

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE STUDIED VILLAGE

In upper northern Thailand, several ethnic groups, for instance, Lua, Karen, Lahu, Lisu, Akha, and northern Thai (*Khon Muang*) have long been living in the forest or in the valleys and plains surrounded by forest. The history of village settlements is culturally based on a relationship between community and forest which reflecting people's ideology and notion of the relationship between human beings and spirits. This relationship is dynamic and based on an attempt to coexist with forest in "equilibrium". (Anan, 2000: 20-23)

In the last four decades, the role of Thai state and non-government organizations, under "the auspice of development", have influenced and impacted on various aspects of the ways of life, land use patterns and economic structure as well as the way of thinking at a community level.

Therefore, in order to gain a better understanding of the transformation of gender roles on resources management of the studied area, it is necessary to provide some historical background to the present situation. This chapter is divided into 2 sections: 1.) Characteristics of the studied village, and 2.) History of resource management

2.1 Characteristics of the Studied Village

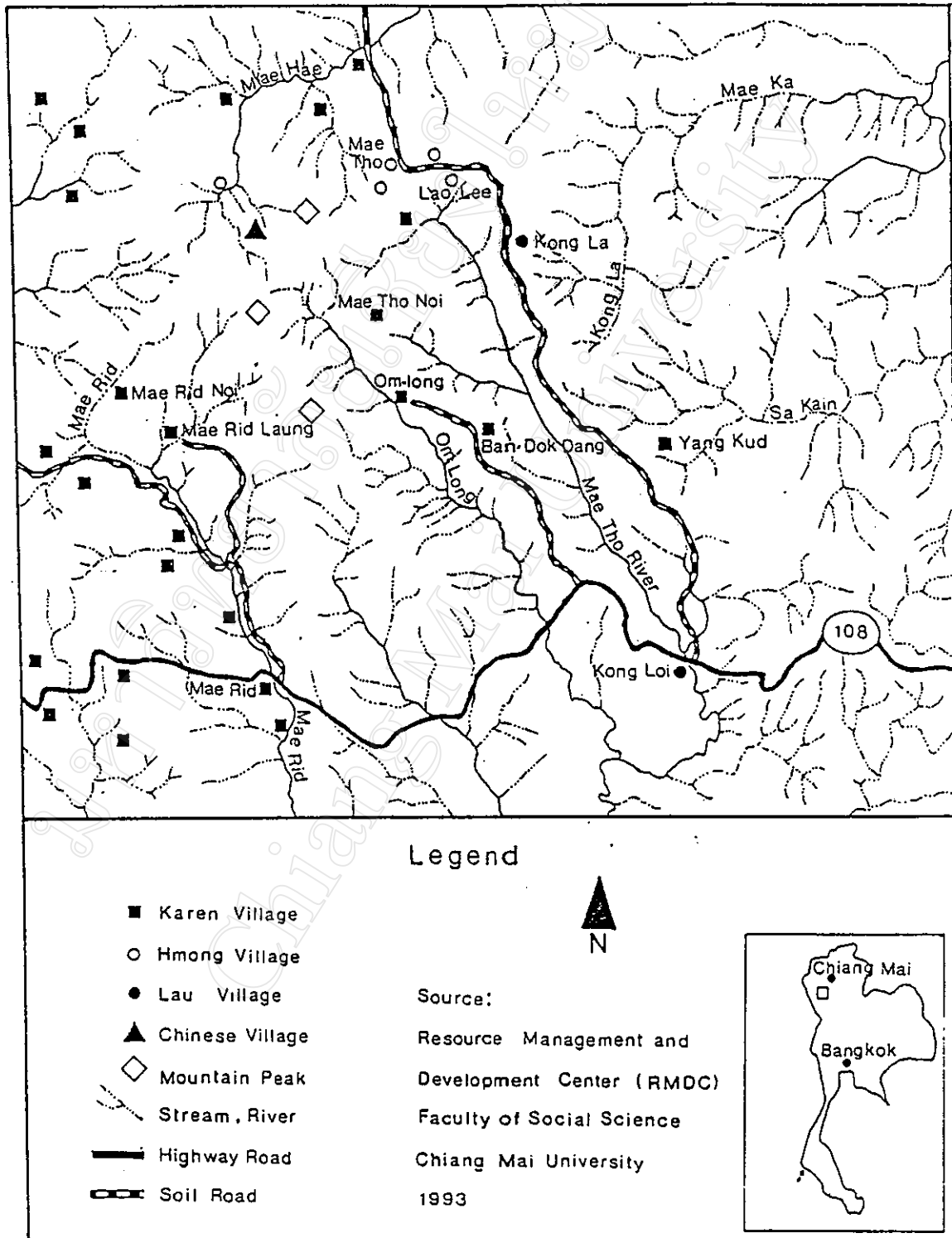
This section describes the characteristic of the studied village in 3 sub-sections: physical character, ethnic character, and village settlement. They are as follow:

2.1.1 Physical Character

Ban Dok Dang, the studied village, is located in Mu 2 Ban Om-long, Bor Sa-le Sub-District, Hod District, Chiang Mai Province. Ban Dok Dang is called "*Hpau gauz hKi*" in Karen language. It means "Red flower on the hill" according to the location of the village that is situated on a hill with red flowers spread throughout over the hill. Ban Om-long is an administrative authority village comprise 5 villages; Ban Om-long Nai, Ban Om-long Klang, Ban Mai, Ban Mae Tho Noi, and Ban Dok Dang.

Ban Dok Dang can be reach year round by Highway No. 108 (Chiang Mai - Mae Sariang road). The route runs for 148 kilometers from Chiang Mai to the sub-district boundary line, and then turns right along 6 kilometers on dirt road. The boundary of the community is as follow: (see Map 2.1)

MAP 2.1 LOCATION OF THE STUDIED VILLAGE



North: Ban Mae Tho (Hmong Village) and Ban Kong Loi (Lua Village)
South: Ban Kong Loi (Lua Village)
East: Ban Yang Kud (Karen Village)
West: Ban Om-long (Karen Village)

The village is situated on a hill about 20-25 degree slope and 1,000 meters above sea level with surrounding forest, orchard, and rice fields that can be reached by foot in 10-30 minutes. The Karen of Ban Dok Dang uses three small streams for their cultivation: Mae Tho, Mae Om-long, and Dok Dang. These streams flow to Bor Sa-le stream that flow to Maei river and then Salawin river. But, presently, Dok Dang stream can not be used for cultivation because it has dried up. (see Map 2.2)

The climatic conditions are typical tropics and show a remarked seasonal change over the course of a year. Variation in temperature and precipitation results in a succession of three distinct seasons: 1.) Winter (November-February), the moisture is virtually dry after December. And from February onwards, day temperature starts to rise markedly; 2.) Summer (March-May), the moisture is completely dry till April. There is sometimes a monsoon. This makes the temperature cool down; and 3.) Rainy Season (June-October), the climate is governed by the southwest Monsoon. The temperature decreases slowly and regularly

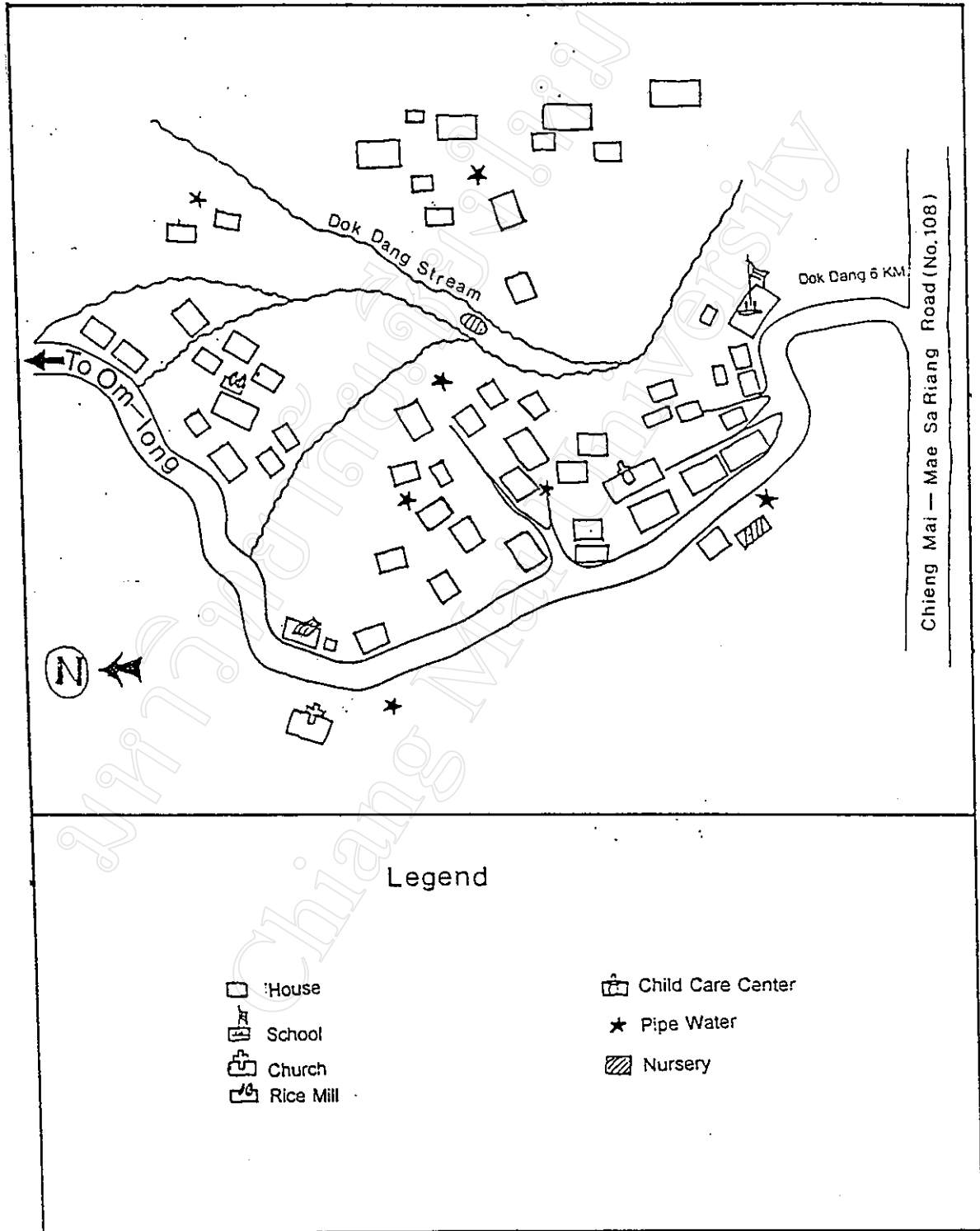
The weather is generally quite cool. From the data collection of Mae Tho Station measured the amount of rainfall and temperature, the average temperature is 22 degrees Celsius. There is a hot weather only in the day time during summer; the temperature is about 32 degrees Celsius. But in winter, the weather is chilly at night; the temperature is about 6 degrees Celsius. Moreover, there is a strong wind in rainy season. The annual average rainfall is 1,500 mm. (Khanakhammakhan Chaprokit, 1997: 2-6)

In general, houses are single-storey wooden structures on stilts, with roofs made of corrugated iron or tile. Only some houses continue to be made of bamboo with thatched roof. They construct houses on only one side of the road assembled according to kinship. The other side of the road is the utilized forest by the community.

The Karen raise livestock under the house such as pig, chicken, cattle, and buffalo, and also sometimes pound rice with a mortar, or weave a cotton cloth. The house usually has 2 rooms; one is for sleeping, another is a big room and has a stove in the middle of the room. This big room is used for many purposes such as cooking, sleeping, eating, and meeting of members of the family or guests. The Karen also keeps domestic and agricultural instruments as well as seeds in this room.

The wet rice fields or terraced field is far from the village about 2-6 kilometers. The Karen constructs small weirs on Om-long and Mae Tho streams that convey water to the wet rice field. They do not construct weirs on Dok Dang stream because it has water only in rainy season. The dry rice field, or upland field is

MAP 2.2 THE STUDIED VILLAGE SETTLEMENT



about 3-6 kilometers from the village. Some of villagers have their field close to the adjacent village.

In the dry rice field or upland field, the Karen usually uses rainwater for rice and commercial cultivation. But they can convey water to some of upland fields so that they can grow cash crop all year round. In the past there has been high water availability thus little worry about irrigation water. Presently, there is a scarcity of water or drought some years. This natural fluctuation damages their cash crops. Moreover, in the first period of village settlement, the villagers had wells for drinking water. Presently, the wells have dried up so that they use mountain water supply instead.

For health, some people still use herbal and traditional medicine, but others use modern medicine instead. They can go either to a village health station at Ban Om-long about 3 kilometers or the Hod District hospital about 30 kilometers. There is also a "Dharma practicing house" located close to the primary school.

There are 5 teachers and 105 students in the Ban Dok Dang elementary school: 53 male students and 52 female students. This school is under the office of elementary education of Hod District. Furthermore, there is also a kindergarten to care for children 3-5 years old. This kindergarten has 22 children and 1 caretaker whom graduated junior high school. This kindergarten is supported by the Department of Community Development of Hod District. Moreover, children of both schools are supported by responsible agencies for lunch project: 5 bath per person per day. Housewife in the village take turns to cook for the children. And the village monitoring committee check the quality of food offered to children.

2.1.2 Ethnic Character

There are various ethnic groups mostly settle in the highland of northern and western Thailand, in the following provinces: Kanchanaburi, Prachuabkhirikhan, Phetchaburi, Ratchaburi, Suphanburi, Kamphaengpet, Phetchaboon, Lae, Pitsanulok, Uthaitani, Nan, Phayao, Lampoon, Chiang Mai and Mae Hong Son. The population of these ethnic groups in Thailand totals is 752,728 persons. And the Karen is the biggest ethnic group. Their population is 392,295 (Hill Tribe Research Center, quoted in Sirintip, 1999: 26).

The Karen mostly settles in northern Thailand. (Hinton, 1978) They are of Tibetan-Burmese ethnological stock and have lived in western Burma since the 13th century. Later the Karen began to migrate to Thailand after the war in Burma (Keyes, 1979). The Karen are generally divided into four sub-cultural groups according to differences in dialects. The Sgaw, Pwo, Taungsu, and Kayah or Kareni or Red Karen (Hinton, 1969: 1)

The Karen traditional belief is animism or ancestor spirit worship which support the female domain. Descent is on the matrilineal basis (Hinton, 1975; Keyes, 1979). Both Pwo and Sgaw Karen women are head of the households. They have

rights and responsibility to contact to their ancestor by the "Bgkhe" ritual (Hinton, 1975; Rajah, 1980; Iijima, 1970; and Madha, 1979 quoted in Walter, 1992). When they marry, women will go to propose marriage to men. Once marriage, men move in with their wives. In anthropological term, it is a matrilocal society (Yos, 1996: 112) which is very similar to that of the Northern Thai people (Mischung, 1980: 23).

At the present, the Karen whom still believes in animism continue this matri-local custom. Men are a part of their wife's household and work as laborers in the field and try to earn money from other service (Phaiboon, 1995: 53). Each daughter and her husband live with her parents for a period which varies from a few months to several years. When the younger daughter get married, the older married daughter will move out and build a house in her parent's compound (Potter, 1976: 122).

In matrilineal society, women have a great deal of bargaining power. And this ancestor descendant is a supra-household and supra-village relationship (Walker, 1992: 51) in the female line. If a head-woman dies, her house will be demolished and her pets, e.g., pig, chicken, will be killed. This does not take place when a Karen man dies (Renard, 1980 quoted in Phaiboon, 1995: 63). In comparison with Hmong, Lisu, Lahu, and Akha: which are patriarchal societies, the man is the head of the family and possesses all property. Even if there is a matter to be decided upon in household and community level, everything is up to the man and the woman belongs to the man.

From the oral history about the role of Karen women in the family, production, and community management, there are many folktales that explain gender relationships. They can be summarized as follows: 1.) Women have a major role both in family and community levels, 2.) Women and men work together in the production sphere by using their own knowledge. The women manages, maintains, and harvests seeds. The man labors at the beginning of cultivation and there is a ritual before growing rice. The man digs 7 holes by spade and the women drops some seeds in the 7 holes. After that, they will help each other grow rice (Choni, 1994 quoted in Phaiboon, 1995: 81). This kind of role is a cooperative one.

At community level, the Karen have a "Hif Hkof" who acts as a socio-religious headman. One of his roles is to coordinate spirit cosmos to the Karen way of life in the community. There is a legend which talk about how to elect a suitable headman or "Hif Hkof". It is told as follows:

... the old men and women select 30 males and 30 females, then let each sex working in a field for 3 years. After 3 years, only 3 women and 27 men come back to the village.. The elders saw this phenomenon but were still unsure whether to chooses man or woman as the head of the village. They select 7 couples and let them stay together. They wish these couple would come back as virgin. Finally, there is only one couple came back as virgin and this couple were elected.. (Kanjana, 1987: 27-28)

From this legend, the Karen head of the village is ideologically a healthy, capable, and moral male. Furthermore, at the community level, women and men work together. While the "Hif Hkof" is a male who conducts ceremonies, the woman is a person who prepares things for the ceremonies as well as adviser on how to conduct the ceremonies to perfection

2.1.3 Village Settlement

There is no clear evidence when the Karen moved into Bor Sa-le watershed. They migrated from Doi Mae Hor, Mae Sariang District in Mae Hong Son Province more than 100 years ago. First, they settle down on Om-long watershed, a tributary of Bor Sa-le watershed. Later, they separate and establish Karen villages all over Om-long watershed.

*Hpa Tij*¹ *Kanu*, one of socio-religious leader (*Hif Hkof*), told the background of *Hpau Gauz Hki* (Ban Dok Dang). He tells:

"Lua, one of native ethnic groups in Northern Thailand, was once in this area. And later the Lua migrates to Ban Mae Hao and Ban Ompei in Mae Sarieng District, Mae Hong Son Province because they want a new cultivation area. After that nobody stay here. Later, we come to settle down here because it close to our wet-rice field."

In 1936, *Hpa Tij Koa Kae*, who become the first socio-religious leader, and 4 families of relatives and friends, decided to settle in this area because of several reasons such as there are some conflicts in the former village, Ban Om-long, as well as the population pressure. Moreover, they want to stay near their rice field that locates about 3-6 kilometers from Ban Om-long. They also thought about their children future. Later, there are some migrants from Ban Om-long and Ban Mae Tho Noi coming to stay in this village, due to marriage and extension of the family, the village is now comprised 75 households with a population of 438: 230 males, 208 females.

For selecting new village settlement, a male Karen leader, who will become the "*Hif Hkof*", will take a chance by using rice or chicken bone for seeing permission of "*Te k' ca Kau k' ca*"². During the ritual all year, the villager will worship "*Te k' ca Kau k' ca*" for prosperity and peaceful and sustainable inter-relationships within the community, and between the village as well as the natural environment. These rituals reflect the potentiality of community of resource management by using the ideology, beliefs, and traditional thought as regulations for natural resource management. These ideology and believe imply community power

¹ "*Hpa tij*" is the Skaw Karen language. It means uncle. And Skaw Keren uses to call middle-age men.

² "*Te k' ca Kau k' ca*" means "the Lord of water and land" or "Regional Owner of water and Land (See detail on Yoshimatsu, 1989: 218-222 and Mischung, 1980: 111). In this thesis uses "Guardian Spirit" instead.

and wisdom in resource management that have been handed down for generations till present (Anan and Mingson, 1993: 124).

2.2 History of Resource Management

There are 4 main factors related to the history of resource management: 1.) The influence of development approach; 2.) The Changing mode of production of the community; 3.) State and local control over resources; and 4.) The attitude of the villager towards resource management. These four factors are complexly related in the context of the community history, which can be divided into 3 periods.

2.2.1 Period of Subsistence Production (1936-1974)

In subsistence production, The villagers of Ban Dok Dang still believe in animism that has been handed down through generations. They believe that there are guardian spirits protecting land, water, forest, and all living creatures. And “*Hif Hkof*” will be a representative for villagers to contact these guardian spirits through rituals that emphasize on relationship between human being and “the Absolute” or guardian spirits, human being and nature, and human being and human being.

Swiddens: Rotational Shifting Cultivation in Upland

The Karen uses a swidden area for only one year, and then will return to the original plot again within 6-10 years. This practice is called “rotational shifting cultivation”. The Karen practices this according to an ancient belief system. This can be seen in the song sung during the New Year Ceremony and the August Ceremony.

*We make a living following our forefather's system and heritage,
We make a living according to our forefather's regulation,
Rice stalks heavy and laden with golden rice bow down'
The sweet scent of wine coming from the community pavilion,
Throughout the village.*

The meaning of the song is that if we make a living by strictly following our forefather's system and regulations, the result will be a plentiful harvest of rice. For this, we celebrate with wine made from fermented rice in the community pavilion, throughout the village. (Prasert, 1997: 211.)

In the Karen swiddens or shifting rotational cultivation on upland, there are usually well over 40 different crops grown in the single field. The abandoned swiddens, or “*Doo lax*” in Karen language, have names that change in each year. They are named according to the kind of use that they are put or the kind of forest that is regenerated naturally in that place. They are called as follow:

Year 1	<i>Quv</i>	A swidden in which crops are growing.
Year 2	<i>Hsgi wa</i>	Filled with old rice plants that when seen from afar seen like growing rice which is why there are called “colored fallow swidden”. There are many birds and mice living and propagating.
Year 3	<i>Hsgif bau</i>	A recently abandoned swidden; there are many plants and young trees beginning to grow tall. Jungle fowl and pheasants are found here.
Year 4	<i>Hsgif yawv ploj</i>	This means a fallow swidden with no use; only a few birds such as wood-peckers who come looking for food.
Year 5	<i>Doo htaufroj</i>	A fallow swidden that has begun to stand up. Large animals look for food here and sometimes live here as well.
Year 6-7	<i>Doo lax</i>	Are appropriate for swiddening crops. In some cases a divination ceremony will show that the field should not be planted in which case they will wait three years when it will become a <i>Doo ger mae</i> or a “widow” forest. Sometimes a “widow” forest will become a forest preserve in which case nobody could use it at all.

The villager goes to forage forest product and wood fuel as well as hunt some wild animals in the abandoned field of year 2-7. Furthermore, they also check whether the abandoned field can be used again or not by looking in a divination ceremony that shows the hint of the permission of guardian spirits.

Furthermore, when considering on steps of production, the name of the month all year round reflects the cycle of production, especially dry rice production from growing to harvesting: as follow

1. *T'Lei* (Equivalent to January) The name of this month means the preparing month for the coming year; considered to be the start of the cultivating year when agreements are made on how the cultivation the next year will be done. The Karen will do “*Nee Saw Kho*” ceremony in this month. And no cultivation work can be carried out unless this ceremony is observed. The main purpose of this ceremony is to request the blessing of the spirits of the land, the forest, as well as other auspicious beings to cultivate crops during the New Year.

2. *Thee Phae* (or *Hti Hpaiv*, equivalent to February). The name of this month means “a kind of flower”. But it refers to when the fields are cleared. Men and women work together for clearing the field. And there is also an exchange of labor

between Karen communities for clearing the field. While men cut big trees, women cut small tree and weed.

3. *Thee Khu (Hti Hkoov)* The name of this month means another kind of flower. It refers to when the clearing is complete and big logs are pulled aside. In this month, they not only let the cut-tree dry before burning, but also prepare agricultural instruments and seeds for the next coming month.

4. *La Se* The name of this month means "sending fire". It refers to when the fields are burned. When the trees are cut and the field is dry, villagers cooperate to make fire break. They will worship guardian spirit, "fire" spirit to help them control fire only in the field. When the fields are burned, housewives grow vegetables before growing rice.

5. *Deif Nya* The name of this month means "a kind of *Wan*" (plant with thick fleshy leaves) that sprouts in the fields. It refers to the start of the rains. They will grow rice in this month. While men dig a hole on earth, women put rice seeds in the holds. In wet rice fields, men plow the field. But when they grow rice, women and men work together.

6. *La Nwi* The name of this month means the month when bamboo shoots come up. When the rice is implanted, in this month, they will do several rituals. It is a ritual in household level that the male head of the family will conduct the rituals while women prepare foods for the rituals.

7. *La Gav* The name of this month means when the bamboo shoots have fully emerged. This month is the second mowing or weeding. They will mow first of May. Women take the main responsible for mowing. And there is an exchange labor between kinship for weeding.

8. *La Hkoov* The name of this month means when the mid-year wrist-tying ceremony or "*Nif Sau Hkof La Hkoow*" is performed for making a good relationship in household and community level. This is when the rice shoots have reached nearly their full height. The practice of this ceremony is also to emphasize on the relationship between co-workers. They will do this ceremony before harvest. And after doing this ceremony, the villagers will do "*Kijip najcu*" ritual (calling buffalo's soul) for respecting buffalo that help them in the rice field.

9. *Chi Mue (Hsi Muj)* The name of this month means when certain squash-type vegetables are setting but are hiding under the rice and squash leaves. At the end of last month till the beginning of this month, they sometimes have to do the third weeding because presently the rotational period is shorter: from 6-10 years to 1-3 years. The short period is the condition that fosters weed growth so well that they have to weed more.

10. *Chi Cha (His Hsaf)* The name of this month means when squash are fully visible in the fields. They will harvest rice at the end of this month till the

beginning of next month. And there are also several rituals related to this activity such as before harvesting, they will do "*Auf bu hkof*" ritual for respecting the agricultural instruments. After harvesting, they will do "*Saiv Laubusaf*" ritual before threshing. This is to ask a blessing from "*Taj Thi Taj Tau*" for easy threshing. When they take rice from the field to the granary, they will do "*Saiv bpav hkof*" ritual.

11. La Naw (Na Nau) The name of this month means when the squash have turned yellow. The Word "*Naw*" refers to the sesame being ready to harvest. When they get new rice, they will use the rest of the rice in their granary to make liquors. They invite "*Tai Kjay Khaukiay*" coming to eat "*Rpau hkidav*"

12. La Pluz The name of this month means the month of the dead. And it is the end of cultivation. During this month, women not only collect and select seeds for next season, but also weave and visit their relatives. On the other hand, men not only prepare agricultural instruments, but also sometimes cut trees for house construction, or cut *imperator cylindrica* to make a roof. (Prasert, 1996: 428-429)

Terraced Field: Wet-Rice Cultivation

The cultivation in terraced field is less complex than the cultivation in upland field because the Karen grows rice only in terraced field. The villagers of Ban Dok Dang have developed wet rice cultivation for along time. They have knowledge for conveying water to the field and how to make terraced field. They categorize terraced field into 2 types.

1. Na Pha Pae This means the terraced field located on dry dipterocarp forest. The soil in the field is sandy.

2. Na Pha Dong This means the terraced field located on evergreen forest. The soil in this field is clay. And productivity of *Na Pha Pae* is higher than *Na Pha Dong* about 1.5 times. (Pruek, 1997: 93)

Terraced field is private property that has been handed down from the one whom constructs the field to his/her descendant. The family coming to settle down first has an opportunity to construct a big terraced field. The Karen man is the main labor for constructing terraced fields. They devote most of the time, in rainy season, to dig the earth, little by little, for 10-20 years. The rich and middle class family has 3-8 rais terraced field. Rice production in terraced field take for 6 months. And there are many variety of rice species suiting terraced fields such as *Bu hsif hkli*, *Bu muj hpo*, *Bu por lor*, *Bu pau*, *Bu suf hki*, *Bu taj bauv*. There is also non-local variety of rice species growing in the field: Suphanburi and Kor Khor introducing by agricultural officer and university instructor.

Traditionally, the owner of terraced field has a right only what he/she cultivates. Every one has a right to use the field as usufruct right. This means that the villager can go to forage natural products in terraced field. And after harvest, they can take cattle to feed in terraced field.

Laboring System in Terraced and Upland Production

There is an exchange of labor between kinship and neighbor in terraced and upland fields. The villagers do not hire wage labor, but they help each other. They take turns to work in the field by starting from the family preparing the field ready for growing. The family informs relatives and neighbor about the date that they are going to grow. At that date, the villagers will go the house and then go by foot or mini-track (Pick Up) because some fields are about 3-6 kilometers from the village.

There are usually 20-30 labors coming to exchange labor. In each field, they will finish their work within 1 day. This exchange of labor is not only reciprocal, but also continuity of relationship. Furthermore, each family spends more labor than they receive. A "Hpati" about exchange labor in Ban Dok Dang. He explains that:

"If one family comes to help for 1 labor, we will come to reciprocal for 2-3 labors. The villagers do not think only reciprocal labor, but also to show hospitality. This is a traditional labor management of the villagers from the past to present."

A male villager told about the importance of the production. He tells:

"In the past, we work in the field occasionally. We have an exchange labor between our relatives and neighbor. Most of the laborers are young. During work, they also sing the folk song or 'U'tha'. In upland field, we not only grow rice, but also several kinds of vegetables such as corn, tomato, cucumber, taro, bean, flower for rituals, chinese mustard, egg plant, pumpkin, millet and so on. After harvest in the upland field, it is leisure; while men fix granary, women spin cotton, weave, or visit their relatives."

Gender Roles in Production

In every step of the subsistence production, both in household and community level, women and men including their descendants work together. This is a learning process for their descendants, both inside and outside of the family. While daughter follows and imitates her mother, son follows and imitates his father. Men will be responsible for hard work such as cutting big tree and plowing the rice field. Women will be responsible for elaborate work such as weeding and seed selection.

Furthermore, according to the Karen tradition, women are the "owners" of the dry rice field while men "own" the wet rice field. This is because of women spend more time in the dry rice field than men do while men spend more time in the wet rice field than woman do. When asking for the owner of the dry rice field, the Karen will give women's name and for the owner of the wet rice field, they will give men's name. (Presert, 1996: 435)

From talking with the housewife of Ban Dok Dang, it can be concluded that swidden production, which is the place that accumulates bio-diversity, is the women's

sphere. The women of the community continually work in the field in every step of the production. They know about the variety of rice and vegetable seed very well. There are more than 19 rice varieties and 30 vegetable varieties growing in the community. Furthermore, in local eatable plant species, there are 269 species: 106 species for growing in garden, 60 rice species for growing in swidden, 45 rice species for growing in terraced field, 58 vegetables species for growing near river bank. Moreover, they can identify what soil is suitable to what kind of plants species (Yos, 1999: 74). Men accept that they need women in swidden field because women know about seed and how to work very well. Therefore, the swidden production is the main role of the Karen women. (Prasert, 1997; Yos, 1999: 77-78)

Beliefs and Rituals Related to the Production

In subsistence period, the villager believes in animism and practices agricultural production according to their ancestor. Moreover, they believe that there are guardian spirits protecting land, water, forest, and all living creature. "*Hif Hkof*" will be a representative of the villager for contacting these guardian spirits through rituals or ceremonies. These rituals or ceremonies emphasize on relationship between human being and the Absolute, human being and nature, human being and human being. According to year cycle, there are rituals or ceremonies as follow:

January, The Karen will do "*Nee Saw Kho*" ceremony in this month. And no cultivation work can be carried out unless this ceremony is observed. The main purpose of this ceremony is to request the blessing of the guardian spirits of the land, the forest, as well as other auspicious beings to cultivate crops during the new year.

April, or month of "sending fire", The villagers cooperate to make forest fire break belt. They practice the rituals for asking for guardians protecting fire only in the field that they burned.

June, after finishing rice growing, there are several rituals such as "*Bgau Dée*", "*Lu ta*", "*Sai qu*", "*T' mau qu*", and "*Ta hka kai*" ceremony. These ceremonies are performed in household level. While male head of the family handles the step of the rituals, the housewife prepares food for offering in the rituals.

August, the Karen performs "*Nif Sau Hkof La Hkoow*" or the mid-year wrist tying ceremony (calling souls). This ceremony makes an opportunity for the family coming to meet each other. They will call souls back and tie wrist with cotton. This is to make a close relationship among members of the family and the community. Furthermore, the Karen will perform "*Kijip najcu*" ritual (Calling buffalo's souls back) after they did "*Nif Sau Hkof La Hkoow*". This ritual is to say thanks and apologize to buffalo for helping to work in the field.

October, This is a harvest time. And there are several rituals related to this time. For instance, "*Auf bu hkof*" (Eating the new rice) to "thank" instrument that have part in production. And after harvest, they will perform "*Saiv Laubusaf*" ritual before threshing. They perform this ritual because they want to ask for "*Taj Thi Taj*

Tau” to help them threshing paddy easily. And after they take paddy to granary, they will perform *“Saiv bpav hkof”*.

November, when the Karen got new rice, they will use the rest of rice in granary making wine. They invite *“Tai Kjay Khaukiay”* coming to eat *“Rpau hkidav”*.

December, it is the end of cultivation. The ritual of rice offering to the old who died that year as well as elaborate ceremony for them is performed. This is the month of the dead.

Resource Management in Local Control Dimension

The Karen practiced rotational rice cultivation by selecting a field that has lain fallow from 6-10 years. The pattern of the Karen agricultural production in upland field is the so-called “short cultivation and long fallow”. It means that the Karen use a swidden area for dry rice cultivation for one year only. In 6-10 years, they return to the original plot again. However, terraced wet rice fields has also been an important cultivation area for this community. But there is no clear oral historical evidence to say when land was first cleared for wet rice farming.

In the local control of resource management, *“Hif Hkof”* has authority in allocating land communally held to individual households for cultivation on the usufruct basis. However, terraced wet rice fields as well as orchards, gardens, and household compounds are considered private ownership because they are used continuously by certain households and can be inherited and sold. The Karen also recognize rights of encumbrance which give an individual a claim to another land because of the person’s relationship with the landowners. This rights is inherent mainly within the family or close kinship. Non-kin households can also ask for temporary use rights which depends solely on the generosity of the rights-holder. (Anan, 2000: 162)

“Hpa ti yoyo” said about natural resource management at the beginning of village settlement. He said: *“the villagers manage resources according to the relationship between human being and nature traditionally. The Karen classifies ‘forest-land’ into types and uses several categories for the classification.”* For instance:

1. **Village or House Construction Area** is mostly situated on the foot of a hill. And there is a small stream flow near the village. This area is not allowed to be bought or sold. When the village moves into and out the village, the *“Hif Hkof”* will allocate area for the “new comer” according to the tradition. They have to “consult” the “Guardian spirits” before the allocation.

2. **Ritual/utilized Forest Area** surrounds the house construction area. The Karen will take placenta, which is put into bamboo tube, to tie onto a tree in this

forest. And the tree can not be cut forever “according to their tradition”¹. Moreover, the villagers go to pick up forest product in this area such as wood-fuel, vegetables, and wood for house construction.

3. Village Burial Area is close to ritual/utilized forest area. The Karen believes that the souls of their ancestor always remain in the burial forest. If the souls or the area is disturbed such as felling trees or cultivation or hunting there, the disobeyed will get sick with various kinds illnesses or may meet natural disaster.

4. Cultivation Area can be divided into 3 types: swidden, terraced field, and garden. The Karen uses usufruct right for swidden, and private right for terraced field and garden. But the villagers can forage natural product in terraced field and garden.

5. Prohibited Forest Area is a watershed or “head of water” area. The Karen believes that the guardian spirits reside in this area. The villagers will not cut trees or cultivate or hunt there. (see Map 2.3, Figure 2.1 and details in Presert, 1997a: 59-60; 1997b: 214-215)

Before cultivation, “Hif Hhof” will perform “Nif Sau Hkof” or New Year ceremony usually in February. The purpose of this ceremony is to request the blessing of the guardian spirits of the land, forest, mountain, and auspicious beings to cultivated crop as well as their living. Another part of this ceremony is that it is an opportunity for the villager to discuss where and how the crop will be cultivated as well as how to exchange labor. After this ceremony is performed, the “Hif Hkof” will be the first person who cultivates the crop, and then the villager follow.

Selection of new swiddens plot, the Karen will make a sign or cut some trees to show the other that this area is occupied already. But if wild fowl, buffalo, or birds suddenly appear; a deer makes certain sounds; snakes cross in front of the village; or a forest fire is dreamed of; it is considered a bad omen. In all such instances, the land has to be abandoned. If someone disobey, they or a member of their family will be in dander.

Moreover, the Karen believes that they have permission to cultivate only one year. The “Hif Hkof” will contact “Te k’ ca Kau k’ ca” to ask for the permission for members of the village. But some traditional activities or rituals for using the occupied land, the occupied family will do separately.

¹ “According to the tradition” in this sentence means that’s the Karen wants to harmonize with guardian spirits resided in nature: land, forest, and water. Therefore, they have the certain regulations for their way of life harmonizing with nature.

MAP 2.3 LAND CLASSIFICATION OF BAN DOK DANG

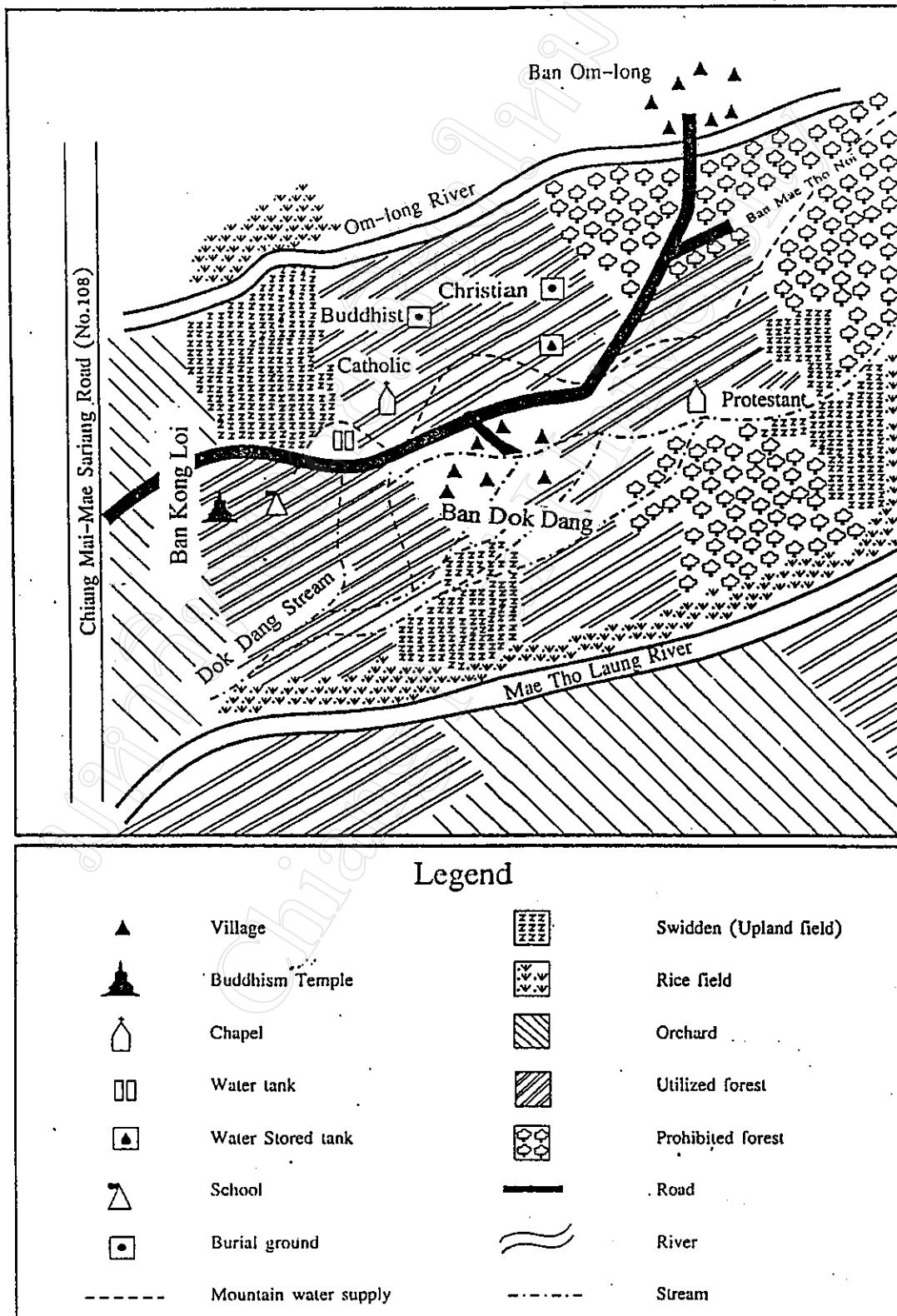
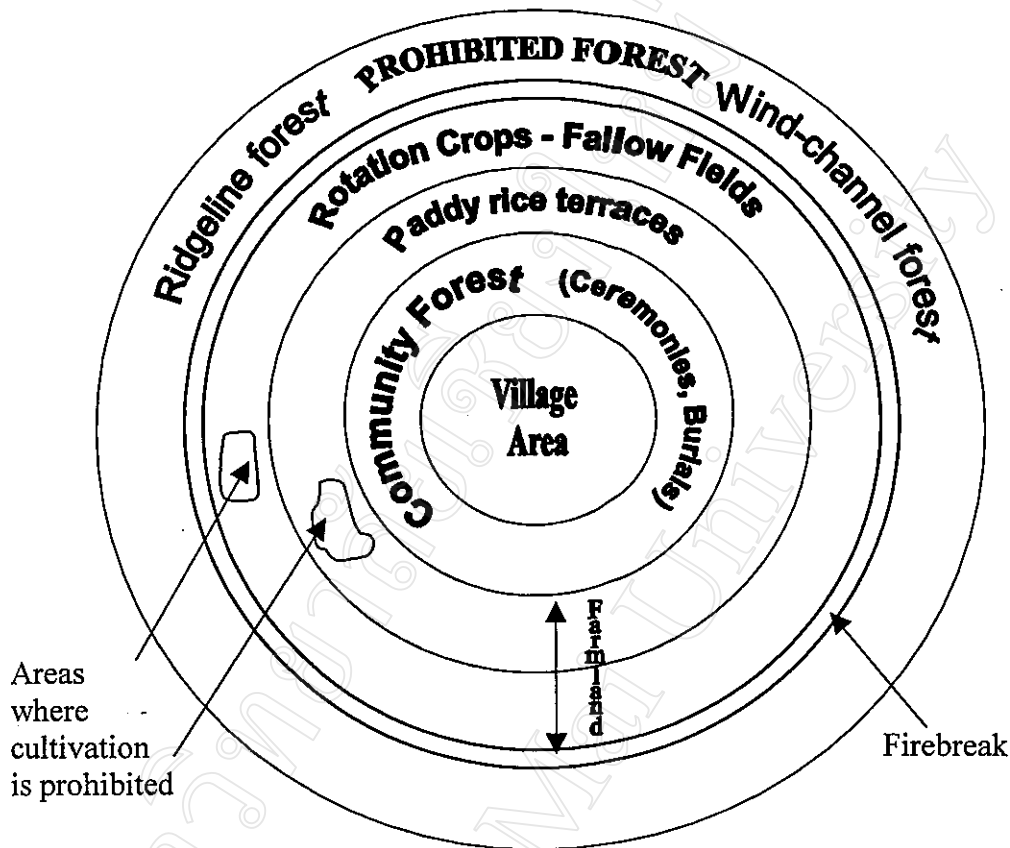


Figure 2.1 Karen Natural Resource Management



Source: Prasert Trakarnsuphakorn. "The Wisdom of the Karen in Natural Resource Conservation" in McCaskill, Don. and Kampe, Ken. (eds.). Development or Domestication? Indigenous Peoples of Southeast Asia. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1997:213.

The roles of "Hif Hkof" and the elder group are village land selection, acceptance of the new comer, and conflict resolution in the village as well. There are 2 ways to become members of the village: birth and marriage. Village membership is not only having a right to use resources, but also having duty on resource management such as making forest fire break and exchanging labor.

Furthermore, the villagers hunt some wild animals for their consumption in the family such as pig, chicken, and barking deer. About wild vegetables and herbs, they can forage from forest surrounding their community. And they also can forage crab, fish, shellfish, and other aquatic animals in small streams near their community. They do not buy and sell this kind of food, but exchange or distribute according to Karen proverb: *When we eat, we eat together. And when we starve, we starve together*. Nowadays, the Karen of the village still practices according to this proverb, especially for the poor such as widow and orphan.

Moreover, the Karen believe that they will not use or cut some kind of plant. If someone disobeys the regulations, they will be punished by “spirit”, for instance:

1. Banyan trees, Pipal and Golden Keruing, all of which are said to be dwelling places of the spirit of their ancestors who determine the birth and longevity of human beings.

2. Se-kho-du is a tree species that the Karen specifically use for coffins in which to carry the corpse during funerals. It is absolutely prohibited for other use.

3. Trees are interwoven with vines.

4. Trees with dichotomous branching.

5. Trees that make certain noises when felled.

6. Trees that fall would be blocked by other trees.

7. Trees that ants or other animals live on or in.

8. Trees that are used in the umbilical cord ceremony.

In hunting, the Karen hunter is allowed to kill only one bear, one gaur, or rhinoceros within one year. And there are a number of animals, which can not be hunt such as gibbons, giant hornbill, vultures, woodpeckers, minivet, crow, owls, hawks, swallows, and pythons. The Karen relates these animals to folk tales for emphasizing that if someone kills these kinds of animal, they will get bad luck or sickness or scarcity of the production. Furthermore, there are regulations for foraging forest products. There are as follow:

1. Rattan shoots must be eaten in the woods, except for once a year, usually in January, when they are allowed to be brought back to the village.

2. Only two bamboo shoots are allowed to be taken home from any single clump. It is considered immoral to take more.

3. Only two bamboo stalks are allowed to be cut down per clump.

4. *Allium tuberosum* must be eaten only inside the forest. If brought home, the person responsible will become lost in the forest.

5. Herbal plants are restricted during certain seasons and the quantity of herbs gathered each time must be limited. Otherwise the herbs will turn out to be ordinary plants losing their medicinal value. (Prasert, 1997: 214-217)

The Invasion of Other Ethnic Groups

At the beginning of village settlement, the conflict of land use between ethnic groups does not occur. The villagers can still find a non-occupied place for their cultivation. But in 1958, 80 households of Hmong and Chinese from Mae Chaem and Hod Districts came to settle down at Om-long headwater/watershed forest. This place is used for Karen animal grazing, especially cattle. The Hmong and Chinese can not occupy agricultural land because Lua and Karen have occupied agricultural land located in small valleys already. Therefore, they had utilized the watershed area for upland cultivation. This invasion causes a shortage of water. Moreover, Karen domestic animals go to eat the Hong and Chinese crops so that the

Hmong kill the Karen animals. The conflict occurs increasingly and forces government official to intervene in order to solve the problem.

In 1961, the Government Registration Policy for hill people was declared. This policy is to give the rights to attain legal status though the district administration for both the Karen and Hmong. Therefore, in 1958-1963, the conflicts between these two groups occurred frequently. The Hmong has a different lifestyle and methods of cultivation from the Karen. They started clearing forest plots traditionally conserved by the Karen more and more. (Uraivan, 1997: 226)

Later, there is an epidemic at Hmong and Chinese village settlement. Therefore, they migrate to "Doi Kham" mountain of Hod District, Ban Haui Laek of Chiang Dao District, Ban Mae Hor of Mae Sariang District. But some of them move to settle at Mae Tho watershed and live there till present. Some of the Karen occasionally goes to work with the Hmong and Chinese of Mae Tho Village as a wage labor in agricultural production.

Clearing land for opium and cash crop production, the Hmong and Chinese also go to clear the forest of neighbor village such as Ban Mae Tho Noi and Ban Dok Dang. This makes an antagonistic relationship between these ethnic groups. The Karen complains that the Hmong and Chinese challenge their traditional landholding system by intruding their preserved forest. The land dispute occurs more frequently. Therefore the Karen try to find ways for solving the problem such as using the village committee discussing with the Hmong leaders; or going to appeal administrative officials. (Chusit, 1997: 91)

In other word, the conflict occurs because of the different modes of production between the Karen and Hmong. While the Hmong does swidden cultivation or non-permanance cultivation, the Karen does rotational shifting cultivation. And while the Karen wants to preserve some forest area, the Hmong wants to cultivate at the preserved forest area.

Furthermore, these two ethnic groups not only have a different agriculture technology, but also a difference basis of production. While the Karen mostly grow rice and vegetables for their consumption, or live in a subsistence production, the Hmong becomes a part of commercial production. They are pushed in market machanism so that they extend agricultural land for cash cropping increasingly, especially in 1990s, the Hmong extend agricultural land for cabbage cultivation around Ban Mae Tho Luang. This extension of agricultural land rapidly causes land use conflict.

From the conflict condition, the villagers of Ban Dok Dang held a meeting and then establish "Village Conservationist Group". The main activity of this group is 1.) to demarcate the boundary between Ban Dok Daeng and Ban Mae Tho Luang (Hmong and Chinese village) and 2.) to preserve forest surrounding the village as community forest. While men take a role of survey and demarcation, women prepare the instrument and food for men who go to do this activity.

The land use conflict and the different modes of production bring about the problem of access and control between these 2 ethnic groups. Later in 1993, the Karen communities of Bor Sa-le watershed cooperate and establish "Assembly of forest and wild animal tribal conservationist" for resolving the land-use conflict between ethnic groups as well as expressing "the real conservationist" of the Karen of Bor Sa-le watershed to the public.

The Centralization of State Control over Resources

Thai state began to control forest resource, especially in Northern, by declaring Forest Act of 1897 after establishing Royal Forestry Department (RFD) for 1 year. The substance of the Act is to force all logging concessionaires to make a contract with RFD directly. On the other word, the declaration of the Act is not only to seize concession power from "the Lanna Royal Family", but also to start the period of centralization of resource management of the Thai state.

Later, the Thai state declared Forest Act of 1941 to control the forest. This made the villagers of highland communities become "the intruders" although they had cultivate in the forest for generations. Only terraced fields are accepted and Thai state guarantee according to Land Code Act 1954, and have to be appealed to related government agency for use. But most of the Karen do not go to appeal because they do not understand law system of the Thai state.

In 1956, Ministry of Interior declares that the state does not allow anybody to utilize forest area because it is a state property. Later, the Thai state declared Reserved Forest Act 1964. This declaration causes the alienation of highland community because they can not control resource management, especially forest, anymore. But Thai state only has power on resource management all over the country.

At the same time, Thai state collects local maintenance tax operated by Department of Local Administration, Ministry of Interior. This causes confusion among the villagers. The villagers think that Thai state accept their rights on the land paid local maintenance tax. Some housewife and villagers show the receipt of local maintenance tax or Phor Bor Tor 5 and 6. And they think that this receipt has a value and show the right on their land. Later, this document was nullified.

In 1961, the Registration Section of Hod District went to survey citizen registration at Ban Dok Daeng and appoint official village-headman. Furthermore, the Registration Section unites 5 small villages; Ban Dok Daeng, Ban Om-long Nai, Ban Om-long Klang, Ban Mai, and Ban Mae Tho Noi, into 1 official or administrative village. And *Hpa Tij Koa Kae*, the socio-religious leader or *Hif Hkof*, is appointed to be the first official village-headman and had been on this job for 25 years.

Being official village-headman of the "*Hif Hkof*" is to increase power and duty of the "*Hif Hkof*". Anyway, this is a strategy that the traditional leader can control resource management of the community in the new context by holding a concurrent post. Nowadays, The "*Hif Hkof*" and the official village-headmen are not

the same person. Therefore, the "*Hif Hkof*" has less power on resource management, especially the dispute of land right because the official village-headman and forestry government official holds the power according to Thai law instead.

2.2.2 Period of Transition to Commercial Agriculture (1975-1992)

In this period, there are many development projects supported by both government organizations (GOs) and Non-government organizations (NGOs) occurring in the community. Furthermore, the villagers practice cash cropping intensively resulting in debt. Moreover, they have converted to Christianity and Buddhism. The details are as follow:

The Infiltration of Development Projects

Since 1960s, the highlanders have been consistently blamed for destruction of the forest, the cultivation of illegal opium, and as a threat to national security. Therefore, Thai government as well as foreign agencies and recently non-government organizations (NGOs) try to eliminate these problems by creating highland development projects. At the peak period of development during the 1980s, there was a total of 168 agencies from 31 government departments and 49 international donors and NGOs.

During 1960s-1970s, several state policies impacted the highland community, especially security policy against Thai Communist Party and opium elimination policy. From these policies, Thai government officials established infrastructure project to extend power control efficiently, especially road construction that is accepted as the one part of development (Bello and ect, 1998:270-271).

The main objectives of Thai government and foreign donors are to substitute other cash crops for opium and to force the highlanders to adopt permanent settlement. In contrast, the NGOs are looking for alternative development strategies, focusing on self-reliance and sustainable agriculture with strong sense of conservation. (Anan, 1996 :204-205)

There was no outside agency coming to develop Ban Dok Dang before 1976. But there are several development projects occurring in the neighboring village such as Opium substitution Project of UN (having a field Headquarter at Ban Mae Tho), and Mae Chaem Watershed Project (a Thai-USAID cooperation). The main purpose of these projects is to improve quality of life. They are emphasized on cash cropping as a main income of the villager of Mae Chaem watershed.

In 1976, there is a dirt road construction project occurring in Ban Dok Dang and neighbor village according to monetary policy of "Kuk Rit" government. This policy extends development project to rural and highland communities. But the villager views that the road construction project is a strategy for fighting against Thai communist party. Furthermore, there is also a pine plantation project of RFD occurring in the village. RFD grows pine on opium and rice fields.

Therefore, some of the villagers of Ban Dok Dang resist both projects because they are afraid that the comfortable of road will damage the villagers by snatching and controlling resources by government official and outsider. Regarding the pine plantation project, the village studies and explains the impact of this project. This makes the villagers who is participated the project resigns and appeals to the RFD about the impact of the project. In the end, RFD canceled the project.

However, policies and development plans of Thai state are propagated through administrative structure: from provincial, district, sub-district, to village level. In Ban Dok Dang, the administrative village-headman became coordinator of government and non-government organizations and brings several development projects to the village. There are as follow:

Caged Chicken and Pig Raising Project: Traditionally, the Karen raised their chicken and pig by releasing them looking for food freely in the village compound. Sometimes, their animals intrude the agricultural field and damage the crops. And if their animal is diseased or endemic, it will spread rapidly. Therefore, the head of village encourages the villagers to caged chickens and pigs project. But the project fell through because the villagers have to find more food for raising their animal. Sometimes, they have to buy instant chicken and pig feed. It becomes a responsible for the villager so that nobody wants to practice this project anymore.

Impounded Fish Raising Project: This project is promoted according to the “eating fish-protein” extension policy to the highlander. The head of village operates or works with agricultural official and instructor of Mae Jo University by using excavator to dig fishpond for the villager. The villager is only been an observer. They do not involve the project. Later, there is a heavy rain. And the dregs flowed to the pond so that they can not raise fish in the pound anymore.

Housewife’s Weaving Project: Her majesty the queen gives the amount of money to Ban Om-long to encourage weaving. Therefore, the housewife of Ban Dok Dang signed up to be members of the project. They wave cloth, bag, blanket, and then send them to the head of the village. After that, the head of the village sends to the project headquarters, the project for a short time.

Later, the women of the village go to be trained how to weave by a loom to develop their weaving. And a non-government organization supports the villager to construct a loom house for teaching and weaving. But, traditionally, the Karen weaves their cloth when they are free from routine work. They do not weave for commercial use. Therefore, the project can not be operated and the loom house is empty.

Road Improvement and Occupation Development Project: In 1993, the head of the village requests Office of Drug Protection and Suppression (ODPS) for improving the road and developing the occupation for the villager and the addict as well. The village receives the budget of road improvement and occupational development for the villager through District (Amphor) Office. And the budget of occupational development for the addict is received through Hod District hospital.

Therefore, the villager can not operate the projects by themselves (Pruek, 1997:92-93).

Village Water Supply Project: In 1986, the village asks for village water supply project from "Chiang Mai Diocesan Social Action Center" (DISAC-CM)¹. They tried to tap the water tube from the watershed to Ban Dok Dang. The tube has to pass 4 mountains, and some of the villager thinks that it is impossible to do this. Therefore, they have to find local-specialists for demonstrating how to do mountain-water supply. Finally, they can convey the water to the village.

Rice Bank Project: The villagers had collected paddy and established rice bank, which is supported by DISEC-CM, since 1987. The main objective of the project is to solve the shortage of rice in the community. But the project has to be closed down because of the villager can not get a good product from their rice field so that they can not give rice back. Later, an outside agency supports money for operating the project. Therefore, the villager could operate the project till present.

The Pervasion of Education and The Conversion of Religion

In the past, the Karen family institution is also an education institution. *"Muka Sueprav"*² explains: *"In every step of life, we learn and pass on our knowledge; in the rice field, house, forest, and so on. When our children grow up, they will be trained according to their gender. While the girls will learn from their mother, the boys will learn from their father."*

In 1970, there are two boys from Ban Dok Dang going to study at the Young Hill Tribes Training Center: Ban Mae Pon, Chomthong District, Chiang Mai Province, operated by the priest of Betharam. One is the youngest son of the head of the village. And another is a son of the vice-head of the village. They graduate elementary grade in 1974, and then return home. After that they consult with the village about education for the young. Finally, they constructed a wooden school and hired "Kru Narongchai", the first educated man of the village, as a teacher. The villagers gave 1 "Tang" of rice per year per pupil as a remuneration.

In 1987, Chiang Mai Provincial Administrative Organization (CM-PAO) permits the school to teach elementary school grade 1-6. Furthermore, CM-PAO approves the budget for constructing a permanent building to Dok Dang School.

¹ In 1975, DISAC-CM was established officially to carry out social development work for human development as a whole according to the Catholic Council of Thailand for Development (CCTD), run by the Bishop of Chiang Mai Diocese. DISAC-CM has started to develop "hill tribes" in Chiang Mai and Mae Hong Son Province since 1975. Later, in 1983, DISAC-CM reviews the direction of the development project and improves the strategy of the development based on religion and culture of the community. And in 1997, DISAC-CM has added environmental and gender issue in its development project.

² "Muka" is a Karen word. It means aunt. The Karen usually uses this term to call middle age married woman even if there is no blood relationship.

Moreover, there are village representatives in educational committee. At the firstly committee are all males.

The young, who studied at Ban Mae Pon and converted to believe in Roman Catholic Christianity, are one factor that cause the conversion of the Karen in Ban Dok Dang. They invited the priest of "Batharam" visit his village: Ban Om-long and Ban Mae Tho Noi. The villagers had a chance to talk with the priest. Later, there were a number of villagers converting to the Roman Catholic.

There are several reasons for the conversion such as the shortage of rice, opium addiction, religious problem, and so on. The latest reason is that the villagers have to pay for their rituals, and they can not support them anymore. They want to get rid of "the spirit or ancestor". But they afraid of "the spirit" harming them. When they knew the Christian missionary, they decide to converse to Christianity.

Firstly, the priest sends "Catechist"¹, who is a Karen, to the village. He goes to find and follow the interested persons for developing their spirituality. The person who would like to convert to Christianity has to stop opium smoking and "Bgav"² ritual. After that, the priest goes to visit them and talk about their living as well as agricultural, the health, medicinal, and educational support for the young.

At the same time, there is Karen Protestant family from Ban Om-long coming to settle down at Ban Dok Dang. They are the starting point of conversion as the villager of Ban Dok Dang. Firstly, the young, who go to study at Mae Sarieng Training Center, encourage them to converse to the Protestant and become a "Pastor" who worked in this village. Later, there are a number of villagers conversing to be Protestant.

About Buddhism, there are a number of monks coming to propagate Buddhism to the villagers who still believe in animism. Later, they construct a religious pavilion at Ban Dok Dang. And the monk from Om-long temple coming to observe religious precepts and to talk about Dharma with the village on the important Buddhism days. The villagers, who believe in traditional, practice both Buddhism and the traditional beliefs.

Presently, there are 41 traditional believe households, 23 the Catholic households, and 7 the Protestant households. Theoretically, the Christian households have to abandon some rituals that are prohibited in Christianity. But, in fact, the Christian-villagers have articulated their believe and practice of Christianity to their traditional beliefs(Chumpol, 1993: 139). This is to foster their relationship with their kin and community suitably.

¹ "Catechist" is a person who teaches Christianity to the locals by using local language. But they have to learn how to teach as well.

² "Bgav" is the Karen ritual offering food to the ancestors. The attendants are of matrilineal. This ritual is one of the most importance ritual expressing the Karen identity.

Cash Crop Production and Debt

The Karen starts to grow cash crops at the suggestion of Chinese agricultural trader of Ban Mae Tho. The main cash crops are sweet-bell pepper and tomato. These products have been sent to the factory since 1982. Therefore, the Karen, who has rice field or the land close to the streams, starts to grow both cash crops after rice harvest. At the same time, the trader gives credit to the villager in form of seeds, chemical fertilizer, and insecticide. Therefore, some of the Karen only use their family labor for this commercial production.

In 1988, there were 3 persons consulting each other on how to solve their poverty. They had seen the model of Ban Kong Loi, and were encouraged by the villager of Ban Kong Loi to grow cash crops such as tomato, cabbage, and sweet-bell pepper. Therefore, they decide to grow them. During the first period, their lives are better because they can get a lot of profit. They can buy house, vehicle, and rice field and so on. Consequently, the others, mostly male, turn to grow cash crops increasingly because they think that this is the way to solve poverty problem. They grow cash crops after rice harvest.

The Karen grows tomato on wet-rice field after rice harvest. Sometimes, they grow them on the land they can irrigate. The villagers mostly take delivery of tomato seed, fertilizer, and insecticide from the trader. Furthermore, the villagers grow sweet-bell pepper and cabbage twice a year. They not only grow sweet-bell pepper and cabbage on rice field after harvest, but also on the garden in rainy season. About cabbage growing, some of them get credit from the trader, and some of them use their own capital.

However, the prices of the products are depended on the trader who gives credit. And the price is usually lower than market price because the trader goes to buy at the village. Consequently, 10 years later, half of the Karen who grows cash crops is in debt to the Chinese trader. (see table 2.1)

Table 2.1 Debt to Chinese Trader of the Villager of Ban Om-long from Cash Cropping in 1993

Village's Name	Total of Household	No. of Debt Household	%
1. Ban Dok Daeng	51	20	39
2. Ban Om-long Klang	35	20	51
3. Ban Om-long Nai	25	1	4
4. Ban Mai	6	2	33
5. Ban Mae Tho Noi	15	15	100
TOTAL	132	58	44

Source: D.R Charean Attitaya and Team Evaluatory Study on Religio-Culture Experience Work of DISAC-Chiang Mai: DISAC-CM, 1997.

The causes of being in debt from growing cash crop could be divided into 4 issues. They are as follow:

1. The villager could not receive the right information. And Chinese trader does not promote how to grow cash crops collectively and earnestly. Therefore, the villagers try out to grow cash crops predictably by themselves. Subsequently, the damage of cash crop is inevitable.

2. The villagers do not grow only a kind of cash crop. For instance, in first year, if they grow sweet-bell pepper and the crop is damaged so that they loose their capital. Later, in second year, they turn to grow tomato instead. Anyway, the Karen learns how to grow cash crop from each other. And they have to try out in a sustainable way as their ancestors do.

3. The contrast between the villager and Chinese trader is that the villager has to buy seeds and supplementary from only Chinese trader. And the villagers could not sell their product to others.

4. The prices of agricultural instruments are higher than market price because the Chinese trader gave credit to the villagers. For instance, the market price of fertilizer formula 15-15-15 is 300 bath per 50 kilograms. Chinese trader sells this kind of fertilizer about 450 bath per 50 kilograms.

Anyway, some of the villagers can discharge debts from Chinese trader. First, they incline to grow cash crop and then turn to grow fruit trees making an orchard. Anyway, they still grow some cash crop, such as cabbage, for supplementary income. And the families that are still in debt consult each other, later most of them turn to grow fruit trees such as coffee, Chinese pear, persimmon, and plum.

However, presently the villagers grow cash crops all year round, about 2-3 times. This is a natural exploitation that the ecology hardly regenerates naturally. The land is used intensively so that the soil is decayed. Moreover, they use a lot of fertilizer and insecticide. This weakens their health as well as their domestic animal.

2.2.3 Period of Commercial and Local Reaction to Forest Encroachment by Thai State (1993-Present)

The commercial or cash crop production requires intensive use by both human being and nature. The changing mode of production, which once depend on nature and manage on basis of traditional beliefs, is more dependent on capital from outside as well as modern technology and market mechanism. Only the villagers who have a large amount of wet-rice and upland fields could involve commercial production.

Anyway, the villagers turn to grow rice in terraced field increasingly and in upland field decreasingly. They grow cabbage in upland field instead of rice. And after wet-rice harvest, they grow cabbage, and sweet-bell pepper in terraced field.

Furthermore, from the development policies of Thai state, it is viewed that the highlanders destroy nature and environment because they practice swidden, but in fact rotational shifting cultivation. Therefore, the state sends the officials controlling forest area and prohibits anybody cultivating in forest area. Moreover, the state promotes and encourages cash cropping instead. From these policies, the villagers have to decline the period of rotational cultivation from 6-10 years to 1-3 years. Some cultivation areas have to grow permanently. And some areas have to divide into 2 parts: one is for rice cultivation and another is for cash cropping.

The land-lessees of Ban Dok Dang could receive the upland from the villagers in the community. But they can not do cash cropping because they lack capital and means of production. Therefore they become wage laborers in the community. Female could receive 70 bath per day work, but male 100 bath per day work. Sometimes, they go to work as a wage labor outside community such as pick up longan or employee in the city.

Working in the city is the first alternative way of the villager for finding cash. Nowadays, there are 25 the young Karen working in the city; 6 females and 19 males. While the male goes to work at gasoline station or gardening, the female goes to work at the houses. But some of them go to study or to be trained in occupational training Center for Hill Tribes. Most of them study in non-formal education program till high school.

Because of land limitation by the state and development thought and as well as the cash cropping promotion and the population pressure, the villagers of Ban Dok Dang is forced to intensified commercial production. Anyway, the villagers still mainly grow rice, especially in terraced field. At the same time, they also grow fruit trees for both consumption and sell. And they raise domestic animals such as cattle, chicken, and pig for both consumption and ritual as well. But sometimes they sell domestic animals when they need cash. Some households raise elephant for tourism and rice carrying.

Commercial and Class Differentiation

Commercial production of Ban Dok Dang is a main factor, which cause class differentiation in the community. The capital accumulation comes from the surplus of cattle, elephant, horse, and terraced field. From data collection, in 2000, there are 75 households in Ban Dok Dang: 9 rich households, 44 middle-class households, 19 poor households, 3 land-less households.

The rich households hold average 8 rai of wet-rice field, 3 rai of upland field, and 6 rai of garden. The middle class households hold average 4 rai of wet-rice field, 1.3 rai of upland field, and 3 rai of garden. The poor households hold average 1

rai of wet-rice field, 1.8 rai of upland field, and 1-2 rai of garden. And the land-less households are wage labors. They do upland rice cultivation on the land that the villagers allow them to do. (see Table 2.2)

Table 2.2 Ratio of Landholding per Household and Social Differentiation of Ban Dok Dang

Type of Household	No.	%	Average Landholding (Rai per Household)		
			Terraced Field	Upland Field	Garden
Rich Family	9	12	8	3.0	6.4
Middle Class Family	44	58.6	4	1.3	3.1
Poor Family	19	25.3	1	1.8	1.7
Land-less Family	3	4	-	-	-
TOTAL	75	100	-	-	-

Source: Village Survey in 2001

When consider the domestic animals that the villager use as a category for class identification, the rich households raise average 4-5 pigs, 3 cows, and 3 buffaloes, while the middle-class households raise average 3 pigs, 2-3 cows, and 2 buffaloes. The poor households raise 1-2 pigs. And they have no cattle. And the land-less households raise average 1 pig. (see Table 2.3)

Anyway, rather every household raises chicken. But this is not a symbol of economic status, they are raised for consumption and ritual. The villagers sometimes sell the chicken, but it does not a main income. Furthermore, the rich and middle-class families raise domestic animal for sell. They will sell when they need money for important affairs such as wedding ceremony, sickness, and house construction.

Table 2.3 Ratio of Domestic Animal per Household

Type of Household	No.	%	No. of Domestic animal per household		
			Pig	Castle	Buffalo
Rich Family	9	12	4.3	3	2.7
Middle Class Family	44	58.6	2.5	2.5	1.9
Poor Family	19	25.3	0.7	-	0.4
Land-less Family	3	4	1	-	-
TOTAL	75	100	-	-	-

Source: Village Survey in 2001

When considering income per household, the rich households have income about 80,000-100,000 baht a year: 20,000 baht from rice, 70,000 baht from cash crop, 10,000 from domestic animal. The middle-class households have income about 50,000-70,000 baht a year: 15,000 baht from rice, 50,000 baht from cash crop, 5,000

baht from domestic animal, and 3,000 baht from wage labor. The poor households have income about 20,000-35,000 baht a year: 5,000 baht from rice, 5,000 baht from cash crop, 3,000 baht from domestic animal, and 15,000 baht from wage labor. And the land-less households have income about 8,000-10,000 baht a year: 2,500 baht from rice, 2,000 baht from domestic animal, and 10,000 baht from wage labor. (see Table 2.4)

Table 2.4 Ratio of Income per Family

Type of Household	Total Income	Average Income per Year			
		Rice	Cash Crop	Domestic Animal	Employee
Rich Family	80,000-100,000	20,000	70,000	10,000	-
Middle Class Family	50,000-70,000	15,000	50,000	5,000	3,000
Poor Family	20,000-35,000	5,000	5,000	3,000	15,000
Land-less Family	8,000-15,000	2,500	-	2,000	10,000
TOTAL	-	42,500	125,000	20,000	28,000

Source: Village Survey in 2001

From table 2.4, the income of the rich and middle-class households come from cash crops more than others, while the income of the poor and land-less households come from wage labor more than the other source of income. They work as wage laborers both inside and outside community such as growing cash crop, picking longan, and so on. Furthermore, the cash crops that the villagers could income mostly are cabbage. (see Table 2.5)

Table 2.5 Ratio of Income from Agricultural Production

Type of Family	Rice = Thang X50	Income of Each Production			
		Cabbage	Tomato	Sweetbell pepper	Total
Rich Family	400 = 20,000	40,000	32,000	8,000	80,000
Middle Class Family	300 = 15,000	25,000	20,000	10,000	55,000
Poor Family	100 = 5,000	15,000	10,000	5,000	30,000
Land-less Family	50 = 2,500	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	850 = 42,500	80,000	62,000	23,000	165,000

Source: Village Survey in 2001

However, when considering the debts, The rich households have income more than debt, while the middle- class and land-less households have debt more than income. And the poor households have income equal to debt. (see Table 2.6)

Table 2.6 Income, Expenditure, and Debt in Cash per Household

Type of Household	No.	%	Income	Expenditure	Debt
Rich Family	9	12	80,000-100,000	60,000-80,000	40,000-65,000
Middle-class Family	44	58.6	40,000-60,000	40,000-50,000	70,000-80,000
Poor Family	19	25.3	20,000-35,000	20,000-25,000	20,000-35,000
Land-less Family	3	4	8,000-15,000	10,000-20,000	500-10,000

Source: Village Survey in 2001

The problem is of land right and the crisis of land shortage as well as commercial production cause class differentiation in the community. Anyway, each class encounters different problems. Moreover, currently all of them are under great strain.

Local Reaction to Forest Encroachment by Thai State

During the past 50 years, Thai State uses several forest management strategies for deforestation protection such as declaration of national the park and wild life sanctuary, forest inspection by ranger, regulations of forest product forage, forest plantation, and accusation against the forest intruder. Based on the master plan, RFD implicitly accepts that the deforestation is not merely come from the intrusion of the poor, but rather from development process in itself. Moreover, the state forest policy becomes the part of the problem because it concentrates to solve expediency problem and does not have "the long vision". Even RFD can not protect forest, the state policy excludes other groups participating in forest management. The state continually declares national-park and wild life sanctuary more and more (Bello and ect, 1998: 262-263).

There are several forms of local reactions on forest encroachment by Thai State. One form is to show an identity as "a conservationist". In 1988, the instructor and the student of Social Science Faculty, Chiang Mai University conducted research about community forestry and resource management of the villager. At the same time, they encourage the villager to manage their surrounding resource academically and efficiently. And the head of Om-long Administrative village takes in charge as "coordinator" in 1990-1992. They establish "Hill Tribe Assembly for wild life and forest conservation" and a network covering 4 districts: Hod, Mae Sarieng, Sob Maie, and Mae Chaem District. The head of Om-long Administrative village is selected and becomes "the first president of the Assembly" (Somkiat, 1999).

The villager of Ban Dok Dang told:

"At the beginning of the Assemble establishment, the head of administrative village invites and forces the villager of Ban Mae Tho Noi coming to settle down at Ban Dok Dang or Ban Om-long for the administrative convenient reason. And if the village become bigger, it easy to find a budget for developing the community. Some of the villagers even disagree on this issue, but have to do for collective

benefit or interest. Nowadays, there is only one house in Ban Mae Tho Noi."

Moreover, The villagers who are members of the assembly have to pay 30 baht per household per year for monitoring and conserving forest activities. The assembly divides community area into 3 part: community forest, conserved forest, and utilized forest. They do not let anybody cut trees in conserved forest because it is a watershed area. Anyway, the villager could find forest product and cut trees in community and utilized forest, but they have to inform the assembly first.

In 1972, the villagers of Ban Dok Dang set an agreement about how to conserve forest surrounding the community before the Assembly establishment. Their regulation of forest utilization based on traditional beliefs of the community. When the Assembly is established and using state law for forest conservation, the villagers think that state law ignores traditional practice. Later, when Thai state wants to declare "Mae Tho National Park" on this area, the villagers feel that *"the state makes a fool of themselves in trying to be conservationists. They suffer from being too conservationists."*

However, the assembly could operate till 1995 when the head of administrative village is removed from the post. But the villagers of Ban Dok Dang and adjacent villages still intend to conserve watershed as their ancestor's did. Therefore, in 1996, they established "environment and nature conservationist-villager group" for responding to state forest conservation policy as well as demonstrating "coexist between human being and forest" to the public. The member of the group comes from 3 sub-villages: Ban Dok Dang, Ban Om-long Nai, and Ban Om-long Klang (DISAC, 1996).

The establishment of the group starts from that the villagers in each village consult each other about how to conserve the forest seriously. The first collective activities of these 3 sub-villages are forest fire monitoring and forest firebreak belt making. Each village has to establish its own committee to serve these activities and to coordinate the villager's continually.

The activities of each village mostly are similar. The differences are in the details of the practice. Furthermore, the villagers set their activities so that the villagers from 3 sub-village would work together. They are as follow:

1. *Forest Firebreak Belt Making and Forest Fire Extinguishing:* In the past, when the villagers burn their upland fields, they will make fire break belt surrounding their field before firing their field. Later, in dry season, there is a lot of forest fire occurred in the area. Therefore, the villagers decide to make forest firebreak belt in every type of forest surrounding their communities. From then on, for 10 years, there is no forest fire anymore because of the villager makes forest firebreak belt every February and April. Moreover, they set forest fire protection regulation clearly, and help each other monitoring forest fire regularly as well.

2. *Land and Forest Management*: The villagers determine that each village has to demarcate the community area separately: Preserved Forest, Community Forest, Cultivation area, and Residential area. Practically, The villagers of each village consult each other about the demarcation. And the difference is only in the details of the demarcation.

3. *Wild Life Conservation*: The group consents to conserve wild life that is endangered now such as Horn Bill, Wild Pig, Barking Deer, Deer Mother, Bear, Pheasant. They think that if the group does not conserve these wild animals, they will be hunted and eventually extinct. Therefore, each village not only demarcates the non-hunting and restricted area, but also set the regulation, prohibition, and penalty.

4. *Agricultural Management*: The villager gently changes the method of agricultural production. First they decrease the area of rotational shifting cultivation because its productivity is low. And at the same time, they increase the area of permanent cultivation. Furthermore, they do not clear new area anymore. The villager thinks that the rotational shifting cultivation eventually is ceased. Nowadays, the villager has not yet found out the concrete way of agricultural management. But some of them are trying to do agro-forestry.

5. *Study Tour and Training*: The group arranges a village meeting once a year for giving an opportunity to the villagers' discussion as well as exchanging their work and experiences. Furthermore, in the meeting, they not only conclude their lessons of collective work, but also determine the future operations together. They sometimes invite resource person, from government agency or academia, to attend to the meeting for listening to and exchanging their opinions with the villagers.

Because of land limitation by the state and development thought and as well as the cash cropping promotion and the population pressure, the villagers of Ban Dok Dang face the shortage of land and rice. Furthermore, they have a lot of debts from commercial production. These conditions cause class differentiation in the community increasingly. The poor and land-less households suffer from these conditions more than the rich and middle-class households. Anyway, the villager tries to struggle for the right of their land as well as for being discharged from the debts. At the same time, the villager establishes "The Conservationist Group" to protect natural resource, which is the important source of making a living, for themselves and the younger generations.

2.4 Conclusion

Most of the villagers of Ban Dok Dang have migrated from Ban Om-long since 1936 because they want to stay closing to their terraced field. According to the changing socio-cultural context, the development of resource management of Ban Dok Dang can be divided into 3 periods.

First, Period of Subsistence Production (1936-1974), the Karen cultivates rice in both upland and terraced field for their consumption in self-reliance way. The

Karen's believe of nature and "the Absolute" or guardian spirits is displayed through rituals concerned on rite of passage and production. Moreover, the "*Hif Hkof*" is not only the conductor of the rituals, but also the governor of human being and natural resource management. Anyway, the regulations of natural resource management based on belief and wisdom of the community which pays respect to "guardian spirits". Anyway, the Karen resource management is changed because of Thai state started to declare policies controlling forest area by modern law and government officials.

Second, Period of Transition to Commercial Agriculture (1975-1992), This period starts from the state forest control policy. Moreover, the state claimed that "the hill tribes are forest destroyer". At Ban Dok Dang, the road construction and pine plantation projects are initiated for solving the problem of opium growing, deforestation, and swidden cultivation in the area. Later, the state encourages the villager to grow cash crops and practicing permanent field.

During this period some of the villagers converted to believe in Christianity or Buddhism. They integrate the "new" belief to the traditional one accordingly. Furthermore, the villager tries to educate modern knowledge to the younger generation by hiring a local teacher because they think that this is an alternative way for survival in the new socio-culture context. Later, the state allows the budget to construct an educational building and open elementary curriculum in the villager.

Because of state development policy, especially land/forest control, the villagers intensify their land by growing cash crop. But, they have to depend on all of means of production from the outside. Therefore, the villagers not only are in debts, but also face a decline in their health and nature from cash cropping.

Third, Period of Commercial and Local Reaction to Forest Encroachment by the Thai state (1993-present), the villagers who enter commercial cash cropping mostly have large fields; both upland and terraced field. Moreover, they have domestic animals, especially cattle and pig, for sell when they need cash. Cash crop production is a main factor of class differentiation. But anyway all of them are the poor and marginalised persons.

Since the state intends to declare "Mae Tho Nation Park" in 2002 covered the village, the villager cooperates to reverse their wisdom of resource management by establishing "environment and nature conservationist-villager group". This is to show their ideal of "real environmentalism" to public. In the same time they began to organized the social movement such as youth group, women group and village committee attended by both women and men, in bargaining and resisting with the state officer for their rights in access and control over their resources.