

CHAPTER III

DATA ANALYSIS

Research Methodology:

Throughout this study, in addition to a literature survey and interviews that formed the basis of much of Chapters 1 and 2, semi-structured interviewing was used with a questionnaire containing open-ended questions. The purpose of this methodology was to respond to the state of the data and because of the short duration of this research study. In terms of data, since the topic related to how or why the Karens under study thought about living and working in the city, the topic involved a high degree of subjectivity. The purpose of using semi-structured interviews and open-ended questions was to allow the respondents to express themselves as fully as possible. However since this was a short study, some questionnaires had to be mailed to respondents. In a few of these cases, responses did not seem to answer the question directly and it was unfortunately not always possible to determine what the respondents meant by what they wrote.

Nonetheless, by having this open-ended semi-structured approach, and by circulating some questionnaires by mail, it was possible to catch a vast array of thoughts, feelings, and impressions in addition to the hard data. This gave the researchers a much better insight into the state of the problem and provided a sounder basis for recommending future courses of action.

In addition to distributing the questionnaire and interviewing Karens in Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, and Bangkok, the research team made

a number of trips to project areas of the Thai-Norwegian Church Aid Highland Development Project to meet Karens who had returned to the hills. Specific areas visited included the Huai Som Poi Khun Tae School in Chom Thong District, Chiang Mai Province, in a TN-HDP area. Also interviewed were seamstresses working for the Shinawatra Thai Silk Company in San Kamphaeng District, Chiang Mai Province as well as teachers at the Sahahsatsuksa School, Nam Lat Village, Muang District, Chiang Rai Province. In addition, a number of Karens living in Chiang Mai who were not considered as respondents were interviewed and consulted. These included Khru Sant Khankaew and Sunny Danpongpee, both of the Thailand Karen Baptist Convention and officials at the Tribal Research Institute of the Public Welfare Department. At the latter, Prawit Photi-at was of particular assistance.

Target Population

Since this research project dealt with the problem of rural-born Karens who had received an education in the city but who had not returned to live in the hills, the target population was Karens with more than 10 years of education. This corresponds to the third year of secondary school (M.3) in the present Thai educational system.

Purposive sampling was used to locate 69 individuals according to the following criteria:

1. Respondents were selected from Karens not counting those born in Chiang Mai city who came to study in the city of any province.
2. Sampling was made from a master list of Karens who had completed studies of at least M.3. Almost all were still residing in the city, but a few from the hills were interviewed for the purpose of comparison. These people included some with full-time jobs, some with

Table 1 Use of Interviews or Questionnaires to Collect Data

| Type | Number | Percent |
|---------------|--------|---------|
| Questionnaire | 49 | 71.0 |
| Interview | 20 | 29.0 |
| Total | 69 | 100 |

Table 2 Location of Respondents

| Location | Number | Percent |
|---------------------|--------|---------|
| In Chiang Mai City | 55 | 79.7 |
| Elsewhere | 5 | 7.3 |
| Chiang Rai Province | 9 | 13.0 |
| Total | 69 | 100 |

temporary work, and a few who were still studying. The last were interviewed as a basis for comparison with those who had already begun working.

General Characteristics of Respondents

Table 3 shows that about four/fifths of the respondents were male. This reflects traditional values of the northern Thailand area in which young men were the only ones supposed to obtain formal education. Young women learned household chores such as sewing and cooking and crafts, but not how to read or related skills. Karen women believed that if they could not carry out basic household chores they probably would not be able to find a husband and the attention devoted to learning such skills as well as the time given to helping with agricultural pursuits served to deter Karen girls from obtaining a book learning. Once, in the last few decades, it became possible to send Karen youths to school, particularly in the city, those traditions shaped the pattern for Karen boys and girls who studied on after primary school. Furthermore, Karen parents were convinced that their sons would fare better and face fewer dangers in the city than would their daughters. One respondent shared these sentiments in general, noting that Karen girls should not study in the city because "they will forget Karen tradition. When they return to their home, the village boys will be afraid to talk with them...they will take lowland ideas and follow them in the hills....I don't like that."

Another factor encouraging more Karen boys than girls from coming into the city to study was the Phra Thammacharik program which, from 1970 on, made it possible for Karen boys to be ordained as novices or monks at Wat Si Soda in Chiang Mai city.

The Phra Thammacharik program arose out of fears in the 1950s and early 1960s among Thai leaders that the fighting in the Vietnam War involving highlanders would spread to Thailand via these tribal peoples. Thai leaders tended to consider all hill tribes as essentially uncivilized, dirty, and, because they often lacked a positive attitude towards Thailand, a threat to Thai national security. They believed that one major deficiency of the hill tribes was that they were animists. In 1964, Prasit Disawat, head of the Hill Tribe Welfare Division of the Public Welfare Department retired and entered the monkhood at Wat Benchamabophit in Bangkok. During the three months he was a monk he devised a plan for preaching Buddhism to the hill tribes in the north. Upon consultation with the abbot of Wat Benchamabophit and other high-ranking monks it was decided to give this idea a trial in 1965. (Phra Thammacharik 1985, pp. 5-6) Public Welfare Department officials were pleased with the trial and made this program a part of regular Department work.

Since then, many boys of all the major tribes have come to various temples, particularly Wat Si Soda in Chiang Mai where a training center has been established, to be ordained. This has served as an avenue for many hill tribe boys to gain an education in the Thai system as well as to come to live in the city. This has further distorted the balance between Karen boys and girls who were identified as respondents. Interestingly, not all the participants were Buddhist. Table 7 shows that 3 Christians finished secondary school at Wat Si Soda.

- Most of the respondents were young adults aged 21-25 years. Those in this age group had invariably just completed studies and were looking for work in line with what they had studied. Those

interviewed aged 26-35 were usually already employed in steady jobs. The few respondents younger than 21 were almost all still students.

A total of 63.8 percent of the respondents were single; the remainder were married, with one person divorced. Of those married, 83.8 percent had Karen spouses. The respondents cited convenience in communication, mutual understanding, and acceptance of the other's ethnic status as major reasons for preferring such marriages. The respondents also strongly preferred to marry someone of the same religion; thus Christians preferred other Christians. In a country with a very low percentage of Thai Christians, Karens often found it simply easier to find suitable Christian mates among fellow Karens. This also contributed to the high percentage of Karens marrying Karens among the respondents.

A total of 75.4 percent of the respondents were Christian, with the remainder Buddhist or animist. Although a number of respondents said that the many ancestor rites required of animist and animist-Buddhist Karens impeded their being in the lowlands for long periods of time, and this partly accounts for the preponderance of Christian respondents, other factors were also important. These include the fact that Christian Karens have long had many more opportunities to obtain educational scholarships and the existence of a considerable infrastructure of hostels, travel assistance, and health care facilities which makes it relatively easy for Karen students to attend city schools. This situation has existed since the nineteenth century when American Baptists in Burma began promoting education there. When the American Baptists became active in Karen work on the Thai side of the border just after World War II, they brought this pro-education

Table 3 General Characteristics of Respondents

| Characteristic | | Number | Percent |
|------------------|-----------------------|--------|---------|
| Sex | Male | 54 | 78.3 |
| | Female | 14 | 20.3 |
| | No Response | 1 | 1.5 |
| Age | Under 21 Years | 13 | 18.8 |
| | 21 - 25 Years | 20 | 29.0 |
| | 26 - 30 Years | 15 | 21.7 |
| | 31 - 35 Years | 11 | 15.9 |
| | 36 - 40 Years | 3 | 4.3 |
| | Over 40 Years | 2 | 2.9 |
| | No Response | 5 | 7.3 |
| Marital Status | Single | 44 | 63.8 |
| | Married | 24 | 34.8 |
| | With Another Karen | 20 | 83.3 |
| | With a Lahu | 1 | 4.2 |
| | With a Lowlander Thai | 3 | 12.5 |
| | Divorced | 1 | 1.5 |
| Former Residence | Chiang Rai Province | 8 | 11.6 |
| | Miang District | 8 | 100 |
| | Tak Province | 1 | 1.5 |
| | Kanchanaburi Province | 1 | 1.5 |
| | Chiang Mai Province | 28 | 40.6 |
| | Phrao District | 1 | 3.6 |
| | Hot District | 2 | 7.1 |
| | Mae Chaem District | 11 | 39.3 |
| | Mae Rim District | 1 | 3.6 |
| | Samoeng District | 3 | 10.7 |
| | Chom Thong District | 10 | 35.7 |
| | Mae Hong Son Province | 27 | 39.1 |
| | Khun Yuam District | 2 | 7.4 |
| | Mae Sariang District | 12 | 44.4 |
| | Pai District | 1 | 3.7 |
| | Mae La Noi District | 6 | 22.2 |
| | Miang District | 6 | 22.2 |

| | | |
|------------------------------------|----|------|
| Current Residence | | |
| Chiang Rai Province | 9 | 13.0 |
| Miang District | 9 | 100 |
| Tak Province | - | - |
| Kannchanaburi Province | - | - |
| Chiang Mai Province | 52 | 75.4 |
| Samoeng District | 2 | 3.9 |
| San Kamphaeng District | 1 | 1.9 |
| Chom Thong District | 8 | 15.4 |
| Doi Saket District | 1 | 1.9 |
| Miang District | 40 | 76.9 |
| Mae Hong Son Province | 7 | 10.2 |
| Miang District | 5 | 71.4 |
| Mae La Noi District | 1 | 14.3 |
| Mae Sariang District | 1 | 14.3 |
| Religion (& Reason for Practicing) | | |
| Buddhism | 15 | 21.7 |
| After Parents | 10 | 66.7 |
| Reasons of Faith | 4 | 26.7 |
| For Benefits | - | - |
| Other | - | - |
| Both After Parents and for Faith | 1 | 6.7 |
| Christianity | 52 | 75.4 |
| After Parents | 20 | 38.5 |
| Reasons of Faith | 22 | 42.3 |
| For Benefits | 5 | 9.6 |
| Other | 1 | 1.9 |
| After Parents, Faith & Benefits | 4 | 7.7 |
| No Response | 2 | 2.9 |
| Occupation | | |
| Regular Employment | 29 | 42.0 |
| Teacher | 12 | 41.4 |
| Civil Servant | 4 | 13.8 |
| Farmer | 2 | 6.9 |
| Lawyer | 1 | 3.5 |
| Evangelist | 10 | 34.5 |
| Temporary Employment | 28 | 40.6 |
| Hired Laborer | 20 | 71.4 |
| Part-time Jobs | 5 | 17.9 |
| Tour Guide | 3 | 10.7 |
| Studying | 4 | 5.8 |
| Unemployed | 7 | 10.2 |
| No Reponse | 1 | 1.5 |
| Income | | |
| Under 1,000 Baht | 5 | 7.3 |
| 1,000 - 3,000 Baht | 29 | 42.0 |
| 3,000 - 5,000 Baht | 5 | 7.3 |
| Over 5,000 Baht | 5 | 7.3 |
| No Reponse | 25 | 36.2 |

policy with them. By the early 1950s, they were already being enthusiastically encouraged in education among Karens in Thailand.

Although the promotion of education among Karens in this country is laudable, some unwanted side effects may have resulted. In questioning the respondents on why they were Christian, 42.4 percent said they were because of devotion to Jesus Christ, and 38.5 percent because they had picked up the faith from their parents. However, a notably large number of individuals, 9.6 percent, said they were Christians because of the advantages that the religion brought with it. These benefits were explained as being close to Jesus Christ, knowing the true faith, and so on. Only one respondent made an allusion to social benefits, when he wrote that Christianity enabled him to "develop his entire family". There were no Karen Buddhist respondents who said they became or were Buddhists because of the advantages that religion brought but one did comment, though, that being Buddhist had religious benefits. This difference can be expected to have an influence of the behavior of the Karen students under study. Table 4 shows the former and present permanent residences of the respondents. Over 80 percent came from Mae Hong Son and Chiang Mai provinces, the major centers of Karen inhabitation in northern Thailand. Kanchanaburi is another area heavily-populated by Karens but many villages are remote, there are not so many schools in this province at which children can receive a primary education, and the locale is distant from Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai where the bulk of the interviewing was carried out. This table also shows a significant shift of the respondents listing Mae Hong Son as their former residence, 20 of 27 having moved to Chiang Mai. Contrarily, of the

Table 4 Population Mobility of Respondents, by Province

| Province | Former Residence | Present Residence | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|------------------|-------------------|------|-------|------|-------|---|---|----|------|---|---|
| | | % MHS | % CR | % Tak | % CM | % Kan | % | % | % | % | % | |
| Mae Hong Son | 27 | 42.2 | 7 | 25.9 | - | - | - | - | 20 | 74.1 | - | - |
| Chiang Rai | 8 | 12.3 | - | - | 7 | 87.5 | - | - | 1 | 12.5 | - | - |
| Tak | 1 | 1.6 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 100 | - | - |
| Chiang Mai | 28 | 43.8 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 28 | 100 | - | - |
| Kanchanaburi | 1 | 1.56 | - | - | 1 | 100 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Total | 65 | 100 | 7 | 10.8 | 8 | 12.3 | - | - | 50 | 50 | - | - |

Table 4a Migration of Respondents, by District

| Former Res. Prov/Dist. | No. | Present Residence | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|-----|-------------------|------|----|--------------|------|----|------------|------|----|--|
| | | Chiang Mai | | | Mae Hong Son | | | Chiang Rai | | | |
| | | FR | City | OC | FR | City | OC | FR | City | OC | |
| Chiang Mai | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Phrao | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| Hot | 2 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| M. Chaem | 11 | - | 11 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| Mae Rim | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| Samoeng | 3 | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| Ch. Thng | 10 | 5 | 5 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| Mae Hong Son | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mae La Noi | 6 | - | 4 | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | |
| Khun Yuam | 2 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| Pai | 1 | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| M. Sariang | 12 | - | 9 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | |
| Miang | 6 | - | 4 | - | 4 | - | - | - | - | - | |
| Chiang Rai | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Miang | 8 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | 7 | - | - | |
| Tak | 1 | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| Kanchanaburi | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | |

FR = Former Resident OC = Outside City

Table 5 Date of Respondents Move to City

| Year | Number | Percent |
|---------------|--------|---------|
| 1956 - 1960 | 5 | 7.25 |
| 1961 - 1965 | 5 | 7.25 |
| 1966 - 1969 | 6 | 8.70 |
| 1970 - 1974 | 9 | 13.04 |
| 1975 - 1979 | 17 | 24.64 |
| 1980 - 1984 | 15 | 21.74 |
| 1984 or Later | 2 | 2.80 |
| No Response | 10 | 14.49 |
| Total | 69 | 100 |

Table 6 Highest Education Attempted by Respondents, by Religion

| | Christian | Buddhist | Number | Percent |
|---------------------------------|-----------|----------|--------|---------|
| Primary 1 - 6 | 16 | 13 | 29 | 42.03 |
| Secondary 1 - 3 | 14 | 2 | 16 | 23.19 |
| Secondary 4 - 6 | 6 | - | 6 | 8.70 |
| Religious/Bible School | 2 | - | 2 | 2.90 |
| Evangelist Training | - | 1 | 1 | 1.45 |
| Technical School (PWC) | 3 | - | 3 | 4.35 |
| Technical School (PKS, Primary) | 1 | - | 1 | 1.45 |
| College/University | 1 | - | 1 | 1.45 |
| No Response | 9 | - | 10 | 14.49 |
| Total | 52 | 16 | 69 | 100 |

Note: One respondent failed to specify both his religion and educational achievement.

Table 7 Education Completed by Respondents, by Religion

| | B | C | U | Number | Percent |
|----------------------------|----|----|---|--------|---------|
| Higher Education | - | 16 | 1 | 16 | 23.18 |
| Teachers Training College | - | 11 | - | 11 | 68.75 |
| Ramkamhaeng | - | 1 | - | 1 | 6.25 |
| Srinakharinwirot | - | 1 | - | 1 | 6.25 |
| Payap | - | 2 | - | 2 | 12.50 |
| Thammasat | - | - | 1 | 1 | 6.25 |
| Technical Education | 1 | 10 | - | 11 | 15.94 |
| Agricultural College | - | 7 | - | 7 | 63.63 |
| Commercial College | 1 | 3 | - | 4 | 36.36 |
| Secondary Education | 11 | 14 | 1 | 26 | 37.68 |
| Wat Si Soda | 6 | 3 | - | 9 | 34.61 |
| Mae Sariang Pariphat Suksa | - | 5 | - | 5 | 19.23 |
| Ho Phra | 3 | 0 | - | 3 | 11.53 |
| Elsewhere | 2 | 6 | 1 | 9 | 34.61 |
| Primary Education | - | 1 | - | 1 | 1.44 |
| Other types of Education | | | | 4 | 5.75 |
| Seamstress | - | 1 | - | 1 | 25 |
| Religious/Bible Training | - | 3 | - | 3 | 75 |
| No Response | 1 | 10 | - | 11 | 15.94 |
| Total | 13 | 54 | 2 | 69 | 100 |

Note: B = Buddhist, C = Christian, U = Unspecified by Respondent

Table 8 Level of Education Completed by Respondents

| Level | Buddhist | Christian | Unknown | Number | Percent |
|------------------------|----------|-----------|---------|--------|---------|
| Primary 4 | - | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2.90 |
| Primary 6 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Secondary 3 | 9 | 14 | 0 | 23 | 33.33 |
| Secondary 6 | 5 | 5 | 0 | 10 | 14.49 |
| Technical (PWCh) | 1 | 5 | 0 | 6 | 8.70 |
| Technical (PWS) | 0 | 5 | 0 | 5 | 7.25 |
| Technical (PKS) Lower | 0 | 6 | 0 | 6 | 8.70 |
| Technical (PKS) Higher | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2.90 |
| Bachelor's Degree | 0 | 8 | 1 | 9 | 13.04 |
| Seminary | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2.90 |
| No Reponse | 1 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 5.80 |
| Total | 16 | 50 | 3 | 69 | 100 |

| Year Graduated | Buddhist | Christian | Unknown | Number | Percent |
|----------------|----------|-----------|---------|--------|---------|
| Before 1968 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0.69 |
| 1968 - 1971 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 4.35 |
| 1972 - 1975 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 5.80 |
| 1976 - 1980 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 7 | 10.14 |
| 1981 - 1985 | 9 | 26 | 0 | 35 | 50.72 |
| 1986 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 5.80 |
| No Response | 2 | 12 | 1 | 15 | 21.74 |
| Total | 15 | 52 | 2 | 69 | 100 |

Table 9 Occupations of Karens Monks and Novices at Wat Si Soda,
1970 - 1985

| Activity | # All Tribes | # Karen | Percent |
|--|--------------|---------|---------|
| Teacher/Trainer | 133 | 65 | 48.88 |
| Border Patrol Police | 45 | 19 | 42.22 |
| Teacher of Center for Hill Peoples | 38 | 12 | 31.58 |
| Trained as Teacher's Aide | 144 | 37 | 25.69 |
| Thamacharik Monk | 377 | 213 | 56.5 |
| Village Headman | 8 | 4 | 50.00 |
| Radio Announcer | 15 | 3 | 20.00 |
| Teacher of Primary Education Headquarters | 22 | 12 | 54.54 |
| Total | 792 | 365 | 46.09 |

Education Attempted by Former Novices and Monks from
Wat Si Soda

| Level | # All Tribes | # Karen | Percent |
|---------------------------|--------------|---------|---------|
| Higher Secondary | 85 | 27 | 31.76 |
| Teachers Training College | 32 | 12 | 37.50 |
| Agricultural College | 15 | 3 | 20.00 |
| Technical College | 10 | 2 | 20.00 |
| University | 30 | 12 | 40.00 |
| Total | 172 | 56 | 32.56 |

28 originally from Chiang Mai, all still consider themselves residents of this province.

Table 6 clearly shows that of the 20 movers from Mae Hong Son, 17 moved to Muang District in Chiang Mai, indicating that most of this movement has not been rural-rural but rural-urban. A confirmation of this pattern can be seen in the mobility of those in Chiang Mai Province, where of the 28 residents of Chiang Mai (none from Muang District), 22 have moved into Chiang Mai's Muang District. The implications of this mobility pattern and of the magnitude of the movement from Mae Hong Son and the more rural districts of Chiang Mai Province will be discussed later on in the report, but this indicates that educated Karens are indeed migrating to the city.

In line with the youthful age structure of the respondents, most of those coming to live in the city (but not necessarily migrating) have done so in the last few years, a total of 32 between 1975 and 1984. However, in spite of their relatively young age, most of the respondents have lived in the city for quite a few years already. Table 6 shows that almost half (42.03 percent) came to the city for at least some of their primary education. Only a very few came first for college-level studies. As a result, many of the respondents' formative years were spent in the city. This helps account for the high rate of cityward migration.

The impression that more Christian Karens study further is proven in Tables 8 and 9, which show that of 23 respondents with a higher than secondary education, only one was Buddhist. There are surely Buddhist Karens who have gone on to higher education and succeeded

(see Appendix II) but there are almost surely quite a few more Christian Karens who have done so.

This movement to attend schools of higher education is also quite recent. Table 9 shows that about half (50.72 percent) of the total respondents arrived in the city after 1981. Some Karens who had come earlier have returned to the hills, which since we did not collect data on all arrivees in the city but only on those who are still there, does distort this figure. Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that there are quite a few recent arrivals. And, based on interviews with hostel parents and other leaders, the numbers seem to be growing at present.

Furthermore, most respondents have already stayed in the city for quite a few years after first arriving. This is shown by the fact that just one respondent has only a primary education. About 40 percent have completed a course in higher education (23.18 percent) or in technical schools (15.94 percent). Quite a number of these have lived in the city for over a decade.

Table 10 shows that of these 69 individuals, the most common type of work is being a hired hand, with 18 having permanent work and 5 having temporary work. Eleven list themselves as unemployed although quite a few of these have occasionally engaged in temporary work. Following this, 12 are teachers and 10 evangelists. After this is a scattering of government officials, tour guides, farmers, and a lawyer.

In coming to study in the city, of the 62 respondents that answered this question, Table 11 shows that almost all (59) received funds from somewhere. Slightly more than half (30) received help from

their parents while the rest received funding from both private and governmental sources. Although the individuals' parents and the government placed no conditions on the funding, private organizations occasionally did place some conditions on recipients. In five of eight cases with conditions imposed on the scholarship, the recipients were required to return to their home village or to help the funding agency directly.

Quite a few of the aid recipients had very positive attitudes towards these scholarships for a variety of reasons. These ranged from gratitude that the scholarships eased their parents' financial burden or pride in being able to win the aid. However, it cannot be concluded that all were delighted to have received funding. Ten respondents had no particular thoughts on the scholarship while even more, totalling over 50 percent, did not answer this question. Although perhaps reflecting confusion over the intention of the question, this reluctance to give an opinion surely also indicates that many of the Karens who received help in attending city schools are undecided about what their role in society will be. One of the very reasons they received scholarship help was because they were Karen, a fact that seems to embarrass many Karens. Being asked to reflect on their attitude toward their scholarships forced the respondents to consider who they are and what they will do with their lives. The answers (or lack thereof) to this question reveals confusion over the course of the respondents future.

This confusion is also shown by the data in Table 13. Here in response to the question of whether respondents will return to live in their home village, most (74.19 percent) said they would return while 16 said they would not or were uncertain. However, it is also

Table 11 Scholarships Received and Conditions of Scholarship

| Scholarship and Conditions | Number | Percent |
|---------------------------------|--------|---------|
| From Parents | 30 | 43.5 |
| From Elsewhere | 20 | 29.0 |
| Return to Work for Institution | 3 | 15 |
| According to Committee | 2 | 10 |
| None | 13 | 65 |
| No Response | 2 | 1 |
| Government | 4 | 5.8 |
| None | 3 | 75 |
| No Response | 1 | 25 |
| Private Individuals and Groups | 5 | 7.2 |
| Return to Teach in Home Village | 2 | 40 |
| None | 3 | 60 |
| No Scholarship | 3 | 4.3 |
| Unspecified | 1 | 1.4 |
| No Response | 6 | 8.7 |
| Total | 69 | 100 |

Table 12 Attitude of Respondents Towards Scholarship

| | Number | Percent |
|--|--------|---------|
| Good, because gives hill tribes chance to study | 2 | 6.06 |
| Good, because helps parents and develops village | 7 | 21.21 |
| Scholarship helped finish school | 4 | 12.12 |
| Reduced expenses | 2 | 6.06 |
| Proud of scholarship | 4 | 12.12 |
| Good plan for helping developing education | 1 | 3.03 |
| Not Much help | 3 | 9.09 |
| No opinion | 10 | 30.30 |
| Total | 33 | 100 |

significant that all 46 who said they would return are still living in the city. Obviously, they all have reasons for staying in the city but there is some likelihood that quite a few of them will live in the city indefinitely as they have already been for several years now. Indeed, as shown in Table 15, 56.1 percent of those who say they will return home, apparently have no intention of living there permanently since they say they intend to go home just for visits. This is surely also the intention of most of those who say they will not return home to live. It is highly unlikely that they will never even visit their homes in the future. Therefore, quite a few of the respondents, no matter what their stated intention regarding going to live in the hills, felt a desire to remain in the city.

A substantial number (15) also indicate a desire to circulate between the hills and the city and four others seem to share these sentiments by saying they cannot yet make up their minds regarding where to live. This seems to be a transient state during which time these individuals decide on what course their future shall take.

Quite a few respondents noted that if there was work available in the hills that made use of their education, more Karens would go back to their places of origin. In Table 18, 78.26 percent of the respondents say they will go home with the actual percentage being even higher since of the non-returners some no longer have families in the hills to visit. This trend is shown in Table 20, where over half of the respondents say that they either cannot work in the hills or there is no work to do. Furthermore, Table 22 shows that 75.36 percent state that, all things being equal, they prefer work in the hills. When asked from a different point of view, 71.01 of the respondents, in Table 33, say they are enthusiastic about returning to

Table 13 Attitude of Respondents Towards Returning Home

| Opinion | Parents | KBC | Government | Private | Self-Support | No. | % |
|-----------------|---------|-----|------------|---------|--------------|-----|-------|
| Return | 12 | 16 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 46 | 74.19 |
| Will not Return | 3 | 3 | - | 1 | 1 | 8 | 74.19 |
| Uncertain | 5 | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | 8 | 12.90 |
| Total | 30 | 20 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 62 | 100 |

Table 14 Characteristics of Respondents Who Wish to Stay in City

| Characteristic | Number | Percent |
|----------------------|--------|---------|
| Sex | | |
| Male | 5 | 62.5 |
| Female | 2 | 25.0 |
| No Response | 1 | 12.5 |
| Age | | |
| 18 - 28 Years | 4 | 50.0 |
| 29 - 38 Years | 2 | 25.0 |
| No Response | 2 | 25.0 |
| Marital Status | | |
| Single | 5 | 62.5 |
| Married | 3 | 37.5 |
| With Karen | 3 | 100 |
| Occupation | | |
| Hired Worker | 3 | 37.5 |
| Evangelist | 2 | 25.0 |
| Lawyer | 1 | 12.5 |
| Unemployed | 1 | 12.5 |
| No Response | 1 | 12.5 |
| Income | | |
| 2,000 - 3,000 Baht | 3 | 37.5 |
| More than 3,000 Baht | 2 | 25.0 |
| No Response | 3 | 37.5 |

| | | |
|---|---|------|
| Religion | | |
| Christianity | 6 | 75.0 |
| Buddhism | 2 | 25.0 |
| Educational | | |
| Secondary 3 | 3 | 37.5 |
| Technical (PKS - Commercial) | 2 | 25.0 |
| Technical (PWS - Agriculture) | 1 | 12.5 |
| Technical (Lower PKS) | 1 | 12.5 |
| College/University | 1 | 12.5 |
| Reason for Not Returning | | |
| Cannot work in Hills | 1 | 12.5 |
| Have work in City | 1 | 12.5 |
| Family lives in City | 2 | 25.0 |
| No work to do in Hills | 1 | 12.5 |
| Married Lowlander | 1 | 12.5 |
| Social Pressure in Hills | 1 | 12.5 |
| No Reason Given | 1 | 12.5 |
| Preference for Work in Hills or in City | | |
| In Hills | 4 | 50.0 |
| In City | 3 | 37.5 |
| No Response | 1 | 12.5 |

Table 15 Characteristics of Those Who Will Return to Home Village.

| Characteristic | Number | Percent |
|-----------------------|--------|---------|
| Sex | | |
| Male | 35 | 85.4 |
| Female | 6 | 14.6 |
| Age | | |
| 18 - 24 Years | 14 | 34.5 |
| 25 - 31 Years | 12 | 29.3 |
| 32 - 38 Years | 12 | 29.3 |
| 39 - 45 Years | 2 | 4.9 |
| No Response | 1 | 2.4 |
| Marital Status | | |
| Single | 22 | 53.7 |
| Married | 18 | 43.9 |
| With Karen | 15 | 83.3 |
| With Lahu | 1 | 5.6 |
| With Lowlander | 2 | 11.1 |
| Divorced | 1 | 2.4 |
| Religion | | |
| Christianity | 32 | 78.0 |
| Buddhism | 9 | 22.0 |
| Occupation | | |
| Regular Work | 25 | 61.0 |
| Teacher | 12 | 48 |
| Civil Servant | 3 | 12 |
| Farmer | 2 | 8 |
| Evangelist | 8 | 32 |
| Temporary Work | 16 | 39.0 |
| Part-time Work | 14 | 87.5 |
| Tour Guide | 2 | 12.5 |
| Income | | |
| Under 1,000 Baht | 3 | 7.3 |
| 1,000 - 2,000 Baht | 12 | 29.3 |
| 2,001 - 3,000 Baht | 13 | 31.7 |
| Over 3,000 Baht | 6 | 14.6 |
| No Response | 7 | 17.1 |

Education

| | | |
|------------------------|----|------|
| Primary 4 | 2 | 4.9 |
| Secondary 3 | 13 | 31.7 |
| Secondary 6 | 2 | 4.9 |
| Technical (PWCh)* | 2 | 4.9 |
| Technical (PWS) | 4 | 9.8 |
| Technical (Lower PKS) | 5 | 12.2 |
| Technical (Higher PKS) | 2 | 4.9 |
| College/University | 8 | 19.5 |
| No Response | 3 | 7.3 |

Reason for Returning Home

| | | |
|-------------------|----|------|
| To Visit | 23 | 56.1 |
| To Work | 16 | 39.0 |
| Farmer | 5 | 31.3 |
| Hired Work | 2 | 12.5 |
| Private Business | 1 | 6.3 |
| Evangelism | 1 | 6.3 |
| Teaching | 6 | 37.5 |
| In Public Welfare | 1 | 6.3 |
| No Response | 2 | 4.9 |

Preference for Work in Hills or in City

| | | |
|-------------|----|------|
| In Hills | 33 | 80.5 |
| In City | 4 | 9.8 |
| Either | 2 | 4.9 |
| No Response | 2 | 4.9 |

Table 16 Characteristics of Those Undecided About Where to Live

| Characteristic | Number | Percent |
|---|--------|---------|
| Sex | | |
| Male | 3 | 75 |
| Female | 1 | 25 |
| Age | | |
| 18 - 24 Years | 2 | 50 |
| 25 - 31 Years | 0 | 0 |
| 32 - 38 Years | 1 | 25 |
| No Response | 1 | 25 |
| Marital Status | | |
| Single | 4 | 100 |
| Occupation | | |
| Hired Work | 2 | 50 |
| Tour Guide | 1 | 25 |
| Civil Servant | 1 | 25 |
| Income | | |
| 2,500 Baht | 1 | 25 |
| 25,000 Baht | 1 | 25 |
| No Response | 2 | 50 |
| Religion | | |
| Buddhism | 4 | 100 |
| Education | | |
| Secondary 3 | 2 | 50 |
| Secondary 6 | 2 | 50 |
| Reason for Returning or Not Returning | | |
| Return | | |
| Visit Home | 3 | 75 |
| No Response | 1 | 25 |
| Not Returning | | |
| No Work to Do in Village | 3 | 75 |
| No Response | 1 | 25 |
| Preference for Work in Hills or in City | | |
| In Hills | 1 | 25 |
| In City | 2 | 50 |
| Depends on Type of Work | 1 | 25 |

Table 17 Characteristics of Circulators

| Characteristics | Number | Percent |
|---|--------|---------|
| Sex | | |
| Male | 12 | 80 |
| Female | 3 | 20 |
| Age | | |
| 15 - 18 Years | 3 | 20.7 |
| 19 - 24 Years | 11 | 73.3 |
| No Response | 1 | 6.7 |
| Marital Status | 15 | 100 |
| Occupation | | |
| Hired wrk | 5 | 33.3 |
| Unemployed | 6 | 40.0 |
| Studying | 4 | 26.7 |
| Income | | |
| Uncertain | 15 | 100 |
| Religion | | |
| Christianity | 13 | 86.7 |
| Buddhism | 2 | 13.3 |
| Education | | |
| Secondary 3 | 5 | 33.3 |
| Secondary 6 | 6 | 40.0 |
| Technical (PWC Agriculture) | 2 | 13.3 |
| Studying | 1 | 6.7 |
| No Response | 1 | 6.7 |
| Preference Regarding Returning Home | | |
| Return | 13 | 86.7 |
| Do not Return | - | - |
| Uncertain | 12 | 13.3 |
| Preference for Work in Hills or in City | | |
| In Hills | 14 | 93.3 |
| In City | - | - |
| Either | 1 | 6.7 |

Table 18 Preference Regarding Returning Home

| | Number | Percent |
|---------------|--------|---------|
| Return | 54 | 78.26 |
| Do Not Return | 8 | 11.59 |
| Uncertain | 6 | 8.69 |
| No Response | 1 | 1.44 |
| Total | 69 | 100 |

Table 19 Reasons for Returning Home

| | Number | Percent |
|------------------------------------|--------|---------|
| Visiting | 33 | 55 |
| 1 - 3 Times Per Year | 20 | 60.60 |
| 4 - 6 Times Per Year | 5 | 15.15 |
| 7 - 9 Times Per Year | 1 | 3.03 |
| 10 - 12 Times Per Year | 6 | 18.18 |
| No Response | 1 | 3.03 |
| To Work | 23 | 38.33 |
| Farming | 10 | 43.47 |
| Private Business/Selling | 2 | 8.69 |
| Help Church and Private Enterprise | 3 | 13.04 |
| Hired Work | 2 | 8.69 |
| Teaching | 5 | 21.73 |
| In Public Welfare | 1 | 4.34 |
| No Response | 4 | 6.66 |
| Total | 60 | 100 |

their home village. The data in Tables 14-17 also tend to bear out this observation, although the pattern is slightly more complicated than this. The educational attainment of those who say they want to return to the hills (including some who have already done so) in Table 15 is significantly higher than for those who are undecided or who will circulate (Tables 16 and 17). Whereas 19.5 of the returners have bachelor's degrees none of those undecided or the circulators have one. Contrarily, those who say they will live in the city include almost as many with bachelor's degrees (12.5 percent) and more with technical school diplomas (31.8 percent of returners versus 50 percent of stayers). Nearly half of the returners are teachers (48 percent), a job that almost always requires a college degree. This accounts for the higher number of bachelor's degrees by returners. However, since there are relatively few technical positions in hill villages, those with such degrees stay in the city more often.

The pattern that emerges, though, is that those with the highest education can find jobs they find suitable. With this, they are then able to locate positions either in the hills or in the city, this depending on the nature of their degree. Those without jobs they consider adequate tend to have lower educational attainment and are either circulators or undecided about where to live.

A high percentage (68.12) provided some help to their home villages. This would have been higher had all respondents given answers and if those without home villages were factored out. A continued interest in the status of their homes and desire to help remains quite high.

Table 20 Reasons for Not Returning Home

| | Number | Percent |
|--|--------|---------|
| Thought from beginning to live in city | 2 | 14.28 |
| Family in city | 1 | 7.14 |
| Cannot work in hills | 2 | 14.28 |
| Married city dweller | 1 | 7.14 |
| No work to do in village | 5 | 35.71 |
| Social Pressure in village | 1 | 7.14 |
| No Response | 2 | 14.28 |
| Total | 14 | 100 |

Table 21 Attitudes towards Visiting Home Among Non-Returners

| | Number | Percent |
|-------------------------|--------|---------|
| Will Visit | 9 | 64.29 |
| Regarding work | 1 | 11.11 |
| Carry out some business | 1 | 11.11 |
| Visit Parents | 7 | 77.77 |
| Will Not Visit | 2 | 13.28 |
| Parents live in city | 1 | 50 |
| No reason | 1 | 50 |
| No Response | 3 | 21.43 |
| Total | 14 | 100 |

If Not Visiting, Attitudes Towards Helping Home Village

| | Number | Percent |
|--|--------|---------|
| Help with Education and Give Advice | 5 | 35.71 |
| Help Develop Agriculture | 1 | 7.14 |
| With Evangelism | 1 | 7.14 |
| If Respondent has money, will help (unspecified) | 2 | 14.29 |
| No Response | 5 | 35.71 |
| Total | 14 | 100 |

Table 22 Preference for Work in Hills and in City (When there is work in both to choose from)

| Preference | Number | Percent |
|--------------|--------|---------|
| In the City | 9 | 13.04 |
| In the Hills | 52 | 75.36 |
| Either | 4 | 5.79 |
| No Response | 3 | 4.34 |
| Total | 69 | 100 |

Table 23 Reason for Preference of Hills Work Against Either Hills or City

| | Number | Percent |
|--|--------|---------|
| Preference for City Work | 6 | 66.66 |
| Convenient | 1 | 11.11 |
| Have house and family in city | 1 | 11.11 |
| Conveniences with chance to advance | 1 | 11.11 |
| Preference for Either | | |
| Certain of work | 1 | 25 |
| Wherever, when money or job is available | 2 | 50 |
| Must live in Karen society | 1 | 25 |

Table 24 Relations with City

| | Number | Percent |
|---|--------|---------|
| Socially | 11 | 15.9 |
| Economically | 3 | 4.3 |
| Through Education | 21 | 30.4 |
| Other Areas | 6 | 8.7 |
| Socially and Economically | 13 | 18.8 |
| Socially, through Education, and in other ways | 6 | 8.7 |
| Socially, Economically, and through Education | 4 | 5.8 |
| Socially, Economically, through Education, and in other ways | 1 | 1.5 |
| No Response | 4 | 5.8 |
| Total | 69 | 100 |

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Table 25 Present Contacts Between Hills and City

| | Number | Percent |
|--|-----------|------------|
| Through Communications | 16 | 23.19 |
| Letters | 10 | 62.50 |
| Letters, Radio, and Telegrams | 6 | 37.50 |
| Through Education | 5 | 7.25 |
| Through Individuals | 10 | 14.49 |
| Visits by respondent | 7 | 70 |
| Others visiting respondent | 3 | 30 |
| On Business | 1 | 1.45 |
| Through Meetings and Seminars | 2 | 2.90 |
| Culturally | 5 | 2.90 |
| Through Development Projects | 9 | 13.04 |
| Through Education and Development Projects | 2 | 2.90 |
| Through Education and Culturally | 2 | 2.90 |
| No contacts | 6 | 8.70 |
| No response | 11 | 15.94 |
| Total | 69 | 100 |

Table 26 Ways Respondents Helped Their Home Village

| | Number | Percent |
|---------------------------------------|--------|---------|
| Gave Help | 47 | 68.12 |
| Money | 20 | 42.55 |
| In area of. public health | 2 | 4.26 |
| In agriculture and by providing labor | 5 | 10.64 |
| In education and sports | 5 | 10.64 |
| Various development projects | 5 | 10.64 |
| Money and advice | 4 | 8.51 |
| Through own business | 2 | 4.26 |
| No way specified | 4 | 8.51 |
| Did Not Give Help | 12 | 17.39 |
| No Response | 10 | 14.49 |
| Total | 69 | 100 |

Table 27 Acceptance of Respondents When They Visit Home Village and Family

| | Number | Percent |
|----------------------------|--------|---------|
| Acceptance by Family | 59 | 85.51 |
| Positive | - | - |
| Negative | 10 | 14.49 |
| Total | 69 | 100 |
| Acceptance by Home Village | | |
| Positive | 54 | 78.26 |
| Negative | - | - |
| No Response | 15 | 21.74 |
| Total | 69 | 100 |

Table 28 Preference for Going Home For Ceremonies, Rites, and Celebrations

| | Number | Percent |
|---|--------|---------|
| Preference for Going Home | 40 | 57.77 |
| Responsible | 5 | 12.5 |
| Have Role in Event | 17 | 42.5 |
| Maintain Traditions | 5 | 12.5 |
| Meet Relatives | 6 | 15.00 |
| Must Worship Spirits, Support Religion | 2 | 5 |
| No Reason Given | 5 | 12.5 |
| Preference for Not Going Home | 11 | 15.94 |
| No Time | 7 | 63.64 |
| Involved With Studies | 2 | 18.18 |
| Far From Home/Attending Not Essential | 2 | 18.18 |
| No Reason Given | - | - |
| Uncertain Preference (Depends on Event) | 8 | 11.59 |
| No Response | 10 | 14.49 |
| Total | 69 | 100 |

Table 29 Respondents' Attitudes Towards Relations Studying in City

| | Number | Percent |
|--|--------|---------|
| Change Observed | 48 | 69.57 |
| More Developed | 16 | 33.33 |
| In Daily Life and State of Village | 5 | 10.42 |
| In Education, Communications, and Religion | 6 | 12.50 |
| Morale of Villagers | 4 | 8.33 |
| Hills are Underdeveloped | 2 | 4.17 |
| No Specific Change Noted | 15 | 31.25 |
| Change Not Observed | 9 | 13.04 |
| Same as Before | 6 | 66.66 |
| No Specifics Noted | 3 | 33.33 |
| No Response | 12 | 17.39 |
| Total | 69 | 100 |

Table 31 Respondents' Attitudes Towards Relations Studying in City

| | Number | Percent |
|--|--------|---------|
| Preference for Studying in City | 50 | 72.46 |
| To Obtain Knowledge | 7 | 14 |
| To Obtain Knowledge and to Learn Thai | 3 | 6 |
| To Obtain Knowledge and Contacts with Thais | 6 | 12 |
| To Develop Themselves, Their Society, Education and Village | 9 | 18 |
| To Obtain Knowledge, Capabilities, and Abilities | 4 | 8 |
| For Bettering Future of Relatives and to Help Them Advance | 2 | 4 |
| To Learn a Trade, Know City Life, and Education | 4 | 8 |
| To Gain Experience in City Life and Education | 3 | 6 |
| To Obtain Knowledge, Know City Life, and To Help Themselves | 3 | 6 |
| To Gain Experience and to Improve Oneself | 2 | 4 |
| To Study To As High a Level as Possible | 2 | 4 |
| Help Correct Societal Problems | 2 | 4 |
| No School in Home Village | 1 | 2 |
| No Reason Given | 2 | 4 |
| Preference for Not Studying in City | 5 | 7.24 |
| Have Family Stay Together in Hills | 2 | 40 |
| Lack of Funds | 2 | 40 |
| Cannot Make Adjustments to City Life | 1 | 20 |
| Other | 1 | 1.45 |
| No Response | 13 | 18.84 |
| Total | 69 | 100 |

Table 31 Respondents with Younger Relations Studying in City

| | Number | Percent |
|-------------|--------|---------|
| Have | 61 | 88.4 |
| Do not Have | 3 | 4.4 |
| No Response | 5 | 7.2 |
| Total | 69 | 100 |

Table 32 type of Help Respondents Give Younger Relations

| | Number | Percent |
|---|--------|---------|
| Give Help | 49 | 71.1 |
| Moral Support | 4 | 8.2 |
| Find Lodging | 2 | 4.1 |
| Find School | 4 | 8.2 |
| With Studies | 5 | 10.2 |
| Advice | 3 | 6.1 |
| Give Money and Advice | 3 | 6.1 |
| Advice, Guidance, and Counselling | 4 | 8.1 |
| Give Money and Counselling | 7 | 8.2 |
| Help Develop Themselves and Introduce to New Situations | 3 | 14.3 |
| With Studies, Give Money, and Find School | 3 | 6.1 |
| Moral Support, In Studies, Give Money, and Find School | 3 | 6.1 |
| Find Lodging, Find School, Give Money, and Give Guidance | 7 | 14.3 |
| With Studies, Socially, and Through Setting Up Hill Tribe Club | 1 | 2.0 |
| Do Not Give Help | 11 | 15.9 |
| No Response | 9 | 13.0 |
| Total | 69 | 100 |

Table 33 Respondents' Enthusiasm for Going Home

| | Number | Percent |
|--|--------|---------|
| Are Enthusiastic | 49 | 71.01 |
| To Develop Village | 14 | 28.57 |
| See Importance of Village, Love It, and Want To Develop It | 18 | 36.75 |
| To Give Advice | 5 | 10.20 |
| To Give Advice and To Apply for Job in Agriculture To Do in Village | 2 | 4.08 |
| To Have Parents Send Children to School | 1 | 2.04 |
| To Be Good Example | 1 | 2.04 |
| To Give Moral support | 2 | 4.08 |
| To Study As Much As Possible | 1 | 2.04 |
| In Giving Reasons to Return | 1 | 2.04 |
| But Did Not Specify Reason | 4 | 8.16 |
| Are Not Enthusiastic | 10 | 14.49 |
| But If There Were Work Would Return | 2 | 20 |
| Because of Desire to Gain Experience First | 1 | 10 |
| Because It Depends on Situation | 5 | 50 |
| Because God Has Spoken to Work Elsewhere | 1 | 10 |
| But Did Not Specify Reason | 1 | |
| Both Enthusiastic and Unenthusiastic | 1 | 1.45 |
| Enthusiastic to Give Advice But Unenthusiastic Because Must Leave Soon After Returning And Wait for Eventual Return Later | 1 | 10 |
| Others | 2 | 2.90 |
| Don't Know what to Develop Because Village Well Off Already | 1 | 50 |
| Not Yet Graduated So No Problem | 1 | 50 |
| No Response | 7 | 10.14 |
| Total | 69 | 100 |

One factor difficult to assess is that of acceptance of the home community on return. Although 85.51 percent of the respondents reported, as shown in Table 27, that they were well received at home, there were occasional hints that this was not always so. There were very few cases indeed of respondents with a high degree of education going back to one's home village. Even most of the teachers in the hills were working elsewhere in the mountains than at their home village. And here too, working at a Thai school in the hills puts one in an enclave that is somewhat isolated from village life as well as clearly of a different social strata than that of the villagers. As noted above, one respondent stated that educated Karen women were not well received at home. Given the apparent inwardness of many respondents and the occasional hint in this direction, it seems likely that not all movers to the city are well received or well understood in the home village.

This does not seem, however, to have inhibited these respondents from encouraging younger relatives to study in the city. A total of 72.46 percent preferred that their younger relations study in city schools. With such positive reinforcement, it seems certain that this cityward movement will continue.