

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The relationship between man and his environment is being formulated not only on a cognitive level, but clearly it also constitutes an effective personal relationship in which individual animals and plants are treated with respect and caution.

(Reichel-Domatoff 1976:311)

1.1 Rationale

Environmental degradation and deforestation are nowadays stinging problems almost everywhere in the world. Nation-states, as the most powerful actors, have found out different solutions to these problems. Basing on a perception that the traditional farming practices (e.g. shifting cultivation) of hill tribe peoples is the main cause of deforestation, states have implemented different forestry management programs in an attempt to eliminate it. However, practice shows that environmental degradation has not been improved, but various social problems have emerged.

Local people have their own view of the forest and land that governs their forest use and management. While the state sees forest as a commodity, a biodiversity system, a beautiful landscape for tourism, national security and so on, local people perceive forest as their source of livelihood and their cultural landscape (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1976, Morphy 1995, Hoang Cam 1998). Forest is key to their survival because it can provide food, housing, etc. Nevertheless, more importantly, in the eyes of the local people it is their ancestral home and center of their spiritual life (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1976). The forest is where they organize traditional ceremonies and worship, where social relations and identity are built up, and so on. Also from this perspective, their morality of forest use is constructed as a part of the identity of forest communities. Local people thus respect and protect forest rather than destroy it. For instance, Karen people in Northern Thailand perceive forest as their home, and “every square inch of the forest is imbued with details of story, memory, and cultural practice” (Pinkaew 2001:147). When a child is born, people seek for a tree to which

its umbilical cord will be tied. This custom is perceived as establishing a relationship of the newborn child with the tree and the forest. It is believed that the tree is a dwelling of the child's soul. So, people will not cut the tree because the survival of the tree is also the life of the child (Prasert 1997).

Difference between state and local visions of forest has led to different ways of forest use and management. States have applied 'technologies of power' including territorialization, mapping, law, and so on to manage the forest, while local ways are based on cosmological beliefs and values (Scott 1998; Vandergeest and Peluso 1995). It is claimed that state knowledge is scientific while local knowledge is non-scientific (Banuri and Apffel Marglin 1993). However, this notion of "science" or "non-science" is only a discourse that is created by powerful actors. Local knowledge in fact is also a science because it results from intellectual processes that are not qualitatively different from Western science (Scott 1996). The difference between western science and indigenous knowledge is just through "their engagement of particular root metaphors in specific social institutional and socio-environmental settings" (loc.cit.).

However, powerful states have imposed ideology and relied on a discourse of science to legitimize their control over resources (Peluso 1992, Scott 1998, Pinkaew 2001). They simplify forest's image but in a form that is only understood by those who are educated (Scott 1998). As a result, local people become separated and excluded from the forests where they have lived for a long time and where their culture, their identity and beliefs were created. Powerless against the state, they are increasingly marginalized from their forest in term of both material and cultural life. They are neither able to maintain their livelihood, nor can they practice their cultural/spiritual activities because forests are now under the control of the state's management.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

As elsewhere, Vietnam has faced serious environmental degradation and deforestation. The Vietnamese government has tried to solve these problems by

implementing different programs aiming to conserve natural environment and to develop mountain communities. On the one hand, the Vietnamese state has strengthened the establishment of protected areas with a management mechanism through the use of law and science. On the other hand, the state has created development programs for mountain ethnic minority communities whose poverty leads them to destroy forest. However, the rates of environmental degradation seem not to be improved by these programs, but they have created even more social problems, such as social differentiation, conflicts over access to forest and forestland. (McElwee 1999, Salemink 1997).

After gaining the independence from the French in 1954, the northern Vietnamese government issued a policy of agricultural collectivization, nationalizing land and forest. Following that policy, several lowlanders migrated to new economic zones and several state forest enterprises and protected areas were set up in the highlands. Changes became more intensive in 1968 when the state implemented a policy on Fixed Cultivation and Sedentarization. Many ethnic minority villages in the highlands and midlands were consequently relocated. Local traditional practices (e.g. shifting cultivation) were seriously affected.

Indeed, Jens Wandel contends that mountainous development and forest protection policy in Vietnam provides good prospects for ethnic minority groups but it simultaneously represents the greatest threat to them. "Those among ethnic minority groups who want to preserve traditional values and lifestyles will come under severe pressure... and their prospects ... are bleak" (Wandel 1997:486). This is illustrated in the way that cultural life of ethnic groups in the Central Highland is challenged under the vision of state policy. Traditional practices of local people are not freely implemented, but permitted only by the state officials. Though the government recognizes the importance of culture in development, its policy is dominated by the concept of "selective preservation," meaning that only good aspects of minority culture should be retained, and bad aspects should be eliminated or transformed (Salemink 1997:516). But who defines what is good, what is bad, and what should be preserved? Of course, the decision is not made by the local people themselves. Salemink points out that cultural values of the local people are consequently

endangered. This is demonstrated by the case of *p'tau apui*, the ceremonial King of fire of Jarai people. Though the role of *p'tau apui* is very important to the Jarai, at present this position is vacant because the descendant of the old *p'tau apui* has not been allowed by state officials to organize succession ceremonies. In addition, when the state implements Sedentarization program that aims to protect the forest and to improve the economic life of ethnic groups, it also influences their traditional life. It breaks the traditional village layout, the common property is replaced with private property, the plots are fenced, and longhouses are separated by the houses far apart (loc.cit, 513). Moreover, social relationships change when those who have potential and capital get rich very fast, while those without become poorer and are pushed off the land. This leads to social differentiation in communities which have traditionally been communal and united.

Though various studies have evaluated and pointed out the above negative impacts of policy on the local people, the state continues to enforce its programs. Why? I contend that there are two reasons. First, the state believes in the evolution of all human societies unilinearly from primitive to slave, feudal, capitalist and then to socialist modes of production (Thang 2001:96). Moreover, the socialist ideology is that all members are equal; so, 'backward' ethnic minorities should be developed just as the majority. The state rationalizes that it has responsibility to bring modernization to 'uncivilized' ethnic highland. Therefore, traditional 'inferior' styles of living and cultures of the minorities must be raised to universal national standards of the major Kinh people (loc.cit.). However, it does not mean that all local communities are similarly affected. Some people may perceive the transformation as appropriate and adapt easily. But others may feel oppressed by this external intervention and select their own ways of resistance or protest.

Secondly, the "ethnic hierarchical classification" of the state classifies people into civilized vs. uncivilized, majority vs. minority, Thang (2001) observes that the state considers local knowledge inferior to scientific knowledge. State officials who work with ethnic minority communities often do so without regard to the local culture. They have carried out development projects considering neither real demands of local people nor local contexts. Various discourses have been created to legitimize their

actions and to ignore the local practices. Non-state or traditional approaches to resource use and management are dismissed as 'backward' or 'underdeveloped' (McElwee 1999).

Recently in Vietnam, when the state set up a national park or a natural reserve as a strategy of forest conservation and development, it has relied too much on outside experts, or trained scientists without paying attention to local people. Vietnam differs from neighboring countries like Thailand, whose policies exclude hill tribes out of their national territory, in that it has inclusive policies toward ethnic minority communities. However, Vietnam's inclusive ethnicity policy has not led to the full participation of local people in forest management. Local culture and knowledge has not been adequately recognized. Local people have never been clearly informed about the government's plans; instead, they are relocated with a simple explanation that they could no longer use the land for their traditional life-style. This approach leads to the loss of indigenous knowledge of how to live sustainably on the land, how to use local species, and so on. Furthermore, when their access rights to the resources are taken away, the cultural meaning and values to forest are also lost (Dasmann 1991).

Under such circumstance, how do local people react? They are human beings who will not just obediently follow what the state imposes upon them, though their responses are expressed in different forms. Bryant and Bailey (1997) contend that poor people normally try to maintain their livelihood opportunities, but they always try to do so without provoking powerful actors into any retaliatory action that might exacerbate their difficulty. They therefore often apply a strategy of adaptation that aims to minimize adverse effects on them. In some case, people modify their traditional economic practices, store crops from good seasons, sell livestock or request assistance from neighbors and relatives. In other cases, people take advantage of new economic opportunities generated by the capitalistic market. This type of response is called a 'partial reversal' (Bryant and Bailey 1997:169).

However, local people do not always choose strategies of adaptation to respond to environmental changes and external forces that impact on their life. In some cases, they fight against those who marginalized them. Such reactions are

classified into two forms. One form is collectively organized, such as colonial peasant rebellions, peasant movements, and protest demonstrations. The second form is normally expressed individually, which Scott (1985) calls 'everyday resistance.' As Peluso (1992) shows in her book, *Rich Forest, Poor People*, local people in Java responded to the 'scientific forestry' by different ways including illegal extraction, non-cooperation with state officials, etc. The Bahnar people in the Central Highlands of Vietnam refused to cooperate with state agencies to protect forests, which had been declared state property, and in contravention of the traditional rights of local communities. Many of them even cut tall trees in order not to be "left empty-handed" (Salemink 1997).

The imposition of state forestry management and development programs has generated several problems that impede the sustainable management of the forest resources as well as threaten local people's livelihood security. There are more depleted forest and more barren hills. Several types of wild animals are threatened with extinction. At the same time, local people are pushed into a precarious situation as they become poorer and more marginalized. However, this does not mean that under pressure of state policy, local people always experience and perceive it similarly. Pinkaew (2001:132) points out that when the Thai state introduced a new form of control and capital extraction, some Karen took refuge in the forest, but most of them conformed to the new imposed obligation and sought opportunity to earn cash income outside the realm of village and agriculture. The engagement with the market economy enabled some Karen to accumulate capital and provided them with new experiences of the outside world (loc.cit.). Therefore, some actors may feel satisfied if they are able to improve their life, while those who fail to do so feel depressed and dissatisfied.

Recent studies on this issue tend to emphasize property rights, everyday livelihood, etc. (Kaneungnit 2002, Vien 2003). For instance, Kaneungnit (2002) looks at common property as enclosure among the Laotian villages under the interventions of state policy. Meanwhile, Vien (2003) focuses on how changes in land tenure policy in Vietnam have brought about changes in livelihood of the Stieng

and the Chau Ma people since they were excluded from their traditional place in the forest.

Few studies pay attention to the impact of state forest management on other dimensions of cultural life, such as spiritual practices. As mentioned above, forests in the eyes of local people are not only sources of food, housing, animals, plants, but also dwelling places of forest spirits and their ancestral pasts. Forests are also places where local people have accumulated their local knowledge, where their identity is created and where their being is spiritually meaningful. This argument is supported more by the opinion of a Makong woman whose husband is a Kinh, from Hue city

Living in the forest, I feel safe and healthy. I can grow rice and vegetables; I can look for food and medicine to cure disease in the forest. In the winter, if I do not have enough clothes, I can warm myself with firewood. I am not afraid of hunger and coldness though I do not have money. However, whenever coming to stay with my husband's family in Hue, I am sick and feel as if I am being imprisoned, though my husband's parents, brothers and sisters really love me. I do not have to do anything, just eat and sleep. They have asked me to move to Hue for a better life but I do not want to. This place (Caroong village) is where my ancestors and my relatives are living. My life is related to this forest and land. I cannot survive without them. I will never leave this place.

(Mrs. Y Nhoan, an informant, 40 years old)

The above opinion shows that forest is not simply a material source but something related to her spiritual life. It provides her with a feeling of safety. She feels healthy in the forest where she considers as her homeland, as opposed to the city where she feels imprisoned. She says this as if there is some spiritual force protecting her from sickness and insecurity. The close relation between people and nature is also expressed in the way a Makong man argued with a state forester who was transporting a wild animal out of the forest. When the forester denied transporting any wild animals, the villager replied: "This is my ancestral land; I know everything that happens in this area". This confrontation, which may cause problems for local people, indicates that the local people are trying to conserve nature rather than destroy it. As the villager said, this is his ancestral domain, not just a normal forest where all forms of exploitation are allowed.

In reality, spiritual practice plays an important role in people's social life. It is as a bridge linking people with their origins, their past and the environment (Reichel-

Dolmatoff 1976, McCaskill 1997). In addition, villagers use this to resist the domination of powerful actors.

Undertaking a study on how the state forestry management affects upon the cultural life of the Makong, who have lived in frontier area with Laos - Thuong Trach commune, Phong Nha-Ke Bang National park, Central Vietnam, will be practically and theoretically rewarded.

Being traditional shifting cultivators, the Makong people have been seen as 'undeveloped' and a threat to the forest conservation though they traditionally have had their own way of appropriate forest use. Their villages are now bounded within the territory of Phong Nha - Ke Bang National Park. Their traditional shifting cultivation is seen as the most dangerous practice for the protected area while its regulations define that "all behaviors and actions which are harmful to forest are forbidden" (Article 35 of Vietnamese Laws on Forest Protection and Development in 1991). Though the Makong people have been allowed to stay in their villages up till now, their life is not secure. The state has limited their land use area and holds the legal right to deprive them of forest access at any time. The area of Thuong Trach commune is about 72,571 hectares but when the Phong Nha-Ke Bang National Park was set up, 61,341 hectares of their commune was mapped into the core zone for strict protection where no encroachment is allowed.

The Makong people in Thuong Trach commune have experienced several national forestry protection programs and development projects (e.g. Program 327 - the Greening the Barren Hills Program, Fix Cultivation and Sedentarization Program) which were supposed to help them catch up with the 'civilization' level of the whole society. A remarkable point is that all of these programs are designed by the central government and are implemented massively in all different mountainous areas.

Meanwhile, the Makong people have lived in this area for a long time. It is said that Thuong Trach is their ancestral land; so every year many Makong people from Laos come to Thuong Trach commune to participate in 'Drum Beating' ceremony to remember their ancestors. In addition, the Makong have their own system of forest management that will be discussed more in the Chapter IV. It is expressed through local institutions including '*Dung Dzang*', a group of village

leaders and clan leaders who play an important role in deciding forest use for the whole community. In addition, the traditional regulations and taboos also help them prevent over-exploitation of forest resources.

This study aims to examine the cultural landscape and spiritual practices of the Makong. Findings on this issue are expected to show the different perceptions about the state and the local resource management that lead to the state intervention into the local people's lives. In addition, the study explores how the Makong have been marginalized from access rights over the forest, cultural practices, and traditional moralities as consequences of the imposition of state forest management and development programs. The study also examines the responses of the Makong toward the marginality through their new strategies for their livelihood.

1.3 Research Questions

In order to explore the above issues, I would like to focus on the following questions.

1. What is the Makong cultural landscape and how have the Makong people traditionally used and managed the forest?
2. How do state agencies' perceptions of such practices determine their way of influencing the Makong community?
3. How have state programs affected the Makong's cultural practices and livelihood?
4. In what circumstances and with what multiple-strategies do different groups of the Makong community respond to the new system of forest management?
5. How do those strategies affect the life of the Makong people?

1.4 Research Objectives

1. To understand traditional practice of the Makong in the forest and to see how their culture and spiritual beliefs have been constructed in relation to the forest.

2. To see how state agencies perceive the Makong people because it explains the process of state intervention into this community.
3. To examine how state forestry management practices affects the life of Makong people and to see how the process of marginalization of Makong happens.
4. To find out the ways in which Makong people respond and the strategies they use to cope with the political and economic changes.

1.5 Research Methods

1.5.1 Site Selection

Thuong Trach commune includes eighteen Makong villages but I focused my study in Caroong village. First, Caroong village is seen as having the longest village history in the Makong community. Several cultural activities of the Makong community are celebrated in this village because it is seen as the original land of the Makong people. The present *Dung Dzang*, Land God of the Makong community was born and has lived there.

Second, Caroong village, which includes twenty-two households with 122 persons, is located in the central of the Thuong Trach commune. It is thus a place where the state has built infrastructure such as primary school, people's committee office, clinic station, and a water tank. It is also a village that has experienced many outside interventions. Most of development projects to the Thuong Trach commune have been implemented in Caroong village but not in other villages. For instance, it was said that the resettlement program in 1999 provided cows to Caroong villagers but not for some other villagers such as the Cuton and Cooc villages. In addition, Caroong village is as a resting place of several lowlanders who travel in Thuong Trach area because to go to other villages, people have to go through this village first.

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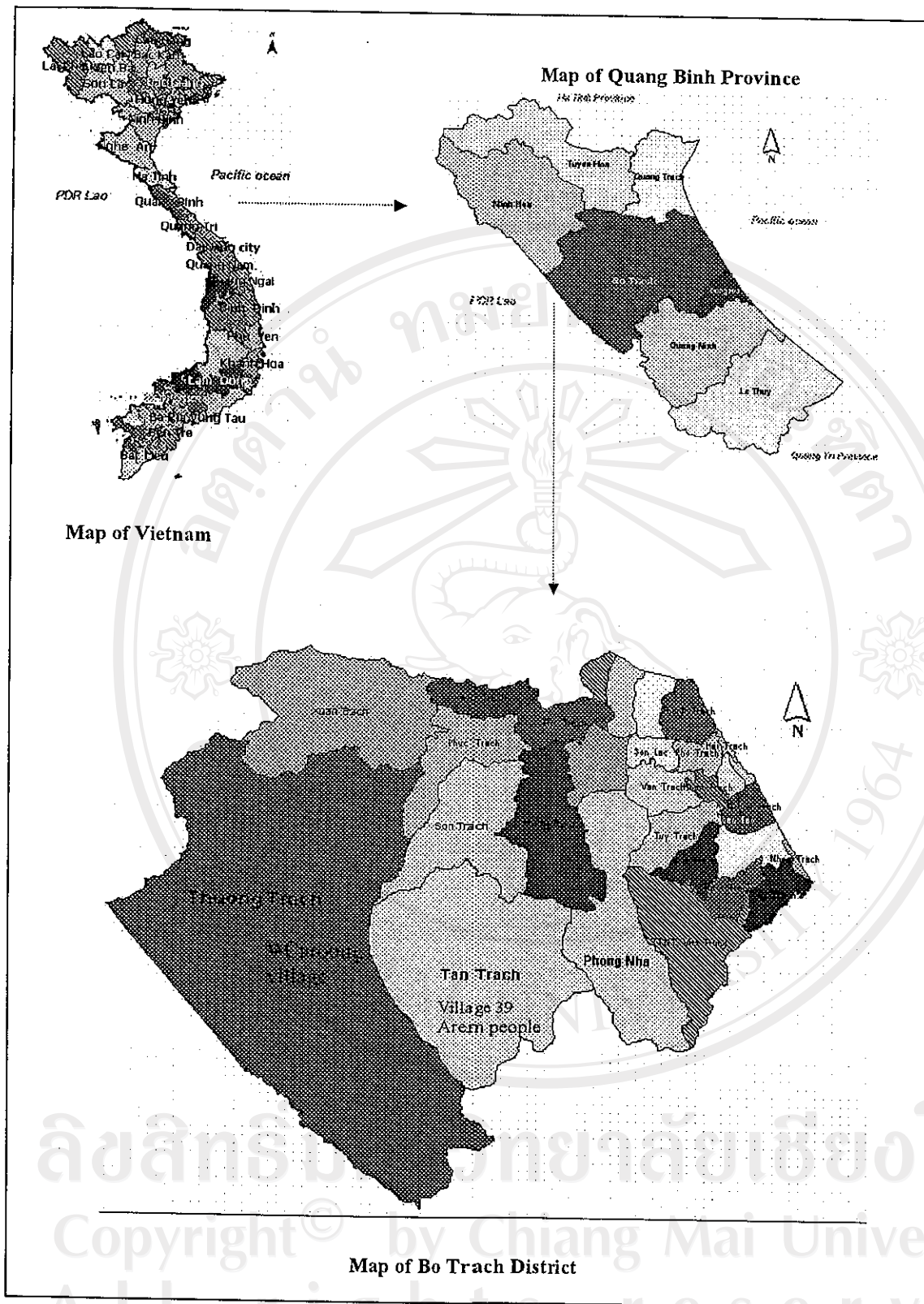


Figure 1.1 Study area

Source: www.quangbinh.gov.vn/english/bando.asp

1.5.2 Gain Entry and Methods

Prior to my contact with the Makong people, I initially had a little understanding of who they are because very little has been written about this ethnic group. I only knew that the Makong people has been lived in a remote area at the boundary of the Phong Nha-Ke Bang National Park, and along the border with Laos. As other ethnic minority groups who live in protected areas, they are under several state programs aiming to settle them from the forest, to transform their traditional shifting cultivation into fixed cultivation, and to conserve the forest. Simultaneously, the Makong are facing challenges in maintaining their traditional livelihood and their cultural practices due to the intervention of new forestry management policy in a protected area. The Makong people traditionally practice shifting cultivation which is forbidden within the protected area. So, they are threatened to be separated from practicing this traditional livelihood. However, like other ethnic groups who are unable to voice their problems to the state, Makong people's voice is too weak to be heard by the state because their population is very small (only 1470 persons in Vietnam). Additionally, their commune is too isolated from the central government, so not many state officials are willing to come to solve their problems.

With a limited knowledge about the Makong people, in April 2003 I spent two weeks visiting three Makong villages named Cuton, Cooc and Caroong in Thuong Trach commune. Since my objective was to gather some data to develop a research proposal, I spent time to interviewing some elders in the villages about the history of the Makong community. In addition, I observed the Makong people's daily activities and their social interactions

In November 2003 to March 2004, I returned to Thuong Trach commune conduct my field work. At this time, I decided to focus my study in Caroong village. Before I started my fieldwork, I had to submit my study plan for an approval by the Bo Trach District People Committee. However, every time I entered the commune, I had to request an entry permit letter from the border police station 539. Without this permit, I could be seen as an illegal encroacher in the Thuong Trach commune. In addition to the entry permit, I needed another letter from the commune leader to

certify my legal presence in the commune. To get this, I had to meet with the commune authorities before doing my study in the area.

During my fieldwork in this commune, I experienced some and suspicions and obstructions by representatives of several different departments from provincial and district levels obstructed my work. They all considered themselves as having power and rights to make trouble for outsiders because they were assigned a task with “keeping security” and “improving” the Makong society in the Thuong Trach.

At the same time, lowland officials initially accused me of ignoring the state law, since I worked with only the local commune Chairman before going to the village. They stopped bothering me with questions when I showed them the commune Chairman’s letter, but explained that they needed to know what was going on in the commune in order to report to their district headquarters. Therefore, I had to let them know when I arrived, what I did in the village and why, and so on. In later trips to the commune, I followed all of their requirements and minimized unexpected troubles. Later, they were rather supportive. However, my difficulties with them were not finished. During the Drum Beating Ceremony, when commune and district officials asked me to take photos, the team leader of border police, who were participating in the Ceremony, stopped me because I did not have a letter of permission from his commander. In fact, I felt that was a “punishment” for my refusal to speak with some of border policemen the evening before, when they came to the house where I was staying at midnight, while everyone in the house was sleeping.

In Caroong village, I stayed in the house of the *Dung Dzang*’s daughter¹. She is a knowledgeable woman who speaks Vietnamese fluently. Her husband who is a Kinh coming from Hue city, my hometown. Her husband and she thus treated me as their sister. They called me *O*, a local kinship term, used to refer to an aunt of their children.

I think I was fortunate to stay with this family because their house was a place for informal meetings or resting site of authorities, lowland traders, loggers as well as

¹ Y Nhoan is the first daughter of the *Dung Dzang*, her house is next to her father’s.

local people. That is probably due to the friendliness of the owners. According to the Makong culture, they often welcomed guests by offering food and wine to show their respect. Drinking wine encourages people to express their opinions and tell interesting stories. I had opportunities to see the interaction among different actors including state officials, illegal loggers, traders and villagers. This informal interaction helped me to understand local discourse about state agencies as well as their reactions to the state policies. In addition, I understood the practice of policy in the local context.

I used both participant observation and interview methods throughout my field data collection. To understand how the people access forest resources, I spent my time to help this family harvesting rice in the field and sometimes follow them catching fish, collecting bamboo shoots and firewood, etc. They taught me how to do these works. In addition, I also learned more about how they perceive what happens around their life. For instance, one day, I went to the field to harvest rice with my host family. At that time, one lowland hunter who was a close friend of this family also went to help harvesting rice. His house is in Phong Nha town but most of his time is in forest with his game traps. While harvesting, they (the wife, the husband, the wife's sister and the lowland hunter) enjoyed chatting about how good the crop was, how to harvest rice quickly, how their children were like, how social relations in the village changed, and why, and so on. They all claimed that the Makong community has been changed by the lowland intervention. For instance, they said that premarital pregnancy was an unacceptable mistake in the past but several young girls recently had babies before marriage or without marriage since the flow of lowlanders doing business in their villages had increased;

Under such circumstances, I could join them and raised several questions but did not make them feel that they were being interviewed. I believe that their comments reflect their true thoughts. Participant-observation is also a useful method allowing to gain data of cultural practice. For instance, through participating in the Drum Beating Ceremony I understood how the Makong people showed pride in their culture and how the rituals were performed. I also observed the role of different actors in the ceremony and compared this with the stories told by villagers.

I could not participate in all activities of the Makong community because I was in this village only three months. To gain more information about the culture, I interviewed knowledgeable key informants, such as the *Dung Dzang*, the village leader, village elders, the village forester and commune Chairman. They explained to me meaning of their cultural activities and how they organized them. I gathered a lot of information related to their traditions and customs in daily life and in the forest as well. They also told me their history and how their society changed.

Besides interviewing key informants, I carried out a household survey of the total twenty-two households in Caroong village to understand local livelihood, income sources, strategies coping with changes and perceptions of state policy. I gathered information related to labor division and gender roles in the family. They also provided me information related to their local knowledge in the forest, and how they have practiced their beliefs in their daily life.

Other important actors whom I interviewed in my study were state officials. I had chances to talk with different state officials from different state units including the border police station, the district resettlement program, the people's security force, the district military force, and the forest conservation program. I informally interviewed them about policy practiced in the commune and perceptions of the local people. They described problems they had faced during their time in the commune. In fact, it was initially difficult to interview them because they kept distance, especially with NGO workers. When I stayed longer in the commune, and they observed that I did not do anything wrong, they became friendlier, visiting me several times in the village and inviting me to have meal with them. I took advantage of these opportunities to illicit some information about policy practice and their view of the Makong people. I found that I gathered more interesting information through such informal interviews than the formal ones.

I also met and interviewed some lowland traders and loggers. To approach them, I first came to buy food and from then try to talk with them. They seemed to know almost everything happening in the commune; they already knew who I were and what I did in the village. They even knew that I studied in Thailand and was carrying out my study in the village for my thesis. From them, I understood their

relationship with villagers and their main activities in this remote area. They also provided me interesting information about the situation of lowlanders working in the forest, their reasons for leaving their homeland to earn a living in a difficult situation and problems that they had.

Data collected through observation and interview was written in my field notes. Besides field data, I gathered secondary data from official statistics, books and unpublished documents such as reports of previous projects implemented in this area. However, this secondary data focuses only on forestry management policy in Vietnam and in Phong Nha – Ke Bang National Park. I found little information related to the Makong people and Thuong Trach commune available.

1.6 Thesis Organization

Contents of the thesis are presented in seven chapters. Chapter I is an introduction, which explains the rationale of the research problem, the objectives, and the research questions. In addition, it describes the methods used to gain the entry into the field and to collect data. The Chapter II provides a theoretical frame used in the thesis. This chapter reviews three concepts, which are used as lens to analyze the research problems: local knowledge and scientific knowledge on natural resource management, marginalization, and dynamics of local response. In Chapter III, the history of forestry management in Vietnam is briefly reviewed and the policy practice in the case of Phong Nha – Ke Bang forest is illustrated to provide a background of the study. Chapter IV presents a picture of a Makong community and their identity in the context of Phong Nha – Ke Bang forest. The objective of this chapter is to demonstrate that the Makong have lived harmoniously in the forest for generations. Contrary to the accusations of outsiders, they have their own cosmology that helps to protect the forest rather than destroy it. Chapter V focuses on a specific case of the Makong people in Caroong village, Thuong Trach commune. As a village in the boundary of Phong Nha – Ke Bang national park, Caroong villagers have been the target of many state programs. Therefore, this chapter aims to analyze the marginalization of local people out of their traditional life as a consequence of outside interventions. However, local people do not passively accept the marginalization;

their reaction to it is discussed in detail in Chapter VI. In this chapter are findings about local perceptions of state officials and programs and their different strategies to maintain their survival in the new context. The Chapter VII presents the thesis conclusion. It summarizes major findings of the study, theoretical discussions and recommendations based on the lessons from findings.



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