

Ban Pang Daeng Nok

A study of land scarcity and uncertain prospects in an ethnically diverse village in Northern Thailand.



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Appendix 1: Methodology

1.1 Use of Interpreters:

The opportunity to learn how to work with the aid of an interpreter was a very educational experience during the field course. It was a challenge.

In location #5 there was 3 interpreters. 1 of the interpreters was experienced and two newcomers to the experience, thus we all had a learning experience.

Naturally the student use of the interpreters was very unorganized in the beginning, to say the least. It quickly became apparent that the conversations in the group needed to be more structured, so interpreters could do their work. Often times we had to remind ourselves to speak in short sentences, and that any answer or question should not be spoken until the interpretation was complete. This simple rule was never fully followed. Mostly due to the individual student utilizing the interpreters according to the personality of the student, the interpreter used and the situation in which the interpreter was used. Prior to going into the field, all interpreters had been instructed in how to do translation, they had been handed out a code of conduct (see [appendix X: Interpreter rules](#)). Despite these rules and the interpreters trying their best to live up to them, the most important factor became the establishing a working relationship between the individual student and interpreter. This relationship was reflected in the kind of confidence, especially the Danish students experienced, in a given interpreter.

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1.1.1 10 Important Rules for the Interpreters

A Good interpreter should...

- 1. Be patient, accurate, cooperative, and frank.**
- 2. Keep yourself fit and healthy all the time.**
- 3. Be equipped with some knowledge of secretarial skills, research methods, and particular field you're working with.**
- 4. Have a notebook and a pen with you all the time while interpreting.**
- 5. Jot down things such as numbers, names of people or places, and important issues for later references.**
- 6. Dress properly and behave yourself in appropriate Thai manners and cultures.**
- 7. Consult teachers or supervisors when encounter some problems.**

A good interpreter must not...

- 1. Put your opinion to the text you're interpreting.**

2. Lead or get involved with group discussions.
3. Be easily panic.

1.2 Technical Methods

1.2.1 GPS-Measurement

In order to quantify the village area, the lay out of the village and the relative distribution of forest and agricultural fields within the surroundings GPS measurement was used to a wide extend during the fieldwork. This method was primarily used by walking on roads and the boundaries of the fields and forest area while making waypoints along the way. During interviewing the households, a waypoint was made in these locations as well whenever the GPS was available.

These waypoints would later enable us to construct a map of the area.

When making soil samples within fields the boundaries of these were measured as well. Though indispensable for many types of fieldwork, this technology obviously has some limitations due to the deliberate inaccuracy. However, according to the GPS itself this inaccuracy was within 7 to 13 meters most of the time, which is acceptable for all the used measurements, but the individual location of the households.

However, the usage of the GPS in itself could have been improved by more experience on how most efficiently to write down information on the landscape in conjunction with the waypoints aimed for the following map production.

1.2.2 Soil Sampling

In concurrence with the agricultural in-depth interviews, soil samples were taken from a number of fields belonging to the households. The purpose with these samples was to investigate whether specific groupings of the villagers had fields in areas with soil of different qualities.

These fields were selected on basis of primarily geographical location in order to have a spatial distribution of sampling within the village area. Secondary the households was picked due to their ethnic belonging to see if the possible better agricultural practices of one group might result in more fertile soil. However, any differences between the ethnic groups were thought to be inferior to the differences caused by parent soil.

The soil was evaluated both visually and by touching and samples were taken for further analysis. These samples were taken by auger down to 15 cm. depth from three different places within each field. The sample was dried in the shadow and later taken to Chiang Mai University. Here it was analyzed for Organic Material by burning and for plant nutrients by use of the Field Test Kit developed by the university. However this chemical analysis was to inaccurate to reveal any significant differences between all these low-nutrient-status soils.

Household no.	Field size (rai)	Yield (kg/rai; crop)	Cumulative yield (kg/rai)
---------------	------------------	----------------------	---------------------------

86	22 rai	136, beans,	136
	8/17	1219, rice/ 574, rice	1219/574 *
	25	460, maize + 60, beans	520
91	8	79, maize + 104, beans	183
	15	250, rice	250
76		3000, maize + 160 groundnut	3160 *
44	3	100, rice	100
Mr. Noy	4	312, rice	312
	3	267 groundnut	267
95	2	300, rice + 90 beans	390
	3	952, maize + 133, groundnut	1085 *
Palong	4	750, rice	750
21	3	833, rice	833
45	5	300, rice + 15 beans	315
	6	7, groundnut + 25 beans	32 *
(Palong)	1,5	333, rice	333
37	2	375, rice	375
83	10	18, rice + 51, beans	69 *
Lahu	10	300, rice + 250, maize + 15, beans + 80, groundnut + 15, maize	660

The table shows the yields obtained by the different households. Some of the yields seem to be unreasonable low and others to be unrealistic high. Therefore the data are obviously of questionable value. The average of the yields obtained from different fields excluding those marked with an * are 387 kg/rai. These are low yields compared to average yields in Northern Thailand (Anderson, 1993).

Crop	grown by number of households	Self consumption	Sale		
Upland rice	82%	100%	0%	Yellow bean	3%
Maize	48%	0%	100%	Soy bean	3%
Black bean	45%	14%	86%	Pumpkin	3%
Groundnut	36%	20%	80%	Litchi	3%
Red bean	33%	17%	83%	Lemon	3%
Mango	33%	?	?	Papaya	3%
Longan	12%	?	?	Tamarinde	3%
Millet	6%	100%	0%	Rattan	3%
Banana	6%	?	?	Sathon	3%
Ginger	6%	?	?		

The crops grown by the 33 households that practices agriculture out of the 36 interviewed.

Sample number	Sample location	Ethnicity	OM content	NH4+	NO3-	P	K
1	78	lisu	0,58	2	1	2	2

2	Lahu last house	lahu	2,29	1	2.5	3	2
3	79	thai	3,68	2	2	4	3
4	93	lahu	4,58	2	1	2	2
5	Deciduous forest		3,27	2	0	2	3
6	44	lahu	0,39	2	1	2	3
7	21	Palong	1,96	2	1	2	3
8	76	lisu	4,38	2	1	2	3
9	95	Palong	3,29	1,5	0,5	2	3
10	75	lisu	4,32	1,5	2,5	1,5	3
11	Irrigated area		1,96	2	2	2	3

Appendix 2: General Household survey

2.1. Total number of households in BPDN

As described in the section concerning the general household survey, we surveyed all Lisu and Thai household on account of their small number. Of Palong and Lahu households, we strived for an approximate 50 % of the households. During Martins interview with the administrative headmen of Moo #9 and #7, the total number of Palong households in Bang Pang Daeng Nok is 37. Based on multiple informal conversations we know that the total number of households is 89 in the informal community of BPDN that is including the Lahu East area.

Based on these numbers we know that:

Location 5 area =	89 households
Lisu =	4 households
Thai =	6 households
Palong =	37 households

The total number of Lahu households in location 5 therefore must be:
 $89 - 4 - 6 - 37 = 42$

As the general household survey covered 14 households, the percentage of the Lahu group surveyed was 33, 333 % or 1/3.

2.2 General Household survey critique

As described in the methodology chapter regarding the general household survey. Many things did not go according to planned. Thus, it is now obvious that the results of the general household survey is dubious. It has been necessary to use this information, rather than not have any. The use of the information gained in the general household survey is therefore to be viewed as certain data, but rather as indicating data, showing potential areas of interest.

2.3 General Household survey results

Household number	Members	Ethnic group	Religion	ID	Income pr. year	Source of income	Land ownership	Acquisition	plots	rai total	certificate	Land use
B1	5	Lahu	Christian	Thai	15.000	labor, agriculture	yes	borrowed/ bought	2	14 rai	No	beans, rice, mango
B4	5	Lahu	Buddhist	Thai	7.000	labor, agriculture	yes	borrowed/ bought	1	10 rai	No	Rice, beans, mango
8	12	Lahu	Buddhist	Thai/ Green	20.000	labor, agriculture	yes	bought	2	12 rai	No	Maize, beans, rice and mango
B9	4	Lahu	Buddhist	None	25.000	labor, agriculture	yes	bought	2	8 rai	No	Rice, beans, longan
10	4	Lahu	Buddhist	Thai ID	10-20.000	labor, agriculture	yes	inherited	2	25	No	Rice, beans
B11	11	Lahu	Buddhist	Thai ID/ green	30-40.000	agriculture	yes	cleared	2	25 rai	No	Maize, beans, mango, longan
13	5	Lahu	Buddhist	Thai ID	10-15.000	labor, agriculture	yes	bought	2	10 rai	No	rice, peanut, beans
15	3	Lahu	Buddhist	Green ID	15.000	labor, agriculture	yes	taken over	1	5	NS-3	Maize
17	10	Lahu	Buddhist	Thai ID	20-30.000	labor, agriculture	yes	bought	2	20 rai	No	Maize, rice, beans, mango
20	3	Thai	Buddhist	Thai ID	166.000	Doctor	yes	bought	1	50 rai	No	Home
21	14	Palong	Buddhist	Blue ID	22.500	Labor	No	borrowed	2	5 rai	No	rice, beans
25	4	Palong	Buddhist	Blue ID	4-5.000	Labor	No	borrowed and leased	3	5 rai	No	rice, ground nut
26	6	Palong	Buddhist	Blue ID	10.000	labor, agriculture	No	borrowed	1	5 rai	SPK	upland rice
27	11	Palong	Buddhist	Green/ Blue ID	15.000	labor, agriculture	No	borrowed	1	2,5 rai	No	rice, bean
29	11	Palong	Buddhist	Blue ID	30-40.000	agriculture	No	leased	3	8 rai	No	rice, beans
33	3	Palong	Buddhist	Green/ Blue ID	4-10.000	-	yes	borrowed	1	0.25 rai	No	Household
34	4	Lisu	Christian	Green ID	7-10.000	labor	No	borrowed	2	32 rai	No	maize. Rice
35	5	Palong	Buddhist	Blue ID	9.000	labor	No	borrowed	1	3 rai	No	rice
37	10	Palong	Buddhist	Blue ID	8.000	labor, agriculture	yes	borrowed/ bought	3	9 rai	No	bean, orchard
39	4	Palong	Buddhist	Blue ID	6.000	labor	No	borrowed	1	5 rai	No	rice, beans
41	6	Palong	Buddhist	Blue ID	5-6.000	labor, agriculture	No	borrowed	1	2 rai	No	rice, pumpkin
43	3	Thai	Buddhist	Thai ID	no estimate	no information	-	-	-	-	-	-

Household number	Members	Ethnic group	Religion	ID	Income pr. year	Source of income	Land ownership	Acquisition	plots	rai total	certificate	Land use
44	9	Thai	Christian	Thai ID	20-30.000	merchant	yes	borrowed out	1	9 rai	No	orchard
45	5	Palong	Buddhist	Blue ID	10.000	labor, agriculture	yes	borrowed/ bought	3	11	No	Maize, rice, beans, mango
48	2	Thai	Buddhist	Thai ID	10.000	Forest products	yes	bought	1	0-5 rai	NS-3	Household
55	8	Lahu	Buddhist	Thai ID	20.000	agriculture	yes	bought	2	15 rai	NS-3	mango, rice, longan
57	5	Palong	Buddhist	Blue ID	15.000	labor, agriculture	No	leased	1	5 rai	No	rice, ground nut
59	13	Palong	Buddhist	Blue ID	20.000	labor, agriculture	No	borrowed	2	3,5 rai	NS-3	rice, beans
62	8	Palong	Buddhist	Blue ID	no estimate	labor, agriculture	No	borrowed	2	8 rai	No	rice
64	6	Palong	Christian	Green ID	no estimate	labor	No	borrowed and leased	3	6 rai	No	Maize, rice, beans
67	4	Palong	Christian	Green ID	17-18.000	labor, agriculture	No	borrowed and leased	3	10, 5 rai	No	Maize, peanuts
69	4	Palong	Christian	Green ID	1.500	labor, agriculture	No	borrowed	2	6 rai	No	Mango, rice, maize, peanut
71	5	Palong	Christian	Green ID	6.000	labor	No	borrowed	2	8 rai	No	Mango, maize, rice
73	5	Palong	Christian	Green ID	no estimate	labor, selling handicrafts	No	no information	-	-	-	-
74	5	Palong	Christian	Green ID	5.000	agriculture	No	borrowed	2	6 rai	No	peanut, maize, rice
75	12	Lisu	Christian	Thai ID	20-30.000	agriculture	yes	bought	3	33 rai	NS-3	orchard, maize, beans, peanuts
77	2	Palong	Christian	Blue ID	5-6.000	labor, agriculture	No	leased	1	5	No	corn
79	8	Thai	Buddhist	Thai ID	7-10.000	agriculture	yes	no information	3	14	SPK	Maize, ginger, lamyai
83	4	Lahu	Christian	Green/ Thai ID	10.000	labor	No	borrowed	2	14 rai	No	Maize, beans, rice
86	7	Lahu	Buddhist	Thai ID	100.000	agriculture	yes	bought	4	124 rai	No	Maize, rice, beans, orchard
88	3	Lahu	Buddhist	Green ID	12.000	labor, agriculture	yes	borrowed	1	5 rai	No	beans, rice, mango
90	5	Lahu	Buddhist	Thai ID	15.000	agriculture	No	borrowed	1	10 rai	No	maize
91	5	Lisu/Lahu	Buddhist	Green ID	10.000	agriculture	yes	taken over	3	68 rai	No	orchard
93	4	Thai	Buddhist	Thai ID	360.000	shopowner	yes	bought	1	1 nang	No	shop, home
94	4	Palong	Christian	Green ID	15.000	labor, agriculture	No	borrowed and leased	2	10 rai	SPK	rice, peanut, corn, maize
95	7	Palong	Christian	Green ID	10-15.000	labor	No	no information	-	-	-	-
96	1	Lisu	Christian	Green ID	no estimate	none, disabled	No	no information	-	-	-	-

Table A 2.3 (1 and 2) Results from the general household survey.

Object 2.2. The general household survey – blank copy

เลขที่ (No.)

แบบสอบถาม (Questionairs)

ชื่อผู้ตอบแบบสอบถาม (Name)
ชื่อผู้สัมภาษณ์ (Interviewer)
วันที่ (Date).....เวลา (Time).....

ส่วนที่ 1 ข้อมูลทั่วไป (Part I) : ข้อมูลทั่วไป (General question)

1. ข้อมูลครัวเรือน (Household's information)

จำนวนสมาชิก ในครัวเรือน Member	ชื่อ Name	เพศ Gender	อายุ Age	เผ่า Ethnic group	ศาสนา Religion	บัตร Id. card

2. ท่านพูดภาษาอะไรได้บ้าง (What language does much person speak?)
- () ปะหล่อง (Palong)
- () ลีซู (Lisu)
- () ลาหู่ (Lahu)
- () ไทย (Thai)
- () อื่นๆ (Other)
3. ท่านสามารถอ่านหนังสือได้หรือไม่ (Does any in the household read?)
- () ได้ (Yes) () ไม่ได้ (No)
4. ท่านจบการศึกษาในระดับใด (Which level of education do you have?)
- () ไม่ได้รับการศึกษา (Illiterate)
- () ประถมศึกษา (Primary school grad)
- () มัธยมศึกษา (High school)
- () อื่นๆ (Other)
5. ครอบครัวของท่านมีรายได้จำนวนเท่าไรต่อปี และได้มาจากอะไรบ้าง (How much money does your household earn per year? And source of income)
- 5.1 รายได้ (Income).....บาท/ปี (baht/year)
- 5.2 ที่มาของรายได้ (Source of income)
- () รับจ้าง (Labour)
- () ทำการเกษตร (Agriculture)
- () อื่นๆ (Other)
6. ท่านมีที่ดินเป็นของตนเองหรือไม่ (Do you own the land?)
- () ใช่ (yes) () ไม่ใช่ (no)

7. การใช้ที่ดิน (Land use)

การถือครอง Access to land	ขนาดพื้นที่ (ไร่) Area (rai)	ชนิดของการถือครอง Certificate	การเพาะปลูก Land use	ที่มาของที่ดิน How to get land
แปลง (site of land)				
1				
2				
3				
4				

8. ท่านทำการเกษตรแบบพันธสัญญาหรือไม่ (Do you practice contract farming?)

() ใช่ (yes) () ไม่ใช่ (no)

9. ท่านเก็บหาของป่าหรือไม่ (Do you collect TFPs and NTFPs?)

() ใช่ (yes) () ไม่ใช่ (no)

10. ในหมู่บ้านของท่านมีกลุ่มอะไรบ้าง ท่านอยู่กลุ่มใด (Are anybody a number of a group/organization?)

() ศาสนา (Religion)

() เยาวชน (Youth group)

()ต่อต้านยาเสพติด (Anti-drug group)

() สตรี (Women group)

() ทอผ้า (Weaving group)

() อื่นๆ (Other)

2.3 Economic results and calculations:

\ Ethnic group Income per year pr household	Lisu n = 4	Lahu n = 14	Palong n = 23	Thai n = 6	Total n = 47
0-2500 year/household	1		1		2
2501-5000			2		2
5001-7500		1	3	1	5
7501-10.000	2	1	4	1	8
10.001-12.500		2	1		3
12.501-15.000		3	3		6
15.001-17.500		1			1
17.501-20.000		2	2		4
20.001-30.000	1	2	1	1	5
30.000 - 50.000		1	1		2
50.001-100.000					0
100.001-200.000		1		1	2
200.000-				1	1
No estimate			3	1	4

Table A 2.3: Income per year pr household showed by ethnic group.

The economic conclusions drawn from this simple table are few. They have been included, because of a lack of economic data in general in this rapport. The Danish team does not include an economist, and the economic data gained by the Thai students are unintelligible to a layperson. Therefore this rough simple schematic is the best we can do.

2.4 Village demography

age	Lisu	Lahu	Palong	Thai	Total
0-5	2	18	25	8	53
6-10	3	8	18	2	31
11-15	2	9	15	3	29
16-20	1	20	14	1	36
21-25	3	5	12	3	23
26-30	2	7	16		25
31-35	3	5	8	2	18
36-40	2	7	12	1	22
41-45		6	5	4	15
46-50	2	2	4	1	9
51-55	1	1	6	1	9
56-60	1		3		4
61-65			1		1
66-70		2	2		4
71-75			1		1
76-80			1		1
81-85			1		1
86-90			2	1	3
91-95			1		1
Total	22	90	147	27	286

Table 2.4 Villagers distributed on age intervals and ethnic group

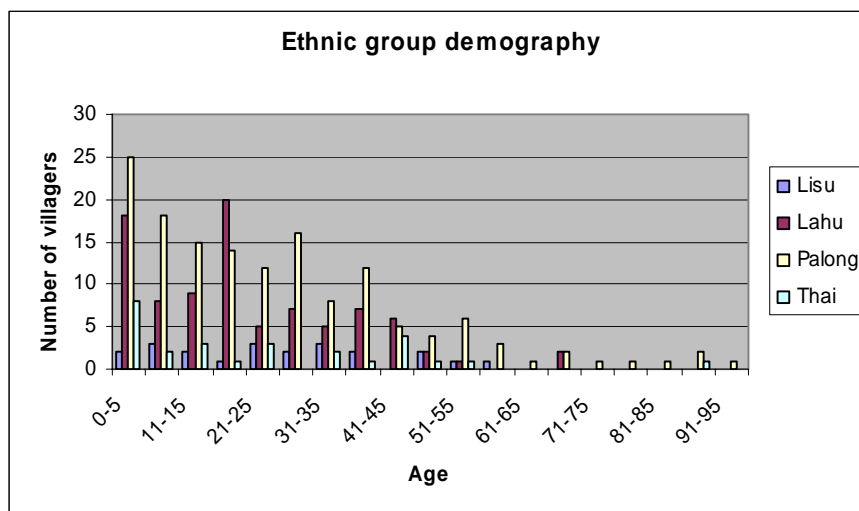
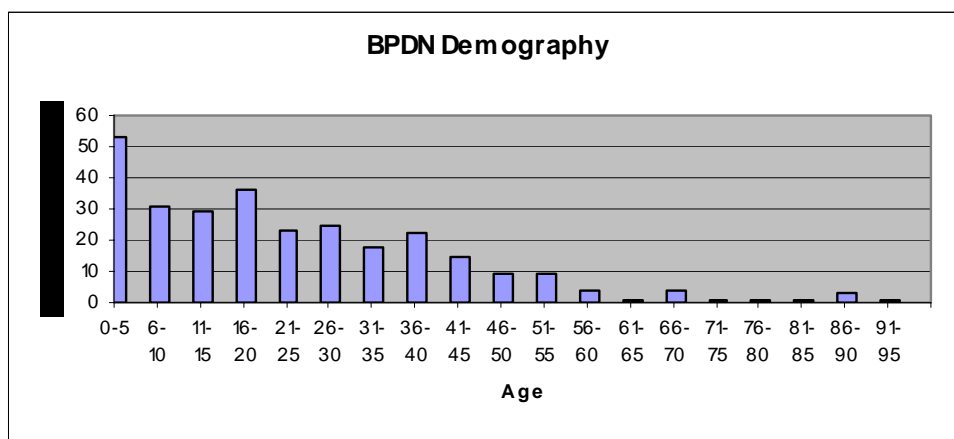


Figure 2.4 Villagers distributed on age intervals and ethnic group



2.5 Gender distribution:

age	Male	Female
0-5	23	31
6-10	19	12
11-15	15	14
16-20	15	20
21-25	12	11
26-30	11	14
31-35	7	11
36-40	12	10
41-45	8	7
46-50	7	2
51-55	6	3
56-60	3	1
61-65	1	
66-70	1	3
71-75		1
76-80		1
81-85		1
86-90		3
91-95	1	

Table 2.5 Villagers distributed on age intervals and gender in Ban Pan Daeng Nok

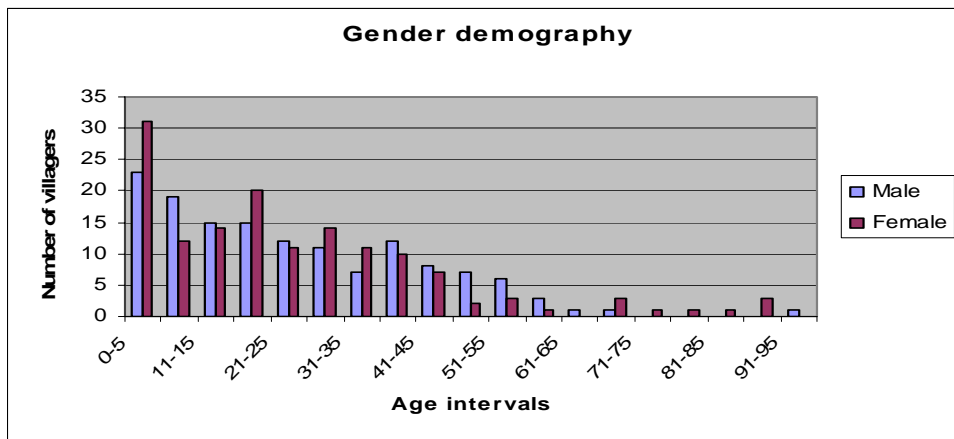


Figure 2.5 Villagers distributed on age intervals and gender in Ban Pan Daeng Nok

Appendix 3: Results

3.1 Translation of text:

3.1.1 Translation of legal text:

Translator: Am

The following 2 documents are legal documents procured by the Thai teachers while still in Chiang Mai before the field trip. The translation of the text was very difficult for the interpreter, and the result is somewhat vague.

Bill 2. 1997

From the center office: (Of Ministry of interior?)

Considers the list of Thai Citizenship to Hill Tribe people, old used since 16 Sep. 1993.

To compromise and make sure that this act won't overlap the previous act, and to decrease the working process time.

For Hill Tribe people to get Thai Citizenship the following conditions must be met:

1. The person must be born in Thailand and conditions must not differ from the act of 1965, improved in 1992.
2. The person must be 20 years old or married.
3. If a applicant would want to move this person must have land in the new district and bring papers to prove that he can have Thai Citizenship
4. The person must earn a living legally and not oppose the peace of society.
5. The person must not grow drugs or have to stop.
6. The person must be able to communicate in Thai

Act of Nationality

By the King July 20. 1995

For aliens who don't have Thai nationality/citizenship

How to get Thai citizenship:

Automatically:

1)Children of Thai Parents with citizenship, also who live outside Thailand

2)Children born outside Thailand by a Thai mother.

8)Children born in Thailand by two non-Thai parents will not get citizenship

9)A person married to a Thai citizen can apply for citizenship

10) Aliens with the following status can apply for citizenship:

Adult (20 years old)

Good behavior

Work by formal way

After 5 years of citizenship they must have land.

Must speak Thai

Must swear oath to uphold Thai law

Appendix 4: Interviews

4.1 Land tenure interviews

4.1.1 Royal Forest Department RFD)

Informant: Mr. Tawatchai Phongsivivian 28/Jan./2003 – 14:00 Pm.

Interviewer: Mr. Benjamin Berton

Interpreter: Mr. Prin

Methodological approach:

This interview took place in the RFD offices in Chiang Dao province, among the Thai, Danish students and translators were around 12 people. There were two officers; one of them was officer of National Park Department, the other one was working on legislations and policies for more than 30 years. The students made an agreement to split up in two groups, the first 45 minutes we were interviewed to one of the officers and the others 45 minutes we interviewed the other one.

The first 45 minutes was not so relevant, due to lack of coordination between the students and officer. He began to talk long sentences, without pauses. Thai students were happy, they got a huge piece of information.

The second part of the interview in fact was less than 30 minutes and not 45 minutes that it was already established before starting the interviews. The interview was not so relevant neither; it seemed like a conversation between the informant and the translator, the interviewer interrupted twice for request information, after the interview was too late to have all the information needed from the translator, and then came a tiny conflict between the interviewer and the translator, that we won't mention here because of ethical aspects.

The questions that we prepared for this interview and the most relevant information that we had, is described below:

The answers of our responder weren't according to our questions because of the circumstances during the interview whereby the lack of time and agreement among the students who have been participating during the interview, made the answers be imprecisely as well.

Questions already prepared a day before that the interview started

1. How is/was the land distribution according to the zones classified by RFD?
2. How does work the structure and system of Land tenure?

3. Are already classified the borders of the farmlands and how these borders were established?
4. How does the certification of agricultural land issued by RFD influence the livelihood of the villagers?
5. Are they planning to move all these illegal people to other place?
6. In which way RFD helps to the villagers to obtain a title deed?
7. In which way can RFD helps to have better management of Natural Resources to the villagers?
8. How can RFD influence on the education and understanding of the villagers in order to have better management of the Natural Resources in National Reserve area?
9. How has been changed the livelihood of the villagers before and after 1992?
10. Since 1941 that the RFD law about title deed haven't been changed, are they planning to change or renewed soon?

The Community Forest (CF) Bill: The Community Forest Bill it wasn't be launched yet. RFD argued that, most of the villagers have not enough education and understanding how to manage the Forest, and their lack of knowledge about the legislations are obstacles to approve the CF Bill.

Planning to move people: After RFD arrested 56 village people in BPDN and BPDN for destruction of forest they decide to move all of them to other place. The plan consists to move back to their own places to those village people who have green and blue cards. But the Minister of Interior will support this decision.

Zoning strategy of the Land: The zones well known as: Agricultural zone (A); Conservation (C) and economic zone (E) within the National Park Reserve area is not have been declared it yet because not all officers are familiarized with this term, they would like to divide it in acts and also because is more easy for them to handle this term.

Mr. Sampoom the headman of our location: The office of RFD in Chiang Dao district has already.

Register the name of our headmen and the year when he arrived that was in 1986. This officer interviewed said that Mr Sampoom took overland saying village people that he was the owner of the land in the central part of BPDN. There is a conflict between RFD officers and Mr Sampoom, is not easy to find out the right way how to move to the headmen of BPDN and the rest of the villagers.

- In 1995 was built the road, which is crossing from the West part Chiang Dao till East part Ban Pha Lai.
- 11 May of 1999 the Minister of Interior give policies to the Chiang Dao district which indicated that: all the population who lives in the entire district have to go to the RFD offices to declare the amount of land that each household is holding. This mean's how many rais each family owns.

4.1.2 Land Unit department (LUD)

Informant: Mr. Kittidech Tiyaopong 28/Jan./2003 - 11:00 Am
Interviewer: Mr. Benjamin Berton
Interpreter: Mr. Prin

Brief description of the interview

This interview was a little bit different compare to the others; first of all, the interviewer and his translator arrived to the Land Unit Department office 15 minutes before the time arrangement. We asked if would have the possibility to start the interview early. The answer and reaction was completely positive. The interviewer, translator and the officer of this Department were talking about not only where is located BPDN but also the origin of the excluded area and the conflicts between authorities as well. The officer was supporting this answers showing maps and a list of names of those persons who have NS-3 in the South part of BPDN.

The officer was very polite and well educated with a predisposition to help us as much as he could, the information that we had in this interview was very necessary and helpful for our checking cross information method.

The interaction between the translator and informant was cordial and big willing to help. The translation was clear, with pauses without any kind of interruption. The translator showed during the whole interview the same as the officer: willing to help, very participative and very friendly.

After 15 minutes, arrived the rest of the students, among Thai, Danish students and translators we were around 8 people, then, The answers of our responder weren't according to our questions because of the circumstances during the interview whereby the lack of time and agreement among the students who have been participating during the interview, made the answers be imprecisely as well.

Questions already prepared a day before of the interview:

How is/was the land distributed according to the zones classification by RFD?

How does work, the structure or system of Land tenure of the villages?

In which way the farmers have been encouraged to cultivate their land?

Has the title deed some effect to their livelihood of the villagers?

Under which conditions it is possible to get a title deed in the case to follow the whole process?

How is the plan of the Government to move to those people who are illegal doing some agricultural practices?

Framework of Land Unit Department (LUD):

The land management of the village No. 9 is particularly Manage by RFD, on the other side all those areas where are considered excluded areas is manage by Agricultural Land Department.

In 1973, RFD has declared National Park the zone where actually is BPDN located. Four years later this authority gave title deeds (NS-3) to those people who were using the land as a agricultural practice. These title deeds were delivered in the South part of BPDN,

under unknown reasons this legislation came out from Land Unit Department only for that period which was valid in 1977.

The area mentioned above is called NS-3 area by Land Unit Department, which now is exclusively depending on RFD.

Our responder argue that the lack of staff, technology and capable from part of RFD made this mistakes bigger and bigger, he argue that RFD spend five years to create a map of the zone while Land Unit Department spend a couple of years to create the same map of the zone.

Besides that, Land Unit Department can make more precise, he showed us a comparison of maps between RFD and LUD, where he founded a ½ kilometre of error in the measurement of these maps.

According to his point of view there are two options in order to solve this problem. The first one is that RFD can exclude the entire area of BPDN from National Park Reserve.

The second one is that RFD in order to move all those illegal people to new areas; RFD must to give them title deeds.

4.1.3 Tambon Administration Organisation (TAO)

Informant: Mr. Chaiyapoom:

Interviewer: Mr. Benjamin Berton

Translator: Mr. Prin

27/Jan/2003 – 14:00 pm

Methodological approach:

The interview took place in the TAO offices located in Chiang Dao district; the informant was a officer wearing a an TAO 's official uniform. He was cordial and wanted collaborate as much as he could. The people who participated in this interview were 10 people around among Thai, Danish students and translators.

Among the students, we did an agreement to ask general questions in the beginning and then, to continue with specific questions 2 for each location.

After 20 minutes the interview started, the headman of our location (Mr. Somboon) came to the TAO office and joined during the rest of the interview.

About those two specific questions, one of them was referring on the electricity conflict. Why the electricity goes from the school in the southeast part of BPDN till Mr. Somboon house and suddenly is cut?

The answer is explaining below under electricity conflict. The interaction between the translation and the officer was formal and the tension in the atmosphere was notorious between the Thai students and the officer. In general the answers were not too long.

After we left the TAO 's office, Mr Somboon stayed a bit longer.

The answers of our responder weren't according to our questions because of the circumstances during the interview whereby the lack of time and agreement among the students who have been participating during the interview, made the answers be

imprecisely as well. In fact to have an interview with a officer who have to answer many different topics and issues make the interview a bit superficial, and not focused on specific answers.

Questions already prepared a day before that the interview started

1. Has been any kind of land reform in the last ten years? Which one?
2. How is/was the land distributed?
3. Do the inhabitants own the land that they cultivate?
4. Is there any type of informal training of the villagers in how to manage the forest?
5. Under which conditions it would be possible for the farmers to obtain subsidy from the government?
6. Who form part of the TAO members?
7. How is the election in order to nominate new members of TAO?
8. How does work the administration structure in the village?
9. What is the reason that BPDN doesn't has electricity?
10. How is the distribution of social service?
11. Does TAO have any influence to some kind of loan to the villagers?
12. How they are thinking to move out all these village people who are illegal?

Framework structure of TAO: The TAO committee comprise one headman of sub district, two headmen of the village and four other villagers. Tao is under Department of Local Administration (DOLA), this authority is under Ministry of Interior.

TAO agenda: The agenda of TAO is organized according to the participative meetings between officers and villagers, they are visiting village by village, talking with the local people about the village's problems, and listening to the villager's complains. The administrative section in village 9 and 11 is a local committee which is conformed by Thai people who is management the administrative part, these people don't want to include within administrative section to hill tribes people. One of the reasons is because; hill tribe people can not speak fluent Thai language, lack of education and lack of knowledge about the current problems of the village.

Controlling people: The ministry of Interior gave to some authorities the faculty to control Hill tribes people. One of these authorities working on this control system was TAO.

They were given temporary numbers to each household in 1993. After this mentioned year, hill tribe people got it blue cards that it doesn't mean that they were residents. If those hill tribe people who have settled before 1993 have to be moved to other place which can have SPK title deed?

Those people who have settled after 1993 have to go back to their own original places.

Community forestry definition according to our informant: Community Forestry is a management of the forest in cooperation between the officers and the village people, is a community participation among the villagers in order to take care and have better management of the natural resources of the forest.

TAO department in cooperation with RFD and National Park Unit are planning to implement a fire break policy which consist to give knowledge, education and information how to take care the forest.

TAO officer argued that community forestry legislation is not implemented yet; the bill is still in a kind of pilot process. The boundaries of the community forest area are not implemented yet neither.

Once the community forestry Bill will become be officially accepted, the management of the forest will become to be easier.

Electricity Conflict in BPDN: The connection of electricity which goes from the school in the southeast part of BPDN till the Thai house No 79 according to our household survey (See appendix No..) is a conflict for Mr Samphoom.

From the TAO side it doesn't seems to be a problem, thereby they argue that the school is part of the government that is the reason why that part of the village has electricity.

Referring to the Thai family No 79 (See appendix No..) they got this benefit casual and it was a mistake of connection.

The officer suggestion was to contact the headman of the entire village No 9, who is the right person to talk about this issue.

Whereas Mr Samphoom argue is that the church also need electricity, thereby people who want to participate during the church activities, could do that not only during the day but also during the evenings.

4.1.4 In-depth land Tenure Interviews

Methodology considerations: These types of interviews (in-depth) are chosen after make the general household survey which enabled us to draw a map walk of the village and can identify each household with a number defined. The households chosen in these depth interviews are selected as key informants in order to get relevant and specific information. The information gathered during the interviews it will be much depending on what type or under which issue is considered and managed the interview.

The questions were formulated according the economic and

Based on the map of the village walk made for us,

Therefore the structure of the interviews describe below is divided in those ethnic groups who are living in the village: Lahu, Palong, Lisu and Thai.

Even though the questions of this in-depth interview suppose to be specific and much focused on land access – land tenure, the answers obtained from the responders were not the same as the interviewer expected, that happened because some questions, were not as

so specific as the interviewer thought, and also because other external factors such as: the time was short, the place probably was not the best place, responder was shy or probably lack of knowledge and information.

All these factors in a certain way had have some influence on the answers from the informants. All the questions used from this questionnaire, has been asked to the responders, considering their answers the process during the interview has been in correlative way, depending much on their answers the interview has continued or has stopped.

All the questions wrote down in the questionnaire, has been used for the 11 key-informants

Description of the in-depth interviews Summarized:

The in-depth interviews were carry out in different areas in Ban Pan Daeng Nok. In general the interviewer (Benjamin Berton) and his interpreter (Prin) were very welcome into their houses. The behaviour of those key informants during the interview were friendly, but at the same time children who have been around or present during the interviews have showed us shyness. Besides that, children look malnutrition as an indicator of poverty.

4.1.4.1 In-depth interview No 1

Household No: 15

Ethnic group: Thai-group

Name of the key-informant: Mr. Yephoo

Title deed/Land certificate: NS-3

This interview took place in the South-western part of BPDN, in the surroundings of Mr. Yephoo lands next to the stream. After Mr. Prin (translator) introduces me to the responder, Mr. Prin and the responder had a small conversation.

In the beginning was not so difficult to follow my structured questions, and follow the process in a correlative way. But, few question after, my structured interview was a bit twisted, due to the long and disorder answers from my responder. But very value pieces of information, that is describe below:

Mr. Yephoo is come from and lives in Chiang Dao district, these pieces of lands belong to his

mother who also lives in Chiang Dao district and inherited from her father (Mr. Yephoo ´s grand-father). Mr. Yephoo ´s grand father came to this place more than 100 years ago, escaping from a civilian war. Yephoo ´s grand father settled in this part due to a Buddhist temple which had been located in the surroundings of this area and therefore the Buddhist people already cleared this area. Yephoo continued telling us (interpreter and interviewer) that during and after the war mentioned above, the Buddhist temple was destroyed and Buddhist people had to live this place in order to find out a new peaceful place. Then, Yephoo ´s grand father took some of these pieces of land, because are very close to the stream.

As it is mentioned above, Mr. Yephoo ´s mother is the owner of these lands together with, Yephoo ´s aunt, who each have approximately 12 rais (2 ha.)

It was the Land Unit Department which gave them a title deed certificate in 1973 NS-3, because they were doing agricultural practices, then Yaphoo 's mother sold part of her land 40 rais (6.4 ha.) to Mr. Paam who is one the officers working for TAO (Tamboom Administration Office) Yephoo 's mother accepted the negotiation because Mr. Paam offered a big amount of money, that's why she sold such big piece of land, this transaction was carried out in 1975.

This means that before Yephoo 's mother sold some land to Mr Paam, she had more than 50 rais (8 ha.).

Mr. Yephoo argued that in fact to have a title deed has benefits: they can do whatever they want in their land, nobody can take it, RFD can not take it, that's why he felt that this land is completely secure. In order to improve their livelihoods, he would like to buy same machinery to use in this land, he would like also to sell more products to the market, in order to get more income and improve his livelihood.

4.1.4.2 In-depth interview No 2

Household No: 79

Ethnic group: Thai-group

Name of the key-informant: Mrs. Tung Luck

Title deed/Land certificate: SPK

This family is living here for more than 15 years ago; they choose this land to do different agricultural practices. This land bought time ago for a Thai person who lives in Luck, they have a 9 rais (1 and half Ha.) with mango trees, corn crops and ginger as well. Crossing the stream out of BPDN they have another piece of land which its crops are the same as mentioned above, Mango trees and corn.

She doesn't know about title deeds and land certificates and its processes how to get it. But, her husband knows.

4.1.4.3 In-depth interview No 3

Household No: 21 or 22

Ethnic group: Thai-group

Name of the key-informant: Chiang Dons

Title deed/Land certificate: Illegal land

They have been living in this place for 3 years, the reason that they came to this place, was because their parents sold their land, so they haven't any place where to stay. They bought this land for 4000 bath from Buddhist Palong called Mr. Chao. They don't know almost anything about title deeds.

They consider in they would have a land certificate; they would built a better house. They didn't have a land before.

4.1.4.4 In-depth interview No 4

Household No: 20

Ethnic group: Thai-group

Name of the key-informant: Mrs. Sawan

Title deed/Land certificate: Have no land

They choose this land for household settle 3 years ago, they bought for 3000 bath from Lung Soi Who is a headman of Palong Buddhist, and this land was used as a household settlement, they don't know anything about title deeds.

4.1.4.5 In-depth interview No 5

Household No: 62

Ethnic group: Palong-group

Name of the key-informant: Lo Lae

Title deed/Land certificate: Have no land

They came from Lolae Amphur Phang, they choose this land to work on it, and they live 9 years ago. Mr. Moon dam a Buddhist who borrow his land, they don't know nothing about title deeds, they never have a land before.

4.1.4.6 In-depth interview No 6

Household No: 26

Ethnic group: Palong-group

Name of the key informant:

Title deed/Land certificate: SPK

He used to live in Chiang Dao province; he lives 10 years ago in this land, they borrowed from a Thai family, now they are doing tree plantations more than 30 years ago, on the other side of the road (North part), they don't know nothing about title deeds, if they would own the land they would do agricultural farming practices, They need to live more than 40 years to obtain a ID card, they feel that their land where they are now is make them to feel unsecured because they are not the owners.

4.1.4.7 In-depth interview No 7

Household No: 45

Ethnic group: Palong-group

Name of the key-informant: Ang Kang

Title deed/Land certificate: NS-3

They came from Lau Lae, they didn't have no place where to stay, they have been here for more than 20 years, they bought this land for 9000 bath from Mr. Mom Dum a thai person. He is growing corn in a 4 rais area, he also rent a land which has a NS-3 along the stream which has approximately 6 rais, and they know basic information about title deeds. They think that the benefits that they can obtain from the benefits, they would better manage of water into the fields for better agricultural practices. And if they don't have title deed officers of RFD can arrest. They would do the land and put more inputs in it, if they would have title deeds.

4.1.4.8 In-depth interview No 8

Household No: 13

Ethnic group: Lahu-group

Name of the key-informant:

Title deed/Land certificate: Illegal land

They came from Chiang Mai, they are living in this land for more than 10 years, and his father was living here for more than 10 years ago. They felt that nobody can force them to go away from this land. If they would have a title deed, they wouldn't change their crops, they would like to have a SPK, they can not explain why that. They don't have how to obtain a title deed.

4.1.4.9 In-depth interview No 9

Household No: 8

Ethnic group: Lahu-group

Name of the key-informant:

Title deed/Land certificate: Illegal land

They came from Chai Prakal, they are living here for more than 17 years ago, this was belonging to Thai person the land that he using now. If they would have a title deed, they would do different agricultural practices, better living standart. He thinks he would have both NS-3 and SPK, they would crop maize, and have more investments.

4.1.4.10 In-depth interview No 10

Household No: 55

Ethnic group: Lahu-group

Name of the key-informant:

Title deed/Land certificate: NS-3

They came from Chiang BraKa district, she had husband before, then she got married again, she had three husbands , they are living here for more than 10 years ago, very few

people were here when she arrived here, she has a NS-3, her husband made the negotiation with RFD, she couldn't explain it why her husband got a title deed, now that husband is dead, that's why she couldn't explain that. Her husband is a Chinese person who has been living with her for more than 10 years ago, she works in her land which has 4 rai, and she knows that she can sell it, because she has a title deed.

4.1.5 RFD Officer, Bangkok representative

Informant: Mr. Janesak Wichawutipong & Ajan Pat

Interviewers: Helena Fink & Benjamin Berton

This interview took place in Ban Pan Daeng Nok, at a table in the free air outside the village headman's house. It was conducted by Mrs. Helene Fink and Mr. Benjamin Berton, who have been sharing the interview at the same time. The responders were Mr. Janesak and Mrs. Pat.

The respondent's opinion on the importance of the related factors of ID, tenure/title, access to credit, investment, intensification and expansion in the areas of Ban Mae Chon and Ban Tha Khi Lek. What is the respondent's assessment of the status of the situation and of a probable versus a wishful development?

Introduction at the interview: To begin with I mentioned 3 facts: The fact that a serious flood in southern Thailand back in 1988 was explained by progressing deforestation, and lead to the so-called 'logging ban' in 1989. And the fact that the target from the National Forest Policy in 1985 of maintaining 40 % of Thailand's total area as National Reserved Forest areas¹ means that the areas around Ban Mae Chon and Ban Tha Khi Lek is gazetted as a National Reserved Forest area. And lastly, the fact that, according to the division in 1992 of the National Reserved Forest areas into A, E and C zones, Ban Mae Chon is located in a C-zone, and Ban Tha Khi Lek is located in an E-zone.

Furthermore I mentioned that we had found out that in Ban Mae Chon the villagers/farmers had no documentation on their land, and in Ban Tha Khi Lek only few (ca. 35%) had SPK² on all or some of their land.

¹ Before 1989 the aim was that the 40% should be divided between 15% conservation forest and 25% economic forest. After 1989 this ratio was reversed to 25% conservation forest and 15% economic forest. This was stated in the 7th NESDP for 1992-1996 and re-stressed in the 8th NESDP for 1997-2001 (Rasmussen et al., 1995 p.20-21)

It says the following in the 8th NESDP: "Rehabilitate and protect forest areas covering no less than 25 percent of the entire Kingdom, and demarcate reserve forest zones, within the period of the Eighth Plan." (8th NESDP 1997-2001, p. 110) That is, not explicitly denoted as conservation zone.

² SPK is acronym for the Thai expression Sor-Por-Kor. This form of documentation is issued by the ALRO under MOAC in specific areas related to the Agricultural Land Reform Act from 1975. The legal status of the document is so that it is a usufruct certificate meaning that the holder of the document is allowed to

in the form of land documents, that can be used as collateral, leads to improved access to credits, which in turn creates the basis for investments/intensifications (fertilizer, machines, etc.), which in turn lessen the incitement for expansion?

RJ = Respondent, Mr. Janesak

RP = Respondent, Mrs. Pat

IH = Interviewer, Mrs. Helene

IB = Interviewer, Mr. Benjamin

() The keywords in each answer is stated in brackets and italics

To start with Mr. Janesak wants to clarify for us that the land area in question is not under the Land Law, it is still forest, a piece of state land. He tells us (what we already are familiar with) that the SPK usufruct certificates are issued by the ALRO, that their transfer rights imply that they cannot be sold, only inherited, and that the temporary STK usufruct certificates are issued by the RFD, and that these also only can be inherited. Both the SPK and STK cannot be converted into NS-3 (more secure, allows transfer by selling, use as mortgage). What were not sure of was that the SPK document is also temporary.

The he also wants us to be familiar with a definition from one of his latest publications: “Forest means land which has not been taken up by or acquired by any other means under the Land Law.” (We think the point is that the area of Mae Tor Watershed is still under the Land Law, and therefore considered as forest.)

In relation to question 1., 2. and 3.: (*Permanent title, collateral, credit, encroachment*)

In the future it will be allowed to use the SPKs as collateral, this is the GO policy. The idea is, that the SPK should be permanent (or transferred into a permanent form of documentation?) and thereby be possible to use as collateral in relation to credit, he says. Mr. Janesak does not like this idea. His idea is that this would be unfair to some people. If people who has encroached a land area can obtain permanent land documentation by doing that it will be unfair to other landless people, and he points to the fact that it is state land, that we are talking about. The problem is, he says, that if encroachers get permanent land documents, they will sell the land and then encroach further into the area, and this will happen in all zones.

(*Peoples livelihood*)

IB: “How can you improve the livelihood of the people here?”

collect, use and make money from activities conducted on the land, but according to the transfer rights he/she is not allowed to sell the land, only to transfer it by inheritance, and he/she is not allowed to use it as collateral. (Basic Information 2003, p. 29)

RJ: Mr. Janesak: “What should we say to this? Do you have any idea Pat?”

RP: Mrs. Pat: “The RFD officers try to push people out of the area.”

RJ: Mr. Janesak: “There was a forest plantation here. It was a forest plantation before the encroachment.”

(Illegal households, enforcement)

IB: “There are 4-5 illegal households on the other side of the road here. They have had some negotiations with the RFD. The RFD does not enforce the law. What is your opinion, should the RFD ignore the violation of the law or enforce the law?”

RP: “This is not our area of responsibility. An RFD officer cannot do anything just because he/she has seen remnants of cut trees.”

RJ: “They clear, but they also plant trees, to secure themselves. If RFD officers catch someone in the act of cutting a tree, then they can enforce the law. They also monitor from helicopters.”

IB: “What livelihood strategy should people ensue, if not clearing some area to farm? People came from the other side of the border.”

RJ: “Because the RFD has very limited instruments of enforcement, they have a possibility to encroach the area.”

IH: “Who can actually enforce the law then?”

RP: “You have to go through the police and the court system, they have the right to arrest.”

(ID cards)

IB: “So, there is this problem of immigration, and people must have ID card to be able to pursue a proper living, how long shall they stay before they can get it?”

RJ: “More than 20 years. After they have had a temporary ID card. The sequence goes: temporary ID card, permanent ID card, temporary title deeds, permanent title deeds.”

RP: “The map is inaccurate. Mr. Benjamin, the villagers and the RFD has different maps.” (Does this answer relate to *, see below?)

(Education, ‘supermarket’)

IB: “How could you teach the people to manage the forest in accordance with your targets?”

RP: “It is very difficult.”

RJ: “The forest is the ‘supermarket’ for these people.”

RP: “It is very difficult, they are poor, it is difficult to tell them only to take a little bit from the forest.”

(Biodiversity, CF)

IH: “Is there a problem in relation to the biodiversity due to the collection of NTFPs, and how do you deal with this?”

RJ: “We try to establish food banks in the CFs with edible and medicinal plants.”

(Fairness)

RJ: “If you want to have SPK you have to do something, much more than the others, otherwise it would not be fair.”

(Communal versus private ownership)

IB: “But if they are poor, how can they pay to obtain land legally?”

RJ: “There is/should be community land provided, not private land, for the poor. To secure that they do not sell the land.” (And increase the encroachment.)

(Authority, sustainable CFs)

RJ: Mr. Janesak would like the RFD to get the authority over the forest areas, so they can create more sustainable CFs.

(People versus forest)

* IB: “How do you consider the situation before and after 1992?” (The division into A, E and C zones)

RJ: “This meant that the security for the farmers increased, because they have their own piece of land now. So it was better for the people in that way. But it was bad for the forest, because, and now Mr. Janesak is upset, the E-zones was moved to be under the responsibility of the Land Department (MOI). The problem is that when the RFD committee has to look into the forest activities in the E-zone, the law on top so to speak is the Land Reform Department (probably ‘same same’ as Department of Lands, DL/MOI). They set the conditions and cooperation is very difficult. There has to be done some checks and balances on the function of this new structure.

Summing up:

As it is now, the District Land Office (under the DL, MOI) issues the permanent title deeds like the NS-3, NS-3 K, and NS-4, which allow the farmer to transfer the land by selling. These documents are issued for plots of land outside the National Forest Reserves. (Basic information 2003, p. 26) The RFD issues the temporary document STK inside the National Forest Reserves, and the ALRO issues the SPK in specific areas. A

farmer needs to have either a Thai ID card or a title deed (the latter you can only obtain with a Thai ID card) to obtain access to more official forms of credits (in the case of local middlemen it is a different story), that is most often a necessary basis for investments and intensification. The current political structure of the senate, the law, the representatives and the last 5 year plan (the 9th) create the limits and possibilities for the future development of this situation, and the different ideas and power relations of the various politicians defines what and whose influence is going to count.

4.2 Civil Rights Interviews

4.2.1 IMPECT Volunteer:

Mr. Wichit Nguimerku
Lives in Ban Huai E-ko
Translator: Dee

IMPECT is an old organization. It works with education, culture, empowerment, corporation between villages and human rights.

On the citizenship issue Mr. Wichit will help villagers to fill out the form for the ID card and check that all the attachments are ok. In this area there was a large mob at the city hall (Chiang Mai?) of hill tribe people and lowland Thais to demonstrate over citizenship and forest issues.

There are 4 different kinds of documentation of residence in Thailand besides the Thai citizenship.

1. The household certificate. This document can help a family prove how long it's members have resided in an area or in Thailand.

2. The household list certificate survey in 1985. This survey produced a certificate like the household certificate, which is also very useful for proving “early” residence in Thailand.

3. The Blue ID card survey of 1991-1992. This card identifies the person as living within a specific province. The holder can live and travel within that province. The Blue card does not allow the holder to obtain social services, to work, vote, to own land. Also the card cannot be used as identification when purchasing large products requiring ID such as motorized vehicles.

4. The Green card with red border card. Surveyed in 1999. The green card identifies the district of residence/issue and limits travel to within that district. The green card does not allow the holder to obtain social services, to work, vote, to own land. The card cannot be used as identification when purchasing large products requiring ID.

Mr. Wichit described how a hill tribe person can be approved for a Thai citizenship. The person must prove that he or she has legal rights of residence within Thailand. Any of these four documents will prove this. For an application to be approved without difficulty however, it would be best for the person to hold the Household list certificate survey as well as either a blue or green card. With such two certificates, it will be proved beyond doubt that the person has a history of residence in Thailand.

The first two documents are given to entire households, while each person registered gets their own blue or green card. The documents are copies, of which there are originals at the registration office at the place of issue. Also, Mr. Wichit says, there is a database in Bangkok with all this information.

The application for Thai citizenship is processed at the registration office in Chiang Dao. The head of the office there, Mr. Sayan Jai Boon, Mr. Wichit described as very impolite. Sometimes the officer asks for money to process the application.

A problem for the hilltribe people is the shallowness of the surveys performed. Mr. Wichit gave several examples of how different entries in the forms made by the survey would hinder the approval of an application for Thai citizenship. In one example the place of birth was unreadable, and therefore the document was deemed unreliable at the registration office. In another example a person's papers said that she was born in Burma even though she was born in Thailand.

The interview with Mr. Wichit was conducted with little preparation. There was time to prepare some questions but not to consider much methodology. Thus the interview became a semi-structured interview with open-ended questions.

The interview was conducted with an English speaking Thai student, Pang, from location 2, and went really well. Mr. Wichit was happy to talk about his work as a volunteer, and answered each question seriously and capably. The time for the interview was beforehand set to be 1 hour by the supervising teacher. The interviewers were able to time the interview almost to the minute, without rushing it.

The value of teamwork in the translation became evident, as much of the success of the interview was caused by Pang ability to translate as well as our teamwork in rephrasing questions and probing Mr. Wichit further.

4.2.2 Mr. Nikhom Puttha

Leader of the NGO: Upper Mae Ping Watershed Management Project

Interpreter: Dee

What work does your project do?

Which NGO's d you have contact with?

What do these do?

How have you been active in the 5 villages we are in? In ?

Do you now the organization IMPECT?

Have they been involved here? How?

Do you believe that the resources of the Mae Tor Watershed is used sustainably? Why?

Does the lack of civil rights affect the land use of the villagers? How and Why?

How important is citizenship to sustainable res. Management.

What do you think will happen to ? Will they have to move?

The organization is under the Wildlife fund Thailand. It was established 5-6 years ago, and is supported by the environmental fund of the Thai Government.

The main activity is to arouse the motivation of the villagers, build the learning process, and natural resource management of the soil, water, forest of biodiversity. The project is involved in 72 villages.

The form of the natural resource management that the NGO advocate is to use the villagers knowledge, the customs and tradition of the community, the empirical data and the civil law of the country.

The NGO is involved in five activities: community forest management, promotion of traditional agriculture, river management, biodiversity conservation, and the management of local irrigation systems.

There are a lot of NGO's that try to cooperate and help the ethnic groups. One of these are the assembly of the ethic group. Also there is the ethnicity center at the Chiang Mai University at the faculty of social science

Mr. Nikhoms project is involved in organizing and managing the problems about land and the identity cards. He also takes care of the hill service and cooperate with the ethnic assembly.

There are many activities that his project or NGO's help the villagers of BPDN:

- The circulate fund of the village,
- Water supply from the mountain
- Medicine, food and clothes

- Corporate with the district officer in order to help the hill tribe people to get identity cards.
- Negotiate with officials and translate for the villagers who do not speak Thai.
- Planning of crops and agricultural system.

The help Mr. Nikhom and the NGO has provided for the villagers of Bang Pang Daeng Nok, has not been very successful, because, he says, the different ethnic groups doesn't act as one community. They don't know the basic Thai culture, so the villagers are very different and separated from the rest of society. The problems in BPDN therefore still exist in areas such as drug interests, drug addiction, migration, and the right over the land as it is National Reserve Forest.

Mr. Nikhom wishes that the villagers could live by themselves and could solve their own problems in a sustainable way. He wish the villagers could be prevented from doing drugs and from invading the forest in order to sell it to the Thais in the city.

Other problems in the village according to Mr. Nikhom is water shortage, which only allow the villagers to do agriculture in the rainy season.

The water shortage is caused by the geology, as the base rock is limestone, and this type of stone can not collect much water, so every time it rains the water is quickly gone. Normally a settler would choose a new location based on access to water, the soil quality, and an appropriate area for the home. In BPDN however, land scarcity have reduces the villagers choice to only finding a plot to place their homes. There is no legal land available for agriculture, and the available water is only enough for household needs.

Mr. Nikhom describes the villagers conflict with the RFD as a dilemma. The RFD have to force the villagers out of the forest zone according to the law, but as the villagers have no place to go, it is impossible for the RFD to do so.

He believes, however, that the RFD activities towards the villagers are very aggressive. They don't think about the human issues. Instead they should help the villagers so that they could lead their lives in a legal way

The villagers worry all the time over the potential threat of relocation, he says. When ever they want to plan their agriculture they lack security in the future. Their uncertainty affects their use of the land.

There are two way for the villagers to stay in BPDN according to Mr. Nikhom. First possibility is for the government officers to accept that the villagers can have an ID card, so that the villagers would have equal rights to the Thais. For example health service, education and other government services.

The second way is for the RFD to withdraw the forest act, and retract the forest reserve status of the area of BPDN, so that the villagers could live in the area legally. The policies will probably be changed in the future so that villagers in forest areas will get to stay, but it probably will not be changed soon. Maybe the RFD will have relocated the villagers of BPDN before these changes are made.

The villagers have learn to follow the laws, such as not destroying the forest or do drugs. They should also work more and take a greater responsibility for their own lives and future. They should not wait for others to help them but also help themselves.

Methodology:

Mr. Nikhom fulfilled all expectations and beyond, being obviously used to interviews and talking to strangers. He answered all questions with long explanations and comments, and was thus a good source to much information as was hoped.

The interview was disturbed only once by a villager from another village than . This seemed unavoidable, and probably due to Mr. Nikhoms ease with being interviewed, the interview continued without problem from were it was stopped.

The lessons learned from this interview was first and foremost that an experiences professional can accept the interview situation much better than those unused. Small talk and other maneuvers are more unnecessary, and thus saves time. It also became clear however, that an expert such as Mr. Nikhom easily can control an interview by talking about what he sees fit. Consideration of courtesy as well as rank can thus undermine an interview and lead to few truly answered questions.

4.2.3 Village interviews:

The following five interviews were made with the villagers feelings of security or uncertainty in mind. The interviews were conducted in the homes, and were unstructured with the purpose of allowing the respondent to guide the interview.

Because of the lack of structure, I will therefore present the list of possible questions I had made in advance, and then summarize the five interviews.

Intro:

How long have you lived in ?

How do you make a living?

How do you like to live in here? Why?

Are you happy to live here? Why?

Are there many problems with living here?

Do you think this/these problem(s)

Do you think your children will continue to live here when they are grown? Why?

Do you have any registration card? Which one?

If Thai Citizen Card:

How did you get this card?

Why did you get this card?

What did you expect the citizenship card would do for your life?

Has this card made any difference in your life?

If Green, Blue or no registration card:

How did you get this card?

Why did you get this card?
How does having this card affect your life?
Would you rather have another kind registration card?
What kind? Why?
How would you get one?
What do you think would become better if you got a Thai citizenship? Why?

4.3.2.1 Household nr. 8

Lahu West
Mrs. Nagobeo Javoe, 28 years old.
Interpreter: Dee
Thai-Lahu interpreter: female friend.

Mrs. Nagobeo has lived in BPDN for 15 years, and is married with children. She, and the rest of those in the household old enough, are employed as hired labor. Mrs. Nagobeo is not happy about living in BPDN since there are too many problems with the forest. She can not see any solutions possible for the villagers and believes that they all, in the end, will be forced to move. Mrs. Nagobeo has a Thai citizenship. This she and parts of the family was inquired about 10 years ago by a survey team. Paluang (Mr. Somboon) had back then told them to stay ready in the village for a survey, because it was important for them. The registration as a Thai citizen had improved her and the family's life, she says, by allowing them to be hired as labor. Before that time they had not been hired. Also now, the officer is much nicer to them, and gives them less trouble.

4.3.2.2 Household Nr. 15

Lahu West
Mr. Yuri Jaer, 30 years old.
Interpreter: Dee
Thai-Lahu interpreter: Male friend.

Mr. Yuri has lived in BPDN for 15 years. He grows peanuts on borrowed land and is not married. Mr. Yuri thinks it's nice to live in BPDN, because it's easy for doing agriculture. Also there is the possibility of doing labor work. Of problems in BPDN there is sometimes not enough food for everyone.

Mr. Yuri has a green card with a red border, but has now applied for a Thai citizenship. The application was at the registration office, where the Paluang (Mr. Somboon) had made an appointment for him.

Mr. Yuri's reason for applying for the registration card is to have a better life. He believes he will be able to gain a larger income, and he plans to go with several other young men of the Lahu West area to Chiang Mai to work in construction, once they get their citizenship.

He also hopes that the citizenship card would prove that he is 100% Thai. For his future he hopes to return to BPDN once and own an orchard.

4.3.2.3 Household Nr. 37

Palong, Buddhist part (west)

Mrs. Ong Sringen, 18 years old.

Interpreter: Dee

Mrs. Ong is a young wife and mother. She sells souvenirs to the tourists and takes care of the children and household.

Mrs. Ong says she is happy about living in BPDN, but wishes she could still work. She used to work before she had children, but now she must take care of the children.

Mrs. Ong's husband has a Thai citizenship, and her baby is registered as a Thai child.

"She produces a number of papers which she contains in a plastic folder. Among them is a laminated certificate of the child's birth at the Chiang Dao hospital, on which there is a picture of the mother and child"

For her part, Mrs. Ong would like a Thai citizenship so that she would have a better relationship with the policy, and not be so afraid of them. Also she would be able to move about more. She does however not believe it would change any of her real problems. She wishes she could work, and she would like to have an education.

4.3.2.4 Household Nr. 26

Palong, Buddhist part (west)

Mr. Chai Putung, 22 years old.

Interpreter: Dee

Mr. Chai has lived in BPDN for 15 years. He is the brother of Mrs. Ong. He works as hired labor.

Mr. Chai is happy to live in BPDN but thinks there is a lot of problems with the land. He cannot own land but has to borrow it. If he had land he would do agriculture and grow an orchard.

In the future Mr. Chai believes it will become more difficult to live in . It will be tougher for his children to live here. Mr. Chai also states regarding the possible relocation, that only those without Thai citizenship would be forced out of the village.

Mr. Chai has a Blue registration card given to him during a survey. He would prefer to have a Thai citizenship, since he would then be able to own land and move about more freely. He would then be able to go to Chiang Mai and work there.

Also, the card would allow him to prove that he is 100% Thai. Now he feels 50% since he is also 50% Palong.

Mr. Chai hopes to be able to get a citizenship card, but has not applied. He states that getting a citizenship depends on the officer who deals with the application. One officer

had asked him how long he had lived in Thailand. He was told that if he could prove he lived in Thailand for 40 years or more, then he would get a citizenship.

4.3.2.5 Household Nr. 55

Lahu, Buddhist part of the Palong area (west)

Mrs. Nanu Jaao, 27 years old.

Interpreter: Dee

Mrs. Nanu has lived in BPDN for 10 years. She came here with her second husband, who later died and left her the land and house. She is now married for the third time to a Chinese man.

Mrs. Nanu grows maize on a plot of land which she owns. She is happy in BPDN and her children have the opportunity to go to school here.

Mrs. Nanu has a Thai citizenship, acquired in her second marriage, which was to a Thai man. Her children will also have Thai citizenship cards when they are old enough.

An semi-structured, open-ended interview method turned out to be rather faulty in BPDN. The villagers responded willingly, but mostly with a yes or no, unless probed deeper and persistently. The semi-structure of the interview quickly turned unstructured, which led to interesting but incomparable interviews.

Lastly but most importantly, the task of interviewing was never completed, ending with only 6 of the 9 interviews completed, of which one was useless because of the limited information revealed by the respondent.

There is no way that the few and different interviews conducted could represent the village in this matter. They are however good examples of individual opinions and concerns in the village, and as such have been valuable in indicating how some villagers see their current and future situation.

4.3 Agricultural Practice interviews

4.3.1 Informal interview # 1

Place of interview: around Mr. Somboons Pick-up truck at the western border of the village.

Duration of the interview: Approx. 30 min.

People present at the interview: Phrommin, Benjamin, Simon (researchers), Pat (supervisor), Prim (interpreter). Mr. Somboon (acting community leader of Ban Pang Daeng Nook)

Type of interview: (Paid guiding)??

Setting and context of interview

In order to know the borders of the village and the areas having title deeds Mr. Somboon was brought as a guide to the eastern and western part of the village over two days. He was chosen because he was thought to be one of the most informed person in the village because of his long presence and influence. We are standing by the bank of the river demarcating the southern border of the village and very close to a fence surrounding a plantation located in the village laying to the west of Ban Pang Daeng Nook.

What came out of the interview

- The large irrigated area in the village is owned by the head of Tambon who bought it from the prime minister in 1988. this area had NS3 already at that time.
- Thais can by bribing obtain title deeds opposed to hill tribes even though they have been in the area for a longer period.
- The prices of land has been increasing over a period and are at present so high that most people have to rent land at a yearly basis.
- This cost approx. 500 B/rai depending on crop.
- Mr. Somboon is buying as much land as possible with the purpose of giving landless people a chance to farm.
- Mr. Somboon also rents out agricultural machinery 200 B/rai to prepare for sowing.
- Mr. Somboon has the possibility to lend money from a Christian fond to the villagers.
- He has been lending and buying land for 200.000 B
- It is not necessary to be a Christian in order to lend money.
- Only 4 persons in this village uses Mr. Somboon's land.

4.3.2 Informal interview # 2

Place of interview: within household nr 44 and at one of the fields cropped by the household

Duration of the interview: Approx. 2 hours.

People present at the interview: Simon (researchers), Prim (interpreter) Pat, Sacha The water sampling woman, the female Lahu woman of the household and a female relative.

Type of interview: unstructured interview.

Setting and context of interview

After having completed the in-depth agricultural interview for some of the households it was decided to make soil samples in their fields. These were chosen done partly in relation to ethnicity and partly in relation to the geographically location of the village in order to get the samples spatially distributed.

For most households the farmer accompanied us to the fields and this proved to be a good opportunity to have time to ask more informal questions and getting answers to problematic questions that is not easily discussed within the village where other people may be listening.

During the agricultural interview the interviewees answer that they don't have any land, but when questioned on the origin of the vegetables laying on their terrace they respond that they have a small garden which they agree to show us. It turns out that it is located approximately 5 kilometres away and covers an area of a few hectares.

What came out of the interview

- The area had been cleared by the brother to the woman of the household 5 years ago.
- The first two years bananas had been growing there.
- The last three years they had been growing rice and beans.
- They had never used any fertilizer.
- They consequently used herbicides against the heavy weed infestation.
- In addition she crop another rented field but the next season the owners son will return and take over the land.

4.3.3 Informal interview # 3

Place of interview: In the field cropped by the household nr 95

Duration of the interview: Approx. 45 minutes.

People present at the interview: Tong, Simon (researchers), Am (interpreter) The male owner of the household.

Type of interview: unstructured interview/ informal conversation.

Setting and context of interview

This field is actually located in the adjacent village on the opposite side of the river demarcating the southern limit of the village. The farmer is unaware of this. The field is located in the central part of the village which has probably been used for agriculture for the longest period. Due to the position close to the river it is quite flat and wet.

What came out of the interview

- The farmer lends this land and in return he has to take care of an adjacent mango plantation.
- He has been cropping this field for approximately 20-30 years.
- He has converted to Christianity because this is needed in order to have permission from Mr. Somboon to continue to farm this land.

4.3.4 Informal interview # 4

Place of interview: within household nr 76 and at the field cropped by the household

Duration of the interview: Approx. 90 minutes.

People present at the interview: Tong, Simon (researchers), Am (interpreter), The single female Lisu owner of the household.

Type of interview: structured interview/ informal conversation.

Setting and context of interview

This household is located just behind the church. The woman owning the house is a widow. She has the most beautiful dog in the village (it has blue eyes and is friend with a pig). The field at the size of 5 rais she uses is located on Mr. Somboons land. When we ask permission to go and take soil samples from her field she is at first reluctant to do so because she is afraid that if Mr. Somboon finds out she will not be allowed to keep the land.

What came out of the interview

- The owner and a seemingly high number of people have plots in an area owned by Mr. Somboon. It is a huge field divided into many small square plots. When asked how many people uses the land she refuses to answer.
- She has never used fertilizer in the 4 years she has used the land.
- The yield is declining though. She doesn't know why.

4.3.5 Informal interview # 5

Place of interview: within household nr 79 and at the field cropped by the household

Duration of the interview: Approx. 90 minutes.

People present at the interview: Tong, Simon (researchers), Am (interpreter), The female Thai owner of the household.

Type of interview: structured interview/ informal conversation.

Setting and context of interview

This household is located west of the main part of the village before the western lahu village. We came to there at dusk and decided to take the soil sample before we did the interview. We did this near the house in an agro forestry managed maize field under the tamarind and mango trees. Afterwards we did the agricultural interview in front of the house around a fireplace. The children of the household were at home and the youngest son did there best to obstruct the household by trying desperately to obtain the attention of their mother by hitting her and burning her with sticks from the fireplace as well as trying to set fire to the dogs. This made the interview very unpleasant and wiped out any patience from our side to stay and ask further questions.

What came out of the interview

- The owners has approx. 30 rais of land which is a lot in relation to the other villagers. Some of this land they have bought from a person who was in dept.
- They have a relatively broad span of different crops.
- They grow ginger which gives a very good outcome of 40.000 b from less than 1 rai.
- They use fertilizer on some of the crops.
- They use pesticides.

- Normally they employ labour.
- Their parents lent them money to buy a car but when asked if the parents enabled them to buy the land she denies.

4.3.6 Informal interview # 6

Place of interview: From the shop to the field belonging to the shop owner and back.

Duration of the interview: Approx. 90 minutes.

People present at the interview: Tong, Aood, Simon (researchers), Am (interpreter), The Thai shopowner

Type of interview: unstructured interview/ informal conversation.

Setting and context of interview

As being one of the few Thais in the village Mr. ????? was to be interviewed. Ha also had agricultural land even though he said that this season he has not been cropping the field because the yield was too poor. On the way to the field he points out a mango plantation and say that it belongs to Mr. Somboon. When asked if he knows how much land Mr. Somboon owns he say that he doesn't know but it is more than 200 rais and he starts a long and emotional explanation on Mr. Somboon. It is clear that The shop owner dislikes Mr. Somboon and, opposed the interviewed Palongs and Lisu he is not afraid to express these feelings.

What came out of the interview

- The palongs can only come to Ban Pang Daeng Nok if they converts to Christianity and crops Mr. Somboons fields and in return pays half the produce.
- Mr. Somboons son has formerly have had drug problems.
- The villagers believe that Mr. Somboon will soon be afford to buy a new house and a big car.
- He behaves like a thai even though he is a lisu.
- Because of him there is problems with the water supply.
- It is because of his illegally cleared fields that the villagers has problems with the RFD. This results in the village not having facilities as electricity.
- Mr. Somboon has only become a Christian in order to get money from the church foundation.
- He has tried to use fertilizer but rejected due to a disappointing effect.
- This year he gave op the land because he didn't consider it worth vile the effort.

4.3.7 Informal interview # 7

Place of interview: At the easternmost shop.

Duration of the interview: Approx. 15 minutes.

People present at the interview: Simon (researchers), Am (interpreter), 4 different farmers.

Type of interview: informal conversation.

Setting and context of interview

After returning from the field with the auger to take soil samples Am and I decide that I need a Cola at the shop before returning to Mr. Somboons house (I asked Am if she would like a Cola as well but she doesn't like). When spotting the auger they start to discuss that their soil is poor and what they will be able to do about it. Am translates this and I ask where their fields are located. They reply that they don't really have any fields because they don't own anything themselves and what they use is only small scatter areas. They ask whether I can recommend any crops suitable for this climate and soil. I tell explain about soil improvement what they don't seem to be aware of but a problem for adopting such practices is that they only have the at a one-year basis at a time. Therefore they don't use fertilizer and manure. They explain that they don't own land themselves because of lacking ID enabling them to buy legally and lack of money.

What came out of the interview

- These 4 farmers don't seem to know much about agriculture.
- They have a willingness to learn in order to improve their situation.
- These 4 local farmers don't use fertilizer.
- They have tried to use fertilizer once but rejected the use again.
- They don't use manure
- The reason is that they only have the land at a one-year basis (manure they might not use anyway because they consider it unhygienic).
- They cannot buy land because of lack of ID and money.

4.3.8 Informal interview # 8

Place of interview: At the tables in front of the westernmost shop.

Duration of the interview: Approx. 15 minutes.

People present at the interview: Simon (researchers), Am (interpreter), The Thai shopowner

Type of interview: informal conversation.

Setting and context of interview

Martin had heard a story from Mr. Somboon that the RFD having been chased away by the local villagers a few years ago and wanted to have this story reconfirmed. Due to the shop owners seeming willingness to speak on problematic issues I decided to ask him about the story. He is able to reconfirm the story and explains that 10 RFD staff had come to the village in order to arrest some of the Palong of the village. After RFD had chased the Palongs through the village and surrounded them at their spirit house the remaining villagers decide that it is unjust because the Palongs of all have no land and therefore they should not be arrested for illegal forest clearing and land use. Therefore 50 of them gathered and chased the RFD away. Now the RFD only comes to check out the forest and there has been no further problems.

What came out of the interview

- The Palongs generally don't own land compared to the rest of the ethnic groups.

4.4 Ethnicity interviews

4.4.1 Life History interview

The life history interview method was also conceptualized as a complementary effort to fasten some of the thinly bound findings which was the intentions of such a short period of fieldwork. That the life histories are fictional facts, is assumed in the methodology, Norman Denzin addresses the nature of the life history as "Stories then, like the lives they tell about, are always open ended inclusive and ambiguous, subject to multiply interpretations" (Horsbøl, 1999). The strength and weakness, depending on the evaluative perspective may be found in the life history's ability to give the initiative and word to the person whose life story is told.

According to Langness and Frank, there are six important components crucial to the success of a life history interview; 1) Rapport, 2) Language, 3) Interviewing, 4) Reliability & Sampling, 5) Note taking & recording, and 6) Personality (Langness and Frank, 1985). Each element plays a role in development of the life story and must be evaluated retrospectively as analysis of the data is processed.

During the fieldwork in BPDN, nine life history interviews were conducted. Here a general evaluation of their usefulness, may rest on how the general picture of these stories turned out in terms of the six integral elements of life history mentioned by Langness and Frank: 1) Rapport is important for getting the intimacy necessary for sensitive knowledge. This was achieved in some cases (Interview Imphrom) and in other cases (interview Asapa) it wasn't. 2) Language is significant due to its ability to confer and translate meaning, This was impossible at times during the life histories gathered in BPDN and was a severe concern in terms of the reliability of the information as interpreters were used in all nine interviews. 3) Interviewing or the style of interviewing surely was instrumental for the success of several of the life histories gathered during the fieldwork (Appendix X. interview). 4) Reliability and sampling – the best test of the reliability, according to Langness and Frank "is simply the ability to predict accurately what people will do in a given situation and to understand what is happening" (Langness and Frank, pp. 50). They also list 3 techniques to check in the field: a) Observation, b) Check one persons account with others and c) Ask the same question to an informant over a long period of time. Save the last technique, techniques a) and b) were used extensively throughout the entire fieldwork process. 5) Note taking & recording – writing notes after the event improves the reliability, it reduces the bias and ensures the greatest possible completeness of data. Furthermore, the note-taking and recording, aids the ability of the interviewer to keep a clean record of the context in the interview setting, and 6) Personality – Having some insights into one's own personality helps the interviewer in the life history situation, as Langness and Franks states: "This insight is more important when attempting a life history than when doing fieldwork in general because as should be clear, a life history, unlike a biography or an autobiography, is

always a delicate and complicated collaborative venture” (Langness & Frank, pp. 60-61). The success and failure of the life history interview rests on a knife's edge and clearly when going through the results of the life history interviews done during this fieldwork process, an improvement with experience and refinement of the method has taken place. A final important note is that it is undeniable that immense importance is being put on the interpreter during the course of this kind of interview. Thus, selecting the proper interpreter for the proper context and interview person, is of extreme importance, it was the single most important factor during the fieldwork process concerning life histories collected in BPDN

4.4.1.1 Life history pilot interview # 1

Date: 22/1/03

Basics:

Place of interview: In Lahu community East in the southeastern edge of the community. Performed on a platform under a storage hut.

Duration of the interview: approx. 30min.

People present at interview: Asapa (Lisu male living in Lahu community East with a his Lahu wife and three children), Martin (student/researcher), Am (interpreter), Asapa's senile mother-in-law est. age: 65-70, and 2 of Asapa's young children – ages 3 & 6, and some towns people doing their chore or just being plain curious.

Type of Interview: Life history interview (See def.)*

Settings and context of interview:

The reason for the presence of Asapa:

Asapa just happened to be the only person we could communicate more than the most polite greetings with and since he had just returned from doing some errands in another village, he had time to spare.

The situation in detail:

On the platform under a storage house/facility, we were seated, Martin and Am were clearly nervous given the novelty of the situation. It was the first individual interview for both. The interview was done in the middle of the afternoon and the temperature was high, thus the place in the shade was chosen to do the interview. As the person Martin had originally targeted wasn't present and the Lahu, were not very proficient in Thai, we ended up having to interview Asapa, who was the first person to understand what Am was saying. We struck up the initial conversation with the purpose of finding a “suitable” subject to interview. As we discovered that there were difficulties in actually talking to the Lahu (due to Am's inability to decipher their N. Thai accents), we decided to try the method on Asapa, who graciously accepted. The frustrations experienced during the interview were many in shorty spaced, thus the general flow of the interview never really resembled the life history interview, which Martin had hoped it would.

Themes of the interview:

Lisu and Lahu religious customs, Asapa's family, partial life history

Methodology considerations:

Methodology of the interview form:

The kind of data the life history interview yields, are very compatible with the objective of getting lots of general and specific information on a whole range of topics relevant for the research questions in a very short amount of time. Much like the PRA methods they give insights rapidly into basic features of the object of interest. In the case of the life history interview it is the society seen from a specific point in case, the individual. This may be usefully contrasted to the purpose of the PRA-methods, which aim at gaining information quickly from the standpoint of the village or local cumulative perspective. Thus, the usefulness of the Life history method comes partly from its ability to convey broad trends and specific details simultaneously, as well as, giving superb temporal insights in terms of relevance for village history, by way of relating the interviewees own life history into the larger context of the local community history. Thereby singular life history interview, when combined with a number of other life history interviews yields a powerful cross-referential tool/perspective, in terms of both the present and the past of the local village history and the change of local context over the years.

Methodology of the particular interview:

This interview was a pilot interview. The significance of it as such is that it yields several important clues to the establishment of the subsequent uses of the particular method for the interviewer in particular, but also for the interpreter in as far as the interpreter translates in at other times during the same kind of interview.

Implications for the interviewer:

This interview was conducted blindly so to speak. A life history pilot interview, should preferably be conducted after extensive planning, in this case it wasn't. The interview suffered from its sudden inception of enactment. The interviewer's inexperience with the method was exposed during the interview and coupled with bad communication between interpreter and interviewer led to an interview scattered with useful insights into how not to perform a life history interview. Among the insights yielded by the pilot was the surprising difficulty, at least for the researcher, of getting the informer to expand on his brief answers, communicating the purpose of the interviewee telling and elaborating on his life's history proved to be extremely difficult. Therefore the interviewer was forced to take a course of action in the interview, which basically transformed the idea of the free-flowing personal account by Asapa, into a more structured kind of semi-structured informal interview. In which the prepared topic areas identified for the general purpose of promoting a life history tale from the interviewee, was replaced by the more traditional semi-structured approach normally associated with a the semi-structured interview.

Implications for the interviewee:

The ill preparedness of the interviewer and the unfamiliarity with the methods used during a life history interview by both interviewer and interpreter caused the interviewee to become increasingly confused as the interview progressed. Most crucially however, was the inability of the interviewer and the interpreter to adequately communicate to the interviewee the main idea of the life history interview. Namely to have the interviewees life history in his own words and not by way of questioning directly according to the wishes and whims of the interviewer during the interview.

Implications for the interpreter:

Being completely novel to translating this kind of free-flowing conversation and assuming as much responsibility of the quality of the interview as the life history

interview requires of interpreters, severely disadvantaged Am, the interpreter during this interview, to no fault of her own. But her struggles to convey the ideas of the kind of interview and understanding of the requirements asked of her, mainly due to poor preparation by Martin, the interviewer, doomed the intentions of realizing the life history interview itself. Thereby it was revealed that in the nature of doing life history interviews in non-intelligible tongue contexts puts a lot of responsibility upon the interviewer to select the interpreter based on several parameters, including:

a) Personality, b) cultural understanding, c) empathy in the interview setting, d) interest in the subject investigated, e) scientific background, f) experience of interpreter, etc.

Thus, many lessons were learned during the pilot interview, perhaps the most important being that the researcher had to utilize the interpreter strategically, selecting the “right” interpreter depending on the status, expert status, etc. of the person interview and their compatibility of the interviewee and the abilities and qualities of the interpreter.

What came out of the interview?

- Insights into some similarities between Lahu and Lisu languages and religious customs.
- Valuable experience in how not to do the life-history model of interview.
- Insights into the importance of the interpreter in the life-history interview setting as far as what the interpreter needs to have in terms of interpreting style and personal abilities.
- An appointment with Asapa to become the interpreter for future Lahu interviews in Lahu community East
- An appointment to do a life history interview with the mother of the vice headman in Lahu East community @ 18-19 o'clock in the evening of the 22/1.

4.4.1.2 Life history interview # 3

Date: 26/1/03

Basics:

Place of interview: On the benches by the wayside shop, owned by the by a Thai couple, just west of the Christian Palong Area (see sketch # ?), owned by Mr. Somboon.

Duration of the interview: approx. 1.5 hours: 11:30 –13:00

People present at interview: Rin (student/researcher), Martin (student/researcher), Am (interpreter), Beo Naya (one-legged Lisu)

Type of Interview: Life history interview (See def.)*

Settings and context of interview:

The reason for interview taking place in Thai shop:

Rin knew whereat Mr. Naya lived; however as we approach his house it was apparent that he was not inside. We proceeded to look out for him and asked several people of his whereabouts. Since, Mr. Naya is easily recognizable, due to his one-legged and unusual appearance, he was easy to track to the shop, where he was enjoying his midday meal. We caught up with him here and proceeded to conduct the interview there.

The situation in detail:

Mr. Naya was sitting in the shade enjoying his lunch as we approached. No doubt that he had heard if not seen us before, because he gave us a kind welcome greeting as we nodded to him. We sat down beside him on the table after clearing his permission to due the interview. This life-history was different in that Martin had arranged to have Rin present at the interview beside him in order to have a person to aid in conducting the kind of smooth flowing process needed in order to make the life history interview format work optimally. At least this was the idea. Thus, the interview flowed with Rin mixing up her own question to Mr. Naya, with the life history approach. Therefore the result which followed cannot rigidly speaking be said to be a true life history interview, but rather a quasi structured life history interview, instead of a free flowing dialog getting the unpolluted life story of Mr. Naya as required in the ideal life history interview, an interview using Mr. Naya's life as a platform to ask research questions commenced.

Themes of the interview:

Mr. Naya's life, Local Leadership, The ethnic groups of Pang Daeng Nok, The role of religion in Pang Daeng Nok, A change in local leadership February 1st, local politics, village history

Methodology considerations:

Methodology of the interview form:

The kind of data the life history interview yields, are very compatible with the objective of getting lots of general and specific information on a whole range of topics relevant for the research questions in a very short amount of time. Much like the PRA methods they give insights rapidly into basic features of the object of interest. In the case of the life history interview it is the society seen from a specific point in case, the individual. This may be usefully contrasted to the purpose of the PRA-methods, which aim at gaining information quickly from the standpoint of the village or local cumulative perspective. Thus, the usefulness of the Life history method comes partly from its ability to convey broad trends and specific details simultaneously, as well as, giving superb temporal insights in terms of relevance for village history, by way of relating the interviewees own life history into the larger context of the local community history. Thereby singular life history interview, when combined with a number of other life history interviews yields a powerful cross-referential tool/perspective, in terms of both the present and the past of the local village history and the change of local context over the years.

Methodology of the particular interview:

Due to the setup of using a Thai student to act as "conversation flow-aid", this particular life history interview yielded some new insights into the use of the method itself. What's more, despite its less than textbook form, it yielded the most important clue to current local politics so far. After the conclusion of the interview, some questions concerning the difference of religion in the Palong ethnic group developed into a tale, which ended up revealing that there was an imminent election for Palong headman, the upcoming Feb. 1st.

Implications for the interviewer:

Implications of utilizing a Thai student to facilitate conversation flow were extensive in terms of methodology. The format of the uninterrupted narrative springing from the source interviewee was quickly dismissed. The lack of understanding for the nuances of the method by Rin negated the ideal application of the life history interview. In addition Martin was forced several times to manipulate conversation back to the issue of Beo Naya's life. This took away from the flow of the conversation as well as confusing the

interviewee. Another influence on the interview of note was the implications of the strategy pursued by Rin. Her mixing of her prepared questions into the context of the life history of Beo Naya lead to Martin having to resort to ask expansion question on answers the translator partially translated as a consequence, this forced even less time to be spent on actually letting Mr. Naya tell his story. The interview was taped on a Dictaphone. This lead to no discernable problems in terms of the flow of the interview, as Mr. Naya rapidly forgot the tape recorder. But, there could be no doubt that the presence of the tape recorder influenced the note amount of notes and the quality of notes written down by Martin. Compared with other life history interviews this set a methodological precedence for the remaining life history interviews conducted with on the Dictaphone.

Implications for the interviewee:

Mr. Naya, must have been slightly confused as to the hither and dither character of the mixed Life history-semi-structured interview form. He answered as best he could and it was furthermore evident that he was much more adept at responding abstractly to some of the open questions that are customary in the life history methodology, than the two attempts at applying the methods previously experienced. Moreover, the longer temporal aspect, of this particular interview – one and a half hours – compared to the 30 minutes the first couple of life history interviews lasted, was clearly an important aspect, in terms of making the intended methodology work as intended. The no hurry approach with no chores or duties set aside temporarily, made for a more relaxed atmosphere during the interview, which no doubt enhance the quality of the attention awarded by Mr. Naya, he seemed very forthright and amicable in responding to a great variety of questions and showed himself to be a valuable source of information to many dimensions of village life, despite only having lived in Pang Daeng Nok for a little more than 2 yrs.

Implications for the interpreter:

The role of the interpreter during this interview was more adequate for the skills of the particular interpreter at this interview – Am. Her, difficulty relating to local culture (she had lived most of her life in Bangkok in an upper class home) and her poor understanding of the local tongue (Lanna) made it necessary from the perspective of Martin to get help in the process of getting the life history interview. The complexity of the role in the life history interview played by the interpreter was not ideal for her abilities, without a person to assume the role of keeping conversation flow afloat. Having Rin to play this conversation flow director, indirectly enhanced Am's superior ability to just translate as precisely as possible and relent from interpreting too much. This was a key for actually making this interview turning out with decent results and information in the end.

What came out of the interview: (the information listed is disseminated chronologically according to how the information was disclosed by Mr. Naya during the interview)

- Mr. Naya is Lisu
- He's 50 yrs old
- He was born in Ban Mae Chan, in Chiang Mai district
- He was one of 7 brothers and sisters; 3 older and 2 younger sisters and only 1 brother younger
- The oldest sister lives in, Chiang Dao, the second oldest lives in Mae Sai, 3rd oldest lives in Mae Chan, the oldest of his younger sisters lives in Mae Chan the youngest sister lives in Mae Sai and his brother lives in Bangkok.

- When he was young he followed his mother around, she was divorced and traveled around in northern Thailand for most of his childhood – he learned several hill tribe languages by meeting friends, that way.
- He was a maize cultivator before his accident (he has one leg)
- He's been married twice, first time @ the age of 20 and the second time @ the age of 33
- He had 5 children in his first marriage (one each year of his marriage), most of them has died, two died from forest sickness (malaria?) and two died from brain sickness @ the age of 14 only one of his children from the first marriage is still alive. He now works at a Japanese restaurant in Chiang Mai After his children died he went traveling. As he returned his wife had become addicted to drugs.
- He divorced his wife @ age 26 after trying to get her to participate in an anti-drug program for three month.
- He remarried when he was 33 yrs old
- He has three children with her the two oldest are dead and the youngest lives in Chiang Mai @ a hill tribe welfare house.
- His first wife was 14 yrs. old when they married and his second wife was 18 yrs old when they married.
- His first wife was Musser Palau (Lahu of some sort)
- His second wife (not a real wife) was Musser Daeng (Red Lahu)
- He had one child for every year he's been a husband
- On the issue of changes in village life before and now, he cryptically answers with the tale of how he lost his leg.
- He was sick for 4 days and nights, then the forest doctor came and inoculated him – after 5 days he felt better – but a consequence of the forest doctor inoculating him was that his leg became numb and unusable. – He then went to three Chiang Mai hospitals before he got his foot cut off. → Before they severed his leg, he went through 5 operations to repair the vein in his leg, but they all failed and it was amputated.
- He talked with the Princess immediately after his amputation, she made him “her patient” as she's responsible for a hospital program for poor people – she paid for his amputation.
- Mr. Naya then returns to the question of changes in village life from his childhood to now.
- He states that in his youth, when somebody visited ones household, then they were always invited for supper, that is not how it works anymore
- He also denotes changes in the religious celebrations; “New years celebrations happen all the time now” The Lisu and Lahu customs are very similar for their entire religious calendar.
- “Once when they raised the new years pigs... They would slaughter the pigs and save most of the meat for consumption at other times in the year, not now... now they eat all of the meat and they even throw some of the meat out!”
- “The architecture is similar, but the quality of building materials are better now”
- “But in one regard a reduction in quality for houses have developed: Roofs used to last for 8 yrs now a roof only lasts for 2”
- Mr. Naya lives in Pang Daeng Nok in order to be close to his oldest sister in Chiang Dao
- He used to be Buddhist

- But now he's Christian!
- He's Christian because the head villager told him to be Christian if he wanted to stay in the village.
- On the question of whether or not the villagers choose the head villager. Mr. Naya answers that "he doesn't know, but if the people in the don't like the headman, they will demote him and choose another."
- He then mentions there will be a selection for new village headman on the 1st of Feb.
- On the question why a selection, Mr. Naya says and he's supported by a couple of men who have gathered around the benches in the shop, that a election will happen "because the villagers ignore the current Paluang."
- Mr. Naya goes on to talk about why being unmarried in this village can be a bit of a problem. He states that Mr. Somboon has declared that married women must not speak to other men, the penalty of which is a fine.
- "In this village the Christian people demand that boys and girls can't sit like we do, if they do they have to pay a fee of 600 bath – to Paluang.
- This rule is only for the Palong and Lisu Christians.
- But for the Palong Christians they have to pay 4000 bath
- Therefore, if their boys and girls would like to talk together they need to write a letter for Paluangs permission – this rule is only after 20:00, if they meet after 20:00 they have to pay
- All Christians must go to church every Sunday
- Because Paluangs family had been living here a long time they selected Paluang for Paluang
- The Christian Palong and the Buddhist Palong are different only in their ceremonies, but these differences have meant that there are some problems at times, but they still have the same leader → it used to be Jong Ae, but he doesn't want to be headman anymore → Feb. 1st also new selection for Palong headman - 2 candidates: Luong (uncle – an honorary title) Saen and Pum Ma (not sure of the spelling)

4.4.1.3 Life history interview # 4

Date: 26/1/03

Basics:

Place of interview: In the house of Mr. Imphrom

Duration of the interview: approx. 3 hours: 15:20 –18:20

People present at interview: Martin (student/researcher), Prinn (interpreter), Mr. Imphrom Jong-Tan (Spiritual Leader of the Palong of), and most of his family plus several friends coming and going through the interview.

Type of Interview: Life history interview (See def.)*

Settings and context of interview:

Mr. Imphrom had early on in the fieldwork, been identified as a key informant by Martin and others. Going to Mr. Imphrom involved a certain amount of risk, in that he as a key member of the Palong community stood as a keystone to gaining access to other Palong, furthermore he had during an earlier observational interview done in his household, displayed extreme animosity towards certain people within the village and the RFD especially. He had very forcefully argued against what he perceived as the RFD targeting the Palong unjustly and was still fuming from having been in prison during the infamous imprisonment of 56 people in BPDN in 1997.

Getting to know this person's life history was early on in the fieldwork process identified as a priority. Thus the stakes were decidedly high and only due to some prior exposure to Mr. Imphrom and his position in Palong community, were it possible to make the decision to do the "naked version life history interview. The interview was scheduled for the afternoon, in the hopes that Mr. Imphrom would be home somewhat alone in his capacity as spiritual healer and medicinal expert.

The reason for interviewing Mr. Imphrom:

Mr. Imphrom was the key to understanding Palong ethnicity and was in possession of a great many insights into the Palong traditional way. Also he was no doubt very informed on the issue of a change in leadership.

The situation in detail:

He smoothly proceeded to tell his intriguing story of the flight of his people from Burma to Thailand, he proceed to identify

Implications for the interpreter:

Themes of the interview:

The life of Mr. Imphrom Jong-Tan, the history of the suffering Palong, Palong traditions, The local Palong in Mae Tor watershed, Local politics, The RFD, Mr. Somboon, The importance of Palong Musical instruments, etc.

Methodology considerations:

Methodology of the interview form:

The kind of data the life history interview yields, are very compatible with the objective of getting lots of general and specific information on a whole range of topics relevant for the research questions in a very short amount of time. Much like the PRA methods they give insights rapidly into basic features of the object of interest. In the case of the life history interview it is the society seen from a specific point in case, the individual. This may be usefully contrasted to the purpose of the PRA-methods, which aim at gaining information quickly from the standpoint of the village or local cumulative perspective. Thus, the usefulness of the Life history method comes partly from its ability to convey broad trends and specific details simultaneously, as well as, giving superb temporal insights in terms of relevance for village history, by way of relating the interviewees own life history into the larger context of the local community history. Thereby singular life history interview, when combined with a number of other life history interviews yields a powerful cross-referential tool/perspective, in terms of both the present and the past of the local village history and the change of local context over the years.

Note. The amount of people present at the interview can have a variety of roles to play in a given life history interview. This is suggested over and over again upon reviewing the particular methodologies present in the life history interviews, done during this fieldwork process. Although the sample is an inconclusive sample of life history interviews, these

interviews nevertheless suggests that any interpretations of the information gathered during these interviews, must take into account, the importance of the role of not only amount of people present, but all the aspects of context and circumstances, in which the life history interview was conducted, and preferably done in a quite stringent fashion, in order to counteract the extreme degree of entropy allowed to influence the information collected during the interview itself.

Methodology of the particular interview:

Having experienced three life history interviews before this interview, Martin made the decision to try the method in its naked form (or as naked as it could be under the specific circumstances in Thailand), and take only one interpreter and interview a key informant “one on one on one”. This change of methodological form was a radical departure in practice, from the previous experiences with the method. But, given the information offered by Mr. Naya (Life History Interview # 3) on the up-coming elections in the Palong Community. Martin felt that it would be necessary to have ideal conditions for asking sensitive questions and to be as discrete as possible in performing the life history interview and that meant utilizing the only interpreter with sufficient background and ability for the assignment, Prinn. As has earlier been touched upon (Life History Interview #'s 1 & 3), the level of difficulty involved with being an interpreter for life history interviews alongside the plain recognition that the amount of stress put on the interpreter during such an interview is of the extreme order. Made Prinn the only possible choice for this particular interview of the interpreters in location # 5.

Note. The recognition that the particular interview context and setting was of especially essential character for the potential outcome of the interview, was a strategic aspect of the interpreters was revealed in conjunction with this particular life history interview as a methodological necessity before choosing which interpreter to use.

Implications for the interviewer:

This interview from the perspective of the interviewer was the consummate life history interview. As Mr. Imphrom as understood exactly the purpose and implications of asking for his life's story he also felt completely at ease with entertaining most of the conversation. This meant that the interviewer could leave the meandering flow of the ideal interview to come into the foreground. As most of the conversation flowed time for observations, thoughts and hypotheses could form and complementary and additional in-depth questions were made possible to ask and duly administered whenever appropriate. The biggest problem experienced during the three-hour interview, was the seated position in which the interviewer had to sit throughout the interview. Eventually this position made him cramp up and Martin ended up looking the part of a man 50 years his senior upon departure from the interview, which amused Mr. Imphrom and his family very much.

Implications for the interviewee:

As Mr. Imphrom was left to tell his story, in exactly the manner he desired, he felt very comfortable with the interview set-up. Being clearly a man used to talking a lot and thinking in abstract patterns, he had no problem giving an account of his life with a high degree of detail involved. In addition he was willing and able to provide the Interviewer

with ample evidence for the alleged elections and even delved into the Palong traditions and the current situation of the village.

Implications for the interpreter:

Prinn was thoroughly briefed on the importance of being true to the method itself, he understood the purpose of the method and he understood what it was I was trying to get out of using this method. Having an Interviewee as skillful as Mr. Imphrom made the interpreters job degrees of scale easier. The general state of preparedness by the interpreter and the clear communications on the purpose of the method contributed to form a harmonious collaboration in the interviewer-interviewee-interpreter triangle. The dynamics of all people being “on the same page” reduced the usual complexities of realizing the intended goals of the life interview. Without the services of an interpreter with Prinns combination of interpretation abilities, interpretive experience, and scientific background (Per 1/6/03 - PhD. Student in Biochemistry and Anthropology) this life history interview would have never gone as well as it in fact did.

What came out of the interview: (the information listed is disseminated chronologically according to how the information was disclosed by Mr. Imphrom during the interview)

- Upon showing Mr. Imphrom some pictures from Michael Howard’s Book “The Paluang of Northern Thailand” it becomes clear that many of the Palong in this area are related in some way as he almost recognizes a person for every picture in the book (~30).
- He reveals amongst other things that Mr. Kam-Hieng the community leader of Ban Pang Daeng Nei is his older half brother by his mother. They have different fathers; Mr. Kam-Hieng father is Chinese Palong, whereas Mr. Imphrom’s is Tai Palong.
- Mr. Imphrom emphasize that the Palong among themselves call themselves the “Dala-ang”.
- He was born in Burma in a village called Chien doun one of three Palong villages close to the border of Thailand – he lived there until the age of 31
- In Burma, Mr. Imphrom states, are or were 16 different Palong villages in his youth.
- Each of these Palong villages differentiates between each other and at such determines a category of belonging to a special kind of Palong ethnicity.
- Mr. Imphrom mentions that there are two other levels of ethnic distinctions among the Palong in addition to the Village ethnic distinction. These are referring primarily to the clothing of the women. a) The kind of metal used as upper body ornaments (the Palong in Thailand are more or less all Silver Palong) and b) the color of the women’s dress; either red or black.
- This village is half black/red a category he calls: Siam plai/rai
- Mr. Imphrom upon being asked whether a lot of change have occurred since his youth, replies: “There has been small changes, but the degree of change depends on influences of the particular circumstances of the village”. He mentions language as a good example of change by circumstances in each village: “the Impact of language change for the people in Pang Daeng Nok, is bigger, due to higher level of mix of languages and more education in Pang Daeng Nok compare to Pang Daeng Nei.
- Mr. Imphrom gives a very detailed account of the war in Burma, which began when he was 12 yrs old. He speaks of the difficulties experienced by the Palong

- situated in the middle of the conflict between three warring parties: The Burmese Communists, the Tai'ai and the Waa. Each of these groups' recruited soldiers among the Palong and the Palong had to be extremely flexible in order to survive in these hard times. It came to a point where the problems of being caught in the middle of the conflict was dominating Palong so much that it was decided to flee Burma and head for the Thai border.
- As Mr. Imphrom Speaks a crowd has gathered in his house, an estimated 25 People in the room, Mr. Imphrom seemingly indifferent or used to the presence of these people, he has the crowd completely enthralled and sitting on pins, the energy is almost tangible.
 - An account follows of how the Leader of Three villages arranged for the villages to escaped simultaneously. They fled and for 4 days and nights they wandered through war-torn Burma and reached the Thai Border unscathed, where they settled temporarily in No Lae, near Doi Angkhan in Fang District.
 - His comments to my question that there was a rumor that the Palong had been ethnically cleansed in Burma: "in my village only one person was killed", "I'm not quite sure about the slaughter", "But there has been a lot of migration due to the unstable conditions"
 - All of the people living now in Huey Pond, Mae Chon and the two Pang Daeng communities originate from these three villages.
 - An Approximate 200 people fled Burma together.
 - In 1987 +/- 1-2 yrs. Mr. Kam-Hieng led the first Palong from No Lae to Mae Chon, where he settled with approx. 20 families
 - Mr. Imphrom originally moved to Mae Chon in 1987, but left for No Lae in 1989 to do agriculture, where he stayed for eight more yrs.
 - But When his wife died in 1996 he went back in 1997 to be with his family in Pang Daeng Nok
 - In 1998 the RFD came and arrested 56 people – 24 of which were Palong
 - Mr. Imphrom were among those arrested, he stayed in prison for 87 days
 - Following the release from prison the Palong was sued for destroying the forest → according to the decision of the courts → they were allowed to go aided by the help of some lawyers → however they needed to go to court every month → after fighting in the courts for awhile they had their sentences and fines reduced.
 - The land that was destroyed had been destroyed since 1992, therefore their arrest was not reasonable
 - The clearing of the forest happened at least three years before the Palong community was establish
 - 10 households were the initial number of Palong households established in Pang Daeng Nok
 - Mr. Imphrom states that when he came down originally in 1987 there was forest on the land they were accused of destroying, but when he was visiting in 1992 there was no land.
 - The fines levied upon release was 3000 bath,
 - Since 2000 the relationship with RFD has not been too bad, but they're still telling people to move out. But they haven't yet thrown out anybody
 - Mr. Imphrom explains that the difference between the Christian Palong and the Buddhist may be found primarily in the difference of activities. Also it depends

- upon the degree of Christianity in the individual Christian Palong. But their rights among the Palong are the same
- The Leader of Palong in Pang Daeng Nok is Mr. Saen, Mr. Imphrom states unencouraged.
 - He proceeds to tell about an official election taking place the night before today in this very house
 - He also says that he is still the Spiritual Leader of the community and that Palong leadership always involves the two dimensions of Spirituality and administration: “if people want to know about spiritual matters they come to me” and “if they want to get information on rights and other practical issues, they go to Mr. Saen”
 - Mr. Imphrom let us copy the official election note (appendix # ?)
 - Why have a new leader? Mr. Imphrom mentions that there were two main concerns: a) Mr. Somboon takes care primarily of the Lisu, b) The Palong need to have a Palong leader, and c) Mr. Saen will be the 2nd in command of the administrative leader of village # 9
 - Each ethnic group needs to pick a leader
 - Now the Palong are independent of Mr. Somboon
 - The selection of new leaders was encouraged by the village # 9 leader who likes to pick his own men.
 - Mr. Somboon promoted himself to be leader → therefore village # 9 leader doesn't accept his leadership → he wants Mr. Saen to be the leader.
 - Mr. Imphrom suggests that he does not want to say anything about Mr. Somboon, but he tells a little allegorical tale in which he says the Chicken in the tale are metaphors of the Palong, whereas Mr. Somboon has the role of a Pig. Obviously these animals don't get along very well.
 - Mr. Somboon is too fast for people's taste – ex. Invites Anti-drug organizations and the Christian church stuff.
 - Mr. Imphrom is of the opinion that Mr. Saen's ascension to 2nd in command in village # 9 will improve the prospects of getting land access and it has significance for all economic and work related activities/issues as well. Because in his capable hand the quality of life will be improved for all villagers
 - He mentions that they have already started and implemented a program designed to improve conditions and the independence of the local Palong: He mentions the example of the new Community souvenir hall/house, in which the Palong Traditions will be on display, the whole community have saved up to the implementation of this institution of tradition and commerce. It will open on Feb. 1st as a gesture to the new era with Mr. Saen as leader.
 - The interview concludes with Martin and Mr. Imphrom exchanging gifts and before departing Martin asks if Mr. Imphrom would care to play a song on his Ding – an instrument particular to the Palong. He plays a couple of songs for us and we leave after paying our dues!

4.4.1.4 Life history interview # 5

Date: 27/1/03

Basics:

Place of interview: Un the concrete bench with the ceramic tile table next to Mr. Somboon's house

Duration of the interview: approx. 2.33 hours: 10:15 –12:35

People present at interview: Rin (student/researcher), Martin (student/researcher), Stine (student/researcher), Te (interpreter), and Mr. Somboon

Type of Interview: Life history interview (See def.)*

Settings and context of interview:

The interview was conducted in the late morning. On the concrete negotiation table which Mr. Somboon often has been seen use when he's negotiating village business or even his own business. It was done as collaboration between three people with interests in terms of making interviews with Mr. Somboon. Rin, Stine and Martin had prepared for this interview in communion, half an hour in order to be sure that the order of questions and the general theme of the interview was clear. Mr. Somboon was very gracious and let the interviewers dictate the pace of the interview which at times were a bit confusing, due to there being three people with somewhat different agendas in terms of which questions to ask and follow up on.

Methodology considerations:

Methodology of the interview form:

The kind of data the life history interview yields, are very compatible with the objective of getting lots of general and specific information on a whole range of topics relevant for the research questions in a very short amount of time. Much like the PRA methods they give insights rapidly into basic features of the object of interest. In the case of the life history interview it is the society seen from a specific point in case, the individual. This may be usefully contrasted to the purpose of the PRA-methods, which aim at gaining information quickly from the standpoint of the village or local cumulative perspective. Thus, the usefulness of the Life history method comes partly from its ability to convey broad trends and specific details simultaneously, as well as, giving superb temporal insights in terms of relevance for village history, by way of relating the interviewees own life history into the larger context of the local community history. Thereby singular life history interview, when combined with a number of other life history interviews yields a powerful cross-referential tool/perspective, in terms of both the present and the past of the local village history and the change of local context over the years.

Methodology of the particular interview:

Being three interviewers at this interview gave the interviewers the distinct opportunity to complement each other in the questions posed Mr. Somboon. However, due mainly, to poor teamwork and different perceptions of what constituted good and bad questions, to ask Mr. Somboon, it happened frequently during the interview that internal interviewer struggles impeded the progress of the interview in general. It certainly made the process of gathering a coherent life history very tenuous at best.

Implications for the interviewer:

As each interviewer had their own interview agenda despite agreeing on the overall concept. The aspect of teamwork was one of the main problems during the interview. This problem slowly evaporated as the interview progressed and the subject matter at hand started to overshadow the interviewer power struggles. Despite all of the initial struggles with generating an interview *modus operandi*, the interview settled after an hour or so. Accordingly, the interviewer fell into the rhythm of the life history interview as Mr. Somboon and his life story started to take form. The *modus operandi* changed from making competing haphazard questions into a more complementary line of questions relevant to the direction of interview flow. As opposed to other life history interviews done during this fieldwork, the interview with Mr. Somboon was different in that it was clearly the interviewers who controlled the pace of the story, as the story approach current times, the array of in-depth questions being asked basically denied Mr. Somboon the possibility of formulating his life history entirely along his own line of thought. In this sense the purpose of the Life history interview failed, but given the lack of time a joint interview had been necessary to conduct, due to Mr. Somboon's apparent importance in relation to many of the interviewers and indeed the field-research queries.

Implications for the interviewee:

Initially, Mr. Somboon was caught in the middle of a confusing maelstrom of questions directed his way by three overeager interviewers. He was never really able to present his life history in an unimpeded fashion, at least in terms of the intentions of the life history interview method.

Implications for the interpreter:

This interview was the epitome of impossible, in terms of translation. Te's, the interpreter, most poignant abilities with regards to the life history interview translation aspects, lie in her skill of communicating a very tight and precise translation of questions and answers posed and related. The fast pace and the confusion of the initial parts of the interview made her clearly frustrated and nervous. Translating during this interview was close to impossible, as there were two eager Danes trying to use her services at the same time. Serious doubts must be cast as to the accuracy and coherency of the translation involving this interview. Looking through the notes and listening to the tape recorded during the session, it becomes evident that contradictory answers and questions are strewn throughout the course of the interview. This may very easily be the consequence of bad use of the interpreter and information overload. An important lesson learned from this interview, is that before doing a life history interview with as many as three interviewers, all of these have to be well versed in the purpose and the methodology of the method. Though it may, on the surface, seem like the interpreter didn't do a proper job. There can be no doubt that the interpreter never had a chance to do a good job during this interview, given the inability of the interviewers to cooperate during the initial phases of the interview.

What came out of the interview: (the information listed is disseminated chronologically according to how the information was disclosed by Mr. Somboon during the interview)

- Mr. Somboon cannot remember his date of birth, but claims to be around 50 yrs old – later it is revealed that he is actually 55 yrs old
- He was born in Doi Jung Hong in Nam Ping Sub-district, Moo 6
- He has two older siblings, both are dead; His sister died @ age 13 from malaria and so did his brother @ age 24
- He was the youngest and his mother died when he was less than a month old
- When his father married again, he went to Chiang Mai
- He worked in Chiang Mai as a construction worker, he was 18-19 yrs old at the time
- His father then moved to Doi Sam Muen with his new family
- He started studying the bible @ age 19 in Chiang Mai
- During spare time, he would study the bible once every two weeks in bible school for a year under a foreign missionary
- He had actually become Christian before he went to Chiang Mai.
- @ Age 15-16 he had converted from Buddhism, upon encountering a female missionary in Doi Jong Hong
- The missionary was a teacher of both English and Lisu, but was shot some time after he had met her, by a Lisu drug addict
- In Mr. Somboon's opinion, the Lisu who killed the missionary killed her because that person felt that she probably had some money
- His introduction to God, was hearing about "how he created the world from Adam and Eve & the body and soul" and "if somebody died the soul would go anywhere" for example "to with @ god or to be a spirit"
- Mr. Somboon first learned of Jesus @ age 15 (from the female missionary who was killed)
- Mr. Somboon started believing because he found the Christian faith to be reasonable
- His favorite story in the bible is Chapter 3 verse 16 – genesis
- The belief in God can be compared to the Buddhist concept of spiritual, but the Buddhist spiritual use are lies
- He studied Buddhist spiritual beliefs through his grandfather
- Mr. Somboon doesn't perform the Lisu rituals, but he gives the choice of doing rituals to the villagers regardless of religion
- Mr. Somboon or Paluang as he's often referred to as, teach Lisu on the Buddhist spiritual beliefs.
- His family was happy that he converted to Christianity and states that some other people also became Christian at the same time
- He also mentions the benefit of the Christian prayer, in times when people are ill and then lack of need to be afraid of evil spirits once one has converted as advantages of the Christian faith, he mentions that some of the Palong have also converted
- Subsequent to studying the Bible in Chiang Mai, he got married @ age 22 with his current wife in "Pran ny" a village in Mai Ai district
- He has 5 children; three daughters and two sons; Ajan Sara – 35 and teacher of English and Christianity at the Lisu Bible institute of Tungluk, Ms. Warankana – 28 yrs old - she studies in Bangkok @ Baptist bible Institute – she will graduate

- this year, Suriya, son – 27 yrs old – lives behind the men’s sleeping quarters – works as an agriculturalist and graduated from high school in Fang district, Ms Riyapon – 24 yrs old – she’s studying in Bangkok and working – Paluang doesn’t know what she’s studying, his youngest child is Rittikan a son – 22 yrs old – he is working and studying for a bachelor degree, Paluang doesn’t know neither the University or the subject he is studying
- He mentions that Ms Sara has problems with he ID-card
 - He met his wife in church on Christmas Eve.
 - Mr. Somboon was 30 yrs old when he arrived in
 - He live in Mai ai the first 8 yrs of his marriage
 - The reason for moving to Pang Daeng Nok was primarily due to him missing home
 - The Village only had three houses when he arrived these houses were occupied by relatives of his.
 - For 21.500 bath he bought 8 rai’s of land, 2 rai of which had NS-3
 - Mr. Somboon bought the land from a Mrs. Jinda, a Thai who now lives in Tungluk
 - Once he had land he build a house and planted fields of rice.
 - He then bought an additional 15 rai for 7.000 bath (Natural forest land – price)
 - He started growing Mango orchards back then
 - Mr. Somboon then states that the RFD wanted to cut down his Mango trees
 - The following scenario was the quick and dirty version of Mr. Somboon’s trouble with the RFD; after RFD cut Mr. Somboon’s mango orchards they wanted to grow their trees in mango orchard, then the road was build and the Thais invaded the forest on both sides of the road. Mr. Somboon complained to the RFD, then in the RFD accused Mr. Somboon of encroaching the fields in 1997, then the RFD arrested 56 men.
 - Mr. Somboon tells that the reason he was not one of the 56 arrested people, was due to a friend of his in the RFD warned him that the RFD would be coming the following day and told him to stay away
 - The Tarmac road was build 7 years ago
 - The RFD knew about the forest invasion when the road was build
 - The people who cleared the land were primarily Thais of Chiang Dao and the Kamnang of the Tambon
 - The forest was cleared during the construction of the road
 - When the 56 men were arrested it was almost the entire male population of the village
 - Therefore most of the village women stayed at Paluang’s house at night in order to avoid being assaulted and what is worse. Many of the pigs and chicken was stolen during the time that the Pang Daeng Nok men were imprisoned
 - Mr. Somboon was in hiding as he was a wanted man, at the time in Chiang Mai with his daughter Ms Waratana, but his wife send him letters frequently updating him on the situation, at the time he couldn’t read, but his daughter helped him.
 - His wife reported that Thais were thieving the domestic animals.
 - Also the remaining men of the village who didn’t get arrested had to move into the forest in order to avoid being arrested.
 - The women of the village had to survive on their harvesting of maize, but they still lacked rice and Mr. Somboon’s wife gave them two bags of rice

- Mr. Somboon's wife then called Mr. Somboon in his hideout and told him about the situation → he then called the missionaries who brought 200 bags of rice for the women
- Mr. Somboon returns to the subject of the initial confrontation between him and the RFD. He states that subsequent to the RFD cutting down the orchards, he couldn't go back because he was a wanted man, but his Daughter Ms Waratana went back with a camera and documented the destruction of the Mango orchard (we're shown pictures of a burnt down hut and destroyed fields of burned down trees) Unfortunately his daughter was caught doing the documentation and arrested by the RFD guardian on the spot, her camera and most of the films she had taken were confiscated at the time as she was held back for approx. 4 hours of interviews.
- After being released by the RFD, they complained to the police about the treatment, but the police couldn't help them, as the land was Natural resource area.
- The RFD director Mr. Waterwitt subsequently offered Mr. Somboon 1.000 bath per tree destroyed → the estimated # of Mango trees in the orchards were 700 = 700.000 bath → but they never gave any money to Paluang → then Mr. Waterwitt moved to another district
- Mr. Somboon then consulted a lawyer on the problem → but before giving him the 700.000 bath he was owed – the RFD demanded that he stop his suit in the courts.
- Mr. Somboon was accused of two offences in court on separate charges; a) Invasion of forest 1300 Rai + 3 nyan and b) invasion of National resource conservation zone – 400 rai
- The case took 5 ½ years to conclude and Paluang had to pay 10.000 bath to the courts
- In the newspapers there was reports on his case and it was speculated that he had 1.000.000 bath in the bank, this “knowledge” the RFD used to claim an additional 50.000 bath from him in punitive damages
- The Case is now finished, but he still hasn't gotten his 700.000 bath
- The RFD tried to replant the area of the Mango orchards afterwards in order to get back the forest – but they planted the trees in the summer at the wrong time and they died. They didn't use the land afterwards, so the villagers did agriculture on the land
- Mr. Somboon then tells a story of how the RFD manufactures evidence: “They took one man and stood him beside some destroyed trees near the village” → afterwards I came back and the 50 villagers of the men went to the forest to fight the 10 RFD men doing the manufacturing of evidence → the RFD fled and there have been no problems since”
- This happened in 2000-2001
- Mr. Somboon returned from his exile after 5-6 months
- According to Mr. Somboon, BPDN became a community in administrative village # 9 in 1996-7.
- Pang Daeng Nok got its name from Thais students who lived near resort
- The villagers doesn't get along with the RFD – some officers asked villagers to cut down trees – for 2 cubic of wood the pay 100 bath – its for the resort

- Mr. Somboon actually surrendered to the police after 5-6 months of hiding, but never spend time in prison because he bailed himself out, bail was 350.000 bath – “then the villagers were freed”
- The students who named the area of Pang Daeng, gave the two small settlements Nok and Nei – meaning out and in – they came from Tungluk

4.4.1.5 Life history interview # 6

Date: 27/1/03

Basics:

Place of interview: The house of Mr. Saen.

Duration of the interview: approx. 3 hours: 11:50 –21:45

People present at interview: Simon (student/researcher/secondary interviewer), Martin (student/researcher/primary interviewer), Prinn (interpreter), Mr. Saen Longtime, and his family

Type of Interview: Life history interview (See def.)*

Settings and context of interview:

The decision to interview Mr. Saen was made after consulting the group. Martin had explained that Mr. Saen had special information on some of the issues we were investigating as well as being in possession of a special insight into the current affairs in Pang Daeng Nok. Hence, after making arrangements to interview Mr. Saen, in the afternoon, Martin and Simon who asked permission to be present at the interview alongside interpreter Prinn strolled to the house of Mr. Saen after dinner. Martin had talked to Mr. Saen earlier in the day and said that he might ask some questions, which were a bit sensitive, and that therefore it would be wise to choose Mr. Saen place to conduct the interview. Mr. Saen concurred and set the time for the interview.

Contextually, it should be mentioned that Mr. Saen’s house is situated on the property of Mr. Somboon and that it presented the challenge to speak of sensitive issues for obvious reasons, chief amongst which, was the fact that Mr. Saen had just been elected new leader of the Palong.

Methodology considerations:

Methodology of the particular interview:

Three methodological considerations stood out as being peculiar for this interview; a) There was high comfort level in terms of confidence, before doing the interview. In that Prinn and Martin had developed an understanding of what the method entailed in terms of trusting the judgments of the other. In addition, the enthusiasm infused by Simon, made the confidence level peak before the interview, b) the sensitivity level of the current community leader situation, demanded a new level of delicacy from both interpreter and primary interviewer during and after the interview. In order to avoid treacherous waters and still end up with a clue about what was at hand in the present, we had to let the

method take its course and arm ourselves (interpreter and interviewers) with even more patience than before used during a life history interview, and c) For the interviewers it was clear that we were also being used as pieces in the board game of local politics, the recognition that we were no longer just ‘objective’ researchers, gave rise to a wariness about the manner in which we should conduct the interview.

Implications for the interviewer:

As interviewer, holding back during the life history part of the interview boils down to showing a genuine interest in the narrative told. Having spoken to Mr. Saen previously, made Martin confident that Mr. Saen had grasped the idea about telling his story. This confidence in the interviewee, coupled with the success experience of the interview with Mr. Imphrom, enabled Martin to follow the tale and pose questions as the situation required. Simon had been informed of the character of the life history interview beforehand and needed little assistance in grasping the practical implications. The flow of the interview took off from an interesting instrument, called the Pi – a Mellon seedpod attached to a bamboo flute. Allowing Mr. Saen to choose the pace of the interview was a logical progression from then on. Figuring very significantly in the interview process was the certainty, that there would be ample time to go over details, as both the interview team + interpreter and Mr. Saen had set aside the “necessary” time, to do things the right way; slowly and on terms of Mr. Saen’s narrative.

Implications for the interviewee:

Being well informed about the interview location and the nature of the interview, with certainty from communication with Martin, but perhaps more significantly through the possibility of Mr. Saen conferring with Mr. Imphrom who was interviewed the day before. (Mr. Imphrom had intimated earlier on that he and Mr. Saen were very close with each other). Thus, Mr. Saen was the most well informed person of all people interviewed via the life history methodology, prior to his interview. He was, like Mr. Imphrom, very used to holding monologous conversations. Being a very charismatic person and holding peoples confidence, made the format of the life history interview quite compatible with his usual ways, thus easing the necessity to let the interpreter be used as a conversation flow agent. What’s more, as the interview rolled into more delicate areas of inquiry. Integrating the personal story of Mr. Saen into the larger context of the current events of the village gave some insights, into local policy and the power struggles intra-ethnically and inter-ethnically, within the community setting, which may have otherwise been impossible to ask to, due to the very precarious nature of the information.

Implications for the interpreter:

Prinn, being familiar with the sensitivity of the interview and with the method, furthermore, he expressed confidence in its purpose and in Martin and Simon before the interview. Freed to concentrate on keeping the flow of the conversation adequate for the interviewers principally. The interpreter was asked to utilize his abilities to ensure that focus was on the subjects exchanged between the two parties. He did a magnificent job at this, rewarding Simon and Martin’s confidence in him by performing almost flawlessly. Again for the life history method to work it is required especially using the interpreter. That a very high degree of trust in each other’s abilities exists between interviewer and interpreter. Being on the same page, promotes the sense of security and intimacy, necessary to get people to talk about very sensitive issues.

What came out of the interview: (the information listed is disseminated chronologically according to how the information was disclosed by Mr. Somboon during the interview)

- Two instruments: the Ding and the Pi was used in previous times for the purpose of courting between men and women
- Now only the old people have instruments and know how to make them
- Mr. Saen plays some improvisations on the Pi-Wou – the instrument is a combination of a melon seedpod resonance chamber and the bamboo flute –it gives off a very special low pitched and crisp sound
- In these parts only two people know how to make the Pi-wou; Mr. Moon and Mr. Saen
- Mr. Imphrom = Mr. Saen's uncle
- Mr. Saen can play many different tunes depending on the purpose and mood
- Because it is an instrument of the emotions Mr. Saen doesn't have a book of songs from which to play he likes to improvise according to how he feels
- But he also mentions that the reason he never used song books is that he never learned to read, because, he, as the oldest child – had to take care of his younger siblings and help out in the fields whenever it was needed, so he didn't had as many chances to learn to read and write.
- He was born in Tai'ai part of Burma
- He, Mr. Kam-Hieng, and Mr. Nikom Puttha traveled a couple of yrs back to Bangkok to play Palong songs and song poetry for some important people
- Because of the decay in traditions, Mr. Saen believes that the instruments can play an important role in preserving some of the Palong customs
- For instance, Now Mr. Saen gives advice for couples in terms of helping them with special music signals – young people have traditionally used music signals as a unique and secret intimate signal between couples in order to find together and to meet whenever it is possible
- Mr. Saen describes the Palong marriage custom: "When a couple decides to get married → a period of three days of seclusion has to happen for the bride to be. She has to stay indoor at her fathers house and remain in her room → She may be approached via her father by other potential suitors for the first two days of this period → the girl must not eat any food for the first couple of days in seclusion in order to appease the ghosts → After the second day, if the girl still wants to be married with her groom she cannot change her mind anymore, she's off limits to other suitors. However, after the parents go to bed on the third night, the final test is done. The girl has to identify the special melody of her future husband. All of the village men are outside of the house and the girl has to identify the right melody otherwise they cannot be married the next day.
- The Palong instrument – Ding – is made from the central timber of a "Mac Rac" deciduous tree found in the community forest – it is the oil of the sap of the tree which makes the color of the tree so dark
- The Ding is usually ornamented in the back and front ends. This ornamentation is done by the owner
- The timber is very hard to find – it can be found in the nearby national park however, from felled or fallen trees of course before taking the timber, since felling within the forest is illegal
- Mr. Saen was born in 1951 in Chieng Tong a Palong village in Burma, near the border of Thailand
- @ The time it was different to live there because of the war between the Burmese, Tai'ai and the Waa → the Dala-ang (Palong call themselves the Dala-ang) was in

- the middle of it → they felt that their lives was in danger because every soldier of one side would shoot the Dala-ang if the Dala-ang was seen with a soldier of the other side → Mr. Saen said that it happened in other Palong villages and it was a constant threat even though it never happened in Chieng Tong
- Mr. Saen used to be a guide for the Waa soldiers because they used to ask him to go to the forest → if the other soldiers knew he would have probably been killed
 - As the conflict escalated slowly the pressure on the Dala-ang became extreme and it was decided it was too dangerous to stay behind.
 - In 1976 it was decided to migrate to Doi Angkhan with Mr. Imphrom
 - They walked for ten days to the Thai border
 - They lived in No Lae, where Mr. Saen was in charge of, was associate headman of water, security and supply in water issues for the villagers → he retired because the problems of the water became to problematic. At some point Mr. Saen contracted Pneumonia and had to go to the hospital, where he had to stay for awhile and he returned to focus on being an agriculturalist.
 - In 1996 he was visiting his family in Pang Daeng Nok where he was arrested and jailed for 78 days
 - Because Mr. Saen had been to prison for 78 days, his land in No Lae had been taken over by someone else, therefore he lost all his land and could not continue to do agriculture. Because of that and because he had to go to the courts every Tuesday each week in a year, he had to stay in Pang Daeng Nok and bring his family down to the area, in 1997. This was done on the advice of his lawyer
 - On the question of Palong leadership, Mr. Saen elaborates that there have been three leaders of the Palong in the time they have been in Pang Daeng Nok; the first was Mr. Jong Ae, and he was also the second, but now since the elections he is the new leader. The consequence of this is that he has to move to the Buddhist part of Pang Daeng Nok, into a new house that the Palong are currently building for their leader.
 - Mr. Saen, who converted to Christianity in order to have a place to live in Pang Daeng Nok, will have to become Buddhist again in order to be the leader of the Palong in the community.
 - Mr. Saen has been Christian since 1997
 - He became Christian because he had no other option he needed a place to live and those were the conditions for living on Mr. Somboon's land
 - Right now a lot of things are happening in the village, which makes it important for the Palong to have power to decide for themselves. Mr. Saen mentions several conflicts in which the Palong and Mr. Somboon are currently involved in with each other
 - One such conflict is the conflict over the water supply – right now each household in the village has to pay 15 bath a month for water to Mr. Somboon – The Palong refuse to pay any more than 10 bath a month and despite negotiations neither Mr. Somboon nor the Palong have agreed on either a compromise or a suitable reduction in price
 - Mr. Somboon stipulated in 1997 that people could stay on his land but if they would like to do that they had to convert from Buddhism to Christianity if so!
 - Mr. Saen says that he is really elected as the leader of the Buddhist Palong, but says that he was also selected by the Christian Palong

- The border between the Christian and Buddhist area of the Palong of BPDN is behind the large Tamarind tree near Mr. Imphrom's house.
- On February 1st Administrative village # 9 will introduce Mr. Saen as the associate leader of administrative village # 9 and of the Palong
- On questions about the prospects for the Palong after Mr. Saen's selection for leader and associate leader of Administrative village # 9 – Mr. Saen mentions that there are many problems which need to be solved he identifies Mr. Somboon as the principal problem for the village.
- Mr. Saen legitimize his claim of Mr. Somboon as a threat to the community in general and the Palong in particular by telling about a recent incident involving 10 Palong families in the Christian Zone, Mr. Somboon, and a organization in Bangkok, trying to purchase land from Mr. Somboon. The Scheme, which was illegal due to the 50 rai's of land being National resource Zone, was to be sold by 10 go between Palong families, this supposed to be done without even compensating the Palong families while the Palong was supposed to risk everything by putting their signatures on the title contract. This was bad in itself, but in additions and what was even worse, was that if found out the Palong could face long prison sentences and perhaps deportation. Therefore the Palong families contacted Mr. Saen and he advised them not to do it under any circumstances so the deal didn't go through.
- The Palong in Pang Daeng Nok number 60 families; there are 17 Christian Households and ~20 Buddhist households
- Both Christian and Buddhist Palong work for Mr. Somboon
- There is a very good relationship between the Christian and the Buddhist Palong in this community
- In Mae Tor Watershed there are four Palong communities: Huey Pong, Mae Chon, Pang Daeng Nei and Pang Daeng Nok
- The key organizer of the Palong in the watershed is Mr. Kam-Hieng the headman of Pang Daeng Nei – he lead the first group of Palong who arrived to this area
- The Palong communities come together at the Buddhist celebrations
- In Pang Daeng Nok all ethnic groups work well together, there is only one problem: Mr. Somboon
- Mr. Saen mentions that Mr. Somboon pays less than all other employers of day laborers – 60-80 bath a day and the people staying on his land has to work for him in order to stay on his land, just like they have to convert to Christianity
- When asked about what some important things and living conditions Mr. Saen will try to reform now that he has become a leader, he list three specific areas of focus: 1) We have to have land in order to do agriculture so we can subsist and improve our life, 2) we need land to build houses, we need to be able to buy land to do that we cannot do that right now! And 3) We need ID cards
- Mr. Saen says that he's worried about the future generations
- He also finds, that the agricultural land in this area is bad
- When asked about the new souvenir shop common property of the Palong community, Mr. Saen says that such an initiative is very important as the land grows poorer and poorer, particularly this time of year, during the dry season as more tourist come by, there is not much work to do for day laborers

- There are no cooperative projects with the other villages in the valley, the communities function in very autonomous fashions, but cooperate mainly on religious customs
- Pang Daeng Nok is the poorest Palong Community in the Valley, due to being the youngest but also because “we haven’t been free to do business on our own here” due to the presence of Mr. Somboon and the RFD
- His Short and long terms plans as Leader of the Palong: a) to clear problems with RFD, b) Clean up problems with drugs – although Mr. Saen says that the problem is small in reality but the perception of the village other places is that it is a big problem, c) Education of the young people, and d) to emphasize Palong customs

4.4.2 Informal Opportunistic Interview

This kind of interview is a variation of the informal interview. Which is characterized, by H. Russell Bernard, as being; “An interview characterized by the total lack of structure and control” (H. Russell Bernard, p.190). Given the total lack of control, from the perspective of a target or specific line of investigation and/or interest, it may be tempting to assume that little benefit may be derived from such an interview. But, since the function, as opposed to the more structured kinds of interviews, is less to provide quantitative data, than to identify novel lines of interest for further investigation. In addition as the title indicates, there is an important element of chance, intuition and opportunism in the choice of instigating this kind of interview, these elements should be carefully considered and cannot be omitted from the analytic process that follows, both in the field and in the general analytic process of data. Thus in order that an informal opportunistic interview fulfills its purpose as a contextualizing and complementary tool in the fieldworker’s toolkit, a careful consideration of the data should follow for each interview done, to promote the best possible degree of validity and reliability.

The four informal interviews done during the 11 days of fieldwork, are highly different and must not be evaluated as much for being of the informal opportunistic kind of interview, so much as for yielding clues like: Time of arrival in BPDN of some of the ethnic groups (Appendix XXX), the village history of BPDN (Appendix XXX), insights and cross-referential data on external and internal conflicts of the village (Appendix XXX), Citizenship issues (Appendix XXX), political issues (Appendix XXX), and the general health of the village (Appendix XXX), etc.

The application of this kind of interviews must, if considered in terms of complementary data yielded, in all modesty be characterized as mildly successful.

4.4.2.1 Informal Opportunistic Interview # 1

Date: 21/1/03

Basics:

Place of interview: On the benches near the “Men’s sleeping hut” away from Mr. Somboon’s house

Duration of the interview: Approx. 40 min.

People present at interview: Martin (student/researcher), Am (interpreter), Nipapan Vuttivongsa (Female Public health officer @ Chiang Mai District), Sanan Kumweng (Male - Volunteer of Adm. Village # 9), Kumme Bunpeang (Male - Volunteer of Adm. Village # 9)

Type of Interview: Informal opportunistic interview (See def.)*

Settings and context of interview:

This interview happened by way of circumstance. It was not possible to predict the presence of the local health authorities, as this wasn't something that had been previously considered. Thus, Martin leaped to the opportunity and scrambled in order to get some health information on the village in general. Thus the information gathered reflects the high degree of disorder in terms of the data gathered, as much of the interview was done in an amorphous fashion, due to the nature of the situational setting in which the interview took place.

The reason for the presence of Nipapan Vuttivongsa:

Biannual health check-ups on the young children and the needy indolence and adults in Pang Daeng Nok.

The situation in detail:

A line of 5-10 children stands besides the benches ready to be checked by Nipapan Vuttivongsa. Two volunteers are performing practical things for Nipapan, things like writing down data for the health archives and talking and entertaining some of the children and in general these men main purpose seems to be to keep a degree of order surrounding the working public health officer. The Interviewer + interpreter approaches and are met by friendly smiles and greetings. We ask if we could ask them some questions while they're performing their tasks? The two volunteers look at the public health officer who nods her head and proceeds with the injection of what we find out is a vaccination against German measles. During the next 40 min. a conversation develops whereat, Martin asks questions from the top of his head, mostly to the nature of their stay and visit to the village, etc. Mostly, conversation flows from Martin via Am to Nipapan Vuttivongsa and back the opposite way. The interview didn't have character of a group interview, since the volunteers deferred almost all answers to the public health officer.

Themes of the interview:

The working relations of the volunteers and the public health officer, the reason for being in the village, what the function of these biannual visits are, the public health program in general, the history of the program in relation to the village of Pang Daeng Nok, the current status of general health in village, and the scope of the program, i.e. do the public health office operate throughout Mae Tor watershed.

Methodology considerations:

Methodology of the interview form:

It is clear that the opportunistic informal interview have severe limitations in terms of systematic usability. But what it lacks in terms of rigorosity, it compensates for in some regards in terms of the "naturalness" of application.

The opportunistic informal interview requires a high degree of reliance on interviewer intuition and presence of mind, situation, time and place. Also, the multitude of

diversions occurring in a public space further complicates the preciseness of responses given by the people interviewed and the questions posed by the interviewer. Additionally, there can be no doubt, that the presence of an interpreter at opportunistic informal interviews has several implications in terms of consequences for the interview. For instance, the interpreter can have compounding effects leading to extreme variability in the interpretations of the conversation or reach for errant tangents of conversation/discussion due to mistakes in translations caused by linguistic differences. This inherent variability of effect may simultaneously function as either cushion and/or magnifiers of intuitive blunders or insights in the given interview. Thus, which factors exactly, were at play in the given interview situation is consequently much more important to the outcome of the quality of data gathered, than in more systematic and controlled forms of interviews.

Hence, it can be said that when one is doing an opportunistic informal interview, it is highly important to pay particularly close attention to the context and setting of the particular interview. The need for paying close attention to detail is necessary in order to overcome the systematic weaknesses and the reliability-validity concerns of the data retrieved.

Methodology of the particular interview:

With regards to this particular interview, the setting and context was that it was done in the middle of the day. It was done in the open.

Implications for the interviewer:

This interview was done as the interviewees were administering medical attention to several young children. This diverted a lot of the focus from questions requiring high degree of detail. Therefore many questions were about very basic subjects because, as well, interpreter, interviewee, and interviewer often were required to put their attention at things going on around them.

Implications for the Interviewee:

Having to divide ones attention between the curious questions of the interviewer and the children roaming around, made answering questions of a technical kind or the new and strange perspectives of the foreign interviewer, very difficult. Putting syringes in young children's arms and answering on complicated questions simultaneously is not a sound combination. Therefore answers on questions posed by the interviewer had delays many times.

Implications for the interpreter:

For the interpreter doing translations under the particular circumstances of this particular interview was less grueling than the stress on the interpreter during the prolonged periods of time required in a life history interview for instance, there were natural breaks and small pockets of time in which different aspects of the interpretations could be fruitfully cleared up. This compensated for the suddenness of the opportunistic informal interview, as these pockets of time allowed as well interpreter as interviewer to discuss answers and questions.

What came out of the interview?

- There are performed biannual public health check ups in Mae Tor Watershed
- The reason for presence of deformations on the necks of some women and on some limbs of younger children in the village of Pang Daeng Nok could be due to nutritional deficiencies and a general lack of Iodine in the diets.
- The Program has been running for 10 yrs.

- The General health of the villagers, have improved significantly since the inception of the health program, according to public health officer.
- The Health program involves measuring the growth of children, monitoring general health and vaccinating for a number of illnesses; Tuberculosis, German measles, Poliomyelitis, etc.
- In all administrative villages in Chiang Dao district, are platoons of volunteers, ready to help the public health officers. In Village # 9 there are 19 volunteers.

4.4.2.2 Informal Opportunistic Interview # 2

Date: 21/1/03

Basics:

Place of interview: The interview took place in front of the village electricity generator in the public square.

Duration of the interview: Approx. 2 min. @ 16:32 – 16:34

People present at interview: Active part takers: Martin (Student/researcher), 1 Dutch male (approx. age 55 yrs.) Passive audience: a small group of Dutch tourists (3-4)

Contextual crowd: Three Palong households, and the remaining Dutch tourists (~20) + guides (2 Thai – and 1 Dutch).

Type of Interview: Informal/opportunistic Shotgun interview (See def.)*

Settings and context of interview:

A large group of tourists poured into Pang Daeng Nok around 16:20 – They moved around the central parts of the village looking at the Hill tribe/indigenous art and the “realities” of village life. These people meandered from house to house trying to find a decent bargain, in terms of quality and price. It was a very large group of tourists, in fact, by far the largest group of our time in the field. The group of predominantly Dutch tourist had been to Mae Chon to “do” elephant rides earlier on the day, it consisted of an estimated number of 25-30 people. It was still hot and people were exhibiting the signs of a long day on the dusty plains and humid forests of Mae Tor valley. Some were sweating profusely and others exhibited the surefire evidence of earlier body-fluid evaporations on their clothes. The researcher approached the group and tried at first just to blend in. He didn’t engage in conversation, and was generally just trying to observe unobtrusively. Of course, some people took notice of a stranger in their midst and immediately approached to ask questions. One of these people was a tall blond/grayish man. This person and the researcher struck up a brief but informative conversation, with a few other people as audience.

The reasons for the presence of Dutch tourists group:

The tour company; “Top Orchid Tours” arrange weekly or Bi-weekly trips to this area to visit the Hill tribes in general and the Palong in particular. Tuesdays are normally the day these large groups of Tourist come to visit.

The situation in detail:

This interview was only technically an interview. It was extremely brief and to the point. It involved a willing divulger of information and interested interviewer. These roles were actually reversed as the interview developed. Martin had to legitimize himself at the onset of the conversation; here the SLUSE sign came in handy, as the Dutch, politely but firmly asked to the purpose of being present in the group. The tension of the situation dissolved after a few friendly words about the weather and of what had taken place during that day from the vantage point of the tourist. An informal conversation with and audience of 3-4 other tourist followed.

Themes of the interview:

Being a tourist in Thailand, Feeling safe in Thailand, The itinerary of the tourist group, who was arranging this tour.

Methodology considerations:

Methodology of the interview form:

It is clear that the opportunistic informal shotgun interview have severe limitations in terms of systematic usability due to temporal briefness. The Shotgun interview is characterized by its curtness and immediacy. The shotgun interview requires a high degree of reliance on interviewer intuition and presence of mind, situation, time and place. Also, the multitude of diversions occurring in a public space further complicates the preciseness of responses given by the people interviewed and the questions posed by the interviewer. As opposed to the opportunistic informal interview, the shotgun interview, have a few advantages with regards to the precision of the information, as both are informal and note writing are sparse, the memory capacity of the researcher is strained to a lesser degree during a shotgun interview as these interviews always last for less time than the opportunistic informal interview.

Thus, it can be said that when one is doing shotgun interview, due to the time constraints and the particular situation that a given interview takes place in, it is less important to pay particularly close attention to the context and setting of the particular interview during a shotgun interview than during a opportunistic informal interview, due to the need to allocate mental resource to reduce the complexity if the moment to cope with the haste of the situation. However, this is not to suggest that there is no need for paying close attention to detail if at all possible. But only if it doesn't come at the cost of paying attention to the interview discourse itself. This should be done in order to overcome the systematic weaknesses and the reliability-validity concerns of the data retrieved. During the fast and entropic conditions of the interview setup implicated by the shotgun interview.

Methodology of the particular interview:

Implications for the interviewer:

With regards to this particular interview, the overwhelming memory of the field researcher is the utter intensity of the conversation in the sense that most of the researchers concentration was focused on the interviewee, thereby eliminating some of the uses of the peripheral sensory array of the researcher.

Implications for the Interviewee:

It is very difficult to tell what exactly the interviewee felt or experienced during the interview. A valid question is perhaps whether or not there is any real sense in dividing

the partakers of the shotgun interview into the roles of interviewee and interviewer. It is perhaps more fitting to a shotgun interview a conversation, but with the expressed purpose of finding something not yet defined and perhaps important for some aspect of the fieldwork.

What came out of the interview?

- The tourist mentions how he feels safe in Thailand at least compared to Indonesia as he compares two countries in Southeast Asia. Safe enough as he puts it; “leaving your camera, people return and say Mister, mister”.
- The Dutch tourist group are on a three week vacation in Thailand in which one week is spend in Bangkok, One week in Pattaya, and one week in Chiang Mai.

The tourist discloses some information about the organizer and apparent owner of today’s trip. His name is Mr. Müller Jabush. “He’s been here for 22 years and is married to a Thai woman.

4.4.2.3 Informal opportunistic Interview # 3

21/1/03

Basics:

Place of interview: On the roadside of the Tarmac road 50 meters east of the Thai Shop on the roadside, behind a row of tourist sports utility vehicles.

Duration of the interview: Approx. 4 min. @ 16:36 – 16:40

People present at interview: Active part takers: Martin (Student/researcher), 1 Dutch male (estimated age ~55 yrs.) a Mr. Müller Jabush

Type of Interview: Informal/opportunistic Shotgun interview (See def.)*

Settings and context of interview:

As the large group of tourists from Top Orchid Tours poured out of Pang Daeng Nok around 16:35. Admonished by the Dutch tourist (informal interview # 1) who had been conversing with Martin, Martin left to seek out Mr. Müller Jabush, the owner and guide of the tourists. He was located at the back end of the caravan of cars accompanying the tourists overseeing things. Martin approached him in a firm and assertive manner, flashing the credentials of SLUSE in recognition of the imminent departure of the tourists to their next location of interest. In the span of time it took to rally the entire lingering tourist into their respective cars, Martin and Mr. Jabush had a brief conversation on the whereabouts of the tourists and the frequency of his company in these parts of Northern Thailand.

The reasons for the presence of Dutch tourists group:

The tour company; “Top Orchid Tours” arrange weekly or Bi-weekly trips to this area to visit the Hill tribes in general and the Palong in particular. Tuesdays are normally the day these large groups of Tourist come to visit.

The situation in detail:

This interview was only technically an interview. It was extremely brief and to the point. As opposed to the previous shotgun interview (Shotgun # 1) the roles and tone assumed

during the interview was a bit more restrained and formal contrasted with it. Mr. Jabush was clearly not accustomed to being questioned by a “young spring chicken researcher” with an obscure purpose. But as he was told a brief account by Martin on the whereabouts and purpose of SLUSE in the area he participated in the exchange without further signs of distrust, the initial tension of the situation dissolved.

Themes of the interview:

The name of the tour company, this area and Mr. Jabush’s knowledge of its history, the company’s history in these parts, etc.

What came out of the interview?

- Top Orchid Tours arrange tour trips to this area once every week or fortnight, depending on business
- Mr. Jabush arranges complete tour packages from his Base in Chiang Mai, especially minded on Dutch and other European Tourists and mentions the Internet as his recruitment base for his tours.
- Mr. Jabush has been living in Thailand for the past 30 yrs.
- Mr. Jabush is married to a Thai woman and has had permanent residence in N. Thailand for the past ~22 yrs.
- Mr. Jabush claims to have extensive knowledge of “almost all Hill Tribes” in Northern Thailand, acquired as he’s been doing business in northern Thailand.
- Furthermore, Mr. Jabush claims to have been coming in this particular area (Mae Tor Watershed) for the past 30 yrs.
- Mr. Jabush states that the Tarmac road was built in 1995
- Mr. Jabush mentions that he knows of up to two similar project to our SLUSE project, one being run in Fang district by an Australian guy named Ken, who’s a English teacher and one near the Catholic church on the way to “Cha Loc” organized by some American man.
- Mr. Jabush explains his version of the plight of the Palong and how they came to this area of Northern Thailand. He states that they came to this area from Doi Kob/Ankhang in 1985. He didn’t precisely state when they came to Thailand from Burma, but said that the primary motivation was flight from Ethnic cleansing of the Palong going on in Burma. He mentions that of the Valley from whence the Palong came only 256 people out of a total of 3000 Palong managed to reach Thailand.
- Mr. Jabush states that the Palong arrived to Pang Daeng Nok in 1994
- Mr. Jabush claims to have been at the location of what is now Pang Daeng Nok, before it was a village at all, he states: “They used to inhabit the valley area behind the hills over there” (he points to the hills on the village side of the Tarmac road in an eastern direction).

4.4.2.4 Informal Opportunistic Interview # 2

Date: 28/1/03

Basics:

Place of interview: On the benches near the “Men’s sleeping hut” away from Mr. Somboon’s house

Duration of the interview: Approx. 1.5 hour. 09:00 – 10:30

People present at interview: Rin (student/researcher), Benjamin (student/future father/researcher), Martin (student/researcher), Prinn (interpreter), Bratuon Kaiwjaima (Headman of adm. – village # 9), Name - unknown (Kamnang of sub-district in Chiang Dao District – Boss of the adm. Village headmen), name - unknown Headman of adm. – village # 7 (active in Mr. Nikhom Puttha’s NGO), and four Palong; Jong Ae (the ex-leader of Pang Daeng Nok – Palong), Mr. Saen Loongtee (recently appointed/elected leader of Pang Daeng Nok – Palong), and two young Palong (unidentified)

Type of Interview: Informal opportunistic group interview (See def.)*

Settings and context of interview:

Early morning interviews with important informants can sometime materialize from out of nowhere. This particular interview was more suited to be of a more structured nature, however as often happens when an unexpected opportunity comes along the field worker must be ready to through away breakfast, coffee, and sometimes even more precious things they hold in their hands and just run for the pen and the notepad. The Kamnang of the sub-district had early morning business in Pang Daeng Nok. For this purpose he brought along with him administrative headmen of village # 7 & 9. As their business apparently wasn’t more important that we could be allowed to ask a few questions, we; Rin, Benjamin, & Martin leaped at the promise of gathering more potentially important information. Hot Tea, and some fruit was served for the guest, who almost immediately upon their arrival was met and greeted by a pack of Palong led by Mr. Saen the newly elected leader of the Palong. We sat down on the benches near the Westside of the Men’s sleeping hut. The morning was very chilly and people were warming themselves and shivering as we were speaking.

The reason for the presence of Nipapan Vuttivongsa:

Administrative business in Pang Daeng Nok – (cannot be more precise as to the actual purpose)

The situation in detail:

As the SLUSE group were sharing breakfast and the rest of the village had commenced on the early morning activities, suddenly two cars drove into the village at the entrance near the Church (see Map). Three men emerged from the cars, only one of the three was recognized by the group, this was village headman of adm. village # 7 who was known to us due to his engagements as a practical worker at Mt. Puttha’s NGO in our Base Camp. He quickly introduced his companions and very quickly the group offered breakfast and asked if there was time to arrange a place to sit down and have a talk. The men replied yes and took the tea offered to them in grateful fashion. As the conversation unrolled, six people were present for the entire duration: Rin, Martin, Mr. Saen, Village headmen # 7 & 9 + the Kamnan. These were a constant flux of people walking to and from the table to get provisions (hot drinks) and/or to tend to other duties of theirs. At long periods the Non-Thai SLUSE students were prevented from participating in the verbal parts of the interview as confusion over the use of the interpreters, meant that they had to vacate the

table at times. The overall tone of the interview was serious but professional and the interviewees served all questions posed by the SLUSE students with clear and precise answers. Most of which didn't pose problems of translation.

Themes of the interview:

Village statistics, Village history, Administrative village politics, Tambon administration, different ethnic groups, Citizenship, and voting rights, general law issues, etc.

Methodology considerations:

Methodology of the interview form:

It is clear that the opportunistic informal interview have severe limitations in terms of systematic usability. But what it lacks in terms of rigorosity, it compensates for in some regards in terms of the "naturalness" of application.

The opportunistic informal interview requires a high degree of reliance on interviewer intuition and presence of mind, situation, time and place. Also, the multitude of diversions occurring in a public space further complicates the preciseness of responses given by the people interviewed and the questions posed by the interviewer. One actual example of such a diversion found to be affecting the course of informal interview # 2, was the presence of several conversations going on simultaneously.

Additionally, there can be no doubt that the presence of interpreter(s) at opportunistic informal interviews have several implications in terms of consequences for the interview. For instance, the interpreter can have compounding effects leading to extreme variability in the interpretations of the conversation or reach for errant tangents of conversation/discussion due to mistakes in translations caused by linguistic differences. This inherent variability of effect may simultaneously function as either cushion and/or magnifiers of intuitive blunders or insights in the given interview. Thus, which factors exactly, were at play in the given interview situation is consequently much more important to the outcome of the quality of data gathered, than in more systematic and controlled forms of interviews.

Hence, it can be said that when one is doing an opportunistic informal interview, it is highly important to pay particularly close attention to the context and setting of the particular interview. The need for paying close attention to detail is necessary in order to overcome the systematic weaknesses and the reliability-validity concerns of the data retrieved.

Methodology of the particular interview:

With regards to this particular interview, the setting and context was that it was done in the early morning. It was done in the open. Additionally there were many people present and taking part.

Implications for the interviewer:

This interview was done within the context of a group including several expert informants. As well as there being several informants there were several interviewers. At the same time many different conversations were going on simultaneously, making out details hard. The interviewers, pressed by the suddenness of the interview opportunity had to rely on the empirical experiences fostered during the prior weeks of fieldwork, fortunately, it may be said, the interviewers and interpreters present had a firm grasp of the current situation in the village. Thus, despite unfavorable conditions, the complexity of the situation was reduced to some extent by this high degree of prior specific insight

into the areas of discussion and the constant barrage of questions emanating from the interviewers. In retrospect it may be asserted that on the whole, the interview discourse and the general flow of conversation were mostly directed by the interviewers. However the subjects and direction of it, was dominated by the lack of preparation.

Implications for the Interviewee:

Having to manage 2-3 conversations during the interview, spread out the expertise of the individual interviewees to some degree and can be directly correlated to the variety of subjects discussed at the interview. But,

Implications for the interpreter:

For the interpreter doing translations under the particular circumstances of this particular interview was very grueling. The prolonged periods of time required to divide attention to several simultaneously ongoing conversations, complicate the translating immensely. It is hard to imagine a type of interview, in which the reliance of the interviewer is more at the mercy of the selective powers of the interpreter. As opposed to other types of interviews, such as; the life history interview and the observational interview, the natural breaks were few and far between. Small pockets of time in which different aspects of the interpretations could be fruitfully cleared up, were practically non-existent. This complicated the interpreter's job extremely and probably compounded the problems experienced on all aspects of the interview in which the interpreter acted as go between. Thus the temporal aspect present at this interview functioned on many levels. Interpreter fatigue was inevitable due to length of interview and the complexity of multiple simultaneous translations.

What came out of the interview?

- 6 Palong have Citizenship
- 37 Palong households in Pang Daeng Nok
- Buddhist Palong: 154 people: 48 Men, 26 boys, 47 women, 33 girls
- Christian Palong: 60 people: 21 men, 17 boys, 20 women, 13 girls
- Lahu East community – behind the temple are in fact located in administrative village # 11
- 20 households in Lahu West community
- 5-6 Lisu households in Pang Daeng Nok
- 4-5 people in the Somboon household can vote
- In all for the Lahu, Lisu and Palong ~ 20 people can vote for administrative village leader and for Sub-district- and district- Kamnan.
- Each month the leaders of the ethnic groups meet with the administrative village leader.
- Each ethnic group chooses their own leader
- Each leader of each ethnic group are his associate/assistant with rights to control own ethnic group
- Mr. Kaiwjaima, due to the conflict between the RFD and Pang Daeng Nok villagers, would like the RFD to Zone this area in order to secure the security of the villagers
- Mr. Kaiwjaima believes that there are two advantages of zoning: 1) it is easy to control people and administration of village → easier, 2) If people stay together → they won't destroy the forest
- Palong didn't cut down trees in 1992

- Thai people (millionaires from Bangkok) looking to boost profits in the timber industry, cut down those trees.
- Regarding the issues of ID-cards – Mr. Kaiwjaima notes, that if people came before 1982 → they (adm. vil.) send papers to the department of administration in the ministry of interior in order to get ID-card (Full) Just last year in December the administrative village send in 40 Palong applications, from the Pang Daeng Nei & Nok villages respectively → people born after 1982 in Thailand → automatically gets Thai ID
- People who migrated before or after 1982 can only get the Blue- or Green Id-card – they don't have a possibility of getting an ID.
- As the reason(s) for giving ID-cards the 3 men; sub-district Kamnan and 2 X Admin. Paluang respond: to control movement of migrants
- The three interviewees proclaim that they're trying to help migrants to stay in this area despite the fact that many have ID cards that list them as living in other areas.
- The administrative structure within which BPDN is placed is as follows: Community BPDN one of 5 Communities in administrative village # 9, administrative village # 9 is one of 16 administrative villages in Sub-district # ?, which is one of 7 Sub-districts in Chiang Dao District.
- Last major survey in this Sub-district – 1992 this is where most household data stems from.
- According to the Kamnan of the Sub-district there may be a survey coming up next year. This is planned mainly to avoid a population explosion and to diminish the likelihood of destruction of the forest.
- Many families have migrated into this area since last survey was done, families have re-united, in order to avoid the lawsuits and sending back of additional migrants new information to the present condition is needed.
- Another way the sub-district local plan, plans to avoid population explosion is to give injections every 3 months on the hospital
- The sub-district committee have implemented a plan that calls for two ways of eliminating the slash and burn agriculture which lead to the arrest of the 56 people in 1997 by using the combination of a) use of the law with b) using the community law to reduce deforestation.
- This area (referring to Mae Tor Watershed) came under RFD law in 1941
- This law concerns: a) Title deeds and b) all activities falling within this area
- According to the Sub-district Kamnang the govt. has a new plan to measure the land and determine which land has been cultivated for a long time. If the govt. finds that people have been involved with agriculture for a long time, then it may award SPK to people – this is of course after the drug problem of this area has been eliminated or brought under control.
- Since 1978 a few families have stayed here, the RFD didn't pay attention to that.
- In 2002 the area in and around the community of BPDN officially became part of the administrative village # 9, the fifth such community of adm.-village # 9
- The five communities of administrative village # 9: Tungluk, Huey Pong, Tien Doi, Pang Daeng Nai, and Pang Daeng Nok.
- Approx. 2000 people live in administrative village # 9

- Administrative village #'s 3, 7, 9, 11, & 16 gather together to conduct community laws and to prevent degradation of the forest. (These five administrative villages combined are Mae Tor Watershed)
- These administrative villages also work together to a) extend the agricultural area, b) to establish community forest as they have received money to emphasize Community forestry via the CF network, c) they have gotten support for food supply via the WWF - (Mr. Puttha's NGO) as well as received help with advertisement signs, also via WWF and d) they work closely together to promote the education of children in the area.
- The Community school of Pang Daeng area is a branch of the Tungluk School, but it is actually larger in terms of students.
- There are elections every five yrs for administrative positions in the sub-district.
- Until 1992 all positions were lifetime positions
- Since 1992 elections every 5 yrs are held for administrative positions.
- The Tarmac road was constructed in 1995. Before 1995 → dirt road.
- It was built because the minister of the industry wanted to have a quarry mill in Ban Phi Lei, surprisingly the villagers resisted the plan and thus the Road came to be without no other purpose
- Electricity came to the valley in 2002 – poles were brought in the beginning of 2002, but for Ban Phi Lei and Ban Huey E-Kop they just got electricity 3 months ago.

4.4.3 Observational Interview

The observational interview is a peculiar mix of observation and interviewing. The observational interview is not possible to conduct by oneself. It requires the role of being present at the interview conducted by another researcher. The observational interview is aptly named a form of parasite interview. It is observed in the span of time allowed, while the primary interviewer conducts the interview, the primary interviewer may or may not use a semi-structured form of interview, but regardless of the form of interview used by the primary interviewer. The observational interview is using the other interview as a platform to formulate the questions that the observational interviewer subjectively arrives at. At times when group interviews or interviews are done by multiple researchers, the researchers focus on the precision of the data collected during the interview proper. But the principle purpose of conducting the observational interview is not precision of the data and information collected, rather the observational interviewer, is, striving towards a complementarity and an expansion of internal context of the interview to provide an added dimension of particular depth. The internal context of the interview includes such aspects as; physical setting of interview, psychological “feel” of the interview discourse, asking questions based on intuitions and items, behavior or statements with elements of curiosity, etc. There is also the issue of ability to understand the language spoken at an observational interview. As the less the observational interviewer understands the language the more other aspects will appear and emerge from the background of the particular context of the interview. Therefore the degree to which the observational interviewer understands the language alongside the experience of the researcher,

determines the amount of effort, which must be applied in order to draw forth the extra-linguistic dimensions of the interview.

During the interviews done in BPDN, the idea of developing an 'observational interview', was based on some insights yielded by Judith Okely in her work on sensory knowledge embedded in the interview situation (Okely, 1994). In her article on vicarious learning, she discusses the importance of the extra-sensory array with which the body is equipped. Normally in an interview situation, the interviewer is inundated with verbal information, this information is processed as primary observation, but simultaneously, the body and the mind absorbs the extra-semantic information as well a condition Okely calls Knowledge embodied through sight, taste, sound, touch and smell" (Okely, pp.45)

The observational interviews in BPDN, was met with varied results, but in general it was mostly the intention of expanding the internal context of the interview which worked. Because, the primary interviewer and the observational interviewer, didn't make enough of an effort to confer about the interviews afterwards, in order to amplify the complimentary intentions of the method, this significantly diminished the complementary value of the results yielded in the interview situation and hence the overall legitimization of the use of the method during this fieldwork.

4.4.3.1 Observational interview # 1

20/1/03

Basics:

Place of interview: The interview took place in household # 23 – a Palong household. Towards the western end of the community relatively close to the road.

Duration of the interview: ~ 40 min.

People present at interview: Ood (Student/researcher/primary interviewer), Te (Interpreter), Martin (Student/researcher/secondary interviewer & observer), Sascha (Ajan/observer/secondary interviewer), Male head of family # 1 of household # 23, Wife of Male head of family# 1 + their two youngest children (the youngest had deformities on her outer extremities; feet and hands), old woman – est. 65-70 yrs. old (grandmother of family # 2 in household # 23) and her husband – est. 70-75 yrs. old (grandfather of family # 2 in household # 23), and the granddaughter in law of the older couple in family # 2.

People present at interview = 11 people.

Type of Interview: Observational interview. (Definition*)

Settings and context of interview:

The research team of Pang Daeng Nok placed a lot of importance on the general household survey. It was supposed to be the baseline to which the remaining days of study should spring from. Thus it was with the importance of this in mind, which the three groups that the research team was divided into (team # 1 Western part of the community, team # 2 Central part of the community, and team # 3 – Eastern part of the community) began to find their appointed areas of interview. The researchers were clearly anxious to begin and an anticipatory nervousness was dominating conversation as we approached the houses we were supposed to start interviewing. The first couple of houses that were approached left the team needing occupants to interview, but third time

lucky with careful consideration to the systematic random sample format agree to following the map based on the village walk 18/1, we had to ensure that the house with the present occupants was in fact an uneven numbered house on our map. It was! As we walked in it was agreed to divide team # 2 into two separate groups; The big observational group listed above and a smaller group consisting of Tong (researcher/student) by himself, in order to expedite the amount of interviews possible to achieve.

The reasons for the presence of most of the family:

As we found out during the interview, there were people of the household at work at all times. Young adults and the adults of family # 2 save the granddaughter, was in the fields working. However, working in the fields according to male head of family # 1 only occurred about 7-10 times a month this time a year.

The situation in detail:

As far as the actual place of the interview: It was a large Palong house based on a foundation of pillars, such as is Palong custom (sketch of its interior is provided). Apparent from the beginning of the interview was the functionality of the house, everything, had be optimized to accommodate a total of 12 people of two different, but related families. It was clean and the occupants seemed to be in a good state of health. The youngest child of family # 1 had some deformities on her hands and her feet, but seemed to be well nourished and able to participate in chores nevertheless. The interviewers were placed in the guest area of the house near the Buddhist alter of the house, between the two hearths. Ood was doing all of the talking; he introduced our purpose for being here and the household survey. He quickly managed to calm down the initial agitation present in both interviewees and the other interviewers by going at a leisurely pace not forcing the action or the questions down the throat of the interviewees. After completing the survey, Sascha and Martin took turns asking questions, which were inspired by the time gathered as a consequence of Ood directing the interview. In this sense there is a dimension of opportunism in the roles of group 1 of team # 2's division of labor, as this became the general pattern in the rest of the observational interviews done by this group. The interview concluded by thanking the families for their time.

Themes of the interview:

The composition of the household, working patterns, everyday activities, basic information, and ethnographic details of the interior decoration and items inside of the household.

Methodology considerations:

Methodology of the interview form:

The observational interview is a peculiar mix of observation and interviewing. It is not usually a kind of interview possible to conduct by oneself. It requires the role of being present at the interview conducted by another researcher. Data and information, originating from observational interviews must necessarily be less objective and systematic, than a questionnaire for instance. As the observations done in the span of time, while the other interviewer conducts the interview, is used to formulate the

questions that the observational interviewer subjectively arrives at. As being of interest for the research design and the overall query of the researcher or research team as a whole. Many times when group interviews or interviews are done by multiple researchers, the researchers focus on the precision of the data collected during the interview proper. But the principle purpose of conducting the observational interview is not precision of the data and information collected, rather the observational interviewer is striving towards a complementarity and an expansion of internal context of the interview to provide an added dimension of particular depth. The internal context of the interview includes such aspects as; physical setting of interview, psychological “feel” of the interview discourse, asking questions based on intuitions and items, behavior or statements with elements of curiosity, etc. There is also the issue of ability to understand the language spoken at an observational interview. As the less the observational interviewer understands the language the more other aspects will appear and emerge from the background of the particular context of the interview. Therefore the degree to which the observational interviewer understands the language alongside the experience of the researcher, determines the amount of effort, which must be applied in order to draw forth the extra-linguistic dimensions of the interview.

Methodology of the particular interview:

Implications for the observational interviewer:

During this interview, what happened was that both observational interviewers had different degrees of understanding of the language spoken, as well as different degrees of knowledge of context and location. Sascha, being a veteran researcher of Northern Thailand had significant knowledge of words and thus, was not as deprived of linguistic understanding as Martin, the novice, was. Also Sascha’s familiarity with local customs and conditions altered the prepositions of her observational insights differently, than the experience of Martin, who for the first time entered this kind of context. Hence, the effect of the lack of linguistic understanding, forced his attention towards the more abstract and sensory parts of the interview, thus coloring, the questions posed in this direction.

Implications for the Interviewee:

The attention of the interviewee was not concentrated upon the observational interviewer as he or she was going through the structured questions posed by the principal interviewer. Thus, the interviewee had to switch frame of mind once the observational interviewers started to ask their questions. An adjustment period was necessary to accommodate for the novel kinds of questions posed.

Implications for the interpreter:

Due to the lack of prior knowledge of how the interview was supposed to be conducted (it was decided by practice rather than pre-interview arrangements), the interpreter was given the challenge of finding a balance between what to interpret and how to do it in order not to destroy or impede the flow of the interview. This adjustment on the fly, was asking a lot out of the interpreter, and as such went against parts of the rules that the interpreters were educated in (see appendix not with Interpreter rules). For the interpreter a mental adjustment had to occur as the observational interviewer started to ask questions. Just like the interviewee, the interpreter due to knowledge and understanding of the actual conversation and interview discourse, was faced with question not necessarily correlated to the interview content and subjects, this required another frame of mind. Additionally, the disparity of the questions posed between the structured interview and the observational interviewers subsequent questions put a lot of strain on

the interpreters' intuition and the pre-knowledge of local contexts and customs. In this particular interview, it put a damper on the effectiveness of the questions asked by Martin and Sascha, as the interpreter had to rely exclusively on her intuition, because her inexperience in terms of being an interpreter and due to her lack of local knowledge.

What came out of the interview?

- There may have been nutritional deficiencies in this household – Child deformities and the lack of healing of a knife wound suffered by male head of family # 1, 4 months ago, the wound had been treated on the hospital and by the local doctor, but it hadn't healed yet.
- The household had contact with tourists – they had strange looking currency notes lying out in the open, stuffed away near one of the hearths (Indonesian upon inquiry)
- Items for sale to tourist were produced in periods with no other household chores, it was integrated into the days work. At all times people were doing handy work on some item, tool and/or product, when they were not being interviewed or asked directly about a question.
- The Belts worn by the women had traditional uses such as suggesting availability in terms of marriage, the age of the individual, the status of the individual.
- There were many different kinds of abdominal rings/belts, an exact number wasn't given
- Young girls, age 12-14 start wearing special belts of aluminum or silver, signaling their status as unmarried, this happens immediately upon menarche.
- The shelves on top of the hearths functioned as storage for tools and food, as well as doubling as workstations during preparation of food.
- There were storage space along the sides of the walls near the entrance
- There were two distinct sleeping quarters
- A combined space of worship (Buddhist shrine), weaving and sleeping quarters was on a platform in the big open room in which both hearths and the common room was at.
- Different families have different kinds of fertility items on their Buddhist shrine; there is much status in having the right kinds of produce and items in the shrine. This may be a reflection of the relative wealth of the family and/or the importance the individual household places on customs and religion

Abstract

The purpose of the field trip to Thailand was a combination of gaining methodological field experience and investigating the current situation of the village Ban Pang Daeng Nok. The village is located in Chiang Dao district, Chiang Mai province. Northern Thailand is a multiethnic region. The majority of Thailand's hill-tribes have inhabited this region for more than a century. Most have groups have migrated continually in order to have better opportunities. This pattern is evident in our study area. It is populated with four different ethnic groups, it seemed logical to study them in relation to the physical, economically and social surroundings. The methods applied relied heavily on a spectrum of interviewing techniques, complemented by physical measurements such as soil sampling and GPS.

The main issue discovered in the village was land scarcity, created by different factors; most importantly the increasing population pressure, which in conjunction with the classification on the land and the lack of civil rights for especially the Palong who arrived the latest (Fig. 1). Arriving late, markedly limited their possibilities to secure a livelihood. The reductions in livelihood strategies, causes the Palong to be heavily dependent on powerful landlords for their income.

Acknowledgments

This field work was carried out in close association with our fellow Thai students, which should be the first to be mentioned in this chapter. Thanks to: Ms. Sirintip Promkamtip; Ms. Nonglak Kaewphokha; Mr. Anuchit Paesupat; Mr. Pitak Rachjun; Mr. Phrommin Sainakam, for their cooperation, tolerance and patience and also for those funny times. We are also thankful to our interpreters: Ms. Am; Ms. Te and Mr. Prinn for their help and cooperation, where language was a barrier in our work. Without them it would not have been possible to do this fieldwork.

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Abbreviations

TAO = Taboon Administration Office

RFD = Royal Forest Department

LUD = Land Unit Department

NGO = Non Governmental Organisation

IMPECT = Inter Mountain Peoples Education and Culture in Thailand

BPDN = Ban Pan Daeng Nok

Definitions

Ethnic minority: Usually know as hill tribes in English in Thailand

Village: The village is the community studied as location 5. The administration unit know as a village to our Thai counterparts is in this rapport known as a Moo. Thereby the Village of BPDN is located in Moo 9.

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1 Introduction

Due to its location in a region with a long and turbulent history, a complex pattern of continued migration usually disregarding borders has caused Thailand to become a multicultural country. The Thai government has recognize eight major ethnic groups: Karen, Hmong, Lisu, Lahu, Mien, Akha, Htin and Mlabri. These ethnic groups are called the hill tribe people, as they live in the hills of Northern Thailand. There are more than these eight ethnic minorities in Thailand today. Again these different groups have a low variable social status, partly relating to the duration of presence in Thailand partly to the history of the group while having been in Thailand. Some groups have lived in Thailand, for centuries others for decades. (Dr. Chayan Vaddhanuphuti 1995: *The present situation of indigenuous peoples in Thailand*. In IWGIA 1995: "Vines that won't bind" IWGIA Document 80)

Historically ethnic minorities have been well accepted by the Thais (Muntarbhorn, Vitit 1992: *The status of the refugees in Asia*. New York, Oxford University Press) From the 1960 on forward, the Thai state began regarding the hill tribes as problematic in regards of National security, opium, forest destruction, and illiteracy. (IWGIA, 1995 Source)

During the 80's and 90's, the government launched an ambitious package in order to control and develop the hill tribes. The primarily goals were to stop the shifting cultivation and replace opium cultivation by introducing alternative cash crops. Two of the means were to concentrate the hill tribes settle in certain area and a plan to give a citizenship to hill tribe people (IWGIA, 1995).

Many of these people had no land rights, partly because of the forest policy, which proclaimed they lived of as a forest reserve or national park. In other areas the land occupied by the hill tribes have been compromised by the development of the Water Shed Classification System. This was initiated because massive deforestation on hill slopes caused erosion which affecting the water retention of these ecosystems and created problems with increased flooding and drought.

The village of Ban Pang Daeng Nok is located in the The Mae Tor watershed (Class 1), Chiang Dao district, in northern Thailand. Among others Ban Pan Daeng Nok is situated in Conservation zone according to the National Forest Reserve classification made by the RFD. The village has four ethnic groups: the Thai, Lisu, Lahu and Palong.

Our interdisciplinary approach was characterized by work in three sub-groups teams: a social, economic and agricultural group. Our research question was chosen in accordance with the different issues of interest presented in our location. Therefore the methodological aspects used during the field work became very important for coordinating our research design and formulating a plan of investigation.

A perspective we all agreed on was to continuously measure the difference in these different issues according to ethnic group. This is account for part of the reason why the Chiang Mai formulation of the research question was as follows:

How does the ethnicity and the involvement of organizations affect the natural resource management and land use practice of Ban Pang Daeng Nok?

In this research question we assumed that the different ethnic groups would have different income strategies and different practice and use of their land. Also we chose to investigate the impact of government policy, local administration, and NGO's on the villagers management and use of their natural resources.

Upon our return to Denmark, it was decided to alter the problem formulation once again. Based on the actual research done in the field and some of the data, it has been decided to phrase a reflective problem description:

Land scarcity and uncertain prospects in an ethnically diverse village.

This problem is the consequence of new issues being revealed to the students in the field. The current situation in the village and their reaction to living under pressures from many sides including government offices and a lack of resources, became a reoccurring focus point in several investigations. The shift in our main problem is thus a wish from our side to describe the circumstances of the village, and our process of researching it.

2 Methodology

2.1 Methods used by all

2.1.1 Community meeting:

An ice-breaking community meeting was arranged upon arriving in BPDN. Assisted by our gracious host Mr. Somboon, who not only provided us with a place to stay during our fieldwork, he also invited for and hosted this community meeting.

About 100 people showed up, including approximately 30 children. All the different ethnic groups seemed to be represented.

Mr. Somboon held a spirited welcome speech for us, where he reminded the villagers of former troubles in the village, and encouraged them to talk to us about these and what else we wanted to know. In addition, Mr. Somboon urged the villagers to learn from us and take note of us as examples of the merit of a good education.

After the speech of Mr. Somboon, we introduced us as a group and described briefly why we were in the village; he presented us as the students of the villagers. Concluding the meeting was a session where the Danish students presented some pictures from home and explained about their homelands with the aid of the interpreters.

We consider the main purpose of the community meeting to introduce ourselves to the villagers, to be a success. The villagers got to see us, and form an impression of us as a group. Also we got the opportunity to create a less formal setting for future encounters by appearing happy and open.

Mr. Somboons speech was not planned to be part of our introduction, and it would have been preferable if he had not used our presence to create a politically motivating scene. The speech was however one of the first clues to Mr. Somboons role as a community leader.

2.1.2 General Household Survey

One of the few things relatively settled before going to the field, was the need to get some basic village information, we agreed on a large household survey. This survey would include as many households as possible in order to determine a base for further investigations and sampling strategies in the field.

Upon arriving in the village however a need to know the village setting became clear, and the first investigation therefore was a guided tour of the village with Mr. Somboon. Based on this information a map was drawn over the houses in the village.

That evening of the first full day a tentative village map was constructed. All of next day was spent discussing how to conduct what we called the general household survey (Diary). In the end a compromise was settled at 15 questions total. The question was designed to reveal tendencies towards the investigations later to be conducted in-depth. By revealing as much information as possible on the most important subjects the purpose was to use the information to categorize the villagers into groups for later in-depth interviews

The sampling strategy was debated vigorously, but a decision of a systematic random sampling, where every second household in the village was to be interviewed, was made.

Due to the status of the village as an illegal settlement it was assumed that the households did not have an official number. The sampling method therefore was based on interviewing every second household according to a provisional number being given dependant on their location on our map of the village starting with low numbers in the westernmost part of the village and ending in the eastern part.

The students would split up into three groups with one interpreter each. One group worked in the western part, one in the central and one in the eastern part of the village.

Because of only a few Thai and Lisu residents was living in BPDN, it was decided that the Lisu and Thai households would all be interviewed to allow for better statistical representativity.

Several useful patterns and categories emerged from the survey results. But apart from having attained the overall purpose of getting the village basics, almost everything else turned out questionably. Due to either imprecise mapping or copying of the map it was very difficult to relate the map to the actual location of the houses. The combination of imprecise maps and our unfamiliarity with the village setting lead to problems of reliability in terms of which houses was actually in the household, it certainly violated the sacrosanct rule that a systematic random sample should be systematically sound.

A second problem revealed in the survey was the difference in the way the same questions were asked and maybe even more importantly, recorded by fluctuating from yes and no, to long descriptions and blank boxes.

The data obtained from the general household survey is used throughout this rapport. The data is not 100% reliable, but lack of other information within these categories make the use necessary.

Almost all people were present when we had planned to make the interviews and only two households, unfortunately Thais both of them, were never interviewed.

2.1.3 PRA

A second community meeting was held on Sunday 26th in the evening (Diary). The purpose of it was to discover the villager's perception of the village and it's context.

Several PRA methods¹ such as village mapping, crop calendar, cultural calendar and problem ranking was planned. We had hopes the information we could gather could help to elaborate on some of the findings the

¹ Mikkelsen, Britha 1995: Methods for development Work and research. New Delhi, Sage Publications

group had already made during the fieldwork, as well as help the villagers identify some common problems and issues.

About 50 villagers turned up at the meeting. The majority of the 2½ hours set aside for the meeting, was taken up, mapping the community. Several large pieces of papers had been stuck together on a backboard and filled in with the road and other selected basic structures such as the school.



Of the 50 villagers only few were active in the mapping exercise. Mainly 4-6 men were active along with the Thai students. In retrospect the exercise were conducted too much by the students and too little by the villagers.

The crop calendar and the cultural calendar went according to plan. The individual group were represented well and got to give their input.

The problem ranking was to show the perceived problems of the villagers and how they important they viewed the problems to be. In the process of stating the problems it became clear that a few people controlled the action, making their opinion, the opinion of the village.

This would usually be counteracted by letting the villagers vote on which problems were considered most important. This process was clearly dysfunctional in this meeting, as the voting process was not made clear to the villagers.



The community meeting proved to the group, how difficult, simple PRA methods are to use with success, and how important small methodological considerations are for the result. Perhaps a meeting held during the daytime, where the villagers were less eager to go home would have been better, and a more appropriate method for voting in the ranking would have made the results more reliable.

The evening did not produce many of the desired results but functioned more as a possibility to practice using PRA methods for the students.

2.2 Methodology used by the individual

2.2.1 ID-cards

In order to learn about the villagers attitude towards their legal position in Thailand in terms of identity cards and registration as well as their civil rights, several different research methods were taking into use; Nine semi-structured household interviews and two semi-structured expert interviews.

Semi-structured household interviews

Firstly, a small round of interviews were planned and conducted with the villagers. The purpose with these interviews were to learn how the villagers felt about the identity card they possessed, and their sense of uncertainty regarding their current situation and their rights.

Nine interviews were planned with pre-selected households. Nine households were deemed a respectable compromise between time and representability. The pre-selections were based in part on the results of the general household survey. Another consideration was the adequate coverage of the different ethnic groups. 4 Palong households were chosen, 3 Lahu, 1 Lisu and 1 Thai. All households were chosen based on their ethnicity and what identity cards they had claimed to hold in the general household survey. Households with a mix of identity cards was preferred, as they were believed to indicate a higher awareness of the difference of rights and limits set by each kind of card. Of the Palong it was made certain that at least one family with “blue cards” were represented as this seemed to constitute the major part of the Palong community, and of the Lahu, both “green card” holds as well as Thai citizens were chosen.

Semi-structured expert interview

The expert interview with Mr. Wichit (4.2.1) was conducted with little preparation. There was time to prepare some questions but not to consider much methodology. Thus the interview became a semi-structured interview with open-ended questions.

Structured expert interview

The expert interview with Mr. Nikhom (4.2.2) was planned as a structured interview with only open-ended question. Mr. Nikhom was considered to be a key informant to the current events in the watershed as a whole, and because the NGO Mr. Nikhom runs is not very involved in BPDN. The intention was for each question to urge Mr. Nikhom to talk about the topic as he deemed proper, in order to gain as much information as possible.

It was considered quite likely that he would be able to reveal new issues not yet known or considered to us, by using this method. Should any specific question be left unanswered, it would then be possible to probe further.

2.2.2 Land Tenure

During the general household survey of 47 households, people were asked about many different issues, among them, land tenure and access to land was asked in order to create a representative overview of land tenure.

These results form the basis for the questions used during in-depth interviews.

According to the four different ethnic groups living in BPDN a selection was made that to separate those who have NS-3 and SPK land certificate.

The questions were semi-structured with specific and open-ended questions. The different interviews were carried out in different places.

Some of the main points in gathering this information were to know more, in depth, who is the owner and what are the effects of having a land certificate or not. Whether there were some differences and similarities between those having a NS-3 or SPK in terms of they were doing agricultural practices any differently than those who are using the land without any land certificate.

Observation walk

In order to locate different physical aspects and to be familiar with the area and the villagers of BPDN, an observation walk was done. We walked from North-western toward North-eastern. We used direct informal observations and participatory observations. The guide was a member of western Lahu ethnic group.

Firstly, the idea to use this method was to know the boarders of the village and the forest area.

Secondly, was to compare the physical aspects such as: types of crops, trees plantations, how big the areas, were, those used for agricultural practices, and how houses are built.

Finally, the idea was create maps and transects while we were handling GPS.

Just only one objective among our three main objectives was reached. The first two were not possible. The first one, we could not reach the boarders of the forest, our guide argued that we needed to walk at least couple of hours more to reach that point. The second one, we could not compare the physical aspects of our village with others village, the time was an impediment to visit our neighbours.

After walked more than 3 hours, we reached the school of the village as a point reference the school is located in the Northeastern part of the village.

In-depth Agricultural Interview

The natural resource group, split up after the first days into two groups. One group focused on the forest, while, the other group investigated the agricultural systems. The purpose of this rearrangement was for the agricultural group partly to focus on the physical aspects of the agricultural systems, the soil and the agricultural practices, partly to quantify the economy within the composition of agricultural forms practiced by the different groups.

Information within these subjects would be gathered by a combination of a) structured interviews, administered in order to obtain information concerning input and output, expense and income of the agriculture and b) Informal conversations: Some of these interviews would be followed by soil samples taken in the fields belonging to the interviewees. The reason for doing this was several fold: to identify the geographical location of the field and to measure and cross check the area of the field by using GPS (1.2.1), to analyze the quality of the soil (1.2.2.) and not the least: to create an opportunity for an unstructured interview, partly to obtain further information on the agricultural practices, partly to reveal information on other aspects of interest to the interviewer and the interviewees. As time went by and knowledge was gained on the intra-village situation this became more and more focused on land ownership by certain persons.

2.2.3 Agricultural practices

The in-depth agricultural questionnaire

The creation of the in-depth agricultural questionnaire was a troublesome process, mainly because it had to contain questions in relation to both the agronomical as well as the economical side of the agriculture which included both animals and crops and household economy in general. This resulted in a long and very detailed interview that should be posed to between 15 and 20 persons in less than three days. In addition soil samples should be taken from fields belonging to as many of the farmers as possible. The selection of households for interviewing was based mainly on ethnicity so ideally an equal number from each ethnic group was to be interviewed. However, the low numbers of Thai and Lisu households in the village would automatically result in weak results for comparison of the different ethnic groups. The questions relating to household economy would be posed both to households practicing agriculture and households that doesn't.

After an ended interview one person from the household would be accompanied to the field in order to take a soil sample. This proved to be an excellent opportunity to have an informal conversation both concerning agricultural aspects but also problems within the village as the farmers often were more willing to discuss these aspects than when neighbors might be listening.

One problem concerning the result of the agricultural interview was that it was conducted by researchers with a biased interest towards the economical aspects of agriculture. This led to a quite vaguely and imprecise documentation of the agricultural practices in favor of the economic outcome of the agriculture. This in addition has to do with the complexity of both the questionnaire and the questions which were often answered in different ways that cannot be compared. Therefore a meaningful evaluation the agricultural systems based on quantitative data is not possible. This instead has to be founded on single informal interviews.

A further problem was that time and ambition didn't match. Either too many questions were asked or too many people were interviewed to ensure accurate answers in a comparable form. For future situations, a solution might be to split up the interview so that questions concerning economy and agricultural practices will be asked in different interviews. The problem is however that these factors are so closely related through the input and yield that it would be a waste of time to ask many of the same questions twice. Probably it would be more meaningful to either make the interview simpler with fewer and lesser detailed questions or be less ambitious concerning how many households to interview and then make sure that all questions are answered and in the same way.

Focus Group Meetings – why not?

A method which value for data retrieval has probably been underestimated in this research, at least within the agricultural research team, has been focus group meetings. These were considered, but rejected due to scarcity of time. However, a lot of data could probably have been obtained if groups of approx. 2-5 persons had been given maps or asked to draw maps of the village area and explain in general on forest boundaries, land ownership, soil quality, etc. The community meeting was thought to substitute for this but ended up being quite disordered and probably information of equal or better quality could be obtained from smaller groups that is lesser time and resource consuming (both of the villagers and researchers). In addition it might be believed that critique of problems in relation to the powerful persons tends to be avoided in large groups. Actually, we believe that when time is scarce as during this research it might be more valuable to ask questions concerning the villagers *in general* instead of obtaining few datasets of questionable reliability concerning individual villagers.

2.2.4 Ethnicity

Informal Opportunistic Interview

This kind of interview is a variation of the informal interview. Which is characterized, by H. Russell Bernard, as being; “An interview characterized by the total lack of structure and control” (H. Russell Bernard, 2000). Given the total lack of control, from the perspective of a target or specific line of investigation and/or interest, it may be tempting to assume that little benefit may be derived from such an interview. But, the function, as opposed to the more structured kinds of interviews, is less to provide quantitative data, than to identify novel lines of interest for further investigation. In addition as the title indicates, there is an important element of chance, intuition and opportunism in the choice of instigating this kind of interview, these elements should be carefully considered and cannot be omitted from the analytic process that follows, both in the field and in the general analytic process of data. Thus in order that an informal opportunistic interview fulfills its purpose as a contextualizing and complementary tool in the fieldworker’s toolkit, a careful consideration of the data should follow for each interview done, to promote the best possible degree of validity and reliability.

The four informal interviews done during the 11 days of fieldwork, are highly different and must not be evaluated as much for being of the informal opportunistic kind of interview, so much as for yielding clues like: Time of arrival in BPDN of some of the ethnic groups (Fig. 1), the village history of BPDN, insights and cross-referential data on external and internal conflicts of the village (4.4.1.4.), Citizenship issues (4.4.2.4), political issues (4.4.2.4), and the general health of the village (4.4.2.1), etc.

The application of this kind of interviews must, if considered in terms of complementary data yielded, in all modesty be characterized as mildly successful.

Observational Interview

The observational interview is a peculiar mix of observation and interviewing. The observational interview is not possible to conduct by oneself. It requires the role of being present at the interview conducted by another researcher. The observational interview is aptly named a form of an epiphytic interview. It is observed in the span of time allowed, while the primary interviewer conducts the interview, the primary interviewer may or may not use a semi-structured form of interview, but regardless of the form of interview used by the primary interviewer. The observational interview is using the other interview as a platform to formulate the questions that the observational interviewer subjectively arrives at. At times when group interviews or interviews are done by multiple researchers, the researchers focus on the precision of the data collected during the interview proper. But the principle purpose of conducting the observational interview is not precision of the data and information collected, rather the observational interviewer, is, striving towards a complementarity and an expansion of internal context of the interview to provide an added dimension of particular depth. The internal context of the interview includes such aspects as; physical setting of interview, psychological “feel” of the interview discourse, asking questions based on intuitions and items, behavior or statements with elements of

curiosity, etc. There is also the issue of ability to understand the language spoken at an observational interview. As the less the observational interviewer understands the language the more other aspects will appear and emerge from the background of the particular context of the interview. Therefore the degree to which the observational interviewer understands the language alongside the experience of the researcher, determines the amount of effort, which must be applied in order to draw forth the extra-linguistic dimensions of the interview. During the interviews done in BPDN, the idea of developing an 'observational interview', was based on some insights yielded by Judith Okely in her work on sensory knowledge embedded in the interview situation (Okely, 1994). In her article on vicarious learning, she discusses the importance of the extra-sensory array with which the body is equipped. Normally in an interview situation, the interviewer is inundated with verbal information, this information is processed as primary observation, but simultaneously, the body and the mind absorbs the extra-semantic information as well a condition Okely calls Knowledge embodied through sight, taste, sound, touch and smell" (Okely, 1994)

The observational interviews in BPDN, was met with varied results, but in general it was mostly the intention of expanding the internal context of the interview which worked. Because, the primary interviewer and the observational interviewer, didn't make enough of an effort to confer about the interviews afterwards, in order to amplify the complimentary intentions of the method, this significantly diminished the complementary value of the results yielded in the interview situation and hence the overall legitimization of the use of the method during this fieldwork.

Life History interviews

The life history interview method was also conceptualized as a complementary effort to fasten some of the thinly bound findings which was the intentions of such a short period of fieldwork. That the life histories are fictional facts, is assumed in the methodology, Norman Denzin addresses the nature of the life history as "Stories then, like the lives they tell about, are always open ended inclusive and ambiguous, subject to multiply interpretations"(Horsbøl, 1999). The strength and weakness, depending on the evaluative perspective may be found in the life history's ability to give the initiative and word to the person whose life story is told.

According to Langness and Frank, there are six important components crucial to the success of a life history interview; 1) Rapport, 2) Language, 3) Interviewing, 4) Reliability & Sampling, 5) Note taking & recording, and 6) Personality (Langness and Frank, 1985). Each element plays a role in development of the life story and must be evaluated retrospectively as analysis of the data is processed.

The success and failure of the life history interview rests on a knives edge and clearly when going through the results of the life history interviews done during this fieldwork process, an improvement with experience and refinement of the method has taken place. A final important note is that it is undeniable that immense

importance is being put on the interpreter during the course of this kind of interview. Thus, selecting the proper interpreter for the proper context and interview person, is of extreme importance, it was the single most important factor during the fieldwork process concerning life histories collected in BPDN (4.4.1. or 1.1).

2.3 Ethical considerations:

Upon arrival in the village, instantly ethical dilemmas faced the students time and time again. The group was faced with starving puppies, begging children, sick villagers requesting advice and a constant urge to reveal information that seemed helpful to the villagers. It soon became clear that the individual constantly had to make up his or her own mind as to what would be the best, nicest, wisest and most ethically correct thing to do. In the end, different students chose different approaches.

Although not in line with the code of ethics planned from home, this might be reflected upon as a valuable lesson that each ethical dilemma a person face should be considered in its context and can not be predefined.

The students in location 5 had considered what ethical problems there might arise during the field course and how the students should deal with this. Despite the prearranged ethical code there was no consistent group-code of conduct throughout the fieldwork process. Therefore, despite paying some attention to field-ethics in the synopsis, once the Danish group arrived in Thailand, most of these efforts were obscured. As formulating a working plan for the fieldwork in three days, prior to going into the actual field, became the most important priority for the joint Thai-Danish team. Obviously, many important considerations were lost in the haste to put together a work-plan. Among those were general issues of importance such as formal ethical considerations.

3 Results

3.1 Village Description

Bang Paeng Daeng Nok, is a small village in Chiang Mai province in Northern Thailand. It consists of approximately 89 households, depending on the definition of village limits. Four different ethnic groups live side by side Lahu, Lisu, Palong, and Thais. Not surprisingly, dealing with inter-ethnic relations are an everyday reality in the village and has been for the past 25 years since the first Lisu settlers came to dwell on the land where the central part of BPDN lies today (Map.1).

The coherence and size of each ethnic group within BPDN varies significantly. In order to accurately set up a frame of reference for the latter part of the rapport, it is necessary to go into detail about the background of each ethnic group and their respective role in the village history of BPDN.

1) The Thai

Of all the ethnic groups, the Thai are the least numerous. In BPDN, there are approx. 4-5 households. The Thai households are different from the other ethnic groups in that they function as autonomous units in their own rights, that is they don't have a headman or leader. There has been a strong Thai presence historically in BPDN as sources in the village indicate that a Buddhist temple use to be on the site where the village church, now stand. Furthermore, the same source, profess to having had relatives living and working the fields surrounding the temple grounds since 1895 (4.1.4.1.).

2) The Lisu

The Lisu are the oldest of the ethnic minority groups in BPDN, oldest in terms of the time spent in the village that is. Three Lisu households arrived at BPDN 25 years ago and bought some land with NS-3 certificates from a Thai. The Core of the current population of Lisu, living in BPDN are related to these pioneers. Currently, there are approximately 5-6 Lisu Households in BPDN. Most of the Lisu living in BPDN are Christian as opposed to the majority of the Lisu in general, most of whom are Buddhist.

3) The Lahu

There are 3 groups of Red Lahu. They three groups are distinct and unrelated. Every one of the Lahu groups came separately. Each group functions as an autonomous unit, organized around a small cluster of houses and each have their own headman or leader. There are two large Lahu settlements and one smaller. In this study we have not included the smaller of the three settlements, the Lahu Community North. The other two, are situated west and east of the central part of BPDN. Each contains approx. 20 households. The eastern Lahu, arrived in 1989, whereas the western Lahu came two years earlier in 1987.

4) The Palong

Despite being the youngest in terms of arriving in the village, the Palong are the largest ethnic group in BPDN. Numbering approx. 37-40 households presently, the first Palong arrived in 1994. Since then, the immigration of the Palong into BPDN have steadily increased and so have the central bulge of the village itself, as the Palong have settled close to the Christian Church. The early Palong settlers were extremely poor and landless, they settled on some of the land owned by Mr. Somboon, a Lisu. Mr. Somboon mandated that the Palong

settlers convert from their Buddhist traditions into Being Baptist Christians. Subsequent Palong settlers have settled to dwell immediately in the vicinity of Mr. Somboon's land, and this is why there are seemingly two Palong communities in BPDN, the Christian and the Buddhist. They share a common leader though, cooperate despite religious denomination and according to several sources (4.4.1.3.) the Palong remain Buddhist at heart, despite appearances.

Village History - Ban Pang Daeng Nok – 1892 (2435) – 2003 (2546)

A) The arrival of Ethnic groups in BPDN

1895 (2438)	1978 (2520)	1988 (2530)	1990 (2532)	1994 (2536)	2003 (2546)
↔	-----↔	-----↔	-----↔	-----↔	-----↔

B) Laws and government policies of significance for BPDN

1892 (2435)	1901 (2445)	1941 (2484)	1954 (2497)	1964 (2505)	1973 (2515)	1977 (2519)	1985 (2529)	1992 (2534)	2003 (2546)
↔	-----↔	-----↔	-----↔	-----↔	-----↔	-----↔	-----↔	-----↔	-----↔
			(2417)				1975		

C) Events of general importance for the people of BPDN

1992 (2534)	1995 (2537)	1997 (2539)	2000 (2543)	2002 (2545)	2003 (2546)
-----↔	-----↔	-----↔	-----↔	-----↔	-----↔
					2003 (2546)

Signatures:

↔ - Single events

↔ - Years in which more than one significant event occurred

2003 (2546) – The Numbers listed in parentheses are the corresponding year in the Buddhist calendar to the annum in the Christian calendar.

----> - The direction of time

FIG. 1 Note: summary in supplement appendix

3.2 Recent radical changes of BPDN

BPDN is one of five small communities situated within administrative village # 9 under the jurisdiction of sub-district Tambon # 9 in the District of Chiang Dao. Just recently, in 2002 (4.4.2.4), BPDN achieved status as being an administrative unit within administrative Village # 9. As a consequence of this event, two kinds of village relations now exist side by side in everyday life.

Until BPDN's ascension to be an administrative unit, the village functioned under the guidance of informal leadership. This informal village included all three surrounding satellite communities; the eastern-, the northern-, and the western- Lahu. All satellite units were part of the dynamic village relations centered around the central part of the village, near the Christian Church. However, with one broad sweep of the proverbial painter's brush, BPDN has changed from an informal cluster of houses, run by the informal leadership of the village, into being an administrative unit in a public government structure (4.4.2.4). Before, BPDN was part of administrative village # 9 three satellite communities were de facto incorporated into village administration, according to rules and whims primarily outlined and enforced by village strongman Mr. Somboon (Multiple interviews). Now since the political changes, only one community of the three, remain within, the village proper, the western Lahu community (Map 1). Lahu community north, doesn't "exist" by all official accounts due to its presence on Conservation Zone land, meanwhile Lahu community East is placed in an entirely different administrative village, Administrative village # 11.

Consequently the power structure of the village has changed radically just before us coming to study in the village of BPDN.

3.3 Economic tendencies.

It seems that the Palong and Lisu are poorer than their Lahu and especially Thai neighbors (Table 1.3). We know however that at least one Lisu household did not submit an income anywhere near what we surmised it to be, thus making the numbers of this group unreliable. Further more, historical and family ties between the Lisu families in the village could also indicate economic relations, but such ties have not been revealed to us. The data from the Thai households appear more reliable. Several households gave us exact numbers, as they have to turn in tax figures every year.

The Palong economic data correspond with the impression the group received while staying in the village. They have few options of income, since only few have Thai citizenship. Also a large number of Palongs are economically dependable on Mr. Somboon from whom many borrow or rent land.

The Lahu are a “middleclass” in the village if the numbers are to be believed. This concurs with the impression the students got from their stay in the village. There are of course extremes in this as well as other groups. One Lahu household had a new car as well as a (big) satellite dish. Generally however, the Lahu east, (which is not part of the formal BPDN but rather Moo 11) seemed richer than the Lahu west area.

3.4 Land tenure

3.4.1 Land and registration in BPDN

The description of the land registration history in BPDN, starts more than 100 years ago.(appendix 4.1.4) Mr. Yeepho a Thai farmer who has 12 (rais)¹ approximately 2 ha., in the Southwest part of the village. He got the land by NS-3 deed by inheritance. His family have been here for 3 generations cultivating the land; Since Mr. Yeepho’s grandfather started to do agriculture at this area, the agriculture has been intensive. When Mr. Yeephoo’s grandfather has died, and the land was transferred to his daughters, Mr.Yeephoo’s mother became to be one of the owners of the Southwest part sharing with her sisters in the 60’s. (4.1.4)

According to Yeephoo’s mother, the Land Reform Department Office came approximately 25 years ago and gave land for free to those people who were doing some farming practices, he said that the land registration and land distribution went from the Southwest part to Southeast part next to the stream, where now the school take place. Whereas in the North part of BPDN always was a forest area until people from hill tribes came to BPDN.

Mr Paam a Tambon officer bought 40 rais (6.4 ha.) in 1975 from Mr. Yeephoo’s mother who gave him the land next to stream in the southwest part of BPDN.

¹ 1 rai equals 0.16ha, making 1 ha approximately equivalent to 6 rai

3.4.2 Does the land tenure affect land uses practices in BPDN?

Ban Pang Daeng Nok (BPDN) is situated in the C-zone. Branches of RFD are working towards including this zone into protected areas. According to regulations to the land code no one should settle, cultivate or utilise any tangible products. (4.1.5)

The Agriculture Land Reform Office and RFD has issued SPK and NS-3 certificates of land in the village, SPK introduced in 1975, that was issued by the Agriculture Land Reform Office, and could not be sold or transferred. The second document, NS-3 was introduced in 1954 – 1972 by the same office; this document allows the farmers to transact freely and legally for a given tract of land, and it can be used as collateral.

Table 3, according to the perception of the villagers of ownership, shows that the majority of farmers in Ban Pang Daeng Nok have no land (51%), those who own land are considered the (45%) and (4%) shows those who could not be able to have any piece of information, Where n = 47, refer to the amount of households obtained in our general survey, divided in the four ethnic groups settled in the village. The percentage results of each ethnic group from the table, were obtained performing the same procedure, thereby the amount of household for those who have no land, is divided for the total amount of household of each ethnic group and multiple for hundred, in order to obtain the percentage same procedure for each ethnic group.

Table 1. Division in numbers and percentage of the owners and landless according to their own perception of ownership

ETHNIC GROUPS	Have no land %		Own land %		No information	
Palong n = 23	20	87%	3	13%	0	0%
Lisu n= 4	2	50%	2	50%	0	0%
Lahu n= 14	2	14%	11	79%	1	7%
Thai n= 6	0	0%	5	83%	1	17%
Total n= 47 N=89	24	51%	21	45%	2	4%

Table 4 shows the number of households where the owner holds a land certificate NS-3 or SPK among the whole population of the four different ethnic groups who lives in BPDN.

Another main point of the table 4 is to show those villagers who don't has any land certificate, and are categorized as illegally users of land. Among them there are those who borrow, rent and buy the illegal land.

	LAND CERTIFICATE		NON LAND CERTIFICATE				TOTAL area
	SPK	NS-3	ILLEGAL	RENT	BORROW	NO INF.	
Palong n=23	0	0	20 (97)	7 (29)	14(65)	2	124
Lisu n=4	0	1(33)	2(97)	0	0	1	130
Lahu n=14	0	1(15)	13(282)	0	2(20)	0	297
Thai n=6	1(14)	0	4(60.5)	0	0	1	74.5
Totaln=47					16(120)	4	625
N=89	1(14)	2(48)	40(536,5)	7(26)			

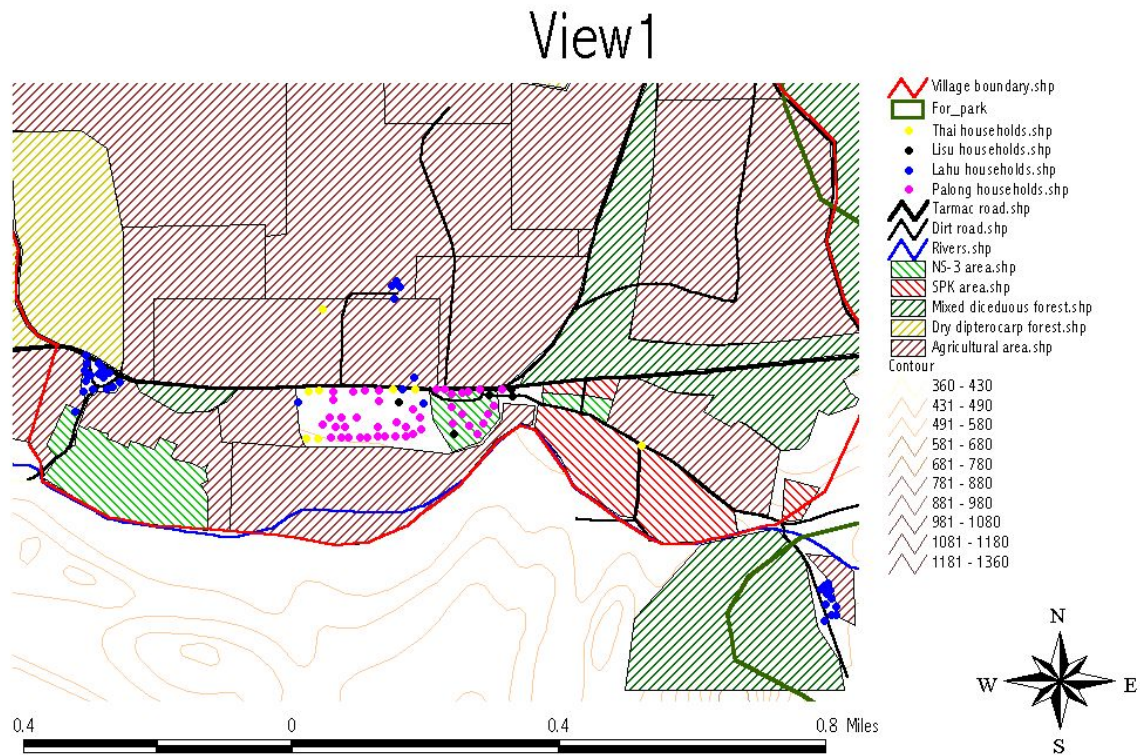
Table 2. Distribution of land tenure in the 47 households interviewed in general households

(). Shows the amount of land in rais unit.

¹ 1 rai equals 0.16ha, making 1 ha approximately equivalent to 6 rai

Based on our survey data we found that SPK distribution is located mainly in the South-eastern part of BPDN where there are no intensive agricultural practices due to fallow period and also because most of those areas are part of the government as for example: The school and the tourist place, both lands holds SPK. The distribution of NS-3 is mainly located in the South-west areas where intensification of agricultural practices takes place.

On the other hand, on the opposite side of the road, there are neither title deeds nor land certificates, this is because these areas are considered to be within the conservation zone.



Map 1. Shows the distribution of the households from each ethnic group as well as the areas having title deeds

Despite this demarcation, some hill tribe people still practice illegal activities such as: bean and maize cropping and the collection of non-timber forest products (Bamboo mushrooms).

According to the all interviewed farmers, NS-3 is very important in order to improve their livelihoods as it provides economic opportunities in the form collateral. They also stated that if one wants to sell or buy agricultural products, one needs a title deed or land certificate.

According to our data (Appendix 4.1.4) those who are land owners have better management of agricultural practices than those who have less possibility to own the land. Those who own land have better yield

production with an average of 50 tin/rai. Compared to those who have less possibility to own their land 25 tin/rai.

In regard to private production investments the average is 400 Bath/rai, for land owners compared to 250 Bath/rai of those farmers who are rent land owners.

Land owners also input more per unit weight of production 150 bath/kg);(No59) where it seemed that non-land owners spent much less.

Our data suggest that those farmers who own the land invest more in the land using different inputs like: fertilizer, pesticides, and herbicides and in one case used different machinery. (4.1.4)

Many farmers were not aware of the processes to follow in order to obtain a title deed or land certificate, knowledge, such as: when and where to apply. This emphasizes the confusion amongst villagers about the boundaries of c-zone and may explain the reason why they have no possibility to get a title deed or land certificate and are lacking information on how to manage their natural resources.

Another assumption referring on the confusion among the villagers about the boundaries of the zones distributed is that probably they pretend not know, because they farm illegally cleared land.

One factor determining the right to apply for NS-3 and SPK is the intensity of land use in the South East part and the numbers of years the land has been in use.

3.4.3 RFD – Land Unit Department

There are a series of problems according to RFD and LUD interviews. These problems are associated with the process of NS-3 and SPK application. It seems that the lack of communication and coordination between these two authorities, RFD and LUD which affect in a negative effect in order to get a title deed. (appendix 4.1.1 & 4.1.2) The mentioned problem is that many farmers have land situated in c-zone and therefore have no right to apply title deeds; this can only be obtained in the excluded area of national park reserve.

Comparing the maps prepared by the Department of the Geography Faculty of Social Science, Chiang Mai University and the made by LUD and RFD shows a error of area measurements, that was confirmed during the interview carry out in the LUD. (appendix 4.1.2)

Lack of information in how to obtain a title deed and the process to get it is considered a big restriction for the village people.

This excluded area came from a conflict between RFD and Land Unit Department. In 1973 RFD declare conservation zone to the entire area where now BPDN is located (its mean without right to have a title deed) then in 1977 came out a policy from Land Unit Department which gave NS-3 title deed to all of those people who were doing agriculture farming practices, this policy was valid only in 1977

In order to avoid more conflicts between these two official bodies, RFD declare the mentioned zone as an excluded area.

In 1992 the Royal Forestry Department made a classification of land use and according to this classification Ban Pang Daeng Nok is situated in both in economic zone and in area excluded from National Reserve Forest. According to the information obtained from some of our respondents in the South eastern part that land has existed for over 100 years and generation by generation those Thai 's villagers have traditionally been farmers.

3.5.1 Citizenship issues and Civil Rights

One line of investigation in BPDN was centered around the ethnic minorities status in Thailand.

The problems concerning Thai citizenship and identity/registration cards are centered on the difference in civil rights. According to Mr. Vichit, the IMPECT volunteer at location 2, there are 3 different cards of importance.

Thai Citizenship	Blue Card (1990-1991)	Green Card with red border (1999)
Travel unrestricted	Holder can travel only in <u>province</u> of issue.	Holder can travel only in <u>district</u> of issue
Holder can vote	Holder can not vote	Same
Holder can work	Holder can not work unless special permit exists.	
Card can be used as buyers identification	Holder can not buy items requiring identification	
Holder can own land	Holder can not own land	
Holder can receive social aid such as 30 B health insurance	Holder can not receive social aid	

Table 3. Different ID card types. (4.2.1.)

The Thai Citizen Card identifies the holder as Thai with the right to travel unrestricted, vote, work and social services. The Blue card identifies the holder as an alien living in a province in Thailand. The card allows the holder to travel within the province of issue, but denies the holder the right to vote, work, and to health care. The green card with the red border only differs from the blue card in that the holder can travel within the district of issue.

According to Mr. Nikhom, Mr. Vichit as well as several villagers, the citizenship application must be filled in and handed to the local registration office. This creates a problem for illiterate individuals, who must seek the aid of others to fill out and understand the form. Some NGO's such as the Upper Mae Ping River Watershed Project and IMPECT can help in these matters. (4.2.1 4.2.2)

The current civil status of the people in BPDN:

Based on the general household survey of the 20th & 21st of January 2003 the civil status of the villagers can be shown according to ethnic group:

ID Card \ Ethnic group	No ID	Blue Card	Green card with red border	Thai Citizenship (ID)	n % =	Total amount of respondents
Thai n = 6	0	0	0	100% (13)	100%	13
Lisu n = 4	6,7% (1)	0	33,3% (5)	60% (9)	100%	15
Lahu n =14	10,9 % (6)	0	18,2% (10)	70,9% (39)	33%	55
Palong n = 23	2,1% (2)	63,9% (62)	31,9% (31)	2,1% (2)	62%	97
Chinese n = 0	0	0	100% (2)	0	100%	2
Total n =47 N = 89	4,9% (9)	34,1% (62)	26,4% (48)	34,6% (62)	53% ² of the total village	182

Table 4. Percent of adults (15+ years old) according to ethnic group and identity card. N = households surveyed. Parenthesis shows number of individuals.

Only adults are included in this table, since the process of registration of children born of parents with either blue or green card is unknown to us.

As shown in table 7, the percentage of each ethnic minorities in BPDN which do not have a Thai citizenship is 40% of the Lisu, 29% of the Lahu and 98% of the Palong. This makes an average 70% of the adult population, excluding the Thais, in the village do not have a Thai citizenship.

² Total number of households in is calculated in appendix X

3.6 Agricultural practices

Table 5: The percentage of the interviewed farmers that used different inputs.

Type of input	How many use	Remark
Fertilizer	31%	20 kg/rai 15:15:15 and 13:13:21 seen
Pesticides	69%	Primarily Grammoxzone and Round up
Seeds	50%	Mainly Maize, Groundnut
Irrigation	6%	
Pesticide pump	69%	
Grass cutter	13%	
Plough	13%	

Table 5. the percentage of farmers that use different types of input.

Few of the farmers use any fertilizer despite that they have been experiencing declining yields. Some of them have tried to use fertilizer but rejected it again due to a disappointing impact on the crop performance (4.3.6 & 4.3.7).

Most of the farmers use pesticides prior to sowing to clear the land for weeds (Table 5). After the weeds have died most of the farmers burn them together with the crop residues from the previous harvest to obtain the fertilizing effect.

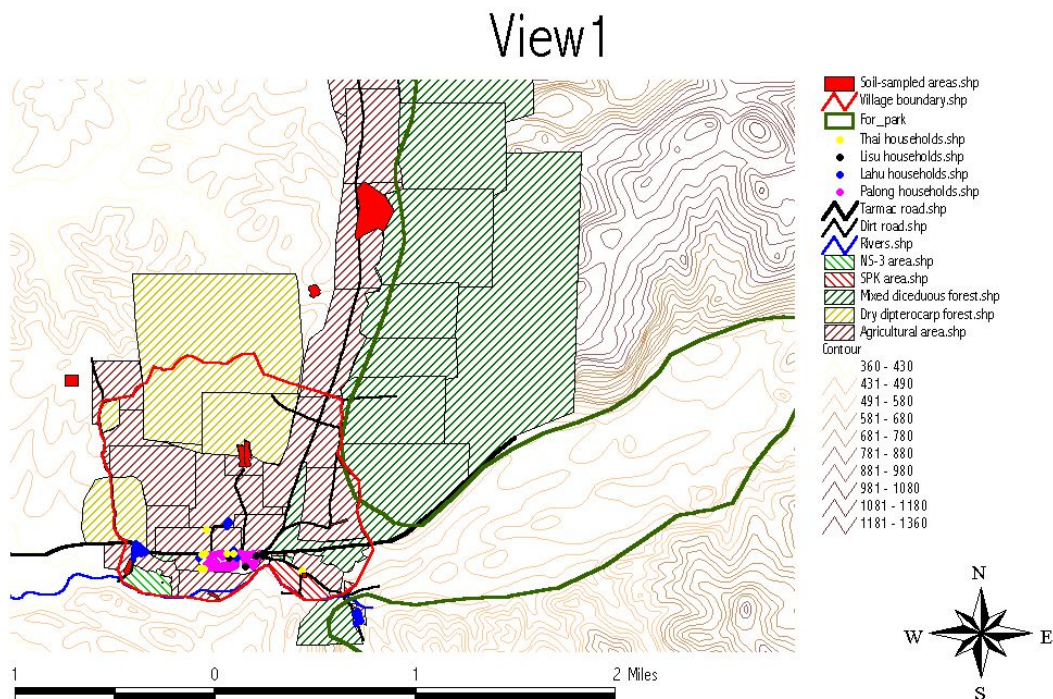
Half of the farmers every year buy some of the seeds they use. The seeds most often bought are maize and groundnut whereas black- and red beans are kept from year to year.

Generally, the farmers possess few agricultural tools, however many have a pesticide pump as the only item.

Only one of the farmers claim to use irrigation water. Yet, when asked, 31% of the farmers considered ‘lack of water’ to be the biggest problem faced when doing agriculture.

The average of the yields obtained from different fields are 387 kg/rai. (1.2.2).

During the observation walks we realized that within the agricultural area four different ways to cultivate could be quite clearly distinguished. At first this was mainly based on soil quality, crop types and agricultural practices but subsequently it was found out that the different areas was under very different types of ownership as well.



Map 2: Shows the distribution of different forest types and agriculture in BPDN. 1)The northeastern tract is cropped with groundnut and maize 2)the central and western area with rice on low fertility soil 3) the southeastern area primarily with fruit trees 4) The south eastern NS3 intensively cropped area.

The different areas of cultivation:

A Newly cleared, eastern tract. (Map 2)

This area was cropped with maize and peanuts. In some parts mango trees had been planted. Clearly most parts of this area had recently been cleared of forest.

By three different sources we were told that fields here belonged to Mr. Somboon, the acting village leader (Appendix 4.3.7, 4.3.6, 4.3.4). This information was in agreement with information obtained that Mr. Somboon formerly had been charged for allegedly having cleared 1700 rais of forest in 1992 (Appendix 4.3.7). Many of the Palongs in the village work in these fields. Some as paid day-labour and others are given a field. Some of them claim to lend the land for free, other to pay half the produce in return. The major parts of this area had formerly been mixed deciduous forest. The soil had a high organic matter content (Appendix 1.2.2). This causes the soil to have fine properties.

- Rice fields on western poor soil.

Here the main production of rice takes place on stony soil very low on organic matter. In a gradient going South-North the soil is increasingly poor. At least most of this area has formerly been dry dipterocarp forest which thrives on this poor dry soil.

Several people farming in this area don't own the land themselves but is to renting or borrowing it on often one-year basis. This is one of the reasons that the soil is increasingly impoverished because soil improvement is an insecure long-term investment which may not be benefited from in the following years.

- Orchards

In parts of both the areas with poor and rich soil orchards has been planted. Due to the perennial growth-form and the low-nutrient harvestable products it is well suited to the dry and poor soil. Most of the trees are old (above 10 years) and one farmer we spoke to who recently had planted mango trees explained that had he been aware that his field had illegal status he would not have risked the investment.

- Intensive irrigated agriculture

The best agricultural lands are located close to the river it receives and is heavily dependant on irrigation. This area has NS3 certificate. The crops grown are almost solely cabbage which is grown on contract farming. According to Mr Somboon (Appendix 4.3.1) this area is owned by the head of Tambon. It is cultivated by Thais living outside the village. It receives both fertilizer and pesticides in generous amounts and heavy machinery was used.

Table no. 6: The number of households from each ethnic group that practice agriculture and the number that owns the land they uses. Percent of the total amount of agricultural products used for sale/consumption by the different ethnic groups.

	Land-ownership				Sale/consumption share		
Ethnic group	Number of households interviewed	Average area farmed (rais)	Households that practice agriculture	Households that own land	Number of households interviewed	Average percent used for sale	Average percent used for consumption
Palong	23	5	77%	10%	6	13%	87%
Lisu	1	17	100%	100%	2	100%	0%
Lahu	9		89%	86%	4	46%	54%
Thai	2		50%	100%	2	14%	86%

4 Discussion

The area now inhabited by the villagers of BPDN has been very sparsely populated until approximately 25 years ago but since then there has been an increase in population as well as an expansion in land use.

Village history tells us that this influx of people have occurred throughout the past 15 years as two new ethnic groups, the Lahu and the Palong, have arrived and started to subsist off the land probably with a significant impact in and of itself on the surrounding area of BPDN (Fig. 3).

According to interviews and field inspections it has become clear to us that almost all the land used by the villagers is illegally owned, due to it's location within the Forest Reserve Area.

Within Moo # 9 there are still large areas that could potentially be converted into agriculture. However, it appears that it is increasingly problematic to do so. According to one interview, one Lahu peasant has converted land at least up until five years ago. Most Palong do not own any land, and therefore cannot have cleared any forest, mostly due to them arriving so late in comparison to the other ethnic groups in the village. An alternative idea is that perhaps, because of the increased focus of the RFD on the forest areas, the Palong have chosen not to clear forest for agricultural land as a possible livelihood strategy.

The first Palong settlers arrived in BPDN in 1994 (Fig. 3). Nevertheless the Palong were singled out by the RFD as being among the people chiefly responsible for the illegal clearing of forest in the conservation zone, although the clearing of the forest according to several sources (Appendix 4.4.2.) happened in 1992.

The difficult circumstances, under which the RFD currently has to operate under in the Northern part of Thailand, may have resulted in the infamous arrest in 1997 (Howard).

By doing this, the RFD has been forced to implement a policy which is admirable in principle, but that also causes many people to act in ways that are illegal and unsustainable due to the general land scarcity and lack of

security for the rising populace in the area. The National forest policy act of 1985, which stipulates that 40% of Thailand should be covered by forest seems inconsistent with the rising population of Thailand. With the attention the RFD has paid BPDN, in the past. Future encroachment of land does not seem to be a viable option, if future conflicts should be avoided.

Our information and visual inspection seems to indicate that the only person having recently been clearing land in BPDN in significant amounts is Mr. Somboon. He has been charged with this land, but is still able to utilize these areas. Possibly due to extensive use of illegal labour (The Palong) which makes it difficult for the RFD to establish the connection between him and those areas.

The type of identity card they hold further reinforces the dependency of some villagers, especially the Palongs, on Mr. Somboon, or other powerful landholders as a provider of an income. The possibilities of livelihood strategy are limited for those who only have green, blue, or no identity card. In BPDN one of the few options seems to be to work as cheap hired labor for Mr. Somboon on his illegally obtained land. Especially the Christian Palong seemed to have little choice in this matter. Another option is to “borrow” some land from him with the understanding that half the produce must be returned to Mr. Somboon.

Our results clearly indicate that all the ethnic groups except the Thais were very dependant on and did practice agriculture. In this regard the Thais were a small but heterogeneous group that had very different strategies to secure a livelihood. One household had a big farm, two owned shops in the village and one other had had a well paid job outside the village.

However, from each of the ethnic minorities approx. 80 % of the households did practice agriculture. Generally there was no marked differences in the way that these groups did cultivate; they were dependant only to a very limited extend on external inputs. Practically none of the villagers of BPDN owned any machinery except the ubiquitous pesticide pump. Few of them used fertilizers, manures, or irrigation. This led to a very inefficient agricultural system of low productivity that was very labour demanding. Despite the villagers complaining of declining yields it did not seem likely that there would be any changes to this situation under the present circumstances.

The Lahu generally have enough land to make an income despite a low-yielding system. This same fact obviously goes for Mr. Somboon. Who is owner some of his land without a land certificate.

For the landless Palong and Lisu, their lack of land caused by uncertainty of the future situation, leads them to abide by an unofficial yet illegal local system of land tenure.

Insecurity of land is indeed present in BPDN. It can be seen working on two different levels.

The first is caused by the illegitimacy of the agricultural fields because a major part of these, alongside a large proportion of the households are located in Conservation Zone. This might eventually cause the RFD to throw the villagers out of BPDN. Being banished is a clear and present danger expressed by many of the villagers. Expressed, perhaps most enthusiastically by the big land owner of the village, Mr. Somboon, at the second community meeting.

The other level might appear less important but is not least influential on the villager's current situation and their way to do agriculture. A big part of the land of BPDN is owned by other people than those presently cultivating it. All the unwritten rules on informal land ownership might have resulted in people that formerly has owned or used land in this village. But, who now live elsewhere, to lending out their land on a variety of terms as a way of keeping the informal ownership.

Several of the villagers that lend or lease land in this way have expressed that they do so on a one-year only basis. Therefore they are restrained from doing long-term investments in soil fertility improvements as fertilizers, manure or cover crops but are instead continuously mining the soil of nutrients)

The excluded area which crosses the Southern part of BPDN allows for the people to have land certificates and to have some choice on different agricultural practices. The population of BPDN has been increasing by steadily in recent times, and the BPDN is therefore being occupied by more and more people all the time, rendering the land to subsist upon to become smaller and smaller steadily. The scarcity of land means that not all of villagers have the same possibility to own land, either legally or illegally.

A recent event is the acknowledgement of status as an administrative unit in the public system. This happened as recent as last year, in 2002, BPDN became community # 5 in administrative village # 9 at this time.

The possible implications of the recent change of going from unofficial settlement into being an administrative unit within the Chiang Dao district are significant. Also the newly elected leader of the Palong has been chosen to be the assistant head-villager of administrative village # 9. This might lead to important changes internally in BPDN.

Before, being a part of Moo # 9, BPDN was bound together across the borders of Moo's 11 and 9. This informal network will be significantly affected by the change of administrative status for BPDN.

What prompted the change of administrative status for BPDN? That question is very interesting, but this is a question this rapport must relent from trying to answer, not enough data on the subject was gathered to do more than speculate. Speculation and the words of the sub-district Kamnan indicates that this change in status may have happened due to the recognition that BPDN as a settlement was becoming too large to ignore as

being merely another settlement on forbidden grounds. Or there may have been other motivations at large, but to go anymore into these questions would be too speculative at this point.

The conflict with RFD continues today with the possibility of the villagers being forced to abandon their illegally obtained fields. Because, the majority of the villagers are dependent on their fields and agriculture, for both, economic and subsisting purposes, a continued escalation of the conflict would probably mean that the villagers would have to leave the area entirely and settle down somewhere else, with no guarantee of this new place being anymore hospitable to them than the last..

Both villagers and the local NGO describe the possibility of losing this land as being forced out. Perhaps the RFD does plan to actually relocate the village entirely, but this we are not able to conclude with any certainty. In the village there seem to be a perception of uncertainty regarding their future prospects.

5 Conclusion

Recent population increases in the village of Ban Pang Daeng Nok has together with an expansion of the agricultural area into National Forest Reserve led to a more constant presence of the enforcing authorities. This has made it difficult for the newcomers to obtain agricultural areas upon arrival and they are therefore dependant on some form of income provided by the people already owning land. This dependency upon local people is further amplified by the lack of civil rights for hill tribe people. Thus, people are funnelled primarily, towards village strongman Mr. Somboon for whom the villagers work for low wages. But the landless people are also forced to ask other local landowners, from whom, they borrow fields under different conditions than the legal. This “non-ownership” situation leads to unsustainable and unproductive agricultural systems as people lack security to obtain benefit from improvements.

It appears that the discrepancy against groups of hill tribes limits their options radically and enforces power structures within the village leading to unjust exploitation.

However many of these perceptions would benefit from further reconfirmation.

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