 25, 2009)

Prior to 1958 A.D., there was less external dependence because Piang Luang was an agrarian village surrounded by natural resources. Their tie to rice farming was reflected by the selection of areas for house construction in the plains or lowlands between the hills and near the bodies of water. Key traditional activities would be organized during the period when the people were free from the need to be involved in rice cultivation. Their conversation, narrative, songs and lyrics, poetry and important rites would all reflect the world view relating to fertility of rice paddy fields and ways of earning their living. This social condition of close ties to rice farming could be called "the World of Farmers" (Steinberg, David J., ed. 1975, pp.11-21). Such characteristics could be regarded as typical for communities in northern Thailand.

As Piang Luang in this period was a peasant society, the relationships among the people in the village were regulated by kin ties, and the elderly were much respected. The people cultivated rice in

the plains near the foothills. Meanwhile, the hill tribes living around the village grew upland rice on the sloped areas and highlands, collected forest products and hunted animals. Production/cultivation by the community in Piang Luang village was for the purpose of earning their living by using manual labor in groups of families and relatives (interview with the abbot of Wat Papaou Buddhist temple, March 23, 2009).

Regarding religion and faith, the people in the village believed in supernatural powers syncretized with Buddhist principles. They adhered to old traditions and rites relating to cultivation and life such as rites for the beginning of the cultivating season or those concerning illness, birth and death (interview with the abbot of Wat Papaou Buddhist temple, December 23, 2009).

1) Thai State Power in Piang Luang village

As we have seen, prior to 1958 the Thai state power still could not reach Piang Luang village owing to its distance from the center of the government in Bangkok. The border area was thus unadministered the Thai nation state authorities apparently were not involved in village affairs. There was no village leader who acted as representative of the Thai nation state either. In this period, contact with Thai government authorities was very difficult due to the lack of transportation routes as well as problems of communication because the language is vastly different from the Central Thai language spoken by government officials (interview with Mr. Sangkum Bunruang, December 8, 2009). Regarding administration, various rules, regulations and procedures of the village were stipulated through the system of faith or belief, custom, tradition, monks and village elders, while the people in village were fully free in terms of self – administration. This clearly indicates that the Thai nation state power/authority did not play a dominant role in Piang Luang village (interview with the abbot of Wat Konglom Buddhist temple, May 12, 2010).

There was no official control or classification of the status of the people to demonstrate who were the citizens of the Thai nation state and who were not. Hence holding Thai citizenship or not had no impact on most people's way of life. The people acknowledged that they were the same group in the village. The self-identification of the community living in Piang Luang village was constructed in response to specific objectives and they had relatives or kin with the same beliefs and traditions (interview with the abbot of Wat Kanglom Buddhist temple, May 12, 2010).

The Thai nation state had neither regulations nor Thai state officers for inspecting and controlling the travel between Thailand and the Shan state. Therefore, the people migrated or relocated their living places across the border frequently and there were frequent contacts and visits between the people in Piang Luang village and those in the Shan State (Pornpimon Trichot, 2004, pp. 13-14).

Certain people in Piang Luang village said that due to the unclear boundaries of the Thai nation state and the absence of border control, the people from various towns in the Shan state travelled regularly to and from Piang Luang village. Those people brought in news about the way of life from various towns on the Shan state's side and discussed the news among them without supervision or control by the Thai nation state authorities as is described by the abbot of Wat Konglom below:

> *"………..In those days, this area was like a closed town with no roads. People traveled on foot without using horses or oxen as vehicles. So it was the period of using pack oxen and pack horses. Most villagers traveled to visit each other freely between the two border areas, not knowing exactly where was the Thai territory. They went to the town called Pan, which was closer to them than Chiang Mai and engaged in trading activities there. Some people moved in and lived there for a long time but still did not have Thai nationality as yet. Most of them came in for trading purposes between the two sides of the boundary………"*

(Interview with the abbot of Wat Konglom temple, May 12, 2010)

As for area supervision, in this period, the Thai nation state never came in to supervise or control. The government still did not intervene in managing such land. Therefore, the land was regarded as communal property, not under the ownership of private individuals or of the state. However, produce from rice farming or cultivation was in the ownership of the cultivators. Concerning agricultural produce, although the farming land and cultivation were not privately owned, the community members would know which areas belonged to which persons and would not squat in such land for cultivation (interview with abbot of Wat Papaou Buddhist temple, March 23, 2009). Hence, access to land was free both for agricultural purposes and for the building of shelters or lodgings without official legal rights. People who first came in and utilized the land would be implied as the holder or owner of such land. No symbols demonstrating that the area was part of Thailand was introduced by the government and the Thai national flag was not used. Besides, there were no activities or important days for observance of the Thai nation state and such days had no importance for the Shan in Piang Luang village.

2) Shan Ethnicity in Piang Luang Village

An encompassing Shan ethnicity emerged prior to 1958 A.D, and Thai nation state presence had not yet affected Piang Luang village or villagers. The people used cultural or phenotypic markers to differentiate themselves from Thais. History, national day, national flag, national costume, and

76

symbolic animals were not used in this period to create the sentiment from Shan ancestry, shared descent and cultural features.

In terms of the Poi Sang festival, it was still the tradition of an ordination celebration of villagers but it was not used to respond to the tourism policy of the state and the Kingkara bird dance was not used as a performance to welcome Thai authorities.

Group identification among the people was based on recognition of kin ties and descent. This is illustrated by the incidents surrounding a fire in Piang Luang village in 1957. The abbot of Wat Papaou Buddhist Temple mentioned such incident as follows:

".........Around the year 1957 A.D., approximately 37 houses of the people in Piang Luang village burned down. The Ta Town Chief in the Shan state donated money to rebuild the houses for the villagers since these people in Piang Luang village had close ties with people in the Shan state. In this period, there was no boundary as it was meaningless. Kin and relatives crossing the border to see each other was a normal phenomenon. At the same time, the Thai nation state had no dominant role over the people in the village since Piang Luang village *was a remote area.........*"

(Interview with the abbot of Wat Papaou Buddhist temple, December 10, 2009)

The villagers' group membership and kinship could also be reflected from their strong mutual assistance and care, same style of dress and same spoken language, as recounted by an elder in the village as follows:

".......The Piang Luang villagers in those days were all related since they were children and grandchildren of the same original families in the village and such relationship was extended to other areas such as Pan town, Naitown, and Taunggy town. These towns were the economical centers in the Shan state. They spoke only the same language among themselves and their dress styles were the same, or similar with one another. These villagers were actually the same original families, while the non- villagers mostly lived up in the mountains and dressed differently. When there was a funeral or Poi ceremony, only we could identify who were the members of villagers' group. We might judge them from knowing who their parents, grandfathers or grandmothers were. If their parents and grandparents were part of the villagers' group, then the children and grandchildren would also be part of that same group........."

(Interview with Shan senior in the community, December 10, 2009).

4.3.2 Period of Shan Armed Group dominance. 1958-1976

The period from 1958 to 1976 can be deemed as the era of the Shan armed group, starting with the Shan militants/soldiers who went under the name of "The Tai Armed Group Noom Suek Han". They established the Shan army command in Piang Luang village on May 21, 1958. The Shan soldiers were the first to come into Piang Luang village and resist the Myanmar nation state. They called for the rights of the Shan ethnics, including the right of secession and to govern themselves according to the Pagnglong agreement. A historic significance was demonstrated in the Panglong Agreement and guaranteed their full autonomy in internal administration and the right of secession from the federal union after 10 years. The Panglong Agreement and Burma's first constitution drafted in 1947 were based on a federal government within which the formerly separated ethnic groups were, in theory, incorporated into an administrative and territorial union in the independent process (Sachiko Yasuda, 2008, p52).

In 1964, the Shan armed group changed its name to Shan State Army (SSA) and changed once more in 1969 to Shan United Revolutionary Army (SURA). The main reason that the Shan soldiers selected Piang Luang village as their headquarters was because they considered that the area along the Thai-Myanmar border was ideal for the setting up of an armed group, since neither the government of Thailand nor that of Myanmar had built basic infrastructure and public utilities in the region. No roads were existing, so most transport routes were foot-trails or ox-cart trails that were inaccessible by motorcars and that would be totally impassable during the rainy season. The nature of the area prevented the Myanmar army from attacking the village (Pornpimon Trichot, 2005, pp. 28-29).

In 1968, General Mo Hang or Zao Kornzurng set up the "Shan United Revolutionary Army (SURA)" as an armed group by splitting off from the Tai armed group Noom Suek Han of Sao Noi Saw Yan Ta. Then the original armed group of Sao Noi Saw Yan Ta moved out from Piang Luang village allowing it to become the site of the Shan United Revolutionary Army (SURA) only. In this period, Piang Luang village housed as many as 3, 000 Shan soldiers. Those Shan soldiers moved in to build their military camps and bunkers in several points around Piang Luang village and tried to create an autonomous or independent Shan soldier community (interview with Mr. Dang Lika, October 4, 2009).

As a consequence since 1958, Piang Luang village was transformed into the Shan military headquarter, full of Shan soldiers and their families. Piang Luang village and the Thai-Myanmar border from Mae Sai district, and Fang district, Chiang Rai province; Chaiprakarn district, Chiangdao district,

Wiang Hang district, Chiang Mai province; through to Mae Hong Son province and the eastern areas of the Salween River in the entire Shan state were under the Shan army's control (Chaiyong Chaisri, 2007, p.18)

The conversion of Piang Luang village into a military community led to an expansion of commerce. There was a greater variety of goods and products. Traditional types of goods (forest products) began to be replaced by imported consumer goods. Villagers, apart from engaging in agriculture or during the off – season from agricultural work, traveled to trade their goods with the Shan people outside the village. Trading was done in the form of goods caravans moving to various towns. Best-selling products were flip-flops or oxen and water buffalo saddles produced by Thais. In this period, the Thai nation state neither controlled the border area nor closed the border, and Piang Luang village was the key marketplace for cattle and consumer goods such as rice, sugar, vegetable oil, fish sauce, seasoning powder, footwear/shoes, fuel oil, readymade food, medicine/drugs, clothes and garments.

The Shan soldiers realized that Piang Luang village was the place where the Shan traders travelled through all the time and it was also a village of border trade., Their presence in Piang Luang village would allow them to conveniently buy the goods they needed. Moreover, the soldiers gained income from tax collection of various types of checkpost pass fees from passers-by and traders. Such income could be used to support the Shan army greatly as Mr. Teng Yun Pai Nang, Piang Luang sub-district Chief recounted:

"……In the era that the Shan revolutionary soldiers settled in the village, it could be considered that it was the period of the best economy for Piang Luang village as the village was much more developed than Wiang Haeng district. This was because the boundary was open widely for trade with a lot of money in circulation. In the border areas, lots of traders actively set up their goods stalls on both sides of the border with so many shops. Besides food and consumer goods, there was also cattle trading whereby the Shan traders herded cattle from the Shan state to be sold to about 20-30 Thai traders. At the same time, those Thai merchants would corner scores of cattle and sometimes they would buy up hundreds of them……"

(Interview with Mr. Teng Yun, October 3, 2009)

Piang Luang village was still a military community until 1976, when the Thai government requested the Shan military forces to move out of Thailand's territory. As a result, the Shan militants relocated from Piang Luang village to settle next to the Thai border on the Shan state side, Union of

Myanmar; it had been about 18 years that the Shan military forces had had their military command in the territory of Thailand (interview with Mr. Kleun, July 30, 2009). In this period, the Thai nation state began to play a role in the area. However, the Thai government did not yet make any effort to effectively control the boundary, the area, and the people.

1) The Thai State Power in Piang Luang Village

It was found that the emergence of the Thai nation state in Piang Luang village had no great influence on the Shan community yet, although the Thai nation state started to recognize the existence of the Shan community and the Shan soldiers group in Piang Luang village. However, the Thai nation state ignored all actions against them since they were not important enough until the communists extended their activities into Thailand during General Por Phiboonsongkram's government. The remote areas of the Thai-Myanmar border ranges far from the prosperous center were the Shan minority's habitat. They could not speak, read or write the Thai language and their culture differed from Thai culture. However, during the 1970s the government began to fear suspect that they might be convinced by the Thai communists joining them in the overthrow of the existing order. Therefore, the Thai government started to give greater importance to the remote areas by providing more territorial defense officials (Manas Khanthutbamroong, 1965, p.3) to protect and suppress crime along border ranges and resist the communists and control the Shan soldiers and the people who immigrated into Piang Luang village (Vanuch Prueksasri, 1990, pp. 73-84). Later, the Thai government changed their position that they were beneficial for the Thai nation state as buffer armies by leading them to join in helping with communism resistance, which was spreading into Thailand along border ranges and remote areas.

Therefore, the Thai government ordered the Shan army and Shan people to help the Thai government with security issues. At the same time they tried to build relationships and help the Shan soldiers group and people. The Shan soldiers would then be a buffer army between the Thai state and the Thai Communist Party, Burmese Communist Party (BCP), and the Chinese Communist Party (CPC), which had extended their power to control the area of the north Shan state down to the Thai border and the north of Thailand (Pornpimon Trichot, 2004 , pp.13-14)

The Thai government did not strictly control the Shan people, permitted them to live in Piang Luang village and the Thai nation state did not strictly control the borders. The government sector did not pay attention to building the consciousness and identity of the Thai nation in Piang Luang. They still granted freedom to the Shan soldiers, letting the villagers play their roles and trying to build relationships

with them. General Sarith Thanarat, Thai Prime Minister, went on a tour of inspection to the border areas in Chiang Mai in 1958. He met and conversed with Sao Noi Saw Yan Ta, the leader of the Shan soldiers (Chaiyong Chaisri, 2007, p.19)

For this meeting, the Thai leader related Thai history about the bravery of King Narasuan, who overcame Myanmar to Sao Noi Saw Yan Ta, the leader of the Shan soldiers. The Thai minister and the leader of the Shan soldiers mutually minted a souvenir coin of King Narasuan to distribute to the Shan liberation soldiers (Chaiyong Chaisri, 2007, P.19). This act was aimed at spreading Thai consciousness among the Shan people and it was a starting point to foster Thai ideology. However, the Thai government did not pay much attention to these persons and areas around Piang Luang village since they were border areas and full of high mountains. The soldiers could still live freely in the village without the state's control (Arthita Suntharotok, 1996, p.2). Thus Piang Luang village and the nearby areas were not under the Thai nation state's effective control for either this period or the previous period.

2) Shan Ethnicity in Piang Luang Village

As already said, the Thai nation state did not play a dominant role for the Shan in the border area in this period. Piang Luang village did not have any Thai government agencies setting up check posts for people coming in and going out of the village. Therefore, the Shan militants that came in to establish their command headquarters in Piang Luang village could travel freely and carry weapons. The Thai soldiers treated the Shan people with compromise (interview with Mr. Dang Lika, October 4, 2009). This context enabled them to fully develop their culture and create the Shan symbols. The reconstruction of Wat Piang Luang temple and Wat Fa Wiang In temple with Shan art took place as well as cultural activities and the revival of various customs and traditions such as the establishment of Jat Tai Likae troupe, construction of a school for teaching language and culture, while disseminating the knowledge of Shan history to the Shan students and people living in Piang Luang village to help spread an awareness of similar historical experiences. All these operations and activities were organized by General Mo Hang or Zao Kornzurng, leader of the Shan United Revolutionary Army (SURA) to foster a Shan cultural revival (interview with Mr. Dang Lika, October 4, 2009).

Generally, Mo Hang built their own mission by creating a consciousness of belonging to the same group among the Shan people already settled in the area and moved into it recently by trying to restore the history, culture, and language of the Shan state when it was still independent. He coordinated with the Shan monks, soldiers and scholars. To foster Shan ethnicity and the creation of symbols of shared

heritage. General Mo Hang constructed Wat Fa Wiang In Buddhist Temple around the year 1968 in the Shan architectural style (see end note 8), thereby reflecting well the reproduction of the Shan cultural symbol. This was done with the purpose of using the temple as a spiritual center to create unity and harmony of the Shan people living both on the Thai and Myanmar sides enabling them to jointly participate in religious activities and rites. Moreover, the temple would also serve as a place to provide education to underprivileged Shan children.

In this period, Wat Fa Wiang In temple became a center uniting the Shan people on the Thai and Myanmar sides to jointly take part in cultural and religious activities. It could be seen that during various festivals, or on Buddhist religious days, a large number of people from both the Thai and Myanmar sides came to join the religious activities together, with no feeling that they lived in different countries. Besides, Wat Fa Wiang In temple organized classes to teach Shan language, Thai language, Buddhist Dharma, Pali language and other subjects of knowledge during the period of the Shan soldiers' establishment of a command headquarters in the village for the youngsters who were children and grandchildren of the people living on both sides of the border.

Moreover, Wat Fa Wiang In temple was a source of research and a place to find out more about Buddhism and local art and culture with financial support from the villagers. During school vacations, Wat Fa Wiang In temple would cooperate with the Buddhist monks and various cultural conservation groups to launch projects on morality and ethical training and local culture for the school children and villagers in general.

In this period, the reconstruction of Wat Piang Luang temple and Wat Fa Wiang In Buddhist temple, the establishment of a Jad Tai Likae troupe and the setting-up of a primary school for teaching both Thai and Shan languages took place. It indicated that the Shan ethnicity was continuously constructed by utilizing language, religion, culture and tradition as the tools or instruments for creating a shared ideology and sentiment in fighting against the Burmese.

The creation of symbols of shared heritage was designated by General Mo Hang. He determined four colors for the Shan national flag. These were yellow, green, red, and a circle at the center. The colours were representative of cultural traits. As regards the meaning of each color: yellow means Shan people are the yellow race/ the Mongoloid peoples and the majority are Buddhist, green means abundance of natural resources, red means the Shan's courage, and white means the Shan's pureness and peaceful spirit. Moreover, in this period, there was the teaching of Shan language, and new alphabet

improvement and development. The national song and a symbolic marker indicated the Shan ethnicity, i.e., using a tiger as the national symbol. The National Day of the Shan state, and Shan state people's Resistance Day were intended to show that the Shan were an ancient and prominent group. These things emerged through the speeches or soul –stirring songs of General Hang.

General Mo Hang made continuous efforts to instill a common sentiment and commitment, shared interests, shared institutions as well as shared culture among the Shan. Villagers remember the ambiance of Piang Luang village at that time as follows:

"………Piang Luang village in this era was filled with the sentiment of being Shan people. At that time, we would sing the Shan national anthem while holding the Shan national flag. The Shan soldiers would speak only Shan language and their costume was different from the villagers', that is, they would get dressed partially as a soldier not in full-dress uniform. Important ceremonies and rites included those key traditional ceremonies such as Poy Saang Rong (ordination ceremony) with villagers going in procession to the temple and activities related to politics such as the National Day ceremony or Shan Army Foundation Day. Nowadays, there remain only traditional ceremonies related to Shan that are of the original tradition, but there are no longer political ceremonies. Then the Army leaders would organize key ceremonies just to tell us that we are of the same ethnicity and share the same target of recovering the Shan national state from Myanmar…………"

(Interview with Mr. Faymung Laisai, December 10, 2009)
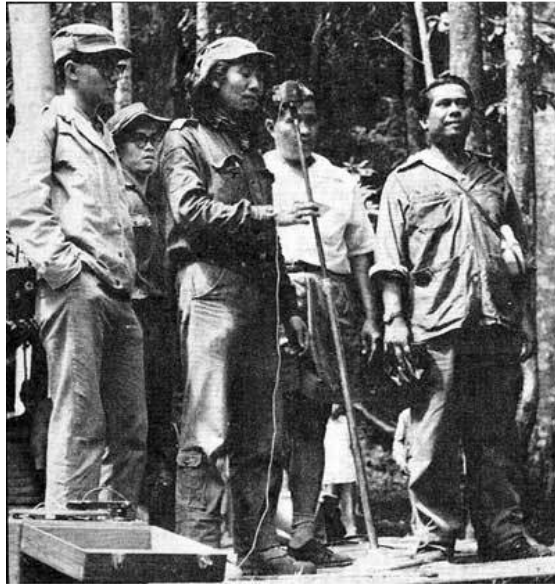
Figure 4.11 Sao Noi Saw Yan Ta set up a military force in the name of the Tai armed group Noom Suck Han by selecting Piang Luang village as the site for its command headquarters for anti-Myanmar regime activities on May 21, 1958. This marked the starting point of the Shan army period during 1958 – 1976 with more distinction of Shan ethnicity in this period.

Source : www.thaioctober.com/forum/index.php?topic=540.90

Figure 4.12 The Shan army in the name of "The Tai armed group Noom Suek Han" was the first armed group settling in Piang Luang village resulting in a major transformation of the village since it transformed Piang Luang village into a Tai military unit headquarters.

Source : www.thaioctober.com/forum/index.php?topic=540.90

4.3.3 The period under the power of the Thai nation state from 1976 onwards

In 1976 the Thai government ordered the Shan United Revolutionary Army (SURA) to leave Piang Luang village and relocate to the other Myanmar side of the border in the Shan state (interview with Mr. Faymung Laisai, December 10, 2009). The Thai government began to exert stronger influence in the border area, aiming at weakening the Shan ethnicity and spread the Thai national consciousness. These changes had a profound impact on the lives of the people in Piang Luang village, causing then to start self-adjusting or resisting the Thai nation state's efforts at assimilation.

After 1976, Piang Luang village became a more diverse community since outsiders, including government officials and new groups of Shan immigrants, began to settle in Piang Luang village. Moreover, government officials started to control and develop the village. The Thai government began to organize the possession of areas in the village and issued title deeds of the Thai state. In 1996, the Shan armed group MTA or Mong Thai Army laid down arms and the Thai nation state announced the closure of the Thai-Myanmar border in 2002 both events deeply affected the life of the Shan people in the village.

The announcement of the surrender of the Mong Tai Army (MTA) and the end of fighting against the Myanmar junta sparked combat with other Shan soldiers who refused to surrender their arms and the Myanmar troops that seized the area in the Shan state that belonged to the MTA next to Piang Luang village. The MTA's announcement to surrender their arms and join the Myanmar junta in 1996 caused Comeral Khun Sa/Chang Chi Fu (see end note 9), who used to supply weapons/arms and funds, to stop supporting these soldiers. Such cease of support had an impact on Piang Luang village, that is, the number of MTA troops in Piang Luang village suddenly dropped. Before the announcement of surrender of the Mong Tai Army (MTA), General Khun Sa supported them all. This also adversely affected trading activities in the village since the number od Shan soldiers and Shan people living in the Shan state, Myanmar, who used to cross the border to Piang Luang village to buy various goods, decreased.

Apart from this, the surrender of the Mong Tai Army (MTA) also caused the Shan people to suffer human rights violations in many forms. For instance, the Myanmar regime forced over 300,000 Shan people and other ethnic minorities from 1,400 villages to migrate out of their original settlements in the central areas of the Shan state under the so-called "Cut Four" policy, and soldiers raped Shan women (Shan Human Rights Foundation, 2002). As a result, a large number of Shan immigrants moved to settle down in Piang Luang village. Besides, the Thai nation state had pursued strict policies towards the Shan people in Piang Luang village in all aspects. The border closure resulted in the Shan people being cut off

from other Shan people in the Shan state. Moreover, the Thai nation state accelerated the areas development in every respect, especially the development of transportation routes from Piang Luang village to Chiang Mai. Such development enabled a more convenient contact with people outside the village. Their contact with the Shan community in the Shan state, in contrast, was entirely cut off. The more convenient transportation and communication caused the Shan people in the village to depend more on the Thai nation state. Besides, many Shan people had embraced the social values from outside the village through various media such as radio, television and the Internet in their everyday lives.

Figure 4.13 Signs in Piang Luang village indicating "End of Thai-Myanmar Border, Wat Fa Viang In". These signs occurred simultaneously with the entry of the Thai nation state's power from 1976 onwards, as they controlled the border areas and people together with the creation of identity and consciousness of being a nation.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

1) **Thai state power in Piang Luang village**

Major presence of the Thai nation State began about the year 1976, it was gradually obvious and more strict in 1978 when the Thai army moved in to control the area. This move was conducted under the rhetoric statement of national security, the borderline was more strictly controlled and perceived in Thai culture or symbols that signified 'Thainess'; for instance, the Thai language, traditions, costume and performance for greater clarity. This operation was done through government agencies that

supervised and controlled the area and the people and enforced rules and regulations much more strictly than ever before.

The Thai state's operation, with an emphasis on security and stability that started in 1976, led to an adjustment and change of the methods of treatment of the ethnic minorities along the Thai – Myanmar border. The Thai government, through its security agencies including Thai soldiers, policemen, administrative officers and immigration officers, started to control the Shan army and Shan people in accordance with the Thai Cabinet's resolution passed on 9 February 1977 and 14 March 1978 as follows:

"………The Thai government shall expel and arrest the Burmese rebel forces living in Thailand and those who are unable to settle down in the third country. The government must specify conditions of not allowing any political activities or any actions that are hostile to the Myanmar regime. In case of being persons not requesting political asylum, the Thai government should consider expelling them definitely from Thailand or pushing them out by any other methods to be agreed upon jointly by the Thai and Myanmar governments……"

(Thai Cabinet resolution on 9 February 1977)

"……Actions shall be taken in every way to enable the Myanmar/Burmese regime to understand that the Thai government has not supported the displaced people of Burmese nationality or political refugees of Burmese nationality to use Thai territory to take any antagonistic action against the Burmese government. Appropriate measures shall be strictly taken for the benefit of Thai national security. Treatment of those displaced people and refugees shall be proceeded with no violation of international laws and any help or assistance shall be provided on a humanity basis as necessary only………"

(Thai Cabinet resolution on 14 March 1978)

Beyond such cabinet resolutions, government agencies entered the village to perform intervention work and thus had a dominant role in Piang Luang village by using bureaucratic mechanisms. Starting from 1976, the Thai nation state changed its attitude towards the Shan army and Shan people, from viewing them as the buffer armies that would benefit the Thai state, to treating them as groups of illegal immigrants who would have to be punished. Therefore, the Shan people were divided into two groups according to the period of their crossing of the Thai border. Shan people who had crossed the border before 9 March 1976 would be treated as displaced people of Burmese nationality, while those who

crossed the border and came into the village later were regarded as illegal immigrants who would have to stand trial and be imprisoned, and after completing a jail term, the Thai government would return them to the Burmese regime.

During this period, the Thai nation state adopted a system of considering giving citizenship to strictly sort and classify the people in Piang Luang village. Having Thai citizenship would bring them rights in several respects, in contrast to the prior period, when Thai citizenship did not have any effect on the Shan people's way of life. Thai citizenship in this period resulted in the transformation of ethnicity; that is, the Shan who received Thai citizenship started to have more bargaining power in political and economic aspects, such as holding the positions of community leader or representatives of government agencies in organizing various activities of the community where the Thai language was used. As Shan people went to Thai schools, they started to learn the Thai language and to use Thai traits to make themselves look like Thais in daily life. Many Shan adjusted their language and began to identify themselves as Thai.

As the same time, most of the Shan people who did not obtain Thai citizenship started to conceal their Shan identity and express Thai forms of identification. This group of Shan people was regarded as marginalized or displaced people without identification cards and therefore not lawful Thai people. As a result, they were prohibited from using various resources of the State. For example, the lack of fundamental rights to use government services such as medical services; in practice, medical service centers tended to reserve the rights only to those people of Thai nationality, while social security cards were provided only for Thai nationals. Apart from medical services, these people were deprived of educational opportunities to further their study.

In 1978, the Thai government began to give strict orders to control the leader of the Shan United Revolutionary Army (SURA) living in Piang Luang village. During the period from March 1978 to July 1978, the Thai government had started to clearly legislate regulations regarding entering and exiting the village, trade, and activities of any anti–Burmese army or troops in Piang Luang village. Subsequently the Thai State began to push away the SURA troops from the Thai territory. Such policy had negative impacts on the Shan troops or soldiers in Piang Luang village, as it was necessary for them to move out of the village and to settle down on the side of the Shan state that was adjacent to the Thai boundary until they completely moved out in 1979 (Interview with Mr. Faymung Laisai, December 10, 2009). Later, the Thai nation state began to prepare civil registration and identification cards of the misplaced persons, evidence of birth and death, to designate the residential zones and to control entry into and exit from the area of the

Shan army and Shan people in Piang Luang village. If they went out of the district they had to ask for permission from the District Chief officer, and if crossing the boundary of the province, they had to ask for permission from the Provincial Governor. Penalty or punishment for the misplaced people who fled from their residential zone was in accordance with the Immigration Act 1979.

In 1988, Thailand adopted the method of constructive engagement with the Burmese military regime by pursuing the policy of "Changing Battlefields into Marketplaces" under which the Thai government began official negotiations with the Burmese military regime to give opportunities to the Thai people to gain concessions for forestry, logging and coastal fishery. This policy led to a change of attitude of the Thai government toward the Shan army, as well as troops of other ethnic minorities living along the Thai-Burmese border. Such policy resulted in a further increase in the efforts of the Thai government to control the ethnic minorities residing along the border. The Thai government was afraid that the Shan army and armed groups of other ethnic minorities along the border might obstruct the development of friendly relations with the Myanmar/Burmese government which would adversely affect the cooperation in exploring natural resources in the area (South, Ashley, 2003). Thus, the minorities' armies that used to be buffer armies to fight the Communist Party lost their importance to the Thai nation state. Therefore, the Thai nation state began to continuously suppress and control them as well as the ethnic minority people in general.

In 2002, the Thai government issued an order to close the Ban Lak Tang border checkpoint because they were concerned that there were the troops belonging to the minority and many refugees began to flee along the Thai-Myanmar border that was located about three (3) kilometers from Piang Luang village. This affected Piang Luang's role as an economically active town involved in the trans-border trade. While this led to a political and geographical division of the Shan living in Myanmar and Thailand they were not clearly separated in ethnic and social terms. The people of the Thailand–Union of Myanmar Border States still maintained their social, ethnic and religious relationships and traveled to visit each other as usual by using other routes such as having a short cut through the hills and not passing through the border. In several cases, the people in the area still had their families and kin or relatives residing on the other side of the border. Another important thing that followed at the same time with the closure of border was the necessity to have "nationality" as a tie to bind the people with the territory of the state. The Thai government also began to regulate the ethnic groups by using the status of citizenship. Then the Thai state started to sort out the ethnic minorities to see who had Thai nationality and who did not

by setting up checkpoints for inspection and frisking/searching persons at the entrance of the village. If anyone was found not carrying an identification (ID) card such as an ID card of a displaced person of Myanmar nationality (pink card) or work permit of an alien laborer, he or she would be deported to the Shan state, Union of Myanmar immediately (interview with Mr. Dang Lika, October 4, 2009). The Thai nation state also proclaimed that Piang Luang village was an area ruled by martial law under the Martial Law Act B.E. 247 (1914). The Thai soldiers from the Third Region Army came in to take control of the area covering all travel into and out of the village and also control of export in the border trade area as well as blocking of narcotic drugs. Any import and export of goods was required to receive approval from the Third Region Army.

In spite of the Thai State's stringency towards the Shan people in Piang Luang village, the Thai state found that, in practice, it was extremely difficult to control the Shan people. This was because the Thai state still lacked efficiency due to the nature of the bureaucracy. Due to the centralization of authority, the authorities in Piang Luang could not make their own decisions, which slowed down the process since they had to wait for commands from Bangkok or the Chiang Mai governor for urgent cases. In addition, most authorities were not local people but were sent from other areas, so they did not understand the local way of life and culture (interview with chief executive of the Piang Luang sub district Administrative Organization, November 15, 2009):

"………I am not a local person but I was sent from other areas so I did not understand villagers' culture and way of life enough and there were interpersonal communication problems sometimes. Moreover, there are many problems at national borders such as drugs and minority immigration, so operation in Piang Luang village became a sensitive matter. When a decision had to be made, we had to wait for the supervisor's command in Bangkok or sometimes Chiang Mai, so operation was slow and we could not force villagers to believe in us. We would have liked them to decentralize from the center to the village so that the operator in this area could make decisions……………"

(Interview with chief executive of the Piang Luang subdistrict Administrative Organization, November 15, 2009)

To reiterate, the local work units did not have adequate authority to make decisions and still lacked knowledge and understanding of the social and cultural conditions of the people along the border. These problems made the Thai government unable to successfully pursue the policy on harmonizing and assimilating the ethnic people living along the border to be a part of Thai society. Moreover, the dense forest in the border area around Piang Luang village was another obstacle to the efficient control of the Shan people (Chanita Rukspollamuang et al.,1988).

The Thai nation state tried to extend its control over the village by changing the system of administration from self–administration by local elders, to collect taxation by the state authorities with the correct process as specified in law including administration through the sub-district chief officer and village headman combined with the system of tax collection. Tax collection clearly demonstrated the power relationship between the Thai nation state as the ruler and the Shan people as subordinates. On the other hand, tangible operations related to development work and physical improvement of the village started to take shape in this period; the Thai government began to provide public utilities and construct roads to link the district with the village. Development work also included irrigation systems, reservoir construction and reforestation.

The Thai nation State started to develop Piang Luang village through the expansion of electricity service, road building and transportation services. For example, ox-cart trails were replaced by all-weather roads and later upgraded to asphalt roads as well as the replacement of wooden bridges with concrete bridges. This was not only for the benefit of the villagers, but the government also considered the roads as strategic for guaranteeing stability in the area. The road building also enabled the Shan people to start their own businesses as farmers and traders or opening their own shops. Part of the trade consisted of illegal goods, smuggled goods or contraband, including narcotic drugs from Myanmar being trafficked into Thailand to be forwarded on to other places for sale. However, the development of roads to Piang Luang village was regarded by the Thai state as a measure to link the Shan people in the village with the outside world, thus making them increasingly step out from their agricultural way of life to a more capitalistic life. Shan people's occupations diversified to include commercial trading, service provision, working as employees and in professions requiring greater knowledge and skills derived from further studying. Such occupations enabled Shan community members to have higher levels of income and economic status, increasing the importance of money in the trading of goods. All these capitalistic activities caused the Shan villagers to develop an economic attitude focused on the increase of profits and serving

91

their self–interest as their cost of living daily increased as a result of the dependence on the purchase of consumer goods that were not produced or manufactured in the community.

Moreover, the Thai government improved the system of education, administration and public health through the expansion and development of primary schools, the establishment of secondary schools, and the expansion of radio and television broadcasting networks into Piang Luang village and the vicinity. Such improvements included the construction of a community hospital and an upgrading of the sub–district status to a so-called "Ging – Amphur", which in the Thai language means an area of higher status than a sub–district but lower than a district or Amphur. This Ging–Ampur was later upgraded to enjoy the status of district. It can be regarded as the complete centralization of the administration of Piang Luang village. At present Thailand's administrative structures is divided into 76 provinces (changwat), each with a governor at its head. Every province (except Bangkok) then is subdivided into districts or amphurs headed by a district head (Nai amphur). The subdivision of a district is a commune or tambon with a kamnan as its head. The smallest unit of administration is a village or urban, headed by a village headman (Chavivun Prachuabmoh, 1980, pp. 65-67) (for a detailed discussion, see the next chapter).

2) Shan Ethnicity in Piang Luang Village

The action taken by the Thai nation state in controlling the village after 1976 caused most of the Shan in Piang Luang village to perceive and acknowledge the differences between being Shan and being citizen of the Thai nation state. In this period , the Shan began to adapt their cultural symbols in ways that were acceptable to the Thai nation state authority, including the invention of tradition (for a detailed discussion, see the next chapter) and the use of the Thai nation state's symbols mingled with traditional activities and various everyday practices, which can be seen from the inclusion of the Thai national flag in the Shan people's rites and traditional activities and the act of placing the royal photographs of the King of Thailand along with those of Shan leaders (interview with Mr. Tawan lungkean, December 27, 2009) as well as invitations to high-ranking Thai government officials to attend or preside over key ceremonies and traditional fairs of the village. None of this ever happened in the prior period, where only the Tai or Shan flag was posted in the key traditions and ceremonies of the Shan people along with photos of the Shan Army leader (interview with Phakrupreecha, December 29, 2009). Additionally, in this period, the Shan people in Piang Luang village started to move from formerly strict compliance with ancient customs to a relaxation of rules, taboos or certain rites that were incompatible with the current situation. For example, people who do not dress in Shan clothes do not identify as being Shan people for the traditional activities held in the

village, nor do they use Thai language for communication instead of Shan language for the cultural activities of the Shan. The Shan people also accepted and embraced certain traditional and ceremonial practices of the Thai nation state as their own practices. For example, organizing and observing the King's Birthday celebration, Children's Day activities, New Year celebrations, Loy Kratong, Water Festival activities etc. All these were regarded as practices in line with the Thai people's main traditions. As a result, the traditions of the Shan people in Piang Luang village included increasingly more Thai traits.

This transformation did not result from the government using violence, pressure or incentives. Consequently, there was also no sign of violent resistance against the Thai nation state on the part of the Shan. The Shan people rather resisted attempts to assimilation by symbolic means through the reconstruction of Shan cultural and ethnic collective consciousness (for a detailed discussion of the Shan people's self-adjusting and resistance, see the next chapter).

In this period, the Shan people compromised with the state in some cases with self–adjustment and resisted to the state power through use of cultural tools and symbols in other cases. As a result, the Shan cultural symbols were re-created and reconstructed (for a detailed discussion, see the next chapter). Such cultural symbols were tied to the appropriate and formal process of the former identification of the Shan people that was created in the period of the Shan army prior to the year 1976 (the period of Shan army, during 1958 – 1976 A.D.).

The development of Piang Luang village in this period clearly showed that the Shan ethnicity was a dynamic construction. Shan ethnicity was created by social processes, not born by nature or by bloodline (for a detailed discussion, see the next chapter). Instead, certain cultural traits such as language, dress and costume, food, dwelling, customs and traditions were selected as markers to differentiate one ethnic group from another. These characteristics varied according to the situation and changed as time went by (for a detailed discussion, see the next chapter).

In this era, the Shan people in Thailand made efforts to retain their being members of the Shan ethnic group, maintain their identity and prevent their complete subordination under the assimilating policies of the Thai state. These processes involved complex negotiations, selecting, defining and reproducing meanings through several tools and cultural symbols to draw a dividing line between the Shan and other groups (for examples, see the next chapter).

The Thai Nation Station / The Shan people			The Construction of Social and Cultural Unity					The establishment of social and cultural unity which allowed the border territorial, space, citizen, identity and consciousness to be clearly fixed simultaneously with the creation of the imaged nation
			The ethnicity disintegration			The construction of Thainess		
			The borderline control	The territory control	The people control	The national consciousness creation	The national identity creation	
			The building of barbed wires ,The boundary sign • Rule and regulation • The Military posts • Immigration check point • Border patrol checkpoints	• A modern administration by centralizing the authority • The control and managed the land resources	• The card identifying personal legal status	• The emphasizing on the symbols demonstrating the Thai nation state • The organizing in-school education	• The constructing the otherness of Shan • The emphasis on the importance of the Thai cultural traits	
The Self - adjustment of the Shan people	The traditional invention	• To express worship and loyalty to the Thai King	The Shan people's ethnic identification as Thai who are loyal to the Thai Nation State and are not harmful to the state's security. This manner of self-identification could be seen in the situations when the Shan people in Piangluang Village had to interact with the state's officials, which was considered the out-group interaction.					The Shan ethnic identifications in Pian Luang village are constructed to serve particular purpose. It is unstable, flexible and changeable depending on the periods of time and the contexts of the State's power.
	The expression of Thai identity in daily life	Wearing pendant with the Thai King photo, Flying the Thai national flag, Maintaining H.M. the King's pictures at home .						
	The adjustment of the Shan cultural symbols	The Poi Sang Long festival and the Kingkara bird dance have been modified to respond more to the Thai State.						
The Resistance	The social space construction	The use of Wat Fah Wiang In Temple, the radio and electronic media as their social space which allowed them to express their history, language, culture, tradition, national flag, national anthem, national costume, mascot etc.	The ethnic identification as the Shan people in order to express their Shan cultural traits and to show that they belong to a prominent group with long-rooted Shan history and cultural civilization. This manner of self-identification was often revealed when the Shan people in Piang Luang village interacted with each other, which was considered the in-group interaction.					
	The reconstruction of the Shan cultural	The use of Shan language and alphabets The Poi Awk Wa tradition, the Poi Wan Khu Maw Lik Tai						
	The construction of ethnic collective consciousness	The attempt to refer to the past by presenting the Shan historical stories through the ceremonies of remembrance of important people in the Shan history and the ceremony to worship the spirits of the village. Also, the construction of ethnic collective consciousness was seen in the use of textbooks in Shan language						

Figure 4.14   A conclusion of the findings of the case study of the Shan community living in Piang Luang village in Period under the power of the Thai nation state, 1976 to the present

CHAPTER V

INTERACTION BETWEEN THE SHAN PEOPLE AND THE THAI STATE:
THE CASE STUDY OF PIANG LUANG VILLAGE

This chapter looks at the Shan people and the Thai state from a historical perspective, based on a yearlong piece of historical and ethnographical research. This ethnographical research is based on the Shan people, who are residing at the frontier village of Piang Luang. The aim was to explore the dynamic relationship between the Shan people of Piang Luang village and the Thai state, especially within the context of the construction of social and cultural unity.

It is important to know how the national border, territory, citizenship, identity, and consciousness have been formed through a variety of transformations throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. In addition, by using a historical approach, this chapter also aims to clarify and comprehend the construction of social and cultural unity of the Thai state as well as the interaction between the Thai state and the Shan people in Piang Luang village in terms of adjustment and resistance of the latter against the Thai state.

5.1   The Thai state and the construction of social and cultural unity in Piang Luang village

5.1.1 The disintegration of ethnicity

As already indicated in the last chapter the Thai state's efforts to create social and cultural unity among the ethnic groups in the Thai-Burma border region started in 1976 when the Thai state stipulated that the army of the minority groups must leave the Thai periphery. This reflected the power of the Thai state in taking control of the border. In the late 20th century, the state started to categorize the ethnic groups in the country into two main classes, namely hill tribes and minority groups (Prasong Soonsiri,1982,pp.1-8). Meanwhile, the Thai majority of the population were categorized based on the legal settlement within the borderline and held Thai citizenship in accordance with the Nationality Act B.E. 2456 (1913).

The ethnic groups in regions higher than 4,000 feet above sea level were categorized as hill tribes, including the Karen, Hmong/Meo, Mien, Akha, Lahu, Lisu, Lua, Htin, Khmu, and Mlabri. The ethnic groups that were categorized as minority groups (see end note 11) were mainly the inhabitants of plains lower than 4,000 feet, and most of them were ethnic groups who had their own army with the objective of fighting for freedom for their own ethnic groups, including Shan, Palaung, Tonsu, Tai Lue, Haw, Khmer, Chinese, Burman, Mon, and Laotian (Prasong Soonsiri,1982,pp.1-8).

The term minority group conveyed the sense of ethnic groups that were potentially able to cause problems to the state (Niyaphan Pholwaddhana, 1986,p.15). Hill tribes were seen as ethnic groups and bearers of particular forms of socio-cultural differentiation, including faiths and ways of life. Moreover, these groups were categorized as underdeveloped since they settled in the valleys between mountains in remote areas far away from towns. For this reason, a journey into the areas where the hill tribe people resided needed to be undertaken on foot or by using animals as a form of transport only (Kamol Raktapurana, 1982, pp.19-29).

As for the hill tribes, the Thai state issued guidelines and procedures focusing on development by enhancing the quality of life in terms of agriculture, economic and social development. In addition, the state considered granting Thai citizenship.

As for the Thai state's culture and ethnicity policy that was related to hill tribe people, the Thai state started to implement an integration policy on December 15, 1969 when the cabinet passed guidelines and procedures to regulate the policies towards the hill tribes. The objective of this policy was to develop the hill tribe people and turn them into Thai citizens with a Thai consciousness who would not cause problems for the state, destroy forests or get involved with drugs. In order to reach such a goal, the state took control of the hill tribe people's utilization of land for agricultural and residential purposes. Also, the state sent officials to help hill tribe people who planted marijuana and advocated finding new legal careers, promoted public health, family planning, controlling of unsettled migration and to build basic facilities such as water, electricity and roads in order to raise the hill tribe people's quality of life and make it as equal to Thais' as possible.

In contrast to the treatment of the hill tribes, the Thai state did not aim to integrate the minority people (Prasong Soonsiri,1982,pp.1-8). The state rather used strict procedures in controlling emigration, occupation, settlement as well as attempting to push the minority groups out of Thailand. The Thai state assumed that most of the minority people were aliens who had illegally immigrated into Thailand. Even though many minority people were born or had been living in Thailand for a long time, they were still regarded as illegal immigrants. Thai nationality law indicated that people who were born in Thailand but did not possess Thai nationality were considered unlawful immigrants (Kitaya Archavanikul, 2011,p.112). The differential treatment and strict control of the minorities led to a violation of their basic rights in several aspects including education, healthcare and occupation. Also, they had to face a lack of opportunity to access many governmental services (Kitaya Archavanikul,2011,p.112).

The differentiation between hill tribes and minority groups distinguished the Shan people as one of the exiled Burmese minorities who had entered the kingdom without completing the normal immigration process. This identification was not consistent with the self-identification of the Shan people who considered themselves to be non-Burmese. Being identified by the state as an exiled Burmese minority, the villagers were treated strictly by the state. These exercises made the villagers realize the tangible power of the state.

1) Border control

Before the formation of modern nation-states in the 19th century, the periphery of the Thai state was an ambiguous sphere since the state's geographical boundaries were not clearly fixed. Therefore, it was not possible to indicate the exact territorial limits of the state. Also, the Thai state never made an official agreement with its neighboring states to specify its boundaries and the state made no attempt to control its borderlines.

Therefore, the Shan people and other ethnic groups living in the Thai-Burma border region (see end note 12) could migrate back and forth without any state control. The villagers did not feel any difference when staying within or beyond the Thai state. The geographical peripheries of the Thai and Burma States were clearly fixed and the way of life of the Shan people was severely affected only from the late 20th century until the present. Later, the borderline became a concrete indicator of the periphery of the national community. This effect is clearly described in Thongchai's seminal work "Siam Mapped" by using the metaphor of "path" and "fence". He compares the pre-modern boundary to a 'path' which is a contact zone where people trespass in everyday life. For them, boundaries were porous and flexible, commonly shared under mutual understanding and trust. On the other hand, the modern concept of a boundary is similar to that of a "fence" and a rigid line that cuts off the relationship and creates differentiation and separation on both sides of the border (Thongchai Winichakul, 2005, p129). This is observable in the case of the Piang Luang village.

The case study on the Piang Luang village found that the borderline control of the Thai state began here from 1976 onwards. This made the status of being non-Thai citizens that had entered the kingdom unlawfully important to the villagers whereas prior to 1976 the borderline was not fixed by the state. People were not aware how the border could influence their lifestyle, which firmly related to the free migration over the national boundary (interviews with Shan elders in Piang Luang village, November 15, 2009). This can be seen from how elderly Shan members referred to the borderline in the following section:

"Before, we did not know that this area was Thailand. We only knew that this area was where Shan people resided. We cannot recall the Thai–Myanmar Border Check Point Lak Tang that is next to Piang Luang village with soldiers to safeguard the post, when it was set up. We only know that in the time of our grandparents there was no borderline, no border checkpoint, no barbed wire, no minefield. Nothing actually, even the Thai flag on the Thai side nor Burmese flag on the Myanmar side. Nothing was seen back then. Both sides were the very same land. Only Shan people can be seen in this neighborhood. We do not see any Thai people here. Our grandparents never knew what Thai people were like. The Thai language that the Thai people speak in the central region was never heard of here. The borderline where we can see the Thai and Burmese soldiers are safeguarding their peripheries looks so scary. No one dares cross back and forth because we are afraid of the minefields made by the Burmese soldiers. Even the Shan people over there were paranoid that they would be bombed. It seems that the borderline is more important than human lives. When the the borderline came, if we crossed over to the Myanmar side, we are afraid that the Burmese will arrest us so we cannot act as if we are Shan or speak Shan language fully. We have to be in hiding. And when we are on the Thai side, we also cannot behave like a Shan person because we are afraid that we could be stopped so they can check our ID card and then be accused of being illegal emigrants even though we have been living here for such a long time."

(Interview with Faymung Laisai in Piang Luang village, October 22, 2009)

The section above mentioning the borderline shows the effect of the absence of state control of the borderline which allowed the Shan people inhabiting the Thai-Burma border region to freely migrate back and forth for visits or business. This resulted in close relationships between Shan communities in Thailand and Myanmar who recognize their common ancestry and culture. This recognition indicated the differences between the Shan and non-Shan groups. The perception of this difference induced a number of Shan people, both in Burma and Thailand, to support and participate in the movement that an ex-soldier of the SSA mentions in the following interview:

"If you ask why the Shan Liberation Movement has occurred and has been very well supported by the Shan people, it may be because the headquarters is located in the Thai-Burma border region. At that time, the borders of Thailand-Burma was not clear. We didn't see any Burmese or Thai soldiers strictly supervising them. So, we could arrange

political and cultural activities with full freedom. We recognized our same family relationship
and same culture. This same culture helped us to have the same Shan consciousness.
This was what made our Shan ethnic community stronger. And we stood out from the other
ethnic communities who were still living on mountains. But when the Thai-Burma border
became clearer, the Thai and the Burmese soldiers began to take control and collect taxes
from the Shan people. So, the Shan people were not as free as before. We didn't dare to
hold any political or cultural activities like before."

When the Thai-Burma borderline at Piang Luang village became clearer, starting in 1976, both the Thai state and the Burmese State tried to maintain their demarcation (see figure 5.1). The national border was used by the state to control and organize the groups of people to inhabit areas. In addition, the state made an effort assimilate the ethnic groups' cultures to the official national culture and identity. This can be seen from the interview given by a Shan scholar:

"Although the State officials are very strict on Shan people holding activities and
trying to promote national identity and consciousness in Piang Luang village, we are trying
to find opportunities to express our Shan culture and identity and Shan at once when the
opportunity arises. This is especially so with the religious activities that the officials do not
forbid. But, for political events, we don't have any opportunity to hold them. We have to
hide it. Even though we're staying in the Thai territory, we're still trying to maintain our
Shanness."

The consolidation of the borderline also divided the Shan population into two groups, the Thailand Shan community and the Burma Shan community (see figure 5.2). Furthermore, the Thai Shan community was controlled and implanted with the idea of loyalty towards the Thai state. In addition the emigration of the Shan people who were about to cross the border was controlled. These complex procedures seriously affected the Shan people's way of life. These operations included the building of barbed wires, boundary signs, rules and regulations, military posts, immigration check points, and customs and border patrol checkpoints in considerable number in Piang Luang village and its neighboring regions. This can be considered to be a physical representation of state power whilst also making it more concrete (see figure 5.3).

The control of the borderline affected the relationships between the Thai Shan community and the Burmese Shan community. Originally, both sides shared a common ancestry and culture as villagers from Piang Luang had been travelling back and forth between Thailand and Burma for a vast period of time. When the state took control of the borderline, the interstate trip crossing back and forth became difficult. A reflection to this situation can be drawn from the viewpoints of the villagers:

"Now is unlike ever before. We can't cross the border to see our relatives to hold activities together with our families in the Shan State anymore. Along the borderline and the roads, the Burmese soldiers buried bombs everywhere. And the Thai authorities have shut down the Ban Lak Tang border checkpoint; no one is allowed to cross through it. We have to gradually adapt to this. If we could, we would like to have a chance to return to our relatives over there to practice activities of our traditional beliefs together. But now the Shan people in Myanmar might have changed already. The Shan traditions might have all been merged out by the Burmese traditional activities. And on this side, we have to gradually adjust to be more like traditional Thais. We are also required to participate in activities organized by the Thai authorities. However, we have to try to maintain our Shan identity. But we can do as much as we can. We think that later the Shan identity may disappear completely."

(Interview with a Shan elder in Piang Luang village, November 11, 2009)

In controlling the borderline, the state had to stipulate border crossing regulations by the opening and closing of the Ban Lak Tang border checkpoint. This was the passage where the Piang Luang villagers used to go to the Shan State. The Minister of Interior was assigned to authorize the opening and closing of the checkpoint. Moreover, the Shan people who immigrated through this checkpoint were enforced to report their reasons for leaving the village. In addition, they were required to specify the exact travelling dates and destinations as well as the exact spots where they were about to stay. Later, state officials would determine whether or not there was any need to cross the boundary; it could not be related to political reasons. After which, the state approved on a case by case basis. Should the villagers wish to travel farther beyond the specified area, the request had to be sent to the governor for approval. These procedures were extremely complicated. As already indicated, the state even declared martial law in the Thai-Burma border region to give soldiers complete authority to maintain order within the area. Declaring martial law allowed state officials to search Shan people who were crossing the border even without a

100

search warrant. Moreover, a greater amount of soldiers from the Third Army Area Command were added along with police border patrols. Many specialized agencies were also set up in Piang Luang village and its neighboring areas. This was to prevent and suppress fugitive immigrants and the armed smuggling drug traffickers that were working in the villages along the borderline (interview with assistant District Chief Officer, Official of Ministry of Interior, December 23,2009).

The strict control of the borderline demonstrated the different attitude of the state toward Piang Luang village. It had different characteristics from other areas and needed to be tightly controlled because the nature of Piang Luang village was that it was on the periphery area of the state's territories and the distance was far away from Bangkok. Furthermore, the state realized that the population of Piang Luang village was probably a threat to the Thai nation state.

Therefore, the village became a region where symbols of state power increased steadily. Such symbols included barbed wire, the gates of the immigration checkpoint, regulations signs indicating the state power control over Piang Luang village. The village, as a result, slowly changed from a place where Shanness was expressed to a place where symbols of the state power were expressed. This can be seen from the following comments made by the Shan people and a state official:

"Before, in this region, there was no one but the Tai (Shan) people. There's nothing indicating that this is Thailand. But when the state officials entered almost 30 years ago, several symbols started to appear, such as barbed wire and gates of the immigration checkpoint. Villagers saw these and were scared. It became more difficult travelling anywhere unlike before. We don't understand why there must be obstacles whereas we could live our normal lives even though in the old days there was nothing. On the other hand, when these obstacles exist our lives became more difficult. When we want to cross the border we have to act like a Thai. Some wear Thai dress or try to speak Thai so that we seem like Thai people. It was never this way before."

(Interview with villager in Piang Luang village, October 21, 2009)

"The Piang Luang village is located in the border region. We have to be strict on the travel in and out of the village. Everyone knows well that the border regions are an area that has drug and fugitive immigration problems. So we have to be especially strict. However, we must understand that this is the border of Thailand anyway. Anyone going out

101

or coming in must be treated strictly because it is concerning state security. It might have affected the villagers, but it's necessary."

(Interview with assistant district chief officer, official of ministry of interior, October 21, 2009)

The state's stringent control of the borderline impacted upon most of the Shan people in Piang Luang. A good example was in 1996 when the MTA, the Shan army who resisted the Myanmar military government, stopped their fight. However, there were still some Shan soldiers from the MTA army who refused to stop fighting. This conflict resulted in a severe fight between the MTA soldiers who did not stop the battle and the Myanmar soldiers. As a result, the Shan village on the Myanmar side was brutally destroyed and many villagers could no longer stay there.. A feeling of insecurity caused them to leave the Shan village on the Myanmar side. Finally, several thousand Shuns from Burma kept on migrating into Piang Luang and its neighboring areas. Also, these Shan people and secretly entered Chiang Mai intermittently in search for jobs. In the early period [when?], the Thai government was not so strict on these Shan people. However, as time went by, the number of the Shan people who migrated into Piang Luang village increased, which caused the Thai state tighten the control of the Thailand-Myanmar borderline by continually sending army detachments to be stationed along the Thailand-Myanmar border. Simultaneously, the Thai state marked its boundary more clearly by putting Thai flags along the Thai borderline. Along with these flags a barbed wire fence was made to block the path that connected Myanmar with Piang Luang in an attempt to prevent the Shan people from commuting between Thailand and Myanmar. This made it difficult for the Shan people to travel across the borderline as the Thai soldiers intercepted them. Such strict control over the Thailand-Myanmar borderline continues until today. Despite both states strictly controlling the borderline as much as possible, it was found that the Shan people from both sides still constantly travelled across the borderline to secretly visit their relatives, look for rare items in the forests and smuggle goods for sale. This is because most Thailand-Myanmar borderline areas are mountainous and covered with deep forests, making it hard for authorities to control. The number of state officials was not enough to control the whole area. Besides, most of the Shan people had been living along the Thailand-Myanmar border for a long time, so they know the area very well. They were thus able to find a way of avoiding state officials in order to travel across the borderline. This fact shows that it is not possible for the state to take control over the borderline at all times.

Figure 5.1 The office of the Thai military unit responsible for protecting the Thai borderline which gradually appeared after 1976. These offices of Thai military units make the state's power and the borderline clear.

Source : Theerapon Vichchurungsi , 2010.

Figure 5.2 A banner in Piang Luang village which states "The end of Thailand-Myanmar borderline - Wat Fa Wiang In" which apparently demonstrates geographical demarcation, indicates that the state's borderline has a duty to control and discipline citizens to stay in certain areas and to fix people in areas. As a result, movement through the borderline which used to be a common practice prior to the establishment of the modern state changed.

Source : Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

Figure 5.3 A banner which shows the position of the Baan Lak Tang borderpass that originates together with the Thailand-Myanmar borderline. If the villagers pass through this border pass, they enter an area that is full of bombs that Myanmar soldiers buried in order to control the migration of the Shan people.

Source : Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

2) Territorial control

Before the 20th century, the geographical features of the Thai-Burma border region comprised of a forest and valley complex that was remote from the center of state power in Bangkok. Thus, the border region was a peripheral area that never received any attention from the state (Tambiah,1989,p.335). The Shan and other ethnic groups who settled in the border region never received any interference from the state. Therefore the Shan people and other ethnic groups governed their own villages with stateless political systems that were based on traditions and religious beliefs. The Shan and other ethnic groups could still utilize the land within the settled region freely in terms of building houses, agriculture, forestry, and hunting (interviews with several elders in Piang Luang village, November 15, 2009).

In the 20th century, the emergence of state power that spread to the border region caused a shift from no control of the territory to extreme control of territory. This shift employed modern administration and management of the land by declaring the region to be a national park, national forest reserves, and wildlife sanctuaries as are still visible today. This can be seen from the case of the Shan ethnic community in Piang Luang village. As already indicated Prior to 1976, it was unclear whether the village belonged to the the Thai or Burma state. Thus, the village was isolated from the Thai central region and the economic activities of the Shan people in the village were executed largely independently. These

activities included crop growing, producing and trading goods. Moreover, the Shan soldiers collecting tax from villagers indicated that the villagers could preserve their economic autonomy.

The economic autonomy of the Shan people in Piang Luang village could be seen in 4 aspects. Firstly, neither the Thai state nor the Myanmar state did collect taxes from Piang Luang village. Since the village was situated in an area that was under the influence of the Shan army, the Shan locals had to offer rice or animals to the Shan soldiers in exchange for the Shan army's protection. Such practice was considered mutually beneficial (interviews with several elders in Piang Luang village, November 15, 2009). Secondly, the state did not control the Shan people's ownership of the land. Therefore, the villagers had freedom to use the land. Also, Shan families in Piang Luang village which had a lot of members would own more land since they had more labour for agricultural work. The Thai state started issuing regulations regarding title deeds and land ownership on September 15, 1901. These regulations were considered the first law that dealt with the preparation of land registration and the rights of the land owners. After issuing these rules, the Thai state began to conduct a survey and issued documents relative to the possession of land. However, these rules were not applied in the border areas before 1976 (interviews with several elders in Piang Luang village, November 15, 2009). Thirdly, the economic autonomy of the Shan people could be witnessed from the free utilization of natural resources in the village and the neighboring areas without the need to ask for permission from the state. Finally, agriculture in Piang Luang village was mainly subsistence farming. The plants were grown for consumption within the household only. Therefore, the villagers did not cultivate their plants for sale, unlike commercial agriculture which was aimed to produce in response to the market's demand. For this reason, money did not play an important role in the exchange of items in the village during this period. Also, the Shan people did not leave the village to search for employment in other areas, unlike today (interviews with several elders in Piang Luang village, November 15, 2009). People who lived in the area for a long time were settled between the trade routes and the sales they made among merchants. Thus, they stayed there while trading and this developed into a series of roadside campsites.

As both the Thai and Burma states did not control the villages' territory and as the village possessed considerable economic autonomy, it was during 1958-1976 that the Tai (Shan) armed group Noom Suek Han took the region as their military headquarters. The village was governed and controlled by the Shan soldiers throughout the period from Sao Noy (Saw Yan Ta); the Tai armed group Noom Suek Han; Zao Kornzurng, the leader of the Shan United Revolutionary Army (SURA); to General Khun Sa, the

leader of the Mong Tai Army (MTA). These leaders were considered to be the village leaders, were independent in governing the village and received a great deal of trust, acceptance, and respect from the Shan people.

The reason why the military leaders also became the leaders of Piang Luang village was because their headquarters were situated there. This was not the case in other Shan villages were each had its own leader who was not a soldier. Prior to 1976 Piang Luang village used a system of unofficial self-government. The Thai state did not exert its influence over the village, and the villagers agreed to accept the rights and power of their leaders without any written laws. These leaders ruled on the basis of mutual consultation between the village's important people, which consisted of military leaders, monks and elders as follows: 1) The Shan military leaders who were also the highest leaders of Piang Luang village. These Shan soldiers migrated into Thailand for political reasons after the change of government in Myanmar. These military leaders presided over Piang Luang village with no fixed term in office. Their leadership was over when they died, resigned or migrated to other areas. The key responsibilities of the leaders included being the representatives of the village during negotiations and communication with outsiders, preserving the village's traditions, judging and solving conflicts between families. Practically, the administration of the village leaders was controlled by the monks and the elderly who acted like the village's consultant committee. However, the village's leaders did not have to follow their advice in all cases. 2) Religious leaders were the monks. Most of the villagers paid respect and trusted the monks since they believed that monks had more knowledge and wisdom than normal people. Since the monks were the practitioners of the Buddhist canon and guiders, their teachings were respected and trusted especially when solving unsettled conflicts in the village. In this case, monks were the last group who would judge the cases.3) The elders of the village had important duties, which included giving advice about village activities or projects, suggesting solutions to problems and conciliating conflicts and problematic situations in the village. The elders who were assigned to be the village's leaders were mostly descendants from Shan ancestors who had been present over a long duration of time in the village. (Interviews with several elders in Piang Luang village, November 15, 2009).

Since the Thai state's power did not extent to the village, the military leaders, monks, and elders played a decisive role in governing the village as well as transferring beliefs and bodies of knowledge to the Piang Luang villagers. When any trouble arose and needed to be solved, the military leaders, monks, and elders worked together to find solutions to the particular problems. These solutions

106

were generally respected among the villagers. In addition, the village was ethnically homogeneous Shan (interview with formal community leader in Piang Luang village, August 9, 2009).

When the Thai state power reached the Thai-Burma border region in 1976, the territorial control by the government increased steadily. The Thai state sent out more and more soldiers to patrol and safeguard the Piang Luang village and its neighboring regions. Finally, as has been already said, the Thai state demonstrated its possession of the area by issuing the order that the SURA move out of the village to camp near the border on the Burmese side of the Shan State. The villagers began to realize the power of the Thai state that had started to increasingly influence the village. The Thai state also attempted to control the Piang Luang village through a modern administration using the government system with the center of the power in Bangkok (see figure 5.4).

The implementation of modern administration caused the village to change from a self-governed Shan village led by military leaders, elders and monks into a village that had to report directly to the Thai state. The village leaders, which included the headman who was the highest rank, the assistant headman and the village committee, whose responsibility was to give advice, were appointed by the Thai state. The headman and the village's committee had to be chosen from villagers who possessed Thai nationality. After having been selected, these villagers would be appointed by the district head. This modern administration turned Piang Luang village into the smallest unit of administration which had to report to the Piang Luang Sub-district, Wianghaeng District and Chiang Mai Province, which was in accord with the 1914 Local Administration Act.

Presently, Thailand is divided into 75 provinces or "Changwat," which does not include Bangkok. Each province has a governor who is the top rank and is divided into districts or "amphur" with a district head or "nai amphur" as the leader. The subdivision of each district is a commune or "tambon" with a village chief as the leader. Each commune consists of villages or "unbans," which is the smallest unit of administration governed by a village headman or "phuyaiban".

This new pattern of administration allowed the govern to play a bigger role in Piang Luang village and changed the villagers' way of life profoundly. The villagers had to stay under the administration and control of the Thai state officials as well as having to follow the rules and regulations that the Thai state had set up, just like other Thai people. Moreover, the state's officials were outsiders. They considered the Shan people in Piang Luang village to be illegal immigrants who may be a threat to the state's security. Consequently, the villagers had the duty to take orders from the state at every turn. In giving out orders, the

state's officials did not take the villagers desires into account. With such fundamental thoughts and beliefs, the government officials worked in the manner of ordering and half-forcing by using measures to coerce and indirectly threaten the locals. Even though the operations of the state's officials were not in accordance with the real needs of the villagers, the village's residents complied with the measures due to fear and avoided encountering any problems with them.

Furthermore, the modern administration meant that the exact geographical boundary of Piang Luang village had to be established. A survey to classify the areas of the Thai Nation State and the Burma Nation State was conducted. In addition, more state officials were appointed from Bangkok to play their roles in the area. The Thai state assigned soldiers, police officers, agriculture officers, teachers, etc. to work in the village. Moreover, it was enforced that the village leader had to be of Thai nationality by birth, had to believe in the governing system according to the Thai Constitution, possess the Thai consciousness by emphasizing the importance of symbols that expressed Thai culture or symbols that signified 'Thainess'. The village leader's house was decorated with flags, the King's images and the logo of the King. Other than this, the village leaders also needed to express his Thai consciousness by participating in activities on the nation's important days which were held constantly. At the same time, the village leader must not be involved in or related to any activity that could provide benefits to the SURA or other minority groups along the Thai-Burma border (interview with formal community leader in Piang Luang village, August 9, 2009). On top of that, the village leader had to be officially appointed by the Thai state as well as be accepted by Thai national villagers. Most of the Shan people in Piang Luang village, however, did not hold Thai nationality. Therefore, many Shan people in the village were not able to apply for the position of their own village leaders or any other local administrators at all levels (Assistant District Chief Officer, Official of Ministry of Interior, interview, August 21, 2009).

Thus the village was transformed from one governed by Shan military leaders, monks and senior people on the basis of tradition, norms, customs, and religious beliefs into a settlement governed by leaders appointed by the Thai state. This was also the starting point of being under the supervision of the Thai state hierarchy, ranking from village headman, sub-district chief, district chief, and province governor, under Thai law. Moreover, the village leaders followed policies that were planned in Bangkok, these included the administration of resources, education, and public health. When the village had any problems, it would seek help from the Thai state. In the course of time, more and more officials from various government agencies from Bangkok were sent to the area to implement central policies. In addition, the

government officials from Bangkok occasionally went into the village and other areas along the Thai-Burma border to monitor the operation of the agencies of each Ministry. Thus the number of state institutions and officials, after 1976, increased significantly. This could be seen from the establishment of schools, hospitals, district agricultural offices, to military and police agencies, etc., and from the arrival of the military and police patrols in the area to maintain peace and order, to be responsible for preventing smuggling across the border, the spread of drugs, crime and illegal logging (interview with formal community leader in Piang Luang village, August 9, 2009). This is backed up by information given by the formal community leader of Piang Luang:

"In the past, the administration in Piang Luang village was different to what is seen presently. This village only consisted of the Shan people whose positions had to be appointed by Shan soldiers and must also be accepted by the soldiers, elders and monks. Nevertheless, approximately 30 years ago, the state came to take control of the village and changed the village's pattern of administration in the same way that the state did to other villages in Thailand. Also, the Thai state appointed officials from different sectors to control and take care of the village, established state's sectors and sent border patrol officers into the village. Whenever Piang Luang village had any problem that had to be solved, the villagers had to consult government officials first."

(Interview with formal community leader in Piang Luang village, August 9, 2009)

Assigning the border police patrol to oversee the village generated more sets of rules and regulations for the village. An example of this can be seen from the regulations that were stipulated by these officers and made known to the villagers when they were clearly posted in the village. As the State was trying to play more roles in controlling the Thai-Burma border region (see figure 5.5), it resulted in the many parts within the Piang Luang village. This could be seen during the late 20th century, when the State was trying to develop the infrastructure of Piang Luang village and its surrounding villages, with an expectation to achieve the modern development as of other communities in Thailand, starting from road construction along the Thai-Burma border, electricity power systems, water supply, irrigation, building up schools and hospitals. This development was carried for state security reasons due to the fear that underdeveloped communities of the ethnic groups in the Thai-Burma border region may lack loyalty towards the Thai state. In addition, the development of areas along the Thai-Burma border, especially the installation of transport facilities assisted in the exercise of central state power as it could access remote

areas more conveniently. In other words, when a problem arose, the State would be able to send people to deal more effectively with these problems than ever before. This reinforced the perception that the Shan people were residents of the Thai Nation State and thus governed by the Thai state. As the villagers realized, they were subjects governed by the Thai state, led by the officials appointed by the Thai state, it was apparent that the emergence of the modern administration indicated the efforts of the State to integrate the territory of the ethnic groups into the Thai state.

In addition, the State began to exercise another form of territorial control in the late 20th century. By managing the land utilization of the village, the State announced that the area surrounding the village and its neighborhood, covering 521 square kilometers, was to be known as Chiang Dao Wildlife Sanctuary in 1978. The terrain was mountainous and home to many rare species of wildlife which should be preserved. In 1995, the State extended the area to cover another 1,252.12 square kilometers, and turned it into Chiang Dao National Park. This can be seen from the following comments made by the Village committee member in Piang Luang village.

"After the forest was declared a National Park, forestry officers were sent to work in the area. Villagers have been affected ever since. We are not able to use the forest and not allowed to use the land for growing plants or agriculture. If we enter the forest we could be arrested even though we have settled and been making a living here long before, since our ancestor's time. Villagers in the community have had a hard time making a living. Some people were unfortunate that they went into the forest to gather some non-wood forest products, hunt small animals and insects but they were caught by officers who then arrested and fined them. Villagers have no clue about the law, so we are terribly afraid of the forestry officers because we know that we are inferior in status to them."

(Interview with Village committee member in Piang Luang village, December 23, 2009)

Declaring the areas surrounding Piang Luang village as a national park, forest reserve, and wildlife sanctuary assisted the State in the claiming rights over the area and in controlling the management of the area. This claim of rights over the area overlapped with the residential and arable lands of the Shan people and other ethnic groups that were living there. The claim of rights over the areas was conducted without prior surveys on whether or not these areas had been the residence of the Shan people before. When the areas were declared a national park, forest reserve, and wildlife sanctuary, many Shan people were not entitled to compensation, or even the right to object to such a declaration. After the

110

announcement the Shan people were ordered by the State to leave the area, this led to arrests and prosecution with both criminal and civil cases, as the villagers had been living in the area illegally, even though they had been there long before the State declared its rights over these areas. Thus, established settlements and land utilization practices became illegal. As the State took control of the whole area, the villagers could no longer use the land for agriculture, making a living from non-wood forest products, and for building houses. This affected the Shan people and other ethnic groups as they were not able to use the land freely as before (interviews with several villagers in Piang Luang village, November 17,2009). Moreover, this pushed the Shan people of Piang Luang and other ethnic groups in the neighborhood into giving up residency of these areas and forced them to evacuate to urban areas such as Chiang Mai, Bangkok and Samutsakorn to work in construction, fishery, service jobs in restaurants, etc. These Shan people were considered illegal alien workers because they did not posses Thai citizenship. Therefore, as they were illegal laborers, they received wages below the legal minimum wage and faced the risk of being prosecuted as an illegal alien immigrant. Moreover, people who were legal Thai citizens now could become village leaders, the owners of the production factors and commercial agricultural producers or working in skilled occupations more easily. In the meantime, other Shan people became a minority group who were governed by outsiders, often had to work outside the village in unskilled occupations, or had to rely on agriculture to make a living. As for the hill tribe people, they became a labour force hired in the village or the neighborhood, receiving low wages.

This phenomenon pointed out the shifts in Piang Luang village where there were a variety of social classes as well as a complex division of labour, which was different from the period before Thai state control. At that time Piang Luang village was sparsely populated. A Shan elder indicated that the total number of population in Pianluang Village would not have exceeded 300. The number of Shan soldiers who came to establish the army's headquarters in Piang Luang village could not be precisely specified but it can be speculated that there were probably around 10000 soldiers.

Since the village only had few inhabitants, most of the villagers were familiar with each other or were relatives. Also, most of the population was comprised of common Shan villagers, soldiers and monks. As for hill tribe people who were not Shan, they mostly lived in remote areas away from the village and did not play an important role in Piang Luang village. Moreover, most of the villagers were not much different from one another in terms of economy, family income and occupational status. Therefore, there was only a small gap between social classes in the village in the period prior to 1976. The social

classes of groups of people in the village before the state took control of it could be categorized as follows: monks and Shan soldiers as well as their relatives belonged to the upper class. Merchants and farmers were in the middle class, and hill tribe people belonged to the lower class. The entrance of the Thai state turned the village into a place with a variety of social classes as well as a complex division of labour as seen from the information given by the Shan villagers of Piang luang:

> "As the Thai state entered, most of the village leaders had to have Thai citizenship. And we, Shan people, are then governed by the Thai state. And the Shan people have a wider range of work. Some secretly went to work outside the village while some still rely on agriculture as before, but it's just for a living though. There are also many families that still rely on making a living from non-wood forest products like they were originally doing. But they have to be careful not to let the State officials know as they could be arrested. We find non-wood forest products in the National Park about 3-4 kilometers away from the village, spending about 2-3 hours a day, during March to December. But October is the best. The products gathered from the forest include species of wild mushrooms, vegetables, and bamboo shoots. Making a living from non-wood forest products is still necessary for our survival. We were gathering forest products from the park long before the State declared the area as a National Park. Some villagers quit the woods to work in the city."

(Interview with Villager in Piang Luang village, November 17, 2009)

Figure 5.4   Banners that show control of the areas, which demonstrate that these particular areas are controlled by the State's sectors. These banners have appeared together with the modern governmental administration from 1976 onwards. They also indicate the clarity of the Thai state's territory, which shows the Thai state's sovereignty over the areas.

Source : Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
│     Provinces or "Changwat"         │
├─────────────────────────────────────┤
│            Governor                 │
└─────────────────────────────────────┘
                  │
  ┌───────────────────────────────────────┐
  │       Districts or "Amphur"           │
  ├───────────────────────────────────────┤
  │   District head or "Nai  Amphur"      │
  └───────────────────────────────────────┘
                  │
 ┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
 │          Commune or Tambon              │
 ├─────────────────────────────────────────┤
 │        Headman or Kamnan                │
 └─────────────────────────────────────────┘
                  │
      ┌─────────────────────────┐
      │        Village          │
      ├─────────────────────────┤
      │ The  Village Headman or │
      │      "Phuyaiban".       │
      └─────────────────────────┘
```
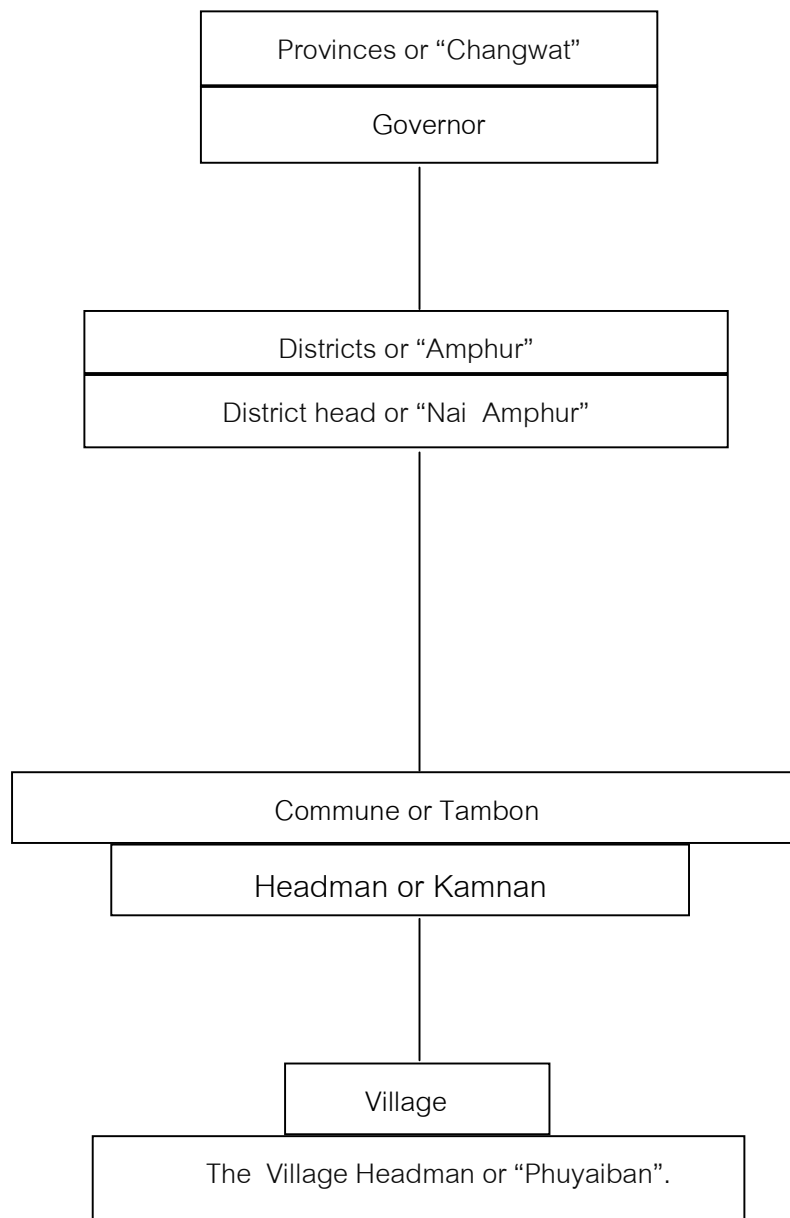
Figure 5.5 The modern administration

Source : Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

113

Figure 5.6   Inspection office that examines people who leave and enter Piang Luang village, which shows the State's power over the area which has gradually appeared since 1976.

Source : Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

3) The control of people

Thailand began to transform into a modern nation state in the early 19th century and this implied the notion that the Thai state all people living within the territory should have citizenship. This was in order for all to hold a clear nationality and identify themselves as a member of the Nation State. The fact that people living within the territory should have a clear nationality was inked to the idea that a modern nation state should socio-culturally homogeneous.

Before the 20th century, the main purpose of controlling the inhabitants of the country was to gain a supply of manpower for construction work, agricultural production or military tasks during wartime regardless of their ethnicity or language. The state's major interest was to gather people who could serve the state as laborers only. For this reason, the control of citizens by the Thai state before the 20th century had an emphasis on the recruitment of people to become the government's laborers. Also, for this reason, before the 20th century, the authority who conducted the survey of people in the Thai state did not pay attention to certain details like different ethnic groups and languages. Furthermore, during the period, the Thai state did not have a definition and classification of Thai people or Thai citizenship. Later in the 20th century, however, the Thai state started changing its policy from controlling the inhabitants to secure a labour supply to that of differentiating between citizens and aliens. This was because changing to the modern nation state required a definition and classification of Thai people or Thai citizenship. In cases

where some people were not Thai citizens, they could not live in the state's territory. As a result, the state had to change its policy of manpower control.

About 1909 to 1911,the Thai state begun to survey the number of people, ethnicity, and spoken languages of people living in Thailand. The survey was conducted to find out how many ethnic groups were living in the territory, how different these groups were culturally and socially, and how many people there were. The results of the survey revealed that the total population of Thailand at that time was 8.1 million people (Promote Prasartkul, 2009). Among them, they were people of diverse languages, religions, beliefs, and physical traits, so that the Thai state had to specify the types of people that were Thai Nation state citizenship. This was why the Thai Nation State announced the Nationality Act B.E. 2456 (1913) on the 10th date of April 1913. This law can be considered as the starting point for Thailand in demanding that all people residing within the borders of the Thai Nation State shall bear the legal status of Thai citizens and hold Thai nationality, otherwise they were unable to reside in Thailand. The enforcement of the Nationality Act B.E. 2456 (1913) intensified the control of the people by the Thai Nation State. The State had a picture of who was Thai so that they could reside within the borderlines and territory of the Thai Nation State. Those who were not Thai would be strictly controlled by the State. The Nationality Act B.E. 2456 (1913) was the first effort of the state to set criteria for the definition and classification of Thai people or Thai citizenship. Before 1913 there was no such nationality law and Thai citizenship was not as clear as well as there being no classification criteria (Kritaya Archavanitkul,2011).

People who were considered to be Thai or Thai citizens must be accepted by the Thai state as well must be qualified according to Thai national law, which stated that a Thai citizen must be born from a Thai father or a Thai mother or be born in Thailand, and people who were born in Thailand but whose parents were not Thais had no right to be Thais. Those who did not have such qualities were considered aliens. In the case that an alien wished to become a Thai citizen and get a card identifying their personal legal status in the form of a Thai identity card, they must be an adult, well able to adjust themselves to blending into Thai society and the country's culture as well as offer a contribution to the nation. Also, an alien who was married to a Thai may send a request to the Thai authority in order to apply for Thai citizenship (Naturalization Act Ror Sor 130 (1911). These criteria were stated in the Thai Nationality Act.

Thus, people who were residing within the territory of the Thai Nation State and were not of Thai nationality were classified as ethnic groups in terms of minority groups or hill tribes. In 1943, the state's

control over the population was further intensified since all Thai's were to have a card identifying the personal legal status, namely the Thai identity card. Non-Thai people were also obliged to have an identity card marked with a special color identifying their personal legal status by the type of colored card they held. The people's legal status could now be controlled much easier by the Thai state. In 1952, the Thai state began to control the movement of people by regulating the law on civil registration, which was the law for recording births, deaths, and changing the residence of all the Thai population (Kritaya Archavanitkul, 2011). These practices conducted by the State increased the tangibility of being Thai. It made it clearer that being Thai meant holding Thai nationality and having to have a card identifying the personal legal status in the form of a Thai identity card. This was different from earlier times when being Thai was ambiguous and unclear, Thai consciousness resulted from cultural aspects, including languages, believes, and norms only (Kritaya Archavanitkul, 2011). From this perspective, it is apparent that being Thai or a Thai citizen could be created and that the nation was seamlessly superimposed on the state by announcing the Nationality Act B.E. 2456 (1913).

However, there were also people living within the territory of Thailand, who were part of the non-Thai population that entered the kingdom without the normal immigration process. Some people could not prove their nationality as they migrated back and forth across the borderline, from time to time. In 1972, the Thai state began to register people who were not Thai but belonged to ethnic groups, both minority groups and hill tribes, separately. Later in 1983, the Thai state enforced that the ethnic groups, both minority groups and hill tribes, had to hold cards identifying personal legal status in the type of colored cards (Kritaya Archavanitkul, 2011).

With regards to the card identifying the personal legal status in the form of colored cards, it was issued by the Ministry of the Interior to people living in the territory of the Thai Nation State, but not of Thai citizenship, most of them were part of ethnic groups, both minority groups and hill tribes . The cards were provided for their identification and to claim the right to temporarily stay in the kingdom. These people were separated into 19 groups, receiving cards of 19 different colors. Each group received different personal statuses, the right to work and leave the area inhabited according to each colored card (Montri Chongpunpien and Sathien Kokiattrakul, 2004). However, the abovementioned classification impacted upon ethnic groups in Thailand, especially ethnic communities along the Thai-Burma border. This created a clearer difference between being Thai as the core of the nation and being Shan as an ethnic group.

116

The Shan people of Piang Luang village were also forced to have cards that identified their personal legal status in the form of colored cards. These emerged at the same time as for other villages that were situated in the Thai-Burma border region around 1976 approximately (see figure5.6). The process started with a census survey that was conducted by the state, along the Thai-Burma border for the registration and preparation of cards identifying personal legal status, both identity cards and colored cards, as required by law (interview with a villager in Piang Luang village, November 20, 2009).

However, in the beginning the Thai state was flexible and not too strict in handling the issuing of the cards identifying personal legal status. This was because prior to 1976 the Thai state still recognized the importance of the Shan people and other ethnic groups who settled in the Thai-Burma border region as they helped the Thai state combat the threat of communism. As a result, before 1976, the tangibility of being Thai or of Thai citizenship in recognition of the Shan people in Piang Luang village was not clear. So, the Shan people of Piang Luang did not see the need to define and identify themselves as Thai or Shan. This was because expressing themselves as Thai or Shan did not affect their life in any way. When the threat of communism finished, in the late 20th century, the Thai state began to exert a stricter control on the people along the Thai-Burma border The state monitored the movement of all people who entered and left Piang Luang village 24 hours a day and checked their luggage, both from Thailand to Myanmar and vice versa. Also, the Thai state set up regulations regarding the entrance and departure from Piang Luang village, asked every Piang Luang villager to carry out registration of birth, death, immigrants and emigrants, examined the occupations of the villagers carefully as well as conducted a survey of the village's population to see who were or were not Thai citizens according to the Thai Nationality Act. The Thai state now enforced the rule that people living along the Thai-Burma border, including the Shan people of Piang Luang village, should have cards identifying their personal legal status with both identity cards for those who were of Thai nationality and colored cards for those who were not able to identify their nationality (interviews with several villagers in Piang Luang village, November 20, 2009). This could also be considered as an effort of the state to distinguish the minority from the majority populations. Many Shan people who originally resided in the Thai-Burma border region were now identified as belonging to a minority group, or being a stateless person, or nationality less person, because they had no evidence to prove their membership of any state, as seen from the following interview:

117

"In the past, anyone could come and stay in the village without any restrictions. We, the Shan people, were crossing back and forth to see each other on both Thai and Burmese sides. Everyone is of the same group. No card was needed to indicate where your residence is because everyone knows that we are relatives and have been living in this area for a long time. We know that we are not Burmese as what the state understands. But now that the Thai state has entered the village we were told by officials that we are not Thai and if we want to stay in the territory we must have a card indentifying our personal legal status. If we do not hold any cards, we will be sent to the Burmese side. If we are sent there, we don't know what to do because we have been living here for so long. Even more, the state also takes control over our movement and emigration. Right now, it has become so difficult to do anything that we don't want to tell anyone that we're Shan. We feel very uncomfortable to express our Shanness. Now, people don't look at us as Shan people, but they treat us as a minority group, stateless people or nationality less people, just because we don't have any cards identifying our personal legal status like other Thai people do."

(Interview with a Shan elder in Piang Luang village, December 10, 2009)

As most Shan people tended to migrate back and forth over the borderline from time to time, the people of Piang Luang village were severely affected by the new control measures. The Shan people of Piang Luang were mostly unable to prove Thai nationality. Therefore, there were many who were not holding any cards identifying personal legal status at all. Others were holding a card identifying the personal legal status of a colored card type where the state only allows residency in restricted areas. If anyone wanted to leave the designated areas, they had to have a letter of permission with the approval of state officials as a minority group status (interview with District Chief Officer, an official of Thailand Ministry of Interior in the community, December 10, 2009). Many Shan people got only cards of a colored type even though they had been residing in the area for a long time. This was because some of the Shan people were living in the forests on the mountains and was not included in the survey as they did not hear the news of the preparation for issuing the cards identifying personal legal status. Some even failed to perform birth registrations in the civil registration of the Thai state even though they were born in Thailand. However, there was also a portion of Shan people who did not recognize the significance of the cards as enforced by the State. These people therefore decided not to apply for such cards. When they did not hold any

118

cards to identify their personal legal status, a lot lost their rights even though they had already been living in Piang Luang village and its neighborhood for such a long time. In addition, it was also found that some Shan people did not realize the meaning and the rights that they were supposed to receive of holding the cards, these groups of Shan people were, as a result, limited to certain matters as well as the rights to obtain state welfare (interviews with several elders in Piang Luang village, December 10, 2009).

At the moment of writing, the Thai state has made the Shan people realize the difference of possessing or not possessing the cards and how it affects their way of life. This can be seen from the case of a Shan family whose father does not have a card, but the mother and children are of Thai citizenship and hold Thai identity cards. They have faced problems as a result of the population control as described in the interview that follows:

"Our family is in fact of the Shan people who have originally been here since our grandparents' generations. I married and started my family with a person who is Shan like I am. My wife and children have become Thai citizens and have already received Thai nationality. But I have not yet become a Thai citizen so I do not hold Thai nationality. Back when the Thai state arranged the registration to issue the Thai identity cards and to grant Thai nationality to the Shan people in the village, I didn't know nor understand what the identity card was. And I also had no clues about how being of Thai nationality was important as well as not seeing the need for it because my grandparents were able to survive without any identity cards. I realized its importance only when the state officials mentioned that I was an illegal entrant into the village. Right now I am a stateless person and a nationality-less person. It is very difficult to go anywhere or even to go to see a doctor. It seems I am not welcomed by anyone. Even worse, they want me to leave the village or and the Thai border. Where can I go, as my grandparents and I have been living here for so long? Suddenly, an official just came and told us that no cards meant ineligibility to stay."

(Interview with a Shan villager in Piang Luang village, November 29, 2009)

According to the data from the study of Piang Luang village, nowadays, most of the Shan people in the village do not have ID cards to show their legal personal status. As a result, most villagers are regarded as people who were potentially making trouble such as by selling drugs or being involved in the movement against the Burmese government, which might affect the security of the Thai Nation State. With

119

this assumption, the government and the security agencies put an emphasis on the control of the Shan people in Piang Luang village (interviews with several villagers in Piang Luang village, November 29, 2009). This affected the Shan people as it prevented them from access to several rights: the right to education, the right to health care and medical treatment, the right to work for a living, the right to stay in Thailand, freedom of travel, and the right to conduct and legal acts. This can be seen from the information given by a member of hospital staff as follows:

"When they get sick and come to the hospital the Shan people will be treated with the utmost care. But, if they aren't of Thai citizenship status, they will have to pay for the medical expenses. Although some people have been living in Thailand for a long time, if they don't have the Thai ID card, they are required to pay. Most of the Shan people, when they come to see the doctor at the hospital, are trying to cover their Shanness. For example, they will cover their tattoo so no-one can see that they are Shan or try to show that they are Thai in various ways. They just think to themselves that if the hospital knows that they are Shan, they will not get the same service to the extent that Thai people will."

(Interview with Director of Wiang Haeng Hospital, December 24, 2009)

The control of people by forcing all to have the cards identifying personal legal status severely affected the movement of the Shan people was further intensified after 2002. This was because a lot of Shan people emigrated from Myanmar to Thailand to live with their relatives on the Thai border as they had to escape the fighting between the military junta and the minority armed groups. When they emigrated to the Thai border, the Thai state sent them to stay in the temporary refugee camp where they were strictly controlled because they did not have any cards to identify their personal legal status. Later these Shan people would be pushed back to their area of origin in Myanmar. If this was impossible, the Thai state would send them to a third country. Nevertheless, these Shan people recognized that this area was their local residence and their motherland as their Shan ancestors originally settled here. They had relatives scattered all over the region and had been able to cross the border freely in former times. On the other hand, the Thai state understood that the Shan were not originally from this area; instead, they were considered immigrants that entered the kingdom without the normal immigration process (interviews with several elders in Piang Luang village, December 17, 2009). As a result, these Shan people who migrated across the border to live in Piang Luang village held the social status of an illegal immigrant, forcing them to stay in the village as a third-class citizen, lower than the Thai majority and also lower than the Shan with

Thai citizenship and lower than recognized minorities and hill tribes. They also had to live within the village under restrictions of Thai state law. They were not eligible to general rights and were at a disadvantaged position. At the same time, they had to strictly comply with the commands of the Thai state officials in exchange for the right to stay in the country. At present, the Thai state is even stricter in its efforts to control the people in Piang Luang village. The State considers this area as critical for the security of the country, fearing crime and drug problems. To combat this the Thai state sent officials from several agencies to supervise and control the Shan people in the village. In addition, martial law was declared to increase the number of police and to establish special agencies in the village and the border region. (Interview with formal community leader (Village Headman), March 9, 2009).

Furthermore, the cards identifying personal legal status affected the Shan students of Piang Luang village as well. When students had to continue their education at upper secondary level, they could not go to school in the village as the school only offers education up to lower secondary education. Thefore, they had to leave the village to go to school. Since there were regulations restricting this movement, the Shan students could not pursue education higher than that of lower secondary level (interview with Director of Piang Luang School in Piang Luang village, December 10, 2009).
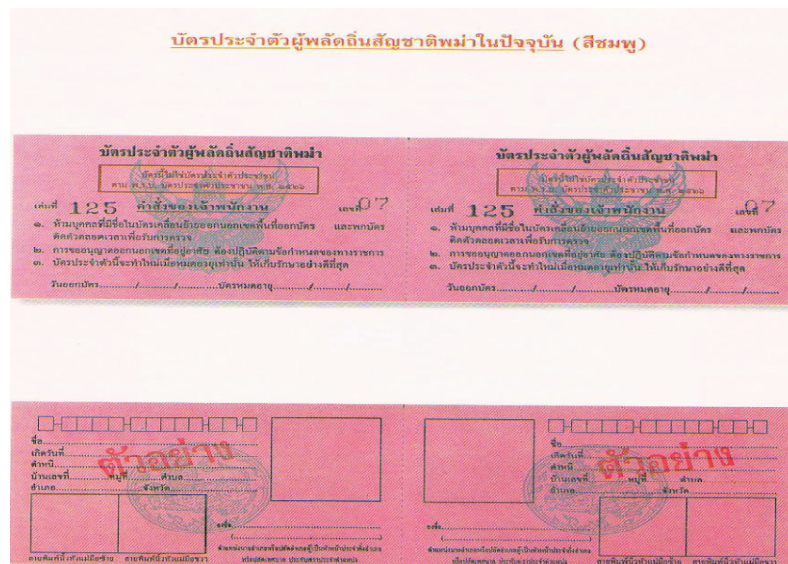
Figure 5.7 Cards that show the legal personal status which demonstrate the different types of settlement inside the Thai periphery that the Thai state uses to control the citizens, which is continually developed from the Nationality Act B.E.2456 (1913). These cards have become the State's tool to control citizens.

Source: Department of Provincial Administration, Ministry of Interior

121

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│      The definition and classification of people in Thailand    │
│          (The cards identifying personal legal status)          │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
        ┌──────────────────────┴──────────────────────┐
┌───────────────────────────┐      ┌───────────────────────────┐
│ Thai citizens/the Thai     │      │ Ethnic groups/the colored │
│ identity card              │      │ card                       │
└───────────────────────────┘      └───────────────────────────┘
                                ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
```

Minority groups:

The inhabitants of plains lower than 4,000 feet, and most of them were ethnic groups who had their own army with the objective of fighting for freedom for their own ethnic groups, including Shan, Palaung, Tonsu, Tai Lue, Haw, Khmer, Chinese, Burman, Mon, and Laotian

Hill tribes:

The ethnic groups in regions higher than 4,000 feet above sea level is categorized as hill tribes, including the Karen, Hmong/Meo, Mien, Akha, Lahu, Lisu, Lua, Htin, Khmu, and Mlabri.

Figure 5.8 The control of people

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi, 2010

5.1.2 The construction of Thainess.

The construction of Thainess, in the form of national consciousness and identification, only began in the 20th century. The creation of national consciousness was the state's attempt to spread its abstract ideology "Nation, Religion and King," which was created during the period of King Rama 6, or between 1910-1925, by adjusting the British slogan "God, King and Country" so that Thai people could mutually perceive and understand it through symbols that were defined by the state.

The creation of national consciousness and identity involved the transformation of Thai cultural traits, who were the country's majority of people, into symbols of the national identity. The construction of a national identity started during the period of Chom Phon Pibulsonggram's government between 1938-1944 as a result of the declaration of the Cultural Mandate or the State Decrees that defined the identity, tradition and culture of people in the Nation State with the same universal characteristics. As the Cultural Mandates issued between 1939 and 1942 by the government of Field Marshal Plaeck Pibulsonggram during his first

period as Prime Minister. The mandates aimed to create a uniform and "civilized" Thai culture and were a series of 12 edicts.

During this period, the government also set up important national days as public holidays. On these important occasions, the state would organize a variety of activities to promote Thai culture. It can be noted that none of these important days (see end note 13) was connected with other ethnic groups, which evidently reflected the Thai Nation State's effort in creating the nation's social and cultural unity. Efforts of the state to bring all the diverse peoples living within the appropriate and obvious political boundaries of Thailand under the authority of the central government in Bangkok by emphasizing a borderline state, state territory and citizenship and forming cultural unity by considering the culture of the central region as the main culture of the nation.

The construction of Thainess can be observed from the attempts of the State to designate the use of symbols that represent Thainess as those of the nation state. These included decorating national flags at premises, singing the national anthem and raising the national flag (see end note 14), closing offices on national holidays, promoting supposedly national traditions and customs, as well as encouraging public schools to instill students with the royalty to the nation state's ideology, covering "the Nation, Religion, and Monarchy". This could be seen all over Thailand. In Piang Luang village the the construction of Thainess was attempted by the State, since 1976. This resulted in the clearer recognition of Thai consciousness and identity among the Shan people in the village whereas before the perception of Thainess among the Shan people were truly ambiguous and unclear.

1) The creation of Thai national consciousness

The spreading of national consciousness in Piang Luang village was carried out by the state by emphasizing the symbols that demonstrate Thainess. The aim was to promote the consciousness of dwelling in Thai territory among the Shan people in Piang Luang village. Although most of them were not Thai citizens, they had to abide by the same rules as other Thais, which were to adhere to the nation, religion, and monarchy. The creation of a national consciousness was considered necessary to prevent any threat to the security of the state by people with other allegiances.

The symbols representing Thainess such as the national flag, the king's photo, the king's royal emblem, education provision, school curriculum, and the atmosphere of Ban Piang Luang School were employed by the state as a tool to create a national consciousness in Piang Luang village. The state aimed to give the Shan people, as well as other Thai people, an opportunity to see a concrete image of

123

Thainess and to realize that the security of the Thai state was identical with the security of the Nation, Religion, and Monarchy. Furthermore, as long as the state could preserve the Nation, Religion, and Monarchy, the Thai Nation State was able to continue to exist. In addition, the state was trying to infuse these concepts into the Shan people of Piang Luang village in order for everyone to recognize the Thai state as an old state that had a long history as well as prosperity and civilization in arts and cultures. Moreover, every person who was dwelling within the borders of Thailand, no matter who they were, had to dedicate everything in order to maintain the independence of the Thai Nation State as well as to work for its prosperity (interview with Director of Ban Piang Luang School in Piang Luang village, December 10, 2009).

With these goals in mind, state agencies at Piang Luang village were founded to try to promote these symbols of Thainess. This was conducted alongside statements that attempted to infuse the national consciousness by decorating important premises at the village and special occasions were arranged by the state in order to impart national consciousness in the Shan people. This can be seen from several campaigning statements generally found in the public areas of Piang Luang village, in the traditional marching parades of the village festivals that were held constantly every month, and on the radio and television that was broadcasted by the state all over the village. Pictures of the head of the nation and the king's royal emblem flag were shown in public areas, in television, during events, and exhibitions for special occasions, in order to demonstrate the significance of H.M. the King in developing the country as well as his to his subjects. The state derived the capabilities of the king from the special royal traits such as immense knowledge and ability. The king was depicted as the spiritual center of affection and harmony of all Thai people. The state aimed to shape the feeling of all people to be closely related to the king. As a result all Thais should be proud of the king as their royal representative. Moreover, the national consciousness was repeatedly infused by the state every morning and evening, daily at 8.00 am and 6.00 pm. The state tried to persuade the Piang Luang villagers to join to express a common national consciousness in standing to pay respect to the flag raising (see figure 5.7). When the Shan people heard the invitation, no matter what they were doing, such as doing errands or other group activities in the village, they would halt the noisy activities and stand still to respect the national flag and anthem. When the song faded off, they would then resume their activities. The persuading prologue of the national anthem broadcasted through the radio all over the village was as follows:

"The Thai national anthem is the symbol of Thainess. Let us be united in mind and spirits to respect the national flag, with pride of the nation's independence and the sacrifices of Thai ancestors."

FM.96.5, 2010

In creating the national consciousness, the state did not use only symbols that represented the symbols of being Thai, but also employed schools as a key mechanism. Education was considered to be the most important institution to foster the development of national consciousness. Therefore, the state stipulated, in 1921, that all children from 7 – 16 years of age had to go to school. The state also took control of the education by provisioning the schools and controlling the curriculum and course books. These had to be in the same format throughout the country. Provisions, curriculum, and course books had to receive permission and approval from the Ministry of Education prior to use in schools. This can be observed from the covers of school course books where the letter of permission was always evidently printed. Thus the educational system could be effortlessly used in the attempt to spread national consciousness among children and youths.

These general remarks also apply to Ban Piang Luang School. Students, as elsewhere, had to be loyal and abide by the state ideology praising the Nation, Religion, and Monarchy. Ban Piang Luang School provided basic education from early childhood, primary, to lower secondary levels. Most students were Shan. The education administration, curriculum, and course books at Ban Piang Luang School were also strictly supervised by the Ministry of Education, under the National Education Act B.E. 2542 (1999). As a result, campus atmosphere of Ban Piang Luang School had to comply with the state. The course books that the Shan students used in learning had to be approved by the state and had to be in Thai only (see end note 15). There were no Shan or other local languages found in the course books. The result was that the use of Shan language was dramatically reduced among the Shan students who instead turned to using Thai (see end note16).The Shan students believed that the use of Thai indicated that they were well-educated people. Accordingly, the errors in using Thai vocabulary were considered shameful, embarrassing, and uneducated, too (interview with Director of Ban Piang Luang School in Piang Luang village, December 7, 2009).

The aim of fostering the national consciousness was clearly stated in the school's principles. The school also aimed to support the state's ideology and aimed at making all students worthy of the symbols of being Thai and to abide by the Constitutional Monarchy system. In addition, the course

books used for the learning and teaching of the Life Experience subject for all grades at Ban Piang Luang School focused on nourishing the students with a common recognition of the elements that constituted the Thai Nation State. For example, the elements that built the Thai Nation State consisted of the fixed political boundaries by emphasizing the borderline state, state territory, and citizenship as well as having the identification of Thai state and consciousness.

It was also stated that the Thai Nation State shall be united and that the Thai Nation State shall maintain its independence. Moreover, the contents in the course books also presented the role of past kings as well as ancestors who sacrificed blood and flesh to protect the nation's sovereignty, which was the value that every citizen shall preserve. Being a nation meant having a fixed territory, having inhabitants, and possessing a particular culture. There were also parts referring to the stories of the kings who had capability, fairness, and affection for the country (Thawathchai, 2008, p.10).

These contents were all the efforts of the Thai state to make Thainess tangible and to prove the greatness of the Thai Nation and of Thai people who were able to form the state. This was expected to gradually motivate the students to appreciate and worship the Nation, Religion, and Monarchy, which were the state's ideology (the Basic Education Core Curriculum B.E. 2551 (2008). This could be seen from the information given by a teacher of Social Studies teaching Shan students at Ban Piang Luang School, as follows:

"All students at Ban Piang Luang School have the role of maintaining the Nation, Religion, and Monarchy to stay prosperous. The king has a role as the head of the nation. And the Thai Nation is grateful to the kings because they were involved in warfare to preserve the sovereign independence against outside enemies. Also they are the center of the mind and spirits of all people in the nation."

(Interview with a teacher at Ban Piang Luang School, December 13, 2009)

"Thailand is a country with a Constitutional Monarchy system. H.M. the King is the center of the mind and spirits of Thai people. His significant royal activities include agriculture development, water source management, arable land provision, and occupation promotion. In terms of religion, he is a decent practitioner of all religions and allows his subjects to freely practice any religion as they wish. In terms of education, he is fully supporting as he grants his royal sponsorships to excellent students who are in need. In

terms of public health, he also encourages the public health service to be accessible to the villages adequately."

(Interview with a teacher at Ban Piang Luang School, December 13, 2009)

The on-campus atmosphere was another aspect that reflected the role that the school played in the national consciousness creation among students. This could be observed from the decorations found at Ban Piang Luang School, using symbols that represent the state's ideology including worshiping the Nation, Religion, and Monarchy (see figure 5.8-5.13). National flags, royal emblems, and photos were generally found in classrooms, the auditorium, and the flag pole yard. It was also found that the flag raising ceremony was another method that Ban Piang Luang School used to create national consciousness. Ceremonies were held in the morning before the study timetable starts, at 08.00 am, daily. This was a compulsory activity that every student had to practice following the designed procedures. The procedures covered: assemble to line up; sing the national anthem; raise the flag; chant Buddhism hymns; sing the royal anthem; and take the student's oath. The objective of this ceremony was to commemorate the Nation, Religion and Monarchy. These activities resembled "the rite" to replicate national consciousness among students. This can be observed from the student's oath that is taken loudly and simultaneously by all students at Ban Piang Luang School in the flag pole yard, daily before scattering to their classrooms:

"We, Thais, are loyal and grateful to the Nation, the Religion, and the Monarchy. We, students, shall behave under the rules and disciplines of the school. We, students, shall not behave in such a way as to cause distress to self and others."

(Interview with the students of Ban Piang Luang School, December 13, 2009)

Therefore, it may be concluded that the national consciousness in Piang Luang village was created by the state in order for the locals to recognize that they were living in the same community and the same nation with a single culture and adhering to the same ideology (cf. Anderson, 1983).

127

Figure 5.9 Singing of national anthem and the flag ceremony of students from Baan Piang Luang School before the start of classes each day have become part of the rituals that express national consciousness in the student's daily life. Also, the singing of national anthem and the flag ceremony have become the state's machine for political socialization to create national consciousness among children and youths.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

 Figure 5.10 Symbols that indicate the state's ideologies, which are the nation, the religion and the royal family in Baan Piang Luang School. Every morning before class and in the evening after school, the students have to stand in rows in front of these symbols, which indicates the implantation of consciousness among the students which makes them continually perceive and accept the state's ideologies.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

Figure 5.11 Organization of the state's activities with the use of symbols that indicate the Thai Nation State being, for example, the flag ceremony, the decoration of Thai flags, the organization of ceremonies to pay respect to the King, the decoration of the King's logos or flags to emphasize national consciousness among citizens.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

Figure 5.12 The class-room of a young children's development center in Piang Luang village is decorated with Thai flags, Buddha statues and the image of the King, which shows the emphasis on the importance of the national identity.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

129

Figure 5.13 Shan students drinking milk which was distributed by the state. It can be seen that there is a picture of students holding Thai flags on the milk cartons, which reflects the Thai state's implantation of national identity among children.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

Figure 5.14 Thai flags and images of the King have been installed and decorated all over the village to emphasize the concreteness of the Thai Nation, which allow people to perceive that this place belongs to the Thai Nation State's territory and that the Shan people of Piang Luang village have to be loyal to the state.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

บุคคลที่จะขอลงรายการสัญชาติไทยในทะเบียนบ้าน
ให้มาร่วมปลูกป่าเฉลิมพระเกียรติ
ในวันที่ 8 สิงหาคม 2551 เวลา 08.30 น.
บุคคลที่เข้าร่วมกิจกรรมจะได้รับการพิจารณาอนุมัติ
เป็นการพิเศษ
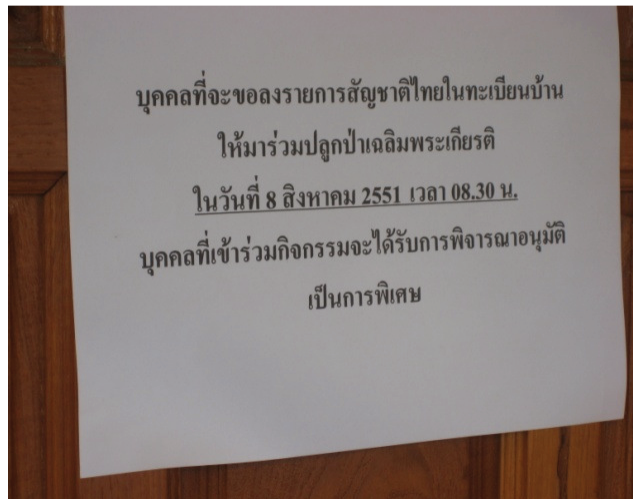
Figure 5.15 A poster in a governmental sector inviting the Shan people in Piang Luang village to reforest to honor the King, which was an activity that showed an attempt to create national consciousness.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

2) The creation of Thai national identity

The Thai tried to develop national identity in the border area not before 1976. The Shan were identified by the state as different from Thai people and classified as a Burmese minority group, which was therefore alien to Thailand. This image of the Shan implied that they were an ethnic group that might be dangerous to state security, for example by being involved in drug trafficking and deforestation (interview with Assistant District Chief Officer, an officer of Ministry of Interior, August 21, 2009). This image did not correspond with reality but were considered as a way to create an us and a them attitude. Thus, it became legitimate for the state to emphasize the identification of Thai people so that it could become equivalent to the national identity. Thus, the Shan and other ethnic distinctions became something that should not be supported and promoted. Furthermore, the image of the minority people as causing problems became another legitimation for their strict control by the state. This control would also be acceptable to as the public which began to perceive the Shan and minority groups with a negative attitude. This construction brightened the Thai identification, which deserved more recognition and priority to be the national identity. This was emphasized by the Ministry of Interior issuing regulations that identified the Shan people as illegal Burmese immigrants (Pornpimol Trichote, 2005). In fact, the state's identification of the Shan as illegal entrants from Burma was not consistent with the self-identification of the Shan people. They were aware and conscious that they were not Burmese, but Shan (interviews with several villagers in Piang Luang village, November 29, 2009). Most importantly, the Shan people were dwelling in the Thai-Burma border region long before the arrival of the state. As a result from the Thai state identifying the Shan

people as of Burmese nationality, very few Thai people understood that Shan people and Burmese people were not the same ethnic group. In fact the Shan people were merely one of the many ethnic groups who simply settled in the Burmese border and they were crossing the Burmese border back and forth between Thailand and Myanmar. The Thai state erroneously subsumed the Shan people to the Burmese citizenship. This misunderstanding was reflected in the viewpoints of a Shan villager of Piang Luang as follows:

> *"We, Shan people, have our own language, books, culture, tradition, and ethnic consciousness, which are absolutely different from the citizens of Myanmar. We consider that Shan is a race, but the state is trying to make us Burmese or a "minority group." We are proud to have the greatest civilizations in the past and the existence of the Kingdom of Shan. Shan people have to fight for their rights to self-government with Myanmar. We are trying to deny the Burmeseness that many people want us to be. We are Shan, not Burmese. And we desire not to be called "Burmese." And as we are misunderstood to be a Burmese or minority group, our identity was not accepted and as well respected as having a Thai identity, the national identity."*

(Interview with The villager in Piang Luang village, November 29, 2009)

As a result of the stereotypical identification of the Shan people by the Thai state as Burmese and potential dangerous aliens many Thai people and government officials developed negative attitudes towards them. Shan were seen as harmful to the security of the state and related to the drug trade, for example, the production and distribution of opium. However, in fact, there was no evidence that the Shan people in Piang Luang village cultivated opium (interview superintendent of Tambon Piang Luang police station, November 9, 2009).

Moreover, the Shan people were thought to be responsible for deforestation. The Thai state stereotypically assumed that the Shans' agricultural production was based on shifting cultivation. They considered them to be the same as the hill tribes that resided in the high-level areas with widen cultivation who had low levels of economic development and who destroyed natural resources including forests, lands and rivers. However, the Shan people in Piang Luang village were residents of the wetlands and had been practicing rice cultivation and living their lives in the flat land community for a long time (interview with Chief Executive of the Piang Luang Sub district Administrative Organization, November 15, 2009).

Thus, the Shan people were excluded from the Thai society. They had a different social status from Thai people and could not freely show their identity. The negative identification and attitudes towards the Shan people from the Thai state resulted in Thai people's prejudices and the discrimination of the villagers based on the stereotypes which caused ethnocentrism. There were many cases of ethnocentrism that the Shan people had to face. For example, some Shan children could not study in the state's schools partly because some teachers refused to accept these children, fearing that they may cause problems such as bringing contagious diseases or selling and taking drugs in the schools. Another frequently witnessed case was that when any Shan took the same bus as Thais. If that bus had to go past a check point, and a policeman saw a person that resembled a Shan, the police officer would ask that person for an ID card and investigate him in detail. In contrast, other Thai people who took the same bus would not be asked for ID cards or be investigated. Also, regarding the public services provided by the state's sectors, it was always found that the state's officials would treat Thai people first. Shan people would be serviced after. In the case that Shan people went to find a job in the town of Chiang Mai, most of them did not receive the same wages as Thais even though they had an equal educational status. It was discovered that the wages that most of the Shan people earned, either daily or monthly, were lower than those of Thais as employers refused to pay them the minimum wages that had been set up by the state. In such cases, the Shan people had to accept it as they needed to earn a living. From the interviews with most of the Shan people who were employees, they specified in the same way that they did not gain the same wages as Thais since their employers often held prejudices that they were from a minority, unlike Thais, and that they may get inspected by the state's officials if they hired a Shan.

Recently, it was discovered that the negative identification and attitudes towards the Shan people of the Thai state had become guidelines for the security sectors and government officials to strictly control the Shan people in every respect, which people in general agreed since they perceived that this group of people may cause problems to the state. This strict treatment and discrimination profoundly affected the way of life of the Shan people. This markedly differed from the situation before 1976 when the state had not yet entered the village, as a Shan at Piang Luang village points out:

> *"After 1976, it has been difficult for us Shan people to do anything because we*
> *have become a minority group with a negative image. When thinking about the Shan*
> *people, people in general often see us as a minority group who is involved in the drug*
> *trade, illegal entrance or deforestation, which we want to say, is not true. Those*

misunderstandings cause us to have a difficult way of living with a lack of sympathy from people in general. We have made an attempt to make people understand us in the right way by presenting our positive identification to them."

(Interview with The villager in Piang Luang village, November 29, 2009)

The alienation and the negative identification of the Shan people not only created the legitimation for the government to strictly control the Shan people, but also allowed the state to emphasize the importance of the cultural traits of Thais. This was done by supporting, encouraging and distributing Thai cultural traits in the same manner over all areas. These operations can be seen from the support of the state in terms of funds, items and a great number of personnel for organizing activities on national important days, for example, the King's and the Queen's Birthdays, Chakri Day and Coronation Day. On these occasions, the state set up campaigns to distribute Thai culture like Thai language, Thai traditions, Thai costumes and performances in order to make villagers understand and recognize Thai cultural traits as the national identity and culture. All these operations aimed to reduce the importance of the cultures of ethnic groups and attempted to replace them with Thai cultures by emphasizing its importance. As a result, Thai cultural traits were gradually established in the population until it finally became the identity of the Thai Nation. Also, Thai cultural traits indicated and emphasized the concrete image of the national identity. Such had never happened in Piang Luang village before 1976, when the national identity was somewhat ambiguous in the perception of the Shan people. Later, the emphasis on the importance of the Thai cultural traits made the villagers start to comprehend that the national identity was made up of Thai cultural traits, which included traditions, costumes, performances and language (see figure 5.14, 5.15, 5.16). They also began to see a clear difference between people the Shan, bearers of a minority culture, and Thai people who had a national identification as majority. These differences allowed the Shan people and the state to define and identify whether people were Thai or Shan.

Apart from the emphasis on the importance of the Thai cultural traits already mentioned Thai traditional important days were considered to be public holidays. On these days, the state would support the government sectors in the village, for example, schools and sub-district administration organizations, to organize Thai traditional performances or ceremonies in the same way as Thai people did. Also, the village was decorated in the same way that was generally witnessed in other Thai villages in the center of Thailand. The state's effort to build up the concrete Thai nation's identity was shown from the perspective of a Shan villager in Piang Luang village as follows:

134

"We are the Shan people and have a different identity from Thai culture. We understand that being Thai is to speak, read and write Thai language, to participate in Thai traditional important days and to express acceptance of the symbols of the Thai Nation State like decorating with Thai flags, singing the Thai national anthem or posting the image of the King. Even though we cannot become Thais, we still understand that being Thai is different from people from other nations. When we see Thai culture, the organization of ceremonies in a Thai way, the name of Thailand, ID cards that show Thai nationality, the Thai flag and the use of Thai language, we know immediately about Thai traditions. However, we think that one day the Shan people may have a chance to express our own identity as well."

(Interview with a Shan elder in Piangluang Village, December 5, 2009)

The information presented above demonstrated that the state had created the national identity by alienating the Shan and other minority people in order to emphasize the difference between being Thai and them. The state privileged Thai cultural traits thereby alienating other cultures which thus became minority cultures. In many circumstances, the Shan people did not dare to express their Shan identification freely in public. They needed to hide their ethnicity it since they had no social space to express it. For this reason, they tried to self-adjust and/or resist the model images created by the state to show that they were not a group that caused problems to the Thai state.

Figure 5.16 A ceremony to begin the construction of the district's governmental office, which is the same kind of ceremony that is practiced by Thai people, was applied in Piang Luang village. None of these processes was carried out in the traditional Shan way despite the fact that the Shan people made up the majority of people in this village. This ceremony demonstrated the attempt to encourage and distribute Thai culture which aimed to replace the Shan consciousness with Thai consciousness.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

135

Figure 5.17 Thai performances were shown in ceremonies that the state organized in the Shan community. In these events, none of the Shan performances were carried out, which indicated the presentation of the central Thai identity.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

Figure 5.18 Shan students came back from school. All of them had to wear student's uniforms which were set up by the state in the same pattern all over the country, which reflected the construction of socio-cultural unity regardless of the identity of the Shan community.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

5.2   Interaction of Shan People in Piang Luang village with the Thai state

The establishment of a social and cultural unity which allowed the national territory, space, citizens, identity and consciousness to be clearly fixed simultaneously with the creation of the imaged nation caused the Shan people to react by self-adjusting and resisting by different means, which resulted in various changes in ethnic identification and categorization. This phenomenon shows that ethnic

identification is not necessarily fixed. Instead, it is created by the social interaction among the Shan people themselves or between the Shan people and the state.

Since Piang Luang village became under the Thai state's power, the villagers had faced the government's attempts to create social and cultural unity. This attempt caused the Shan people to feel that their status in the village had been changed from being a majority before 1976, into being a minority inside the boundary of the Nation State as well as being viewed as illegal immigrants, destroyers of natural resources, stateless people and the 'others' in Thai society. They had to suffer the suppression of their ethnic consciousness and, at the same time, to realize their different social status from Thai citizens and some Shan did not hold Thai citizenship too. The Shan people in Piang Luang village chose not to go against the state's power or try to show political expressions by using violence. Instead, they adapted themselves to resemble Thai people. In other words, their identification constantly changed depending on the groups of people they interacted with, whether they were in the same group or outside the group. If they were in the same group, they would express themselves as the Shan people by using the Shan symbol. On the contrary, if they were in Thai society, they would act as Thais and used implied symbols as 'Thainess'. This was because they wanted to maintain their ethnicity without openly challenging the state.

Thus, the study of the Shan people in Piang Luang village clearly demonstrates that the control of borderlines, areas and citizens as well as the creation of a national identity and national consciousness caused the Shan people to self-adjust and resist. At the same time, the Shan people used cultural traits, symbols or phenotypic markers to distinguish themselves from others and to draw a dividing line. This confirms that being a Shan is not something that is fixed or acquired at birth. It is definitely not the result of shared genes, cultural sameness, phenotype, family line or lineage, but it is a continual process which has been gradually created by social procedures by using the relationship between relatives and some selected cultural aspects. A good example is when the villagers adopted the Poi Sang Long ceremony, invented traditions, King Ka Ra dance, the ceremony of remembrance for important figures of the Shan people, the worship of the village's holy spirits, the use of symbols that stand for the Nation State, the use of Thai cultural traits, the use of the Thai language, the use of Shan textbooks and dressing and culture as tools that differentiated the Shan from other ethnic groups. This cultural selection has a dynamic quality which varies in different situations, which can be clearly seen from the interaction with the Thai state that began from 1976 onwards. Further details will be described below:

5.2.1 Self-adjustment of the Shan people

The establishment of the power of the Thai state in Piang Luang village significantly affected the Shan's way of life. The Shan reacted by a form of self-adjustment showing Thai identity in their daily lives, adapting Shan cultural symbols to suit the changing situations and inventing traditions. The Shan people had to behave according to the law and the policies that the Thai state had set up, as well as stay under the village administration by leaders that the Thai state had appointed, which was something unfamiliar to them. Under these circumstances, the Shan people began to realize that the open expression of their Shan cultural symbols may not be safe. Also, they became conscious that they may not be accepted by the Thai state and Thai people, which could lead to the loss opportunities and rights that they were allowed from the state such as service of police, clinics, education in schools, including travel through the village.

For this reason, the Shan people in Piang Luang village chose to show themselves to be similar to Thai people and behave in accordance with the policies that the Thai state had set. This self-adjustment, as a result, seemed to result in the Shan people starting to define and categorize themselves to resemble Thai people as an exterior group of people, not the Shan people, and their Shan ethnic boundary was distinctive from the other Shan people. The Shan internalized the adaption to Thai ways to such an extent that they began to consider themselves as Thais and different from other Shan. When considering this aspect, it was apparent that the definition and categorization of the Shan people of Piang Luang village, whether they were Shan or Thai, could always change, and this change was caused by the interaction among the Shan people who belonged to the same group and the interaction with the state representatives that was outside the group. The details are as follows:

1) The expression of the symbols of being Thai in daily life

The expression of the symbols of being Thai in daily life emerged among the Shan people since they tried not to show any particular identification to entirely support or reject any side. Always, they express their Shanness inside their group and occasionally show the symbols of being Thai when they interact with Thai people (see figure 5.17). This phenomenon demonstrates that the Shan people try to make use of both Thai and Shan identification to benefit themselves depending on the occasion and the purposes. Contact with Thai government officials led to the adoption of Thai identification. The Shan people were still afraid of contacting or presenting themselves to government officials, which was probably the result of their lack of knowledge about their basic rights. They still thought that they should not request too

much from the authorities since they feared that this may cause them to be bullied, deprived of justice and even sent out of the Thai periphery back to the Myanmar side. This was because they were not Thais even if they insisted firmly that they had been living in Thailand for longer than half of their lifetime and had children who were born in this country, and that they were emotionally attached to Thailand and wished to die in this land and never wanted to leave. This feeling of fear caused the Shan people not to show their 'Shanness' too much and chose to express more of the symbols of being Thai. This was to demonstrate that the two kinds of people were in fact members of one family with similar languages, cultures, beliefs and traditions, and that they had the same belief in Buddhism and making merit as Thai people. Thus they tried to act as Thais, but stressed their close relationship to the Thai ethnics and their loyalty to the state. They wanted to express that the Shan people in Piang Luang village were not outlanders. On the other hand, they were an ethnic group that had resided in this area for a long time before Thai people. Also, they were not drug dealers who may cause a danger to the security of the State as Thai people and the government officials often understood. Hence, the Shan people tried to make an adjustment by showing the symbols of being Thai in their daily life including listening, speaking, reading and writing in Thai and using Thai names or surnames especially in situations when they had to react to government officials like attending activities that the state organized, which never happened before 1976 (interviews with several villagers in Piang Luang village, November 13, 2009).

Every Shan household in Piang Luang village was decorated with images of the King and the royal family (see figure 5.18). The Shan also participated in the celebration of the King's birthday anniversaries by decorating their houses with Thai flags and the King's portraits in front of their homes. The most obvious expression happened during the Sixtieth Anniversary Celebrations of His Majesty's Accession to the Throne and the Celebrations on the Auspicious Occasion of His Majesty the King's 80th Birthday Anniversary when the villagers chose to present their loyalty as Thai citizens by wearing yellow shirts, the color that Thai people use to express their loyalty to the King. On these special occasions, the Shan people also put on pins that showed the symbol of the celebration, decorated images of the Thai King in many places, paid respect to the Thai King's images in the ceremonies, put on wrist bands that were embedded with messages that praised the nation, religion and royal institutes and decorated Thai flags during important ceremonies, especially when organized and visited by government officials and Thai people in order to show that they were not enemies of the Thai people apart from their Shan identification.

They still remembered their ancestry but they only demonstrated their loyalty as a Shan as was mentioned in the following interview:

> *"The highest person that bonds the Shan spirits together is His Majesty the King. All Shan people have high respect for him. We do not put Thai money with the images of the Thai King in low places, but we will keep it in high places to worship. Therefore, we pay respect to His Majesty the King. All soldiers and the Shan people honor him. In the Shan villages, we put images of the Thai King in frames to worship. All of us Shan people know the Thai King well."*

(Interview with a Informal community leader in Piang Luang village, June 23, 2009)

The expression of the symbols of being Thai of the Shan people in Piang Luang village was also reflected in their efforts to speak Thai for their security of life. Due to the fact that they were a minority in Thailand, and that Thais had built the model image of the Shan people as Myanmar people who caused problems in Thai society, the Shan people, therefore, had to express their Thaieness in order to be accepted by the state's authorities and Thais as ethnic people who did not cause problems to Thai society. The Thai listening, speaking, reading and writing skills were mostly found among children, teenagers and middle-aged Shan while the elderly only understood Thai but could not speak and write it. The Shan children and teenagers learned and understood Thai from schools, while the Shan middle-aged people learned Thai from their occupations and their self-study. When comparing the use of the Thai and Shan languages among the villagers, it was discovered that, most of the time, the Shan language was used to communicate in the family or during Shan cultural activities. However, when the Shan people had to interact with Thai government officials, for example, having their cards checked, passing through the soldiers' checkpoints or contacting governmental sectors, the Shan people always lacked confidence to communicate among themselves in Shan language. Instead, they tried to use the Thai language to express their loyalty to Thailand. This indicates that the Shan people made an attempt to make use of Thai language as a tool to show their loyalty to the Thai state. In some circumstances where they wanted their Shan ethnic identification to be perceived among their own people, the Shan people would use Thai and Shan languages depending on the proper situation such as traditional rituals in the village. Thus, it can be seen that language is another important tool that the Shan people make use of so as to adapt themselves to different situations (interviews with several villagers in Piang Luang village, November 13, 2009).

Additionally, in situations when the villagers had to confront the Thai state's borderline control, such as when entering military or immigration checkpoints, most villagers were afraid of being arrested and sent back to Myanmar. These Shan people, therefore, had to adjust themselves in order not to be noticed by the Thai state's authority. Therefore, they tried to identify themselves as Thais by expressing the symbols of being Thai, Thai cultural traits or Thai cultural symbols depending on the situation. For instance, the Shan might speak Thai instead of Shan and dress like Thais. For Shan ladies and girls, they would cut their long hair and make it short as soon as they entered Thailand (Shan Women's Action Network-SWAN, 2002). Another obvious case was that the Shan students in Piang Luang village changed their first and last names into Thai names to hide their non-Thainess. Also, the Shan students were afraid to tell their friends that they were of Shan ethnicity. All of this was because they felt ashamed and were afraid that other people would not accept them. This induced a process of internal self-identification to change from being Shan into being Thai through the use of Thai symbols.

Besides, it was found that some Shan people in Piang Luang village tried to use Shan clan names and Thai surnames. The fact that the Shan students expressed the symbols of being Thai by singing the Thai national anthem during the flag ceremony every morning, studying in Thai and learning Thai history had positive effects because they would not be radically resisted and pushed from the Thai state since these activities showed the state that the Shan people were loyal to the Thai state.

Nevertheless, Shan people did not always express the symbols of being Thai. Many Shan people in Piang Luang village still showed their Shan identification when they were among their own group and when the situation allowed them to do so. However, when the Shan people interacted with the state's government officials, they expressed loyalty to Thailand and showed the symbols of being Thai by speaking Thai, putting a Thai flag pin on their shirts or wearing a necklace that had the image of the Thai King on it which showed that they were loyal to Thailand. So, it could be said that the villagers were able to carry more than one ethnic identification, both Thai and Shan, and they chose to show either of the identities depending on the situation they were confronted with. Therefore, the expression of Thai identification, which only started after 1976, is being used by the villagers as a tool for their adaptation to safely survive in Thai society without conflict with the Thai state. It also points out that the interaction of the Shan people with the Thai state causes the Shan people to borrow Thai traits to make themselves look like Thais. Ethnic self-definition and self-categorization of the Shan have changed and many try to look as if they were Thais. This evidence clearly confirms that Shanness is non-essential and unstable. It has been

141

created by social procedures depending on the groups of people that the Shan people interact with. Shan people just play the role of being Thai in public but still basically consider themselves as Shan.

Figure 5.19 The Shan people's expression of loyalty to the Thai King by wearing wrist bands that were embedded with the messages that honor the nation, the religion and the royal family on their right wrists.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

 Figure 5.20 The decoration of images of the Thai King and the royal family inside the Shan people's houses.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

2) Adjustment of Shan cultural symbols

The adjustment of Shan cultural symbols to suit the changing situations is another means of demonstrating the self-adjustment of the Shan people in Piang Luang village. Apart from the expression of the symbols of being Thai in daily life as mentioned before, the study has discovered that the purpose of the use of the Poi Sang Long festival and the Kingkara bird dance have changed (see figure 5.19). These have been modified to respond more to the Thai state. In the past, the Poi Sang Long festival and the Kingkara bird dance were considered to be distinctly ethnic and cultural symbols that indicated Shan ethnicity. At present, however, the purposes of the festivals have been adjusted to suit current situations when Shan people have to interact more with the Thai state. This phenomenon confirms that the Shan ethnicity can be modified by social contexts that the Shan ethnic group has had to encounter, and that the group must select to use proper schemes under certain historical conditions during particular periods.

As for the Poi Sang Long festival, it is considered to be a unique festival for the Shan people. It is a Shan cultural symbol that can be generally seen in the Shan communities both in Thailand and Myanmar. Participation in the Poi Sang Long ceremony is the expression of membership in the Shan ethnicity and the collectiveness which appears in the Shan communities in Thailand and Myanmar. Before Piang Luang village came under the Thai state's authority in 1976, the purpose of The Poi Sang Long festival was purely to celebrate the ordination for the Shan youths to become novices or monks in Buddhism without an implication to respond to the state's tourism policy. This festival is considered very important for the Shan people, which can be seen from the fact that they have been organizing this ceremony for a long period of time in almost every Shan community. The celebration always lasts approximately 3 -7 days. The time of the year that they often hold this event is typically from March to May since this is the period when the Shan people are free after their harvest season. It is also the time of schools' annual summer vacation. Shan people who live in other regions always wait to return to their communities to attend the Poi Sang Long ceremony. Even though some of them cannot not come back to participate in the ceremony themselves, they will send money back to make merit for this occasion. The abbot of Wat Fa Wiang In revealed the purpose of the ceremony as follows:

> *"In the past, the organization of the Poi Sang Long ceremony was used to encourage Shan youths to do something useful during their summer vacation by studying Buddhist teachings. These days, however, since the state has come to promote tourism, the purpose of the tradition has changed to place an emphasis inviting tourists to*

143

participate in the Poi Sang Long celebration. We have to respond to the state's policy otherwise it will look as if we are not cooperating with the state."

(Interview with a Abbot Wat Fa Wiang In, Buddhist Temple of Shan in Piang Luang village, December 16, 2010)

Recently, the Shan villagers have adjusted the purpose of the Poi Sang Long festival to match the state's policy of promoting tourism. Moreover, the state has also supported the organization of the ceremony providing funding which became more obvious from around 2001 onwards. It could be seen that the Poi Sang Long festival of Piang Luang village, which was held on April 21-25 2010, featured grand and beautiful processions along the main road around the village. Each procession was decorated with symbols that indicated Thainess, including Thai flags, images of His Majesty the King and banners that were embedded with the messages that showed loyalty to the Thai King as the village headman referred to:

"The organization of the Poi Sang Long ceremony, which is considered to be part of Shan culture, is held each year and is a great success. The ceremony is not only organized to ordinate the youths to become Buddhist monks but also to attract tourists. There are lots of tourists and people who are interested in attending the ceremony, which produces a lot of income for the village. In organizing the event every year, we try to make it grand, beautiful and fun. This unique festival cannot be seen anywhere else except at Piang Luang village. The organization of the event does not only respond to the state's policy to promote tourism but also to inherit our culture."

(Interview with a Village Headman in Piang Luang village, December 11,2009)

In the adjustment of the Poi Sang Long festival to respond to the state's policy to promote tourism, it is also found that Poi Sang Long festival, which used to be simple, has been modified to create a merry and enjoyable atmosphere. For example, the procession of youths who will be ordinate features merry dances. This characteristic creates entertainment and contentment among the participants. The fun atmosphere allows the villagers to relax for a period of time and attracts tourists to attend the ceremony. Besides, the ritual of the Poi Sang Long festival at present aims more to draw attention from tourists rather than to serve religious purposes as before. The costumes, the procession and the celebration each day, reflect the fact that The Poi Sang Long festival has been adjusted from old-fashioned practices to the new

144

festival that presents Shanness in a charming, inviting and exciting style in order to attract tourists and respond to the state's tourism policy.

From the observation of the Poi Sang Long festival which was held in Piang Luang village, it was discovered that the adjustment of Poi Sang Long festival succeeded in attracting a greater number of the Thai state's officials, correspondents and tourists to participate in the Poi Sang Long festival(see figure 5.20). Since there were a lot of people who were mostly not Shan that participated in this event, the villagers had to interact more with outsiders. Also, the fact that so many non-Shan people attended the festival caused the atmosphere to change from how it was around 30 years ago. At that time, only Shan people participated. In the opinion of most of the villagers, the organization of the festival was a great opportunity for them to express themselves as people who followed the Thai state's policies and were not a threat to the state's security, much like other Thais. Such expression caused Poi Sang Long festival to be adjusted in order to respond to the Thai state's policy, which could be seen from the location of the festival, the decoration of the stage and the opening ceremony, etc.

Regarding the location, the festival was organized in Baan Piang Luang School, which belonged to the government sector. The organization of the festival within the state's sector was different from before, when the festival was held inside Wat Piang Luang Temple or Wat Fah Wiang In Temple as it was a long practiced tradition to organize the Poi Sang Long festival in a temple. In the Shan State, this festival was still only held inside a temple. As for the Poi Awk Wa festival, the Poi Wan Khu Maw Lik Tai festival or the Poi Wan Pee Maue Tai festival, the Shan people still organized them inside the Wat Piang Luang Temple and Wat Fah In Temple as before. Regarding the change of location of Poi Sang Long festival, the leader of Piang Luang village explained that it was done to demonstrate the good cooperation between the villagers and the government sector. The fact that most of the villagers cooperated well with the state was one of the things that helped to confirm that they were not harmful to the Thai state's security. Also, by organizing the festival in the school, the villagers made the atmosphere of the festival full of symbols of Thainess, for example, banners in Thai language, Thai flags, images of the Thai King or communication in Thai. Moreover, this festival also featured an exhibition of the state's sectors to distribute news from Thai government agencies to Piang Luang village.

Apart from the above, another facet that never appeared before in Poi Sang Long festival was the setting up of a stage for the opening of the event. This was not seen in Poi Sang Long festival 30 years ago when the whole event was held inside the chapel in front of the Buddha image. At present, however, the stage that was used for the opening ceremony was decorated by banners which gave information on the date, time and location of the festival as well as the list of the state's agencies that sponsored the event in Thai, Shan and English. At the top of the stage, portraits of the King and the Queen of Thailand were installed. Thai flags were also used to decorate the stage. This very much resembled stage decorations carried out by Thai people and also indicated that Piang Luang village was a Thai village under the Thai state's authority.

The opening ceremony of Poi Sang Long festival was another feature which showed the Shan people's attempt to demonstrate their acceptance of the Thai state's power. The opening ceremony of Poi Sang Long festival took place around 11:00 hrs. The leader of Piang Luang village invited the Chiang Mai governor to preside over the event. At the start, the event's representative made a speech, reporting on the organization and the history of the festival. Afterwards, the district chief and the governor hit the gong and released balloons, which symbolized the official opening of the Poi Sang Long festival. The Thai national anthem was played. When the ceremony was over, it was followed by several sets of dancing performances of Thai people from the center and Shan people. The performances on the stage continued until midnight. People began to leave and prepare to come back in the next morning, which was the important day as it was the start of Poi Sang Long festival. The opening of Poi Sang Long festival in such manner was different from 30 years ago when there was no opening ceremony. Also, the invitation of Chiang Mai governor to preside over the event showed the adjustment of the Shan people who accepted the power of the Thai state.

Since there were a lot of Thai government officials who were non-Shan participating in Poi Sang Long festival and the event was sponsored by the budget from Piang Luang Sub-district Administrative Organization, the expression of the Shan symbols had to be reduced in the Poi Sang Long festival. For instance, the colors of the Shan flag, the tiger symbol, the images of the former Shan kings and the Shan flags did not feature in the decoration, which was different from the organization of the Poi Awk Wa festival, the Poi Wan Khu Maw Lik Tai festival, the Poi Wan Pee Maue Tai festival, the ceremonies of remembrance of important people in the Shan history and the ceremony to worship the spirits of the village. In these events, almost all the participants were Shan. Therefore, in the organization of these events, most

146

of the Shan people in Piang Luang village made use of the symbols which indicated Shanness for decoration in several patterns; for example, the use of green, yellow and red which were the colors of the Shan flag and the images of former Shan kings. Also, during the opening ceremony of the Poi Awk Wa festival, the Poi Wan Khu Maw Lik Tai festival ,the Poi Wan Pee Maue Tai festival, the ceremonies of remembrance of important people in the Shan history and the ceremony to worship the spirits of the village. A speech was read that praised the Shan ancestors of which contents involved the importance and glory of the Shan race and Shan ancestors in the Shan language. When the speech was over, every participant stood still to mourn for one minute. After that, an English statement was read. Such expression was not shown in the Poi Sang Long festival in Piang Luang village.

Nevertheless, even though the organization of the poi Sang Long festival in Piang Luang village did not feature the decoration of Shan flags on the stage and there was no Shan flag ceremony, some of the Shan people still brought small Shan flags with them. Some of them put on pins with the images of the Shan flag or tiger, the symbol of Shan people. However, from the observation of the Poi Sang Long festival, one thing that the festival had in common with the Poi Awk Wa festival, the Poi Wan Khu Maw Lik Tai festival ,the Poi Wan Pee Maue Tai festival, the ceremonies of remembrance of important people in the Shan history and the ceremony to worship the spirits of the village was the Shan dancing performances. Also, the majority of the villagers, especially the elders, still wore Shan costumes to attend the ceremonies.

The Thai state's attempt to promote tourism started to appear when the Tourism Authority of Thailand was established in 1960. From that time onwards, the state has been promoting tourism in many forms, including cultural tourism. Tourism, therefore, was fully supported by the state and was growing continually until it was placed into the Fourth Plan of the National Economic and Social Development (1977-1981) for the first time and it has been supported as an important policy of the government until this day. The state's policy was to promote and convince as many foreign tourists as possible to travel to Thailand as well as to introduce new tourist attractions in many regions, which led to the regions' development to respond to tourism in many forms, including environmental and cultural tourism. This caused the communities to look for their own identities to respond to this tourism policy. Many communities invented and adjusted their cultural traditions in response to this policy, for instance, the selling of ethnic costumes and the dancing and music performances to present their communities to tourists in new and exciting ways and to attract tourists to their communities. As a result, it became hard to

tell which traditions were original and which were new. Ethnic communities in many areas adjusted themselves in many forms to respond to the state's tourism policy in the same way that the villagers modified their Poi Sang Long festival to attract tourists (Pinpetch Champa, 2002). Moreover, the Poi Sang Long festival is not the only example that demonstrates the adjustment of the Shan cultural symbols to suit the changing situations. The Kingkara bird dance is another interesting example that illustrates the modification of Shan traditions. The Kingkara bird dance is a performance of the Shan people whose origin is not clear. The performers of the Kingkara bird dance are dressed up to imitate the pheasants who dance merrily. Originally, this dance was often performed during religious important days especially at the end of Buddhist lent day. The Kingkara bird dance was a unique feature of the Shan people which was used later with a different meaning. Prior to 1958 the main purpose of the Kingkara bird dance was to worship Buddha. At present, however, the Kingkara bird dance is performed during the ceremony to welcome the Thai state's official team and politicians who are the representatives of local authority. It could be seen during the opening of the Poi Sang Long ceremony which took place on the morning of April 22, 2010 in the field of Wat Piang Luang School. Therefore, it can be considered that the performance of the Kingkara bird dance is significantly meaningful for the Shan's selective way to present themselves to the Thai state, which shows the acceptance of the Thai authority as well as indicates the effort of the Shan people in the village in transforming power relations to strengthen the relationship and create alliances with the Thai state's officials so as to benefit the Shan people living amidst the Thai authority (interviews with the Shan scholars in Piang Luang village, November 2, 2009).

Figure 5.21 The Shan students of Baan Piang Luang School performed the Kingkara bird dance to welcome the team of the state's officials who came to visit the school.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi, 2010

148

Figure 5.22 The procession of the children who were about to be ordinate, which featured dances to create entertainment.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi, 2010

3) The invention of tradition

The self-adjustment strategies of the Shan people of Piang Luang village towards the Thai state are not only to adjust themselves by showing their the symbols of being Thai more in their daily lives and the adjustment of the Shan cultural symbols to suit the changing situation. It also included the invention of traditions to express their loyalty to the Thai King and state (see figure 5.21, 5.22).

The Shan people thereby attempt to present themselves as an out-group of people who do not oppose the state and it is also the construction of demonstration of state allegiance with loyalty to the Thai King. However, in fact, the Shan people still resist state symbolism by producing a reconstruction of Shan culture and the ethnic collective consciousness.

In order to show their loyalty to the Thai King, the Shan people in Piang Luang village invented annual ceremonies and activities on important days that are related to the King, which started after the village came under the Thai state's power. Then the Thai state began to strictly control Piang Luang village and tried to spread the national, religious and royal ideologies to people who lived in villages along the Thailand-Myanmar borderline, as we have discussed earlier. The Shan tried to produce good feelings and positive attitudes towards them among the government officials and Thai people in general as a community leader explains:

149

"Most of the Shan people will organize activities to show our loyalty towards Thailand even more attentively than some Thai people. When we came to live in Thailand, we had to express our allegiance to the country we live in even though we do not possess Thai nationality. On every important occasion that is related to the King, we organize ceremonies to show our utmost loyalty which the Shan people intend to do for the Thai King. We organize these ceremonies every year, which are the same kind of traditions that we held for the Shan kings in the past. This time, we reorganize them for the Thai King. This expression makes Thai people and the government officials accept the Shan people's loyalty to the Thai state."

(Interview with a Village Headman in Piang Luang village, December 17, 2009)

The fact that the villagers organized ceremonies to express their loyalty to the Thai King shows that the Shan people wanted to be accepted by the Thai state's officials. Although these Shan people did not have the status of being Thai citizens who legally carried Thai nationality, the Shan people in Piang Luang village wanted demonstrate their allegiance to the Thai state using invented traditions every year. The most obvious one was the ceremony to honor the Thai King on December 5, the King's birthday anniversary, which had been organized annually and continually for many years. The tradition to honor the Thai King was held with grandeur during the Sixtieth Anniversary Celebrations of His Majesty's Accession to the Throne, which were participated by ex-soldiers of the Shan liberation army, senior monks in the village and important figures of the village as well as thousands of the Shan people who lived in nearby areas. This celebration really amazed people who witnessed the event and made them wonder why these Shan people organized such a grand event to honor the Thai King. An interview with the leader of Piang Luang village explains the reason why they had high respect and faith for the Thai King as follows:

"The Shan people of Piang Luang village organized ceremonies to honor the King and Queen of Thailand on their birthday anniversaries annually. Since the villagers and I came to settle in the areas along Thai borderline, we would like to express our presence in the Thai territory. For this reason, we have been held these ceremonies for almost ten years in a row, which is something that never happened before. Especially on the Sixtieth Anniversary Celebrations of His Majesty's Accession to the Throne which is an auspicious occasion, the Shan people thought it was necessary to organize a ceremony to celebrate the King in the same way that we used to do for the Shan kings."

150

(Interview with a Formal community leader (Village Headman) in Piang Luang village, August 9,2009)

Apart from organizing annual invented traditions on royal important days, it was also found that the Shan people in Piang Luang village took the chance to show their loyalty to the Thai state on religious feast days. In these occasions, villagers tried to hold grand ceremonies also to honor the Thai King. This was conducted in the same manner that they used to do for the Shan kings, together with religious ceremonies, in order to show the state that they were part of Thai people who loved and were loyal to the nation, the religion and the royal family as a senior at Piang Luang village referred to as follows:

"During important religious ceremonies, we also try to organize ceremonies to express our loyalty to the Thai King, who is the center of the Shan people's faith. For this reason, we Shan people hold ceremonies to honor the Thai King. During the ceremonies, we will decorate Thai flags and the most outstanding part is the large portrait of the Thai King."

(Interview with a Village Headman in Piang Luang village, December 11, 2009)

Figure 5.23 The decoration of Thai flags at the opening of the Poi Sang Long ceremony, which was attended by Thai government officials and a lot of Thai people in order to show that the Shan ethnic group was loyal to Thailand and the Thai King.

Source : Phakrupreecha,2010

Figure 5.24 The expression of worship and loyalty to the Thai King of the Shan people in Piang Luang village even though these Shan people are not Thais who possess legal Thai citizenship.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

5.2.2 Resistance

The Shan people in Piang Luang village did not always give in to the Thai state's attempt to create socio-cultural unity. Depending on the situation, they also showed symbolic resistance using different methods depending. This resistance can be seen in the construction of social spaces by using radio communication media, electronic media and organizing their cultural activities including the use of the Wat Fa Wiang In Temple as spaces for expressing their distinctiveness, to the preservation of Shan culture and strengthening ethnic collective consciousness. Nevertheless, the Shan in Piang Luang village did not offer political resistance or resort to violence against the Thai state. They did not voice demands for separation or independence like a national liberation movement because the villagers still need to live in Thailand and have rely on the Thai state. The Shan do not want to return to Myanmar since they are probably unsafe or fear persecution by Myanmar's government, so living in Thailand is safer. Their resistance is shown in the villager's attempt to revitalize the traditions that used to be practiced in the Shan State but were later banned by the Myanmar military government. Also it can be seen from the effort to present the glorious history of the Shan ancestors through ceremonies of remembrance of the Shan people's important figures and the ceremony to worship the village's holy spirit as well as the use of textbooks in Shan language to insert contents that help to create ethnic collective consciousness.

These practices make the Shan feel that they belong to a unique ethnic group with their own identity inherited from their ancestors that must be relayed and maintained. Through the use of several tools and cultural symbols the Shan are drawing the dividing line between themselves and the non-Shan

152

The reason for the Shan's efforts to maintain their ethnicity and ethnic identification inside the Thai territory is that they still have to interact with other Shan both inside and outside their village. Maintaining their Shan ethnicity gives them a sense of belonging in a difficult context where they often face discrimination and creates bonds of solidarity which allow mutual help. Resistance to the Thai state's policies becomes visible when the Shan people are among themselves and serves as a criteria that the villagers use to indicate who belongs to their group and who does not. This fact is in accord with the study of Raoul Naroll (1964) who suggested that the collective consciousness of having the same ancestors demonstrated an important criterion to define membership in the same group.

The expression of resistance to the government's policies is stronger and more openly expressed when the Shan people are among themselves in the same community or within the network of relatives and friends. Hence, it could be said that the Shan people's resistance shows that nation states are not always successful in their attempts to create social and cultural unity within the countries population.

1) The construction of social spaces

The presence of the Thai state's power in Piang lounge village from 1976 onwards, limited the spaces and opportunities of the Shan to express their ethnicity in public. Besides, the Shan people realized that although they were the original inhabitants of the area they had become a minority group who were different from the Thai, the majority group in the Thai Nation State. These experiences made the Shan people long for the expression of their own Shanness in the context of increased state control of the border and the people. Therefore, the Shan learned to resist the power of the Thai state by constructing new social spaces to express their ethnic affiliation

In the course of the confrontation with the state's power after 1976 Shan started to use temples, radio and electronic media as their own social space to openly express their Shan identification. This expression built in the previous era resulted in further clarity of a sense of membership in an ethnic group among the Shan people encompassing Shan ethnic consciousness that already emerged in the period of the Shan army's presence and increasingly developed their strength.

The Shan people's way of life was deeply connected with Buddhism (see end note 17).Therefore, the people in Piang Luang village, who sought a possibility to express their common Shan identification tried to make Wat Fa Wiang In temple their social space   Wat Fa Wiang In temple was an important landmark of the village and was renovated during the Shan army period between 1958 and 1976 by Zao Kornzurng, the leader of Shan United Revolutionary Army (SURA) in order to make this place the

center of Shan religious activities. When the village came under the Thai state's power, the role of Wat Fa Wiang In temple gradually developed until this temple finally became a place that the Shan people used as a center of their meetings for the expression of their common Shan ethnic identification. This never happened in the earlier period when the temple only served religious purposes. It was obvious that the identity of the buildings in Wat Fa Wiang In, including the ubosot (Hall of temple), wiharns (Buddha image hall), chedis (Pagoda) and Buddha statues which were made from money donations from Shan people in Piang Luang village, had Shan architectural characters. It can be seen from the feature of the buildings with 3, 5 or 7 multi-layered roofs, which was the symbol of the center of the universe. Each layer of the roof was decorated with wood-carvings and metal works that used thin layers of metal to create patterns as well as the use of mirrors to decorate many parts of the roof to enhance beauty. Whenever people saw these architectural characters, they could immediately tell that this was a Shan community (see figure 5.23). When entering Wat Fa Wiang In's ground, they would see the tall, outstanding chedis that were decorated with Shan symbols, for example, the use of green, yellow and red colors which were the colors of the Shan flag or the tiger image which was the symbol of the Shan people (see figure 5.24). There were also other buildings that were decorated with the green, yellow and red colors. Moreover, Wat Fa Wiang In had a large space in front of the wiharn for organizing the Shan cultural activities. Inside the temple, there were collections of instruments and other Shan cultural items on display, which allowed people to perceive the Shan cultural traits or Shan cultural symbols.

Besides this, the temple was furnished with pictures of important Shan like "King Sua Fa", Zao Kornzurng who was the leader of the Shan United Revolutionary Army (SURA) or Sao Noi Saw Yan Ta, the leader of the Tai armed group Noom Suek Han. Such decorations were not found in the period of Shan ethnic community prior to 1958 and the period of the Shan army's presence between 1958 and 1976 (interviews with several Shan scholars in Piang Luang village November 2, 2009).

The Shan tried to make Wat Fa Wiang In a place that had the same atmosphere as other Shan communities in the Shan State. In this attempt, they brought materials, items or pictures that were related with the Shan people to decorate the temple and tried to make Wat Fa Wiang In a memorial of their common historical memories, apart from also being a religious center. Also, when exploring the interior of the buildings of Wat Fa Wiang In, it can be discovered that the Shan people put lots of photos of Shan historical significance, the Shan flag, pictures of important figures for the Shan people and messages that were related to the construction of the Shan consciousness for decorations (see figure 5.25). When the

villagers came to meet each other at the temple and see these decorations, it reminded them of their common Shan ethnicity and it also allowed the Shan people themselves or Thai people to be able to perceive and categorize the Shan ethnic group. Furthermore, these decorations indicated the mutual effort of the Shan people to enhance the perception of their long history, just like that of other ethnic groups. The comprehension of the Shan history through the photos that were decorated in Wat Fa Wiang In also allowed the villagers remember the names of the ancestors who were important leaders of the community. This created a sense of unity and the feeling of companionship among people who had the same ancestors and historical consciousness. This perception of having common ancestors and historical consciousness became one of the criteria that the Shan people in Piang Luang village used to define and categorize themselves and to differentiate between the in-group and the out-group. Prior to 1976 Wat Fa Wiang In was only a place that showed religious memories and teachings. It was only decorated with the pictures that were related to Buddhism and purely religious messages. Temple visits in the period prior to 1976 were just the expression of being Buddhist, without the implication of belonging to the same ethnicity (interview with Abbot of Wat Fa Wiang In Buddhist Temple of Shan in Piang Luang village, November 2, 2009). However, after 1976, the Shan people in Piang Luang village started using Wat Fa Wiang In as a place to create the in-group with the same Shan identification.   Besides this, since the village came under the Thai state's power Wat Fa Wiang In started to spread Shan cultural knowledge unlike before when the temple only played a role in divulging Buddhism. Since 1976, Wat Fa Wiang In began to provide teachings of the Shan language in order to educate the Shan who were not literate in this language. Also, the temple became a venue for organizing ceremonies on important days according to Shan traditions and cultural performances like the Shan traditional dance and music. On important occasions many Shan people would participate in activities that the temple organized. More importantly, no matter where the Shan people of Piang Luang village were on these important days, they would travel back to join the activities at the temple, which could be noticed from the great number of Shan people who participated in the events. Most of these participants would also show their Shanness openly, for example, by using the Shan language, wearing the Shan traditional costume, decorating the venue in Shan style, using the Shan flags and the pictures to decorate the place in the same fashion that appeared in the Shan State, turning on Shan music and selling many kinds of products that were imported from the Shan State. The participation of the Shan people in the activities that Wat Fa Wiang In organized was the expression of

membership in the same ethnic group and the unity of the Shan people. This clearly differed from the situation before 1976, which can be seen from the abbot's opinion:

> *"In the past, the Shan people came to the temple for religious ceremonies only, but now the purpose has changed. They come to the temple because they want to show that they belong to the same group, that they are the same Shan people. The Shan people also know that most people who come to Wat Fa Wiang In are Shan. When they come to the temple, they will express their Shanness, like dressing as Shan people and speaking the Shan language. When they visit the temple, we will know immediately that they belong to the same group and that they are the same Shan people."*

> (Interview with abbot of Wat Fa Wiang In Buddhist Temple of Shan in Piang Luang village, November 2,2009)

Wat Fa Wiang In has also become a place for researching and studying the Shan culture of Piang Luang village. This demonstrates that the temple is not only a place for the Shan people to perform religious activities but it is also a social space where the villagers can meet, talk, get to know each other and tell stories about the history of the Shan ethnic group. It is a place where the Shan people can express their Shan identification inside Thai territory. As a result, Wat Fa Wiang In has become a social space which makes the expression of Shanness as an in-group clearer and is not restricted to one particular area anymore.

Wat Fa Wiang In is not the only social space to express Shininess. Nowadays the villagers also use radio and electronic media as their social space to show resistance to the Thai state and express their Shan ethnic identification. The radio and electronic media began to become mechanisms for the expression of the Shan ethnicity around 2002 during the battle between the Myanmar military government and the minority army alongside the Thailand-Myanmar border. This fight caused a lot of bombs and bullets from the Myanmar side to fall onto the Thai side, especially in the area of Wat Fa Wiang In which was located next to the borderline. Therefore, gathering at Wat Fa Wiang In was not safe for the Shan people to get together for cultural activities. For this reason, the radio and electronic media started to play an important role in expressing Shanness. The use of radio as a social space to express Shanness could be seen from the popularity of AM 1476 MHz among the Shan people, which was the frequency that the villagers listened to regularly, especially in the morning and late at night when the programs were broadcasted in Shan between 10.00 - 11.00 am and 22.00 - 23.00 pm every day. This radio program was

produced by Mrs. Chusri Chaowatin, a Shan who had been granted Thai nationality, and was broadcasted from Radio Thailand in Chiang Mai and could be listened to both in Chiang Mai and in the Shan State in Myanmar and such a broadcast could not be done because the content related to cultures and not politics. Thus, the state considered that the television programmers of the Shan state probably did not impact on the security of the state (interview with Chief Executive of the Piang Luang Sub district Administrative Organization, November 10, 2009).

The hosts of this program were able to listen to, speak, read and write the Shan language very well. Also, the hosts would try to insert contents about Shan art, culture and traditions to make listeners perceive and understand who the Shan people were and how they were different from Thais. By constantly listening to these contents, the Shan people in Piang Luang village were able to define and categorize membership or non-membership of the Shan ethnic group even more clearly. The contents of the radio programs were divided into music in Shan language, dramas about the Shan way of living, news of the Shan people, publicity of the Shan culture and traditions and public relations of the Shan activities in Myanmar or other countries including Thailand. These radio contents allowed the Shan people to have a common perception about the Shan identification and the existence of the Shan community beyond the nation state's borders as told by a Shan in the village regarding the radio media as follows:

"*Although the Shan people have no country of our own and do not live in the same area, we still receive information concerning the Shan people from the radio which we listen to regularly. It makes us feel comfortable, just like living together in the same Shan community. Even if we have no country, we still know that there are Shan people in different areas both in Thailand and Myanmar. By listening to the radio in Shan language, we know that it is not only us who are Shan, but there are other people who are Shan like us listening to the radio every day. This makes Shanness more obvious.*"

(Interview with a Shan villager, November 13, 2009)

Besides the radio, it was also found that electronic media started to play an important role in expressing Shan identification, especially among the new generation of Shan who grew up in Thai territory. When considering the contents on the website www.khonkhurtai.org it was discovered that the villagers used it to express the importance of the things they shared, for example, customs, traditions, Shan ceremonies, race, language, culture, religion, and the presentation of the antiquity and the glory of the race, heroes, legends and music. There was an attempt made to present the glorious past of the Shan

empire in order to make the Shan people cherish, feel attached to and proud of their Shanness, so that they were ready to do anything for it and in some cases even give away their lives for it. These contents were presented in Thai, Chinese, English and Shan, which reflected that the Shan networks existed not only in Thailand or Myanmar, as seen in the websites www.Shanworld.com and www.Shanland.org that belonged to a group of Shan political activists. The main contents of these websites were divided into two parts. The first part explained the work of organizations fighting for the rights of the Shan people against the Myanmar military government and to spread news about violent situations and how the Myanmar soldiers treated the Shan people in the Shan State. These websites also provided links to the information of many other organizations whose works involved political movements of the Shan people, for example, Shan Herald Agency for News (S.H.A.N), Shan State Army (SSA), Shan Human Right Foundation (S.H.R.F.), Shan Women Action Network (SWAN) and Shan Democratic Union (S.D.U.). The second part distributed information and news about the way of life, culture and the living situations of the Shan people as well as their rites, beliefs and language to reflect the Shan identity which had been inherited for a long time.

The use of the electronic media allowed the connection of the Shan people at the community, national and international levels. A good example was the presentation of the report "License to Rape" by the Shan Human Right Foundation (S.H.R.F.) and the Shan Women Action Network (SWAN). This research report collected data from 625 Shan women and children in the Shan State who had been raped and sexually abused by Myanmar soldiers. The report published in the electronic media indicated that rape was a policy of the military government of Myanmar who wanted to use it as an important weapon to fight against the minority group. After the results of this research had been published, this report drew great attention from many foreign media. It caused the US to put pressure on the Myanmar military government to explain the truth about this case. As a result, people in general had a chance to learn more about the Shan people and were able to perceive and differentiate the Shan people from Myanmar people and Thai people more clearly as they understood that these people were different from each other (SWAN, 2002).

The creation of social space by radio and electronic media allowed the Shan people to perceive their existence in areas beyond national borders. It also brought about the organization and the social networking of Shan people, both inside and outside single countries, as well as cooperation with private development organizations, scholarly institutions and international organizations to protect the rights of the Shan people. As a result, Shan organizations were established, for instance, SWAN (SHAN

WOMEN'S ACTION NETWORK) which operated along the borderline of Thailand-Myanmar with the major aim of creating equality and justice for Shan women and to fight for political and social changes. This work allowed people in general to get to know the Shan people better (interview with a Village Headman, December 17, 2009).

The Shan people's resistance to the Thai state's authority by using radio and electronic media could also be seen when the Shan Women's Action Network (SWAN) published a report on the wrong beliefs about the Shan immigrants on the website in 2003. This report inquired the Thai state to view the migration of the Shan into Thailand with an understanding of their various reasons rather than to assume that they were just foreign workers and that the Thai state must have an appropriate management about this matter. This presentation became an issue that drew a lot of attention in Thailand and it led to debates and arguments among the government agencies, the private sector and scholarly circles.

To summarize, the Shan have used the temple, radio and electronic media as tools to resist the Thai state in order to express their Shan identification. This helped to connect the villagers with the Shan people in the Shan state, clarified their ideas of Shan ethnicity and helped to perceive all Shan as belonging to the same culture with the same symbols. This perception contributes to the Shan people's mental stability and it helps to connect, emphasize and enhance the Shan identification. However, when Shan people step out of these social spaces that they have created together, they still have to face the strict measures of border and population control of the Thai state as well as its attempt at spreading national identity and national consciousness.

Figure 5.25 Shan architecture, which can be seen from the buildings in Wat Fa Wiang In, for example, ubosot and wiharns were built from donations from Shan people. The characteristic of the Shan architecture is the multi-layered roofs, which is a symbol of the center of the universe. These architectural characteristics indicate the being of the Shan community more clearly.

Source: Phakrupreecha,2010

Figure 5.26 The use of green, yellow and red colors, which are the colors of the Shan flag, to decorate the chedis (sputa) in order to make the Shan people perceive that they belong to the Shan community, which never appeared before 1976.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

Figure 5.27 The decoration inside the buildings of Wat Fa Wiang In temple by the images of important figures of the Shan people, Shan flags and the messages that are related to the construction of the Shan consciousness. These decorations remind the Shan people of their Shan ethnicity and also allow both Shan and Thai people to perceive and categorize Shan ethnicity. They also help to make the imagined community become more apparent.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

2) The preservation of the Shan culture

The preservation of Shan culture is a crucial strategy which replicates the expression of resistance to the Thai state's authority. This was done in order to confirm the existence of the Shan people who do not accept the Thainess that the Thai state tries to construct all the time. When the Shan people in Piang Luang village noticed of their being categorized by the state as minority people, they reacted with resistance by using the preservation of the Shan culture to show that the Shan also have an old culture and traditions as a Shan referred to in an interview as follows:

"We would like to preserve our art and culture so that they will remain in the future by preserving our culture. Whenever there is a Shan ceremony, we will try to wear Shan costumes when we participate in the event. As for the Shan men, we would like to show our tattoos that indicate Shanness. Whoever sees the tattoos will immediately recognize it as the symbol of Shanness. We believe that the tattoos express immortality and it helps us to survive from all kinds of dangers. It also demonstrates masculinity, patience and courage in the war."

(Interview with a Shan Villager, November 10, 2009)

161

Regarding the preservation of the Shan culture, it is revealed that the Shan people try to use the Shan language and alphabet to convey that they have their own script. This also stimulates friendship, relationships between relatives and the need to rely on each other on the basis of being members of the same ethnic group. The Shan language and Shan alphabets were reused publicly in the village during the period of Zao Kornzurng, the leader of the Shan United Revolutionary Army (SURA), as a tool to create a Shan ethnic collective consciousness which started around 1968. Before that, the use of Shan language was only verbal. Writing and reading skills in the Shan language were not taught in the village (interviews with The Shan villagers in Piang Luang village, November 10, 2009).

In the Thai state, in contrast to Myanmar, the use and the distribution of Shan language and Shan alphabet were not forbidden. At present, monks and knowledgeable elders play an important role in teaching the Shan language and its use is being increased among Shan people. It is also found that the monks of the two temples play an important role in emphasizing Shanness by using the Shan language in religious rituals including praying, preaching and the distribution of Buddhist teaching books that are written in Shan. This contrast with the situation 30 years ago when the monks still used Burmese language in religious rituals as the Myanmar military government forbade them from using other languages (interviews with the Shan villagers in Piang Luang village, November 10, 2009).

The Shan people in Piang Luang village continually use the Shan language in their speaking, reading and writing in they everyday life, which can be seen in general in the announcements and messages in Shan language that are posed in the village (see figure 5.26). In some places, both the Shan and Thai languages are used together in the messages. Even though some Shan can speak Thai, they will use the Shan language to communicate with other Shan to show their belonging to the same group. As an elderly person in the village said:

"We have our own language both for speaking and writing and we would like to use and preserve it. We do not want to use Thai because we want to show Thai people that the Shan people also have our own language. Although we can listen to, speak, read and write in Thai, we still use our Shan language since we belong to the same group, the same Shan ethnicity. Before, we did not feel anything when we speak, listen, read and write in Shan, but these days we have the feeling that when we use Shan language, we feel that we belong to the same ethnic group. This perception of collectiveness makes us help each other and ready to fight and resist anything that will eliminate our Shanness."

(Interview with an elder in Piang Luang village, December 10, 2009)

The Shan language that is used in daily life in Piang Luang village, both the spoken and written language, is the same that is used in the Shan State in Myanmar. The Shan language is a branch of the Tai Language Family, as is Thai. As a result, the Shan and Thai languages are relatively close. The Shan alphabet consists of 18 single consonants, 7 consonant mixes, 8 single vowels and 6 vowel mixes. Also, there is a categorization of the usage of the Shan language for different social classes; for example, the language that is used among people in general differs from the language used by the upper class, namely, the monks.

The attempt of the villagers to preserves Shan culture can also seen in the arrangement of a project to teach culture, morals and ethics to children and youths during school breaks. This educates them in Shan culture, Buddhism and the Shan language as well as instills Shanness to the Shan children and youths (see figure 5.27). The abbot of Wat Fah Wiang In Temple was the leader of the project which was supported by money donated by Shan people in Piang Luang village. Many Shan children participated in the project. The objective of this project, which had been organized annually during the summer vacation since 1999, was to conserve Shan culture and educate the Shan children and youths (interview with an abbot of Wat Fa Wiang in Buddhist Temple of Shan in Piang Luang village, November 2, 2009).

Regarding the learning of Shan traditions, Buddhism, Shan language and Shan history was carried out in Wat Fah Wiang In Temple. The method of teaching consisted of giving lectures and making children learn from workbooks as assigned by teachers. In class, most of the teachers and students tried to use Shan to communicate in class instead of Thai. Besides, it was noticeable that almost all the boys and girls who joined this project tried to express symbols that signified Shanness in many different forms. For example, these children were dressed in Shan costumes and carried bags that had the image of the Shan flag on them. When they arrived at Wat Fah Wiang In Temple, they had to stand in line and repeat vows at around 08.00 hrs. Afterwards, every child would go into class, pay respect to their teachers by hand gesture and start the class.

The activities that were planned for the Shan children each day included the learning of Shan traditions, Buddhism, Shan language and Shan history, which were subjects that these Shan children could not learn in the Thai state's schools. The textbooks in Shan language had similar content as those used in other Shan communities since the content was collected from other areas to be used in the village.

163

The contents of the textbooks concerned only topics related to the Shan people. The contents included Shan behavioral codes, the use of Buddhist teaching and Shan traditions, culture, beliefs and values, which aimed to stimulate the Shan to preserve and hand down their language and culture in the future. The contents in the textbooks were collected by the Shan people in Piang Luang from evidence and hearsay from elderly and scholars in the village who had been compiling this information over the last 30 years. The participation of the Shan children and youths in this project did not only foster the promotion and preservation of Shan culture. This was used for their studies in Wat Fa Wiang In Temple as the Shan scholars in Piang Luang village indicated:

"The Shan textbooks that are used by the children in the project to teach culture, morals and ethics of Piang Luang village do not only teach students how to read and write in Shan, but also educate the Shan children and youths that the Shan identity is our love of the nation, our fancy of making merit, our hard work, our courage, our good hearts and our liking of cleanliness and order. Therefore, by joining the project, the Shan children and youths will realize that they are Shan people like other kids and when they grow up, they will understand what the Shan identity is."

(Interview with a Shan scholar in Piang Luang village, December 23,2009)

Some examples of the textbook's contents were taught in schools as follows:

"The history of the Shan people goes back to 650 BC, when they are said to have migrated from China to present day Burma and settled in the area known as the Shan State. Shan people believe that their ancestors migrated from "Mong Mao Long", which is located along the basins of the Kong or Salawin rivers and " Mong Mao Long" used to be the settlement of the Mao Long kingdom, which was the great kingdom of Shan. The legend of Shan demonstrates that the first two kings of Shan were brothers, namely "Khun Lu" and "Khun Lai" and together they managed the Mong Mao Long kingdom. Then, a usurpation between these two kings took place and King Khun Lu scarified the Mao Long kingdom to Khun Lai and moved to the west of the Chindwin river, which is the Tai Kumti settlement at present. King Khun Lu continuously governed the Mao Long kingdom located at Mong Mao Long. After the King Khun Lu and King Khun Lai period, the Mao Long kingdom had been governed by many kings. Until the 13th century, the Mao Long kingdom had a king named "King Sua Fa", who was the greatest king of Shan because he integrated independent Shan States together and established them as the Mao Long kingdom. Also, he expanded the Mao Long kingdom extensively and dominated many other territories. In

the 16th century, the Mao Long kingdom of Shan disintegrated. As a result, some areas became a part of China and other parts turned into 33 small principalities, each principality had its own leader. Later on Burma dominated all 33 principalities as tributary states. However, each state was autonomous until the colonial era and after Burma received independence from the British. From this period to the present, all principalities of Shan are parts of Burma".

Another good example that apparently indicated the preservation of the Shan culture in Piang Luang village was their effort to revive traditions that used to be practiced in the Shan State in Myanmar. These traditions could not be organized in many of the Shan communities in the Shan State since they were forbidden by the Myanmar authorities. However, they had been preserved and organized in Piang Luang village, especially traditions that were related to Buddhism. These traditions demonstrated preservation of the Shan culture and became an important opportunity for Shan people to express their belonging to the same Shan ethnicity, as can be seen in the Poi Awk Wa festival. The Shan people in Piang Luang village would organize this event in the same way as it used to be practiced in the Shan State. This had never before 1976 but was introduced approximately 30 years ago (interviews with several Shan elders, November 10, 2009).

The Poi Awk Wa was a festival that the villagers organized to celebrate the end of Buddhist lent on the full-moon day of the 11th lunar month every year. On this occasion, the Shan people would offer food to monks in the morning, and in the afternoon they would bring flowers and a large candle to the temple and observe the precepts. In the evening, they would gather for the candle light procession at the temple. The Shan people believed that this was the day that Buddha descended from heaven and they organized various activities all day (see figure 5.28). Shanness was inserted in each of these activities, for example, they would wear Shan costumes while offering food to monks by bringing original Shan food to monks or listening to the sermons from Shan monks who talked in the Shan language. Besides, it was also the day that the Shan paid respect to the elderly in the village and asked for their blessings. Shan who had left the village to live elsewhere, would return home to pay respect to the elderly in the village, people that they looked up to and people who had done favors for them and ask for their good wishes. The necessity to preserve Shan culture and to fight together for the freedom of the Shan people as a whole was always stressed during the festival. These activities continued all day until, in the evening, the villagers would assemble at the temple to watch the Shan cultural performances which made them aware of being Shan (interviews with several Shan scholars, December 5, 2009).

165

Besides the Poi Awk Wa tradition, which was a Buddhist tradition that the Shan people considered important, the Poi Wan Khu Maw Lik Tai festival or Shan Poet Day and the Poi Wan Pee Maue Tai festival or Shan New Year's Day, which were not concerned with Buddhism, were also considered important. The way to organize the venue, items, people and procedure was the simulation of the situation that used to be practiced in the Shan State. After the Thai state entered the village, the Shan people cooperated to organize these ceremonies and attended these events more often. On the days of the celebrations, the villagers would agree to wear their national costumes as a symbol of their difference from the Thai people as well as to decorate their houses with symbols that clearly indicated Shanness.

The villagers organized the Poi Wan Khu Maw Lik Tai festival (Shan Poet or Writer Day) on the 1st day of the 12th lunar month to remember the favor of experts in different fields of careers and to make Shan people realize the conservation of the uniqueness of the Shan. They cherish their own culture as well as promote, praise and express their gratitude to Shan scholars who had discovered various fields of knowledge, for example, doctors, craftsmen and monks. On these occasions, there would be activities that distributed knowledge in various fields related to the Shan people, contests on writing articles and poems to praise Shan scholars and cultural performances, both from the old times and modern ones, traditional plays, games and sports.

Preservation of the Shan culture in Piang Luang village did not only include the Poi Awk Wa tradition or the Poi Wan Khu Maw Lik Tai festival. It could also be witnessed from the Poi Wan Pee Maue Tai festival or Shan New Year's Day. This event would be organized on the 1st day of 1st lunar month, which fell in December. When the day arrived, the Shan people would hold a celebration to give a farewell to the old year and to welcome the new year. During the celebration, there would be cultural performances which were uniquely Shan such as their verbal language and clothes in order to promote and cherish Shan culture and to make Shan people realize the need to preserve their preservation.

The Shan in the village attempted to maintain or revive the festivals in their culture. These festivals had been practiced continually since the period of Zao Kornzurng. Before 1976, the these festivals had not been organized. At present that the Shan people use these festivals to convey their distinction and to express their pride in the Shan cultural heritage. These festivals also made the Shan people feel that they were Shan and could successfully maintain their Shanness even being in Thailand. At the same time, the preservation of these festivals had the political implication of denying to accept national identity and the national consciousness that the Thai state propagated. Shan ethnicity was expressed much more openly

166

when there were no Thai officials attending the important ceremonies of the village. In these cases, the villagers would show their unity among the Shan people by collaborating to prepare the venue and the items that were needed in the ceremonies.

The unity of the Shan people in Piang Luang was demonstrated by the fact that all villagers wore Shan costumes to participate in the various celebrations or traditional ceremonies. This expression was especially clear among the village elders since almost all of them wore Shan costumes which featured long pants and a T-shirt or a normal shirt covered by a jacket with buttons that were made of cloth or gold, carried cloth bags and put a colored turban or a large brimmed hat made of bamboo on their heads. As for Shan men, they dressed in the same way as the elderly but some of them did not like to put anything on their heads. For Shan women, it was found that almost all of them paid attention to the expression of Shanness by expressing more on their outfits, that is, the Shan women wore Shan costumes that featured a sarong which was as long as their ankles and a short or long sleeved, colourful blouse. They also decorated their hair with seasonal flowers. An old Shan woman would use a turban (see figure 5.29).

The organization of these festivals also resulted in the preservation of Shan culture, when the Shan prayed together in Shan language, dressed in Shan costumes and used the Shan language (see figure 5.30). This was also an important occasion to perceive their belonging to the same ethnic group and to create a collective consciousness as Shan as the following quote shows:

"The festivals that we like the most are religious events which are often organized at Wat Fa Wiang In. During the celebration, there are many original Shan entertaining performances. We have the chance to put on Shan costumes, talk in Shan language and watch Shan performances which cannot be seen anymore on the Myanmar side and which have disappeared from the memories of the new generation of Shan people. We reorganize these ceremonies and make them grand like we used to do in the past because we want people in general to know that we also have our own beautiful traditions. When we see organized ceremonies, they remind us of the Shan State, make us see that we are the same Shan people and make us want to help each other. By participating in the ceremonies, we can also buy food, music VCD/ Karaoke, novels, movies and, very importantly, we have the chance to meet our friends, relatives and neighbors to ask about their lives and exchange stories about things that happened in our birthplace and about our living in Thailand."

"We are the Shan people who have our own culture and traditions. Since we wanted to preserve our traditions, we tried to search for elderly people who knew and used to witness ceremonies in ancient times. We held many meetings to consult with Shan leaders on whether anyone had organized the ceremonies. We gathered old people who still remembered the old festivals to help revive the lost festivals that were used to organize in the past again in Piang Luang village as seen today."

The preservation of the Shan culture using the Shan language and alphabets, organizing Shan festivals or donning Shan costumes demonstrates that the Shan ethnicity has been continually preserved in Piang Luang village. Shan culture is a tool to bring people together, to create the feeling of Shanness among them and to make them aware of the existence of the Shan people in Thai territory. This shows the intention of the villagers to convey that they are not barbarians without identification, whom the state can change, oppress or eliminate. On the contrary, they belong to an ethnic group with its own culture. These expressions can be considered a form of resistance to the state's policies. It does not need to come out as a movement, but it is a resistance in everyday life which creates an understanding among the Shan people and allows them to perceive the differences to.

Figure 5.28 The use of the Shan alphabet together with the Thai alphabet in daily life of the Shan people in Piang Luang village. The use of the Shan alphabet aims to convey that Shan people have their own alphabet and language. It is also a factor that stimulates friendship, relations between relatives and it is also an expression of collectiveness.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

Figure 5.29 The project to teach culture, morals and ethics at Wat Fa Wiang In temple in order to educate Shan children and youths about Shan culture, Buddhism and Shan language, which helps to inherit Shanness to these children.

Source: Phakrupreecha,2010

Figure 5.30 The Poi Awk Wa festival or the celebration at the end of Buddhist Lent. It was found that the villagers would collaborate and organize this ceremony majestically in the same pattern that used to be practiced in the Shan State, which was not found during the period of the Shan ethnic community prior to 1958. The participation in this festival, which was reorganized, allowed the Shan people to share the perception of Shanness and the existence of the Shan community inside the Thai state's periphery.

Source: Phakrupreecha,2010

Figure 5.31 The dressing in Shan costumes to show that they belong to the same group on a traditionally important day for Piang Luang village.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

Figure 5.32 The use of Shan language by Shan monks during the religious rituals by praying, giving sermon and distributing religion books that were written with the Shan alphabet, which aimed to create the perception among Shan people and make them able to categorize the similarities and differences between the Shan ethnic groups and non-Shan groups.

Source: Phakrupreecha,2010

3) The construction of ethnic collective consciousness

The construction of ethnic collective consciousness is another means of expressions of the Shan people in Piang Luang village which significantly reflects the resistance to the Thai state's creation of socio-cultural unity apart from the preservation of the Shan culture. The elderly, monks and leaders of

170

Piang Luang village play an important role in the construction and transmission of the Shan collective consciousness. This has been done continually since the period after 1976 from the ceremonies of remembrance of important figures of the Shan people, the ceremony to worship the village's holy spirit and the use of textbooks in Shan language.

The ceremonies of remembrance of important figures of the Shan people were organized for Zao Kornzurng, the leader of the Shan United Revolutionary Army (SURA) and Nai Jai Mu, a singer and composer of songs of which contents concerned politics (interviews with several the Shan elders in Piang Luang village, December 6, 2009). From the point of view of the Shan people in Piang Luang village, the ceremonies of remembrance of the Shan people's important figures is a symbolic action which creates the Shan people's collective consciousness in having the same ancestors. Also, the participation in the ceremonies of remembrance has an implication of the Shan people's belonging to the same ethnic group, which has become one of the criteria that indicates the collectiveness of the Shan. This also shows that the criteria use of having the same ancestry, shared descent and cultural similarity to determine Shan ethnicity is not enough. Also, it is vital for people in the group to look at themselves as Shan in Piang Luang village indicated as follows:

"We would like to show everyone that we are the Shan people, both physically and mentally, and that we have the consciousness of being Shan. Therefore, we express our 'Shanness' by participating in the ceremonies of remembrance of Zao Kornzurng and Nai Jai Mu. These ceremonies have only existed for about 10 years. Before that, we only had ceremonies that were related to religion; the events about normal people did not exist. Those who participate in these ceremonies of remembrance express their being Shan and not Thai because it is not enough to be Shan just by the way they talk, how they dress or having Shanness derived by kinship or clan ties. In order to be a Shan, one must also have the Shan consciousness. Therefore, we help each other to organize these ceremonies of remembrance of our important figures to create consciousness among the Shan people to fight to protect Shanness, which is a thing that we mutually perceive. No one else knows it better than us."

(Interview with a Shan elder in Piang Luang village, December 6, 2009)

The ceremony of remembrance of Zao Kornzurng was organized every year on July 11, which was when Zao Kornzurng passed away (see figure 5.31). On this occasion, a lot of the Shan people

171

of Piang Luang village, relatives of Zao Kornzurng and ex-soldiers who had joined the Shan national liberation movement and the representatives from the Restoration Council of the Shan State/R.C.S.S)/ the Shan army (S.S.A.), attended the ceremony. The event was decorated by the green, yellow and red colors of the Shan flag. These colors were used widely in Piang Luang village and often appeared in the media, sculptures, paintings, statues, dresses and the seal of the Shan organization as if to emphasize Shanness.

The ceremony began with wreath laying in front of the tomb of Zao Kornzurng followed by a speech and discourse in the Shan language of which contents stimulated the love of the nation. Afterwards, there was a speech on the biography of Zao Kornzurng who contributed to the work to restore the independence of the Shan State to inform participants as well as to encourage the new generation to follow his example in his sacrifice for the independence of the Shan people. Zao Kornzurng was the leader when the Shan State Army/SSA and the Shan United Revolutionary Army/SURA established themselves in Piang Luang village. He also launched the political organization Tai Revolution Council / TRC. During his fight with Myanmar soldiers, his left arm was so badly wounded that it was finally amputated (interviews with several of the Shan elders, personal communication (interview) December 6, 2009).

The construction of ethnic collective consciousness was also reflected by the recent ceremony in remembrance of Nai Jai Mu, who was an important singer and composer of the Shan State. This ceremony was held annually on December 26 by the villagers and Shan people from neighboring areas. The ceremony began with the collaboration of the villagers to clean the tomb of Nai jai Mu followed by a religious ceremony and a speech to honor Nai Jai Mu.

Nai Jai Mu's biography was born in 1960 in the southern part of the Shan state. Jai Mu was considered a political fighter who demanded freedom for the Shan state through his political music. He was also one of the founders of the musical band called "Freedom's Way" in 1984, which played songs with political content demanding the independence of the Shan state. This musical band was born on the border of the Shan state near Piang Luang village during the period when this village was an important area for the movement of the Shan United Revolutionary Army – SURA. Nai Jai Mu composed no fewer than 500 – 600 songs. Today all the Shan people in Piang Luang village accept that Zao Kornzurng and Nai Jai Mu were important figures of the Shan people and they are used as tools to create the Shan ethnic collective consciousness. This began at the same time as the Thai state entered the village.

The ceremony to worship the holy spirit of the village was also used to construct the ethnic collective consciousness. This ceremony was considered as the essential Shan ritual, likewise the Shan in

172

other areas with the same beliefs that participated in the ceremony to worship the holy spirit of the village, identically demonstrated their Shan ethnic collective consciousness. The Shan spirit houses of the villages could be seen in general in the Shan communities. Normally, the ceremony to worship the holy spirit of the village would be organized in April. Each ceremony was attended by many villagers.

The village's spirit house was a particular area that was surrounded by a fence and was located under a big tree (see figure 5.32). The Shan people believed that the spirit house was the residence of spirits who were considered to be guardian angels. The Shan people also believed that these holy spirits used to be heroes who were powerful and respected by people in general when they were alive. When they died, the spirits were still concerned about their country. So, instead of reincarnating, they became holy spirits that protect the village from mishaps and allow villagers to live in peace. In organizing this ceremony, the Shan people would pray and ask the holy spirits to grant them fertility, ease the troubles and send happiness. This belief encouraged the Shan people to live and work with peace of mind and gave them confidence to face problems and obstacles.

Furthermore, the ceremony to worship the holy spirit of Piang Luang village was also used to implant the consciousness among the Shan offspring of their origin, about who they were and where they came from, so that they would not forget the history of their ethnic group when they had to live in Thai society. This ceremony created the unity, solidarity and the consciousness of having ancestors of the same relatives who lived in the same village. It also implied the important meaning of the construction of the Shan ethnic collective consciousness since the ceremony put an emphasis on the importance of ancestors who could bring good things to their lives and their families as well as fortunes to society or the community. Moreover, the participation of the Shan people in ceremonies of remembrance of important figures of the Shan people and the ceremony to worship the village's holy spirit became another way to differentiate the Shan group from non-Shan people, in a new way. Before 1958, the villagers only used the criteria of the spoken language, shared descent and the phenotype to determine Shan ethnicity.

The ceremony to worship the spirits of Piang Luang village was held annually. The participation in the ceremony considered part of the expression of being Shan since almost all participants were Shan. Thai people or the state's officials were not present. Most Shan in Piang Luang village helped to organize the ceremony, donating money to cover the expenses. Villagers who could not attend the ceremony would send money to support it. The participation of the Shan people both by attending to the ceremony and donating money was considered part of the expression of their belonging to the same

173

group and their connection to each other. The worship of the spirits of Piang Luang village started one day before the real ceremony when almost all the Shan villagers would gather at the village's spirit house to do the cleaning, prepare the venue, equipment and other things that were necessary for the ceremony such as Shan flags and images of important people in Shan history. Items that were symbols of the Thai state were not found anywhere. After preparing the venue, there was a small party of Shan people in the evening. Some gathered in groups to talk about their lives in the Shan language since some of them had not met their relatives for a long period of time as they had come to live in distant locations. The topics the Shan discussed concerned were, among other things, the problems caused by the strict control of the border and the people by the Thai state.

On the following day, the day of the worship ceremony, a number of Shan people who had moved to live outside the village, came together and gathered in front of the village's spirit house. The participants of this event, both men and women, wore Shan costumes. When it was time to start the ceremony, the Shan women would move aside and stay outside the venue since there was a regulation which forbade women from entering the area of ceremony. They could only worship the village's spirit house from outside. The reason why women were forbidden from entering the venue of ceremony was because the Shan people in general assumed that women got frightened easily unlike men who had stronger minds and willpower. For this reason, women were not allowed to attend the ceremony in any case much as in the same way as outsiders who who were also not allowed to participate. This belief indicated membership of the same group of relatives who lived in the same village.

The worship of the spirits starts on 09.00 a.m. For this occasion, most villagers would take a day off to attend the ceremony. When everyone was present at around 11.00 hrs, the ceremony representative would begin to cast lots to see whether the spirits of the ancestors had arrived or not. If the result was positive, the representative would continue the ceremony to receive the propitiation from the villagers, which started from the offering of liquor, the killing of chicken, the boiling of the chicken and the offering of sacrifices that the villagers brought such as tea, dessert, fruits, white flowers, green leaves, incenses, candles and liquor in order to express their respect and gratitude for the ancestors' spirits who protected them and let them live in peace. Next, the representative would contact the ancestors' spirits in the Shan language about their livelihood in the community, the agricultural production and any natural disasters that the village would have to confront in order to find a mutual solution. Contact with the ancestors' spirits lasts for an hour. When the ceremony to worship the spirits of the village is finished, it is

174

time for all the Shan people to share food and liquor from the ceremony together as relatives. The food that was offered to the spirits was considered holy food which would bring fortune to people who ate it since the food had already been through the sacred ceremony. During the meal, the Shan people talked and shared their experiences like siblings. Thus, this occasion was considered to be a day that relatives come together together after being separated from each other. Before the participants of the ceremony go home, all the Shan people of Piang Luang village who had attended the ceremony, both men and women, made a wish together and asked the angels to protect the Shan people who lived in Piang Luang village and other places, make them live in happiness and fight the obstacles strongly. For those who did agricultural work, they asked for plenty of production. Hence, the ceremony to worship the spirits of the village helped to emphasize the membership in the same village with people who had the same culture. This ceremony is also an important opportunity for the Shan people in Piang Luang village to express their Shan identity. The musical performances with the Shan instruments and the dancing allows children to see aspects of Shan culture, which fills them with interest, happiness and excitement, which is in addition to the ceremonies of remembrance of important figures for the Shan people and the ceremony to worship the village's holy spirit.

It was found that their teaching did not only aim to make the Shan children know how to read and write, but it also inserted the contents about the history of the Shan kingdom, the Shan way of life as well as the Shan culture. Besides, the teaching also tried to encourage Shan people to conserve their culture and tradition, to love their nation and relatives, to perform meritorious deeds, to be fond of cleanliness and order, to be diligent, courageous and kind as well as to preserve Shan language (see figure 5.35). It also presented the grandeur of the Shan ethnicity through the biographies of their heroes or important figures in their history as well as important events and situations in the past and at present, for example, the biographies of important scholars of the Shan people, Shan history during the period under the authority of England, the grandeur of the Shan empire, etc. These contents created the ethnic collective consciousness of the Shan people who came from the same motherland. The teaching also inserted stories about the conflicts between the Shan people and Myanmar people, the suffering of the Shan people in different periods of time, the conservation of the Shan culture and tradition and the emphasis on the pain that the Shan people shared when they were maltreated by the Myanmar military government.

Apart from the insertion of contents in Shan textbooks as mentioned earlier, it was also discovered that the textbooks featured various pictures and symbols that were related to the Shan nation,

country, culture and religion as a tool to create an ethnic consciousness. The pictures and symbols in the textbooks were related to the nation and included pictures of Shan people wearing Shan costumes in different manners in order to show the differences of the Shan people of each region. They also indicated subgroups in terms of numbers, similarities and differences of these groups. Also, maps were used to show the habitats of the Shan who were scattered all over Southeast Asia in Thailand, Laos and Myanmar. This textbook also utilized the tiger symbol to embed the old belief that the Shan people descended from tigers. Therefore, the images of tigers were found in different chapters of this book.

There were pictures of former Shan kings, temples, palaces and flags which indicated the Shan kingdom, the stories of the Shan kings and the boundary of the Shan kingdom in the past, which helped to convey that the Shan ethnic group lived in the Southeast Asia for a long time. Furthermore, the textbook featured a picture of the Shan flag and the description of the meanings of the colors. Yellow meant the Shan people who were the yellow race/Mongoloid people who were mostly Buddhist. Green meant the abundance of natural resources. Red meant the Shan's courage, and white signified the Shan's pure and peaceful spirit. There were also pictures that showed the way of life, society, costumes, traditions and festivals as well as important days of the Shan people. Finally, there were also pictures and symbols of Buddha images and Thammachak that were related to the religion, which showed that Shan people were mostly Buddhists who had to follow Buddhist teachings.

Figure 5.33 The ceremony of remembrance for Zao Kornzurng, the leader of the Shan United Revolutionary Army (SURA). This ceremony caused the Shan people to have a collective consciousness about having the same ancestors, which had become one of the most important criteria that indicated the collectiveness of the Shan people in the period after 1976.

Source: www.khonkhurtai.org/index.php?

Option=com_content&view=article&id=958:-20-qq-&catid=34:2009-11-23-07-01-45

176

Figure 5.34 The spirit house of Piang Luang village, which was a particular area surrounded by a fence and located under a big tree in the village. The ceremony to worship the holy spirit of Piang Luang village that was held annually had been used to implant consciousness among the Shan offspring so that they knew their origins, understood who they were, where they came from and did not forget the history of their own ethnicity.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010
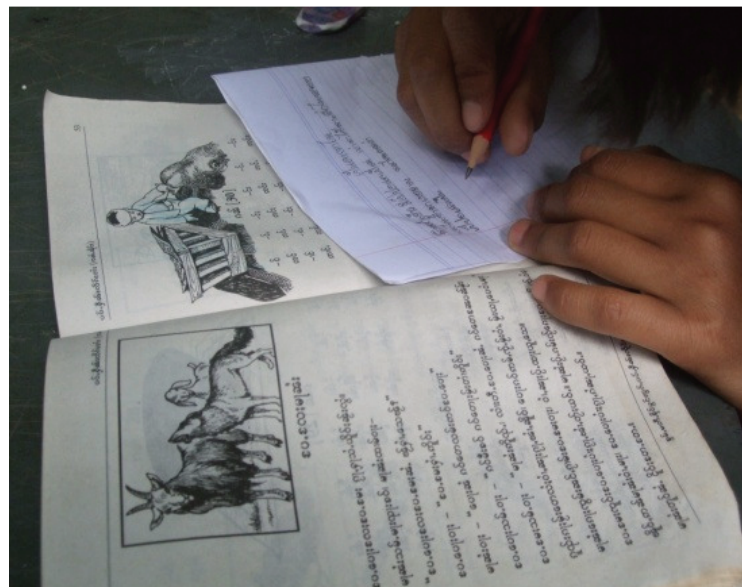
Figure 5.35 The textbooks in Shan language which were used in the teaching at Wat Fa Wiang In Temple had illustrations that created the collective consciousness and the love of Shanness among the users.

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi,2010

Figure 5.36 The Shan people in Piang Luang village use Shan flags to express their ethnic consciousness. However, with the limitation of being inside Thai territory, the use of Shan flags in public may be against Thai people's feelings. Therefore, Shan flags appear more in documents, publications, T-shirts or inside the rooms rather than being shown clearly in public

Source: Theerapon Vichchurungsi, 2009

CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSION

6.1   Answers to Research Questions

6.1.1 The strategy of the Thai nation state to disintegrate Shan ethnicity in Piang Luang village.

The attempt to construct social and cultural unity caused the Thai nation state to make an effort to control the border zones. Most of these areas were inhabited by groups of people whose cultures were different from that of Thai people. The Thai nation state realized that these groups might encroach on national forests or might be involved in drug trafficking, which could be a threat to the nation state's security. For this reason, the Thai state tried to disintegrate the Shan ethnicity in Piang Luang village and to establish social and cultural unity through the control of the border control, the territory and the people. All these policies were carried out by the Regional Army Division 3, the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment, the Ministry of Interior and the Royal Thai Police.

The border control implied the surveillance of the mobility or migration of the Shan people who would cross the national border by putting up immigration checkpoints, setting up various checkpoints along the routes leading into the village as well as controlling the villagers coming-in and going-out. These checkpoints can be regarded as a physical representation of state power, of control, classification and the enforcement of the national border. The state officers that controlled the checkpoint would perform the duty of frisking and searching the villagers without a search warrant, and could also summon them for inquiry without notice. All this was the operation based on the power derived from a declaration that Piang Luang village was located in an area under martial law, and border control caused the Thai state to prescribe complicated steps and methods of controlling the villagers' travels or movements across the border. Any border crossings that were not in compliance with the prescribed steps of the state were regarded as unlawful. The Thai state would deem that such crossings were a violation of its sovereignty and a danger to national security. All these practices made the villagers be regarded as non-citizens although they had settled down and lived their lives within the boundary of the Thai nation state for a long time. In this respect, the nation state boundary created the national community and was used as a tool in building the awareness of nationalism, implying that everybody had to help retain the state boundary (Thongchai Winichakul, 2000).

Therefore, it can be said that the borderline of the nation state is the tool of the modern state that plays a role in controlling and organizing the people to settle down within the fixed boundary. The immigration and transportation of people and objects over the border without permission is seen as violating the state sovereignty and considered a threat to the state security. In this perspective, the borderline is the geographical boundary simultaneously fixed with the creation of an imagined nation so that everyone shares the concept of the boundary of the nation state community. This fixed borderline control greatly influenced the lifestyle of the villagers. However, it can be found that the borderline control of the state has been challenged at all times. For example, there were a variety of non-Thai citizens continually crossing the border to Thailand illegally to visit relatives, seek work, and smuggle goods across the border without paying taxes.

The territorial control was operated by the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment. These government agencies had taken control of and managed the land resources for making a living and also supervised the forest management through legal processes such as declaring the forests as reserved forest zones, national parks or wildlife conservation areas which often affected areas used by the villagers for making a living or dwelling. When all these laws were declared and became applicable, most of the Shan people became illegal dwellers in reserved forests although they used to live there and settled down long before the government's legislation. The aftermath of such legislation and enforcement was that the villagers had to emigrate from the area or were unable to utilize the land as they did in the past any longer, and this caused their way of life to change. This alteration could be witnessed as most of the villagers in Piang Luang village could no longer do their agricultural work, collect items in the forests, hunt or utilize their lands freely, which was different from the period before the state took control of such areas. Previously, the main occupation of the majority of the villagers in Piang Luang village had been agriculture for subsistence needs and to exchange leftover agricultural products with each other. However, after the state came to control those areas, the majority of the villagers in Piang Luang village who were not Thais could no longer do agricultural work in order to survive. Consequently, some of the villagers in Piang Luang were forced to leave and became illegal workers in Chiang Mai or Bangkok. Besides, it was found that the Thai nation state took control of the territory through modern administration by centralizing the authority or power in the form of provincial and local administration. As a result, the Thai nation state required the village leaders to be of Thai nationality and those who were eligible to vote for, or select the village leader, had to be of Thai nationality, too. Such requirements totally

obliterated the rights of the villagers living in Piang Luang village since the majority of them were not Thai nationals.

Therefore, it could be concluded that the control of borderline areas turned Piang Luang village from a community that had not been paid attention to by the state into an area of the state's special interest, which was brought under strict control. This change caused the governmental officers to become more involved in this area. In addition, the state's control over Piang Luang village demonstrated the sovereignty of the Thai nation over the village, which caused it to be totally integrated into the state.

The control of people: the task of distinguishing between citizens or non-citizens of the Thai nation state had been taken on by the Royal Thai Police, the Ministry of Interior and the Army Division 3. These agencies took control of the evacuation or emigration of the villagers pushing the Shan people who had moved into Piang Luang village as far away from the Thai border as possible. If it was not possible to evict them, the state would keep them in refugee camps awaiting deportation to a third country. As a matter of fact, these Shan people moved in and out of the border area all the time before the state authorities came in. It can be seen that all these operations were the state's attempt to separate between citizens and non-citizens of the state. In doing this, the Thai nation state used a method of controlling individual status requiring Shan people who lived in the village to possess identification (ID) cards in different colours representing their status as illegal immigrants.

The people in Piang Luang Village were forced to have cards identifying their personal legal status, which reflected the efforts of the state to control the people to be within the clear and fixed boundaries of the nation state. In addition, this strict control of people in Piang Luang village pinpointed the attitudes of the Thai state towards the villagers. Now emigration was being seen as an act of violation of state security. This strict control over emigration made the villagers of Piang Luang village start to realize that their social space to express Shan cultural traits was being narrowed down. They also recognized that they were a group of people whose image in the state's view was potentially not patriotic to the Thai state.

6.1.2 The strategy of the 'Thainess' Construction Implemented towards the Shan Ethnic Group

As to the question enquiring what mechanisms and methods were used by the Thai nation state through government agencies in constructing 'Thainess' among the villagers living in Piang Luang Village, it can be summarized from the study that the construction of 'Thainess' has been implemented by the Thai nation state through national identity creation and national consciousness creation. It was found that the major government agencies that conducted such operations included the Ministry of Education,

the Ministry of Interior and the Army Division 3 with the target of building loyalty of the ethnic minority groups towards Thailand.

It was observed that, in **the creation of national consciousness,** the Thai state emphasized the importance of the symbols representing the nation state with the objective of making all the villagers who lived in Piang Luang village understand them as dwellers within Thai territory, so they needed to have the same faith as Thai citizens. Indeed, the Thai state valued the symbols that represented the nation state and this resulted in the decoration of Piang Luang village and other important places with symbols of the Thai nation state by the governmental sectors. Moreover, education or classroom learning was considered as another means applied to create national consciousness used in the textbooks, activities and lectures given in Ban Piang Luang School with the vital role of creating and promoting national consciousness relating to the nation, religion and monarchy of Thailand. The Thai state also tried to stimulate the Shan people's acknowledgement of Thai history, culture and tradition at almost every level, but there was no subject relating to Shan people. After 1976, the expression of the national consciousness was used as one of the criteria to differentiate among people in Piang Luang village whether they were Thai or non-Thai people. That was to say, if they were Thai, they would express national consciousness by emphasizing the importance of symbols that represented the Thai nation state in daily life. These symbols included the decoration of Thai flags, images of the Thai king and the king's logos in houses and along the roads, and the participation in activities that were related to the nation, the religion and the king that the Thai state organized or the respectful manner when hearing the Thai national anthem. The Thai state considered such expressions concrete 'Thainess' because if they were non-Thai, they would not express any national consciousness.

As a matter of fact, the expression of national consciousness was not always related to being Thai or non-Thai as the Thai state understood it. When the national consciousness was created by the state in the Shan community at Piang Luang village, which was not a Thai community, it was found that all the villagers neither fully rejected nor fully accepted the national consciousness that the Thai state had created. In contrast, they tried to alternatively use strategies to demonstrate the national consciousness as appropriate with the situations depending on which group of people they were interacting with at a particular time. When Shan people were interacting with other Shan, they often rejected the national consciousness created by the state so that the Shan people among themselves could acknowledge and see the line of difference or the boundary between being Thai people with national consciousness and

182

being Shan people with Shan ethnic consciousness. This could be seen from a lot of Shan people attending memorial ceremonies for important Shan people and rites to pay respect to the village shrine to which the villagers in Piang Luang village paid tremendous importance.

Regarding the national identity creation, it was discovered that the state carried out this task by emphasizing the importance of Thai cultural traits in order to create national identity. This action could be seen from the fact that the state made an attempt to preserve and distribute the Thai cultural traits such as Thai language, culture, traditions, costumes and performances on the nation's important occasions like the King and Queen's birthdays, Chakri day, Coronation day, etc. The emphasis on the Thai cultural traits allowed people in general and most of the villagers in Piang Luang village in particular, to perceive that national identity was formed by Thai cultural traits. Furthermore, it was discovered that the construction of the Thai nation state's identity was also done by alienating the villagers in Piang Luang village defining them as minority people who might be a threat to the state's security.

Therefore, it may be concluded that the state has created the national identity by the alienation of the Shan people in order to emphasize the difference between being Thai and being Shan. For this reason, it was necessary for the state to control the Shan people strictly and put a greater emphasis on the Thai cultural traits. By this method, cultures that are different from the Thai culture are alienated. Thus, the Shan culture has become that of a minority culture.

6.1.3 **The interaction of the Shan people and the Thai nation state – the disintegration of Shan ethnicity and the Construction of 'Thainess'.**

The government's attempts to achieve social and cultural unity in the country by disintegrating ethnic affiliations and constructing 'Thainess' had an effect on the Shan ethnicity in Piang Luang village. Since the villagers had to be governed by the Thai state and had to stay under its rules and orders, the power of the Thai state over the village increased in the course of time. As a result, the villagers were forced to accept the encroachment of the state as it could not be avoided. Consequently, the majority of the villagers in Piang Luang village needed to follow the orders of the Thai state officials and remain under the regulations that the Thai state had imposed. By violating the state's rules and orders, the Shan people might have risked to be punished. Even so, the villagers still did not totally accept the incoming of the state. On the other hand, it caused the villagers to interact with the Thai nation state by self-adjusting and resisting with complicated forms and operations related to the expansion of the state power.

Regarding the Shan people's self-adjustment, it was found that they adopted the approach or method of showing Thai identity simultaneously with the newly-adjusted Shan cultural symbols to be more in line with the actual situation when they had to confront state power. The villagers in Piang Luang village accepted Thai customs and traditions more than in the period of the Shan armed group from 1958-1976 as could be seen from their participation in the Thai activities held by the state. This was an example that reflected the Shan people's self-adjustment to the Thai state. Most of the villagers attached importance to such activities, especially those relating to the institutions of the nation, religion and monarch. Self-adjustment by expressing Thai identity in the Shan people's daily lives can be seen in several cases where the villagers tried to cover up their being Shan and tried to express Thai identification to the best of their ability. Whereby it was found that the Shan people had introduced the symbols of being Thai in many forms in their daily life such as wearing pendants with the Thai King's photo, flying of the Thai national flag, maintaining His Majesty the King's pictures at home as well as using all these symbols as decorations at various activities and ceremonies organized by the Shan ethnic group. For example, flying the Thai national flag together with the Shan national flag or arranging venue decorations with the picture of H.M. the King together with that of the former SSA leader at various activities and ceremonies. All this showed the villagers efforts to communicate with the Thai people by showing their loyalty to Thailand.

In this perspective, it may be concluded that the symbols of being Thai had been used as one of the instruments for ethnic categorizing and identification of the Shan people. When the Shan people were interacting with the state, which was out-group interaction, they would try to define and identify themselves to look like a Thai person with the same symbols of being Thai as those of other Thai people.

However, it was still found that in participating in those activities, the villagers still tried to maintain their distinctiveness. This could be seen from their wearing of Shan costume and their way of decorating the places with Shan symbols in various important activities of the Thai state. All this indicated that the Shan people tried to self- adjust together with the activities organized by the Thai state. To be in harmony with the new social scenario the Shan needed to accept 'Thainess' while trying to maintain their 'Shanness'. It was also found that although the Shan people had taken part in various activities held by the Thai state, they still attached importance to participation in their own activities according to the original rituals and traditions. Participation in such rituals and beliefs provided the opportunity to the Shan people to express their belonging to the same ethnic group.

The adjustment of Shan cultural symbols. The Shan people's self-adjustment still appeared to be seen from an adjustment of Poi Sang Long festival and Kingkara bird dance as the Shan cultural symbols to suit the changing situations. Poi Sang Long festival and Kingkara Bird Dance that were used only in cultural activities of the Shan people were changed to using it in the activities organized by the Thai nation state. The festival of novice ordination called "Poi Sang Long" of the Shan people was used in response to the tourism promotion of the Thai state. Moreover, the Kingkara Bird Dance was used as a performance to welcome the officers of the Thai state on various occasions. All these Shan practices had the objective to demonstrate to the Thai state that, in fact, the Shan people were not a danger to the state's security and stability. This also indicated that the way the Shan people told the Thai state who they were, depending on the context of the power relationship.

It was also found that the Shan people used the invention of tradition in the form of self-adjustment by organizing ritual ceremonies expressing homage and loyalty to the Thai monarch on various important occasions to show that they had been loyal to Thailand and were not harmful to the security and stability of the Thai state.

Therefore, it can be said that the self-adjustment to the Thai state's authority by adapting the invented traditions that used to be organized for the Shan kings, and that were used once more in Thai territory to show their loyalty to the Thai King, helped to create the Shan people's good relationship with government officials and allowed the Shan community inside the Thai border to peacefully remain amidst the situation of the state trying to use its power to construct socio-cultural unity when they tried to act like Thai people who were loyal to the Thai state.

The Shan people's resistance against the Thai state occurred in the situation of the control and exclusion of the Shan ethnic group from Thai society. The Thai state alienated the Shan people who were unable to express much of their ethnicity in a free and open manner as well as being unable to access various rights. Therefore, most of the villagers in Piang Luang village did not accept or surrender to the fact that they were outsiders who were unable to express their ethnicity. Instead, they tried to express their 'Shanness' and their distinct culture, which could be clearly seen when they interacted with other Shan. Therefore, those Shan people had to resist the Thai state through the construction of social space, the reconstruction of the Shan culture and the construction of ethnic collective consciousness.

Nevertheless, due to the fact that the villagers in Piang Luang village still had to live within the Thai borderline and rely on the Thai state, the Shan people's resistance against the Thai state was neither openly political nor violent, but rather remained peaceful. The purpose was to maintain or revive the culture and tradition of the Shan people. This can be seen from their attempts to construct an autonomous social space , reconstruct Shan culture and construct an ethnic collective consciousness.

Regarding the construction of an autonomous social space, it was found that the majority of the villagers in Piang Luang village did not possess Thai nationality. For this reason, they had to face feelings of loneliness and alienation, which made them lack confidence to express their 'Shanness'. Therefore, most of the them tried to find ways to show their 'Shanness' by making use of Wat Fah Wiang In temple, the radio and electronic media, which allowed them to express their history, language, culture, tradition, national flag, national anthem, national costume, and mascots etc. Such expressions could be more clearly seen when the Shan people were among themselves. This phenomenon was clearly seen from the Shan people's joining hands in various activities organized at Wat Fa Wiang In temple, which was a place where they often presented their history with respect to politics, the restoration of the Shan nation culture and tradition through photographs, drawings and paintings, pictures, political symbols, the Shan national flag and symbols of the SSA military force. Besides, the radio and electronic media also acted as another social space that most of the villagers in Piang Luang village used as a channel to broadcast news of traditional activities and events that were related to the Shan people, including news from the Shan state and Shan songs, in order to express their 'Shanness'. Such social space construction led to a network with both the Shan people living in Shan state and those in Thailand, as well as Shan people in foreign countries. In addition, it allowed the villagers in Piang Luang village who received information about the traditional activities and events that were related to the Shan people from the radio and other electronic media to have a common belief that all the Shan people, both in the Shan state and in Thailand, were ancestrally related, since they shared the same culture and traditions.

The preservation of Shan culture resulted from the state's attempt to distribute Thai culture or symbols that signified 'Thainess'; for instance, the Thai language, traditions, costume and performances, with an aim to weaken the ethnic minority's culture. Feeling the pressure from the Thai state, the majority of the villagers in Piang Luang village made an attempt to show their refusal to accept that the importance of their culture had decreased, and that their culture had the image of a minority's culture. Thus, when the villagers interacted with people in their own group, they showed their resistance to the state by

186

distinguishing themselves from Thai people. Also, they tried to make the villagers in Piang Luang village realize that their group had a long history and civilization, and that it was necessary to maintain their distinctiveness and the group's cultural symbols to distinguish themselves from Thais. Such efforts could be witnessed when the villagers in Piang Luang village put on their Shan costumes during important occasions, used the Shan language and organized Shan festivals such as the Poi Awk Wa , Poi Wan Khu Maw Lik Tai or the Poi Wan Pee Maue Tai festivals. These events, which used to be held in the Shan state, were reorganized in Piang Luang village.

The construction of ethnic collective consciousness could be seen from the attempt to refer to the past by presenting the Shan history through the ceremonies of remembrance of important Shan people and the ceremony to worship the spirits of the village. Also, the construction of ethnic collective consciousness was seen in the use of textbooks in the Shan language, which inserted the contents that allowed people to perceive that the Shan had art and were cultural civilization that started from the same origin or symbolic emblem showing 'Shanness' such as using a tiger as a national symbol and the use of ethno-historical consciousness in organizing activities on various important days designated to define 'Shanness', stress their long history, and stress that they had been a prominent cultural group.

Therefore, it can be said that the construction of social spaces, the preservation of the Shan culture and the construction of ethnic collective consciousness are significant aspects of the Shan people's resistance to the power of the Thai state, which reflects the effort of the majority of the villagers in Piang Luang to maintain and strengthen their Shan ethnic consciousness.

6.2   Confirmation of Assumption of Study

The results of the study indicate that from 1976 onwards, the Thai state's authority has clearly appeared in Piang Luang village and the areas along the Thailand-Myanmar border. The Thai state's aim is to create unity and encourage the feeling that people who live in the same state should belong to the same nation, so that they are united and attached to each other. The state also tries to wipe out, eliminate or block other types of ethnic consciousness by disintegrating ethnicity and constructing 'Thainess'. When the state's officials entered Piang Luang village, they brought with them the idea that villages in Thailand must have a Thai identity and consciousness in the form that was determined by the state. As a result, the Shan people became marginalized. They were considered to be "the other", and stigmatized with negative images. Thus the Shan people were unable to express their being Shan freely and openly since they were

afraid of being adversely affected in daily life and afraid of being pushed out of Thai territory to the Myanmar side of the border. From the field research, by observing daily life of the villagers closely and participating in different activities in Piang Luang village to better understand the interaction between the villagers of Piang Luang village and the state officials, it can be deduced that the Shan ethnic categorization and identification resulted from the interaction with the people outside and inside the group. For this reason, the ethnic identification of most of the Shan people in Piang Luang village has appeared in two ways as follows:

The first way is the Shan people's self-identification as being Thai people who are loyal to the Thai nation state and not harmful to the state's security. This manner of self-identification could be seen in the situations when the villagers in Piang Luang village had to interact with the state's officials, which was considered out-group interaction. Under such circumstances, the Shan people in Piang Luang village applied the strategy of self-identification as Thai by demonstrating their allegiance towards nation, religion, and His Majesty the King and the adjustment of the Shan cultural symbols to suit the changing situations such as the Poi Sang Long festival and the Kingkara bird dance that were considered to be distinctly ethnic and cultural symbols that indicated Shan ethnicity. This manner of self-identification was never found in Piang Luang village before 1976.

The result of the self-identification as Thai citizens of the villagers in Piang Luang village as mentioned above was that the Shan people gained an image of being ethnic people who accepted and followed the policies that the Thai state had imposed. Moreover, it allowed most of the villagers in Piang Luang village to create good relationships with the Thai State's officials. The majority of the state's officials thought that the villagers of Piang Luang village were demonstrating their allegiance towards nation, religion, and His Majesty the King and were not enemies of the Thai state. As a result, the governmental sectors provided budget support for the development of Piang Luang village annually. Additionally, the villagers drifted from services that were provided by the Thai state.

The second way is the ethnic identification as Shan people in order to express their Shan cultural traits and to show belonging to the prominent group with a long history of ancient civilization. This manner of self-identification was often revealed when the villagers interacted with each other, which was considered in-group interaction. Regarding the strategies that the Shan people applied to identify their own Shan ethnicity, it was discovered that most of the villagers in Piang Luang village participated in the construction of autonomous social spaces, the reconstruction of Shan culture and the development of

ethnic collective consciousness. These methods might be considered a collective action to create boundaries spacing out from others in an attempt to maintain cultural symbols for their further outstanding ethnic boundary. The villagers in Piang Luang village employed the means that were similar to those used in cultural revival adopted by the Tai Ahom, which Damrongphon Inchan (2002) studied in Upper Assam, North East India as mentioned earlier in Chapter 2. Furthermore, the perception of their membership in the same ethnic group with the same Shan culture had been passed from generation to generation. This could be seen when the villagers in Piang Luang village donated money to support the SSA army in their operation to resist the Myanmar military government, or when the senior people, Buddhist monks and core leaders of the village, for example, continued to travel to attend meetings and discussions with the SSA on the Myanmar side of the border to take part in the Shan's cultural activities and important memorial day ceremonies. At the same time, the SSA military force kept on giving regularly budgetary support in organizing various cultural activities of Piang Luang whether it was the Shan New Year's Day, the Poi Awk Wa festival fair, the Poi Wan Khu Maw Lik Tai festival, or Shan language and culture teaching projects etc. All this indicates that the government was unable to control the political consciousness of all Shan people in Piang Luang village.

However, the manners of self-identification of the villagers in Piang Luang village as mentioned above are not exactly contradictory. It could be seen from the study that the self-identification of the villagers as Thais in order to express loyalty to Thailand did not cause them to totally repress the expression of Shan cultural traits. On the contrary, it was found out that most of the villagers in Piang Luang village still showed their Shan cultural traits as much as they could in various situations and circumstances. This included the use of the Shan language to praise the Thai king. The wearing of Shan costumes both for men and women during the ceremonies expressed their loyalty to the Thai king, or speaking Thai especially among the elderly, and the Shan political symbols such as the colours of their flag and the images of important people in the Shan history in many occasions on the Thai nation state's important days. On the other hand, these operations confirmed that the Shan people did not really repress the expression of their Shan cultural traits, but instead that they were just afraid that the expression of Shan cultural traits might affect them negatively. Such expression was similar to that of the Shan younger generation and children who often tried to show their loyalty towards Thailand and the Thai king on special occasions in the same way that the Shan people who had unlawful status did rather than expressing Shan cultural traits. The reason behind this was because the Shan younger generation and children in Piang

189

Luang village needed to contact and associate with the Thai state and Thai people both in their studying and working life. Therefore, they realized the necessity of expressing loyalty to Thailand and the Thai king. Furthermore, they understood that the overly obvious expression of Shan cultural traits might cause them to be unaccepted by the Thai state's officials and excluded from various opportunities and rights that they had just received.

As for the group of villagers in Piang Luang village who had already been living in Thailand for a long time and had legal status, especially the village leaders, monks, Shan scholars and the elderly, most of them were found to express both Shan cultural traits and loyalty to Thailand by dressing themselves up in Shan costumes when they joined ceremonies to express loyalty to the Thai king. Moreover, it was also found out that the Shan people used the Shan language in speeches to praise the Thai king during those ceremonies.

Additionally, since the Shan people lived inside the Thai territory, they needed to depend on the Thai state and, therefore, had to express loyalty to Thailand. Simultaneously, the Shan people also had to depend on other Shan members in their group as well. This explained why the expression of loyalty to the Thai state and the expression of Shan cultural traits both were absolutely necessary for them. The expression of Shan cultural traits emphasized the fact that they belonged to the same group and needed to help and rely on one another. Such expression was frequently seen among the older Shan, who always identified themselves as the Shan people who were different from other Thais by using Shan cultural traits or symbols to indicate the differences between 'Shanness' and 'Thainess'. This practice was observable in the situation when the Shan people interacted with other people in the same group such as friends and family members or while they participated in important Shan traditional ceremonies. In such circumstances, they expressed the Shan cultural traits more, for example, by using Shan language or preparing Shan food. Thus, it was discovered that the villagers in Piang Luang village expressed both Shan cultural traits and loyalty to Thailand, depending on the situation. This behavior benefits them more than the extreme expression of only one way. It also indicates the villagers' refusal to stay totally under the state's power. Additionally, this phenomenon demonstrates that the Shan people will choose to utilize cultural traits to create similarity or difference from other people depending on the situation in different periods of time to get along with the social contexts and circumstances that they have to face. The villagers in Piang Luang village, therefore, often choose to utilize only the Shan cultural traits or Thai identity that is accepted and/or in the best interests of the group. Thus, the Shan ethnic identifications in Piang Luang

village are constructed to serve a particular purpose. It is fluid, flexible and changeable depending on the period of time and the strength of the state's power.

Therefore, this entire discussion confirms the assumption of the study that the effort of the construction of social and cultural unity has an effect on the Shan ethnicity.

6.3   Research Findings

Based on the questions and assumptions of the research that have been discussed earlier, the characteristics and ethnicity of the villagers in Piang Luang village could be summarized as follows:

Firstly, the Thai state's attempts to create social and cultural unity had important effects on the Shan people's self-identification and ethnic boundaries. Therefore, the villagers' expression of their ethnicity that was not necessarily the same at all times and places. This fact could be seen when the villagers of Piang Luang made use of Thai identity whenever they had to interact with the Thai state's authority. In such cases, it was always found out that the villagers tried not to show their Shan cultural traits too much. Another good example was when the Shan people needed to interact with Thai governmental officials, for example, when they had to show their ID cards, travel past military checkpoints or contact any governmental sector, they often tried to communicate in Thai instead of speaking Shan language and wore Thai-style outfits instead of the traditional Shan outfits. This reaction was to show their Thai identity. This aspect demonstrates that language alone cannot be used as the only criterion in the categorization of Shan ethnicity since the villagers in Piang Luang village may communicate both in Thai and Shan depending on the situation. Moreover, a person in Piang Luang village who speaks Shan may not be a Shan, and a Shan who speaks Thai may not be a Thai because they can learn and practice speaking Shan and Thai language. This finding is in accord with the remark that Edmund R Leach made about the Kachin in his study "Political Systems of High Land Burma" (Leach, 1954) as mentioned before that two groups of people who spoke the same language might not belong to the same ethnic group. Therefore, language or cultural characteristics are no precise indicators for the categorization of ethnicities (Leach, 1954, pp. 49-50).

Secondly, The Shan people's ethnic identification in two different manners indicates an effort in drawing a dividing line between their own group and the non-Shan by bringing their cultural symbols to use in consonance with diverse situations. One of the obvious examples is when the Shan people perform the Kingkara dance, whose original purpose was to worship the Buddha, to welcome the Thai state's

authority in many different occasions in order to express their acceptance of the state's power. Another good example is the Poi Sang Long ceremony that was originally organized to celebrate Buddhist ordination of the Shan people only. Nowadays, however, the purpose of this ceremony has changed; it is organized with an implication to respond to the state's tourism policy. Kingkara dance and Poi Sang Long ceremony are considered former cultural symbols that have been utilized in response to the current situation when the Shan people have to interact with state officials. Moreover, the utilization of the Shan cultural symbols to satisfy the Thai state's authority can also be witnessed when they organize a ceremony to praise the Thai king in the same way that they used to do for their own kings in the past; something which is done in order to show the Thai state that the villagers living in Piang Luang village have affection for and are loyal to the nation, the religion and the king, just like Thai people. Meanwhile, the Shan people in Piang Luang village also get together to organize their own Shan cultural activities to express their membership of the same ethnic group.

Therefore, the self-identification in two manners signifies the attempt of the villagers in Piang Luang village to preserve the boundary of the Shan group and their social boundary against the Thai state for their own best interests. It also indicated that the boundary of the Shan ethnicity in Piang Luang village can be made narrow or broad. The Shan had interactions with government authorities so they did not demonstrate Shan identification and concealed their 'Shanness' such as in the way they dressed, covering tattoos or in their use of Shan language resulting in a narrow sense of Shan ethnicity, whereas when the Shan had interactions with each other, they forthrightly showed their 'Shanness'. In this case, the Shan ethnicity was increasingly spread, which is in accordance with the ideas of Fredrik Barth (1969), who suggested that ethnicity had been constructed in a continual process by the members of that ethnic group who defined distinctiveness between their own group and other ethnic groups. Barth called the defining of distinctiveness "Ethnic Boundaries", which are not necessarily fixed. Instead, they can alter to suit the changing situations.

Thirdly, The self-identification of the villagers in Piang Luang village as Thai people or Shan people, which can be seen from the invention of tradition, the expression of Thai identity in daily life, the adjustment of the Poi Sang Long tradition and the Kingkara bird dance, the construction of social space, the creation of ethnic consciousness and the reconstruction of the Shan culture, indicates that it is not possible to definitely specify 'Shanness' and 'Thainess'. This is because the Shan people's self-identification is modified by social contexts and situations whether they have to interact with the in-group or the out-group.

This statement is in accordance with the study by Michael Moerman (1965) as mentioned in Chapter 2 that the Lue people's self-identification, whether they belonged to which ethnicity, depended on the context of power relationships that they had with other groups, and that the being Lue was a thing that might exist, change or disappear at any time in the Lue people's daily life. This statement is also in accord with the research by Kunstadter (1972) who studied the Karen ethnic group in the northern part of Thailand and suggested that language alone could not be used to identify any ethnicity. Besides language, other cultural forms, whether they were indigenous knowledge, food or costume, could not be considered the definite indication of any ethnicity either.

For this reason, for the villagers in Piang Luang village to be Shan or not, cannot be totally defined by any fixed criteria. Instead, it is necessary to consider the people that the Shan people interact with and in which situation this is done. Therefore, the being Shan or being Thai for the villagers in Piang Luang village cannot be defined from the objective characteristics that appear among them because people who belong to the same group and have the same objective characteristics may not necessarily belong to the same ethnic group.

Fourthly, the self-identification of the Shan people, which appears in two ways as mentioned earlier, indicates that ethnicity is not primordially given. On the contrary, it is constructed in order to make the members of the group realize the difference between their own group and other groups. The Shan people define themselves by reference to their cultural traits, symbols or phenotype by using their own traditions, symbols as well as rituals and ceremonies originally existing both officially and unofficially as their instruments in fighting to achieve the targets and interests of the Shan group. This indicates that Shan ethnicity or Shan people's self-identification was not fixed but fluid, complex and dynamic and that such ethnicity was constructed by social process, especially their interaction with the state. This also indicates that the Shan ethnic group identity is ascribed by the actors themselves, and changes in the Shan people's ethnic identification and categorization could happen both from the in-group interaction and the out-group interaction.

According to the results of the study as mentioned above, the findings of the Piang Luang village case study can be summarized thus: it cannot be clearly concluded that common cultural characteristics, symbols or phenotype are classification criteria of the Shan ethnic group in Piang Luang village because these common cultural characteristics, symbols or phenotypic of both Thai and Shan can also be seen in

other ethnic groups. Consequently, the classification of the Shan in Piang Luang village must consider the definitions employed by Shan people themselves as well as by the others.

1.   Prior to 1939 Thailand was officially known as Siam. The government wanted to create a Thai identity by integrating Tai people who lived across the Southeast Asian area under the Thai state (Surayut Aim-Aur-Yut, 2008,p.71), the Thai government named the country, citizens, and nationality of Siam by changing from "Siam" to "Thai", calling the country's citizens "Thai", as well as officially providing the name of the country as the "Kingdom of Thailand" (Ratcha Anachak Thai). People who lived in Ratcha Anachak Thai were called "Thai" and held Thai nationality. The names of the country, citizens and nationality used until now were according to the first "Cultural Mandate" issued on June 24th, 1939 under the topic "Name of the Country, Peoples and Nationality to Be Called Thai".

2.   The formation of the modern Thai nation state is still debated among scholars. One group of scholars believes that the formation of the modern Thai nation state was initiated since the King Rama V regime in 1892 while another group of sargues that it was effected after the change of administration system from an absolute monarchy to democracy in 1932 (Somkiat Wanthana, 1987, p.123).

3.   Shan is classified as one type of Tai ethnic group by using language as an indicator, like Thai people and Laos because Shan, Thai, Laos and other groups speak the "Tai or Dai" language (Conway, 2006, p.13). This study uses the term Shan to refer to the Tai-speaking people who migrated to Piang Luang village from the Shan State of Burma. However, many other names are used in self-identification and official categorization throughout the region. The word "Shan" was used by the British who governed Burma during 1886 – 1948, and used to call groups of people who spoke the Tai language (Farrelly, 2003, pp. 42-43). Academics tried to analyze the origin of pronunciation of the word "Shan" by Burma, they commented that in the Burmese pronunciation of this word, the "S" and "l" are spoken as "Ch" or "Sh", while the "M" is pronounced as an "N". Consequently, "Chan" and "Shan" sounds the same as "Siam" (Saysom Taamtee, 1995). As for the Hunyi Chinese in China, they are called "Shan" by their physical characteristics. They call the group of people who speak the Tai language and live in the southern part of China as people wore "Skin garments", which was interpreted later as people who were tattooed (Conway, 2006, p.12). They also call Shan people white shirt, golden teeth, silver teeth, black teeth, and other names, as well as calling Shan people who speak Tai language as " barbarians" (G.H. Luce ,1958, pp.125-175). As for Thai people, they call the group of people, who speak Tai language as described by Westerners as "Shan", with many different names. Mostly, they call Shan people as "Tai Yai". Tai Yai refers to "Greater Tai"

or "Big Tai" which is a central Thai translation of Tai Long . According to Wijeyewardene (1990,p.48), Tai Yai is usually applied to people also known as Shan including the Ahom and other Tai groups of Assam, while the Tai Noi, which means "Lesser Tai" or "Little Tai", is often used for all other Tai-language speaking groups in the southwestern branch (Schiko Yasuda,2008,p.2). However, Thai people in the northern region call Shan people "ngiaw" (Farrelly, 2003, pp.42-43). In the record of De La Loubere, a French envoy from Louis XIV de France royal palace, who visited the Ayutthaya kingdom which was the capital of Siam or Thailand between 1686 – 1688, he mentioned that Shan people are Siams-grands who lived in mountain areas in the north of Thailand, which was the most barbarous part (La Louberre, 1986, p.7). Moreover, the Lawa ethnic group in Burma call Shan "Sem" and Kachins people call Shan "Sam" (Suriya Ratanakul, 1995, p.27). On the other hand, Shan people do not know themselves by the names that others do, but they call themselves "Tai" (Sompong Witayasakpan, 2001,p.11) and refer to the Shan State as "Muong Tai" (land of the Tai) (Conway, 2006,p.12). Also, Shan people call themselves different names depending on the locations of settlement. For example, Shan people in Burma call Shan people in China as "Tai Kae" or "Tai Jean", these people can speak Chinese and have been influenced by the Chinese culture, such as language, using chopsticks, building houses on the ground, etc. Whereas, Shan people in China call themselves "Tai Nüa" because these people live in the northern part of the Kong River and call Shan people in Burma "Tai Dehong or Taikhong". As for Shan people in the Assam State, India are called "Tai Ahom". Shan people who live in northern Burma are called "Tai Khamti" or "Tai Phakae". In conclusion, the Shan are identified with different names in each region by not only Shan people themselves but by others also. Classification criteria for Shan people are languages, locations of settlement and geographic terms but these criteria cannot always classify Shan ethnic groups (OkTai, 2009).

4.   A visit to Piang Luang village using the Highway No. 107 Chiangmai – Faang heading straight to the road of Muang Nagi – Nawai and branching into the Mac Ja - Piangluang road at Km.89.

5.   "Rai" refers to the standard unit of land measurement in Thailand. One rai is the equivalent of approximately 3/5 acres (Keyes, 1967, p.74).

6.   Thailand does not use the term "refugee" to label people who escaped danger in their home country, but instead officially uses the term "displaced person". This is due to the fact that Thailand is not a signatory of the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees, which defines the term and rights of refugees. The Thai government and officials avoid using the term "refugee" to avoid giving the impression of being bound by these instruments (Ryoko Kaise, 1999, p.1).

7.   B.E. refers to the Buddhist Era, which began after the death of Lord Buddha and is used to indicate the calendar year in Thailand. To convert the Buddhist year to the Christian year (A.D. or anno domini), one must subtract 543 from the B.E. year.

8.   Shan architecture, like wood buildings, raised up a space under a building. Timber was the main construction material and roofs have many overlapping layers as odd numbers such as 3 layers, 5 layers, or 7 layers which is a symbol of the sector on sense. Each layer of a roof was decorated by wood carvings and metal stencils with sliced pieces including decoration of mirrors on several areas of the roofs to give a more elegant sight.

9.   General Khun Sa/Chang Chi Fu was the leader of the Mong Tai Army (MTA) with the purpose of liberating the nation through financial support from the opium business. He wanted to declare the independence from Burma to conduct the Shan State military and his reputation came from being a Shan State military leader. This military had modern weapons and equipment, including satellite installation, school construction, and ground missile installation. The Shan State was the production source of drugs, especially in the Golden Triangle area of Burma, Thai and Laos's borders. MTA used areas in Thailand to produce drugs and to locate its armed military base. However, the Thai government sent their military troops to attack this base because it was a national security threat and finally banished the MTA base from Thailand. Later, the MTA relocated its armed military base in the Mae Ai district, Chiang Mai province and once again this base was banished by the Thai government. Moreover, General Khun Sa/Chang Chi Fu became drug dealers that were wanted by the United States. In 1996, General Khun Sa/Chang Chi Fu could not resist pressure from the U.S., Thailand and other nations on drug issues, he made an announcement to stop fighting with Burma, disintegrated troops and sought asylum with the Burmese military instead of being arrested by the U.S. as a criminal (Lannaworld, 2010).

10.   The result of the determination of border lines is that Thailand has connecting territories with four neighboring countries, both by land and water. These countries are Laos, Cambodia, Malaysia and Burma. The distance of the border line is 5,650 kilometers with an area of 511,937 square kilometers (Remote Sensing and GIS Association of Thailand, 2005) as well as the control of frontier in Thailand is the responsibility of the Royal Thai Armed Forces Headquarters, Department of Provincial Administration, Border Patrol Police Bureau – Ministry of Department of Treaties and Legal Affairs – Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Siriporn Somboon, 2003, pp. 4-5).

11. "Minoritiy" in the view of Thai society usually refers to culturally different groups. They are regarded as inferior to the majority group in terms of power and civilization. In addition, these minorities are regarded as the cause of problems to the Thai nation state and jeopardize the security and unity of the nation state. The word "minority group" has never existed in Thai language until the penetration of the colonization system into the Southeast Asia region leading to the separation between majority and minority groups of populations to allow for an effective administration so that it can be clarified that the majority group governs the minority group, and it is certainly true that they are governed by the majority group (Office of the National Culture Commission in Ministry of Culture, 2003, p.7 & 272).

12. The Shan people have their territory in the Shan State in Burma, migrating from southern China in the 6th century (Hall, 1955, pp.10-11) (Samerchai Poolsuwan,2009,p.2). In the northeast Burma has been the settlement for Shan people since ancient times, such as Mong Hsenwi, Mong Hsipaw, Mong Nai, Mong Pan, Taunggyi, Mongmit, etc. (Sumit Pitiphat, 2001,p. 10). Shan State was first mentioned in the Pagan Kingdom as a buffer state between Pagan Kingdom and China (Sompong Witayasakpan, 2001, p.72). In Burmese chronicles, people who spoke the Tai language and lived in northern Burma, were called "Shan" (Sumit Pitiphat et al, 2002,p.59). Evidence shows that Burma has known Shan people for a long time. In addition, there are many Shan people living in the southwest area of Yunnan Provide in China. In Assam State of India, Shan people migrated from Burma more than 600 years ago. In Thailand, Shan people migrated and settled in the Thai – Burma border and in the Mae Hong Sorn, Chiang Rai and Chiang Mai provinces. Shan people have settled their territory and established their community in many parts of northern Thailand.

13. Nowadays, important days of Thailand are national holidays which are made of 14 days in total. The majority of these days are related to the nation, religion and the king. The religion related national holidays are 4 days, king related 5 days, cultural and tradition related 3 days and political system related 1 day. In these important national holidays, there is no holiday that belongs to other ethnic groups that live in Thailand. This shows that the Thai government tried to create a social and cultural unity. Also, in these holidays, the government arranges activities that show the Thai social and cultural unity as well as Thai awareness.

14. The current Thai national flag was officially created according to the Flag Act of September 24th, 1917 in the King Rama VI period and was called the "Trirong Flag". The flag consists of 5 stripes with 3 colors that represent the primary institution of Thailand, which are the nation, religion and the king. King

Rama VI stated the meaning of each color: red means the blood sacrificed to the nation, white means the purity of Buddhism and its philosophy, and blue means his color and the King 's color. Nation, religion and the king were the central ideological topics of the new Thai state. The creation of the Thai national flag influenced the Field Marshal P. Pibulsongkram government to compose the national anthem[before there was no national anthem I suppose!?] Western culture influenced the idea of a national anthem suggesting that every country must have its own that represented the political status of independence and was the medium to integrate people in the nation. The meaning of the lyrics reflects the creation of Thai unity as follows *"Thailand is the unity of Thai blood and body. The whole country belongs to the Thai people, maintaining thus far for the Thai. All Thais intend to unite together. Thais love peace, but do not fear to fight. They will never let anyone threaten their independence. They will sacrifice every drop of their blood to contribute to the nation, will serve their country with pride and prestige--full of victory, Chai Yo."* (*The office of the prime minister*, 1991) The creation of the Thai national flag and anthem influenced the invention of tradition in the period of Field Marshal P. Pibulsongkram's government. The government regulated the national flag and anthem ceremony twice a day at 8.00am and 6.00pm. Whenever the flag is raised or lowered, people must stand still to show their respect to the flag and anthem until the end of the anthem or the ceremony. In addition, the government also regulated government agencies to raise the national flag every morning at 8.00am and lower the flag at 6.00pm. As for schools, the flag must be raised in the morning and lowered at 6.00pm on school days. For the school break, the flag must be raised at 8.00am and lowered at 6.00pm. There were also policies to decorate national flags on national days. Moreover, the government regulated policies and punishments for the national flag and national anthem. The punishments were to fine or imprison (or both) those who disobey policies depending on the level of guilt. Later, there were modifications of the policies made by the Office of the Prime Minister. The office of the Prime Minister would take care and manage issues related to the national flag, national anthem, flying the national flag and ceremonies according to the regulated policies. At present, Thailand still uses the Trirong flag as its national flag and uses the national anthem with the meaning as mentioned earlier. Also, there is the traditional practice of standing still during flag flying at 8.00am and 6.00pm every day to show respect. Educational institutions ranging from kindergartens, primary schools, secondary schools and universities as well as government offices in Thailand also have flagstaffs and Trirong flags in front of buildings. Also, they have activities related to the nation, religion and the king that must be conducted before daily study or work by flying the national flag every morning at 8.00am, which is the start time of

government offices, and by lowering the flag at 6.00pm. Moreover, radio stations and television channels must play the national anthem twice a day at the same time regardless of holidays. These activities are considered to be the responsibilities of educational institutions and government offices that must be conducted. The practice policies to the national flag of Thai people can be seen from the Flag Act of 1979 and the rule of the Office of the Prime Minister on the use of the hoist or display of foreign flags and the flag of the kingdom in 1986.

15.   The Thai government has determined the official spoken and written language, which is to used the Central Thai Language spoken in the Bangkok area only (Yukti mukdavichit, 2007). The Thai government announced to use spoken and written language in the Field Marshal P. Pibulsongkram government period in 1939 by announcing the Cultural mandate issued on June 24th, 1939. This mandate was to determine the practices of good citizens that they must study Thai language, must use Thai language to communicate with others, must not use a language other than Thai for government activities and must not study the Quran (religious text of Muslims). This announcement has influenced up until present that the there is only one official spoken and written language for all government activities, for the study of educational institutions and for communication media, such as radio, television, newspapers, etc. by using the accent spoken in the central area. In fact, there are many different languages in Thailand in different regions. The results from the determination of official language are the impact of the language of ethnic groups, especially in three southern provinces of Thailand where the majority is Muslim. 83 percent of the people use the Malay language for communication, causing people living in the south to have an identity in terms of language and culture, which are significantly different from the central official language and cultures. The Ministry of Education required schools to only use the official Thai language for the study, therefore, losing appreciation from Muslims in the south. Moreover, the requirements of using official Thai for government administrative affairs eliminated the use of each language of different ethnic groups. As a result, the usage of languages of these ethnic groups was gradually reduced and some were distorted by the influence of Thai (Suvilai Premsrirat, 2005).

16.   Thai language means one of the languages in the Tai language family. The name "Thai" specifies that the language is used in Thailand (Suriya Ratanakul 2008, pp.16-17). The Tai language family is typically used in Southeast Asia and has the largest number of users in this region, ranging from north Vietnam, south and southwest of China, Laos, Thailand, north Burma, and the Assam State in India. There are more than 100 million people that speak an idiom of the Tai language family. They have settlements in

lowlands, highlands and near major rivers of Southeast Asia, including the Chaopraya river, Yom river, Ping river, Kong river, Dang river and Dum river (Sompong Witayasakpan, 2001, 2007,p.1).

17.   Buddhism became the religion that Shan people believe in and its doctrines have been strictly followed. Sumit Pitiphat et al (1999) noticed from the study of Shan in different areas that the adherence of Buddhism is a significant uniqueness of the social culture of Shan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
IN THAI LANGUAGE

Anan Kanjanapan (อนันท์ กาญจนพันธุ์).(1996).State of Tai Studies: The Case of Ethno genesis and Cultural Exchange(สถานภาพการวิจัยทางสังคมวัฒนธรรมไทใหญ่).Chiengmai University, The Faculty of Social Sciences.

Aranya Siriphon (อรัญญา ศิริผล).(2001). Opium and The Hmong: Dynamism, Diversity and Complexity of Identities of A Marginal People(ฝิ่นกับคนม้ง:พลวัตรความหลากหลายและความซับซ้อนแห่งอัตลักษณ์ ของคนชายขอบ). Chiengmai University.

Aranya Siriphon.(2008)."Weaving the Tai Social World: The Process of Tran locality and Alternative Maternities along the Yunnan-Burma Border" Ph.D. Dissertation in Social Science, Chiang Mai University.

Atchara Rakyutidharm (อัจฉรา รักยุติธรรม).(2005).Creation of Historical Realization in the Landless Nation. In Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre. Non prejudicial culture, life with non-violence: 4th Symposium, January 23-25, 2005, Bangkok.

Athita Sunthrarothok (อธิตา สุทรโรทก).(1996). The Black Lahu & yellow Lahu : Preservation of Ethnic Identity and Boundary in the Context of the Development at Ban Bala, Mae Saruey District,Chiangrai(มูเซอดำมูเซอเหลือง:การรักษาเอกลักษณ์และพรมแดนชาติพันธุ์ในบริบทของการพัฒนา ที่บ้านบาหลา อำเภอแม่สรวย จังหวัดเชียงราย). A thesis for Master's Degree, Faculty of Sociology and Anthropology, Thammasat University.

Banyen Charntanawat.(2001).Tourism and Its affect on the Shan Community: A Case Study of Thamlod Village, Pang Mapha District ,Mae Hong Son Province. Chiengmai: Graduate School, Chiengmai University.

Chaiyong Chaisri(ชัยยง ไชยศรี).(2007). The Study of Troops and Trade Transportation Ways between Chiangmai, Mueang Kued, Mueang Khong, Mueang Haeng and Mueang Nai (Burma) (การศึกษาเส้นทางเดินทัพและค้าขายสมัยโบราณ: เชียงใหม่ เมืองกื๊ด เมืองคอง เมืองแหง เมือง นาย (พม่า) . Chiengmai Rajbhat University.

Chaiyong Chaisri(ชัยยง ไชยศรี).(2007). New Information on the Area where King Naresuan Passed Away (ข้อมูลใหม่พื้นที่สวรรคตสมเด็จพระนเรศวรมหาราช), Chiengmai Rajbhat University, Erawan Printing Co.

Chanita Rukspollamuang et al.(ชนิตา รักษ์พลเมือง และคณะ).(1988).The Education of Shan, Yunnanese, Lua and Karen : A Case Study in Ban Mai Loong Khon, Ban Tham, Ban Kong Loi and Ban Pa Taek(การศึกษาของชาวไทยใหญ่ จีนฮ่อ ลัว และ กะเหรี่ยง:การศึกษาเฉพาะกรณี บ้านไม้ลุงขน บ้านถ้ำ บ้านกองลอย และบ้านผาแตก) . Chulalongkorn University.

Chavivun Prachaupmoh(ฉวีวรรณ ประจวบเหมาะ).(1990).Concept of ethnicity(แนวคิดการธำรงชาติพันธุ์).In academic literature on Thai Social and Culture Section 1-7, Sukhothaithammathiraj University, Nonthaburi, Sukhothaithammathiraj Press.

Chavivun Prachaupmoh.(1980).The Role of Women in Maintaining Ethnic Identity and Boundary: A Case of Thai-Muslim (The Malay Speaking Group).University of Hawaiti .

Chavivun Prachuamoh (ฉวีวรรณ ประจวบเหมาะ).(2004).Concepts of Ethnicity Studies .Bangkok : Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre.

Chavivun Prachuanmoh and Chaiwat Satha-Anand,Thailand : A Mosaic of Ethnic Tensions Under Control,Ethnic Studies Report,Vol.3 No.1,January 1985.

Chusidh Chuchart(ชูสิทธิ์ ชูชาติ).(1982) .The Pack-Ox Traders / Merchants : Pioneers of Trade in Nor them Region Villages of Thailand (B.E.2398-2503 or 1845-1960 A.D.) (พ่อค้าวัวต่าง:ผู้บุกเบิก การค้าในหมู่บ้านภาคเหนือของประเทศไทย พ.ศ. 2398-2503) . Chiengmai Teachers Training College

Damronghon Inchan(ดำรง อินทร์จันทร์).(2002).A Cultural Revival of Tai Ahom in Assam ,India(การฟื้นฟู วัฒนธรรมของไทอาหมในรัฐอัสสัม ประเทศอินเดีย).Thammasat University.

Decha Tangseefa.(2006). Taking Flight in Condemned Grounds: Forcibly Displaced Karen and the Thai-Burmese In-Between Spaces, Alternatives 31:405-429.

Department of Social Development and Welfare(กรมพัฒนาสังคมและสวัสดิการ).(2002). Community council of highland in 20 provinces in Thailand 2002 (ทำเนียบชุมชนบนพื้นที่สูง 20 จังหวัดในประเทศไทย พ.ศ. 2545). Ministry of Social Development and Human Security.

Foreign Affairs Commission.(2004). Stability and Ethnic Groups at the Thai-Burma Border. The Secretary of the Standing Commission of Parliament.

Jaggapan Cadchumsang(จักรพันธุ์ ขัดชุมแสง).(2000).Muslim Community in a Market Town at the Thai-Burma Border: An Interrelationship between Plural Society, Economic Life, and Ethnicity (ชุมชน มุสลิมในเมืองตลาดชายแดนไทยพม่า : สัมพันธภาพระหว่างพหุสังคม วิถีชีวิตทางเศรษฐกิจและการธำรง ชาติพันธุ์) ใน สำนักงานคณะกรรมการวิจัยแห่งชาติ 1st National Congress on Sociology : The State of Research on the Dynamism of Thai Society ,15-16 December 2000, Bangkok .

Jamaree Chiangthong(จามะรี เชียงทอง).(2003).The politics of ethnicity, indigenous culture andknowledge in Thailand, Vietnam and Lao PDR.(การเมืองเรื่องชาติพันธุ์ วัฒนธรรม และความรู้พื้นถิ่นในไทย เวียดนามและลาว) In Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre. 2nd Annual anthropology symposium dated March 26-28, 2003.

Juajan Wongpolganan.(2006). Identity Construction of Mon Women at the Thai-Burma Border and their Interaction with Burmese and the Thai: The Case of a Mon Community in Kanchanaburi Province. Thesis of doctorate degree . Thammasat University.

Kamol Raktapurana(กมล รักตะปุรณะ).(1982).The Problem of Minority Group in Thailand(ปัญหาชนกลุ่มน้อย ในประเทศไทย) in Political Science Review , August 2525 , Department of Political science , Faculty of Social Sciences , Chiengmai University .

Kerdmongkol Rakyutidharm (เกิดมงคล รักยุติธรรม).(2008).From slavery work force to illegal work force: Trans nation people in the state, the state in trans nation people (จากแรงงานทาสสู่แรงงานเถื่อน : คน ข้ามชาติในรัฐ รัฐในคนข้ามชาติ). In Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre. The state in perspective of daily life : 6th Anthropology Annual symposium held by Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre during March 28-30, 2008.

Khachatphai Burutphat (ขจัดภัย บุรุษพัตน์).(1983).Minority Groups in Thailand and National Security . Bangkok :Phrae Phitthaya.

Kitaya Archavanikul.(2011).Towards Managing Stateless People in Thailand's Context ,Jurnal of Population and Social Studies, Bangkok , Institute for Population and Social Research, Mahidol University.

Kritaya Archavanitkul.(1997).Status of tribes and minority people in Thailand, Bangkok , Institute for Population and Social Research, Mahidol University.

Kwanchewan Buadaeng (ขวัญชีวัน บัวแดง). (2003). Religion and identity of ethnic groups: Case study on Kaliang minority groups in Thailand and Burma (ศาสนาและอัตลักษณ์ของกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ศึกษากรณี กลุ่มชนกะเหลี่ยงในประเทศไทยและประเทศสหภาพพม่า). The Institute of Social Research, Chiengmai University.

Likhit Dhiravegin (ลิขิต ธีรเวคิน).(1978).Ethnic minorities in Thailand (ชนกลุ่มน้อยในประเทศไทย).Bangkok: Phrae Phitthaya.

Manas Khanthathutbumroong(มนัส ขันธทัตบำรุง) . (1965). Welfare for the hilltribes In Northern Region of the Border Patrol Police(การสงเคราะห์ชาวเขาในภาคเหนือของตำรวจภูธรชายแดน). Faculty of Political Science. Thammasat University.

Montri Jongpoonphol and Sathien Kokiattrakul. (2004). Thailand's population database system of the Bureau of Registration Administration, Department of Provincial Administration, Ministry of Interior' .In Kritaya Achawanitkul (editor), Who are the foreign nationals in Thailand and how many? And which database system is the answer? (pages 39-72). Nakorn Pathom: Institute for Population and Social Research, Mahidol University.

Natcha Laohadirinadh(ณัชชา เลาหศิรินาถ).(1997).Sipsongpanna: A Traditional State .Bangkok : The foundation for the promotion of social sciences and humanities textbooks project.

Niwat Thongwol(นิวัต ทองวล).(2003).The identity construction of the Phuan in Thailand.(การสร้างอัตลักษณ์ของชาวพวนในประเทศไทย).Thesis of doctorate degree, in Thai Study, Mahasarakam University.

Niyaphan Pholwaddhana.(1986).Ethnic Relationa in Thailand : The Mon Thai Relationship , Deparment of Anthropology ,The University of Kansas.

Office of the National Culture Commission .(2003).Ethnicity and Myth (ชาติพันธุ์และมายคติ). Bangkok: Ministry of Culture.

Office of the prime minister (สานักนายกรัฐมนตรี) .(1991). THAILAND in the 90s.

Paisan Vanitsujit. The development of social studies textbooks for primary schools between 1932-1978 (2000). Dissertation for Master's Degree education: Mahasarakham University.

Parichart Hanchaina.(2006).The Process of Identity Construction of Lao Migrants at the Thai-Lao Border.Graduate School, Khon Kaen University.

Patcharin Nawichai.(2008).Ethnic Group Livelihood Strategies and State Integration : Moken and the Hill People in Negotiation with the State , Department of Philosophy ,University of Passau.

Phumphat Chetiyanoth(นายภูมิพัตน์ เซติยานนท์).(2003). A study of Ethnic Identity Formation among the Minorities in Nyaungshewe-Inle . Thammasat University.

Piangluang Sub-district Administration Organization (องค์การบริหารส่วนตำบลเปียงหลวง) .(2010). Information from Three-year Development Plan 2010-2012 of the Piang Luang Sub-District Administration Organization (ข้อมูลจากแผนพัฒนาสามปี 2553-2555 ของงค์การบริหารส่วนตำบลเปียงหลวง).

Pinkaew Luangaramsri (ปิ่นแก้ว เหลืองอร่ามศรี).(2005).Unfamiliar physique, national violence and international movement of Tai-yai women.(ร่างกายอันแปลกแยก ชาติอัน รุนแรง และการเคลื่อนไหวข้ามชาติของผู้หญิงไทยใหญ่). In Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre. Non prejudicial culture, life with non-violence: 4th Symposium, January 23-25, 2005, Bangkok.

Pinphet Chumpa (ปิ่นเพชร จำปา).(2002).Thai Tourism Culture , AD 1851-2001 (วัฒนธรรมการท่องเที่ยวของ คนไทย พ.ศ. 2395-2544) . Thesis for Master of Arts (History) . Faculty of Liberal Arts . Thammasat University.

Pornpimol Trichot(พิมพิมล ตรีโชติ). (2004) . A Journey of Ethnic Minority . Asia Studies Institute, Chulalangkorn University.

Pornpimol Trichot (พิมพิมล ตรีโชติ). (2005). The origin of resistance to Burma movement, this report is a part of the study "Asian in new millennium" year 2, under topic "Asian under complex globalization and human security"(ที่มาของขบวนการต่อต้านรัฐของกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ในพม่า รายงานฉบับนี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่ง ของงานวิจัยเรื่อง อาเซียนในสหสวรรษใหม่ ปีที่ 2 ภายใต้หัวข้อประเด็น อาเซียนภายใต้โลกาภิวัตน์เชิงซ้อน กับความมั่นคงของมนุษย์). Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University.

Pramote Prasartkul.(2009).Celebration of 100th anniversary of Thailand's population census, population and housing census 2010: the 11th counting of the population. Press release regarding the preparation of population and housing census 2010, National Statistical Office.

Prananta Tarnwaro and Tawee Sawangpanyanggur.(1987).108 Shan Proverbs. Chiengmai :Tai Language Study Club.

Prasong Soonsiri.(1982).Ethnic Mionlities in Northerm Thailand in Political Science Review , August 2525 , Department of Political science , Faculty of Social Sciences , Chiengmai University .

Puttanee Kangkun(พุทธณี กางกั้น).(1997).Self esteem of Burmese students in Thai society: Case study on biography of Burmese students (การให้ความหมายกับตนเองของนักศึกษาพม่าในสังคมไทย: ศึกษาเฉ พะกรณีชีวประวัติของนักศึกษาพม่า).Thesis for masters degree in anthropology, the Faculty of Social Sciences and Anthropology, Thammasat University.

Samerchai Poolsuwan(เสมอชัย พูลสุวรรณ).(2009).Shan State (Tai principality),dynamic of ethnicity in historical context and contemporary political (รัฐฉาน (เมืองไต) พลวัตของชาติพันธุ์ในบริบท ประวัติศาสตร์และสังคมการเมืองร่วมสมัย).The Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre (public organization) Bangkok.

Sawang Prayoon (สว่าง ประยูร) et al. (1982). Problems of potential Burma refugee to Thailand, especially in Mae Sareang district, Mae Hong Sorn province (ปัญหาแนวโน้มการอพยพของชาวพม่าที่เข้ามาใน ไทย ศึกษาเฉพาะกรณี อำเภอแม่สะเรียง จังหวัดแม่ฮ่องสอน). In Political Science Review (รัฐศาสตร์ ปริทัศน์) เอกสารวิชาการลำดับที่ 3 กันยายน 1982). Faculty Of Social Sciences Chiang Mai University.

Saysom Taamtee (สายสม ธรรมธิ). (1995). Research Paper on Shan Tattoo (รายงานการศึกษาวิจัยเรื่อง ลาย สักไทยใหญ่) Chiang Mai: Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University.

Siriporn Somboon(สิริพร สมบูรณ์).(2003).Frontier community (ชุมชนชายแดน). Supporting document for the second annual meeting of anthropology, during March 26-28, 2003. Sirinthron Anthropology Center (public organization).

Somkiat Wanthana(สมเกียรติ วันทะนะ).(1987).Modern Thailand: Interrelationship of the State and its history. (เมืองไทยยุคใหม่: สัมพันธภาพระหว่างรัฐกับประวัติศาสตร์) In Living in Thailand: Collection of social and political articles published in honor of Professor Saneh Jamarik on his 60th birthday anniversary, pages 71-123. Editorial staff: Sombat Chantawongse (สมบัติ จันทร์วงศ์) and Chaiwat Satha-anant (ชัยวัตน์ สถาอานันท์)., Bangkok: Thammasat University Press.

Sompong Witayasakpan (สมพงศ์ วิทยศักดิ์พันธุ์). (2001). History of Tai Yai (ประวัติศาสตร์ไทยใหญ่) สำนัก พิมพ์สร้างสรรค์ กรุงเทพ.

Sompong Witayasakpan (สมพงศ์ วิทยศักดิ์พันธุ์). (2001). Shan Social and Cultural History: A Research Report (ประวัติศาสตร์ไทใหญ่). Bangkok: Thailand Research Council and Chulalongkorn University.

Sompong Witayasakpan (สมพงศ์ วิทยศักดิ์พันธุ์). (2007). The comparison of Thai language and Tai language study (การศึกษาภาษาไทและภาษาไทเปรียบเทียบ) . Faculty of Humanities, Chiang Mai University.

Sompong Witayasakpan.(1999).Shan Social and Cultural History (ประวัติศาสตร์สังคมวัฒนธรรมไทใหญ่). Bangkok: The Office of the Thai Research Fund.

Sorayut Aim-Aur-Yut (ศรยุทธ เอี่ยมเอื้อยุทธ). (2008). "Payah not jadi nayu (It is very difficult to be nayu) Ethnicity Meaning and Negotiation of Meayu in everyday life ("ปาเยาะห์เนาะยาดีนายู" (มันยากที่จะ เป็นนายู"):ความหมายและการต่อรองของมลายูในชีวิตประจำวัน)

Srisakra Vallibhotama(ศรีศักร วัลลิโภดม)&Sujit Wongthes(สุจิตต์.วงษ์เทศ).(1991).Thai Noi, Thai Yai, Thai Siam. (ไทยน้อย ไทยใหญ่ ไทยสยาม) Bangkok: Matichon Public Co., Ltd.

Sukanya Baonoed(สุกัญญา เบาเนิด).(2006).Identity of Mon migrants(อัตลักษณ์ของชาวมอญอพยพ). Master Thesis, Chulalongkorn University .

Sumit Pitiphat (สุมิตร ปิติพัฒน์) et al. (1999). Research report on inheritance of Tai Yai culture in Burma (รายงานการวิจัยชุมชนและการสืบทอดวัฒนธรรมไทยใหญ่ในประเทศสหภาพพม่า) Office of the National Culture Commission.

Sumit Pitiphat (สุมิตร ปิติพัฒน์) et al. (2002).ชุมชนไทในพม่าตอนเหนือ: รัฐฉานตอนใต้ ภาคมัณทะเลย์ (Mandalay Division) และคาตีหลวง (Khamti Luong) . Thai Khadi Research Institute , Thammasat University .

Sumit Pitiphat (สุมิตร ปิติพัฒน์). (2001). Tai Meug Kang: report on study of Tai people in Kachin State (ไต เมิงขาง: รายงานการศึกษาคนไทในรัฐคะฉิ่น). Thai Khadi Research Institute, Thammasat University.

Sumit Pitiphat and Damronghon Inchan.(2003).A study of the revitalization process of traditional beliefs and rituals of Tai Ahom in Assam,India. Thai Khadi Research Institute , Thammasat University .

Sunait Chutintaranond(สุเนตร ชุตินธรานนท์)et al.(2006).Southeast Asia Project of cognition and understanding of contemporary Thai society(โครงการอุษาคเนย์ในการรับรู้และความเข้าใจของ สังคมไทยร่วมสมัย). Bangkok: The Office of Research Support Fund.

Suriya Ratanakul (สุริยา รัตนกุล) .(1985) . The Lawa Poetry . Journal of the Siam Society, January & July 1985, volume 73 part 1 & 2 .

Suthep Sunthornpasat(สุเทพ สุนทรภาสัช).(1997). Anthropology and History (มานุษยวิทยากับประวัติศาสตร์). Bangkok:Muang Boran.

Thawathchai Thunthopash(ธวัชชัย ทันโตภาศ).(2008).Social Sciences Textbook of High School.Bangkok, Thaiwatanphanich press Ltd.

Theeraparp Lohitagul.(1994).The Tai in Southeast Asia. Bangkok:Praphansarn.

Thirayuth Boonmi(ธีรยุทธ บุญมี).(2000).Pluralism (พหุนิยม) . In the Office of National Research Committee, 1st National Congress on Sociology : The State of Research on the Dynamism of Thai Society, Bangkok, December 15-16, 2000.

Thongchai Winichakul(ธงชัย วินิจกุล).(2005).Ethnical migrants from Burma in the country (ผู้ลี้ภัยชนเผ่าจาก พม่าในประเทศ) . Document distributed in special lecture on August 7, 2005.

Vanuch Prueksasri(วนัช พฤกษะศรี) .(1990). The Development with Impact on Migration of the Hilltribes : Lahu and Karen(การพัฒนาที่มีผลต่อการย้ายถิ่นฐานของชาวเขาเผ่ามูเซอและกะเหรี่ยง), Research Report of the Hilltribes Institute, Department of Social Welfare.

Vibul Tanuchit (วิบูลย์ ทานุชิต).(1985). The Educational Reform in the North-Western Province(การปฏิ รูปการศึกษาในมณฑลพายัพ) . A thesis for Master's Degree, Srinakarinwirot University.

Yos Santasombat(ยศ สันตสมบัติ).(2008). Power, space and ethnical identity: Politics, culture of nation states in Thai society (อำนาจ พื้นที่ และอัตลักษณ์ทางชาติพันธุ์: การเมืองวัฒนธรรมของรัฐชาติในสังคมไทย). Bangkok : The Princess Maha Chakri Anthropology Centre (Public Organization).lture of Shan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Alonso,Ana Maria.(1994).The political of, time, and substance: state information, nationalism and ethnicity . Annual Review Anthropology 23

Amara Pongsapich.(2004).Cultural Diversity, 4th edition, Bangkok, Chulalongkorn University Printing house.

Anderson,Alan B. (2003).   The complexity of Ethnic Identities: A Postmodern Reevaluation. Identity : An International journal of Theory and Research. Vol.1 no 3 (2003) page numbers???

Anderson,Benedict.(1979).The Study of Thai State: The State of Thai Studies in Eliezar B. Ayal (ed.). The Study of Thailand: Analyses of Knowledge, Approaches, and Prospects in Anthropology, Art History, History, Economics, and Political Science. Ohio: Ohio University center for International Studies, SEA Program.

Anderson,Benedict.(1983).Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. Verso, London and New York.

Anderson, Benedict.(1991).Imagined Community: Reflections of the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. Second Edition. London: Verso.

Andre and Louis Boucaud.(1998).Burma's Golden Triangle.Hong Kong, Asia 2000.

Andrew Walker.(1991).The Legend of the Golden boat : regulation ,trade and traders in the Borderlands of Laos , Thailand , Chaina , and Burma. North America : University of Hawai .

Annette Johannes AW SC.(1994).The Perankan Identity : To be or not to be.The University of Oklahoma: Graduate College.

Appadurai,Arjun.(1996).Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultureal Economy . The Anthropology of Globalization : a Reader.Jonathan Xavier Inda and Renato Rosaldo,eds.Blackwell Publishing , pp 46-64 .

Appadurai,Arjun.(2006).Fear of Small Number: An Essay on the Geography Anger.Durhan and London : Duke University.

Bank, Marcus. (1996). Ethnicity: Anthropoligical Constructions (New York, Routledge,1996).

Barnard, Alan and Jonathan,Spencer.(1997). Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology. Routledge,New York.

209

Barth, Fredrik.(1969).Introduction Ethnic Group and Boundaries ,(Boston : Little , Brown and Company).

Bell,D.(1975).Ethnicity and social change , In N. Glazer and D.P. Moynihan,(Eds.) ,   Ethnicity:Theory and practice (pp.174n),Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Berger, Peter and Luckmann, Thomas.(1976). The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge (New York: Anchor Books)

Bertil, Linter. (1984). The Shans and Shan State of Burma. Contemporary Southeast Asia 1 (March 1984).

Brass,P.R.(Ed.).(1985).Ethnic Groups and the State. London:Groom Helm.

Brown,David.(1994).The State and Ethnic Politics in Southeast Asia.London:Routledge.

Calhoun, Craig.(1994). Social Theory and the Politics of identity , in Craig Chlhoun(ed.) Social Theory and the Politics of Identity(pp 9-36).Cambridge and oxford:Blackwell Publishers.

Carsten,Janet.(1998).Borders, Boundaries, Tradition and State on the Malaysian Periphery, in Thaomas M.Wilson and   Hastings Donnan(eds.) Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers(pp.215-236).Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chavivun Prachuabmoh.(1980).The Role of Women in Maintaining Ethnic Identity and Boundaries: A Case of Thai-Muslims (The Malay Speaking Group) in Southern Thailand University of Hawaii.

Cohen , Abner.(1996). The lesson of Ethnicity, in Theories of Ethnicity : A Classical Reader. Werner Sollors, Ed. Houndmills , Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6xs and London : Macmillan Press Ltd. , pp 370-384 .

Cohen , Jean. (1985) . Strategy or Identiy : New Theoretical Paradigms and Cotemporary Social Movement, Social Research.

Cohen, Robin.(1998). "Diasporas and the Nation – State: from Victims to Challengers" in Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen(eds.). Migration, Diasporas and Transnationalism (pp.266 – 279). Cheltenham and Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

Cohen,Abner.(1974). Introduction: The Lesson of Ethnicity.In Urban Ethnicity.A.Cohen,ed. London: Tavistock.

Cohn,Bemard S.and Nicholas B .Dirks.(1978).Beyond the Fringe :The Nation State, Colonialism and the Technologies of Power , Journal of Historical Sociology, vol .1 . no. 2 (1978): 224-9.

Connerton,paul.(1989).How Societies Remember.Cambridge:Cambridge Univerdity Press.

Conway, Susan. (2006). The Shan, Culture, Art and Craft. Bangkok : River Books.

Cornell S. and Hartmann D.(1998) : Ethnicity and race: Making Identities in a Changing World.London:Pine Forge Press.

Davis,Sara.(2003). Pre-modern Flows in Postmodern China:Globalization and the Sipsongpanna Tais,Modern China 29(2)(April):176-203.

De Vos, George A.(1995) "Ethnic Pluralism: Conflict and Accmmodation,the Role of Ethnicity in Social History". In Ethnic Identity: Creation, Conflict and Accommodation, edited by Lola Romanucci-Ross and George A. De Vos. London:Alta Mira Press.

Despres,Leo A. (1975). Ethnicity and resource Competition in Plural Societies (The Hague : Mouton).

Despress,Leo(ed.).(1975).Ethnicity and Resource Competition in Plural Societies. The Hage: Aldine-Mouton.

Donnan, Hastings and Thomas M. Wilson.(1998). "Introduction: Borders, Nations and State" in Hastings Donnan and Thomas M. Wilson (eds.). Borders: Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State (pp.1 – 17). Oxford and New York: Berg.

Donnan, Hastings and Thomas M. Wilson.(1999).Borders: Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State. Oxford and New York:Berg.

Donan,Hastings and Thomas M.Wilson.(1998).Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dudley,Sandra.(2007).Reshaping Karenni-ness in Exile:Education,Nationalism and Being in the Wider World,in Mikael Gravers(ed.)Exploring Ethnic diversity in Burma(pp.77-106).Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies(NIAS).

Durrenberger, E. Paul and Naicola Tannenbaum.(1990).Analytical Perspectives on Shan Agriculture and Village Economics. New Heaven: Yale University Southeast Asian Studies.

Eade, John . (1996). Ethnicity and the Politics of Difference: An Agenda for the 1990s? In Culture, Identity and Politics: Ethnic Minorities in Britain. Edited by Terence Ranger, Yunas Samad and Ossie Stuart. Aldershot, UK: Avebury.

Eberhardt, Nancy.(2006).Imagining the Course of Life: Self-Transformation in a Shan Buddhist Community. Honolulu: University of Hawai ' i Press.

Elias ,Ney.1876. Introductory Sketch of the History of the Shans in Upper Burma and Western Yunnan.Calcutta.

Eller, Jack D.(1999).From Culture to Ethnicity to Conflict: An Anthopologycal Perspective International Ethnic Conflict. Michigan:University of Michigan Press.

Eriksen,Thomas Hylland.(1992).Us and Them in Modern Societies,Oslo.

Eriksen,Thomas Hylland.(1993). Ethnicity and Nationalism:Anthropological Perspectives.London:Pluto press.

Esobar,Arturo.(1992). Reflections on Development : Grassroots Approach and Alternative politics In the third world Futures june.

Evans,Grant .(1999) . Apprentice ethnographers : Vietnam and the study of Lao minorities , in Grant Evams (ed) Laos : Culture and Society. Chiang Mai. : Silkworm Book.

Farrelly, Nicholas. (2003). Focus on the Tai Village:Thai Interpretations of the Shan along the Thai-Burma Border . Faculty of Asian Studies, Australian National University.

Fee,Lian Kwen and Annanda Rajah.(1993).The Ethnic Mosanic ,in G.Evan(ed.)Asia's Cultural Mosanic (pp.234-259).Upper Saddle River,New Jersey:Prentice Hall.

Fenton, S .(2003) .Ethnicity. Polity Press, Cambridge .

Foucault,Michel.(1997). Ethnics: Subjectivity and Truth.Paul Rabinow ed.Robert Hurley and others translated. Great Britain :Allen Lane The Penguin Press.

Francis,E.K.(1947).The nature of the ethnic group, American Journal of Sociology,vol.52,no.3,pp.393-400.

Furnival, J.S. (1948) Referred in Puttanee Kangkun (1997). Self esteem of Burmese students in Thai society: Case study on biography of Burmese students. Thesis for masters degree in anthropology, the Faculty of Social Sciences and Anthropology, Thammasat University.

Gabbert , Wolfgang .(2006). Concepts of Ethnicity in Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies Vol.1, No.,1 April 2006 , pp 85-103.

Geertz , Clifford . (1993). Old societies and new states : The Quest for modernity in Asia and Africa New York: The Free press .

Geertz Clifford .(1963). The Integrative Revolution : Primordial Sentiments and Civil Poilitics in the New Sates in Old Societies and New State, C. Geertz, ed., New York : Free Press,pp. 105-157.

Geismar,Ludwig.(1954).A Scale for the Measurement of Ethnic Identification,Jewish Social Studies,Vol.16:pp.33-60.

Gellner, Ernest.(1983).Nations and Nationalism .Oxford : Blackwell.

Geography Office of the Geographer Bureau of Intelligence and Research .(1966).Burma-Thailand
      Boundary , International Boundary Study , no. 63 (1966) : 5.

Gittler,Joseph B. (1956). Understandin Minority Groups. New York: John Nilley and Sons,Inc.

Grabowsky, Volker and Andrew Turton.(2003). The Gold and Silver Road of Trade and Friendship: The
      McLeodand Richardson Diplomatic Missions to Tai States in 1837. Silkworm Books: Chiang Mai.

Green, Elliott D .(2004) . The (Mis) use of Ethnicity in Current Political Economy Literature: Conceptual
      and Data paper prepared for WIDER Conference on Making Peace Work, Helsiinki, Finland, 4-5
      June 2004.

Grimes,Kimberly M.(1998).Crossing Borders:Changing Social identities in Southern Mesico. Tucson:The
      University of Arizona Press.

Grundy-Warr, Carl .(2004). The Silence and Violence of Forced Migration: The Myanmar-Thailand Border,
      in Aris Ananta and Evi Nurvidya Arifin (eds.) International Migration in Southeast Asia (pp. 228-
      272). Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asia Studies.

Gupta, Akhil and Jame Ferguson. (1992). Beyond 'Culture': Space, Identity, and Politics of Difference.
      Cultural Anthropology Vol.7,No.1 pp.6-23.

Gupta, Akhil and Jame Ferguson.(1997).Culture,Power,Place: Explorations in Critical
      Anthropology.Durham and London:Duke University Press.

Hall,D.G.E. (1955). A history of South-East Asia. London: Macmillan.

Hall,Stuart.(1997). Introduction: Who Needs Identity? In Questions of Cultural Identity. Stuart Hall and Paul
      Du Gay eds. London: SAGE Publication.

Hall,Stuart.(1999).Cultural Identity and Diaspora, in Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen(eds) Migration,
      Diasporas and Transnationalism(pp. 299-314). Cheltenham and Northampton:A Reference
      Collection.

Hetherington,Kevin.(1998). Expressions of Identity:Space,Performance,Politics.London:SAGE
      Publications.

Hobsbawm,Eric and Terence Ranger.(1983).The Invention of Tradition. Cambridge:Cambrigde University
      Press.

Institute of Ethnology Laos committee on Social Sciences .(1991). Report on the Training Workshop and
      the Seminar on Ethnic Studies in Laos and Thailand.Chaing Mai University.

Institute of Academic Development.(2007).Social, religious and cultural studies textbooks for year 1, 2007: 239-241) (2001 curriculum).

Isaacs, Harold . (1975) . Basic Group Identity: the Idols of the Tribe in Ethnicity:Theory and Experience ,N. Glazer and D.P. Moynihan,eds.,Cambridge, MA: Harvard University press, pp. 29-52.

Isajiw,Wsevolod W. .(1993) . Definition and Dimensions of Ethnicity : A Theoretical Framework . University of Toronto .

Isajiw,Wsevolod W.(1974).Definitons of Ethnicity.In Ethnicity,N Glazer and D.Moynhad,eds.Cambridge,Mass:Harvard University Press.

Izikowitz,Karl.(1969).Neighbors in Laos. In Ethnic Group and Boundaries. F. Barth,ed. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Jan Nederveen Pieterse. (1996). Varieties of Ethnic Politics and Ethnicity Discourse , in The Politics of Difference : Ethnic Premises in a world of Power, edited by Edwin N. Wilmsen and Patrick McAllister (Chicago and London : The University of Chicago Press).

Jenkins, Richard.(1996) .Social Identity (London and New York: Routledge)

Kaise, Ryoko.(1999)."Tai Yai Migration in the Thai-Burma Area: The Settkement and Assimilation Process, 1962-1997" M.A. Thesis: Chulalongkorn University.

Keyes, Charles F. (1992).Who are the Lue? Revisited: Ethnic Identity in Laos,Thailand and Chaina. Center for International Studies,Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Keyes ,Charles F.(1995).Who are the Lue ? Reflections on the Invention of Identities, in Lola Romanucci-Ross and George A. De Vos(eds.) Ethnic Identity:Creation,Conflict,and Accommodation(pp.136-160).Walnut Creek: Alta Maria Press.

Keyes, Charles F. (1967).Isan: Regionalism in Northeast Thailand. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University.

Keyes, Charles F. (1997).Politics of Ethnicity in Thailand , paper presented at Cultural Diversity: The Hermitage of Though, Social Development Study Centre, Chulalongkorn University, July 22, 1997.

Keyes, Charles F.(1967). Isan : Regionalism in Northeastern Thailand , Cornell Thailand.

Keyes, Charles F.(1976). Towards a New Formulation of the Concept of Ethnic Group.

Keyes, Charles F.(1979). Ethnic Adaptation and Identity: The Karen on the Thai Frontier Burma .Philadelphia : Institue for the Study of Human Issues.

Keyes, Charles F.(2002).Presidential Address:The Peoples of Asia-Science and Politics in the Classification of Ethnic Groups in Thailand, China and Vietnam, Journal of Asian Studies 61(4)(November):1163-1203.

King,Victor T.and Wilder, William D. (2003). The Modern Anthropology of South-East Asia : An introduction. London : Routledge .

Kossikov,I.(2000).Nationalities policies in modern Laos. In A Turton(ed.) Civillity and Szvagery.Curzon Press.Richmond.

Kunstadter,Peter . (1972) .Southeast Asian Tribes, Minorities, and Nations. Vol.1.(Princeton. New Jersey: Princeton University.

La Louberre, Simon de. (1986). the Kingdom of Siam. Singpore: Singapore University Press.

Lang, Hazel J .(2002).Fear and Sanctuary: Burmese Refugees in Thailand. Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program Publications:

Leach,Edmund R.(1954).Political System of Highland Burma:A Study of Kachin Social Structure .The London School of Economics and Political Science, London.

Leach,Edmund R.(1960).The Frontier of Burma, Comparative Studies in society and History.

Leach,Melissa,and James Fairhead.(2000).Fashioned Forest Fasts , Oculted Histories ? International Environmental Analysis in West African Locales Developpment and Change , 31: 35-39.

Lee, Sang Kook.(2005)"Bluntness of Tentacles: Localization of Stated Agencies in a Border Town in the Thai-Burmese borderland", Paper Presented at International Conference: Transborder Issues in the Greater Mekong Sub-region. 30 June- 2 July, 2005. Ubon Rachathani, Thailand.

Lieberson,Stanley.(1938).A Piece of Pie: Blacks and White Immigrants Since 1880. Berkeley,Calif:University of California Press.

Luce, Gordon H . (1958) . The Early Syam in Burma in Burma ' s history. Journal of Siam Society Vol. 46.2 1958.

Maran La Raw.(1967).Towards a Basis for Understanding the Minorities of Burma: The Kachin Example" ,in Peter Kunstadter (ed.) Southeast Asian Tribes, Minorities and Nations Vol. 1 (pp.125-46). Princeton University Press.

Martin Smith .(1991) .Burma : Insurgency and the Politics of Ethnicity .London : Zed Book Ltd.

McLean,Maya.(2012).Dress and Tai Yai Identity in Thoed Thai,Northern Thailand.Bangkok,White Lotus press.

Milne,Leslie. (1910). Shan at Home .London and Aylesbury: Hazell. Watson and Viney, L.D.

Moerman, Michael. (1965). Ethnic Identity in a Complex Civilization : who are the Lue ?, "American
     Anthropologist. 67 (5) (pt.1) : 12,15 - 30. 1965.

Monstserrat Guibernau and John Rex.(1999).The Ethnicity Reader Nationalism, Multiculturalism and
Migration,(Oxford :Polity Press,1999)

Murakami, Tadayoshi.(1998)."Thai Kokkyo chitai ni okeru Shan no minzoku nai kankei [Inter-Ethnic
Relations among the Shan along the Border of Northern Thailand: A Case Study of Novice Ordination in
Maehongson]", Tounan Asia Kenkyu [Southeast Asian Studies] 35(4): 663-683.

Nagata, Judith A.(1979). Malaysian Mosaic: Perspectives from a Poly – Ehtnic Society. Vancuover :
     University of British Columbia Press.

Nagel,Joane.(2003). Race,Ethnicity ,and Sexuality.New York,Oxford University Press.

Naoli , Okwudiba.(1978) . Ethnic Political Nigeria. Enugu :Fourth Dimension.

Nicholas Tapp . (1989) . Sovereignty and Rebellion: The White Hmong of Northern Thailand (Singapore:
     oxford University Press).

Nishii,Ryoko.(2000).Emergence and Transfromation of Peripheral Ethnicity :Sam Sam on the Thai-
     Malaysian Border, in   Andrew Turton(ed.)Civility and Savagery:Social Identity in Tai State(pp.180-
     200).Richmond: Curzon Press.

Niti Pawakapan.(2006)."Once were Burmese Shan". Reinventing Ethnic Identity in Northwestern Thailand",
in Alexander Horstmann and Reed L. Wadley (eds.) Centering the Margin: Agency and Narrative in
Southeast Asian Borderlands (pp. 27-52). London: Berghahn Books.

Noel,Donald L.(1968). "A Theory of The Origin of Ethnic Stratification",Social problems,16:157-172.

Obidinski,Eugene. (1978) .Methodological Considerations in The Definition of Ethnicity , Ethnicity ,Vol. 5,
     No.3 : 213-228.

Olick,Jeffery K.and Joyce Robbins.(1998).Social Memory Studies: From Collective Memory to the Historical
     Sociology of Practices, Review of Sociology 24:105-140.

Oliver Raendchen and Jana Raendchen.(1998).Editorial: Present State, Problems and Purpose of *baan-
     m   ang* Studies. In: TAI CULTURE. International Review on Tai Cultural Studies. Vol. 6. SEACOM
     Berlin, Dec. 1998, pp. 5-11).

Osborne, Milton.(2000). Mekong: Turbulent past, uncertain future. N.S.W. : Allen Unwin . (2000). Cited in Asa Kumpha Lanna and ths Shan States : the Changes Under Centralization Process and the Colonial Age at the End of 19th -20th Centuries 2549, Master of Arts, Chiang Mai University ,Regional Studies.

Pattaya Saihoo.(1959). The Shan of Burma and Ethnographic Survey, B,Litt. Thesis ,Trinity Term, Brasenose College, Oxford.

Patcharin Nawichai.(2008).Ethnic Group Livelihood Strategies and State Intergaration: Moken and the Hill People in Negotiation with the State. Department of Philosophy; University of Passau.

Phinney,J.S.(1990).Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research.Psychological Bulletin,108,499-514

Pholwaddhana ,Niyaphan .(1986) .Ethnic Relations in Thailand : The Mon –Thai Relationship . University of Kansas .

Pinkaew, Laungaramsri.(2005)."Women, Nation, and the Ambivalence of Subversive Identifications among Shan Women in Thailand and Burma", Paper Presented at the SEASREP (Southeast Asian Studies Regional Exchange Program)'s 10th Anniversary Conference: Southeast Asia, A Global Crossroads. 8-9 December 2005. Chiang Mai, Thailand.

Prasit Leepreecha.(2001). Kinship and Identity among Hmong in Thailand. University of Washington.

Rajah,Annada .(1990) ."Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Nation-State: The Karen in Burma and Thailand",in Gehan Wijeyardene(ed) Ethnic Groups across National Boundaries in Mainland Southeast Asia (pp.102-133).Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asia Studies.

Raoul Naroll . (1964) . On Ethnic Unit Classification, Current Anthropology, vol. 5 no. 4 (1964): 283 – 91, 306 – 12.

Renard,Ronald D.(2002).The differential Integration of Hill People into the Thai State. In civility and Savagery: Social Identity in Tai States, edited by Andrew Turton. Richmon,Surrey:Curzon.

Rosarin Gray, Amornrat Boonnak and Rewadee Suwannoppakao.(2008). The development of the preparation of registrations and population census in Thailand. Nakorn Pathom: Institute for Population and Social Research, Mahidol University.

Ryoko Kaise.(1999).Tai Yai Migration in the Thai-Burma Border Area:The settlement and Assimilation process,1962-1997. Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University.

Sachiko Nakayama.(2003).Education, Identity construction and National Integration in an Ethnic Community: A Case study of Yunnanese Chinese in Ban Tham Santisuk Village,Mae Sai Diatirict, Chiang Rai Province. Master of Arts(Sustainable Develpoment).The Graduate School,Chiang Mai University.

Sarassawadee Ongsakul.(2005). History of Lan Na (Chitraporn Tanratanaku trans. & Dolina W. Millarand Sandy Barron eds.). Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.

Schein,Muriel.(1975).When is an Ethnic Group ? In American Ethonlogist.

Schiko yasuda.(2008).Shan on the Move: Negotiating Identities Through spatial Practices Among Shan Cross-border Migrants in Northern Thailand. Master of Arts(Sustainable Develpoment).The Graduate School, Chiang Mai University.

Scott,Jame George and John Percy Hardiman . (1906). Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan State. Rangoon : Superintendent of Government Printing and Stationery. Reprinted 1983 New York : AMS Press.

Scott,Jame George.(original 1906,1921). Burma:A Handbook of Practical Information. Third edition. Bangkok : Orchid Press.

Seng-Maw Lahpai.(2007). Politics of identity and articulations of elonging : a transnational Kachin community Thailand.Chiang Mai University.

Shan Human Right Foundation .(2002) . Licence to Rape; theBurmese Military Regim s Use of Sexual Violence in the Ongoing War In Shan State.Chiang Mai.SHRF and SWAN organization.

Shan Women 's Action Network-SWAN.(2002).Shan Refugees:Dispelling the Myths(ความเชื่อผิดๆเกี่ยวกับ ผู้ลี้ภัยชาวฉาน).

Smith , M .(1991). Burma : Insurgency and the Politics of Ethnicity. London: Zed Books.

Smith , M .(2002) .Burma (Myanmar): The Time For Change.London: Minority Rights Group International.

Soguk, N. .(1999). State and Strangers: Refugees and Displacements of Starecraft Borderlines Vol. 11. Minneapolis:University of Minneapolis Press.

Soguk,Nevzat.(1999).States and Strangers: Refugees and Displacements of Statecraft.Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Sombat Boonkamyeung.(2002). The Lahu symbolic Universe and Reconstruction of Ethnic Identity in Hayashi Yukio and Yang Guangyuan eds. , Inter Ethnic Relations in the Making of Mainland Southeast Asia and Southwestern China . Bangkok : Amarin Printing and Publishing Public Company Limited .

South, Ashley .(2003). Mon Nationalism and Civil War in Burma . New York : Routledge Curzon.

South,Ashley.(2008).Ethnic Politics in Burma: States of Conflict.London:Routledge.

Spicer,Edward H. .(1972).The Yaquis : A Cultural History . Tucson : University of Arizona Press.

Spreadley, James.(1980).Participant Observation. New York : Holt.

Stack,John F. (1986) .The Primordial Challenge .Westport , CT: Greenwood Press.

Steinberg, David J. (1975). In Search of Southeast Asia : A Modern History. Kuala Lumpur : Oxford University Press.

Suhkre, A, . (1971), (1973). The Thai Muslims: Some Aspects of Minority Intergration, In Pacific Affairs,Vol.43 pp 531-547 The Thai-Muslim Border Provinces : (1971) Some National Security Aspects , in Studies of Contemporary Thailand, Robert Ho and E.C. Chapman ,eds. (Canberra :Australian National University.

Tambiah, S .(1989) . Ethnic conflict in the world today,American Ethnologist, vol.16, no.2,pp 335-349

Tambiah, S.J. (1976). World Conqueror and World Renouncer : A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand Against Historical at Background .Cambridge : Cambridge University press.

Tanabe.Shigeharu and Charles F.Keyes.(2002).Cultural Crisis and Social Memory: Modernity and Identity in Thailand and Laos.London and New York: Routledge Curzon.

Tannenbaum, Nicola.(2002)."Monument and Memory: Phaya Sihanatraja and the Founding of Maehongson", in Shigeharu Tanabe and Charles F. Keyes (eds.) Cultural Crisis and Social Memory: Modernity and Identity in Thailand and Laos (pp. 1387-153). London and New York: Routledge Curzon.

Teeraparp Lohitagul.(1974).Kon Tai Nai Usarkeanai (The Tai in Southeast Asia) Bangkok : Praphansarn.

Teshome, Wondwose B.(2008). Ethnicity and Political Parties in Africa: The case of ethnic-based parties in Ethiopia. The Journal of International Social Research Volume 1/5 Fall.

Thomas , M.Ladd. (1975). Political Violence in the Muslim Provinces of Provinces of Southern. Occasional Paper No 28 (Singapore : Institute of Southeast Asia Studies).

Thongchai Winichakul.(2000).The Other Within : Travel and Ethno-Spatial Differentiation of Siamese Subjects 1885-1910 . In Andrew Turton(editer) . Civility and Savagery : Social Identity in Tai States . Great Britain : Curzon (pp 38-62).

Thongchai Winichakul.(1994).Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation. Choing Mai: Silkworm Books.

Turton, Andrew.(2000)."Introduction to Civility and Savagery", in Andrew Turton (ed.) Civility and Savagery: Social Identity in Tai States (pp. 3-31). Richmond: Curzon Press.

Tonkin ,Elizabeth and et al .(1996). Histrory and Ethnicity in Ethnicity, edited by John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Vincent,J.(1974).The structuring of ethnicity , Human Organization, Vol. 33,No.4, pp.375-379.

Wang, Zhusheng.(1997)The Jingpo: Kachin of the Yunnan Plateau. Tempe: Arizona StateUniversity Press.

Wandee Santiwutamet.(2002)."Grabuangarn Sarng Atalak Tarng Chartpan Kong Chao Tai Yai Chaidaen Thai-Pama: Goraneesueksa Reoang Mubarn Piang Luang, Ampoe Wiang Heang, Jangwat Chiang Mai [Shan Ethnic Identity Construction at the Thai-Burma Border: A Study of Piang Luang Village, Wiang Heang District, Chiang Mai Province]", Sangkomsart [Sociology] 15 (1): 219-247.

Warunee Osatharom.(2011).Thailand and Southeast Asia textbook "Peun Baan Khon Rao" Reflections of Thai nationalism ideology attitudes, in "Lao Hu Yang-What do Thais know : The analysis of social studies textbooks. Kanjanee La-ongsri. (editor). Bangkok: Regional area studies project.

Wasan Panyagew.(2007).Re-Emplacing Homeland:Mobility,Locality, a Returned Exile and a Thai Restaurant in Southwest China, The Asia Pacific journal of Anthropology 8(2)(June):117-135.

Weber,M. (1980), Wirtsxhaft und Gesellschaft,Morhr, Tu¨bingen(originally published 1921).

Wijeyewardene,Gehan.(1990).Thailand and Tai: Versions of Ethnic Identity,in Gehan Wijeyewardene(ed.)Ethnic Groups across National Boundaries in Mainland Southeast Asia(pp.48-47).Singapore:Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Wimmer,Andreas .(2008). The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory, in AJS Volume113 Number4 (January 2008):970-1022. Los Ageles,University of California.

Winichakul,Thongchai.(1994).Siam Mapped:A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation.Hawii:University Press of Hawaii.

Wolters,O.W.(1982). History ,Culture ,and Region in Southeast Asian Perspecttives . Instiutuete of Southeast Asia Studies, Singapore.

Yasuda,Sachiko.(2008).Shan on the move : negotiating identities through spatial practial among Shan cross-border migrants in Northern Thailand. Master of Arts Thesis (Sustainable Development), Chiang Mai University.

Yetman,Norman and Hoy Steely.(1975).Majority and Minority.Boston: Allyn and Bacon,Inc.

Yos Santasombat .(2000). Lak Chang : A reconstruction of Tai identity of Daikong (หลักช้าง: การสร้างใหม่ ของอัตลักษณ์ไทในใต้คง)ใBangkok.

Zanner , Walter. (1975). Ethnicity, in Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology (New York ; Henry Halt and Company).

Znaniecki,Florian.(1952).Modern Nationalities. Urbana : University of Illinois press.Shan.

ELECTRONIC REFERENCES

Abdulchaku Binchafiei (อับดุลชะกูร์ บินซาฟิอีย์).(2010).Pornor in southern provinces: The management of education among the diversification of cultures (ปอเนาะจังหวัดชายแดนภาคใต้ : การจัดการศึกษา ท่ามกลางความหลากหลายทางวัฒนธรรม) Retrieved July 8 ,2010 from
http://www.thaingo.org/writer/view.php?id=1069

Art and Culture (ศิลปวัฒนธรรม).(2003).History of Thai and Burma territories (ความเป็นมาของเขตแดนไทย-พม่า)วันที่ 1 มกราคม พุทธศักราช 2546 (ปีที่ 24 ฉบับที่ 3) p 136 .Retrieved May22,2009, from
http://www.crma.ac.th/histdept/archives/articles/thai-burmese-borders.htm

Amnesty International.(2000). Myanmar: Exodus from the Shan State. (ASA 16/11/2000). **Retrieved**

January 11,2007 from www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/ASA16/011/2000/en/dom-ASA16011200en.pdf .

Center of Ethnic Studies and Development .(2005). Map of Ethnic groups in Southeast Asia Retrieved
March 12,2010 from http://www.cesd-thai.info/maps/allmap.gif

Chao Phraya Delta Research and reference. (2010). Old maps gallery . Retrieved March 11, 2010, from
http://www.std.cpc.ku.ac.th/delta/deltacp/features/feature2.htm

difference (วิบากกรรม....."โรฮิงยาส์ / ฉาน เสตท" ความเหมือนในความต่าง).Retrieved March 4, 2010 from
http://www.oknation.net/blog/swongviggit/2009/01/21/entry-1

http://www.taifreedom.com/tha/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=803:2010-07-17-09-34-13&catid=38:2009-01-19-07-10-59&Itemid=78

Hutchinson, John.(2000).Ethnicity and modern nations in Ethnic and Racial Studies Volume 23 Number 4
July 2000 pp. 651–669 . Routledge Journals , Taylor and Francis Ltd. Retrieved
December24,2009,from http://hevra.haifa.ac.il/~soc/lecturers/smooha/files/1755.pdf

Jory, **Patrick**.(2008).Melayu Patani to Muslim : the Specter of Ethnic Identity in Southern Thailand
.Retrieved July 9, 2008,from http://www.midnightuniv.org/midnight2544/0009999994. html

Joshuaproject. (2010). People-in-Country Profile. A ministry of the U.S. Center for World Mission . Retrieved
March 4,2010 from http://www.joshuaproject.net/peopctry.php

Keyes, **Charles F**. (2010). Ethnicity and the Nation-states of Thailand and Vietnam, Challenging the Limits:
Indigenous Peoples of the Mekong Region in Prasit Leepreecha, Don McCaskill and Kwanchewan
Buadaeng, eds. Chiang Mai: Mekong Press. P. 25 , Retrieved March 12,2010 from
http://www.cesd-thai.info/maps/mapbur.html

Lannaworld. (2010). Gen. Khun Sa / Chang Chi Fu (ขุนส่า) . Retrieved March 13, 2010 from

    http://www.lannaworld.com/cgi/lannaboard/reply_topic.php?id=57925

Lannaworld.(2008) . Sao Yawd Serk's Speech on the Celebration of 51st Anniversary of ShanState People

    Resistance Day (สุนทรพจน์ของพันเอกยอดศึก เนื่องในวันกองทัพครบรอบ 50 ปี การต่อสู้กู้ชาติไทใหญ่),

    retrieved March 11 ,2010 from

    http://www.lannaworld.com/cgi/lannaboard/reply_topic.php?id=59734 .

Office of the National Culture Commission. (2010). Days and public holidays in 2007 (year of the pig) (วัน

    สาคัญทางวัฒนธรรมและวันหยุดราชการปีพ.ศ. ๒๕๕๐ (ปีกุน)).Retrieved July17,2010,from

    http://www.culture.go.th/study.php?&YY=2549&MM=8&DD=3

Oknation. (2009). Destiny of "Rohingya/ Shan State", the similarities in the

OKnation.(2012).Retrieved March9,2012,from,http://www.oknation.net/blog/print.php?id=215847

OkTAI. (2009) . Information about tai people. Retrieved October 31, 2009 from http://ok-

    tai.blogspot.com/2009/04/blog-post_05.html.

Patcharin Nawichai .(2006).Retrieved September 15,2009,from

    www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mandala_system Access

Pattramon Kayem (ภัทรมน กาเหย็ม).(2009). Race and ethnicity in correlation with nation state (เชื้อชาติและ

    ชาติพันธุ์ สัมพันธ์อย่างไรกับรัฐชาติ) . The Human Rights Sub-Committee on Ethnic Minorities,

    Stateless, Migrant workers and Displaced Persons, The Lawyers Council of Thailand. Retrieved,

    February 1, 2009,from http://www.statelessperson.com/www/?q=node/1449.

Pericles Lewis.(2012). Gellner ,nationalism and the Liberal Compromise. Retrieved July 9, 2008,from

    http://www.fathom.com/feature/122167/index.html

Remote Sensing and GIS Association of Thailand (สมาคมสารวจข้อมูลระยะไกลและสารสนเทศภูมิศาสตร์แห่ง

    ประเทศไทย). (2005). Information in geographic (ข้อมูลด้านภูมิศาสตร์).Retrieved March

    12,2010,from http://www.resgat.net/modules.php?name=News&file=print&sid=11

Suvilai Premsrirat (สุวิไล เปรมศรีรัตน์). (2005). Situations of language in Thai society and the diversity of

    races (สถานการณ์ทางภาษาในสังคมไทยกับความหลากหลายทางชาติพันธุ์) Language and Culture

    Research Institution for rural developmen, Mahidol University.Retrieved March 23,2010,from

    http://www.bloggang.com/mainblog.php?id=inthedark&month=10-09-2007&group=2&gblog=36

Tai Freedom News.(2010). งานทำบุญอุทิศส่วน กุศลแด่เจ้ากอนเจิง (นายพลโมเฮง) อดีตผู้นำไตย ผู้

   ล่วงลับ.Retrieved July 17, 2010,from http://www.onopen.com/iamyukti/(August 2006), Cultural

   important.

Yukti Mukdavichit (ยุกติ มุกดาวิจิตร). (2007). National linguistics and authoritarianism (ภาษาศาสตร์ชาติ/อา

นาจนิยม).Retrieved September 15,2009,from http://www.onopen.com/iamyukti/(August 2006), Cultural

important.of Illinois press.Shan.

Appendix

Research   Instruments

The Form of Interview Record

1. Please provide general information below:

Family name………………...…. Name……………….………Date of birth……………..…..

Age: ◯ Below 20 years old ◯ 20-39 years old ◯ 40-59 years old ◯ 60-79 years old

Religion   ◯ Buddhism   ◯ Christian   ◯ Muslim   ◯ Others

Place of birth:………….…..…….. Nationality:……..…….………. Ethnicity:…….………….

Organization……………………………. Position in the organization: ……………………….

Time spent in community…………………………………………………….………….

2. Please provide following information:

　　2.1 Context of Piang Luang Village…………

　　2.2 Disintegration of Shan ethnicity by Thai authority…………………..

　　2.3 Creation of Thai nationalism for unity ………….

　　2.4 Shan ethnicity and interaction to Thai   government sector…………

　　2.5 Others, please specify……………………………..……..

3. Other information from interviewee, such as clothing, ethnical symbol, tattoos

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

4. Interview conclusion……………….…………………………………………….…

………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………

<table>
<tr><td>Interviewer……………Interview recorder………….. Transcript………………………… writer………Translator….. Interview on date…….Month…..…Year……Time ………</td></tr>
</table>

The Form of In-depth Interview Record

Statemetnt before interview

This interview is a part of a study "The Construction of Social and Cultural Unity and the Interaction between the Shan People and the Thai State: A Case Study of Piang Luang Village, Wianghaeng District, Chiang Mai Province, Thailand "that conducted By Mr Theerapon Vichchurungsi , directed by Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Gabbert, Institute of Sociology, The Leibniz University of Hannover Germany.

This in-depth interview includes Part 1: Context of Piang Luang Village, Part 2: Disintegration of Shan ethnicity by Thai authority, Part 3: The construction of Thainess for unity, Part 4: Shan ethnicity and interaction to Thai government sector and Part 5: Conclusion and comments

1 . Please provide general information below:

Family name……………...…. Name…………….………Date of birth……….……...…..

Age: ◯ Below 20 years old ◯ 20-39 years old ◯ 40-59 years old ◯ 60-79 years old

Religion　　◯ Buddhism　　◯Christian　　◯ Muslim　　◯Others

Place of birth:……..……..…….. Nationality:……..…….………. Ethnicity:……..……….

Organization……………….…………… Position in the organization: ………………………

Time spent in community……………………………………………….…………

2. Other information from interviewee, such as clothing, ethnical symbol, tattoos

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

3. Interview conclusion…………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

Interviewer……………Interview recorder………….. Transcript………………………….

writer…………Translator…….……Interviewondate……….Month…...…Year……Ttime …..

Please provide historical and current information regarding background, Shan ethnicity, general information of society, geography, demography, social and culture, state of economy and groups/organizations in Piang Luang Village as following:

1.1   When and how did Piang Luang Village establish?…………………….…………...

1.2   At the beginning, how was the village and its population?...

1.3   When was the official establishment of Piang Luang Village? …...………………...

1.4   How is the migration of people in Piang Luang Village, such as in-bound migration and out-bound migration?..

1.5   When did this migration begin? Why?...

1.6   How is the transportation of people into Piang Luang Village, such as transportation time, routes and methods?…………………………………………………………………...

1.7   From the past to present, what are the important events in Piang Luang Village?..............

1.8   From the past to present, What are the changes in Piang Luang Village?...........................

1.9   Is there any clear boarder of the Piang Luang Village? If yes, please describe the boarder and provide criteria used to identify the boarder, such as river, canal, mountain or fences. And who clearly determined the village boarder?...

1.10   How does the village boarder have impact on daily life of Shan people, such as transportation and occupation?...

1.11   Is there any inspection for entering and exiting the village? If yes, who does the inspection and when was the inspection first implemented?...

1.12   Is there any difference between the control of entering and exiting the village in the past and at present? If yes, please describe. Does this control have any impact on your daily life? How do you feel about this inspection?...

1.13   Please indicate the location mentioned in the map of Piang Luang Village for rivers, canals, mountains, fences, transportation routes for entering and exiting the village, and inspection station……………..…………………………………………………………..

1.14   What are the important places in Piang Luang Village and what are their histories?...

1.15   Do these places belong to Thai people, Shan people or others?.......................................

1.16   These places are used engage what activities? Where are the locations?...........................

1.17   Please indicate the location mentioned in the map of Piang Luang Village……..……….

1.18   How is the village geography, such as plains, mountains, forest, trees, rivers, canals? What are their names?..

1.19   How does this geography of Piang Luang Village have impact on daily life of Shan people, such as transportation, habitation?...…………

1.20   Does the geography of Piang Luang Village have impact on housing construction of Shan people, such as housing on a plain or plateau? If yes, please explain...……………………………………………………………….…………………

1.21   Please indicate the location mentioned in the map of Piang Luang Village……………...

1.22   How is the climate of Piang Luang Village in each month?...

1.23   Does the climate have impact on daily life of Shan people? And how?.........................

1.24   How does the climate impact important activities in the village?...................................

1.25   Do you meet other ethnical group in the village? What are their names?........................

1.26   What are the characteristics of people in other ethnical group? How do you separate the differences in each group?..

1.27   How many different ethnical groups in Piang Luang Village?...

1.28   Do different ethnical groups construct their housing together or separately?....................

1.29   How is the density of each house in Piang Luang Village?...

1.30   Is there any difference between their housing construction and yours? How does this impact your everyday life?...

1.31   Does daily life of people in other ethnical groups have impact on you? How?..................

1.32   Please indicate the location mentioned in the map of Piang Luang Village, such as location of other ethnical groups……………………………………….……………..

1.33   What are the occupations in Piang Luang Village, such as trading, agriculture, animal herder, animal hunting? What are the proportions of each occupation?..........................

1.34   Is there any difference in occupation among different ethnical groups in Piang Luang Village? How is the economic status of each occupation?...

1.35   Is there any change in occupation of people in Piang Luang Village from the past to present?..

1.36   Is there any occupation that no longer exists? And why?..

1.37   Please indicate the location mentioned in the map of Piang Luang Village, such as farms, stores, markets………………………………………………………….……………..

1.38   What are the associations in Piang Luang Village? What are the objectives and activities of these associations?...

1.39   Who operate these associations, Thai, Shan, or other ethnical groups? And who are the members?...

1.40   Who support and finance these associations?..

1.41   Please indicate the location of each association mentioned in the map of Piang Luang Village…………………………………………………………….…………….

1.42   How many leaders are there in Piangluang Village? Who are official and unofficial leaders?...

1.43   What are the types of leaders in Piang Luang Village, such as religion, education, ceremony, etc.? Who are they and what are their influences to the society?....................

1.44   Who is the governmental leader in Piang Luang Village?..

1.45   Who is the highest leader of Shan and other ethnical groups? What are his/her roles?..

1.46   Between governmental leader and Shan leader, who gain more respect from the people? Who has more authority and influence?..

1.47   Is there any conflict between governmental leader and Shan leader? If yes, what are the causes and results of the conflict?..

1.48   Please indicate the location of leader's house mentioned in the map of Piang Luang Village…………………………………………………………….…………………….

1.49   In Piang Luang Village, what are the important monthly and annual events, activities, and festivals?..

1.50   When was the beginning of these activities? What ethnical group do these activities belong to? What are the activity objectives?..

1.51   Who organizes the activities? Who are and are not allowed to participate in these activities?..

1.52   Where does the activity take place? How is the activities financed?................................

1.53   Please indicate the location of annual activities in the map of Piang Luang

Village…………………………………………………………………………………

1.54   What are the annual occasions for events, activities, and festivals in Piang Luang

Village?...

1.55   When did these activities begin and established by what ethnical group?........................

1.56   What are the purposes of these activities?..

1.57   Who organizes the activities?..

1.58   Who are and are not allowed to participate in these activities?..

1.59   Where does the activity take place? How is the activities financed?................................

1.60   Please   indicate   the   location   of   annual   activities   in   the   map   of   Piangluang

Village…………………………………………………………………………………

1.61   How do you define the word "Shan"? What does it consist of? What are the component of

"Shan"?..

1.62   What is "Shan" appreciation? Do you think it can be changed? How and in what types of

situation?...

1.63   How do you separate the difference between Shan people and others?.............................

1.64   Is there any difference between other's understanding and recognition of Shan and yours? If

yes, please explain…………………………………………………………………..

Part 2: Disintegration of Shan ethnicity by Thai authority

2.1   From the past to present, what are the government sectors that have been operated in Piang

Luang Village?...

2.2   Which government sector was the first to operate in Piang Luang Village and why? Is this

government sector still operated at present? If not, why?......................................

2.3   At present, what are the types of government sector that operate in Piang Luang Village,

such   as military, police, educational, public health sectors? Where are these sectors

located?..

2.4   What are the activities organized by the government sectors?..

2.5   What are the types of participation that the government sectors allow you to do, such as

organizing activities, giving opinions, supporting budget?...

2.6   Do government sectors try to change Shan ethnicity (Language ,Religion ,Daily Life, Traditions,Beliefs , Norms, etc) ? If yes, what do they try to change and how? How do Shan people react if they refused to do so?...

2.7   How does Thai military sector treat Shan people?...

2.8   To what level can Shan people express Shan ethnicity to military sector, such as organizing Shan activities, political and cultural criticism?...

2.9   If Shan people cannot express Shan ethnicity, how does the military sector obstruct the expression?...

2.10   How does Thai police treat Shan people?..

2.11   To what extend can Shan people express Shan ethnicity to the police, such as organizing Shan activities, political and cultural criticism?...

2.12   If Shan people cannot express Shan ethnicity, how do the police obstruct the expression?..

2.13   How does Thai educational sector treat Shan people?... To what extend can Shan people express Shan ethnicity to the educational sector, such as organizing Shan activities, political and cultural criticism?...

2.14   If Shan people cannot express Shan ethnicity, how does educational sector obstruct the expression?..

2.15   How does Thai public health sector treat Shan people?..

2.16   To what extend can Shan people express Shan ethnicity to the public health sector, such as organizing Shan activities, political and cultural criticism?..

2.17   If Shan people cannot express Shan ethnicity, how does public health sector obstruct the expression?...

2.18   What are other governmental sectors that involve with Shan people?.............................

2.19   To what extend can Shan people express Shan ethnicity to other governmental sectors,

such   as organizing Shan activities, political and cultural criticism?................................

2.20   If Shan people cannot express Shan ethnicity, how do other governmental sectors obstruct the expression?..

Part 3: The construction of Thainess for unity

3.1   How does Thai government sector create Thai nationalism to people in Piang Luang Village and by what type of this government sector? How successful are they in this nationalism creation?...

3.2   Do you think Shan people resist the Thai nationalism creation? If yes, how?................

3.3   What are the contents relative to Thai nation, religion and royal family in text books taught in schools? What are the contents relative to Shan people?...................................

3.4   Do you think the contents in text books can encourage Shan people to obtain Thai nationalism? How?...

3.5   Do you think Thai text books used by students will destroy Shan appreciation? If yes, what aspect do they destroy?...

3.6   Do you think what topic should be added or deducted from current text books used in school?...

3.7   From the past to present, what are the monuments in Piang Luang Village?..................

3.8   These monuments are related to what events? Who built these monuments? How do Shan people pay attention to these monuments?...

3.9   What ethnical groups do these monuments belong to? What are the importance and history of these monuments?...

3.10   Which monuments do Shan people pay respect to? Do Shan people know the history of these monuments?..

3.11   What are the monuments that related to Thailand? What are the monuments that related to Shan people?..

3.12   Which Thai topics do Shan people have understanding in their histories, such as topics related to Thai royal family, Thai religion, Thai festivals?..

3.13   How, from who and when do Shan people learn about Thai history? Do you think you learn the truth about Thai history?...

3.14   Between Thai history and Shan history, do you think which one you understand more?...

3.15   Do you think learning Thai history can cause Shan people to forget Shan history? If yes, please explain…………………………………………………..……………………..

3.16   Do you know anyone who was forced to learn Thai history? If yes, where and by whom did it take place?...

3.17   In Piangluang Village, what are the activities organized for Thai national holiday? When was the beginning of this? In the past, is there any activities anized?...

3.18   Who organizes the activities for Thai national holidays? How were the activities financed?..

3.19   What ethnical groups are the majority to participate in these activities?...........................

3.20   How do Shan people support and participate in these activities?......................................

3.21   Do the activities for Thai national holidays create Thai nationalism for you?....................

3.22   Between activities for Thai national holidays and Shan holidays, which activities have more participants?..

3.23   Do you think activities for Thai national holidays can change your Shan appreciation? How?...

3.24   How well do Shan people in Piangluang Village use Thai language?...............................

3.25   How do Shan people learn Thai language, such as from school, occupation, interaction with Thai people, parents, self-study?...

3.26   For what reason do Shan people use Thai language the most, such as occupation, daily life, being forced, etc?..

3.27   What language do Shan people speak the more between Thai language and Shan dialect?..

3.28   What language do Shan people read and write the more between Thai language and Shan dialect?..

3.29   How do you feel when you speak Thai?..

3.30   Before living in Thailand, did Shan people know Thai King?...

3.31   What are the sources that Shan people learn about Thai King?.......................................

3.32   How do you feel about Thai King? Do you feel like this before and why?.........................

3.33   Between previous Shan leader and Thai King, whose history do you know more?..

3.34 Is there any other way that government sectors in Piang Luang Village try to create Thai nationalism to Shan people?...

3.35 How do Shan people response to government sectors, such as follow, resist, or ignore them?…………………………………………………………………………………

3.36 What do Shan people like and dislike about government actions for Shan people?..

3.37 Is there any similarity or difference between Thai government and Burma government actions?...

3.38 What are the reactions of Shan people who are not allowed to express their Shan appreciation?...

Part 4: Shan ethnicity and interaction to Thai government sector

4.1 How do Shan people learn and inherit history, language and culture of Shan? Is this done openly or secretly?..

4.2 What do you prefer to learn between Thai history, language and culture and Shan's? Why?...

4.3 If the celebration of King of Thailand's birthday and an important festival of Shan take place on the same day, which ceremony do you choose to participate and why?...

4.4 Is there any difference in your clothing and expression between participating Thai national holidays and in important festival of Shan and why?...

4.5 Can you express Shan appreciation when you contact and receive donation from government sectors? If yes, please explain…………………………………………….

4.6 If you wish to provide donation, do you provide donation for Thai activities or Shan activities and why?..

4.7 How do you feel when you are called a "Shan" person?..

4.8 Is there any difference between social status of Thai people and Shan people and how?...

4.9 How do you feel about Thai people?...

4.10   How do you define Thai people? What do they consist of? What are the component of Thai people?..

4.11   What is "Thai" appreciation? Do you think it can be changed and how?.......................

4.12   How do you separate the difference between Thai people and others?............................

4.13   In Piang Luang Village, how do your house and you define "Thai"? If you are a Shan person, why do you have something that can define "Thai"?...

4.14   Do you think Thai people can change to other ethnic group? Why and how? In your society, is there any Thai person who changed to other ethnic group? If yes, please explain. And how do you know about this?...

4.15   In what types of situation that you can express yourself as a Thai person? And in what types of situation that Thai people will conceal themselves?

4.16   Do you think you and other people have the same understanding of "Thai"?...................

4.17   How do you feel when you are called a "Thai" person?..

4.18   What attitude do Thai people have toward Shan people?...

4.19   Do you think Shan people can change? If yes, please explain the causes of the change. If no, please indicate the factors…………………………………………….………………

4.20   Do you think you are able to change to a Thai person? If yes, what are the reasons of this change? Is this change permanently or temporary depending on the situation?...

4.21   Do you think the self-recognition of Shan people can be built? If yes, who built this recognition and how?...

4.22   Do you think the self-recognition of Thai people can be built? If yes, who built this recognition and how?...

Part 5: Conclusion and comments

5.1   What do Shan people expect and require for Shan ethnicity, culture and festival of Shan, creation of Shan state and Shan military restoration?...

5.2   What do Shan people expect and require from Thailand, Thai people and Thai government?..

5.3   If Shan state has freedom and established as a country, do you think Shan people will migrate the their original hometown?...

5.4   Do you have other opinion? If yes, please describe................……………..………….

<div align="center"><u>The   Observation Recording Form.</u></div>

Section 1   Record   Situations

      Descriptions of environment, location, individual, events, dialogue and conclusion on the circumstances   and   identification   based   on   who,   what,   where,   when,   with   whom,   why………..

………

………

………

Section 2   Primary   Interpretation

………

……

……

………

………

………

………

………

      .

Section 3   Methodological note

      Acquisition of data or weak points of the researcher including observer's personal impression, reaction of the people who are observed and the missing data.

………

………

………

………

……..

The Observer ……………………………

The Observation on date……………………………………….