

**THE CONTESTING SPACE AND ECONOMIC NEGOTIATION OF
MARGINALIZED PEOPLE AT BORDERLAND:**

THE CASES OF PIENG-LOUNG AND CHIENG KHONG

July 7-8, Aug 2-4 2012

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INTRODUCTION

Field trips organized through the faculty are designed to give students a first-hand view of some of the social, cultural, environmental and political issues and circumstances evident in Thai society.

On July 7–8, 2012, ten students and one faculty member traveled to Chiang Dao and Wieng Haeng district, Chiang Mai Province, considered to be part of the Thai-Burma borderlands. This is the 5th field trip conducted by students enrolled in Chiang Mai University's PhD program in social sciences. On this occasion, the focus was on contesting space of marginalized people and ethnic groups at Thai-Burma borderland. The area is home to a number of ethnic groups with various experiences with cross-border migration. These groups face significant challenges with respect to property rights and citizenship. In some cases, specific groups have lived in the region for decades in a sort of a 'limbo', with no rights in Thailand, and no reasonable opportunity to return to their country of origin. The sections of the first field trip report provide an overview of the information and observations gleaned from visits to Makhampom, an NGO operating in the region, the Pang Daeng village, and the home of former Shan General JaoPaiMuang Chantsouk. Additional sections provide highlights from reflection and discussion sessions held at the end of each day.

The second field trip is held from 2-4 August at Thai-Laos Borderland. This project is the sixth workshop, which is organized by and for Ph.D students of Doctor of Philosophy Program in Social Science (International program). The theme of workshop is *the Conjunction of Economic Quadrangle at Thai-Laos Borderland*; it focuses on trans-border trade and agriculture at Thai-Laos border. The workshop also aims to study the impact of R3A route linking between Thai, Laos, and Southern China. The students will have a chance to observe an impact of R3A route on trans-border trade, and agriculture. Furthermore, the workshop includes an investigation on Chinese investment on tourism, entertainment business such as casino in Laos. The participants of this field trip are 8 students, one professor, and one program supporter. The main objective of the trip is to build an understanding and experience of the local field research among the Ph.D students and to share and learn from expert professors. Moreover, students can extend the experience of Thai-Laos borderland context; they have a chance to practice in analyzing the data from the field and to create the knowledge that benefit for student's research. This report provides the overview of the information and observation gathered from government officer, NGOs, farmers, workers in Thai and Laos. In addition, the report includes the reflection and discussion among students as well as the conclusion contributed by professor.

FIELD TRIP 1

Day 1: Makhampom and Pang Daeng Village

The site visit Makhampom involved presentations by two staff members - Khun Pom and Richard. Local Media Foundation (Makhampom) has its root around 31 years, since the time that Thai students protested the dictator in 1976. The main purpose is to use standard artistic living theatre as the media to convey the information of public interested issues which consist of 2 steps before the show:

1. **The process** to train and develop the youth and children for knowing how to make themselves confident and get information from their own community.
2. **The production** to produce the living theatre to convey the story to the public.

While the main office is in Bangkok, the Makhampom Village is located in Chiang Dao, Chiang Mai Province. The main tasks of Makhampom are divided in to 4 main parts. The first is **community theatre** to develop members of community, especially the children and youth. The second is **educational theatre** focusing on training the people in educational institution for example students and teachers in the university. The third is **the main production** which gathers information from the first and the second parts to reorganize as the main production to be presented to the public. The last one is **international theatre**, teaching foreign students, exchanging with foreign artist and showing foreign theatre. Furthermore, there is the connection to the theatre net-work of South East Asia, the international study tours are set up every year.

The Makhampom's mission focuses on creating a process which can manage complicated information more easily, including issues about law, for example, the community's land-title law. The main point now is how to manage the conflict which happens in the area by peace and cooperating with many organization both government and NGO such as King Prajadhipok's Institute, nonviolence network etc. The topic is variant depending on public interest issues within the community.

From the origin, basically there are many groups come to join Makhampom by volunteer and then they form to be staffs and make an organization. The project funding comes from international organizations such as UNICEF, Canadian Development Fund, US Embassy, Save the Children etc. mix between NGO and government agency however not a lot from the government funding, and now Makhampom develops social enterprise for raising fund to be independent. The activities base in the guideline especially in Pang Daeng's village to manage the fund properly.

Makhampom uses the theatre as the tool to create dialogue and use them with other plays including drama games and exercises. The created dialogues must be simply and sincere or honest because they dealing with conflict. The theatre is played by the children around the issue they interest mix up between modern drama and traditional form, for example Baddish tale or ecology or popular stories from the community.

The target groups of the show are, firstly, the participant group in the community and the second is the audiences in other community or villages when the theatre is transformed in to media. The content must be clear in the detail of that conflict, after that there will be an interview to the audiences of the family for knowing the reaction of that point, which is workshop. In addition, Makhampom brings local issue to the outside such as Bangkok in the format of video theatre media.

The evaluation of their activity is the number of the audience and the discussion, small and large group, or games have been used, including the measurement by paper.

The long term workshop development processes such as personal or group development, skill development, development of consciousness have been used in so many forms through the performance, developed by the reaction from the audiences. And sometimes if it is the serious social issue, the show will not be opened but connect with the help of some NGOs, government or villages' headers.

In terms of the national youth network, for 3 years Makhampom has start with 40 youth groups around Thailand in 24 provinces as regional network, South, North East, North and Bangkok. All the groups nominate themselves for example university group, hill people community, some from deepest south, some are the young gang group from Chiangmai. They are trained in developing theatre in acting and script writing so on... and the main concept is community theatre, doing research performance for creating youth theatre.

Makhampom also has a social network. For example, international social work students from MIT connect through the village, and the NGO engages with local government organization such as the military, the police, and section and Sub-district Administrative Organizations.

Pang Daeng's Village Case: Da-ra-ung

The Da-ra-ung people in Pang Daeng Village move from Burma to Thailand around 30 years ago because of the tyrannical system and most of them now haven't had citizen ID card yet. So many years that they suffer from this situation, for example they were arrested and charged as forestry destroyer or intruder by forestry department, the first time in 1989 , the second in 1998 and the third in 2004, because of being unnationalistic status as marginal people and they have

no land. However many organizations both NGOs, government and the villagers try to find the way to resolve the problems, basing on human right and peaceful way.

The Da-ra-ung people move to live in Pang Daeng Village by being persuaded to be the labor of local people by planting tree and so on. There are 71 households (200 people up) left. There is a primary school for basic education before the advancing education in the town. Now there are about 100 students of Da-ra-ung and the highest grade is high school.

Now the Da-ra-ung connects with many organizations so they know about woman right, the women can be the leader and educated, for example Miss Come who realizes about her leadership and well educated. Her inspiration comes from the pressure of being unnationalistic status, she used to be arrested many years ago, 2004, and now haven't got any ID card yet.

There are only 30 people more get the ID card because of the complicated process and the strict detail law to give the ID card. For example the lack enough survey of the government and the incorrect information from the uneducated parents , especially birth of place, made problem to their children to get ID card. The other problem is the ones who always move miss for the survey, now they only get some kind of colorful ID card to identify themselves as the alien people.

The lack of ID card makes them difficult to find job, get enough health treatment and education, especially when they need to go outside to the other district or provinces and the serious one is about being arrested by government officers.

The land where they live now were bought from them after they had been expelled from the old area of the other side of the village which the government claimed that it is belong to the national park. This area is only for living and still have no land title.

For conclusion, the Da-ra-ung people get the most trouble in many ways of their life comparing to the other group of people in same area. They like to live on the mountain according to the memory once they used to request to the king of Thailand but the situation changed when they had to move from the mountain to find job as labor. Now they try hard to earn their income and manage their lives in many ways, including the economic tourism system from their own flourish culture.

Day 1: Reflection and Discussion

While there is a lot of detail here, the discussion could be summarized as under the following three themes:

- 1. That ethnic minority groups in the Thai-Burma borderlands were characterized as stateless, powerless, and lacking a strong identity in Thai society.*
- 2. That the language we use to describe different ethnic minority groups (the term "tribe" for example) holds different meanings in different contexts, and can be used as a political tool.*
- 3. That citizenship or another formal classification in Thai society is required, as the first step in reducing the oppression experienced by ethnic minority groups in the Thai-Burma borderlands.*

The discussion began with Mr. Worawut, our facilitator, greetings. He concluded what we did throughout this long day. Started with visiting Makhampom foundation; there, we watched VTR about Dala-ang group. We found that Dala-ang people have been suffering for a long time. After that we went to Dala-ang village, listened to their story by Kun Kham, who was fighting for Dala-ang's authority to live in Thailand.

Mr. Worawut asked Miss Pacharapan; "Who is Dala-ang people?" The answer was that they migrated from Burma and settled here in Thailand for quite a long time.

Then Mr. Worawut passed a question to Miss Arratee about her opinion toward Dala-ang people. Miss Arratee said she thought that they seemed to find themselves powerless.

"That might be because they're stateless," said Mr. Worawut. Then he asked Mr. Yuttapong with the same question. Mr. Yuttapong analyzed Dala-ang's situation that; they used to be misunderstood that they were Karen. Some people call them Ka-long, which gives negative meaning. But Dala-ang means angel from the silver mountain, according to what they said about their group's name.

Mr. Worawut noticed that the name is female dominant, but Ajarn Mukdawan corrected it that their name Dala-ang is from the word ta-ang, which means a cliff. The name Dala-ang therefore means people who live by the cliff. We discussed a little about their cloths and the meaning of ta-ang.

Mr. Worawut then expressed his opinion that in most hill tribes, usually it is male dominant but for Dala-ang, male and female seemed to be in the same level. But Miss Pacharapan objected that it was because Kun Kham who protested for their freedom.

Mr. Yuttapong suddenly rejected the word *tribe*. He commented that we shouldn't use this word. He, as a kmong, didn't like this word. Thus, Mr. Worawut asked Mr. Winai what word we should use. Mr. Winai gave an interesting idea that everyone is in a tribe, Italian tribe, Chinese tribe, but it's just bigger group so we use the word 'people' instead. 'Tribe' is to acknowledge a small group of people.

Mr. Winai questioned Mr. Mark, "But we were forced to use the word, what do you think?" Mr. Mark answered that we may just use "group" or "ethnic group", as the idea of tribes comes to use for suppressing a particular group. Mr. Winai then told that now we know these people, why shouldn't we just call their name? Don't let nationalism frame our minds.

Turn to Miss Anita, she suggested that only 'ethnic group' is not enough. In the reality there are some we considered as ethnic but some we don't. we should find some appropriate words for each type of them.

Ajarn Mukdawan then said that she looked in different viewpoint. It is about a definition of a particular society. The word 'tribe' was considered by anthropologists that it is suitable for calling certain groups of people, considered from their activity or so. If the group in is category 'tribe', they call them tribe. The problem is some Thai people use the word to mention some primitive societies (wrong meaning). Because some tribes in Thailand needed much development; this made other people think the word 'tribe' made from the object of development. Therefore, the situation of hill tribes in Thailand did not improve. They are minor.

"BUT, many of Akha or Karen members I know do not mind that much to be called hill tribe people, if we talk face to face and they know we are not suppressing them", added Ajarn Mukdawan. "They understand, but however some of them also want to change. Some prefer being called ชนเผ่าพื้นเมือง (*misunderstood that it meant native people*). This is related to political issue.

"But again, to be alien gives them some benefits. Kun Kham, for example, when she was in the jail she told other Dala-ang girls to pretend they don't understand Thai, and they were excepted from some rules by that. They just know how to manipulate their situation.

Miss Pacharapan questioned about the word ชนเผ่าพื้นเมือง whether it is used for calling people who settled there for a long time before being colonized? Is it appropriate for people who migrated from other places? Ajarn Mukdawad then said that it means indigenous people, but the meaning of indigenous for these groups is still not clear. Mr. Yuttapong suggested that the term ethnic group / hill tribe / indigenous came from NGO or maybe some researchers and people just followed the creators by using the term. Mr. Worawut requested for acceptable terms from Mr. Yuttapong. The answer was, "we are Kmong, and we call

ourselves Kmong. But we might have to create another term for others to call us if we live in society..."

Mr. Wichean asked Mr. Yuttapong how they call other people (maybe from other groups). And Mr. Yuttapong told him they just call the name of the people they are talking to; Thai, Karen, and so on.

Mr. Winai revealed his opinion, "I was thinking. We social scientists know that 'word' cannot explain reality. We may conceptualize some parts of reality by word but cannot essence the real meaning. So word can be shift in meaning. We have to beware when we do our academic studies. We may go beyond word in the future."

For Mr. Lee, he gave opinion about this topic by giving an example of situation in Singapore. He said there are many nationalities living there but they all are called Singaporeans. So there must be some purposes to call hill tribes or ethnic group. But Ajarn Mukdawan explained that the situation here is different from Singapore context. People in Singapore are all citizens. Ethnic groups here still suffer a lot for citizenship. If they have citizenship, we may call them Thai, Thai Kmong, Thai Akha, for example. But they don't have now.

After that Mr. Worawut asked for Mr. Boonsong's opinion. Mr. Boonsong thought that word is just word. It is just this word goes along with negative sense. We might pay more attention to individual to avoid the word tribe. Miss Pacharapan said that is it negative because its meaning had changed.

"They feel they are inferior... people in majority won't understand...", said Mr. Winai. Mr. Boonsong then shared that he thought this is about place and time we use the term. Mr. Lee then concluded that we, as social science students, have duties to create appropriate words or change the misunderstanding about the words. Miss Anita also agreed that we want the specific word for ethnic people.

Mr. Worawut turned back to the topic of citizenship that Ajarn Mukdawan mentioned and confirmed that it is the problem Dala-ang people are facing. He asked further that if we want to help them, how we should conceptualize the situation.

Mr. Lee said he liked that Makhampom foundation are presenting the reality of the ethnic group. It may be able to help. But the group is from drama participants, they do not know situations in social point of view. They could evaluate to add some social worker.

Mr. Worawut came back to Dala-ang people. "Dala-ang people may be exploited by both the NGO and people around them, what do you think, Mr. Winai?", he asked.

"It's up to persons. For example, for police officers, if they know anyone who does not have citizenship they have to arrest them. It won't be a problem to people who born with citizenship; but for those who acquire it later, it's tough. Thai legal system is tough... I think we have to let them study, give them education, and they may be accepted in one day..." answered Mr. Winai.

Mr. Boonsong suggested that if we give citizenship too easily, people around will move to Thailand. The government may have to prevent that situation. It's ridiculous, few hundred years ago we hunted for people to be ours, why we are now preventing them from moving in?

Mr. Winai then told that it is a problem about nation. Mr. Banharn's (Thai's former president) father was pure Chinese. Many people got citizenship as they performed politics well. Miss Arratee mentioned them being double-standard. She said the state wants to show their power so their arrest Dala-ang people and other people without citizenship. Ajarn Mukdawan then claimed that they think Dala-ang people were quite strategic. They knew in the past that the King and the Queen would come. They asked the King to live in Thailand and they were permitted, they knew how to deal with such power. They were clever. But she also said the place they live makes them easy to be arrested.

The state might not pay much attention to giving citizenship to migrated people like they had one in the past, sometime the officers were just too lazy to come to look at their situation. But those people want citizenship, especially for education and so, they need ID card.

Compared to the Shan people that babies who were born in Thailand will receive Thai citizenship, people in Dala-ang will not. Even their parents have been in Thailand for decades, the children will get the same nationality to their parents. Citizenship in this country is complex. Sometimes it depends on the power you have. Wealthy person can get citizenship with their money, like what happened in Mae-Fah-Luang, many people paid for their rights to live there. However, even you get Thai citizenship, not being Thai by birth obstructed you from education and getting some stable job. Government officers, for example, only Thai by birth are allowed to be.

Mr. Lee asked for more understanding that are the people not getting citizenship because of the job issue. Ajarn Mukdawan answered that it is developed for long time. Because in the past some tribe people painted bad pictures of themselves. Moreover, they appeared in media in very negative way; dirty, free sex, stupid, and so on. They were prevented from joining in social community.

Mr. Winai gave another interesting opinion. He said not only ethnic people who are obstructed, but also poor Thai people. They cannot get well education, cannot get good job or even good quality of life.

"Yeah, that's right. When I studied in Chiang Rai, the poor Thai people complained that why tribals? Why not them, they're poor too!" agreed Miss Anita. Both Mr. Winai and Mr. Mark agreed with them.

Mr. Worawut asked the next question; "supposed Dala-ang people was improved, do you think they will still interested in citizenship? I mean if their economic is very good, they can get good jobs and so on. Mr. Mark and Miss Arratee debated on this issue; then, Mr. Winai and Ajarn Mukdawan joined: "Citizenship is fake. If you give them enough welfare they won't need citizenship. You can imagine that if I go to Burma, do I want citizenship there?" he said. "We're trying to get back to the original of the term 'citizenship'. The term contains the word 'city', not 'nation'. The idea's been changed..." said Ajarn Mukdawan "It affected much to ethnic people. It will ease them if they're considered as a Thai, get Thai citizenship, you'd have legal right. But, then, how to define 'Thai'? Mr. Winai questioned Mr. Mark who's his parents. Mr. Mark said his grandparents are from many nations and his parents are the first generation of Canada. "People may want to look better, they want to feel superior so they minor others", Mr. Boonsong put in.

Ajarn Mukdawan expressed the new topic that lots of movies deal with immigrants (not only Thai movies but also Hollywood and so). And the new discussed the situations. It seems like people who provide illegal person accommodation are to be arrested. Mr. Winai then shared his experience when he visit Shan people and stayed there at night. Those people asked him whether he gets citizenship. He mentioned it is quite hurt when he realized we define brotherhood through citizenship instead of relationship.

Mr. Wichean noted that it looks like everything was affected by the state. Mr. Winai agreed and gave example of Dala-ang people, who still run away every time they see police officers. Mr. Worawut added that even they succeeded in searching for a place to live, they still lack the land for cultivation. They still lack a lot. The topic turned to be about Dala-ang people again. "They won in the media (the one we watched) but on the ground, they have to work a lot more. We know the situation from the film but there still are many people who don't know", said Mr. Winai. "What is more is what happened on the ground, they have to fight the officers all the time. When I was a journalist I had encouraged them and at that time, I hadn't realized that; I can say what I want but right after I left, the ones who have to face the situation are they. Mr. Winai mentioned about the performance Dala-ang kids popular performed at the school that; whether they performed very good or people just wanted to see unusual thing (tribe people – in this case). Ajarn Mukdawan then answered that people just like to consume exotic culture of other people. The Dala-ang group was considered unusual, yes, so the strangeness attracted people. Ajarn Mukdawan also answered yes for Miss Anita's question further whether they get any benefit from that point. Mr. Boonsong thought it will sure work if we let Dala-ang people act in Makham-Pom theater because it is their own story.

Mr. Winai changed the topic to the belief of Dala-ang traditional clothes that the first Dala-ang woman came from heaven, which is similar to Thai's fairy tale, Mano-Rah. Miss Pacharapan added the same belief from Japan; a woman came from heaven to wash her body in the creek and her heaven clothes was stolen. She had to live with the man who stole her clothes and gave birth to many children. Mr. Winai asked for opinion whether this belief sees Dala-ang women as objective or subjective? If they feel good to it, does it mean they are subjective? He also gave an example of Ethnic people in Mae-Rim who were assigned to live 16 groups altogether. "Let them live together like a zoo", Mr. Winai said. "BUT they think it's good for them. They gain some money and have more time than working in a field." (I think they are still an object even they satisfy). Mr. Lee thought that we should understand them from their viewpoint. He talked about Indian culture that the widow has to burn herself together with her husband's body. He said they might not think it's good if we solve problems for them. We should ask them also what they want. Mr. Winai asked Mr. Lee if he think those people can decide what to do, the answer was No. Mr. Lee said we have to engage them; not command or suggest but engage, at least to fight the situation. Mr. Mark commented that they understand what depress them and they want to fight back. They just need others to understand them. Only strategy they have is not enough.

Mr. Winai then questioned about being understand or helpful. He asked why did we have to buy those hats from Dala-ang market, even though it's ugly. (And Mr. Lee cried "I think it's beautiful!! lol). And let us think when we see them selling things, did we think they are proud of their goods or just "please help me by buying this..."? They made cheap quality products but we all bought them because we felt for them. They should not promote themselves like that. "Is that because you have power toward Dala-ang people, Lee?" asked Mr. Wichean. "My power is money!" Mr. Lee joked back. Ajarn Mukdawan claimed that it was just a performance. "They performed they were poor, and after we bought their goods, they were happy. We also performed that we could help them, and after we bought the item we also were happy. I think we bought the performance from them." She said.

Mr. Mark then expressed that he thought the consumer just want to show that they have connection to tribe people who is different. "Don't you think it's a cheat?" asked Mr. Winai. "It's like distortion of communication. We didn't get authentic relation like we should..." "Look from the theater's perspective. We've been shown the video and then we went to Dala-ang. We're participating in the drama!" Ajarn Mukdawan replied. "But other tourists may not think too much like us... not about the front stage – back stage things." Mr. Winai said. "I think we covered many areas of the sufferings of Dala-ang people. Can I ask now could you give opinion from what you learn today about Dala-ang?" questioned Mr. Worawut, as a facilitator, asking everyone to conclude their ideas.

Mr. Lee said that it is the aspect of “assumption.” We must be careful to deal with our assumptions in our research and response to social issues. This can be seen in how creative drama in Makham-Pom theater can be used to solve social problems. But at the same time, we need to integrate with various disciplines to enhance our approach to social issues. Mr. Winai suggested conceptualizing the whole picture altogether. He found that; firstly, the people are strategic of living. Secondly, they use compassion, when we see them we feel pity. They are learning many things to survive. Miss Anita then mentioned that she liked to see that even they were in their difficult time, they were not frustrated. They decided to buy land and they did. They also are building the stage for the show to attract tourists. Mr. Boonsong shared his experience in USTP who works on giving citizenship. He said every state has its law so when Dala-ang moved into Thailand, they have to respect Thai's law. We do not shut the door permanently toward them but we want them to follow our law. There were bad guys in Dala-ang also, those who had to leave the village.

Miss Pacharapan thought that they were not attractive because they were not sincere. They sold things that they told us hand-made but actually were bought from other markets. Mr. Mark said he understood both sides, but he thought Dala-ang people still misunderstood many things about nation security. He wanted the state to develop the criteria to select who should stay, he did not understand why the state maintains situation that people are not stable like this. Miss Arratee admired that they know how to deal with people they were contacting with. To us, they asked to buy their goods, to a powerful person they asked for power. Mr. Wichean mentioned Khun Kham that she might want any other bigger thing beside what we know. Mr. Yuttapong said we had considered how Dala-ang people were treated. We tried to know their problem. We collected data only from them but we ignore the whole picture. Some of them tried to adjust themselves; for example, some became Christians.

Ajarn Mukdawan expressed that if we strict to their theme, this village seemed to be a contest space for illegal people/ethnic group/so on. Dala-ang has less power, less capital in term of cultural or economic to contest with other ethnic groups. In Thai, every inch of the land belongs to the King and the government acts as a substitute for the King; therefore, even there are some people who try to help Dala-ang, they cannot be 100% able to say Dala-ang can live here. It is difficult to define the word Thai people, more difficult than trying to define "what is not Thai". To maintain equality of difference, they should consider managing ethnic policy. The situation now is like using ethnic people as scapegoats for any crimes in Thai. For example, they claim that amphetamine sellers are Hmong, or the terrorists in the west are Malayo.

We discussed a little further about the way people called Isan people 'Lao', and called northern people 'Lao north', the topic of moral (people made fun of other people). Ajarn Mukdawan said that it might be our natural habit to put ourselves superior, and we make nation state a victim. Mr. Worawut thanked Ajarn

Mukdawan for the conclusion she made. He summed up what we talked and ended the discussion.

Day 2: The Home of Former Shan General JaoPaiMuang Chantsouk

At JaoPaiMeaung House, PiengLuang Subdistric, ViengHaeng District, ChiangMai Province.

Data suppliers: JaoPaiMuang Chantsouk (74 year old) and Somboon Theeravongso (45 year old)

The chronology of Tai Yai people settlement at Pieng Luang

Somboon claimed that Pieng Luang temple, which have the Tai Yai temple style, was constructed in 1687 so we can assume that Tai Yai people have stayed here for more than 200 years (as Bangkok). The big movement that takes place in this area was at early 1960s after Tai Yai people were committed to separate from Burma, which was led by Jaonoy Soryunta (เจ้าน้อย ซอหย่นตี้ะ) and the General Kongjeng (นายพลกองเจิง). The other big movement was in 1996 after Kun Sa, Shan State Army leader, joined with Burmese Army. Then, there were many Tai Yai people who disagreed with Kun Sa and moved to this area where some of them stayed in the camp. Now, there are estimated 2,000 households of Tai Yai people at Pieng Luang subdistrict where more than 30% do not have Thai ID Card.

Tai Yai and other ethnic groups

There are five ethnic groups in this area – Tai Yai, Youn (Northern Thai people-knon Meaung), Chinese, Karen (Tai Yai call Karen people as “Yang”) and Lisu. They have a good relationship. Since the late 1980s, they tried to reduce the gap between them by joining each other’s rituals, especially among Tai Yai, Chinese and Karen groups. In the early of 1980s, they had a lot of conflicts in this area where they have dangerous ringleaders. Then, the Thai government controlled the situation by sending the soldiers to subdue the leaders of the groups. At the same time, the cut and burn agriculture in swidden agriculture by the Karen also declined as they joined the Royal Project.

In the past, Tai Yai was the dominant ethnic group and Tai Yai language was used predominantly. However, after Thai education came into this area, their children were forced to communicate with Thai language in class. Now, the Tai Yai people, in especial, is trying to recover their culture such as, language and custom.

Tai Yai people at Pieng Luang and the King of Thailand

Everyday in the morning, Tai Yai will sacrifice some food for Buddha, ancestors, house spirits and the king – the king of Thailand at a sacred space in the house. “*Jaohorkham*” is the term describing the king in Tai Yai language. Jao

Paimeung said that after the last “*Jaohorkham*” of Tai Yai had died, many Tai Yai people made Thai king as their “*Jaohorkham*”. “When we go to fighting, we have the Pra Naresaun (the famous king of Ayuthaya-the Thai king) picture on our body, we will get protection from him,” Jao Paimeung said.

The museum in Pieng Luang temple has shown many pictures of the Tai Yai king but interestingly, there are pictures of Thai kings too. And in the Pieng Luang temple, there is the monument of king Naresuan. Nevertheless, they have the General Kongjerng monument near the monument of king Naresuan, where they have a bigger one at the top of mountain near the borderline.

Liberation or democracy movement – the Civil War in Burma (Myanmar)

After the Burmese government decided in following the Pang Luang Contract (1947), each small states began to govern themselves. Thereafter, the Tai Yai people did not agree with the Burma government and declared to liberate themselves from Burma. In 1958, a year after the deadline of the contract, Jaonoy Soryunta (เจ้าน้อย ซอหยั่นตี้ะ) and 31 Tai Yai leaders committed to liberate Shan state from Burma through a blood drinking ritual with the following description:

“เราคือผู้ต่อสู้เพื่อเอกราช ต่อไปนี้ห้ามศิโรราบกับพม่า ตลอดชีวิตนี้ให้เราเอาหัวใจเป็นสักขีพยาน... กินน้ำสัตยาบัน (น้ำที่ผสมด้วยเลือด 7 หยด ของทุกคน) ร่วมกัน... ถ้าใครผิดสัญญา... ให้มีอันเป็นไป” ถอดความจากเจ้าปายเมือง”

“We are the fighters for freedom who don’t accept the domination from Burma, in our lives we use our hearts as our contract together ... after drinking the commitment water (with 7 blood drops of everybody in their)..., who failed to keep the commitment... will meet with disasters” Jao Paimeung said.

After the emergence of the liberation group of Jaonoy Soryunta (เจ้าน้อย ซอหยั่นตี้ะ) in 1958, there were at least 7 groups that emerged in 1960s. They include the separate group, the student group, the Royal of Tai Yai group, a group of the Tai Yai people in the north of Shan state. At present, there are still only three groups which cannot join together for fighting with Burma because of the different ways of thinking, fighting tactics, and others. These three groups are Jao Yodsouk, Meaung La group and the north group.

In Burmese politics, there are two situations at present. Firstly, the Burmese government released Ong San Sukyi from the prison and she won in the nation election. She went to Asian Committee in Bangkok, Thailand on June, 2012 where the media had given much focus on her action in regional politics. Secondly, Jao Yodsouk, the leader of Shan state army, had a truce with the Burmese government. These two situations serve to convince the Tai Yai people to rethink about liberation movement again. Jao Paimeung then gave his analysis of these situations. He argued that the political strategies of Shan state

army were defeated by the Burmese army. Although the policy of RCSS is to liberate them from Burma, the truce is good for them and the people who live in this area. This is because there are no deaths and it is the chance for development since they, including the Burma and Shan army would want to stop drug-trading in this area. However, Jao Paimeang said, "I never believe in Burmese army. RCSS has made contract with the Burmese government but not the Burmese army who still wants our land. Hence, we will still shoot Burmese army again and again even though the truce helps paint Burma as a good picture in the eyes of the European and western countries. Besides, Ong San's daughter (Ong San Sukyi) acts like a decoy hen for the westerners in the name of democracy. However, no one in this area likes her."

In this situation where Shan movement cannot liberate themselves from Burma, the new generation might change their goal from acquiring freedom in independence to seeking to construct democracy in Burma. Jao Paimeang believes that if Burma has morality in their mind, then there might be true democracy and equality. However, Burma is corrupted with power (ลูแก่อำนาจ). "If you ask me how to handle this situation I will say again and again 'keeps shooting at the Burmese soldiers' until we have freedom. I have the commitment though I know that we are in a losing situation because the new generation will have their aim."

Day 2: Reflection and Discussion

After listening to the lecture by Mr. Somboon Theerawangsoe and by Sao Paimoung Laisai and after having visited the Shan Refugee camp, the discussion among the group has focused mainly on the topic of the link between religion and power or politics as a first instance.

In fact, as long as the refugee camp has been settled one year ago on the land belonging to the Fa Wieng-inn Temple, we discussed about the meaning of this fact. To many of us, this act shows a political nature that is quite inappropriate to a religious institution. Religion should not be involved in politics, but the truth is that it is in many cases.

This fact can be considered under many aspects. On a very material level, we have seen that as long as the temple on the Myanmar side has been occupied by the army since the past, people who live close to the border still take the further temple in the Thai side as a point of reference. Moreover, the land where the temple is (which is part of Thailand now), was part of the previous Shan State. This could mean that Shan people still perceive this border area as according to the old affiliation rather than the new one. Last but not least, it is possible to suppose that the monks living in the temple are mainly Shan so they felt a special sympathy for Shan refugee. Moreover, we should also consider the fact that people escaping for what we could consider a war condition naturally looked

for safety in the temple. All this stated, we passed on considering that there are however multiple processes of politicization of religion from both sides.

In fact on the one hand, Shan people underline very much their devotion to Theravada Buddhism and the loyalty to the Thai Royal Family which they share with the Thai people. This is quite clear just by walking in the refugee camp, where altars and images of the King Majesty are evident in every house and it has also been underlined more than once in Sao Paimoung Laisai Somboon Theerawangsoe's words.

This strong feeling of loyalty to the Thai Royal family could be related with the loss of the old Shan monarchy. The strong link with the temple could also be related to its previous belonging to the ancient Shan Reign. Although it is difficult to know if there is an authentic and sincere feeling of loyalty and devotion, we have discussed on how this identity which Shan people claim can affect the politics relating to them. In fact, thanks to this identity, they show that they are perceived as less aliens than other groups. This can be seen in the example of the Dara-Ang whom we have also met. This means that there is a higher level of tolerance from local people and local official who allow them to go out of the camp to work at certain ease despite the prohibition law. At the governmental level, there is also a possible quicker process of legal integration through citizenship.

This means that there is a double manipulation of a supposed common religious identity. The Shan use it in order to be accepted and to reach a high level of integration in the new country that they move into. Reciprocally, the Thai government absorbs the refugees, even though at a low level of rights, because they provide a low-cost labor force for them. As a result, this complex mix of interests makes the border area a *place of exception*, a concept suggested by Ajan Mukdawan. It is a concept that states how exceptions are developed and determined by economic reasons which also determine the adoption of flexible strategies for adaptation.

The morning meeting has also shown us the same flexible strategies from both the sides: the ex. Shan Revolutionary Leader, who has lived in the Pieng Loung village and the Thai government that gave him the citizenship because of his previous useful role in protecting the border.

We went on discussing about the general situation of Myanmar and we agreed on the fact that there is a lack in unity. This will be the case as long as each group tries to defend its own previous or contemporary benefits. In our opinion, there would be a common political project which is able to build a new over-ethnic identity in order to reach new common rights. In this analysis, we have also seen the role that English colonization has played in determining such a strong division in the country. At the end, we also have experimented how all the

different actors we met at the revolutionary and the refugees would like to have a normal life.

Our conclusion has been that of we, as social researchers, should always be guided by explicit ethical assumptions, oriented by the so called Human Agency.

FIELD TRIP 2

Day 1: Lecture on Trans-border Trade by Mr. Suraphol Ampan

This is conducted at the customhouse at Chieng Khong District, Chieng Rai Province. The data supplier is Surapol Ampan, the assistant chief of customhouse at Chieng Khong District.

1. Border trading along the Mekong River in the North of Thailand

Surapol, the assistant chief of the customhouse at Chieng Khong district, spoke about the changing rule of the customhouse in this area. He mentioned of the change from being the controller of import-export to the role of being a facilitator to prevent the transportation of dangerous goods such as drug, weapon, etc. This change is line with the coming of the Asean Economic Community (AEC) in 2015 and the constructing of the Mekong river bridge which links R3E road (from Khun Ming in China to Houay Xai in Lao) to Thailand.

There are three types of border crossing. Firstly, there is the permanent border crossing at Chieng San district, Chieng Khong district and Mae Say district. The second type is the temporary border crossing. The third border crossing refers to the goods' temporary permitted areas which include 5 areas, namely, three areas (Jam Pong village, Had Pay village, and Houay Lueg village) in Chieng Rai province and two areas (Huag village and Bouw Thong village) in Phayao province.

The import and export goods which are being transported on the Mekong River include teak, construction materials and agriculture goods. The import value recorded last year from China is 1,452.990 million baht (74.87%) and from Lao is 487.619 million baht (25.13%). However, along Mekong River, there are folkways trading between villagers.

The checking of import and export goods employs risk management. This refers to the focus on the risk goods or using historical track records of companies to

help them in their random checks. This form of management cuts short the process which makes transporting goods faster.

Most tax collected from this area is sent to the central government with little returns to the local administration. There is also duty free for some types of goods such as agriculture items, especially corn during March to July period of each year due to the shortage of corn in Thailand.

2. Border trade at the Jampong village

According to the head of Jampong village, this area has a lot of laborers from Udomxai and Pakbang in Lao. They collect a daily wage of about 80-100 ThB while their monthly wage is around 1,000-2,000 ThB.

During March to July period of dry season, 10-12 trucks will come to take the corn from Lao daily because of there is no import tax in this period. The head villager complains that local people do not get any benefits from this border trade, except from a few traders. On the contrary, there is an effect on local people for the corn price in this area will decrease by 1-3 ThB per kilogram at that season.

The head villager said that 70% of the village plant corn is being sold in this area and many of them are in contract farming. Many villagers in this area plant corn in Lao because they have land and kinship in Lao.

Day 1: Reflection on trans-border trade topic

Day 2: Lecture on Contract Farming by Mr. Sangjan Phumewan

The presenter is an agriculturalist from the Agricultural Department, HoySai, Borkoa, Lao PDR.

Regarding maize technical cultivation:

Soil preparation

- Plough (30 – 50 cm depth) and let it be exposed to the sun for 2-3 weeks; this stage is for germ control.
- Break the soil (15 – 30 cm depth).

Seedling preparation / plantation methodology

- By machine (clean the seed and direct planting with machine).
- By manual labor (soak the seed overnight, drainage and planting).

Plantation

- Draw lines and machinery plating (require 18 kg per hectare or 6.25 “rai”); 3 seeds for each planting in total of about 140,000 seeds per hectare.
- Dead seedling replacement plantation.
- After planting 3-7 days, if the seed does not germinate, then replantation will be required.

Maintenance

- Between Day 25 – 30, it is to be fertilized with (46-0-0) or (15-20-0) and it has to be buried under the soil next to the maize.
- Between Day 55-60 (pregnancy period), weeding to occur between rolls and columns.

Harvesting

- Around day 130, or maize is 85 – 90 % drought it is ready to harvest.

Investment

It is a co-investment between landowner (villager) and entrepreneur. The landowner will invest in the form of labor and land while the entrepreneur will invest in the form of seed, fertilizer, pesticide, herbicide and machine working cost for ploughing and other purposes. The entrepreneur will collect the product from each farmer with a record of how much it weighs that the farmer has made. The farmer will sell it to the Thai entrepreneur who states the price. Subsequently, the entrepreneur will deduct all the cost he or she has invested and the rest is the profit that each farmer has made from their maize.

Entrepreneur

There are over 50 entrepreneurs in Hoysai, Borkoa. To be a Lao entrepreneur, registration is required. The registration can be done as an individual or as a group. The entrepreneur will be specific in stating the agricultural business. For example, he or she may register for maize cultivation. However, if the registration is done in the form of a company, then the field of business will be broader. To register, an entrepreneur needs to show that he or she has at least \$100,000 capital. If it is a joint venture with a Thai entrepreneur, then the investment ratio is (Thai 70 % and Lao 30%). However, mostly, for Chinese, they will be putting 100% in investment. The entrepreneur needs to deposit 70 % of the capital with Lao bank so as to protect the farmer’s interest by ensuring his or her return.

In Lao PDR, there are two types of land title which are temporary and permanent which are 70% and 30% of farmlands respectively. It is noteworthy that government officials could not apply as entrepreneurs.

As for maize cultivation land space, land space was increased since 4 year ago. However, in the last 2 years (2011, 2012), it had declined. On the other hand, banana farm (กล้วยหอม) has increased. This is because the interconnecting R3A between Lao and China has facilitated the transport of bananas to China. The banana farms that have replaced maize farms are mainly run by Chinese investors. Hence, they will invest on the local lands by contract-farming. By estimation, the landowner will get about 1 ThB per kilogram of banana. If the landowner works on farm, then he or she will get paid by the investor. There will be a four-year contract and the payment will be given each year. The investors will have to rent the land from farmer, which costs about 5,000 ThB per “rai” per year. They will need about 4 kilograms of fertilizers per banana tree each year and they will need about 8 months before it is ready for harvest.

At Ban Dhan

This is a report for the interview with Ban Dhan agricultural leader. There are about 600 households where 400-500 households grow maize while the others grow rice, banana and tobacco.

The role of the agricultural leader is to facilitate market, investment and land preparation. In the past, Ban Dhan uses about 11,500 hectares for maize cultivation but it has now dropped to only 3,000 hectares. The other lands are used for banana and rice cultivation. The banana cultivation was introduced to Borkoa two years ago and 184 hectares were used to grow banana in Ban Dhan (2012). As for the usage of investment amount, 60,000 ThB per hectare for banana cultivation is used to pay for water supply system, fertilizer, pesticide and herbicide and labor. The farm worker will get 1.10 ThB per kilogram of banana product. The labor cost is such that it costs about 10 ThB per banana tree (about 30-35 kilograms). After harvest, the banana will be soaked in a solution (for keeping it green) which is followed by packaging before being transported to China. Prior sale, the banana will have to be washed so as to get rid of the solution and be made ready for ripening process.

Interview Mr. Somdee Somwongdech from Pol Sa Wang Village

He is the banana cultivation agency. He seeks out villagers who are interested to rent their land for banana cultivation. He gathers land and acts as a coordinator between the landowner and the Chinese entrepreneur. This includes the facilitation of the lease or rental agreement between them. Principally, farmers have to prove that their land cannot grow maize before they can transform it into a banana farm. However, the practice in reality is different. Further, in order to be qualified as an entrepreneur, he or she needs to have a

corn-milling tractor and a transportation truck. This is not part of the \$100,000 sum capital.

Somdee is able to gather 168 households with 1,200 hectares and the Chinese entrepreneur provides him 40 hectares. This means that the investor has to pay him 40 hectares X 4,000 = 160,000/year since the rental is 4,000 ThB per hectare. Besides, he invests in maize plantation. He will prepare the land, which includes land ploughing, for the landowner. He also provides seedling which is imported from Thailand. He pays about 130 ThB per kilogram (CP's price) and he will make about 10 ThB per kilogram and also will make 10 ThB per gallon for pesticide and herbicide.

In addition, he will make 0.60 baht per kilogram of maize (this price includes milling and transportation) which he will sell the maize to Miss Wannares Chaiwong or Mr. Boontum Yakao in Chiang Kong, Chiang Sen district, Chiang Rai province.

Day 2: Reflection on agrarian transformation topic

This is at Chieng-Khong on 3 August 2012. After meeting farmers in Ban Dann (Bokeo district, Laos), we focus on some main aspects for reflection. The first is that of a network system which takes place among people along borders. In fact, people in the village and Chinese or Thai businessman relate to each other intensively. This dynamic relation moving from one side to the other occurs even though they are occupying at different levels of power.

The Chinese companies have little duties. In fact, they are treated with compliance and special favor from local officials who are personally involved in the business. As such, they can dictate the kind of commodity (which includes mainly bananas and rubber at this moment and also Japanese's beans and job's tears), to grow according to their own personal interest. At the same time, they decide the kind of seeds and fertilizers that the farmers are forced to comply.

On the other hand, peasants have very little protection as they cannot be certain that they will be able to sell their commodities. In fact, the commodities could simply be destroyed if the buyer is no longer interested. Besides, peasants are concerned about the Thai market and they have only three months to sell their corn.

In consideration of all these aspects, many of us agreed that the apparent laborious network seems to involve peasants directly and is a form of exploitation existing for a long time. In fact, the Lao government seems to have very little power and authority at the national and local level. It has also seemed to us of their inexplicable orientation in their maintenance of the status quo in many ways. This refers to their first concern which is to meet the interests of their neighboring countries. They do not seem to be concerned with the development of a national market and they simply accept a little income as long as investors have a deposit in the national bank.

Laos seems to continue to have *laborers and land* only. They seem to be actively involved in the process but they are indeed weak and disorganized. The meaning of the border in this case seems to enable two different processes. On one hand, there is an increasing process of exploitation. On the other hand, there is an increasing involvement of peasants in the market economy who are held ransom through fake cheap Chinese products. Hence, some of us agreed that the ASEAN could and should have a role in the future in defending peasants' interests.

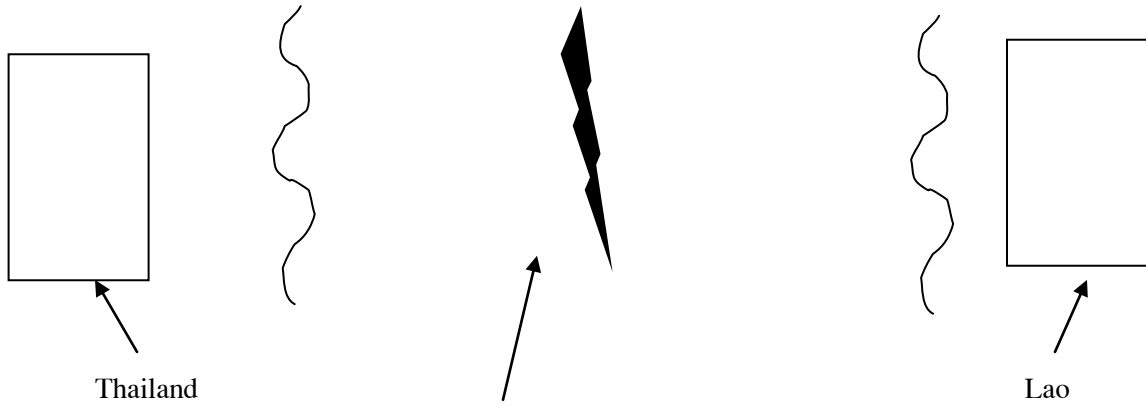
Day 3: Lecture on Mae-Khong Economic Transformation by Mr. Niwat Roykaew

The guest speakers are Khun Tongkram Tongkhaw (Uncle Tui) and Khun Wachara Lewpongsawas (P' Wach) who have been in Chiang Khong for a very long time. The topic they have chosen is mainly about what the state (and other people) should do with Mae Khong River.

They said that villagers in the past had lived peacefully with some Lao people around Mae Khong. Both Thai and Lao people could cross the river quite freely at the border areas as if they were in the same society. However, things seemed to have changed after some political and economical effects. There are many capitalists who have tried to 'develop' this area but the ways they used are only advantageous to them. In the past, villagers subsisted on plenty natural resources of Mae Khong. Nowadays, the richness of natural resources are far less than in the past as people outside the area have come to take advantage of them. Some even wanted to explode the islets in Mae Khong so as to make their ships able to go through the narrow area of Mae Khong. Some wanted to build a dam. This is not what Mae Khong and the resident villagers would want. This is because those ideas will destroy Mae Khong's natural state and its biodiversity of executed. Even Mae Khong's giant catfish will be in danger as they will be

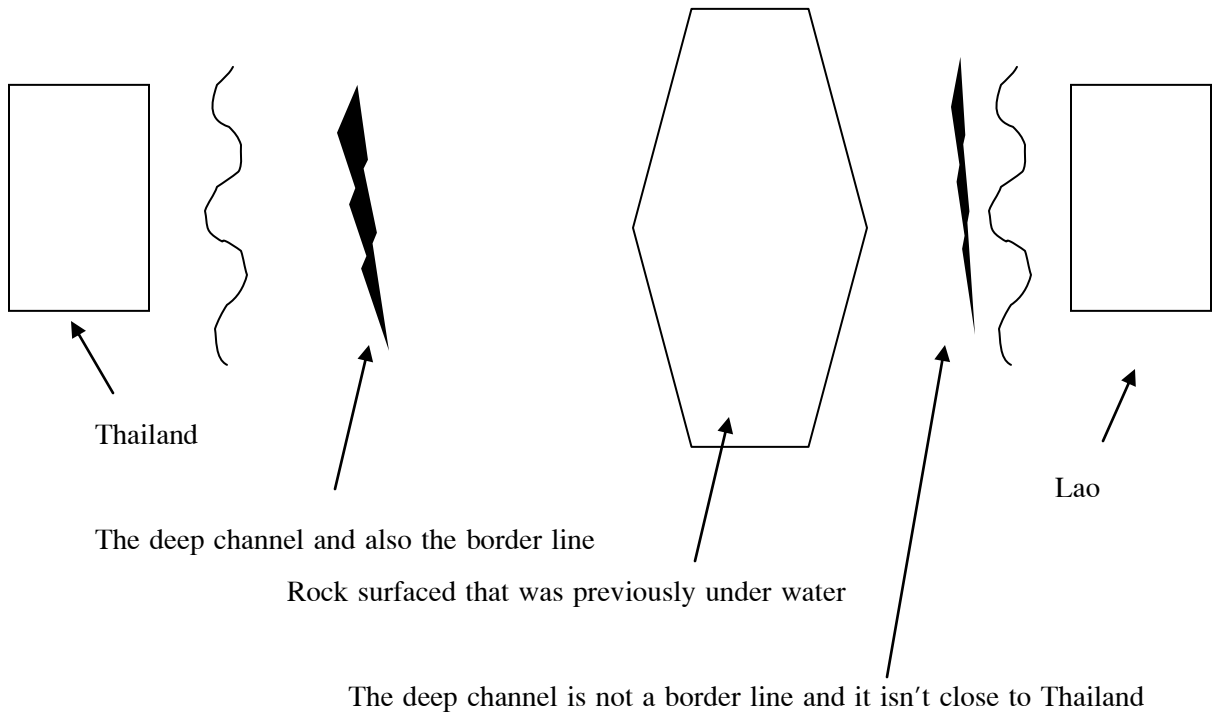
affected by those changes as they require specific areas and conditions to grow, mate and spawn eggs.

Another topic which is related to the topic above is about border lines between Thai and Lao. The border lines we use these days are from the contractual agreement with French more than a century ago. From the contract, the border lines are measured from the deep channels in Mae Khong that are close to Thailand. If the level of the water is high, the border may become far from Thailand as shown in the following diagram:



The deep channel and also the border line

But there are many rocks that are lying underneath the river. When the level of the river is low, these rocks will surface. Therefore, if the water level is low, then the land in Mae Khong has changed causing the border lines to look like this:



This line plus economical and political factors caused many conflicts between Thai and Lao People around this area. We still hope that there will not be the building of dam in Mae Khong since the dam will destroy biodiversity, natural resources and the villager's way of life.

Day 3: Round-up workshop and reflection

In the evening, each of us shares a short reflection.

Anita

It is a special zone which means that it is a zone where people from both nations live together peacefully.

Father Winai

It is a space or a place which means material world moves so fast that people in the place cannot adjust themselves to the new space.

Khun Yut

Opium (This means that the business in the golden triangle area has been changed from opium growing to casino but still fail to make life better).

Khun Boonsong

Extention (This means provided electricity in the casinos, or capital forces – and said Chinese will be everywhere).

Khun Tek

Equality (This means that there's no equality of knowledge or capital in this area).

Khun Wut

Capitalism (This means that China is too strong toward Laos, which will subsequently develop into lots of tension).

Khun Por

Biodiversity (This means that biodiversity in Mae Khong has been destroyed and wonders how human, as a kind of animal, will be affected too)

Khun Aoy

Actor's network (This means that the state plays an important role as an actor to link countries together).

Aj Jamaree

Capitalism and backhander (Aj Jamaree agreed with P' Yut's topic of opium. She raised the topic of ethical aspect of development and she said that the casino is a very unreal place with special economic zone which is in contrast with the refugee's camp. She ended with "we destroyed so much nature..." (corns, bananas, biodiversities).

APPENDIX
FIELD TRIP SCHEDULE

FIELD TRIP 1

Saturday, 7 July 2012

- 07.45 Meet in front of Social Science library
- 08.00-09.30 Travel to Chiang Dao district
- 09.30-10.30 Lecture on the topic “Activities of Makhampom performance group in supporting Dara-Aung people” By Ms. Suraluck Jaiwut
- 10.30-10.45 Depart to Pang Dang Village
- 10.45-11.30 Lecture on the topic “The history of contesting space among Dara-Aung people and state power” by Ms. Khum Nainaul
- 11.30-12.30 Divide in small groups and collect data in the village
- 12.30-13.30 Lunch
- 13.30-15.30 Depart to Wieng Haeng district
- 15.30-16.00 Check-in at Ban Ra-bieng-mai questhouse
- 16.00-17.00 Visit Fa Wieng-inn Temple, and Thai-Burma border
- 17.00-18.00 Dinner
- 18.00-20.00 Discussion and Reflection*

Sunday, 8 July 2012

- 07.00-08.00 Breakfast and Check-out
- 08.30-09.30 Lecture on the topic “Overview perspective of ethnicity in Pieng Loung village” By Mr. Somboon Theerawangsoe
- 09.30-11.00 Lecture on the topic “The history of Shan people and their negotiation of space and meaning” by Sao Paimoung Laisai
- 11.00-12.00 Divide in groups and collect data in local market
- 12.00-13.00 Lunch
- 13.00-14.00 Visit refugee camp
- 14.00-15.00 Discussion and reflection*
- 15.00-18.00 Depart to Chiang Mai

FIELD TRIP 2

2 August 12

- 06.45 Meet in front of Social Science library
- 07.00-12.00 Depart to Chieng-Khong district, Chieng Rai province
- 12.00-13.00 Lunch at Tamela Guest House

- 13.30-14.30 Arrive Chieng-Khong Custom House
Lecture on “Trans-border trade and the impact of Asian economic free zone by Mr. Suwat Daungpan, Chief of Chieng Khong Customs House
- 14.30-16.00 Travel to Jam-Pong village, Wieng-gann district, observing cash crop farming along Mae-Khong river
- 16.00-17.00 Lecture on “Cash cropping and farmers’ livelihood” by Mr.Wien Chaiwong, Headman assistant of Jam-Pong village
- 17.00-18.00 Travel to Chieng Khong
- 18.00-19.00 Dinner
- 19.00-21.00 Reflection on trans-border trade topic
Overnight at Tamela Guest House

3 August 12

- 07.00-08.00 Breakfast
- 08.00-09.00 Cross Mae-Khong river to Huai-Xai, Bokeo district, Laos
- 09.00-10.00 Lecture on “Contract farming of cash crop and impact of R3a route by Mr. Sangjan Phumewan, agricultural scholar, Department of agriculture and forestry.
- 10.00-11.30 Travel to Ban-Dann
- 11.30-12.30 Observing contract farming
- 12.30-13.30 Lunch
- 13.30-14.30 Interview and collecting data from Laos farmers
- 14.30-15.30 Travel to Huai-Xai Chinese market
- 15.30-17.00 Collecting data at Chinese market
- 17.00-17.30 Cross-river back to Chieng-Khong
- 17.30-19.00 Dinner
- 19.00-21.00 Reflection on agrarian transformation topic
Overnight at Tamela Guest House

4 August 12

- 07.30-08.30 Breakfast and check-out
- 08.30-10.00 Lecture on “Mae Khong Economic transformation from NGO perspective” By Mr. Niwat Roykaew, Chairman of the Chiang Khong Conservation Group, and Mr. Wachara Lewwongsawat
- 10.00-11.30 Travel to Chieng Saen
- 11.30-12.30 Lunch
- 12.30-13.00 Cross Mae-Khong river to special economic zone of Ban Ton-Phoung. Laos
- 13.00-14.00 Investigate Chinese investment at entertainment and casino area

14.00-14.30 Cross the river back to Thailand
14.30-16.00 Round-up workshop and reflection
16.00-20.00 Travel back to Chiang-Mai

FIELD TRIP PARTICIPANTS

FIELD TRIP 1

Faculty Member:

Lect. Dr. Mukdawan Sakboon

Student Participants:

1. Mr. Winai Boonlue
2. Ms. Arratee Ayuttacorn
3. Mr. Boonsong Tharnsrithong
4. Mr. Mark Fraser
5. Ms. Pacharapan Kulpawaropas
6. Mr. Wichean Unprasert
7. Ms Anita Agostini
8. Mr. Yuthapong Seubsakwong
9. Mr. Worawut Ungjitpaisarn
10. Mr. Lee Kian Cheng

FIELD TRIP 2

Faculty Member:

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Jamaree Chiengthong

Student Participants:

1. Mr. Winai Boonlue
2. Ms. Arratee Ayuttacorn
3. Mr. Boonsong Tharnsrithong
4. Ms. Pacharapan Kulpawaropas
5. Mr. Wichean Unprasert
6. Ms Anita Agostini
7. Mr. Yuthapong Seubsakwong
8. Mr. Worawut Ungjitpaisarn