TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | Page |
|---|------|
| Acknowledgements | iii |
| English Abstract | V |
| Thai Abstract | vii |
| List of Figure | xiii |
| Abbreviations | xv |
| Glossary of Terms | xvi |
| | |
| CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION | |
| 1.1 Background and Research Problem | 1 |
| 1.2 Research Questions | 7 |
| 1.3 Research Objectives | 8 |
| 1.4 Review of Theories and Concepts | 8 |
| 1.4.1 Space of Exception | 8 |
| 1.4.2 Shifting Strategies of the Border-landers | 13 |
| 1.4.2.1 Ethnic Identity | 13 |
| 1.4.2.2 'Guanxi'-A Social Network | 22 |
| 1.5 Conceptual Framework | 27 |
| 1.6 Research Design | 30 |
| 1.6.1 Study Site | 30 |
| 1.6.2 Unit of Analysis | 31 |
| 1.6.3 Field Techniques | 32 |
| 1.7 Structure of the Thesis | 37 |

TABLE OF CONTENTS (CONTINUED)

| | Page |
|--|------|
| CHAPTER 2 THE PEOPLE: WHO ARE THE KOKANG CHINESE? | |
| 2.1 Introduction | 41 |
| 2.2 Chinese Migration into Northern Shan State | 45 |
| 2.2.1 Late Ming Period (1623-1662) | 45 |
| 2.2.2 Yang Family's Rule and the British Colonial Period (1670-1948) | 47 |
| 2.2.3 China Nationalist Party Era (1935-1950) | 51 |
| 2.2.4 The 'New' China Period (1949- 1978) | 54 |
| 2.2.5 Recent Migration (1978-2009) | 59 |
| 2.3 Livelihood of the Kokang Chinese during the Pre-Opium Ban Period | |
| 2.4 Mobility Patterns of Kokang Chinese (1968-2009) | |
| 2.5 Legal Status of the Kokang Chinese in Myanmar | 84 |

CHAPTER 3 THE PLACE: ORIGIN OF SPACES OF EXCEPTION IN KOKANG

| 3.1 Introduction | 90 |
|--|-----|
| 3.2 Kokang Environments | 92 |
| 3.3 Kokng and the British (1894-1948) | 96 |
| 3.4 Independent Burma (1948-2009) | 104 |
| 3.4.1 Kokang During the Sawbwaship Period (1948-1959) | 104 |
| 3.4.2 Post Sawbwaship Period (1959-1965) | 108 |
| 3.4.3 Burma Socialist Programme Party Period (1962-1988) | 110 |
| 3.4.4 Establishment of the Kokang Special Region (1) | 115 |
| | |
| CHAPTER 4 KOKANG SPECIAL REGION (1) – 1989-2009 | |
| 4.1 Introduction | 124 |
| 4.2 The Role of the Kokang Authority | 124 |

TABLE OF CONTENTS (CONTINUED)

| | Page |
|--|------|
| 4.2.1 Local Authorities' Area Development Policies | 125 |
| 4.2.1.1 The Six Development Guidelines for Kokang Special Region (1) | 128 |
| 4.3 Changes in Attitude of the Myanmar Government in Kokang | 136 |
| 4.4 Kokang Authority's Area Development Activities | 141 |
| 4.4.1 Opium Elimination | 141 |
| 4.4.2 Alternative Development Activities | 145 |
| 4.4.2.1 Agriculture | 145 |
| 4.4.2.2 Transportation | 148 |
| 4.4.2.3 Communication | 150 |
| 4.4.2.4 Education | 150 |
| 4.4.2.5 Health | 151 |
| 4.4.2.6 Industry and other Developments | 153 |
| 4.5 The '8/8' Crisis | 155 |

CHAPTER 5 ADAPTATIVE STRATEGIES OF THE KOKANG CHINESE IN THE SPECIAL REGION

| 5.1 Introduction | 159 |
|---|-----|
| 5.2 Livelihoods of the Kokang Chinese since the Opium Ban | 159 |
| 5.3 Adaptive Strategies of the Kokang Chinese | 163 |
| 5.3.1 Drug Trafficking | 164 |
| 5.3.2 Gambling | 174 |
| 5.3.3 Smuggling | 182 |
| 5.3.4 Money Laundering | 190 |
| 5.3.5 Migration | 192 |
| 5.4 The Practice and Importance of <i>Guanxi</i> for Kokang Chinese | 194 |

TABLE OF CONTENTS (CONTINUED)

| | Page |
|-------------------------------------|------|
| CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION | |
| 6.1 Introduction | 199 |
| 6.2 Research Findings | 201 |
| 6.3 Theoretical Discussions | 212 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 221 |
| CURRICULUM VITAE | 231 |
| | |

ลิขสิทธิ์มหาวิทยาลัยเชียงใหม Copyright[©] by Chiang Mai University All rights reserved

LIST OF FIGURES

| Figu | re 312136 | Page |
|------|---|------|
| 1.1 | Conceptual Framework | 29 |
| 1.2 | Research Site | 30 |
| 1.3 | Map of Burma and its Neighboring Countries | 40 |
| 2.1 | Heng of Kokang (Yang Guo Zhen) | 87 |
| 2.2 | The Last Kokang Tu Shi Guan (Yang Kyein Tsai) | 87 |
| 2.3 | An old Kokang lady with 'Compressed' Feet (L) | 88 |
| 2.4 | Miaozi and Palaung Women in Kokang | 88 |
| 2.5 | A Kokang Traditional Dance – the 'Da Ge' | 89 |
| 3.1 | Markers Showing the Border Agreement between the British and | 98 |
| | the Qing Dynasty | |
| 3.2 | Monument for the Kokang Soldiers Killed in Japanese War | 102 |
| 3.3 | 3.3 MNDAA Kokang Troops at the Ceasefire Agreement 15 th Anniversary | |
| | Ceremony | 122 |
| 3.4 | Local Kokang Women Selling Agricultural Products at the Laukkai | |
| | Five-day Market | 122 |
| 3.5 | The Kokang Plain and Surrounding Hills | 123 |
| 4.1 | Paddy Fields on Kokang Plains (L) | 148 |
| 4.2 | Harvested Sugarcane to be Transported to China (R) | 148 |
| 4.3 | China border checkpoint, Nan San (L) and Kokang Yang Long Zhai | 157 |
| | Checkpoint (R) | |
| 4.4 | Opium Museum (L) and Bai Sheng Hotel (Casino) (R) | 157 |
| 4.5 | Hong Ai village school | 158 |
| 5.1 | Casinos in Laukkai | C180 |
| 5.2 | Card Dealing Trainees in one of Laukkai's Casinos | 180 |

LIST OF FIGURES (CONTINUED)

| Figure | e | Page |
|--------|---|------|
| 5.3 | Gambling in the Laukkai Casinos | 181 |
| 5.4 | Village Gambling activities | 181 |
| 5.5 | Myanmar/China Boundary Post on the Invisible Borderline | 189 |
| 5.6 | A Chinese Smuggler | 189 |
| 5.7 | Damaged Boundary Post and Border Crossers (L) | 190 |



ลิขสิทธิ์มหาวิทยาลัยเชียงใหม่ Copyright[©] by Chiang Mai University All rights reserved

ABBREVIATIONS

| AHRN | Asian Harm Reduction Network |
|--------|--|
| ATS | Amphetamine Type Stimulants |
| ВСР | Burma Communist Party |
| BGF | Border Guard Force |
| CNY | Chinese Yuan |
| CCP | Chinese Communist Party |
| FRC | Foreign Registration Card |
| FAA | Frontier Area Administration |
| HU | Health Unlimited |
| INGO | International Non-governmental Organization |
| ЛСА | Japen International Cooperation Agency |
| KMT | Kuomingtan (Chinese Nationalist Party) |
| KSR | Kokang Special Region |
| MNDAA | Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army |
| MSG | Monosodium Glutamate |
| NaTaLa | Ministry for Progress of Border Areas and National Races and Development Affairs |
| NRC | National Registration Card |
| SR | Special Region |
| SAA | Special Administrative Area |
| WFP | United Nations World Food Programme |

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

| Da Ge | Kokang Traditional Dance |
|-------------|--|
| Guanxi | Social Network or connection |
| Ka Kwe Ye | Homeguard |
| Lu Myo | People |
| Lao ban | Boss |
| Myosa | Chieftain in Burmese |
| Mu | Unit of area |
| Saopha | Chieftain in Shan |
| Sawbwa | Chieftain in Burmese |
| Sanxian | Musical instrument, a long necked lute with three strings without a fret |
| Tu Shi Guan | Chieftain in Kokang Chinese |
| Tatmadaw | Myanmar military |
| Tayoke | Chinese |
| Ya Ba | Amphetamine Type Stimulates (Drug) |
| Yi Ren | Barbarian |
| | |
| | |