

Village Sustainability

-The Case of Doi Pui-

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Group Advisors

Professor Atsuko Ohashi (GSID)

Professor Senjo Nakai (CMU)

Student Advisor

Norhassim Sinarimbo (GSID)

Written by:

Kaori Anji**
Yoshihisa Amino
Mai Makizono

Mitsuyoshi Asada*
Enkhbaatar Baatar

Erin Sakakibara*
Harukua Kuwabara

**Group Leader *Sub-leader

1. Introduction

1.1 Purpose of the Study

In Thailand, 14.5% of the population consists of the hill tribes. One of them is Hmong and it is the second largest minority group. Since the 1980's, the influence of the market economy has spread in the mountainous region where Hmong people live and the connection to the urban area has been strengthened. Through this phenomenon, Hmong people have changed their way of life. On the other hand, they have been given many "opportunities" to improve their life in the process of development. Our research purpose is to observe how people have taken advantage of these opportunities in the process of development and how they balance their culture and economic development. Considering the key themes of OFW2008; utilizing local resources, younger generation and rural-urban linkages, we chose the Hmong Hill Tribe village of Doi Pui as a core site, and conducted research focused on these three aspects; economy, education and tradition/culture. We use the concept "village sustainability" to synthesize our research.

1.2 Significance of the Study

Our research purpose is to understand how hill tribe people are taking opportunity in the process of development and how they are balancing their culture and economic development. We assumed that sustainable utilization of local resources for economic purpose is necessary for them. This is also the situation of many other hill tribe villages. Since the location of Doi Pui is close to Chiang Mai City, the village has been influenced by modernization more than others. Therefore we can consider Doi Pui as the front runner of the current situation, and the strategy which has been taken by Doi Pui can be a useful example for other hill tribes.

1.3 Research Questions

1.3.1 Main Research Question

Our main research questions are "What is the influence of modernization on the culture of the Hmong Hill Tribes?" and "How are the Hmong people balancing the need for economic opportunities with preserving their cultural heritage?"

1.3.2 Sub-questions and Hypothesis:

1. Economy: How do villagers in Doi Pui generate income from their cultural resources? Our hypothesis was that Hmong people utilized their culture to generate income through tourism-based activities.
2. Education: What is the importance of education for the young generation of Doi Pui in regards to improvement of their village? Our hypothesis was that if the youth of the village were able to achieve a high level of education then they would be able to contribute to the well being of the village.
3. Culture and Tradition: What are the effects of modernization on their traditions and culture? Our hypothesis was that modernization would lead to a certain degradation of the culture that was not utilized for generating income.

1.4 Definition of the Terms

1.4.1 Definition of Modernization in Doi Pui

There are many aspects and interpretations of modernization. However, the common characteristics of modernization are as follows. Economic aspects of modernization include the change of industrial structure from primary industry to secondary and tertiary industry, and from self-sufficient economy to market economy. Pertaining to education, modernization is the change from family education to public education. Regarding culture, modernization is the change of thought from religious based thought to science-based thought.

In the context of Doi Pui, modernization is composed of three aspects: 1) the change of economic structure that is represented by tourism promotion; 2) the change of educational system and the promotion of public education; 3) the change of people's behavior towards tradition.

1.4.2 Definition of Village Sustainability in Doi Pui

The major characteristics of village sustainability are: 1) people living in the village have an opportunity to make a living; 2) a certain population level of all generations is maintained; 3) the village can exist where it is.

We try to identify the supporting factors of village sustainability in Doi Pui. In the context of Doi Pui, village sustainability is strongly related to tourism. At the same time, the National Park Act restricts the village and the population must be controlled to a certain level. Therefore, a certain number of residents have to leave the village to enable village sustainability.

1.5 Research Methodology

Before we conducted field survey in Chiang Mai, we did literature review to know the basic situation of ethnic minorities in Thailand. In addition, we tried to find the problems that ethnic minorities in Thailand were generally facing. Our major research methodologies were interviews and on-site observations during field survey. Our main interviewees were hill tribe people and people who were related to hill tribes, such as school teachers and government officers. Observation was employed to support interviews. To analyze the current situation of the village and make recommendations, we used the Project Cycle Management method and created a PDM.

1.6 Organization of the Report

In section 1, we explain the structure of our research, which consists of purpose, research questions, definition of terms and research methodology. Basic information of hill tribes in Thailand is described in Section 2. We then introduce our core site, the Hmong Hill Tribe village of Doi Pui, especially in relation to economy, education and culture and tradition. Sections 3, 4 and 5 are used to describe our findings based on interviews and observations and to analyze the current situation regarding economy, education and culture and tradition, respectively. Each part contains sub-questions that we try to answer with the information we collected. In section 6, we define the meaning of village sustainability and give evidence to support our theory about Doi Pui and the importance of tourism for their village sustainability. In section 7, we analyze the situation of Doi Pui based on PCM methods and try to make recommendations for tourism improvement in the village. In section 8, we conclude our research.

2. Basic Information

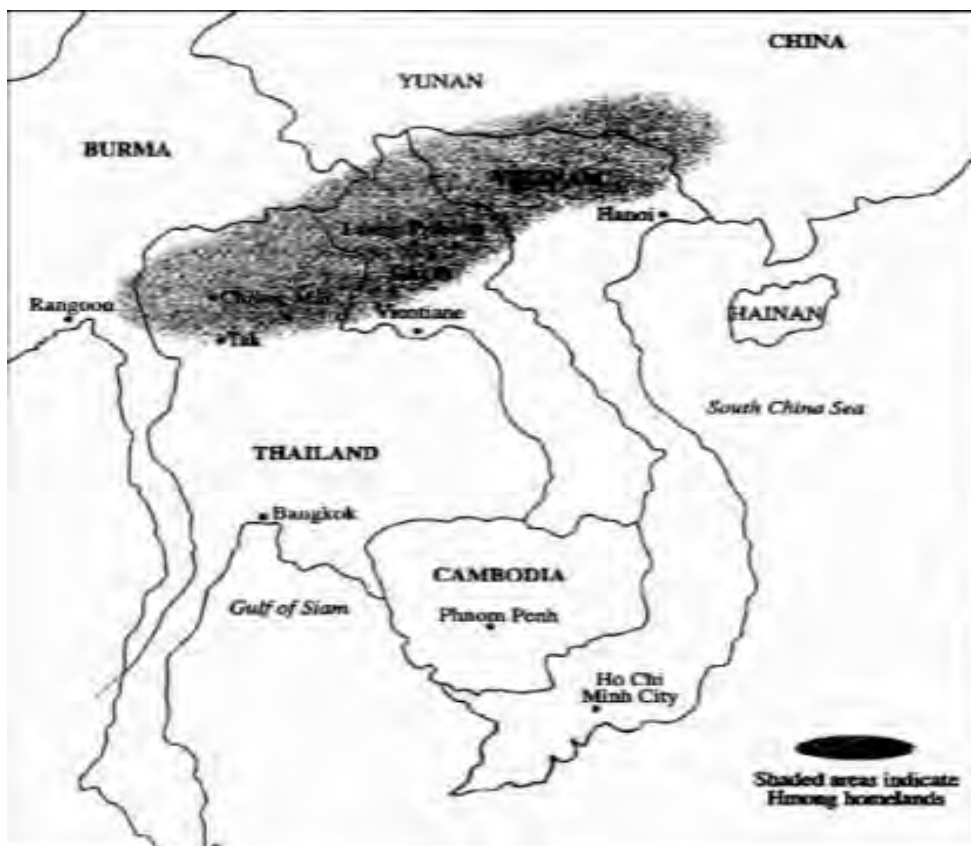
2.1 Hill tribes in Northern Thailand and the Thai Government

2.1.1 Hill tribes in Northern Thailand

There is a variety of minority and ethnic groups residing in the highlands of Northern Thailand. The ethnic groups are commonly and collectively known as “hill tribes” and of the ten tribes living in Northern Thailand the six most populous and well known are the Karen, Hmong (Meo), Mien (Yeo), Akha, Lahu, and Lisu. Among these groups there are further subgroups and clan distinctions where traditions, clothing and language differ.

The Lahu, Akha and Lisu belong to the Tibetan-Burman family of languages. As their histories are primarily oral, no written records exist to document their origins. Records in Chinese, however, point to their existence in the southern Yunan district. From there they migrated in stages into Burma and Laos before reaching the highlands of Thailand during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The Hmong and Mien belong to the Sino-Tibetan language group. These tribes migrated from south-central China into Vietnam and Laos before eventually settling in Thailand. This migration also occurred in stages with records of some Hmong arriving in Thailand in the early 20th century. However there was an increase in migration into Thailand that occurred after WWII due to conflicts created by the Indochina Wars, in particular, a large exodus that occurred after the Communist take over of Laos in 1975 (Cooper, 2008).

Figure 1. Pattern of migration for Hmong Hill Tribes



Source: Cooper, 2008

The Karen tribe is the largest of the hill tribes with a population of 438,131 in 1,912 communities. Approximately 30% of Karen people have been converted to Christianity under the influence of western missionaries but many are still following a combination of the traditional animism with Buddhism. The second largest group is the Hmong with 153,955 people in 253 communities. Hmong are largely animistic and less influenced by outside religions. Lahu and Akha are the third and fourth largest groups with 102,876 and 68,653, respectively. Christianity has heavily influenced both of these tribes, like the Karen. The Mien and Lisu groups are the least populous with 45,571 and 38,299, respectively.¹ These groups, like the Hmong, have been less influenced by outside religions and the Mien's practices have traditionally had some Chinese (Taoism) influence. Though some tribal people have been influenced by outside religions, the majority has a strong belief in a powerful spirit world. Interestingly, despite being influenced by outside religion, some tribal communities can be seen incorporating their traditional spiritual ritualism into their adopted western religion to fit the needs of their context (McCaskill, 2008). The village shaman and priest are still highly respected and are believed to have some influence over the spirits.

The various tribes share the common practice of the slash and burn style of agriculture, which causes them to migrate from place to place. The majority of them live at high elevations, above 1,200 meters, though the Karen are more settled and prefer to live at lower levels. Rice is the principal food crop though maize and a variety of vegetables are also grown. Cultivation of opium poppies was a major source of income for many of the tribes until government development projects to eradicate opium production were imposed. Cash crops such as fruit trees and cabbages were successfully substituted via government and Royal Project initiatives.

All the tribal groups are skilled weavers and embroiderers. Each tribe has a distinctive costume and some tribes are able to produce fine carving, silverware and basket ware. These handicrafts, as cultural assets, have now become important economic assets due to their popularity with tourists. Many tribal handicrafts are sold in markets in large urban areas such as Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai and Bangkok.

2.1.2 Government Policy against Communism: 1960s – 70s

Though many of the hill tribe people had been residents of Thailand since the 19th century, as recently as the 1950s, the Thai government had little regard for the highland tribes and they enjoyed a high degree of autonomy. However, population increase, extreme poverty, statelessness and most importantly, the threat of insurgency, caused the Thai government to focus more attention to the needs of the highland tribes.

Conflicts with the hill tribes fighting on the sides of both the communists and security forces were active in the 1960s and 70s and continued even into the 80s. Under pressure from the U.S., development projects promoted by the Thai government to settle the hill tribes and integrate them into the greater Thai society were undertaken as countermeasures against the spread of communism to the region. The Border Patrol Police (BPP), established in 1953, and the Communist Suppression Operation Command (CSOC) trained citizens to act as voluntary border patrol units (Toyota, 2005). The BPP was also charged with building and staffing schools, creating health stations and promoting agriculture assistance (Time, 1966; Buergin, 2000).

With the establishment of the 'Central Hilltribe Committee' in 1959 the government directed policy towards the hill tribe people for the first time. The goal was national security and two main foci of the development programs were the substitution of opium cultivation and the elimination of the swidden style of agriculture, thought to be both primitive and destructive to the environment (Buergin, 2000). This forced tribes to settle in one area, drastically changing their way of agriculture and forcing them to adopt a new sedentary way of life.

Relocation and concentration of several tribes under the guise of "Self Help Settlement Projects" to lowland areas were also attempted but proved to be too difficult to be an effective strategy. Today some of these "camps"

¹ Population statistics from McCaskill et al, 2008, page 15

are still visible as large lowland villages (Cooper, 2008; Buergin, 2000).

The government tried to grant Thai citizenship to the minority groups although the majority remains stateless likely due to the many restrictions and conditions placed on the process (Toyota, 2005). Because of this they are unable to own their own land and are susceptible to fines imposed at checkpoints if they cannot produce citizenship papers. Furthermore, they are unable to obtain vehicle licences, required by law, for the motorcycles and trucks that many villagers are now purchasing. Stateless children are unable to sit for school entrance exams for university and in general their movements throughout the country are restricted.

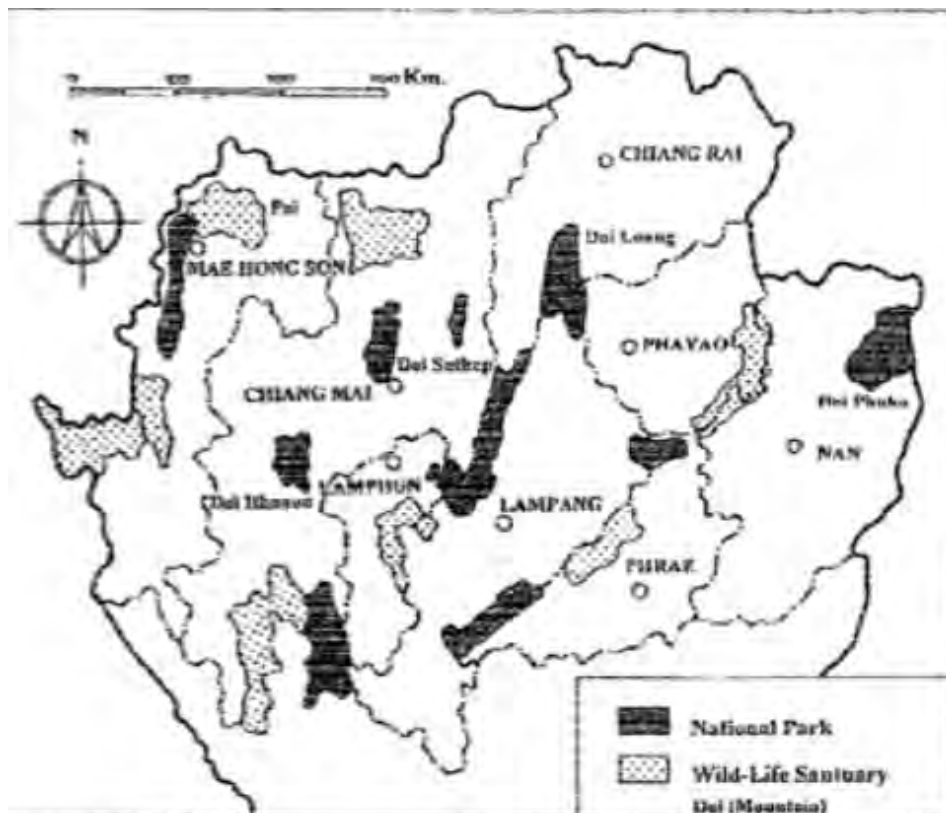
2.1.3 Opium Eradication: 1980s

Development programs aimed at controlling the farming practices of the hill tribes continued through the 1980s but under a new form of pressure from the international community: “the war on drugs.” Though the focus had changed, the strategy and goal remained the eradication of opium production with substitution of alternative cash crops. Due to these policies, the lifestyle and culture of the hill tribes underwent quite a transformation. Their method of farming was overhauled from one of a life subsistence farming, utilizing the shifting cultivation method, to one of confined and sedentary production of cash crops introduced to them under the auspices of development projects. The dawn of the “Royal Project” in 1969 contributed to these policies by targeting the hill tribes for development projects to promote “the making of worthy livelihood(s) through the cultivation of readily marketable cash crops.”²

2.1.4 Forest Preservation Policy: 1980s-1990s

At the same time that population in the highlands grew, the government was taking stock of the depletion of the forests in the north. This was due partly to an increased demand for firewood and the swidden style of agriculture but commercial cropping and the timber and mining industries also contributed to the degradation of the forests. Nonetheless, forest conservation policies then became the next big issue impacting the hill tribe people. Starting in the late 1980s and continuing through the 90s Thailand passed a series of legislation aimed at increasing the amount of national conserved forests and implementing reforestation programs (Anan, 1998). Figure 2 shows the distribution of National Parks and Wildlife Sanctuaries in 1998. Subsequently, many hill tribes found that they were suddenly squatters on government sanctioned protected land despite the fact that they had been there for generations utilizing the land and forests. Since they had no legal ownership of the land, some were forced to relocate. Others had tight restrictions placed on the usage of the land as well as restrictions to the amount of land that they could occupy and use. This situation continues to this day.

² From the “Visit Thai Highland” brochure promoting the Royal Project

Fig. 2 Distribution of National Park and Wildlife Sanctuaries in Northern Thailand

Source: Anan, 1998

2.1.5 Acculturation: Function of Schools

Compulsory education in the Central Thai language, which imposes a standard Thai curriculum, also contributes to the integration of hill tribes to the Thai society. Recently, however, both the tribal communities and the government have realized the need to promote cultural diversity and have started to promote the integration of instruction of the local culture into the overall curriculum (Fujioka, 2002).

Buddhism, as the national religion, has also played a role in integrating ethnic minorities into the greater Thai state. Thailand launched a Buddhist missionary initiative in 1964 called Thammacharik that targeted hill tribes for religious development in an effort to bring all minorities “under one nation.” (McCaskill, 2008: 17). In addition, Buddhist schools annually recruit a large amount of hill tribe boys for monkhood. Indeed, these schools are one way that some of the poorer hill tribe boys can access higher education. Moreover, there are many regular secondary schools (co-ed) that are run by Buddhist temples that aim to give disadvantaged hill tribe students a chance to access higher education or vocational training. Christianity is similar in that missions have also thrived within the highlands, bringing a variety of development initiatives while spreading doctrine. Private Christian schools also offer a chance for hill tribe children to achieve higher education or vocational training. However, what is perhaps more affective in regards to acculturation via education is that the Christian and Buddhist schools are located in the larger, metropolitan areas, pulling the youth outside of the hills of Northern Thailand and thus mainstreaming them into Thai society.

2.1.6 Acculturation: Globalization and Tourism

Roads, electricity, the internet, etc., all have helped to open up the larger “globalized” world to once remote hill tribe villages. In addition, tourists are able to more readily access their once secluded worlds. It is assumed that gradually, as tribal people are being exposed to modern Thai and Western culture, their own traditions and values will be threatened. The question to ask is therefore, “to what extent will tourism contribute to the change, degradation or disappearance of aspects of the traditional culture of the hill tribe people?”

Indeed, we could observe several aspects of “disappearing culture” in Doi Pui Village, a village outside of Chiang Mai, which relies heavily on tourism for its economy. Most of the men and young people were no longer dressed in their traditional clothing. Those actively participating in the sales of tribal handicrafts could be seen wearing traditional clothing but even then, we often saw people wearing a combination of traditional and western pieces. We also observed several lowland style houses which stuck out like beacons against the modest, traditional wooden structures. Through our translators we realized that, although most conversations were held in the Hmong language between adults, many of the school-aged children were speaking Thai with each other. Even the village headman confessed that many daily religious rituals have been abandoned due to the time it takes to perform them; time that they can’t afford to take off of work. If the Hmong of Doi Pui are an indicator, it is impossible to expect that these traditional people will be able to maintain their lifestyles in the face of a globalizing world.

However, it is probable that some hill people will always prefer to live at higher and cooler elevations and as such, may be able to retain some degree of isolation and distinctiveness. In addition, some tribes that utilize their culture for tourism, like Doi Pui, can be expected to retain that culture, or at least an adapted version, because of its importance to their economic livelihoods. To what degree the hill tribes of Northern Thailand will be able to maintain aspects of their culture in spite of, or indeed because of tourism, however, remains to be seen and will likely be the focus of even more studies in the future.

2.2 Doi Pui Village

2.2.1 Doi Pui as a Part of the Hill Tribes

Doi Pui village, our core site, is a Hmong village with ninety percent of residents being ethnic Hmong. This village has three unique conditions. First, Doi Pui is located only 30km from Chiang Mai and is said to be the nearest minority village to the city. Because of this, Doi Pui has been in continuous first-hand contact with the city for a long time. The second concerns tourism. The main income for the villagers is from the tourism activities, resulting in a far more affluent community compared to other ethnic minority villages. Finally, the location of the village inside Doi Suthep-Pui National Park means the villagers are prohibited to own land or expand the physical boundaries of their village. (McCaskill, 2008: pp.280).

2.2.2 Basic Information of Doi Pui

Doi Suthep-Pui National Park is spread out along the west part of Chiang Mai City. The National Park is a part of the greater Thanon Thongchai mountain ranges and has the highest peak, Doi Pui Mountain (1,685 meters) and the second highest, Doi Suthep Mountain (1,601 meters). This national park also has the rich source of several rivers, streams and basins, owing to its mountains and forest. The Suthep basin provides water for the south and south-east of the national park, as well as Chiang Mai (Lieorungruang 2007: 3). Thanks to this water source, water supply to Doi Pui Village is free for 24 hours.

According to TAO statistical data (2007), the total population is 1382 people (male 700 and female 682) and

the households total 226, while McCaskill describes the number of Hmong people in Doi Pui as 1283, and households as 150 in 2004 (McCaskill 2008:282). Generally, one household is composed of eight family members. Unlike other hill tribes, residents of this Hmong village are granted Thai citizenship 100% and everybody gets a Thai identification card. People in this village believe in many religions; Buddhist 20%, Christian 20%, Muslim 1%, with the remaining majority still practicing animism. This village is not a pure Hmong Hill Tribe Village. There are about 220 tourism shops in this village. The majority of the shops are owned and operated by local Hmong but there are a few stores owned by long-term Yunnanese Chinese residents, in addition to six shops rented from Hmong by Thai Muslims, two by Lowland Thais, two by Nepalese, and one by Japanese (McCaskill 2008: 280).

Figure 2-1: Brief History of Doi Pui



Source: Interviews with the village headman and villagers in Doi Pui Village.

This village started 58 years ago (circa. 1950) and at that time there were about 20 original local Hmong households. They lived near the current location of the public elementary school. They were engaged mainly in opium cultivation. The King's first visit to the village was in 1964, and the Queen continues to be an annual visitor. The King established a credit union system in the village, provided funding for the local school, and donated agricultural fruit trees (McCaskill 2008: 281). The first Royal Project was implemented 36 years and lasted eight years (1972-80). The objectives of this Royal Project were to eradicate opium cultivation (prohibited from 1972) and to eliminate the slash-and-burn method of cultivation. The second Royal Project was aimed at promoting tourism in Doi Pui and included the construction of a plant garden in the village. The village headman said that this Royal Project was a turning point for Doi Pui. In the 1970s only 29 shops were in Doi Pui (McCaskill 2008: 280) and now there are about 220. In addition, a small tribal museum and a park with a waterfall have been offering a window into traditional Hmong culture and gives tourists a chance to take photos with villagers dressed in Hmong clothing. There is also a small poppy garden, a place where tourists can experience how to shoot a

Hmong crossbow, and shops to rent traditional Hmong costumes.

The water supply system with a water tank was constructed about 30 years ago under the initiative of a Buddhist Monk. All the households in the village can receive water from the tank 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. Most households are located under the tank though there are some households that sit above the tank.

Despite the implementation of the National Park Act in 1985, villagers report that many of the rules are not being enforced, and that they continue to practice traditional activities such as gathering food and medicines from the forest (McCaskill 2008: 280). Because of the land restriction Doi Pui Village, upon its own initiative, started to control the number of people who live in the village. The village made two regulations for this purpose. About 18 years ago (circa.1990) a regulation stipulating the minimum age for marriage (20 years old) was made. The village committee regulates it and will impose a fine of 1000-2000 Baht on violators. Eleven years ago (circa 1997) regulation for limiting the number of immigrants was introduced. Only the people who are directly related to residents in Doi Pui or who marry residents are allowed to settle in the village. As traditionally Hmong people have more than two children in one household and the land has been restricted, overpopulation is one of the major problems.

At present, the infrastructure of the village is quite developed. Fifteen years ago a parking lot was constructed and the road to Chiang Mai has been paved for some years. Electricity came to the village about 7 years ago when the villagers started to use generators, however two years ago the village was connected to the national electricity grid. In addition there is running water. About 150 households own 170 cars (primarily pickup trucks) and most households have appliances such as televisions, gas stoves and washing machines. Now the villagers are able to use mobile phones and Internet connections. However the village lacks a hospital or health care center.

The village is governed by an elected headman and two assistant headmen who are sub-district officials, as well as an elected nine-member village council. Recently, under the National Development Policy, the position of an elected village chairman was established: the chairman has no official authority but acts as an “advisor” to the council and “facilitator” of village deliberations. These leaders meet regularly and hold public village meetings to discuss important issues affecting the community. They also settle disputes among villagers, often using Hmong customary law to negotiate a solution. This involves the headman attempting to facilitate reconciliation between parties. The settlement is often accompanied by fines imposed and ceremonies performed, thus reestablishing harmony in the community. (McCaskill 2008: 282).

3. Economy

3.1 Introduction

Our research question regarding economy was how villagers in Doi Pui generate income from their cultural resources. We will explain the initiative of tourism development, the villagers' economic activities, their way of adding economic value to the resources and rural-urban linkage by describing the daily life of villagers.

3.2 Initiative of Tourism Development

The forest policy restricts the village economy in Doi Pui. Under this condition the strategy of the villagers who remain is to engage in tourism industry, especially for those who do not possess land. A tourism officer commented that the single option available to hill tribes is to be engaged in tourism. The initiative of the tourism development was mainly taken on the side of the Thai government. Initially the Royal Project office introduced alternative cash crops such as peaches and lychee in the village. However, the crops were not so attractive to the villagers since the price-per-unit of opium was much higher than that of the cash crops. (The price of 1 kg opium is about 3000B and the average price of 1 kg vegetable is 6 or 7B, at best 8B now). The Royal Project office and the government started to introduce tourism projects and constructed tourism facilities such as a flower garden near the museum in Doi Pui.

3.3 Tourism Industry in Doi Pui village

Tourism is by far the most important economic activity in Doi Pui (McCaskill 2008: 279). It is said that 80% of the village people's income is from tourism, and that annual income of one household is from 3000B to 33000B. The number of tourists visiting the village is not counted, but according to the village headman visitors to the flower garden in the village, where each tourist must purchase a ticket, is about five hundred per day. This suggests more than 180,000 tourists visit the village annually. Most of them are foreigners with many tourists coming from China and Korea. However, it must be stated that in recent years the total number of tourists has been decreasing year by year.

Tourism resources in Doi Pui are composed of natural resources and cultural resources. Natural resources in Doi Pui consist of the components of National Park, such as a water fall, forests, and a flower garden. The rights to use these resources are given to the village administrative office by the government. The income from these natural resources is owned by the village office and used for village social welfare. Cultural resources of the village are mainly traditional clothes and traditional embroidery. In addition, the techniques of making the cloths and embroidery can be considered common resources. Almost every woman masters the techniques of making traditional batik and of stitching their traditional patterns on fabric. Everyone who wants to learn these techniques is able through passing of knowledge from one generation to the next. These resources are used privately.

Selling these kinds of cultural goods, however, is also the major tourism activity in Doi Pui. The following items are popular goods for sale: traditional Hmong clothes, hemp items, statues, bags, northern Thai clothing,

herbs and medicines, traditional Hmong seed plants, silk clothing, and wall hangings, fresh and preserved fruit and Myanmar and Nepalese arts, antiques, and handicrafts. In addition many shops sell items such as handbags with printed elephants made with shiny (non-traditional) cloth, bed covers and table runners with various patterns, which are not exclusively Hmong cultural products.

About half of the souvenirs or traditional goods sold in the village are made in the village, and others are purchased from Thai wholesalers or more specialized dealers from countries such as Laos, Myanmar, or Nepal. The most popular souvenirs in the village are Hmong textiles. Some of them are made at factories in Chiang Mai and purchased by the villagers. Others are made in the village. However, even in the latter case, almost all materials are purchased at the shops in Chiang Mai. Only when the villagers weave special wood fiber do they gather that in the village. Thus Hmong original pattern and the materials from the city are integrated into Hmong souvenir or traditional goods.

Women in the village are in charge of sewing the textiles and are also the main shopkeepers of the 220 shops. Most women work mainly in the village. On the other hand, the men go out of the village, travel to other minority villages and gather products or jewelry there. They sell them in Doi Pui and other places, although jewelry can be sold only in the village. It is said men earn more than women. Villagers of Doi Pui also travel to urban areas to sell their products, including the Night Bazaar and “Sunday Walking Street” in Chiang Mai, and the Chatuchak Weekend Market in Bangkok.

Some new efforts for adding value are seen in the village. Guarantee of goods quality is one effort. In one shop the prices of goods are higher than those in other shops because the government ministry guarantees them. Another effort is diversification or cooperation with other types of jobs. One restaurant is engaged in selling tourism photos such as those of landscape and tourists. The shop owner employs villagers to take photos, and sells the photos to tourists. During the Flower Festival the owner cooperated with a rental shop of traditional clothes and he took photos of tourists wearing the clothes.

3.4 Daily Food, Clothes and Appliances

Since land is limited in the village, residents are growing only a small amount of vegetables. They don't cultivate rice at all. We could see that they are growing vegetables and flowers in the farmland that is located behind the camp sight. They don't seem to be growing a lot of vegetables.

The villagers depend on the food from outside the village. Every afternoon a small truck comes to the village with vegetables, meat, fish and rice to sell to the residents. We could often see chickens running in the village, but no household formally raises fowl for their livelihood. When we asked a woman who runs a shop what she would have for dinner that evening, she replied that she would cook chicken wings. She had just purchased four chicken wings for her 5 family members. One of the village elders stated that animal sacrifices are still performed for the various religious rituals throughout the year but animals often have to be purchased from the Chiang Mai market since there was no room in the village for raising animals. This was especially true for pigs but also for chickens. The village of Doi Pui is no longer able to grow their own food and must rely on outside suppliers from the city.

A small amount of cash crops, mainly peaches and lychee grown on the agricultural land occupied by the village, are sold to middlemen for sale in the city markets. However, as the amount is small, it contributes little to the village economy.

In daily life the villagers wear non-traditional clothes. Women selling the traditional goods are stitching on traditional “batiked” cloth, which they have dyed by themselves. However, most Hmong goods for sale in their

shops were stitched on machine printed cloth. When we asked how they were going to use the items that they were stitching, every respondent answered that they were for personal use for festivals or for their home. They explained that the cloth they dyed by hand would be too expensive to sell so they relied on mass produced cloth from local factories on which they added value by stitching traditional patterns. However, these women often dressed in non-traditional clothes. Usually women in the shops wear traditional Hmong jackets and a printed sarong made in Thailand or Indonesia that they bought in the city. Others wear T-shirts and schoolteachers wear Western clothes. They emphasized that their hand-produced cloths were to be used for special occasions such as the New Year holiday or for funerals. In addition men and children wear traditional clothes only when they are engaging in tourism business or attending traditional ceremonies. This means the villagers buy clothes for daily use outside of the village.

The majority of the villagers enjoy an adequate and similar standard of living. The villagers have about 170 cars (among 150 households), about 300 motorbikes, as well as satellite televisions, electric refrigerators, mobile phones and some personal computers. The villagers purchase these goods in the city. There are some cases in that the younger people who get good jobs in the city send remittances to their parents. It contributes little to the village economy however, as the average income of these people is not so high and expenses in the city are much higher than in the rural areas.

3.5 Transportation Between the City and Village

There are transportation companies that received permission from the government to run minibuses between Doi Pui/Doi Suthep and Chiang Mai regularly. Local people, including the villagers in Doi Pui, use those minibuses or their own cars and motorbikes. There are some villagers who are engaged in transportation service from Chiang Mai to Doi Pui or from Doi Suthep to Doi Pui. In that case the villagers buy the right to pass the road between city and village from bus companies.

For the tourists, travel agents in the city arrange transportation by bus for group and individual tours. Alternatively individual tourists are also able to charter a taxi from the city or rent a motorbike either through small tour operators in Chiang Mai or by themselves. Presently, the village itself is not running a transportation company nor does it have a connection with specific tour operators to funnel tourists to the village.

According to McCaskill's research in 2004, 73% of his 52 respondents go to the city more than once a week and 23% of them go there everyday. The major reasons are for shopping, business, recreation, and study (McCaskill 2008:306).

3.6 Conclusion

Doi Pui's economy is dependent on local resources and the relationship with Chiang Mai City. Tourists travel from the city to village to purchase traditional goods. In addition, villagers travel to the city to sell at the various tourist markets. Raw materials for some of the traditional goods sold in the village are supplied from manufacturers in the city. Furthermore the villagers depend on the city and its suburban area for food, clothes and appliances. Although the village can't control transportation of tourists between the city and the village, economically local resource utilization and rural-urban linkage are essential for village sustainability.

4. Education

4.1 Thai National Education Policy

Public policy regarding education for hill tribe minorities initially targeted those populations for assimilation into the greater Thai culture by requiring education in the Thai language and compulsory education for nine years. Social development directed towards Thai hill tribes is said to still follow the general mandate given in the resolution of July 6, 1976, that aims to mainstream hill tribe people into the greater Thai society as self-sufficient Thai citizens (Fujioka, 2002). However, realizing the toll that modernization was taking on the local cultures of these diverse peoples, the government shifted its attitude in the late 1980s and started to recognize the importance of preserving the cultural diversity of the hill tribe minorities (Amano, 2001). An FAO case study states that the National Guideline for Non-Formal Education has officially recommended that 20% of the primary school curriculum should be comprised of a “local curriculum” (Fujioka, 2002).

This is consistent with our findings in Doi Pui Village in interviews with the principal of the local grade school, who stated that about 20% of the curriculum consists of education of their tradition and culture. For example, students in Doi Pui are learning the Hmong language as well as the traditional technique of making soap and the art of stitching. According to the principal, these programs are aimed at the young students to promote a feeling of “Hmong-ness” and to instill recognition of the importance of the continuation of their traditions.

However, though the government states that all students must attend school for nine years, schools in the local villages rarely go past grade six. Interviews with students from various tribes showed a consistency in reporting that their local schools only provided the first six years of education requiring that they travel to other local villages to receive the lower secondary education. The situation is quite the same for Doi Pui. The village head would like for a new “educational institute” to be built in the village but stated that the government won’t build a middle school unless a substantial number of students are in residence. Though the exact number was not revealed, it is clear that Doi Pui does not have enough students to warrant the building of a new school that continues through the ninth grade. Therefore, students are faced with three choices for continuing their education: they may travel to the neighboring village; head to the lowlands; or if they are male, can attend a temple school where they are trained to be layman monk in addition to receiving their education. The teacher at the school in Doi Pui stated that the majority of students are encouraged to attend the local school in the neighboring village, however, some will attend schools in the lowlands, while a small percentage will go to temple school. The convenience of being close to Chiang Mai offers the students of Doi Pui more choice than those of more remote villages. Some children commute daily while others board at their schools and return home on the weekends. As an example, the village headman’s daughter goes to the Educational Welfare School (see below) in the Chiang Mai. He uses his personal car to transport her and other students between the school and village.

4.2 Lowland Private Programs Aimed at Hill Tribe Students

There are many institutions in the lowlands that target underprivileged hill tribe students for continued education. Many of these institutions are Christian based or run by Buddhist temples. The majority of them offer free education, though some require small token fees such as computer usage fees or small contributions to food.

Some have programs integrated into the curriculum where the children are responsible for planting gardens or raising animals that contribute to the supply of food for the school. There are a variety of schools that offer traditional education, vocational programs, or a combination of the two.

During our research period we had the opportunity to visit four schools that represent a variety of programs in which hill tribe children can be educated. During our time at these schools we were able to interview students from many different tribal backgrounds.

4.1.2 Wat Nong Lom Primary School

The first school we visited was located in a rural area of Lamphun District, south of Chiang Mai City. Though the Wat Nong Lom Primary School followed the policies set forth by the Thai government, it had created its own special curriculum ten years earlier that focused on living with and caring for a community forest. Various hill tribe students make up more than 2/3rds of the student body. Unlike the other schools we visited however, this school does not target poor hill tribe students for education, but rather provides a place for the hill tribe students who are living nearby at a Baptist Mission. The unique curriculum utilizes local villagers as educators and has become a model for other communities. The director of the school feels that this program provides practical life learning for students. This and the ability to speak, read and write in Thai are the goals the teachers hold for the hill tribe students. The director reinforced these as the key elements for the hill tribe students to be able to live in the greater Thai society, as many will not be able to go on to higher education after leaving.

4.2.2 Wat Don Chan

The second school we visited was Wat Don Chan, also located in the Lamphun District and run by a temple, which is led by a charismatic monk that raises funds to provide quality education for poor children, in particular those from various hill tribes. At the time of our visit there were 600 students, evenly divided between boys and girls. The school provided basic education for grades 1-9 in addition to several vocational and non-formal education programs that included such courses as computers, hair styling, bakery and engine repair. Apparently 100% of the students go on to upper secondary school but according to the teachers few can achieve the university level of education, thus the strong emphasis placed on vocational training.

4.2.3 Sacred Heart School

Sacred Heart is a school located in the city of Chiang Mai that provides private, Catholic education for children from Kindergarten through grade 12. This school provides a separate and unique work/study program for hill tribe students from the highlands. The hill tribe students work a variety of jobs around the school throughout the day, while the formal education students are in session. In the evening they have their opportunity to study. This system allows them to study while earning a small wage on top of their room and board. The schooling is primarily non-formal and both their education and work experience help to prepare students for work after graduation. Presently there are two groups: 20 students in the lower secondary program and 60 students in the upper secondary program. Students are chosen to go to Sacred Heart on the basis of need, selected by the various diocese priests that work in the small villages of Northern Thailand. Father John, the director of the program and an ethnic Hmong, stated that one or two students a year might go on to priesthood.

4.2.4 Educational Welfare School

The Education Welfare School was established in 1976 under Royal Patronage to provide boarding and education to underprivileged children. The school we visited was one of four such schools, the others being

located in Chiang Dao, Mae Ai and Mae Chen. Presently there are about 1010 students at this particular school, ranging from grade 1-12. All the students come from underprivileged backgrounds and about 80% of the students come from hill tribe villages. Students learn of the school, and of the opportunity to receive education for free, from community announcements placed in rural and tribal areas announcing the program in their local languages or from older students in their villages that have attended the school. The school has 94 teachers, 48 of which have a Master's degree. The curriculum aimed at the students is a combination of both formal and non-formal education. Students manage rice paddies and small gardens on the grounds. They also learn a number of trades, e.g. brick making, pottery and engine repair. The school stated that 80-95% continue to upper secondary school after completion of the compulsory education. Though university is mostly out of reach for the typical minority student due to the high cost, scholarships are given by the school as well as HRH the Princess and some private companies.

4.3 Findings

4.3.1 Aspirations of Students

Of the many students interviewed across various ethnic backgrounds, all were in consensus when they stated that education was their way to a “successful future.” Many stated that education was the key to have a level of knowledge that was required for gainful employment. Without a good job, they stated that they would never “get out of poverty.” In addition several students stated that without higher (university) education, they would only be qualified for low-skilled labor jobs and that a university degree would enable them to achieve jobs in management, as professionals or as government employees. One secondary school student at Wat Don Chan eloquently stated: “School is important. Education is like a lamp; if you have it, you can go anywhere in the dark.” Clearly, all the students that we interviewed were highly motivated and considered education the most important tool for their future success.

As there are few opportunities for them to continue their education in their villages, they often must leave their village to study at private institutions in the lowland urban areas. Many of those interviewed had high aspirations to continue on to university and to become professionals in a variety of capacities. We heard from students who wanted to be doctors and health care workers, teachers, government (often Tambon level) officials, and one who even wanted to manage her own bakery. Students more often than not stated that they wished to return to their village taking their knowledge and skill and apply them to benefit the local area. One student reported that the teacher in his village was a university graduate and revered by all as someone of knowledge and importance. He wished to return to his village with this kind of status. Another student stated that she wanted to be a health care worker because they were needed in her village. Several stated that they hoped to take their learned computer skills back to their villages to teach others. By far, more stated a desire to return as opposed to staying in the city.

4.3.2 Aspirations of Parents

In addition, many students reported that their parents supported them and encouraged them to leave home to pursue higher education. Several students commented that their parents wanted them to learn “good Thai” so that they could stay in the city and find a good job. Other students, when asked about their family life at home, confirmed that many of their siblings were also outside of the village studying, sometimes scattered across the country. In societies where marrying young and having large families was tradition, many of these students

reported that their parents' first priority for them was to receive a good education. Several students when asked if they would like to be married directly answered "no" whereas others stated "maybe" or "someday." Parents often encourage their children to remain in the city after graduation because their job prospects are better in urban areas. Since these tribes are primarily either patrilineal or matrilineal tradition would have it that parents would encourage the respective child (male or female) to remain with the family to carry on the family line. However, this hypothesis was opposite of our findings.

4.3.3 Reality Disconnect

Though many students had high aspirations to attend college and become professionals, we realized from their teachers and the administrators at the schools we visited that, for most of these students, this is more of a dream than reality. In actuality, only a small percentage is able to go on to university. When pressed for exact numbers, respondents always gave the figure of one or two of their students were able to continue on to university. Administrators at Wat Nong Lom and the pastor of the local Baptist Mission both conferred that they were not aware of any of their students ever going on to university. This is said to be due to two main factors: they are not academically prepared because of the poor quality of schooling provided to them in their villages or they simply cannot afford it.

In reality the students' educational attainment usually fell far short of their aspirations. Most young people had to settle for low-skill, low-paying jobs in overcrowded urban areas. The Baptist minister commented that some young girls will sometimes go into in the "entertainment business" and may fall victim to prostitution. Admittedly there were some harsh realities revealed through our interviews with the adults charged with instructing these young hill tribe people. They were quite the opposite of the overwhelming positive outlook that these young students espoused when describing futures as educated young adults.

4.4 Observations Regarding Education

4.4.1 Hill Tribe Students in General

The many interviews held with students from various hill tribes at the four different school environments helped us to understand the more general picture of the challenges faced by ethnic minority students. As modern society encroaches on even the remotest villages, students become aware of need for higher education to secure a "successful future." Or at the very least, this is the concept that is being ingrained in their consciousness by parents and outside societal influences. Though many of these young people hoped to achieve skills and knowledge that they could take back to their villages, "urban capture" was more or less the reality and many of these students, according to their educators, will remain in the city, trapped in a cycle of low-paying jobs.

4.4.2 Doi Pui Village

From our observations, Doi Pui does not fit the overall picture revealed by other tribal students from more remote villages. Because of the proximity to Chiang Mai, students that study in the city can come and go frequently between their schools and their homes, maintaining a connection between their city life and their village life even if they choose to live and work in the city. The tourism industry in the village does not necessarily lead to a demand for higher educated, skilled people yet does provide the potential opportunity for students to return to the village if they want to set up their own shop or work in the family business.

One interview conducted in the village highlighted the picture of Doi Pui. We interviewed a thirty four year

old Hmong woman who runs three souvenir shops in Chiang Mai. She sells items such as clothes, bags and accessories. The products she handles, however, are not exclusively Hmong cultural items but include products that are designed by other hill tribes. According to her, she sells these because in her experience she has found that Hmong products are “not so popular” with the customers. She was originally from another district but came to Doi-Pui Village after marriage. Since her family was poor, she graduated from only elementary school. Although she is able to speak and read Thai, she cannot write it. At home, she uses both Thai and Hmong. When asked about the value of education in her own economic success, she professes that experience was more valuable than education would have been. Interestingly enough, however, she has two children in private school in the city of Chiang Mai for which she pays a great deal of money. Though she said the children could decide their own future course, she stated that she felt a higher education gives her children more choice for their future careers.

Another interview conducted in the village revealed another side of the story. This young man received an upper secondary education in Chiang Mai and was working in the city as an auto mechanic. He preferred life in the village and so came back often on the weekends. His dream was to open his own auto repair shop in the village, noting that more and more residents were purchasing vehicles and that the need for such a business is growing. However with no capital and with tight restrictions on the use of land within the village, this remained a dream for the moment.

The picture of this woman and the young man demonstrate several of our findings. Education is not necessarily essential for success in the small tourism related businesses run by most residents of the village. The woman demonstrated that experience helped her to adjust her strategy to sell goods from various hill tribes enabling her to expand her business. Yet, when pressed, she expressed that education was better for her kids because it would give them more opportunity for better employment in their future. The young man’s story demonstrates that more so than education, other limitations such as restricted land use play a role in how young people can contribute to the sustainability of the village.

4.5 Conclusion

Our hypothesis: *If the youth of the village could achieve a high level of education they would be able to benefit their village.*

To prove our original hypothesis we needed proof that pointed to either one or two things: the youth could return to the village and use their knowledge to contribute economically to the well being of the village; or students would be able to obtain high paying employment in the urban areas and contribute through remittances. We could observe neither of these two situations. What we found instead was that for hill tribe students in general, university level education was difficult to achieve. If a high level of education was achieved, there was little or no chance to utilize their skills in their home villages. Thus we realized that once they went to the urban areas to study, few young people returned to their villages but rather stayed in the city in low-skilled, low-paying jobs, which couldn’t contribute much in the way of remittances. In the case of Doi Pui specifically, it was noted that a high level of education was not necessarily a benefit to contribute to the tourism economy of the village. Those seeking a higher education did so to find more employment opportunities in urban areas. With these observations we could conclude that higher education for the youth of the tribe did not directly contribute to the sustainability of the village. However, the proximity of Chiang Mai allowed students that were seeking higher levels of education in the city to maintain closer ties to their village than those who lived in more remote villages.

5. Tradition and Culture

5.1 Introduction

Our research question regarding culture and tradition is “What are the effects of modernization on their traditions and culture?” and our working hypothesis is that modernization leads to a certain degradation of the culture that was not utilized for generating income. In order to answer the question, we will explain: 1) disappearing culture; 2) culture and younger generation; and 3) remaining culture in Doi Pui village, by examining the role of tourism.

5.2 Disappearing Culture

Tourism contributes to extinguish parts of culture and tradition in Doi Pui. Their stable income from tourism changed their way of life. First, some traditional activities have been transformed along with the tourists’ demand. Tourists have their own images about Hmong culture and expect to see some typical Hmong products or activities in the village. The tourists take pictures with the villagers in Hmong traditional clothes or with the villagers engaging in some traditional activities like embroidery. They buy handicrafts which they think are typical Hmong products and are easy to bring back home as souvenirs. Tourists have recognized villagers’ clothes or patterns stitched on souvenirs as Hmong culture without considering whether they are traditional representations. Tourists don’t care so much even if the handicraft is made in the factory by mass production. Therefore, villagers sell what tourists want to buy and what tourists falsely think to be traditional Hmong culture. However, this enables them to keep a part of their “culture” that is attractive to tourists and that can enhance their business. During our research we posed as tourists and asked, “Which product is the most typical of a traditional Hmong product?” A number of villagers answered, “Nothing is our *traditional* product.” It appears that they have decided to develop their culture for economic activity and in this process culture and tradition have been changed.

Secondly, there are cases in which they have no choice but to change the style of their traditional activity. For example, at the funeral ceremony, formerly only relatives and selected persons could enter the house where the ceremony was going on. However, tourists started to come to the village and wanted to see the traditional ceremony. As a result, they couldn’t avoid some changes of the ceremony.

Thirdly, according to the village headman, many villagers are busy businessmen and don’t have enough time to follow their traditional way of life concerning activities that are not related directly to tourism activities. Examples are as follows:

- They used to close the door of the house for three days during the New Year celebration. However, recently they no longer practice this traditional because they are busy with business activities and children have to go to school.
- Recently, many women in Doi Pui give birth at hospitals in the city. Traditionally, women would stay at home for a month and didn’t meet anyone other than family after giving birth. It is difficult for them to follow this practice with this new situation of childbirth and also because they cannot take the time away from their business.

So it is clear that even culture and traditions that are unrelated to tourism have been affected because they do

not fit into the context of their modern, busy lives. These kinds of culture and tradition will likely disappear rapidly.

5.3 Culture and Younger Generation

Rapid modernization and influence from outsiders brings a kind of new value that changes local traditions. In the past, young girls married when they were twelve or thirteen years old and engaged in domestic work, and boys were mainly engaged in agriculture. However, today it is not unusual for younger people to go to the city to receive an education or to get job and remain there. Children living in the city and separated from their parents don't have much time to learn their traditions and culture from their parents. Those children can not learn much about their culture from the school curriculum either, since one of the goals of formal education is to integrate the children into Thai society. Once the children get used to the life in the city, they are likely to be careless about traditional life in the village. Even if they value their traditional life and want to keep practicing it, life in the city is quite different from life in the village and maintaining a traditional life there is difficult. One shop owner who has children working in the city said that the life in the city is really attractive for young people, to the extent that they would not come back to the village. One young woman working in the city mentioned that she thought that culture and tradition are important for her and she still practices some of their traditional activities. For example, she goes back to the village in New Year season to do "matching". Formerly it was an event for young people to find their future partner and now they practice it just as a traditional New Year ceremony. She also mentioned that she was planning to carry out the traditional activities of wedding ceremonies such as sacrificing a pig for respecting ancestors. However she doesn't care about her culture or tradition while she is living in the city. It is natural for the younger generation living in the city to forget their culture and tradition gradually. Two young interviewees working in the city said that they could do easy embroidery because they learned it in the village when they were young, although they noted that they were no longer able to make complicated embroidery. They also mentioned that their ability in Hmong language was declining. They usually speak in Thai when they communicate with each other at home. That means the village is losing a younger generation who only inherits a pared-down and changed version of their culture and tradition except for events held for special occasions.

5.4 Remaining Culture

Tourism contributes to extinguish parts of culture and tradition in Doi Pui. However, at the same time, it contributes to their maintenance. Villagers in Doi Pui utilize their culture and tradition for their economic activity. For example, they sell handicrafts and souvenirs such as bags, shirts, shoes or cloth which their traditional patterns are stitched. Stitching is a part of their culture and they have their own traditional patterns. Women in the village are still engaging in stitching in their shops for souvenir production and their own use, especially, for New Year ceremony.

Wearing traditional clothes has become one of the main tourist attractions. Tourists can see that many women in the village are wearing traditional Hmong clothes, for example shop owners, street vendors and young girls in flower garden. Tourists can also wear traditional clothes offered by rental shops. They show off their tradition and culture to attract tourists and they keep those activities, as long as they can get benefits from the activities.

Those aspects of their culture and traditions can be maintained for two reasons. The first reason is that the

villagers practice the traditional work in their daily life. Almost all the female interviewees said that they could stitch and they know how to stitch their family's traditional pattern. One girl we interviewed said that she started to learn traditional embroidery when she was very small, and at the age of eight, generally girls are able to stitch by themselves. Every year, girls make their own cloth for New Years. The female interviewee said that she could still make Hmong traditional handicraft even though she is living in the city. This condition is combined with the tourism industry. The villagers in Doi Pui can maintain those activities and get benefits. If they have chosen another method of earning income such as being factory workers or seasonal laborers in the city, they couldn't have kept stitching and wearing traditional clothes.

The second reason is that the villagers maintain their culture because they have relatively stable income from tourism. In addition there are minimal opportunities for young people to stay in the village and learn their culture from elder generation. We interviewed one villager who is working in the city as an auto mechanic. He comes back to his home every weekend to spend time with his family and is planning to come back to Doi Pui in the future to open his own repair shop.

The villagers have developed tourism as their main income source and receive a relatively stable income. These conditions have contributed to keeping some parts of their culture and traditions.

5.5 Conclusion

Villagers in Doi Pui have not kept themselves away from the influence of modernization nor tried to protect their fundamental traditions and culture. Tourism, which they have chosen as their main income resource, has drastically changed their way of life. However, at the same time, it contributed to maintaining their tradition and culture. They noticed that their culture had economic value and they utilized it. The handicrafts they are selling are not really their cultural products but they add economic value to their traditional patterns by stitching them on "modern" products.

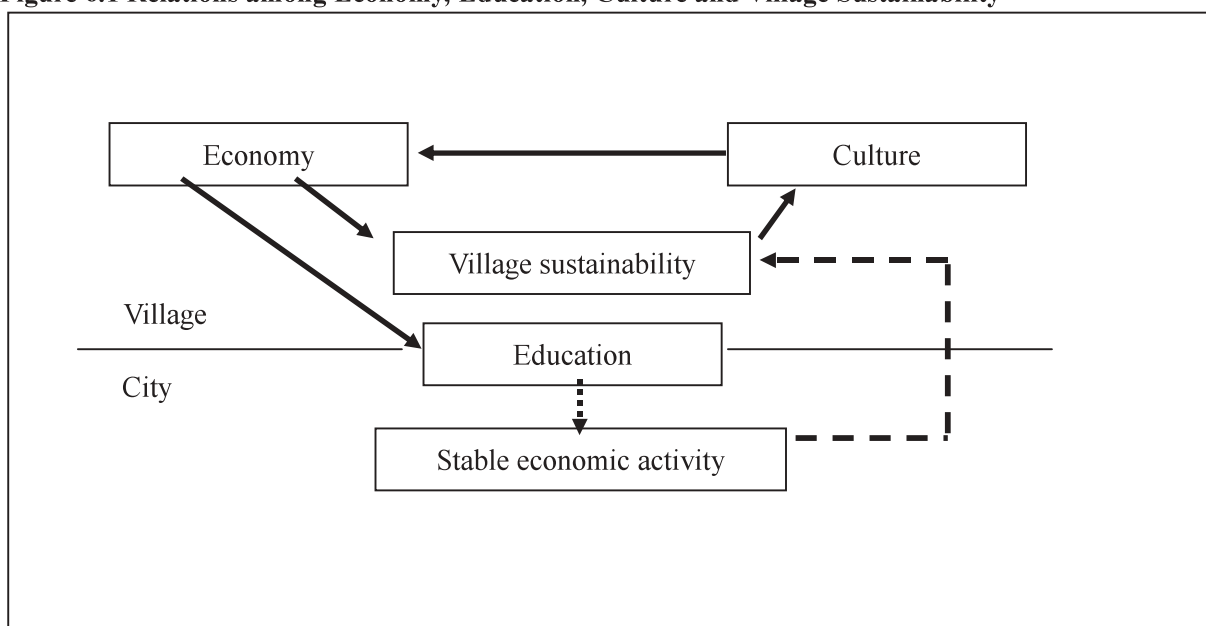
Our hypothesis was that modernization would lead to a certain degradation of the culture that was not utilized for generating income. It is true. Tradition and culture in Doi Pui have already changed and their culture today is not their "authentic" culture. However, we found other phenomena. We could say that Doi Pui has been maintaining their traditions and culture by tourism or have obtained or created anew tourism influenced by culture. They have flexibly responded to the changes of their life conditions.

6. Economy, Education, Culture and Village Sustainability

6.1 Introduction

Based on our research we made Figure 6.1 that shows the relationships among economy, education, culture, and village sustainability. We assumed that the economic activity of the villagers is the biggest factor of the village sustainability. In this section we try to clarify how educational and cultural factors contributed to the economic activity of the villagers, and explain how the three factors relate each other.

Figure 6.1 Relations among Economy, Education, Culture and Village Sustainability



6.2 Culture and Economy

Doi Pui Village has an exceptional economic position among the Hmong villages. The tourism activities bring better and more stable income than farming on which people in other Hmong villages rely. Eighty percent of the villagers' income comes from tourism and the rich, cultural resources in the village that have supported their tourism activities.

Tourism affects the culture in two ways. On the one hand, tourism transforms the culture gradually. In the process of commercializing the cultural resources, many of the cultural products have been mass-produced in the factories and often left their original context. On the other hand, tourism activities help to maintain parts of their culture. The young generation in Doi Pui tends to leave the village and is losing their cultural identity. The tourism activities offer them the chances to stay in touch with their cultural skills such as embroidery and Hmong language ability.

6.3 Economy and Education

The villagers seem to think that better economic conditions can support children's education. The parents want their children to receive higher education if they have enough money. In fact the rich villagers have their children go to high school and/or university in the city and children in Doi Pui have more opportunities to go to schools in the city than those in other Hmong villages.

This tendency strengthens the linkage between village and city. Children who receive higher education return their home in the village every now and then and tend to find jobs in the city.

6.4 Economy and Village Sustainability

We understand that village sustainability depends on the villagers' stable economic activities. The most important economic activity in Doi Pui is tourism and most of the villagers get relatively high and stable income from selling the souvenirs. They are said to be better off than hill tribes in other villages.

6.5 Culture and Village Sustainability

In the process of commercializing their cultural resources, some parts of the culture are transformed and even lost. However, at the same time, the villagers keep parts of their culture for their sustainable lives.

6.6 Education and Stable Economic Activity

Students who go to the city for long periods of time often don't come back to their villages, as there is little economic opportunity there. They tend to apply their knowledge and experience to economic activity in the city. They continue to stay in the city and some of them make remittance to their families.

6.7 Stable Economic Activity in the City and Village Sustainability

The stable economic activity in the city enables the villagers to get stable incomes. Hmong products are sold not only in the village, but also at the Night Bazaar and Sunday Walking Street in Chiang Mai, and at Chatuchak Weekend Market in Bangkok. For selling the products, people in Doi Pui go to Chiang Mai especially on weekends. Some of the villagers have houses in the city.

In addition we assumed that Doi Pui can maintain village sustainability if people who left the village can sustain their lives in the city, as the population in the village can't grow more than its capacity of the accommodation.

We could say that the linkage between the city and the village realizes the stable economy in Doi-Pui and the stable economy results in village sustainability.

6.8 Conclusion

We conclude that Doi Pui keeps its sustainability by 1) being a popular tourist spot, 2) selling the products based on their culture in and outside of the village, 3) keeping the balance of the population in the village, 4) utilizing the economic and educational linkage between the village and the city. Those efforts enable Doi Pui to maintain its village sustainability. Until now education has not contributed directly to the economic activities.

7. PCM Style Analysis

7.1 Introduction

Through our research activities, we found out that Doi Pui Village is already stable to some extent. Based on this fact, in this section we analyze the current situation of the village and form the PDM.

Firstly, we analyze the current situation looking at strengths and weakness of the village characteristics.

7.2 Village Characteristics of Sustainability

7.2.1 Strengths

- Village administration structure is well established.
The village headman has elected by the people. Under him, there is a village committee as the executive organ and it is active.
- Village controls population.
The village controls population by 1) regulating the minimum age for marriage to age 20, and 2) restricting of inflow.
- Village has adequate infrastructure.
Villagers can access basic services of life. They constructed the water supply system. Electricity, telecom system, and paved road are provided in the village from the government. Village committee asked Telecom Company to run wave, so that they were able to use mobile phones in the village.
- Village is supported by the Royal Family.
The village receives support from the Royal Family. They have been given permission from the King to remain within the national forest and run businesses (mainly tourism). The village has also been given agricultural support.

7.2.2 Weakness

- Village has no rights to own the land.
They have got the government's permission to live in the village. However, they can't own the land and they need permission even when they want to fix their house. Only family members can inherit the land usufructuary.

- Land is restricted.
They are not allowed to reclaim the land.
- Overpopulation is a constant concern.
As traditionally Hmong people have more than two children in one household and the land has been restricted; overpopulation is one of the major problems.

7.3 Economic Aspect

7.3.1 Strengths

- They are utilizing their culture for economic benefit.
They are selling traditional goods for their income.
- Almost all women can create Hmong handicrafts.
Hmong women learn how to make handicrafts since they were very young.
- Hmong goods attract tourists.
Hmong goods are popular and attract tourists. In the village there are many tourists who enjoy buying their products and those hill tribal products are also being sold in the lowlands.
- Village has better transportation system to the city.
Compared to the hill tribe people in other villages, the villagers of Doi Pui have a relatively good transportation system to the city. They can buy raw materials, and sell their products easily in the city and have stronger economic linkage between the city and the village.
- Profit from Flower Garden benefits all villagers.
The profit of the Flower Garden is used for welfare for the residents in the village.

7.3.2 Weakness

- The number of tourists is decreasing.
The number of tourists decreases year by year, especially last two years because of the unstable political situation.
- Tourism management is poor.
We found insufficient accommodation and public bathrooms, lack of English map of village, roads in not so good condition.
- Agriculture is limited due to land constraints.

7.4 Educational Situation

7.4.1 Strengths

- Close proximity to Chiang Mai benefits children's education.
Compare to the hill tribe children in other villages, the children in Doi Pui have more school choices and more chances to commute schools.
- Some Free education / scholarship programs are offered to ethnic minorities.
The government provides the program for ethnic minority children to receive primary and secondary education for free. Scholarship programs of University are also provided.

- Parents readily encourage children to continue to receive education.
Almost all the parents want their children to receive higher education. Most of the parents believe that children who want to have a well-paid job need to receive higher education.

7.4.2 Weakness

- Younger generation is migrating.
There is no high-school or university or vocational school in that village.
- City capture leads to the fractured family structure.
Once younger generation leave their home, it is rare for them to come back to the village.
- Quality of the education in the village is relatively low compared to that in the city.
- Children in the village have less opportunity to go to university than those in the city due to two reasons.
The parents don't have enough money for their children to continue their study in universities.
The quality of the education in the village is relatively low compare to that in the city; as a result, students have difficulty to pass the entrance exam of the high school/university in the city.
- There are few opportunities to utilize knowledge and skills acquired in higher education.
Since Doi Pui village is a tourism village, most of the works and jobs in the village are family small business related tourism.

7.5 Cultural Aspect

7.5.1 Strengths

- Handicraft culture is being passed to younger generation in the village.
We could see young generation helping and making handicraft.
- Tourism activities help to maintain parts of their culture.
The villagers make cultural products to meet the demand of tourists. It helps them to keep part of their culture.
- Several traditional rituals are still being followed by the villagers.
Wedding ceremony, New Year ceremony, and funeral ceremony so on are being performed. Primary students learn their culture at their school.
- Hmong language is being preserved.
Many people are using Hmong in their home. Many parents mentioned that they want their children to speak and keep Hmong language.
- Young generation value festivals and tradition at special occasions.
They value the wedding ceremony, funeral ceremony, New Year event, houses that reflect traditional spiritual living in the village.

7.5.2 Weakness

- Modernization is causing some changes of the tradition in the village.
Almost all of the youth were wearing modern clothes. They used to have a traditional door ceremony to restrict stranger to come into their home, however, they don't practice it.
- They must sell their tradition for economic benefit.
They have to follow the demands of their customers.
- Youth outside of the village are losing their cultural identity.

7.6 A Hypothetical Analysis and Recommendation

7.6.1 Setting Core Problem and Problem Analysis

Based on the analysis of the current situation of Doi Pui Village, we decided to focus on the weakness of economy and use the PCM framework to analyze the issue. Among the weakness of economy, we selected the issue of decreasing the number of tourists. We have several reasons to choose it as the core problem. Firstly, tourism is the main income resource of the village. Secondly, the economic stability is directly connected to village sustainability in our scheme. Lastly, other factors such as land ownership and cultural issues don't suit PCM's problem solving framework.

We focused on "villagers engaged in tourism" as the target group and started from problem analysis of the issue. Through the problem analysis, three kinds of direct causes emerged, namely problems of tourism attraction in the village, facilities in the village and access to the village.

7.6.2 Objective Analysis and PDM of Hypothetical Project

After Objective Analysis and the PDM of a hypothetical project named "Project for Increasing Number of Tourists".

The project information is as follows:

- Project Name: Project for Increasing Number of Tourists.
- Duration: Jan. 2009~Jan. 2012 (3 years)
- Ver. No: Plan 1
- Target Area: Doi Pui Village and Part of Chiang Mai City
- Target Group: Villagers engaged in tourism
- Date: 11th Oct. 2008

See the Figure 7.1 and for more information is on the attached PDM (Figure 7.2).

7.6.3 Tourism activities

The village needs more qualified tourist attractions and activities. First, the village is recommended to establish a Tourism Committee as a project team to improve the tourism. The Tourism Committee may include members of the village committee and tourism professionals from outside of the village. The Tourism Committee is in charge of setting up the Trained Villagers Group (TVG, see below), evaluating the group and issuing annual report on the TVG's activities. For setting up TVG, the Tourism Committee provides the tourism training course regularly. At the end of the training course, trainees take the final examination, and the trainees who could pass the examination can be members of Trained Villagers Group. This group plans the strategy to increase the number of tourists. They will discuss to develop (a) new products of Hmong brand, (b) utilizing natural resources, and (c)

traditional activities for attraction.

7.6.5 Tourism Facilities

There are many the tourism facilities to be introduced such as a tourism map in English, brochure in English and Thai, public toilets, ATM, and sidewalks. We would like to recommend the village to establish the Tourist Service [Information] Center. This matter also should be taken care of by the TVG, and it decides what the priority of facility improvements. Setting up the facilities' cost, the Tourism Committee and TVG are ought to raise a fund from the government and villagers.

7.6.6 Access to the Village

The access to the village for tourists should be easier and more comfortable. This goal can be reached, if the tourists can get tourism agency's recommendation of access to the village and the transportation to the village become convenient for the tourists. To achieve the better access, the Tourism Committee should create a linkage between the village and travel agencies in the city. TVG, the Tourism Committee and travel agencies make tourism plans and advertise them in the city. If they need more minibus between the village and the city, they should get permission from the government.

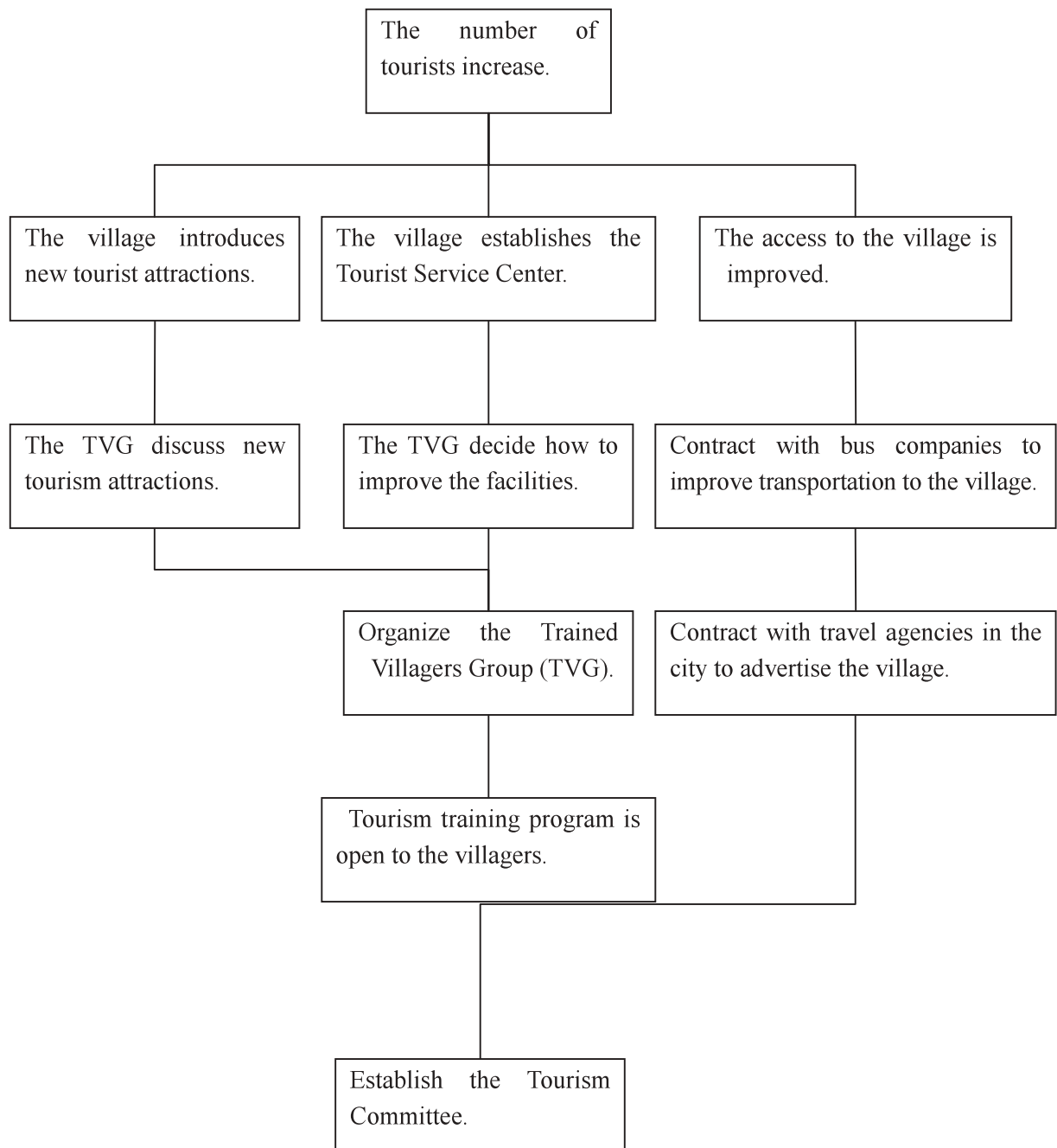
7.6.7 Important Assumptions

To implement the hypothetical project, there might be some pre-conditions and important assumptions. As pre-conditions to start the project, the villagers have to agree to establish the committee of tourism, have money to hire tourism professionals, and have time to take the training course. Through the activities of three approaches, important assumptions are that there are traditional activities which can be utilized, villagers do not refuse to organize TVG, government does not refuse the idea to improve the facilities in national park, and a bus company does not refuse to prepare buses for the village. There are other assumptions that the political or external economic situation does not become worse, and competition with other tourism sites does not become severe. Lastly, from the project purpose: increasing number of tourists, to the overall goal: the village sustainability, culture utilized with tourism should be maintained through the project.

7.6.8 Recommendations

- The Doi Pui Village establishes the Tourism Committee which includes the tourism professionals.
- The Tourism Committee sets up and provides the tourism training for villagers.
- The villagers who took the training course join the Trained Villagers Group (TVG).
- At the TVG meeting, villagers decide how to utilize their culture and tradition for the tourism by themselves.
- The Tourism Committee monitors, evaluate, and report the TVG's activities.
- The reports of the Tourism Committee are disclosed to villagers.
- The villagers found the Tourist Service [Information] Center as one stop of tourism service facility.
- The access to the village for the tourists should be improved.
- The village tries to communicate with the local and central governments as often as possible. Since the village is located in the national park, relationship with the governments is very important.

Figure 5 Problem Tree



8. Conclusion

This research tried to understand the influence of modernization on the culture of the hill tribes and the way that the hill tribes balance the need for economic opportunities with preserving their culture heritage. We focused on the hill tribe village of Doi Pui, which is the most developed tourism village in Chiang Mai Province. We analyzed the current situation of Doi Pui focusing on three aspects, which are economy, education and tradition/culture, and tried to describe how these aspects have been influenced by modernization.

We explained that Hmong people utilize their culture to generate income through tourism activities, and that tourism in Doi Pui and their daily life itself can not be sustained without a strong connection with the urban area because they have developed its industry and life through the interaction between the village and the city. There is a strong rural-urban linkage and the people in Doi Pui utilize it efficiently.

Through the development of tourism, people in Doi Pui can realize relatively stable incomes and along with that, their educational opportunities have been expanded. Initially we assumed that if the youth of the village were able to achieve a high level of education, they would be able to contribute to the well being of the village. We found that, since tourism is a major economic activity and any skills from higher education are not required in the village, education could not directly contribute to the village at this time. However, education can contribute to the village in the way of enabling the people who have to leave the village to get stable jobs in the city.

At the beginning of our research, we believed that modernization would lead to a certain degradation of the culture that was not utilized for generating income. This is true. Tourism contributes to extinguish their culture and tradition. However, at the same time, Doi Pui Village keeps some parts of their culture through tourism activities. Tourism in Doi Pui is mainly based on their rich cultural resources, therefore in order to develop tourism, they have to preserve their culture. We assumed that tourism and culture were opposing, but in fact they have been interacting with each other and changing. We could say that a new tourism culture has been created in Doi Pui.

After the research, we have realized that Doi Pui Village is relatively sustainable. Thanks to the support from the Royal Project and the government, the village sustainability has been realized by the economic stability based on their rich culture and close link with Chiang Mai City. However, this relation among them can be easily influenced by factors from outside. Therefore, we conclude that Doi Pui Village still needs to make greater efforts to develop its tourism otherwise they cannot utilize their advantages fully and keep their village sustainable.

There are many places influenced by modernization and development. As one of the places, Doi Pui chose tourism as the strategy of development and utilized it efficiently. We hope that this case study will benefit the minorities in Northern Thailand, especially people in Doi Pui.

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Figure 6 PDM

Project Name: Project for increasing number of tourists. Duration: Jan. 2009~Jan. 2012(3 years). Ver.No: Plan 1 Target Area: Doi Pui Village and Part of Chiang Mai Target Group: Villagers engaged in Tourims Industry Date: 11th Oct. 2008				
Narrative Summary		Objectively Verified Indicators	Means of Verification	Important Assumption
Overall Goal The village sustainability of Doi Pui will be maintained		The income of villagers will increase X%	Tourism Committee's Report statistical data Village	
Project Purpose The number of tourists become increased		The number of tourist increase X%	Village statistical data Tourism Committee's	Culture for tourism maintain through the project.
Outputs ①villagers have more tourism attraction ②village facilities become more easy for tourists to use ③the access to village become more easy and comfortable		①At least X% of villager pass the final exam after the training. At least one new tourism attraction is introduced every year. ②Tourism service center is found and well managed. ③Tourism bus run between the village and city at least 4 times a day.	Tourism Committee's Report The result of final exam	Political or external economic Situation does not become worse. New tourism attractions are accepted by tourists. Competition with other tourism site does not become severe.
Activities 1-1 Establish the Tourism Committee(TC) which is consist of village committee and tourism professionals. 1-2 The Committee make training program of tourism. 1-3 Slect villagers for training. 1-4 Implement training program of tourists to slected villagers. 1-5 Establish Trained Villagers Group(TVG) after examination. 1-6 Hold meeting of TVG to discuss (a)new products of Hmong brand, (b)utilizing natural resources and (c)traditional activities for tourism. 1-7 Tourism Committee monitor and evaluate TVG and give advice to TVG. 1-8 Tourism Committee analize village tousim and make annual report. 2-1 Hold the meeting of TVG to decide which facilities should be improved first. 2-2 Collect fund from Govt., villagers and others 2-3 Set the Tourist service center to improve facilities 2-4 Construct the facilities or introduce the services 3-1 Create connection between village and travel agency in the city. 3-2 TVG, TC and travel agencies make tourims plan. 3-3 Advertise the plan in the city.		input Tousism experts Training materials Cost for the Training Cost for the Facilities Building materials Advertisement cost		There are traditional activities which can be utilized. villagers do not refuse to organize TVG. Government do not refuse the idea to improve the facility in national park. Bus company does not refuse to prepare bus for the village.
				Pre-conditions Villagers agree to establish the committee of tourism. Village have money to hire tourism professionals. Villagers have time to take the training.