### **CHAPTER 6**

## **Discussion and Conclusion**

In this study, I have tried to illustrate an ethnographic encounter which demonstrated the issue of indigenous knowledge education through a case study of the Mother Tongue Based-Multi Lingual Education (MTB-MLE) program conducted by FAL in Ban Khun Tae School and village in Chiang Mai, Thailand. Since the program is promoted by a local NGO, I concentrated on the role and activities of NGOs working on the indigenous education issue and also observed the background of its emergence in Thai society. I had three main questions in my research: (1) Why NGOs supporting indigenous students' education try to integrate indigenous knowledge into parts of the public school systems in Northern Thailand? (2) How does FAL negotiate for acceptance of indigenous language usage in public school classrooms? (3) What kinds of activities with local people are derived from FAL operations and what are the meanings produced in this process? My my findings are summarized sequentially here.

### **Indigenous Students in Thai Public Schools**

Thailand is well known as one of the most ethnically diverse countries in the world. For a long time, the government has emphasized 'Thai-ness' and they have used public education as a tool to achieve nation-state building. At the same time, indigenous people have been regarded as a threat to national security, particularly those living in border or mountainous areas. Even though the government seemed to try to provide education for them, their major purpose was not a genuine education; rather, their true purpose was to control and to watch over them so as to prevent the spread of communism and opium cultivation. Thanks to a long struggle by indigenous people, the situation has changed and the population of indigenous students in the public school system has been increasing to about five percent of the eight million students overall (Park et al., 2009: 319). But these students within schools are facing other difficulties.

Most indigenous students in remote areas have grown up in their own ethnic communities. They are much more familiar with their ethnic culture, environment and language than 'Thai' culture. However, the moment they enter pubic school, everything dramatically changes. They are required to listen, speak, read and write in the Thai language and the school contents they are taught with are derived from the central Thailand environment. As I have previously discussed in this dissertation, learning is ineffective when the zeitgeist in which it is taught substantially differ from the students' background. Above all else, learning from teachers who speak only the central Thai language, the second language for indigenous students, must be tough. However, most of the indigenous students have had to adjust in one way of the Thai public school system and this adjustment has for too long been taken for granted. Although there are several public schools, for example, 60% of primary schools in three districts (Chom Thong, Mae Chaem and Galyani Vadhana) of Chiang Mai province have indigenous students spread among a total of 101 schools, there have been no special policies or programs established to support them. Thus, indigenous students have experienced great hardships adapting to the public school environment and this has historically been a barrier preventing improvement in their sociality and learning abilities.

# International and National Changes Influencing Indigenous Education and the Role of the NGO

The local NGOs working for indigenous people in Thailand used to focus on the issues of rights, resource management and livelihood but had done little or no study regarding education issues. That was because many indigenous people didn't have Thai citizenship and Thai society disdained them. There wasn't much space to discuss indigenous children's education issues in the public system. However, as time passed, the indigenous movement became stronger and both international and national stream of consciousness emerged about education that has changed the Thai political and educational environment.

Since the 1990s, the global education agenda has been proclaimed as 'Education For All (EFA)' by the World Declaration and this slogan has emphasized accessibility to education for all children as a basic human rights. The 150 national governments that signed this agreement have subsequently manifested at least some efforts to affect

changes and the Thai government has done so as well. It has tried increasing the enrollment rate in public school and the literacy rate all over the country. Moreover, they have also shown concern about disadvantaged students such as the disabled, migrant children, children living in remote areas and so on.

Alongside these international trends, there have been more practical changes happening in Thai society about the education issue. Longtime demands to change the education system came to a head after the economic crisis of 1997 and the Thai government proclaimed Education Reform which resulted in the National Education Acts (NEA) of 1999 and 2002. It promised free education for all children for up to twelve years and integration of all aspects pertinent to the quality of life for human holistic development. Above all, it included the decentralization movement which brought about the new administrative system that included 185 ESA offices around the country and the new policy of integrating up to a thirty percent portion of local content into local curriculums. This 'local curriculum' rule has been implemented in different ways by each school. Some schools don't even know how to utilize it at all. This 30% portion is very ambiguous to carry out but, for some people, this new policy has provided room to introduce new teaching methodologies and contents. The amendments to the Thai constitution in 1997 and the NEA gave new opportunities to Thai indigenous people by changing perspectives about diverse minority cultures and languages that are detailed in the articles below;

"Persons so assembling as to be a traditional community shall have the right to conserve or restore their customs, local knowledge, arts or good culture of their community and of the nation and participate in the management, maintenance, preservation and exploitation of natural resource and the environment in a balanced fashion and persistently as provided by law" (Government Gazette, 1997 cited in Hillmer, 2013: 6).

Simultaneously, Thailand adopted the National Language Policy (NLP) in 2010 and this indicates that there is now a perceived problem with the mono-lingual educational approach. Until the early 2000s (before the adoption of the NLP), the Thai government didn't seriously concern itself with language issues even though there are more than 70 different languages spoken by people in Thai territory. Even if there is no particular rule prohibiting the usage of other languages in public school education, the

Ministry of Education (MOE) has only allowed the use of the central Thai language, in textbooks, for training teachers and as a teaching medium. Thus, central Thai has been regarded as the only acceptable and proper one and the use of other languages in the classroom have been prohibited for all practical purposes. However, the NLP opened the space for using other languages in the classroom and programs such as MTB-MLE have used this opening to avert suspicion from the government.

The expanding perception about alternative education in Thai society is also one of the factors that have led to change. Even though there are still limitations for many out of school students or for a more expansive private school education, the increased awareness of new pedagogical and methodological educational approaches has led to a more active discussion about education in Thai society (Jones, 2008). This emergence of alternative education has also impacted the indigenous students' education issue and produced interfaces that have attempted different ways of teaching. This has been proved by the Indigenous Education Network (IEN). IEN, established in 2013, has tried to expand their membership with diverse groups; the alternative education groups in particular are key members in it.

Nevertheless, sometimes these national and international changes cannot be seen at the local level and the implementation of policies or agendas usually contain gaps between these levels. Thai local people, including my target villagers, rarely recognized these issues or saw many changes. Hence, the implementation of the MTB-MLE program and other indigenous knowledge based education approaches in Northern Thai public schools can be analyzed with an emphasis on the role played by NGOs as intermediaries and as active agents. As Najam (2000) indicated in their role as education providers, NGOs are "complementary". NGOs understand the emerging educational issues and know how to promote indigenous knowledge in the education field through interacting with diverse people at international, national and local levels.

# Different Power Relations among Languages, Education and Knowledge Systems and Negotiation Strategies

In the long history of national compulsory education in Thailand, indigenous people have been assimilated and mainstreamed into it. This was revealed in this study's

target village. The village's current parents' generation had struggles and experiences of discrimination in the public schools and society. Moreover, some elements are overemphasized in mainstream education like English and scientific knowledge derived from this modern globalization world. This aspect was revealed by Khun Tae village and Khun Tae people when they discussed how they wanted to prioritize languages within the school systems. Almost all of the parents I interviewed wanted their children taught Thai and English (even Chinese) in school and half of them hoped their children would grow up to be a doctor or a government teacher. They thought these professions afforded greater economic and social stability whereas others just wanted to let their children decide what they wanted to be when they grew up. It implies that the current parents' generation perceives Thai and English language speaking ability as of great importance to their children. They don't force their children to get higher scores in school but generally prefer a more moderate school life for their children, including in regards to grades. They largely agreed to allow their S'gaw Karen language be taught in school only after they heard that it would help improve their children's learning, particularly of other languages. When the MTB-MLE program was introduced to Khun Tae people, they had not shown much interest in the idea of having their mother language taught in school. And they were little concerned about the usage of the Thai alphabet in doing so, even though there were already two different writing systems for S'gaw Karen based on the Roman and Burmese alphabets. Since they had never been educated in their own writing systems, most of them cannot exactly read and write in their mother tongue. In addition, they couldn't imagine it would ever be possible to teach their mother language in the local school; this is linked with Kosonen's indication that "the status of non-dominant languages in Thai society and the latitude given to them in education is still ambiguous, and different groups of people hold different views and interpretations of the language issue" (2009: 35).

Not only when it comes to language but also as it pertains to the whole education system in Thailand, the curriculum is dominated by the Westernized and scientific knowledge system. Thai modern education has been developed through a process that disregarded traditional values, local knowledge and monastic education. Rather, it emphasized 'Thai-ness' and a version of modernity controlled by nation state geared to the production of well-skilled labor for capitalism. Jones (2008: 83) summarizes that

this feature of Thai education was meant to adapt to "Western materialist and cultural frameworks" and to anchor itself in the competitive global market "labeled as the scientism of the West through bolstering internal control of culture and reinforcing the Western notion of knowledge and its transmission" from the mid-nineteenth century to the late twentieth century.

Some previous studies about other pilot schools where MTB-MLE has been applied (Dooley, 2013; Hillmer, 2013; Tan 2012) and the Office of the Basic Education Commission (Government Public Relations Department, 2014) pointed out that one of the barriers facing MTB-MLE implementation is the opposition or lack of understanding by parents and community members. This opposition and/or incomprehension is caused by the different power relations local people face. This is applicable to many other countries as well, not only Thailand. Education based on scientific, universal and Western-centric knowledge has become dominant globally. In short, there are different power relations among diverse languages, education approaches and knowledge systems and this has also been revealed through this study of the indigenous community. Hence, when FAL promotes the MTB-MLE program in indigenous communities, it definitely needs to negotiate with local people for their acceptance of the new program's implementation and, it has developed some negotiating strategies derived from their experiences. According to the case of Ban Khun Tae School in 2015, FAL tried to negotiate with Khun Tae School authorities and villagers by employing three major strategies.

Firstly, FAL is well aware of the indigenous people's desire for a better education for their children. FAL's key message when introducing MTB-MLE is that "tawi pasa program is better way to study" and they cite some educational theories which emphasize that 'starting learning from mother language helps to improve thinking ability' or 'learning from familiar contents for students is better to adjust the other new knowledge' and so on. The issue of indigenous language or cultural preservation and ethnic identity is also mentioned but, it is additional impacts and usually is directed to the elders in the community. There are certainly some strong ethnically identified communities in Thailand and they might be different from this case but the current parents' generation in FAL's partner communities wants to improve the education and

learning process for their children who are attending public schools more than anything else. The second strategy is that FAL follows the Thai social power structure. Since the MTB-MLE program requires cooperation with the public schools and the teachers, without the permission of the MOE, it would be impossible. Although FAL and Mahidol University have received approval from the MOE since 2006, FAL also needs to persuade other education authorities from the ESA on down to the school principal group and the government teachers. FAL spends most of its time with school's local teachers after the final decision for application of the MTB-MLE program is determined. But well before this, FAL negotiates with education authorities step by step from top to down. And this negotiation with the local people is often successfully concluded by the principals or active local teachers through the school committee meetings or school events. Even though the NGO works with local people to implement an education program in the public system, it needs to follow the existing social structure in top to down ways to gain acceptance and approval. The last strategy FAL employs requires coping with the communication network in an indigenous village. FAL knows that persuading all the villagers at once is impossible so it utilizes the community's way of communication. FAL empowers the local teachers and some parents to understand fully about the program's principles and expects them to be persuaders and spreaders of information in the community. From this research, it was clearly revealed that most of the villagers received information and news related to the MTB-MLE program through conversation with other villagers, particularly the local teachers, rather than the FAL staff.

# Regeneration and Redefinition of IK Development and IK Education in Public Schools

In these diverse changing streams, some local NGOs recognize the possibility of improving indigenous students' educational environment and their learning process. These NGOs suggest new educational methodologies for indigenous students and provide rationales such as education theories, alternative education perspectives or emergence of indigenous knowledge to justify them. As I have shown in chapter 3 and 4, among the existing education and knowledge systems, there are somehow nexuses. Public, compulsory education and alternative education have an intersection related to the decentralized education policy and a shared concern for marginalized students. The nexus between the scientific, universal knowledge system and indigenous knowledge

systems shines light on the emerging interest about indigenous knowledge or education theory that emphasizes teaching students using their own background of family, community and ethnicity to improve learning These nexuses are relevant to constructing the third space among many kinds of existing institutions, systems and discourses to "become possible knowledge" (Wright, 2005: 904) and to gain more understanding about how to improve indigenous students' education.

I have proclaimed throughout this study that the correlation between 'indigenous knowledge' and 'indigenous language' is a necessary and sufficient condition for the success of the MTB-MLE program. This program requires not only the indigenous language but also holistic application of the community's environment and indigenous knowledge. The MTB-MLE program must be a representative example of 'indigenous knowledge based education methodology' and must also ultimately form a new knowledge space of 'indigenous knowledge education'. 'Indigenous knowledge education' is for general educational development and particularly, for the improvement of indigenous students' learning and adaptation to the public school system. Northern Thai indigenous people already have had the experience of forming a "space of contestation" (Prasert, 2007: 221) through the movement for natural resource management majorly led by Karen people. When the forest conservation movement was raging, the Karen people's indigenous knowledge and practices represented an alternative approach to the existing government's paradigm and the idea of "community forestry" became a new knowledge space (Anan, 2007).

However, to construct a new knowledge space that includes the MTB-MLE program and indigenous knowledge education, there must simultaneously be work done to redefine existing indigenous knowledge. The MTB-MLE program's methodology is to use students' mother language as the primary medium in class until they have been fully exposed to the national language (or a third language) and to also teach speaking, listening, reading and writing in their first language. In the case of indigenous people in Thailand, most of the ethnic groups can naturally listen and speak in their mother language with their family and community but cannot read and write it because they haven't been educated in their mother language's writing systems (if they even exist). Therefore, local people, especially the local teachers, should rearrange or develop the

primer using the Thai alphabet and produce a lot of stories, drawings, songs, etc. using their mother tongue. All of these teaching materials are developed based on the local environment, traditions, cultures, livelihoods and, wisdom. They are totally new and different dramatically from the national materials based on the central Thai language and social, cultural and environmental contexts. People have rarely taught using diverse indigenous languages before; therefore everything needs to be independently produced by each indigenous group. FAL can assist this process with their educational and linguistic knowledge and can also help guide the principles or methodologies employed. But they don't know the exact community's language, environment, livelihood, history and culture so, for the production of materials using the unique features of the community's IK, they are dependent on the local people.

In this way, indigenous knowledge is crucial to the implementation of the MTB-MLE program. Khun Tae villagers, however, didn't have a clear concept of 'indigenous knowledge' before their association with FAL and, like in other studies that have called attention to IK where it is endangered, the current parents' generation didn't know much about it. Above all else, there was no specific, concerted effort to preserve it or to pass it down to the next generation. This doesn't mean that they have lost all of their indigenous knowledge; compared with other ethnic communities, the Khun Tae community has preserved relatively more of their IK than other villages. Even if, they didn't easily answer when first asked what is their kwam ru chon phun muang (indigenous knowledge) or kwam ru thong thin (local knowledge) or phumi pan ya dang doem (traditional wisdom), after I explained the meaning of these terms, they were able to answer what they have experienced, seen or heard. Due to this reality, and, in order to achieve the implementation of the MTB-MLE program, the process of redefining indigenous knowledge must first be accomplished and then its regeneration in the form of educational materials is possible. To regenerate indigenous knowledge, FAL focuses on empowering the local teachers and guiding the local people to perceive what they practice in ordinary life as valuable and worthy of application to their children's education. They produce diverse forms of materials based on their daily lives and knowledge and it is accumulated. Throughout this process, the concept of indigenous knowledge is regenerated and redefined.

In conclusion, I argue that even though indigenous knowledge is an emerging counter-hegemonic concept, when it becomes vague or inconsequential, it cannot be taught to a new generation in communities. And to implement indigenous knowledge education in the public system, local people's participation is essential. Hence, a NGO that takes an intermediating role helps indigenous people redefine and regenerate indigenous knowledge and ultimately constructing a new knowledge space of indigenous knowledge education with the local people.

## The Limits of Constructing New Knowledge Space

"After *tawi pasa* applied, the learning skill of students become better. If it improves at least 10% it has meaning. Thanks to the MTB-MLE program, their social skill is improved as well as their learning skill because they can communicate better so it leads better relationship with teachers too" (Huai Han School<sup>54</sup> Principal, in training, 22 July 2015).

The MTB-MLE program by FAL has gradually shown some impacts and it has been recognized by the local people. Constructing new knowledge space about indigenous knowledge based education is slowly moving along and it has become visible. However, although the MTB-MLE program seems to be successful and there are cooperative actors making it more noticeable in Thai society, there are limits to it.

Firstly, when the whole population of indigenous students in the Thai public school system is considered, it is tenuous. OBEC recently proclaimed that they plan to expand the number of schools with MTB-MLE to 1,600 by 2017 (Government Public Relations Department, 2014) but as of 2015, there were only 20 schools operated by FAL and 15 schools by Mahidol University implementing the MTB-MLE program thorough the whole of Thailand (UNESCO, 2015). As I have obviously proved in this study, implementation of this program requires much time and effort because it needs to be developed in each different school and ethnic community's unique context. Expansion from 35 schools to 1,600 within 2 years seems farfetched. OBEC is well aware of the crucial role of the bilingual or multilingual teachers playing in the implementation of MTB-MLE program (Government Public Relations Department,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Huai Han School is one of the six pilot schools of MTB-MLE program with FAL since 2009. It is located in the Hmong village in Wiang Kaen District of Chiang Rai province.

2014) but there has been no formal recruitment of them up to now. In addition, even though there have been several plans or announcements from MOE, there still haven't been any policies formulated to support and sustain the MTB-MLE program. Rather, whenever politics changes in Thailand, the education policy changes too on an ad hoc basis. This makes it rather difficult to forecast the future status of the MTB-MLE program.

An additional barrier to the expansion of MTB-MLE program (and other indigenous knowledge education methodologies) and formation of new knowledge space is that social systems capable of disseminating understanding and perceptions about multiculturalism or indigenous education in Thailand are still rare. This is well revealed by the fact that there are hardly any courses or lectures about these issues for the students who plan to be teachers in their teachers' colleges. Actually, it has been pointed out from several studies in Thailand for a long time that prospective teachers need to be taught about multicultural or indigenous education issues. If government teachers are made aware about new educational approaches like ones based on indigenous knowledge for indigenous students, these new methodologies are more easily accepted and implemented in schools.

Moreover, as I have demonstrated in this study, constructing knowledge space of 'indigenous knowledge education' absolutely requires the practical actions of teaching, developing material, participation and so on from the local people. However, education usually takes a long time to show results and produce convincing impacts; thus, it is ultimately difficult to compare it with other issues. Compared with the research (Pinkaew, 2000; Prasert, 2007; Yos, 2004) about indigenous knowledge related to resource management or the forest conservation issue in Northern Thailand, the case of MTB-MLE program shows a different aspect. Even if, as some researchers insist (Hayami, 1997; Walker, 2001), that indigenous people's image (represented by Karen culture or their livelihoods) is constructed by outsiders and is not from the bottom-up, the significant fact is that indigenous people, including local NGOs, have experience promoting their indigenous knowledge and imagining new knowledge space about community forestry.

Table 6.1 Comparison of Karen People's Reaction about Environment Issue and Education Issue

	Environment Issue (Prasert, 2007)	Education Issue
Item	Shifting cultivation (livelihood)	MTB-MLE (indigenous language)
Region / Ethnicity	several villages in Chom Thong District / Karen	Ban Khun Tae, Chom Thong District / S'gaw Karen
Gearing subject	locally geared : people faced problem(relocation) and asked for help from leaders (1994) → forming NFN	NGO geared : FAL initiative program implementation with Ministry of Education (2006)
Intermediating Actors	Northern Farmers Network (NFN) Tribal Assembly of Thai (TAT)	Indigenous Education Network (IEN) FAL
Negotiation	with government  → to resist relocation to keep their livelihoods	with mainly local people  → to implement the MTB-MLE program
Negotiation strategy	+ socio-political movement by rally + producing cultural and symbolic capital for Karen people	+ touching educational desire of indigenous parents + following Thai power structure + coping with communication network
Result	+ reproducing the image and cultural capital + canceling of resettlement plan (1998)	+ improving education + indigenous knowledge regeneration + developing and accumulating new education materials

However, as Table 6.1 illustrates, the Karen people in at similar region<sup>55</sup> showed a different reaction to solving a problem and improving their life. Regarding this

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Khun Tae and the neighboring villages also joined this resistance movement. My key informant remembered that he had even helped to prepare some food for his villagers when he was a high school student in Chiang Mai downtown. At that time, quite many villagers came to Chiang Mai to attend the rally and he helped prepare food though he couldn't participate in the rally. According to what he remembers, not only Khun Tae but also Khun Pae and neighboring village people came together (personal conversation, 11 March 2016). It indicates that Khun Tae village was also included in this resistant movement in the 1990s

environmental issue, it was deeply related with their livelihoods and resettlement. This produced a strong reaction from the local people. They assembled networks, participated in the rally, and practiced other forms of performance to resist to the government's decisions. On the other hand, the issue of their education is not really as urgent as the forestry one and most of them have already been assimilated into the mainstream public school system. Consequently, it hasn't led to a clear reaction. This implies that each indigenous person perceives his or her IK differently and moreover, they take a different position to each part of their indigenous knowledge depending on where it is applied and how it affects their life. Thereby, this aspect might be one of the barriers to create a new knowledge space about indigenous knowledge education in Thai society.

### Recommendation

Concluding this thesis, I would like to summarize some suggestions to improve the MTB-MLE program and also other indigenous knowledge based educational methodologies. These recommendations are collected from diverse informants in this study and categorized into three areas: the members of FAL, the Thai government administrators (including policy makers) and academic researchers.

Firstly, even though many people totally agree that the staff of FAL has done really hard, sincere work and their work is deserving of attention, FAL needs to expand its cooperation with the local people in terms of participation levels and members. The MTB-MLE program is not a simple educational methodology because it stresses the integration of indigenous knowledge, i.e., the cultural and environmental background of learners. Moreover, the educational materials should be produced by local people such as the parents, grandparents, relatives or neighbors of the students. Therefore, this is an alternative approach to educational and it must be different from the nation state's compulsory education system. However, although FAL knows its value and importance, when they implement this program in the local community, their way of doing activities seem not truly holistic, bottom-up and inclusive approach. In terms of involvement, Malone (2003) also emphasized that the community's diverse members' participation is a key factor in the success of the MTB-MLE program. For example, local scholars, religious leaders, community leaders, parents, villagers, artists, handicraft makers, performers and so on

could all be participants but, as of now, are not. FAL especially needs to consider the elders of each community because the indigenous knowledge usually resides with them and the current parents' generation has many limitations when it comes to representing IK in the Thai context. Additionally, FAL mostly presents a basic guidance plans for every stage. It is very supportive and most of the schools and communities need this help but a more alternative approach is required that is differentiated from the way of the nation state. At present, local people are seen too much as receivers and not given enough chances to be involved from the beginning. FAL should instead try inviting local people to participate beginning at the brainstorming stage (although it would undoubtedly require more work and time by the FAL staff).

Next, as I pointed out previously, one constraint is that, the Thai government doesn't have a policy or plan to support the sustainable implementation and expansion of the MTB-MLE program. All of the NGO's staff I interviewed mentioned the difficulties represented by Thai political change and particularly, changes in education policy and budget. Because these indigenous knowledge based education methodologies aim to be implement in the public schools, government approval and support is essential. Although the Ministry of Education has assessed the MTB-MLE program's positive impact for last ten years, MOE still takes an ambiguous position towards it. MOE uses it primarily as its response to FAL's challenge to show progress towards international standards or to advertise its commitment to change, lackluster though it is. Therefore, I recommend that the Thai government administrators, particularly the policy makers of MOE, make a specific policy about the MTB-MLE program and begin integrating other indigenous knowledge education into the public school system, too. Furthermore, the MTB-MLE program faces major opposition to its use of the Thai alphabet for teaching mother tongue. This methodology is not the principle of the original MTB-MLE but adopted by the Thai government for security reasons. However, some of the ethnic groups, including the Karen, have their own writing system already and most of the ethnic people live in a very transnational way at present. When it comes to thinking about the role of language, it should function mainly for communication with others but using the Thai alphabet is not helpful in this regard. In view of the sustainability or suitability of the MTB-MLE program and its effective application to more people in the future, allowing the use of the Thai alphabet should be reconsidered.

The last recommendation is for the academic researchers. As Nannaphat (2015) also pointed out, Thai indigenous people's citizenship and socioeconomic status, social and political issues, environmental and livelihood practices and so on have been studied quite extensively for a long time. However, at present, there are few studies which discuss their education issues. It was not so urgent before, but now indigenous people in Thailand are facing other aspects in accordance with social change and the result of their assimilation into public school education must be discussed. Furthermore, new challenges to improve indigenous people's lives and social status in Thai society are generally spearheaded by active local NGOs but their role and task have also not been well studied. However, in order to proceed and to expand their outreach, analysis, assessment, and advocacy is indispensable. This is the role of the academic field; therefore, I suggest that more follow-up researches be done that examines the indigenous people's education issue and the supporting NGOs' role.

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