Chapter 4

CHANGE IN THE SEVEN VILLAGES

1957-1987

This section includes detailed studies of the seven study villages and changes that occurred in them from 1957 to 1987. Each section begins with a brief description of conditions in the village in 1957. Following this, and through making use of the questionnaire data, as well as relevant information from all other sources is an account of changes in the thirty years under study.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the peoples in all of these villages were very much in traditional, non-innovative societies. Changes were accepted only slowly both by the Karen and the Hmong, although the latter were more pragmatic than the former. During the last 30 years, however, this situation began to change. Even in 1957, the first hints of such changes were already underway; there were Christians in Mae Yang Ha, Buddhists in Wat Chan, tin mines opening near Pa Kia Nai and Mae Yang Ha, and the government was gradually becoming aware of the strategic importance of the peoples living in the northern Thai hills.

Mae Yang Ha

Mae Yang Ha, a Thai mispronunciation of the the Karen word Minyahaddy (meaning Narrow Valley with Dipterocarpus Trees), is a resettlement village for Karens. Located in Bo Kaeo District about 3 kilometers north of the market center, this village is

located on relatively flat land at an elevation of about 1,000 meters where, until the tin mines opened, paddy cultivation was practiced. The soils (not counting those that have been ruined by tin mine runoff) are predominately rich alluvials with slopes mostly less than 35 percent. The village is surrounded by other settlements restricting the amount of agricultural land at the disposal of residents.

In 1956, when The American Baptist missionary, Ben Dickerson, first visited the Bo Kaeo area there were six households in Mae Yang Ha, all Christian. Most had been converted through the energetic evangelistic endeavors of Thra Bonny. Many of those individuals had been either forced to leave their previous village (most in the Bo Kaeo area, with one family coming from Mae Khapu) or found life there so uncomfortable they left of their own accord. Apparently many of these conversions occurred in the early 1950s at about the same time the missionaries were first reaching Bo Kaeo. One of them, Van Benschoten, wrote after first going to Bo Kaeo in 1952, that he found an evangelist (almost surely a Karen) there. Van Benschoten was told that Karens there "are tired being so poor because of sacrificing all their chickens and pigs to evil spirits and because of opium" and that they were open to becoming Christians (Van Benschoten September 25, 1953, to Carl Capen, TBMF). How much of this is true and how much was said to please the American guests, is uncertain but Van Benschoten did write soon thereafter that in Bo Kaeo "there is a turning to the Lord" (1954 Annual Report TBMF). It was this that led to Ben and Doris

Dickerson establishing a mission station about thirty minutes walk to Mae Yang Ha in 1957. Becoming Christian set the Karens apart from animist Karens (of which several villages existed in the area) and their Thai neighbors in another way. Because of strict American Baptist and Karen Baptist Convention rules on smoking, no tobacco was cultivated and almost none was smoked in Mae Yang Ha.

In the 1950s, Bo Kaeo was still deep in the forest. Tigers, wild boar, deer, other large animals and flocks of wild parakeets, pheasants, and many jungle fowl lived in the forests surrounding the village. As the local population grew, primarily because of people coming to work in or around the mines, and as the Hmong cleared hill areas to the west for opium cultivation, the wild animals began to disappear until now when there is little large game remaining.

Resources

Most of the early residents of Mae Yang Ha farmed paddy rice in the small valley in which the village is located; little swiddening was carried out. No opium was cultivated in Mae Yang Ha nor were there addicts at that time although some of both would be there later. However, within a short time, tin mining companies took an interest in the tin ore there too. Finally, on 20 April 1958 (Conklin, 12 April 1958 TBMF), four different mines (owned by the Thai government as well as by a Chinese company) opened in spite of efforts by the missionaries to prevent this from happening. The missionaries and the Karens living there

feared not so much the mines themselves as the water runoff that would pollute the paddy fields rendering them infertile for many years.

The mining companies understood the effects of the runoff but rather than attempting to prevent it from taking place sought to buy the Karens paddy fields from them at a rate of 1,500 baht per rai. If the Karens did not sell, the mining company said the paddy would be ruined regardless. According to the present village headman, over 100 rai changed hands in this way, 60 of which was later given back to Karens who would use the land to make a living only and could not be sold for 20 years (S.K. 1 certificates). Since only a couple of Bo Kaeo Karens were officially recognized citizens (all are now) and thus were legally barred from holding title deeds, they were in a weak position legally. Troubles between Karens and miners continued, nonetheless, with the first headman of Mae Yang Ha (and also kamnan of Bo Kaeo Tambon), Nai La Phowe, being shot to death almost a decade later over a mining dispute. He was succeeded by his cousin in 1961 as both headman and kamnan. Following his tenure as kamnan, Thai settlers in the mines connived to have two Karens run for election against one Thai, Maw Prasop Mukdasanit. When the Karen vote was split between these two, the Thai was able to win the election and the Karens, one of them Nu Nu Mo Plae who became headman of Mae Yang Ha.

Disputes and rivalry of this sort have continued until the present day and probably will until the mining stops or the Karens move away, neither of which seems imminent. From the

start of the tin mining in Bo Kaeo, however, Karen paddy farming never regained its previous condition.

Table 2

Access to Land in Mae Yang Ha

	1957		1987	
	HHs	Plots	HHs	Plots
Average Upland Rice Area	14	3.4	14	2.6
Average Paddy Rice Area (plots)	14	4.6	14	1.1
Number of Fallowed Fields (plots)	14	0.9	14	0.6

n = 14

Even since the loss of the paddy sites to the tin mines, the amount of rice land controlled by Mae Yang Ha residents has continued decline. Looking at the holdings of the oldest residents, the average size of their holdings has gone down, the loss being rather larger for swiddened rice. Both increases in the Karen population as well as competition from Hmong for the same upland plots has contributed to this decline. The TN-HDP survey (Robert, et al., tr. 1985 p. 108) showed that of 44 households in the village, only 27 had paddy land, showing a decline among the younger generation in access to land (not counting losses due to the mines which affected the elder generation before the survey date).

Villagers here obtained S.K. 1 deeds to their land about 30 years ago, or within a few years of when the mining operations began. In about 1980, the villagers requested N.S. 3 deeds; after about a 5 year delay, the obtained them with some help from TN-HDP. This has given the villagers considerably more security over their land than before. Title deeds may be obtainable in a few years. Similarly, since this area which had been a forest reserve for many years has little forest cover left, in about 1980 the area around Mae Yang Ha was declared to be not a forest reserve. This enabled the villagers, again with some TN-HDP assistance, to obtain S.T.K. deeds to certain areas within the last two years.

Others have intensified cultivation, growing crops in areas close to their houses or planting dry season crops in paddy that formerly had been left to fallow. In some cases, upland fields have been converted to permanent or almost permanent agriculture. When soil fertility declines, banana has been planted (Uraivan et al., 1985, p. 56).

Besides the decline in paddy cultivated, a number of other cultivation patterns have changed. Fewer non-rice crops are cultivated in the village swiddens and fewer varieties of rice are utilized. More cash crops are being cultivated in Mae Yang Ha than in the other Karen villages studied, this a factor of the longtime missionary impact and the access to Chiang Mai markets the good road to the village gives.

The missionaries promoted a variety of crops and foodstuffs, from wheat to rabbits. Crops included coffee (both Robusta and

Arabica), peaches, apples, and litchis. The Samoeng District Office assisted, by sending 30 litchi trees to Mae Yang Ha in 1965. Although not all their efforts resulted in significant amounts of produce, they did open Karen eyes to new possibilities for raising agricultural crops and livestock. That may have been about as significant as anything else they accomplished.

As in other study villages, amount of forest resources available to the residents of Mae Yang Ha declined. From 12 of those households surveyed who gathered bamboo shoots in the past, only 5 do so at present. From 12 who gathered food, medicine, and others items in the forest, none do so at present. Because of the many people brought into the Bo Kaeo area by the mines, the road construction, and the increase of people, not the least by the establishment of the Hmong village of Pa Kia Nai, many more people lived in this region. The great amount of large game noted by the missionaries in the 1950s is virtually all gone with the exception of a few barking deer and wild boar and they are far from the village site. Virtually none of the villagers ever hunt for such game. Mostly only some birds, insects, lizards, and other small animals are caught. They no longer constitute a significant portion of the residents diet which is why on the table below shows no respondents consuming such sources of wild protein monthly. The one villager who said he had fresh fish monthly was an individual more well off than others who was able to buy fish that came in "food vehicles" from Chiang Mai with a variety of fresh and preserved produce to wherever roads would let it go. Besides fresh fish, there has also a significant

Table 3

Hunted Sources of Wild Protein Consumed Monthly

	Large Animals*	Wild Fowl	Other*	Insects	Fresh Fish
Total Surveyed	14	14	14	14	14
Past	5	0	7	4	0
Present	0	0	0	0	1

*Large animals include wild boar, barking deer, as well as a variety of other large species.

*Other includes smaller wild game.

rise in the amount of dried and canned fish consumed by the respondents, also a result of these "food vehicles" This compensates to some extent the loss of traditional protein sources but also creates a need for cash. Another source of protein, not as widespread in animist villages, was chicken eggs. These resulted because of the White Leghorn and Rhode Island Red (the latter itself a mixture including Southeast Asian genes) breeds introduced in Mae Yang Ha by the missionaries. Although many of the original purebred chicken were killed by plagues, there was some interbreeding and Mae Yang Ha residents believe those at present lay better than the traditional local chickens they had, three decades ago. The missionaries also brought in purebred Duroc Jersey (and other purebred) boar for interbreeding, the results which have strengthened pigs throughout Bo Kaeo and beyond.

The decline of forested land in the Bo Kaeo area also affected livestock use in Mae Yang Ha. In the 1950s, it was possible to allow cattle (buffalos, however, were fed rice bran) to graze in the the surrounding forests and fields without preparing any special feed except perhaps rice bran in dry years. With the increase of population around Bo Kaeo, however, has made this difficult. The number of villagers raising cattle has dropped to half what it was in 1957 and all of these must prepare either rice bran or grass and straw for cattle feed. As in Wat Chan, but no doubt also for the purpose of increasing the number of food sources available to them, the villagers have virtually stopped selling pigs to raise money and begun consuming more themselves.

Table 4

Headmen of Mae Yang Ha
(Dates Approximate)

1. Nai La Phowe	(Kamnan)	1954-1957
2. Tu Pho	(Kamnan)	1957-1958
3. Pu No Phroma	(Kamnan)	1958-1970
4. Nu Nu Mo Plae		1970-1980
5. Suk Inta		1980-present

After Pu No Phroma, a Karen from Bo Kaeo named Sa Putu became the Kamnan. He was succeeded by Maw Prasop Mukdasanit, a Thai from Bo Kaeo, who remains as the present Kamnan.

Income from other sources included that gained from working for logging companies, in exchange for animal skins and honey gathered in the forest, as well as cash earned from picking tea leaves in Miang villages. One village, which a number of Karen men remember working at in the 1950s was Pa Pae in Mae Taeng District. Villagers in groups of 5-6 went to pick an average of 6 rai from which they earned about 45 baht. Although both Thai men and women went to pick tea leaves, no Karen women made this kind of move. Other sorts of income began to replace that derived from Pa Pae and in about 1965, no more such moves were made by Mae Yang Ha residents.

One source was of course the tin (and scheelite) mines in Bo Kaeo. At first the mines hired Karens and others to mine, paying them according to how much ore they obtained. Later, miners were given the chance to work by the day also. Others worked at odd jobs, helping building roads, dams, and waterways. Women who panned for tin earned up to 40-50 baht a day, an unprecedented amount of income for Karen women in this area and much more than could be earned at Pa Pae. Some Karen took ore for sale to other companies, at higher rates, in Chiang Mai city. Occasionally even children were employed at simple menial tasks. It was at about this time, in the early 1960s, that some opium was cultivated as a means to earn additional cash. This was felt to be needed because other sources of income traditionally open to the people, like from the sale or exchange of forest produce, were drying up and are no longer a significant factor to the

people of Mae Yang Ha at present. At present, the world market for tin is depressed and income is not much different since when the mines were opened. The men who go into the holes that bored down to the alluvium earned up to 100 baht a day while women panning get about 40-50 baht per day.

This situation meant that Karens at Mae Yang Ha was coming to have a cash economy by the 1950s, prior to its coming in Wat Chan. This, like Christianity, served to open the people of this village up to change from the outside. Unlike Christianity, though, adoption of a cash economy provided none of the support that an organized religion, particularly one with American Baptist missionaries active in and around their village. And although it could be argued that exposure on a laissez-faire basis to real world cash economics would evoke within the Mae Yang Ha people the ability to cope with changing conditions, the transformation here to a cash economy coincided with the loss of most of the villagers land and their employment as hired hands for minimal wages. This low income was insufficient compensation for the loss of land since all of their income had to be used for purchasing necessities like the rice they once grew. Hmong opium growers, by contrast, earned sufficient income from opium so that they escaped the position of subordination that Karens were finding themselves in. This is exacerbated by the loss of traditional trade items such as forest produce as well as a decline in the amount of livestock sold.

The cash income, though, also allowed some changes the Karens considered beneficial. One was the abandonment of growing

cotton and making thread. They say that for just a couple of days work in the mine, they can save well over a week s time used before to produce thread. This they now buy in the market and use to weave their own cloth, which for the women is much as before except for some color changes.

Mae Yang Ha's main trading link with the outside world was at Ban Kat and remained so almost until the mines opened. Van Benschoten, and other travelers to the area got there by going up the Mae Wang River, from San Pa Tong through Ban Kat and then on to Bo Kaeo. When the mines came, the companies in cooperation with the American missionaries and Chaichit, a prominent Thai-Chinese merchant in Samoeng, built the road from Bo Kaeo to Samoeng and on to Mae Rim.

The construction of the road opened many contacts with the outside world, such as the facilitation of trade. For one, this Samoeng merchant was able to become a marketing link between Chiang Mai and many Thai and Karen villages in Samoeng. He supplied the rice the Karens in Mae Yang Ha needed, offered credit, and provided other services.

After some years, apparently in the early 1960s, some Lu families in Ban Hat Som Poi began acting as merchants also. By this time, there were two small stores in Mae Yang Ha, run by Karens. Eventually, in about 1975, one Lu family, quickly followed by two others from this village moved into Mae Yang Ha with one opening a store on the road cutting through the edge of the village enroute to Wat Chan. Since then, another Karen has opened a (much smaller) store and a Thai man with a wife from

Thoen, Lamoang, has opened a noodle shop. The biggest store, run by a Lu family, sells foodstuffs, soft drinks, sandals, detergent, tampons, sprinkler cans, stationery, rope, miang (from Chiang Mai), and ready made Western-style and northern Thai clothes (mo hom workshirts and "Shan" trousers) All of this gave the Karens in Mae Yang Ha much more experience in using cash than most Karens. Besides patronizing the shops in their village, they buy goods from the shops in Pa Kia Nai, about a kilometer from Mae Yang Ha. There are no shops selling goods in the village although occasionally some villagers will market a few small items to their neighbors on an informal basis. He also began offering consumer goods to the Karens on credit; to earn the money to pay for such things, if their income from mining and other sources was insufficient, they took to growing cash crops that the missionaries and the government promoted (Chaichit tried but was unsuccessful).

The Lu, of which over 10 households are now in Mae Yang Ha, have followed a slightly different pattern than the Karens. Living on the road near the first immigrants, one of the shopkeepers, they have established an offshoot to the village. A number of Karen leaders in the village compliment the Lu as being more energetic than the Karens; whether this is true is debatable but they have introduced different crops, such as Kek Huai (a kind of chrysanthemum used to make tea) cultivation in Mae Yang Ha. Although some is grown around the Lu houses the soil there is poor and better yields are obtained from plots in the hills to the west near Mae Chae.' Other cash crops, like garlic since 1982

and strawberries since 1983, are grown also. They market this through networks established with Lu in Hat Som Poi that are not so available to Karens.

In summary, Mae Yang Ha and other Christian areas near Bo Kaeo were spared by the presence of missionaries and educated Karen leaders (who became their advocates) from being too disadvantaged but some of the villagers still fell into debt, and a few still in trouble. The study by Uraivan et al. (1988, pp. 80-83) describe landless and indebtedness for the entire Mae Khan basin as worse than that just in Mae Yang Ha. That Mae Yang Ha has survived in even this condition, is a factor of earlier contact with the outside, the presence of missionary advisors, and a higher level of education than in nearby villages.

Belief Systems

At almost the same time the mine opened, another innovative change occurred in the Bo Kaeo area. The American Baptist Mission established a Karen Leadership Training Center in Mae Yang Ha to train Karens from throughout the area. Three temporary Karen teachers were requested from the Burma Baptist Convention, three bamboo-thatch structures were constructed for classrooms, a dining room, and a girl's dormitory. The teachers arrived and classes opened on 17 February 1958. A three-year Karen-language curriculum was offered primarily including Bible study and agricultural courses, as well as various other general education subjects including music (instruments taught included violin, guitar, and accordion). About 40 Karen students, mostly

from the Bo Kaeo and Musikee area but also from beyond into Mae Hong Son, attended (Conklin 19 December 1958 TBMF B1 F9). The center was growing rapidly but ran into the opposition of Thai educational authorities who had strict rules about the opening of schools in the country, one requirement being that all education be in the Thai language. Another such rule was that for private schools there must be a qualified teacher for each grade of students. Since in government schools one teacher often supervised several grades at once (even if there were not strictly according to accepted procedures), this was a de facto handicap for private schools. As a result, after about two years, the Center in Bo Kaeo was moved to Chiang Mai city where it continued, as the Center for the Uplift of Tribal Peoples, in much the same way as it had at Bo Kaeo. Its impact on the Bo Kaeo people, Mae Yang Ha included, of course declined. After the Center closed, the facilities were taken over by the Thai government for a school that opened in the early 1960s. Within a few years of the mines opening, a second government school opened; this was attended mostly by Thais but a few Karens entered also.

All of these changes, brought outside influences to Mae Yang Ha earlier and at a greater rate than to any of the other study villages. One of these influences, though, Christianity, served to maintain Mae Yang Ha village identity (except of course for the Thai Lu families) as Karen. Since they as Christians were still on the fringe of Thai society and, consequently, found it difficult at best to assimilate into Thai predominately Buddhist

society, their identity as Karens has become more fixed. Although this did not stop Karen Christians from adopting outside influences such as Thai/Western dress, it did serve to keep them (at least for a longer time) from adopting as many Thai characteristics as their Karen non-Christian neighbors.

Since at the beginning of this village all residents were Christian, the people of this village had already undergone a profound change in their belief system, having if not completely discarded their belief in spirits completely, at least subordinated them to the power of Jesus Christ. As many other Karens, they believe that spirits not believed in cannot hurt them but they also derive strength in this conviction from their being Christians. A number of Karens in the village said that although they didn t believe in spirits, there were spirit-caused diseases that the Public Health Station could not cure making it likely that some Karens are not convinced the spirits cannot harm them.

Having made this transformation, their willingness to accept other changes was higher than in any of the other villages studied, although not all the people shared this willingness to accept new things equally. Dickerson (1967, p. 79) made an attempt to quantify the difference, concluding that the Christian Karens were almost 20 percent more likely to be high adapters of new technologies.

The missionary presence and the existence of the road facilitated modern health services reaching the village of Mae Yang Ha much sooner than other villages (including Pa Kia Nai,

which was then located on the other side of the mountain from its present site) studied. In 1958, just months after the road was completed to Bo Kaeo, the American Baptist Mission had managed for Miss Civili Singhanet, Director of the McCormick School of Nursing and a team from McCormick Hospital to visit Bo Kaeo and the Christian communities there. As a result of this visit (during which many minor ailments were treated) it was arranged for a graduate of the school of nursing to come and live permanently at what was to be known as the Lois Conklin Memorial Health Center (named after James Conklin's daughter who died while he was stationed there) just next to the missionary residence a few kilometers from Mae Yang Ha. From this time on, because of the McCormick Hospital team, family planning services became available to the people around Bo Kaeo.

Soon after this trip opium addiction had become a problem, mostly through contacts with the Hmong at Mae Chae and Huai Nam Chang where Karens were employed to work in opium fields. Compensation was set at the cost of enough opium a person could consume in one day, payable either in cash or in opium. By 1965, ABM records show that 40 names had been removed from church rolls in the Bo Kaeo area because of opium addiction; several of these (and probably some other addicts not removed from the rolls) were in Mae Yang Ha.

Although one might expect the Christian Karens here to accept Western medicine totally, they still stood enough apart from the process to see aspects of their traditional culture that were of value. The continued presence of a Karen herbalist, Nu

Na who still gathers his own raw materials and makes pharmaceutical preparations for other villagers, indicates that certain traditional practices have maintained value to the Karens today. A village leader said that such preparations were useful for some diseases like typhoid and jaundice. Traditional massage, however, is almost never practiced here. Nonetheless, Western medicine is the standard treatment preferred by almost all the villagers. Many became accustomed to this from the presence of the McCormick-trained nurse who lived at Bo Kaeo in the missionary compound and ran a clinic there for many years.

By the 1980s, the Mae Yang Ha Karens have become much more open to change than in the past. Besides being a Christian (except for the Thai Lu who themselves are rather innovative) village, miners, missionaries, and more recently government officials and Thai-Norwegian Church Aid Highland Development Project staff have lived in their midst or very near the village, bringing many new possibilities for future action into the village.

Although some Karens have not coped with these changes, the earliest signs being the opium addiction, Karens here are quicker to try new cropping patterns and other innovations than Karens elsewhere. In 1957, there were no wooden frame houses in Mae Yang Ha out of fear the spirits would not approve. Now most are wooden, many having galvanized roofs. Although women still wear Karen dress, few men do and some younger women now wear a mixture of Karen and non-Karen clothes. Similarly, traditional Karen wooden sandals have given way to store-bought rubber thongs.

As a part of this acceptance of things modern, has been increasing political participation by the villagers. Nearly all the village adults voted in the 1988 national elections, a fact anticipated by the incumbent (who was elected again) Amnuay Yossuk, who donated money to the church in the village as a part of his campaign.

Villagers, as suggested by a Payap University attitudes survey (Payap, 1987) conducted for the Thai-Norwegian Project, appreciate the development projects initiated in their area. They look upon the developers as a kind of patron that will help them overcome obstacles confronting them. Not all development work has proceeded smoothly, though. After the Karen Baptist Convention had been running a rice bank in Mae Yang Ha for many years, TN-HDP introduced one. However, the KBC bank had been run laxly and repayments were often behind because those that administered the bank were loath to force their friends and neighbors to payments when due. When villagers in the TN-HDP-administered rice bank tried to avoid timely repayment of rice loaned to them, the TN-HDP staff found this situation unsatisfactory.

When questioned on overall attitudes towards change, villagers inevitably answer that conditions are improving for them. They of course regret the loss of their privacy, their ricefields, and the game in the forest that the road, the mines, the Hmong, the missionaries and other agents of change have brought to them but they still often say that the times are getting better.

Although much of this is an attempt to be optimistic and to please those with whom they are talking and there are indeed serious problems confronting them, they do make the telling point that in times of famine, as there was in about 1960, no one starves (no one did then either) because it is possible for help to come from elsewhere. In the old days, however, during famine they had to forage for roots and other edibles, a process that brought about nutritional and other problems. Now, this certainty compensates for many inconveniences. This does not mean, though, that a good number of villagers would not strike off into virgin wilderness to live completely by themselves if such an option were open to them.

Problems with the rice bank notwithstanding, the villagers recognize that the Project is aimed at helping them. They attend training sessions regularly and have aoopted many of the inputs proposed by the Project. That the Project has not been able to upgrade their lifestyle in some ways does not mean that the villagers do not find the entire TN-HDP effort appealing and worth supporting.

In many ways, the villagers in Mae Yang Ha are making the transition to Berger's technological society. However, they also have relied considerably on the missionary presence (although there has not been a missionary actually in the village for several years, their presence is still a factor) causing one of the American Baptists who knows them best to say they are "spoiled". The educational level here is the highest of the study villages and many individuals are quite able to take care

of themselves by making appropriate decisions when confronted with new information. However, not all are making the transition well as some recent suicides, drug addiction, and alcoholism attest.

Since the village is mainly Christian and since being Christian in Thailand, like being Karen, makes one a minority group member, it is likely that Mae Yang Ha will retain its Karen identity longer than those elsewhere. Although Karen church leaders complain that the younger generation would often rather go see a movie in Chiang Mai than attend church services and meetings all day on Sundays, Christianity nonetheless remains strong and the focal point of the village and intensifies the Karenness of the place. How much Christianity can help bridge the gap between traditional Karen society and the modern Thai world, however, remains to be seen.

Wat Chan

When Thra Bonny came to the Karen village of Teamegala, just over one kilometer south of Wat Chan in 1933, he found extensive pine forests covering a highland plain with mild slopes and mainly rich and alluvial soils. Beyond the pines were moist evergreen forests where wild elephants and other large game flourished. Thra Bonny remembers only Karens residents; although Lua had lived here before, they either had assimilated into the local population or moved elsewhere by the time he arrived. Nor had the Hmong moved into the area by then either. The area around Musikee was a full day's walk south of the small Thai

center of Pai, several days from Khun Yuam to the west, and 4-5 days walk from Chiang Mai to the east. The Karens living in Musikee were far from outside influences and relatively untroubled by others. The name Wat Chan apparently is not too old; Thra Bonny recalls that the first northern Thai settler in the area was named Chan and that the temple and village took their name from him. There are now a number of Karen villages in Musikee; a hundred years ago this region must have been completely Karen except for occasional travelers. Even today, only a few Thais live in the area as teachers and government officials and they are located almost entirely in the village of Wat Chan, not in the surrounding Karen villages. Thirty years ago, the women virtually always wore Karen dress but a few of the men sometimes wore mixed dress, part Karen and part Thai, perhaps a pair of Shan pants accompanying a Karen shirt.

Already by 1933, there were two Karen Christian families. They seem to have attracted a Karen from Burma, Thra Po Tun, who came to Musikee, staying with the Christians and evangelized among the other Karens. He arranged for Thra Bonny, himself a Christian from Chiang Rai Province who had received training in a Karen Bible school in Chiang Mai city, and another young Karen, Saw Khaw Peh, to come at the same time. After two years, Thra Po Tun departed but Thra Bonny stayed. Because of his skillful evangelistic efforts, The Christian community grew. When Karens from nearby villages converted to Christianity, they often found it convenient to settle in Teamegala and live with other Karen

Christians. As other Karen Christians from elsewhere settled in Teamegala, the Christian community there grew even more.

When Thra Bonny arrived in Musikee in 1933, he remembers that there was a small number of Buddhist Karens clustered around the abandoned chedi at Wat Chan mentioned above. One of those Buddhist Karen was Noi Si Chamlong who recalls that Khuba Si Wichai, the noted northern Thai monk, visited Wat Chan, which then consisted of 10-11 households and inspired some of the villagers to rebuild the ruined chedi and to construct other temple structures. Based on Noi Si's recollections and written records about Khuba Si Wichai, this visit must have occurred in about 1930. After he left, the headman at that time, Du Loi, took a yellow robe and went from village to village in the area to earn money and solicit contributions of labor or supplies to rebuild the chedi. Noi Si himself went to be a novice at Wat Suan Dok in Chiang Mai city for seven years when, after Khuba Si Wichai died in 1937, returned to live in Wat Chan and help as a lay leader in the temple. Wat Chan villagers say that some of their forebearers came from Mae Samat in Mae Hong Son Province, which was and remains very much of a frontier town on the border with Burma. Not surprisingly, then, Wat Chan's first abbot, named Phra Kon Chinawano, came from Burma. What his ethnicity was, however, has been forgotten. The Buddhist community of Wat Chan nonetheless grew. The second abbot, came from Wat Chan although he was ordained in one of the temples in Pai to the north.

In the 1930s, and indeed well after World War II until roads reached closer to Wat Chan, trade patterns were much as they had been for centuries. In spite of the fact that the Japanese and the Thai military cooperated to build a road from Chiang Mai to Pai and beyond to Mae Hong Son during World War II (perhaps conscripting a number of Wat Chan's residents), this road was usable for such a short time that it made little if any impact on conventional Karen trade patterns. And although some Japanese came to Musikee in World War II, perhaps considering building a road to Khun Yuam, no actual construction resulted. All that seems to remain from the Japanese presence in Musikee is the legend of a Japanese "werebear" that is said to haunt certain localities. Because of the Musikee's isolation, thus, there was little trade until after World War II with the outside except for necessities. Salt, however, was not available locally and had to be obtained from the market town of Ban Kat in San Pa Tong, or even further away, in Chom Thong. To raise the 15 satang for 1 tang of salt, the Karens from Musikee took meats and skins, chilis, as well as some other forest produce to exchange in the markets. What taxes were paid at this time is uncertain but at some point Wat Chan people paid a head tax of 2 baht per family (reduced from the standard fee of 4 baht) to the officials in Mae Chaem District.

In about 1955, when the government completed construction of a road from Chiang Mai to Pai, the villagers had access to goods coming by motor vehicle to a roadhead within one day's (energetic) walking from their village. The completion of the

road in 1958 to Bo Kaeo virtually severed Wat Chan's traditional connection with Ban Kat since the trade goods needed by the Karens at Musikee were coming to be available at Bo Kaeo, only a day's (energetic) walk away. When this happened, a number of changes began to occur to this previously almost self-sufficient area. Ready-made textiles and store-bought thread were among the first items such used. Karen men going to the market began wearing more Thai-style clothes and the villagers ceased cultivating cotton. Somewhat later, perhaps in 1965, the first zinc roofs were carried from Bo Kaeo where they were purchased to Musikee where they began to replace the traditional roofs made from thatch. This transition also seems to have encouraged the importation of Western medicines. According to the Karen Kamnan, there have no been traditional Karen herbalists in Musikee for at least 30 years. At present there is a nearby Public Health Station but for the time before this imported Western-style medicines as well as homemade cures seem to have been the most common remedies used in Musikee.

Thirty years ago, the village of Wat Chan itself and those nearby were still all Karen. With the exception of an occasional settler like Chan, whose descendants seem to have blended completely into Karen life, no Thais came to live here until about ten years ago when the government school was set up.

Just over three decades ago, however, another group, the Hmong entered the area, settling in areas around Wat Chan to engage in opium cultivation. In order to carry this out, they cleared a considerable amount of forest which included, much to

the regret of many Karen, areas that had previously been home to many wild elephants. There are still a number of Hmong in Ban Chan District, but quite a few have moved elsewhere.

When the Hmong first to Musikee, their presence attracted the attention of Western missionaries who had begun to link up with the Christian community in the early-1950s. The first Western missionaries to arrive were the American Baptists, and A.D. Benschoten, Jr. had visited in Musikee by 1952, working, among other things, to set up a Rural Christian Center with various outreach programs. The Christian community there perhaps worked that much harder because of the existence of Wat Chan. Another Baptist missionary working in the area, Addison Truxton, noted in 1956 that although Thra Bonny had achieved "outstanding success" in the Musikee area, there was "an unusually strong Buddhist influence and program being developed" that challenged "the Christian churches to make...vital, dynamic witness [and] impact...for the life of the whole community" (Truxton 1956, p. 10). Conversely, the presence of a strong Christian program, with a dynamic leader like Thra Bonny may well have inspired the Buddhists to work more energetically than if they were the only organized religious presence in the area. Following the Baptists, the Overseas Missionary Fellowship came to work among the Hmong whom the Baptists were not evangelizing. By the end of 1952, the OMF missionary, Don Rulison, visited Musikee and wrote that "Khunjem [Musikee as a whole--but he seems to be referring directly to Teamegala] is Sgaw-Karen village, and all of the one or two hundred inhabitants are professing Christians who meet

regularly for about five times a week for services" (Kuhn 1956, p. 80). However, the OMF missionaries were using Musikee as a jumping off point to work among the Hmong there. After walking well over a thousand kilometers in the area, though, and with no immediate prospects of even being allowed to stay in a Hmong village, much less make a conversion, the OMF found work elsewhere in the northern Thai hills more promising and departed.

Influences such as these Westerners brought carried much from the outside world to the Karens in Wat Chan and seems to have positively oriented them towards accepting changes that would occur in the future. The Buddhism in Wat Chan was another link between the Karens there and the outside world, giving the residents of Wat Chan more experience in dealing with change than the animists in that area. Both they and the Christians in Teamegala thus accepted change more rapidly than their neighboring Karens only a few kilometers away. In the 1950s, though, Wat Chan villagers were still basically subsistent, their methods for making a living included almost no means for raising cash except for occasional part-time work for logging companies. For obtaining salt and other needs, Wat Chan residents either went to Ban Kat in San Pa Tong or to Pai in Mae Hong Son.

Christians, under Thra Bonny s leadership, had been running the primary school there for years. By 1965, 13 graduates had studied further in Chiang Mai, while living at a Karen Christian hostel. A clinic was also set up near Wat Chan, staffed by a hospital-trained Karen midwife (Dickerson 1967, p. 22).

The present headman is also Kamnan, becoming so in 1983, he succeeded the previous headman, named Phariyo. It was at this time that Wat Chan became a tambon, being taken out of Mae Nachon tambon. The villagers are all Thai citizens and the election turnout was satisfactory, higher in fact than in many lowland Thai cities.

Resources

For almost all of its recorded history, Wat Chan has been a center of paddy rice agriculture. Very little rice swiddening has been carried out in this area by any of the Karen people there. This is shown in the findings of a number of questions on access to land. None of the elders questioned grew swiddened rice. All grew paddy rice and as far as they recall in 1957, every household in the village had paddy land. During the last three decades, though a number of new crops, such as red kidney bean promoted by the King's Project have been introduced in Wat Chan. A number of others, such as cotton and various herbs and medicinal greens, (as well as some varieties of local glutinous rice), have been given up. The distance of Wat Chan from Chiang Mai has, according to some villagers, impeded the marketing of cash crops as has the King's Project regulation that produce they support be marketed through them.

No significant changes occurred between 1957 and 1987. Fallowed land here refers to land that could have been used agriculturally but was not. In about 1975, though, villagers were issued S.K. 1 deeds giving them some rights to the land which they farmed.

Table 5

Access to Land in Wat Chan

	1957		1987	
	HHs	Plots	HHs	Plots
Average Upland Rice Area	0	0.0	0	0.0
Average Paddy Rice Area	3	2.7	3	2.7
Number of Fallowed Fields	1	1.0	1	0.3

n = 3

There has been a rice mill in the village for 2-3 years creating a desire to consume polished rice. Although the traditional diet of Wat Chan Karens was sufficiently nutritious, there is little awareness of nutritional principles on the part of the Karens in Wat Chan.

Besides paddy land, there was ample forested land in which to expand if the villagers so intended or in which to hunt and forage. During the 1970s, however, access to land began to decline with the growth in population in Wat Chan and Teamegala and nearby settlements and the beginning of enforcement of rules on clearing forest reserves.

The decline in forest resources is shown in declines in the numbers of respondents gathering bamboo shoots from 3' thirty

years ago to none at present. A similar decline is also seen in those gathering food, medicine, and other items from the forest to none at present. Of course Wat Chan residents still gather some produce, including bamboo shoots but this decline in the questionnaire data points out accurately that there was a decline in forest resources. Number of people gathering, from virtually all village households to less than half was also noted. This decline negatively affected the people s nutrition, income gained from the sale of forest produce, availability of household supplies close at hand, and other aspects in the lives of Wat Chan people. A more detailed picture of the decline in forest produce follows, with specific reference to sources of protein.

Table 6

Hunted Sources of Wild Protein Consumed Monthly

	Large Animals*	Wild Fowl	Other*	Insects	Fresh Fish
Total Surveyed	3	3	3	3	3
Past	3	0	2	1	1
Present	0	0	1	0	0

*Large animals include wild boar, barking deer, as well as a variety of other large species.

*Other includes smaller wild game.

Data collected also showed that dried fish and canned fish consumption went up significantly during the last three decades.

This largely results from the increased access villagers have to outside markets. Although it was impossible to collect reliable data on how much pork was consumed 30 years ago and at present, there was a significant decline in the number of villagers selling pigs, showing that at least a greater proportion of those raised in the village were eaten. This most likely represents an attempt to maximize sources of food in the face of population growth and dwindling wild game in the forests.

Economy

From a traditionally subsistence economy in Wat Chan, the village has moved towards the adoption cash economy. The process, however, has been underway for at least three decades. By 1957, Karens were already buying cotton thread with which to weave their cloth. But within the last five years, when road improvements and government developments, brought more travelers through Wat Chan, a number of small shops/restaurants have opened in Wat Chan and the transition to a cash economy has accelerated. There are two such shops near the village temple where local produce, such as tomatos are bought and sold. From Chiang Mai comes canned fish, sweetened condensed milk, eggs, sweets, and other foodstuffs. Northern Thai noodles (Khanom Sen) and some rice dishes are prepared at lunch time as well. Also, Chiang Mai merchants have started coming to Wat Chan to hawk cloth from house to house here since the opening of the road. The King s Project, which has many projects in Wat Chan, has encouraged the cultivation of cash crops which it helps market, this bringing

(although there have been some snags in the process during the last 2-3 years) additional cash into the village. The income so derived helps replace income once gained from livestock sales and forest produce sales or exchanges in the past which have now dwindled. The remoteness of the village, in spite of the good new road (which, however, is not always passable in the rainy season), makes marketing difficult, particularly with perishable goods.

Belief Systems

Because of contact with both Christian and Buddhist proselytizers, the Karens of Wat Chan people were already in the process of modifying their belief systems from those characteristic of a traditional society to those more technological. The Buddhism in Wat Chan and the Christianity in Teamegala opened the eyes of the Karens in Wat Chan to new options in determining their future.

Christianity, in particular, threatened the base of Karen society. As a religion brought to Southeast Asia by Westerners (even though Karen missionaries popularized it in Teamegala), the focus of Christianity directly challenged many traditional practices, such as spirit worship, that Buddhism (which theoretically was opposed to also) had come to co-exist with because of its long presence in Thailand. Also, when the American Baptist Mission began working in Teamegala they introduced a variety of techniques, crop varieties, and attitudes quite different than from traditional ways in northern Thailand. Missionaries made much the same impact in other villages in the

study area (if not more so in Mae Yang Ha) and elsewhere in the country.

When Western medicines began reaching Wat Chan is difficult to estimate but surely by the early 20th century some were becoming popular. However, their scarcity and the inability of the Wat Chan people to get to Chiang Mai were they could obtain Western medicines precluded them from becoming too popular. As a result traditional healing rituals and techniques such as massage were largely still practiced in the 1950s. Certain health-related activities, such as family planning were probably unknown in Wat Chan before the missionaries came to Teamegala in the early-1950s.

But almost from the beginning of the study period, 1957, a continuing series of medicines and treatments became available to the villagers in Teamegala and Wat Chan. When the road to Mae Yang Ha was upgraded in 1958, and public health teams began going that far, the American Missionaries there began facilitating the availability of certain treatments in Wat Chan. Now Western medicine is the preferred treatment with all village families having been to the Public Health Station in nearby Huai Bong and some having been taken to hospitals in Chiang Mai.

Although the Karen Baptist Convention and the American Baptist missionaries had started educational programs including a school at Teamegala beginning in about 1960, an official school was first opened in the village in about 1973[1]. As elsewhere, the school provided a focus for innovative Thai-oriented changes reaching Wat Chan. Thai teachers came to live in the village and

the students began learning central Thai and about the outside world.

There is considerable evidence of Thai society in Wat Chan, a result of being on the road, having Thai King's Project officials, teachers, soldiers, and monks live there. Even a casual visitor to Wat Chan will notice, for example, children playing football at the school, almost all of the dwellings the are frame wooden houses, and there is a bunker built by the Thai army at the main junction in the village, which was declared a voluntary self-defense village some years ago.

Various modern conveniences are being found in the village. "Iron buffalos" help farmers plow and quite a few villagers have motorcycles. Women use sewing machines and there are quite a few radios there too.

Unlike the Karen Christians of Mae Yang Ha, the Karen Buddhists in Wat Chan could easily become "Thai" Buddhists. In fact, from all outside appearances except the occasional Karen woman wearing traditional costume, the place could be Thai. A Japanese anthropologist, Yoko Hayami Mino, who spent the better part of a year in a nearby Karen animist village, commented on this point, observing that Wat Chan has a completely different, "Thai" feel to it setting it off from the other Karen villages in the area. In this sense, Wat Chan, although lacking certain innovations seen in other study villages, is undergoing rapid change, a part of which could well be the eventual change of its ethnic identity in the coming decades.

Regardless of how the village's ethnicity changes, Wat Chan people are becoming better prepared to make the kinds of choices required of them in a "technological" society. They have access (in spite of their remoteness) to inputs on marketing and agricultural extension and know advantages and disadvantages of different courses of action. Although problems of addiction exist here, there have been no serious problems confronting them (like the mines in Mae Yang Ha), they have not learned to over-rely on outside advocates (like missionaries), and their evolution has been more natural. This should equip them as well as can be expected for future changes.

Mae Khapu Luang

Mae Khapu Luang is located about 5 kilometers to the west of Huai Nam Chang. The settlement area of the village is in a narrow east-west valley just over 1,000 meters in elevation with alluvial soils surrounded by steep hills reaching up to about 1,400 meters. Since opium was little cultivated in Mae Khapu Luang, the Land Development Department did not map the area resulting in inexact data on soil and slope. Land suitable for paddy appears to be less than 25 percent of the field space with the rest of the fields being over 16 percent slope. Except for the alluvial valley soils, soil types resemble those of Huai Nam Chang. Much of the area surrounding the village is steep, over 50 percent, and unsuitable for many cropping regimes.

When Karens from Mae Suk Tambon in Mae Chaem first arrived at Mae Khapu about one hundred years ago, they found a valley abandoned but for a few Lua survivors who became Karen and

hundreds of Lua circular grave sites. The name Mae Khapu comes from the Karen name, "Khapukee", or Betel Leaf Village. Thais added the word, "Mae", which means a river to which was added the Karen words "Khapu". "Luang" means "big", for a name that roughly means "Big Betel Leaf Stream Village". Mae Khapu Nua (North Mae Khapu) was the oldest site, followed by Mae Khapu Luang, Mae Khapu Nai, and Ban Piang.

These four villages are well connected in terms of marriage and lineage. Considerable intermigration and intermarriage link these four settlements also with groups of relatives frequently pulling down their houses in one place and putting them up elsewhere. Thirty years ago, for example, Mae Khapu Luang had 30 households. After quite a bit of outmigration, population growth was not sufficient to make it greater now than it was before; at present there are only 21 households. Overall, according to the village headman,the population in this valley has tripled. Ban Piang has grown from about 5 households in the late 1950s to 32 at present. Overall, the number of households has almost doubled, but the relative population between different villages has changed in different ways.

Government

Even though remote, the four villages in the Mae Khapu valley were counted as one of Bo Kaeo Tambon's Mu, which also included Huai Nam Chang. In about 1970, Huai Nam Chang became Mu 6, separating from the Karens in Mu 3. There have been three

Table 7

Population Change of Mae Khapu Villages, 1958-1988
(Number of Households)

	1958	1988
Mae Khapu Luang	30	21
Mae Khapu Nua	10	29
Mae Khapu Nai	11	17
Ban Piang	5	32
TOTAL	56	99

village headman since about 1960. Paw Chi then turned over the duties of headman to his son who was elected in 1986 and remains the headman at present. The headmen assisted villagers in obtaining S.K. certificates for their paddy land, apparently in the 1960s.

Table 8

Recent Headmen of Mae Khapu

Ko Phaw Di	1960-1975
Paw Chi	1975-1986
Nan Loe Paw	1986-present

Perhaps one of the attractions to the Karens who settled here was the availability of paddy land in an out of the way

location. There was so much paddy that only a small amount of swiddening was carried out at first. Trade routes skirt the little valley of this village and even the Karen evangelists who seem to have visited many Karen sites throughout the area, only rarely came here. They were persistent enough though to win at least two households as converts, one of which moved to Mae Yang Ha about thirty years ago.

Mae Khapu Luang although now clearly changing in many ways, was the most remote and untouched villages in the seven sites studied. Thirty years ago, this area was if anything, more inhabited by wild game than Bo Kaeo; there is still more wild game around Mae Khapu than near Huai Nam Chang, Pa Kia Nai, or Mae Yang Ha.

Isolated or not, though, the people of Mae Khapu Luang had to trade for salt and other necessities. For this they followed the same trade patterns as the Karens of Mae Khapu and traveled regularly to the market town of Ban Kat. This pattern changed at about the same time as it did for the Mae Yang Ha people, about 30 years with the construction of the road into Bo Kaeo when the villagers changed to doing their marketing and trading first at the Chaichit store in Samoeng and then at the market center near the mines.

Besides items such as salt, however, this village was self-sufficient until the last couple of decades. The villagers grew mostly paddy but some swidden rice as well as quite a few other crops in their swiddens. They raised cotton to make their own cloth, made use of forest produce for pharmaceutical

preparations, and built their houses from bamboo and other locally available materials. Very little cash circulated in the village and the residents only rarely engaged in wage work. Were it not for access to Western medicines in the 20th century, which seem to have significantly reduced mortality, allowing the population to increase beyond the carrying capacity of the local environment, the people here could have existed indefinitely. Mae Khapu Luang in its isolated valley was the most remote village examined in this study. Although physically nearer to Thai centers than Wat Chan or Mae Chon, Mae Khapu Luang still has had the least contacts with the outside world.

Table 9

Access to Land in Mae Khapu Luang

	1957		1987	
	HHs	Plots	HHs	Plots
Average Upland Rice Area	3	3.0	2	2.0
Average Paddy Rice Area (plots)	4	2.5	3	2.0
Number of Fallowed Fields (plots)	1	1.0	1	1.0

n = 5

Changes in access to land relate to the increase in Mae Khapu's population. Besides the slight decline indicated above, there has also been division of existing plots into even smaller plots as the older generation passes on its holdings to the

younger generation. Even though the situation in the above table seems tolerable, the average amount of riceland, both paddy and swiddened, has declined sharply so that many must buy rice every year.

Changes in the collection of forest produce by Mae Khapu Luang villagers differed from other villages studied. Those who collected food rose from none in 1957 to 3 at present. According to discussions with the villagers, the rise apparently resulted from declining rice yields necessitating new sources of food. Those who collected medicine and other products declined, though, from 5 thirty years ago to none at present. A number of the younger village households still gather medicinal herbs, though. Until 1986, villagers also stripped oak trees of their bark for sale; there is almost no more bark on oak trees and the practice has been abandoned. In the Bo Kaeo area, Mae Khapu Luang has the most extensive forest cover and this remains a source of produce for village foragers.

The patterns for hunting wild game and insects remained essentially the same as elsewhere. The number of respondents who ate large game monthly has declined considerably in the last 30 years, the villagers considering the chance of bagging deer or wild boar too slight for the time spent to do so. However, as elsewhere, because of the "food vehicles" the amount of fresh, dried, and canned fish consumed has gradually increased and may eventually actually compensate for what was lost because of the absence of wild game if the villagers can earn sufficient cash.

Table 10

Hunted Sources of Wild Protein Consumed Monthly

	Large Animals*	Wild Fowl	Other*	Insects	Fresh Fish
Total Surveyed	5	5	5	5	5
Past	5	0	0	1	0
Present	1	0	0	0	2

*Large animals include wild boar, barking deer, as well as a variety of other large species.

*Other includes smaller wild game.

The relative remoteness of Mae Khapu Luang has insulated the village from many changes, such as in the use of livestock. Buffalo and cattle are still used in much the same way as before in paddy agriculture and pigs and chickens are raised primarily for home consumption, although the limited sale of pigs thirty years ago has declined slightly. Buffalos and steer (and cows if not good breeders) are sold to merchants who walk from Ban Kat (the link has not been severed completely) who walk the animals for sale at the buffalo market in San Pa Tong. From being worth up to 500 baht before 1960, the best buffalos today bring up to 10,000 baht while steers 2,000-3,000 baht. Thirty years ago, Karen bronze drums were also work about 500 baht; none exist in the village at present, however. There are still two elephants owned by villagers; thirty years ago they usually were taken to

work for logging companies in Mae Sariang. Changing times and declining forests have caused the village elephants to be taken for work at tourist shows near Mae Sa waterfall or in Mae Taeng, earning about 3,000 per month. If they work the elephants by themselves, they can derive over 5,000 baht in a month.

Cropping patterns have change somewhat more, though. Forest restrictions have limited opportunities to increase swiddening, thus reducing the variety of crops cultivated in the village as well as the number of different rice strains. There is no additional space for growing paddy (at least without a major terracing construction project); the only means at hand for the villagers to increase food production (besides gathering more from the forest) is cultivating cash crops. Since the start of the Thai-Norwegian Church Aid Highland Development Project, to which the villagers seem to responding enthusiastically, appropriate cash crop inputs have been made and villagers are now growing beans, cabbage, and other marketable goods. Still their orientation is towards increasing rice production. A Non-formal Education Center survey revealed that interest in fruit tree cultivation was much lower than upgrading rice production. (Non-formal Education Department 1986, p. 56). The poor road into the village impedes interest in fruit trees but the fact that other cash crops are now grown indicates a new trend in this village.

Economy

Of all the villages surveyed, Mae Khapu Luang has the least amount of cash in circulation, both in the past and at present. Very little traditional produce and little of the newly raised

cash crops have yet been sold to outside markets and traders from elsewhere hardly ever come to this village. As elsewhere, this has been exacerbated by the decline of forest produce (essentially all of the increase in food gathered is consumed. For a few years, until 1986, villagers stripped oak trees of their bark and sold it to others who made dyes and other produce from it. That activity ceased when there were no more oak trees to strip. Another source of income since about 1980 has been working in the mines just over the hill, about 5 kilometers away.

The newly completed dry weather road into the village will change this, but not before some years pass. There was a small store in this valley but it went out of business. Similarly, a cooperative store at the school was run for a couple of years before it was given up. Villagers wanting supplies go to Huai Nam Chang or to the market at Bo Kaeo.

Belief Systems

The four villages in the Mae Khapu valley were not so remote either that Christian evangelists could not find it. A number of the villagers converted to Christianity but managed to continue living here. The fact that 30 years ago a Christian family from Mae Khapu felt compelled to leave while one at present does not, indicates considerable social change. As in all the villages studied, the belief in spirits and their power has declined. Many prohibitions the people once believed that the spirits called for have been violated so often that the people have concluded that they are not so fearsome as once thought.

Still, of the three Karen villages examined (and in spite of werebears in Wat Chan), spirit belief remains the strongest in Mae Khapu. One sign is the prevalence of bamboo houses here; another is the continuation of spirit ceremonies.

Karens here, as in Mae Yang Ha and in Wat Chan, said that times were better for them than they were previously, although their certainly lamented the degradation of the forest and other changes that impinged on them. They also pointed out that, unlike before, in times of trouble, they could seek relief from the government and their chances of encountering catastrophe were quite lower. Lots of less serious, but significant complaints (like the absence of wild game) nonetheless depressed them.

Thai influences include the Thammacharik program which established a temple in the village in about 1978 and the mostly northern Thai monks who come to stay here come into frequent contact with the villagers. At about that time, a government primary school was established next to the temple by the Samoeng Primary Education Office. Interest is high, but in 1984, they complained that the teaching staff was not present often enough. The Chiang Mai Province Non-formal Education Office has also established a highland community education center at Mae Khapu Luang. As a result, this area has become the focal point in the village (nearby is the TN-HDP Station headquarters and a Public Health Station) where meetings and celebrations frequently take place.

As in the other Karen villages, the Karens of Mae Khapu Luang exhibit a positive attitude towards official government

activities. All villagers are Thai citizens and during the July election, for example, the voter turnout here was well over 90 percent.

Most villagers prefer to visit the Public Health Station when sick, although some villagers still make use of conventional cures on occasion. The belief that spirits can cause disease has declined although villagers still contend diseases of this kind occur and that the Public Health Station is of no use when they do.

Beyond just visiting a clinic when sick, a study of Karens in Mae Chaem and Samoeng Districts, including Mae Khapu Luang, showed that most Karens participate in preventative medicine as well. Over 70 percent of Karen children under 5 years old in the study area of this project (Somphong and Pat n.d. [ca. 1986], p. 18) had received BCG vaccinations, although there was virtually no immunization against measles, DPT, or polio. It is impossible to say how far from the norm Mae Khapu Luang was but there are many villages more remote than Mae Khapu in Mae Chaem District that were studied in this project where the percentage could easily be lower. Similarly, in Mae Yang Ha the compliance rate ought to be higher.

Of the three study villages that are Karen, "Karenness" is strongest in Mae Khapu Luang. Karen dress is worn here more than elsewhere, traditional Karen religion is strongest in Mae Khapu Luang, and the area has the least goods brought in from the outside. As long as the road remains as difficult to traverse as it is, this situation is likely to endure.

As such, this village has proceeded the least towards Berger's "technological society". The arrival of the Thai-Norwegian Project at the start of its increased contacts with the outside world gave it an excellent introduction to strategies for coping with the new conditions confronting the Karens here. Still, there are failures. A number of villagers are still addicted to opium (a couple after being detoxified three times), and many have not yet generated any significant income from cash crops. The question in this village is whether the continuing desire by many to escape (if the deep woods offer no refuge than into opium) will keep them from taking advantage of the opportunities afforded them by the Thai-Norwegian Project.

Although no other Karen animist villages were studied, there are many in the Thai-Norwegian Project Area that appear to be facing a similar future. Their success in dealing with the outside world that is ever coming closer remains questionable.

Huai Nam Chang

Huai Nam Chang is a White Hmong village located in Bo Kaeo District, on steep hills at an elevation of about 1,400-1,500 meters, about 4 kilometers to the west and above the tin mines. The name is Thai. Huai means "stream" and Nam Chang refers to "fresh water"; the name thus could be translated as "Fresh Water Stream Village". Soils are mainly red-brown lateritic loams or sandy loams with slopes in some areas exceeding 60 percent, the steepest areas being very rocky. A Land Development Department survey of Huai Nam Chang for the Thai-Norwegian Church Aid Highland Development Project found that about 30 percent of the

lands used as fields was 60 percent slope or more and that approximately another 50 percent of the fields were between 35 and 60 percent. Because of population growth among the Hmong and because of its closeness to the boundary of Samoeng District, in which all of the village land must officially lie, the village officially has only limited agricultural land; its 2,200 rai are only about one quarter of the nearby Hmong village of Pa Kia Nai.

There are other Hmong villages in the Huai Nam Chang area: Huai Nam Chang, Huai Hoi, Mon Ya Nua, Mon Ya Klang, and Mon Ya Tai in Mae Win Tambon, San Pa Tong District (since only Huai Nam Chang is in Samoeng District to which the Thai-Norwegian Mon Ya Project Area is limited, it is the only of these villages under TN-HDP). The Hmong there look at all of these villages as a unit since they cooperate in many activities, are connected by many lineal and marriage ties, and are further linked by villagers frequently having moved from one to the other. A number of Karen villages are located further from Huai Nam Chang, including the settlements in the Mae Khapu valley a couple of kilometers to the west. As in other villages in the Bo Kaeo area, before 1960, the villagers traveled to Ban Kat in San Pa Tong District to obtain necessities and other supplies. This of course changed with the coming of the mines and building of the road to Mae Rim. As with the Pa Kluai Hmong, the residents of Huai Nam Chang had enough cash income to make themselves financially secure.

According to Tapp (1985, pp. 31-32), who studied Huai Nam Chang, the residents of this village are descendants of the first groups of Hmong who entered Thailand, coming in near Chiang Khong

on the Mekong River over a century ago. From here, generally in single-clan groups they moved westward into Chiang Mai Province, almost always settling in the highlands where opium cultivation could be carried out. Some other residents parents, though, lived at least some of their lives in China. Many of the villagers settled in the village cluster in about 1945, several years before the mining at Bo Kaeo began. According to one village leader, in 1956, there were three houses in Huai Nam Chang itself. Immediate previous residences for Huai Nam Chang people are in Mae Taeng and on the Mae Lao River in Chiang Rai Province.

Although the Huai Nam Chang villagers have lived in the Bo Kaeo area for quite some time, unlike the Karen in the same locale, none of the villagers have ever engaged in tin mining. Furthermore, since they live on the hills above the mining area and never conducted paddy farming in the valley bottoms flooded by mine runoff, they have not run into the same conflicts with the mine owners.

Because of their higher economic status than the Karens around Bo Kaeo, the Hmong did not have to work for the mining companies. It has been occasionally observed that Hmong, unlike the Karens, are a very proud people who disdain working for others. This so-called trait, though, probably relates to economic status also since during the 19th century, when Karens were more well-to-do, they also were unwilling to work as hired hands. Now that they are poorer, this sort of work has become acceptable. The same may well be true for the Hmong. Aside from

visiting the stores around the mines, and making use of the roads built in and around the mines, it is almost as if the Hmong live a world apart from them. This sets them quite apart from the situation of the Karens in Mae Yang Ha for whom the mines have made a considerable impact on their traditional way of life.

Resources

Table 11

Access to Land in Huai Nam Chang

	1957		1987	
	HHs	Plots	HHs	Plots
Average Upland Rice Area	6	9.0	5	7.0
Average Paddy Rice Area (plots)	0	0.0	1	2.0
Number of Fallowed Fields (plots)	5	5.0	2	2.0

n = 8

As elsewhere in the study area, the Hmong of Huai Nam Chang have less land per capita on which to grow crops than before. A number of families (one in the sample) even resorted to terracing rice fields for their own use. However, because of the steeply sloping land surrounding the village little if any more land can be so worked.

The decline in forest produce gathered by residents of the other study villages also occurred in Huai Nam Chang. Apparently only very little bamboo shoots were gathered but fruit gathering,

formerly engaged in by 6 respondents in 1957 had been totally abandoned. Other forest foods gathered declined from 5 three decades ago to 1 at present. This reflects the same constraints on the Hmong of Huai Nam Chang as it does on other villages near Kaeo: more people, less forest, and consequently less forest produce. This negatively affected the people's nutrition and other aspects of their lives. The pattern shown in the table resembles that elsewhere, with declines in hunted game and insects and increases in fresh fruit, this a result of contacts with outside markets. As elsewhere, there was an increase in canned fish (available from the stores in Bo Kaeo), the amount of dried fish consumption stayed the same.

Table 11

Hunted Sources of Wild Protein Consumed Monthly

	Large Animals*	Wild Fowl	Other*	Insects	Fresh Fish
Total Surveyed	8	8	8	8	8
Past	6	0	1	1	0
Present	0	0	0	0	4

* Large animals include wild boar, barking deer, as well as a variety of other large species.

* Other includes smaller wild game.

The decrease in forests surrounding the village had a smaller impact on livestock here than elsewhere. Buffalo were

not raised in Huai Nam Chang in the 1950s, and the number of respondents raising cattle, virtually all for sale, has remained the same. Even thirty years ago the Hmong here prepared cattle feed; since the cattle did not depend on grazing, the loss of forest land has not made raising them more difficult. Similarly, there was no change in the use of pigs; all were eaten in the 1950s and all are raised for food now.

Cropping systems have changed in much the same way as elsewhere (see section on Pa Kluai) except for the fact that rather less opium was grown beforehand and rather fewer cash crops are cultivated at present. A number of traditionally cultivated crops, such as hemp, have been abandoned while some newer ones, almost inevitably cash crops have been adopted. Very few grow cotton anymore; most buy yarn and weave cloth themselves. Villagers are considerably interested in methods of growing fruit trees.

During the past 30 years, the Hmong's diet has changed to include polished rice ("too much trouble" to pound it themselves) and more sweets, the latter mostly for the children. Increased iodine has entered their diets because, while they say they used to have goiters, they do not at present have any serious cases in the village.

Economy

As in other Hmong opium cultivation centers, there was formerly considerable exchange of cash in the Huai Nam Chang area. Since the cessation of opium cultivation as well as in the forest produce available, this has declined, as indicated by the

small size of the stores in the village. About 30 percent of the stock in the store was sweets. Other items included soap, fried pork rind (khaep mu), whiskey, sweetened condensed milk, toothbrushes, dried noodles, and canned fish. About the same size as the stores in Pa Kluai, the Huai Nam Chang establishments are larger than those in Wat Chan. Other indications of lack of growth in the local economy is the absence of two-storey Thai-style houses in the village although villagers said they would build them if they could. A negative sign of this lack of growth is the fact that none of the villagers raise pigs for sale; presumably the need for pigs as a food source outweighs the cash income their sale would generate.

Cropping patterns have, however, changed considerably. From one of near self-sufficiency plus opium the village has now come to an economy based on cash crops and the purchase of other produce. Items such as hemp (grown for making cloth and rope) and various dyestuffs have stopped being cultivated with inexpensive (but not always satisfactory) substitutes available in the market.

Belief Systems

As in the Karen villages described above, changes in the Hmong system of belief have been profound. Belief in traditional systems have been eroded. Even were spirit beliefs were maintained, modifications were made. Thus, the villagers told that if a snake entered their house this was a bad omen that the village shaman had to exorcise. However, a monk from the

Buddhist temple at Bo Kaeo could also do this but perhaps only at one year intervals. The latter, probably not an option to Hmong thirty years ago and definitely not an option at the beginning of this century indicates that the Hmong are adapting their systems to life in changing Thailand. Indicative also of this was the contention that if someone in the village built a two-storey house (which on one has done in fact), the spirits would not be angry.

Unlike Karens, they contend also that if someone does not believe in spirits, the spirits can still cause harm him although exceptionally self-confident individuals were likely to escape without much harm. Older people were likely to have more confidence than those younger than them who might have little faith. Similarly, if one took Western medicine without having any faith in it, that person could easily not be cured. Furthermore, when non-believers perform the appropriate rituals, good may result from them.

They continue patronizing spirit doctors in the village but also recognize the power of Western medicine. Tapp 1985, pp. 231-256) relates an account occurring in one of the villages in the cluster he studied (which included Huai Nam Chang) of a Hmong Christian attempting to convert the rest of the village to his religion because, primarily, of the failings of traditional Hmong healing systems, an effort that ended only when that man was mysteriously murdered. Tapp tells also that one village shaman destroyed the tools he used in healing ceremonies, so disillusioned was he in their effectiveness. Most villagers go

to the Public Health Station at Bo Kaeo when they are sick; almost all buy medicine in Chiang Mai and elsewhere for a variety of ailments. This may well be a factor in the higher child survival they report; many in the older generation lost several children, frequently to diarrhea; now almost all survive.

Most of the village children attend primary school in Bo Kaeo while in Huai Nam Chang, programs are run by the Hill Areas Education Project of the Northern Region Non-formal Education Center. All of these help orient the villagers towards adapting to life in Thailand while also providing information and various techniques useful for living in this country.

Rather like the Karen animists, the White Hmong of Huai Nam Chang will be Hmong for a long time in the future. Although accepting the possibility of assimilation both into and out of Hmong life, the villagers told that there were no cases of either since the villagers came to live here.

When Huai Nam Chang, partly because of its being in the Thai-Norwegian Church Aid Highland Development Project area, was singled out for forceful opium suppression, the villagers responded by growing about 150 rai of opium, mostly all on the other side of the hill in Mae Chaem and San Pa Tong Districts. When this is no longer an option, and given the flexibility of the Hmong here, one can expect a rapid adoption of cash crops as in other Hmong villages like Pa Kia Nai or Pa Kluai.

The Hmong have been operating in a cash economy for several decades and are now quite equipped to make decisions on their own. What is needed to insure their continued economic growth is

technical assistance for specific problems. They have quite well made the transition to "technological society" even though their village appears little different than three decades ago in terms of the buildings there (except for the metal roofs).

Pa Kia Nai

The Green Hmong village of Pa Kia Nai is located adjacent and to the west of Mae Yang Ha but with fields extending from paddy at about 1,200 meters into steep hills about 1,700 meters high overlooking the Bo Kaeo Valley. The name is Thai, Pa meaning "forest" and Kia referring to a kind of pine full of pitch. Some of the residents call the place "Chong Thu", which means "Kia Mountain." "Nai" is a Thai word meaning "inner", to differentiate the village from Pa Kia Nok (Outer Pa Kia), a nearby Karen village which is in the same mu as Pa Kia Nai. About 30 percent of the village fields have slopes steeper than 60 percent while another 30 percent have slopes between 35 and 60 percent. Although on much steeper ground than Mae Yang Ha, Pa Kia Nai is less steep than other Hmong villages studied, like Pa Kluai and Huai Nam Chang. Pa Kia Nai is the only Hmong village in the immediate area, its neighbors being Karen villages and the Bo Kaeo mines. Because the Hmong of Pa Kia Nai came here before other Hmong and because of the availability of high steeply sloped land to the west of Bo Kaeo which was suitable for opium cultivation, Pa Kia Nai has about 9,000 rai of agricultural land in the village, significantly more than other villages nearby.

As with the other Hmong villages, the residents of Pa Kia Nai carried out several changes of residence before reaching

Samoeng District. These people, unlike those of Huai Nam Chang, seem to have come or are descended from those coming from China more recently with some villagers themselves having been born there. One 71 year old man's mobility history is as follows:

Table 13

One Pa Kia Nai Elder's Mobility History, 1917 to Present

Born, 1917, in	Kengtung, British Burma
1917-1919,	Kengtung, British Burma
1919-1928,	Doi Chang, Chiang Rai
1928-1937,	Doi Pae, Fang, Chiang Mai
1937-1946,	Nong Hoi, Mae Rim, Chiang Mai
1946-1967,	Huai Sai Khao, Samoeng, Chiang Mai
1967-1970,	Huai Ton Phung, Samoeng, Chiang Mai
1970-present,	Pa Kia Nai, Samoeng, Chiang Mai

Some of the older resident Hmong, such as this man, have lived in the area of Pa Kia Nai for well over thirty years but only settled in Pa Kia Nai itself about two decades ago. Two villages that served as intermediate stops enroute to Pa Kia Nai are Ton Phung Village and Mae Chae Luang (also known as Huai Sai Khao) Village in Mae Nachon Tambon of Mae Chaem District. Many older villagers and quite a few ancestors of younger ones settled in Mae Chae in about 1940 and some Hmong are still there. Ton Phoeng was settled by some from Mae Chae Luang and some from elsewhere in about 1970 At just about that time, and at the

invitation of His Majesty the King, most of the Hmong moved (a few stayed behind while some migrated elsewhere) to the site of Pa Kia Nai. Almost immediately after moving into the present location, a road was completed into the village bring the villagers into easy contact with the outside world, through Samoeng to Mae Rim and Chiang Mai.

Pa Kia Nai, since its inception has been part of a larger mu, with the adjacent Karen village of Pa Kia Nok. The village leader, Tsong Fua, was an Assistant Headman of this mu from 1974 until 1976. Then, apparently after some kind of misunderstanding with the Karens, there was no official Hmong Assistant Headman until 1985 although Tsong Fua continued as the village leader. From that year until the present, Tsong Fua has been an Assistant Headman again. Villagers contend that dealings with Thais are more amiable at present than before, particularly before they came to this site; to hear them tell it, Thai officials in the 1960s came only to demand services as guides, for ponies, opium, and forest produce. This they say has essentially changed.

Resources

While living at Mae Chae Luang, the Hmong were primarily opium cultivators but grew rice too. For necessities, they traded with outsiders, following generally the same patterns as did the residents of Mae Yang Ha. Unlike the Karens from Mae Yang Ha, the Pa Kia Nai Hmong had more cash and more awareness of the exchange of money. None of them, as with the people of Huai Nam Chang, worked in the mines. One export item for the Hmong,

apparently not utilized by the Karen was the "wild" tea on the hill to the west of the village. This tea was collected and sold for about 10 baht a kilogram to a Yunnanese Chinese, a trade pattern enduring until about 1968. Another export item was cattle. Before, when there was more open grassland and cattle had plenty of grazing room, Bo Kaeo was known as a place to buy cattle. Northern Thais came in groups from Chiang Mai and Samoeng to purchase cattle here. However, with the upgrading of the road to Bo Kaeo, the coming of the mines which brought many more people into the area and forced many of the Karen to open new areas for cultivation, and a general rise in population, there was, starting in the 1960s insufficient room to raise cattle as before. A few are still kept, raised in corrals in the hills, but this is no longer a major item of trade.

Table 14

Access to Land in Pa Kia Nai

	1957		1987	
	HHs	Plots	HHs	Plots
Average Upland Rice Area	8	8.0	5	5.0
Average Paddy Rice Area (plots)	17	20.0	17	18.0
Number of Fallowed Fields (plots)	2	2.0	1	1.0

n = 17

In terms of paddy fields, the Hmong of Pa Kia Nai are the richest in the study area, having more fields than even the

Karens in Wat Chan. Although declining slightly, they still have ample agricultural land.

This is fortunate because the decline of forest resources in the Bo Kaeo forests has probably been nowhere more obvious than in Pa Kia Nai. Fruit gathering, engaged in by 5 respondents in 1957, was no longer carried out by any of them. And whereas 6 respondents had formerly collected other types of forest food, none did so at present. As shall be seen, though, the residents of this village have been successful in finding substitutes for what was once gathered and for the income derived from forest gathering. In one case, even when the resource remained, it was no longer an item of trade; the "wild" tea growing on the hill above Pa Kia Nai which had been sold for 10 baht a kilogram to merchants who came into the village has not been marketed since about twenty years ago. According to villagers, the lowland merchants who had bought the tea, are now purchasing supplies of more highly-prized tea from modern factories in Chiang Mai Province. As in the other study villages, the decline in the availability of forest produce was offset to some extent by the growing availability of fresh, canned and dried fish to an increasing number of villagers.

The decline in forested land around Bo Kaeo has all but eliminated a secondary source of income by the Hmong of Pa Kia Nai in raising steers for sale to Thais from Chiang Mai and Samoeng who came in groups to purchase them. Perhaps two villagers still raise cattle (but not steers), keeping and feeding them in small corrals in the hills. Pig raising, as in

Table 15

Hunted Sources of Wild Protein Consumed Monthly

	Large Animals*	Wild Fowl	Other*	Insects	Fresh Fish
Total Surveyed	15	15	15	15	15
Past	15	0	1	0	1
Present	2	0	0	0	6

* Large animals include wild boar, barking deer, as well as a variety of other large species.

* Other includes smaller wild game.

the other Hmong villages is still almost entirely for home consumption.

Cropping patterns have changed here as everywhere else studied. The traditional economy of self-sufficience plus opium has changed. The village, as the stores there and the fresh fish consumed by villagers indicate is now less self-sufficient than before. Opium, although as much as 100 rai were cultivated as late as 1986, may finally begun to have been abandoned in the last year. The villagers have begun growing other crops, from peaches (which was started about 10 years ago) to coffee and Red Kidney beans. A considerable amount of cash is still entering the village; indeed the village store has grown just during the study period indicating that the villagers have money to spend.

In about 1978, a villager obtained a rice mill, which was perhaps the first step in the people of Pa Kia Nai developing a taste for polished rice. Much of this rice is grown by the villagers themselves who have over 200 rai of paddy fields, the most of any village in the Bo Kaeo area. Their children are also eating more sweets and Western soft drinks are now available here too. How this affects their nutrition cannot be stated; very few if any obvious indicators of nutritional deficiencies were observed but the increased consumption of sweets and polished rice cannot be entirely beneficial.

Economy

The continuation of opium cultivation in Pa Kia Nai longer than the other study villages, the existence of an all-weather road to the village, and the active trade in non-opium products by villagers all show what appears to be a thriving economy, perhaps the strongest of the villages studied. Two storey partially concrete houses, pick-up trucks, and quite a few shops (including a barber shop) all evidence cash in the village. Although the 10 village shops attract Karens from Pa Kia Nok and Mae Yang Ha, their main customers are from Pa Kia Nai. One shop, run by a Yunnanese Chinese from Mae Salong in Chiang Rai Province, has many goods for sale including several kinds of hand soap and detergent, foodstuffs, insecticides, medicine, batteries, soft drinks, beer, whiskey, motorcycle parts, cloth, hats, sneakers, rubber gloves (for wearing while applying insecticide but no masks), and various other goods. In another store, a bag of opium seed, perhaps for eating, was noted.

The villagers are tied into a marketing network that facilitates the sale of local products such as peaches and Hmong handicrafts. The villagers that can participate in these sales can thus extra income.

The nine pick-up trucks in the village are mainly used for carrying goods to the markets in Mae Rim and in Chiang Mai. A few horses, the traditional Hmong conveyance for goods to market, are still raised but probably will not be for too much longer. As in Pa Kluai the concrete and semi-concrete houses two-storey houses indicate that the residents foresee no village level moves in the future. Although individuals may emigrate they feel sufficiently secure that they invest in building house structures that can be sold in the future.

Not all the villagers own pick-ups or two-storey houses with metal roofs. That in itself points to growing divisions in Hmong society at Pa Kia Nai. Although to conclude that the village has developed classes would be too strong, definite differences in income, and lifestyle, are entering life here more than in Huai Nam Chang (or Mae Chon). How this affects conditions in the future remains to be seen.

Belief Systems

Soon after His Majesty convinced the Hmong to come down from Mae Chae and Ton Phung to live in Pa Kia Nai, Border Patrol Police School No. 92 was established there. Five years later, in a project headed by H.R.H. the Princess Mother, the school was enlargened and named Rappaport School named after the principal

donor. Unlike the other Hmong study villages where there is considerable interest in a Thai education, Pa Kia Nai faces a truancy problem of about 20 percent, supported no doubt by the children s parents lack of confidence in a Thai education. Surely the economic success of the Hmong here (probably the highest of the villages studied), the ability of the villagers to build two storey houses and to buy pick-up trucks, as well as the variety of goods in the stores is a factor in their doubting the value of a Thai education for their children. Still the effects of the Thai educational system are apparent with children playing football and other non-Hmong games after school, speaking Thai out of school, and coming to understand the Thai nation.

This uncertainty about the value of schooling is not true for modern medicine. Various pharmaceuticals are for sale in the village while many villagers go to Bo Kaeo or even Suan Dok Hospital in Chiang Mai city for treatment. As in Huai Nam Chang, they have come to see the traditional Hmong shamanistic cures as outdated and not as efficient as those from the outside.

Although one family has become a Seventh Day Adventist Christian in Pa Kia Nai, there has been no village-wide brush with mass conversion such as related by Tapp. As in other tribal areas, the villagers look at Christianity pragmatically. Christians, it is observed do not have to kill animals for sacrifices (indeed Adventists do not eat pork at all) nor do they have to consult Feng Shui in selecting burial sites. Still, most villagers contentment with following their traditional religion remained and only this one family had converted. Spirit

belief, though, has declined which is consistent with the increase in their recognition of the efficacy of modern medicine.

As in all the villages, the residents of Pa Kia Nai contended that times now are better than before. They observed, in particular, that the present site of their village was more muan (fun, pleasant) than at Mae Chae which was beyond the reach of motor vehicles. The Hmong here said that life was more "convenient" and that a lot of traditional drudgery (such as pounding rice or walking long distances to market) were things of the past. Given the material success of this village, unlike the Karens who seem to have been partly putting up a brave front, the Hmong here might well be sincere in their convictions. As in Huai Nam Chang, the Hmong accept the possibility of assimilation of non-Hmong into Hmong life and vice-versa but there have been no cases of either. From what the villagers say, there will be none for many years to come.

Until last year, when the amount of opium cultivation declined, Pa Kia Nai villagers enjoyed the best of both worlds: continued opium cultivation (about 600 rai in 1986) while receiving many inputs for cash crops. Besides this, they have extensive paddy fields. It is hardly surprising that the truancy rate is high. Obviously these people are well into Berger's "technological" society. When their opium cultivation declines, as it appears to have begun to do so, they will continue to thrive, although a few years may be needed before they can generate the income they have grown accustomed to.

Pa Kluai

The history of the White Hmong community of Pa Kluai has been traced back to the 1930s, when it moved to a site at about 2,000 meters roughly two hours walk northward of the community's present location at Pa Kluai village, Mae Soi Tambon, Chom Thong District. For all of this time, this community has been at least a day's walk from other Hmong villages, the nearest seeming to be Khun Klang on the eastern slope of Doi Inthanon, north of Huai Menao Gow. This old site was located near a number of Karen villages, one of which was named Huai Menao. Since Hmong villages occasionally take their names from nearby Thai settlements or natural features it is not surprising that this group of Hmong settlers took Huai Menao as the name of its village. In Cooper's study of this village (and since when it had moved to its new site it did not yet have the name Pa Kluai, calling itself Huai Menao still), he terms it Huai Menao Gow (Old Huai Menao). He calls the present site "Huai Menao" but it is indeed Pa Kluai. Binney also studied this community at this site, but he called it "Ban Khae". "Ban" means village and "Khae" is a northern Thai word meaning "Hmong". Before the villagers moved to the present site, a number of the Hmong families were cultivating opium at the present location.

The village is on a ridge 1,500-1,600 meters in elevation which on the south side drops into the Mae Soi, a tributary of the Ping River. Before a road was completed to the village in about 1985, was reached only after an all day walk from Ban Nong Ap Chang, about 10 kilometers south of Chom Thong District. Land

surrounding the village is quite steep. This route was and remains the community's main trading link with the outside world. Since the villagers moved into this area after Karens had already been the area, and also because it is located on steep land, the amount of agricultural land in the village is smaller than other Hmong villages in this study. Out of 3,000 total rai in the village, 20 percent is on a slope over 60 percent and another 35 percent is on a 35-60 percent slope. Soils vary, from red-brown latosols to sandy loams.

Cooper believes that Huai Menao Gow was originally a single-clan settlement with only the Yang living there. At some time after the establishment of Huai Menao Gow, a Wang family moved in, from which is descended almost all the Wang in Huai Menao Gow when it moved to the Pa Kluai site. After arriving at Pa Kluai, there has been a continual stream of new settlers, from China, Samoeng, Mae Tho (Meto), Mae Taeng and elsewhere so that the present population of Pa Kluai is almost twice what it was in the early 1970s (Cooper, pp. 49, 64-65). The Hmong have grown opium in this area since before World War II.

In about 1960, there were approximately fifteen households in Huai Menao Gow. According to Cooper, three families moved to live near their opium fields in the area of what is now Pa Kluai. Eventually nine more families from the original village moved to the new site and three families migrated elsewhere. By the time Binney made his study in 1966, there were 27 Hmong households plus two northern Thai and one Yunnanese Chinese (married to a Hmong woman) for a total of 30 in the village. Of the Hmong, 15

were in the Yang clan and 12 were in the Wang clan (Binney 1968, pp. 23-24). When Cooper conducted his field work in 1974, the village composition was essentially the same. There were still 15 Yang households but one of the Wang households had moved out, leaving a total of 11. There was, however, an addition of one Li family (Cooper 1984, p. 34). The figures for total population, however, declined from a total of 270 in 1966 to 211 in 1974. This discrepancy may relate to different standards of counting household members. Also, there may well have been difficulties in supporting some of the largest households (up to 20 when Binney made his survey) in the Pa Kluai area where resources seem to have been more restricted. The decline around 1984 represents out-migration after opium cultivation was restricted.

For the purpose of this survey, the baseline data of 30 years ago was modified somewhat in this study to represent 1960, when the villagers first settled in this area. This allows for a more consistent comparison of change between the residents of this site and does not introduce new variables relative to different village sites into the study.

As in Pa Kia Nai, the Thai government recognizes the village leader as the headman. However, in about 1965, according to Binney (1968, p. 355), a man was proposed as the leader to the Thai government who was not the actual head of the village. This was to avoid the Thai-recognized leader from having to deal with too many contradictions, such as supporting opium cultivation in the village but officially opposing it as a Thai governmental

Table 16

Population Estimates of Pa Kluai

Year	Households	Males	Females	Total Population
1966	27	ca 140	ca 130	270
1974	27	na	na	211
ca 1978	46	na	na	278
ca 1982	57	na	na	400
1985	54	162	142	304

Source: 1966, Binney 1968, pp. 24, 344 (male female differentiation not given but Binney implies that there are only a few more men than women); 1974, Cooper 1984, p. 7; ca 1978, ca 1982, Thai/UN HAMP 1984, p. 35; 1985, Robert, tr. 1985, pp. 36-37.

Note: Figures for 1966 and 1974 are for Hmong only; for other years it is not known whether non-Hmong were included. See discussion below.

official. This leader had the responsibility of dealing with Thai officials who visited the village, providing them with what they desired, such as guides, ponies, or food.

Resources

When the Hmong came to Chom Thong, they were already involved in opium cultivation and trade and, thus, operated in a cash or at least a partially cash economy. Since the Hmong here made a relatively high income from opium, they were well-equipped to deal with outside merchants and to adapt to changing economic situations. More than in any other village (once started) the

transition to cash cropping in Pa Kluai has proceeded smoothly. After an initial resistance to abandoning the cultivation of opium and near total disinterest in the crops promoted by HAMP, the rapid changeover to cash crops, starting in about 1984, has moved along more successfully than even in Pa Kia Nai. Villagers have converted a number of old opium fields to cabbage and potato fields complete with small reservoirs feeding gravity operated sprinkler systems. Erosion on the steepest fields is checked by the construction of stone contour fences that could easily last for decades.

Table 17

Access to Land in Pa Kluai

	1957		1987	
	HHs	Plots	HHs	Plots
Average Upland Rice Area	7	5.0	3	1.4
Average Paddy Rice Area (plots)	1	0.4	1	0.1
Number of Fallowed Fields (plots)	1	0.8	1	0.5

n = 23

Since the village is located on the top of a steep ridge, very little irrigated rice is grown. Since the village is also in a forest reserve, the villagers have not had any land rights although at present TN-HDP is helping villagers obtain S.K. 1 deeds so the Pa Kluai people will have some permanent ties to the land there. Also, rice is rarely swiddened.

Pa Kluai, like villagers elsewhere in the study area, face a decline in the availability of forest resources. Of those surveyed, the number collecting bamboo shoots declined from 9 in 1957 to 1 at present and the number gathering other kinds of food from the forest declined from 5 to 1 in the same period. Much of this resulted from the decline in forested area around the village, to a large extent caused by the Hmongs' own swiddening practices.

Another factor, conflict with lowland Thais, however, also accounted for quite a bit of this decline. When the monk, Phra Phongsak, went back to Doi Mae Soi, beneath Pa Kluai, in 1987, he found that quite a bit of the forest had been cleared. He thereupon decided to set up a 100 rai meditation center to help inspire the lowlander Thai and highlander Hmong to stop clearing the forest. He worked primarily among the lowlanders, though, and was able to place considerable pressure upon the Hmong, partly through the construction of a 10 kilometer barbed wire fence along the ridge above his center, cutting into land the Hmong had formerly used. The Hmong eventually agreed to stop using that land, even old opium fields there that had no forest cover, for agricultural purposes. It seems that much of the forest produce gathered was from that area and with the villagers turning elsewhere this loss also negatively affected the amount of food gathered from the forest. The declines in the table below resemble those elsewhere. As in Mae Yang Ha, though, access to lowland markets has enabled a number of villagers to begin consuming fresh fish brought in from Chom Thong to the

village where they were not available before. As in other villages there has been a significant growth in the amount of canned and dried fish.

Table 18

Hunted Sources of Wild Protein Consumed Monthly

	Large Animals*	Wild Fowl	Other*	Insects	Fresh Fish
Total Surveyed	15	15	15	15	15
Past	8	0	11	0	1
Present	1	0	4	0	7

* Large animals include wild boar, barking deer, as well as a variety of other large species.

* Other includes smaller wild game.

The decline in access to forested land has had a much greater negative impact on livestock here than in any of the study villages with the possible exception of Pa Kia Nai. At Huai Menao Gow, all 15 respondents raised cattle and 3 raised buffalos. In 1987, only one of these households had a buffalo and one household had cattle. For the people in Pa Kluai this represents both the loss of a food source and the loss of a trade item. Unlike the Karen, pigs were almost always eaten; all 15 households raised pigs before and continue to do so, although the 3 families that had sold some have stopped doing so.

Economy

Increasingly, cash has become important in Pa Kluai. Involved in opium cultivation from well before 1957, the residents of this community have a longterm familiarity with the use of cash. During the last days of large-scale opium cultivation, there was considerable cash in the village. Now, judging from the few small shops remaining that sell foodstuffs, soap, and small household items in the village, there is less cash. As elsewhere, almost no forest products are gathered in and around Pa Kluai or livestock raised by villagers that are sold to the outside world. This further impedes economic growth.

Nonetheless, some of the villagers derive a considerable income from the sale of cabbage and potatos and there are a number of pick-up trucks and two-storey Thai-style wooden houses in Pa Kluai. The houses, in contrast the the bamboo and thatch houses present here twenty years ago indicate that the Hmong believe they are here for the long run and are investing their money in permanent houses. The use of money in this way would also help explain the smaller size of the village shops, generally a reliable indicator to a village's economy.

The villagers of Pa Kluai, as those in Pa Kia Nai, have come into wealth unevenly with some individuals, namely entrepreneurs growing potato and cabbage, earning a considerable income while others are much poorer. Housing styles are growing increasingly divergent while other indicators of wealth, like pick-ups and motorcycles, are beginning to set some Hmong off from others.

Belief Systems

Cooper (1984, pp. 246-250), concluding his study of four Hmong villages, observed that as Hmong society has become cash-oriented, men have expropriated power in the village and that women have come to be more disadvantaged than at any time in their recent past. And although Thai law's patriarchal bias has accentuated this, it cannot yet be stated to what extent this is a new development. Surely women have long been disadvantaged in Hmong society with polygamy a practice for centuries.

Cooper's argument that the advent of a cash economy in Hmong life has taken the importance of the traditional role of women in ritual away from them, though, makes sense since as everywhere else studied in this project, spirit belief had declined as had the role of ritual. Pa Kluai residents, as those elsewhere, affirmed that their fear of the spirits is much less than before. Still, the village is more cash-oriented than before, polygamy continues and women still have to carry out much heavy work in the fields and at home every day. However, as Cooper notes (p. 247), one way or another, this should not be taken as a universal theory of change among the Hmong.

The changes in agriculture, from an opium-based to a cabbage/potato-based economy seem to be affecting the amount of religious ceremonies performed. As noted by William Geddes regarding Meto, in a talk to the Informal Northern Thai Group of Chiang Mai in September 1988, the increase of cabbage cultivation, an all-year undertaking, lessens the time available to carry out ritual. Pa Kluai cabbage/potato cultivation lags

behind that in Meto, but some of the same processes seem to be occuring, this of course tying in with the general conception that the spirits are less powerful than previously.

Christianity, as in Ban Kia Nai, has been proselytized in the village. A missionary (probably from the Overseas Missionary Fellowship) lived in the village from 1972 until 1974 and managed to convert five village families. These conversions were partly due to the perception on the part of the Hmong that traditional healing systems were not as efficient as those of the West (which the missionaries represented) and that the power of the spirits has been seen to be declining. Nonetheless, conversion to Christianity interferes with clan leadership roles, the performance of ritual, and, although no major disturbances have occurred, has served to divide the village.

Traditionally, such splits (as in Karen villages) often led to the smaller group, in this case the Christians, emigrating and settling elsewhere. However, the lack of alternate sites has precluded this from occurring and both groups have been forced to coexist. The existence of religious choices in Pa Kluai can only have eased the transition from a traditional to a technological society although at the cost of some internal friction.

The recent establishment of a primary school in Pa Kluai coincides with the sudden interest of the Hmong here in really using cash crops. Nowhere else in the Project Area (even among the Lu in Mae Yang Ha who are quite ambitious in their own right) have villagers taken the steps to cultivate cash crops as have the Hmong in Pa Kluai. The contour stone fences will last for

decades and Thais are already bringing considerable sums of money into Pa Kluai to buy cabbage and potato there. As with the Hmong elsewhere, these people are well into the "technological society" described by Berger. The Hmong of course could benefit from additional technical inputs and opportunities for higher education, but they are quite competent to fend for themselves successfully in changing Thai society in the 1980s.

Mae Chon

Mae Chon, in Ban Mae tambon, is located in the westernmost corner of Chom Thong District, about 12 kilometers to the east of Ob Luang, a famous gorge on the Mae Chaem River upriver from the Hot District seat. Until a Land Development Department Road was built two years ago connecting Ob Luang with the Chiang Mai-Hot Highway, access with the outside world was primarily through Ob Luang from where busses could be boarded to Chiang Mai and elsewhere. The name, Mae Chon, or Chon Stream, is apparently an old Thai term, the meaning of which has been lost.

Results of the Land Department Survey of soil types and slope in Mae Chon were not available to the research team. Nonetheless, land is moderately sloped, mostly about 30 percent in the fields. Very little flat land exists although about ten years ago, some villagers cut terraces and began growing paddy about then. Soil in this area is alluvial and on the slopes is mainly red-brown latosols.

The villagers say that they came to this site about 30 years ago from different locations in Chiang Mai Province. When they arrived, this area like others in the study was very much in the

jungle with many wild animals around. Even in 1988, there is still a tiger, wild boar, and barking deer nearby in the forest. When the Hmong arrived, they had already begun to wear some Thai clothing. Mixed dress, with the villagers sometimes wearing a Thai wraparound cloth (pha khao ma) had begun from at least as long ago as the move here. In spite of the nearest Hmong village being a day's walk away at Pa Kluai, the village has continued to be influenced from the outside throughout the last thirty years.

The Hmong cultivated opium in Mae Chon from their arrival in this area. An American Baptist missionary, James Conklin, after visiting the Karen village of Bon Na (he used its Karen's name, Paw Paa Kee), about 5 kilometers upstream from Mae Chon, in 1956 learned from the people of that village that the Hmong in the area were "increasing their opium trade" (Conklin, September 1956, TBMF Box i, Folder 1).

Almost from their arrival, a few Karens, almost inevitably opium addicts, worked for the Hmong, earning 10 baht a day in the 1960s. Opium cultivation linked the Hmong with the outside world and, as elsewhere, Yunnanese Chinese and others visited the village to make purchases. These contacts accelerated changes in Mae Chon. This cryptic reference implies that the village was already here, which is a couple of years earlier than when the villagers recall moving here. This also shows that Mae Chon, like the other Hmong study villages, had adopted the use of cash and was well able to deal with others in a cash economy. They hired workers, traded for goods in cash, and were prepared to enter into new arrangements with lowlander Thais. By 1977, the

rate had risen to 20 baht per day and Karens who clear forests for the Hmong now can earn 50 baht in one day. A Pwo Karen family of opium addicts now lives in Mae Chon. Coming from Omkoi two years ago, they work for the Hmong to support their habit.

Contact with the outside world was, until the Land Development Department built a road to the village in 1986, difficult. Villagers had to walk to Ob Luang and then taking a bus to Hot, Chom Thong or elsewhere. Another route went downstream about 15 kilometers to just above Hot on the Chiang Mai-Hot Highway, which is the way Conklin went to the village.

Because of the difficulties in reaching Mae Chon, the village was essentially autonomous. The local leader also served as the headman and has been so recognized by the Thai government. Recently the headman acquired a pick-up truck, the only one in the village, and he uses it to attend meetings and on trips for other purposes to Chom Thong District.

Resources

As most opium cultivation areas, the village was fairly well-to-do when compared with the Karen villages nearby. Mae Chon residents made their own clothes and celebrated the Hmong New Year with traditional music and pig sacrifices.

In about 1978, some terraced paddy fields were prepared, on which a small amount of paddy rice is cultivated adding to what they already possessed. The villagers, however, have no title

Table 19

Access to Land in Mae Chon

	1957		1987	
	HHs	Plots	HHs	Plots
Average Upland Rice Area	5	4.3	4	3.3
Average Paddy Rice Area (plots)	6	8.0	6	7.8
Number of Fallowed Fields (plots)	1	1.0	1	0.8

n = 6

over this or over any other land in the village although the King s Project is working towards obtaining S.K. 1 deeds for them. The rice they need is bought from Karen neighbors, such as Bon Na village just to the north, or from Hot District. As elsewhere, they face increasing trouble in swiddening but in this village, because the population has not increased much since the village was founded and because it is remote from other settlements, the amount of land per person has not declined significantly.

Although Mae Chon is far from main roads and several kilometers removed from other villages, it still encountered the decline in forest produce experienced elsewhere in the study area. In 1957, 5 respondent households gathered food and medicine from the forest; none do so at present. Villagers of course continue gathering forest produce, including small amounts of bamboo shoots, fruits (a so-called "grape" included), as well

as medicinal herbs. Still they told of a considerable decline in forest produce over the last three decades. Data in the table below on wild game confirm this. There is, as elsewhere, an apparent growth in the amount of fresh fish consumed, which may well continue with the recent completion of the road to the Chiang Mai-Hot Highway. The village's distance from the road has, however, kept the increase in canned and dried fish consumed by villagers to less than that in the other study villages.

Table 20

Hunted Sources of Wild Protein Consumed Monthly

	Large Animals*	Wild Fowl	Other*	Insects	Fresh Fish
Total Surveyed	3	3	3	3	3
Past	3	1	2	1	0
Present	0	0	1	0	1

* Large animals include wild boar, barking deer, as well as a variety of other large species.

* Other includes smaller wild game.

Changes in livestock use patterns in Mae Chon have differed from the other study villages. Buffalos have never been raised here and although cattle were not raised in the 1950s, 4 villagers now raise them for sale to merchants coming up the valley from Hot District. There is still ample land around Mae Chon on which cattle can graze; no villagers prepare rice bran, grass, straw, or vegetables for them to feed. The decline in

other food sources has resulted in more villagers raising pigs as food sources. Two respondents formerly sold some pigs; none do so now.

Since 1985, when opium was suppressed by Thai governmental officials in this village, very little, except some for home use, has been grown in Mae Chon. The villagers are prepared to grow cash crops but little progress has been made. In 1987, the King's Project gave them some fertilizer of which they would like more, but non has been forthcoming. Being so far from the road has impeded access by King's Project officials with the result that extension efforts have not always been adequate. In 1987, for example when the Project had no kidney beans for the villagers, one man purchased about 100 kilograms in Chiang Mai. On returning and planting them in Mae Chon, two tropical storms in one week, Betty and Cary, washed almost all of the seed away resulting in a total loss. Given some assistance, the villagers would make the transition to the cash-crop supported economy they envision.

Economy

As with the other opium cultivation centers, there was once cash in circulation in the village. This however has changed considerably in the few years since large scale opium growing has ceased. Furthermore, the decline in forest produce has weakened the position of the villagers in terms of salable goods available near to the village settlement. Also a factor of the isolation of this village, only the headman has a pick-up and there are no

Thai-style houses here. There are no shops and according to local residents there is no prospect of one opening in the near future. One source of income differing from elsewhere in the study area is the cattle raising for sale to Thais from Hot District.

Since about 1963, villagers have bought cloth and thread to make their clothing. They used to grow hemp but have given it up because it is time-consuming to grow and to make clothing from. Virtually none of the villagers sell handicrafts anywhere so there is no financial reason to continue growing this crop.

Belief Systems

In 1984, the Princess Maha Chakri was instrumental in arranging for a school to be established in Mae Chon. The villagers want their children to attend this school but extremely erratic attendance by the teacher (sometimes only 2-3 days per week) make this difficult and village leaders regret that their children are not learning Thai as fast as they could.

Also in the village is a Public Health Station which the villagers go to when they are sick. When the Hmong first came to Mae Chon thirty years ago, they say that they were visiting the hospital on occasion. At that time, though, they would visit spirit doctors first; now they say this process is reversed and they go to Station or the hospital in Chom Thong first.

Another sign of their willingness to change is the existence of metal roofs, which first were brought to the village in about 1975. At that time, they were carried (for a 10 baht portage fee) from Ob Luang. There are no two-storey houses in the

village but the leaders say they would be willing to build one. Lack of financial and other resources no doubt impedes them from taking this step.

Perhaps because the village is so poor, there seems to be less pride in being Hmong here than in any of the other study villages. The gaiety of the Hmong New Year's celebrations has declined and no one in the younger generation can play traditional Hmong musical instruments. Already by about 1960, the Hmong here were using non-Hmong articles of clothing; now more than three-fourths do so.

The villagers seem responsive to accepting change since they are convinced that they are in an unenviable economic situation. No one has become Christian but given the seeming lack of pride in this village and the willingness of Hmong in more prosperous areas to convert to Christianity, the villagers might well respond positively to evangelists.

Unlike the other Hmong villages, Mae Chon is poor and has few prospects of changing this situation in the near future. Disadvantages faced are the area's remoteness (including a poor road link), the small size of the village, and the lack of motivated individuals (addiction to opium is a problem here too). If there is a Hmong village in this study still in Berger's "traditional" society, this is it although the village leaders seem ready to make the transition as quickly as possible.