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Understanding Development in Thailand:

An Ethnographic Study of Local Perspectives and Experiences

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Abstract

This thesis establishes a contextual understanding of development in Thailand through the lens of local perspectives and experiences. The study approach involves using a post-development critique and critical ethnography to identify local ideas for social progress which have been otherwise lost in the noise of mainstream developmental discourse. Thus, this study makes room for previously neglected alternative local ideas, perhaps couched in different forms, notably emanating from indigenous-cultural accounts and the global discourse surrounding mainstream development. Using the displacement of the Pwo-Karen villagers by the construction of The Khao Laem Dam as the study background, the ethnographer examined their Pwo-Karen ideas of reciprocal cooperation for the common good and explored its contributions. This research uncovered conflict across several aspects between Pwo-Karen's ideas for social progress and mainstream developmental discourse.

The discourse analysis of literature and reports from the mainstream development agencies in this thesis explore how liberalist development discourse is produced and may be infiltrated. Specifically, the study revealed The Technical Capability Approach (TCA) to establish controllable methods of problem-solving in the projection and documentation of mainstream development projects. The revelations of The TCA allude to a subjectivist form of alleged backwardness and identified needs that should be addressed. Thus, backwardness could be read as regression, in which mainstream development projects needed to be made to regulate the perceived liberalist development discourse. Developers and their allies in the government were able to use euphemistic documentation discursively to bolster or else manipulate those affected. Moreover, the villagers were subjected to state surveillance and control. On the ground, they were manipulated by various bureaucratic and authoritarian procedures during the development process. Some conceded, whether willingly or otherwise, partnering with the state, while others put up visceral or overt resistance.

The thesis also addresses issues of life conditions, precarity, opportunity, power and resistance as resources for self-construction and positioning among the involved parties, and the discussion employs critical consideration of cross-cultural positionality in order to understand them. This research reflects the fact that such variations resulted in differing worldviews, aspirations, practices, and expressions of ideas about social progress. Further, it deals with the regaining of balance and critical comprehension of multiparty politics, particularly in relation to indigenous practicality and the global discourse surrounding mainstream development. Lastly, the proposals that this thesis offers have implications for policymakers. Crafting efficient development policies should be performed while paying careful attention to development disparities and tensions, especially those relating to differences in contextual conditions, power resources and self-positioning among the engaged parties.

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Abbreviations

ARD	Accelerated Rural Development Programme
BAAC	Bank for Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives
BPP	Border Patrol Police
CDP	Cultural Development Perspective
CPT	Communist Party of Thailand
CUSRI	Chulalongkorn University Research Institute
DC	Dristic of Columbia
DFID	Department for International Development
EGAT	Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
FIO	Forest Industry Organisation
FWCs	First Word Countries
HKR	Huaikhayeng Resettlement Site
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IFIs	International Finance Institutions
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISI	Import Substitution Industrialisation
LDCs	Least Developed Countries
MAC	Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MWA	(Bangkok) Metropolitan Water Authority
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NESDC/NESDB	Office of The National Economic and Social Development Council/Board
NFE	Non-Formal and Informal Education
NGOs	Non-Profit Organisations
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
PPSKR	Post-Project Study of Khao Laem Resettlement Areas
QoL	Quality of Life
RID	Royal Irrigation Department
RSD	Royal Survey Department
SAO	Sub-District Administrative Organisation

SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SHPH	Sub-District Health Promotion Hospital
SEP	Sufficiency Economy's Philosophy
SESKP	Socio-economic Study of Khao Laem Dam Project
SMEC	Snowy Mountain Engineering Corporation
SWCs	Second World Countries
TCA	Technical Capability Approach
TFP	Total Factor Productivity
THUWHP	Thungyai Naresuan and Huaikhaakhaeng Wildlife Sanctuary UNESCO World Heritage Property
TPC	Thai Plywood Company Limited
UK	The United Kingdom
US	The United States
VHVs	Village Health Volunteers
WCED	World Commission of Environment and Development
WDRs	World Development Reports
WTO	World Trade Organisation
WW II	World War II

Glossary

Aoraeng/Aomuu	Indigenous-local labour exchange, in the Thai language
Auuko	Call for gathering up, in the Pwo-Karen language
Buurana	Reconstruct, Rehabilitate, Repair, or Restore, in the Thai language
Chaangtaonaa	Thai idiom that makes analogy between woman's husbands and front legs of an elephant, or a male leader.
Chaangtaolhang	Thai idiom that makes analogy between housewives and hide legs of an elephant, or a follower.
Chaokhonnaikhon	Thai language, meaning government officials, which symbolises a position of power over others
(Kwaam) Charoen	Progress, in the Thai language
Kaanpattana	In the Thai language, kaanpattana means the term "development." The term "kaanpattana" is translated and interpreted from the term "development" in the English language, which is discursively constructed by The First Word Countries (FWCs) and alliances such as IBRD and The World Bank, mainly approaching making socio-economic progress. Thus, kaanpattana is sociolinguistically influenced by the sense of the term "development." It is used to identify the practices of making modernity (plus civilisation in a Thai sense) as social progress of which the aims are to achieve the state of modernity. In this thesis, this Thai translation and interpreted term kaanpattana, derived from the word for development, represents a modernist Western cultural approach to making social progress, brought into the existing Thai term (as kaanpattana is not actually a newly coined term) which causes its meaning to be more culturally/ideologically political.
Kun	Thai pronoun, meaning you
Kwaamsanuk	Enjoyment, in the Thai language
Kwaamsuk	Happiness, in the Thai language
Kwaamthansamai	Modernity, in the Thai language
Longkhaek	Reciprocal labour exchange, in The Thai language
Maaduu	Indigenous-local labour exchange, in the Pwo-Karen language
Maasher	Pwo-Karen reciprocal help and cooperation for common good, in the Pwo-Karen language
Making Social Progress	There appears to be the fact concerning the notion of development which is, in a liberalist sense, a term that may yield different senses of power, bias and cultural-ideological politics to other possible weak ideas of making social progress. Thus, the term "making social progress" in this thesis is used both generally and neutrally to describe acts of making social change which may not necessarily be otherwise termed kaanpattana or development in the liberal sense. For example,

there are two important conceptual terms for making social progress in this thesis, alternating between maasher and kaanpattana, which yield different senses of power, bias and cultural-ideological politics. Notably, the ultimate aim of maasher has been more and more sustenance of the Pwo-Karen village's common good, rather than modernity (plus civilisation in a Thai sense) as is kaanpattana's main aim. However, the term "making social progress," when used in place of kaanpattana or development, regains a sense of righteous balance in relation to power, bias and cultural-ideological politics. The term "making social progress" sounds more neutral in its use, thereby signifying an awareness of power, bias and cultural-ideological politics.

Merk	Enjoyment, in the Pwo-Karen language
Ner	Pwo-Karen pronoun, meaning you
Pattana	To develop, in the Thai language
Pom	Thai pronoun, meaning I
Popiang	Sufficiency, in the Thai language
Prathomsuksa	Thai language, meaning a primary school level in the Thai educational system
Pwo-Karen	One of the Karen tribes who speak the Pwo language. The Pwo-Karen have pervasively lived in the eastern part of Myanmar and the western and northern parts of Thailand.
Rai	One unit of land measurement, in the Thai language. One acre is equivalent to 2.53 rais.
Railuenloi	Pioneer swiddening, in the Thai language
Raimunwian	Established swiddening, in the Thai language
Samaipattana	Country's Development Era, in the Thai language
S'Gaw-Karen	One of the Karen tribes who speak the S'gaw language. The S'gaw-Karen may be known as Pga-K'nyau, Pga-Gan-Yaw or Pakayor. The S'gaw-Karen can be widely found across the Tanintharyi, Ayeyarwady, Yangon and Bago regions of Myanmar as well as in western and northern parts of Thailand.
Settakitpopiang	Sufficiency Economy, in the Thai language
Siwilai	Civilisation, in the Thai language
Sombatkhongphuudii	Qualifications of The Gentility
TCA	Technical Capability Approach is a mainstream development technique for creating a subjectivist form of backwardness fostered by such mainstream development discourse, as well as the need to be developed through only controllable issues and problematisation-resolvability. The TCA technically describes those technical issues which persuade audiences to believe that such technical issues can only be tackled by possible and controllable technical skills and assistance, thereby excluding alternative approaches. The TCA devalues

any sense of polity. Furthermore, it seems to ignore the arguments over forces of real political economy in which certain mainstream development projects are promoted, whether intentionally or otherwise. Only selected technical issues are brought to the table, whilst political-economic forces, contributing to the root causes of issues, are gradually devalued and avoided. Thus, such devaluation and avoidance are partly constructed through a fallacy of composition. Primarily, distorted EIA and EHIA reports seem to be an apparatus that helps to promote devalued and distorted issues through the process of documentation, despite their being witnessed and logically believable.

Thansamai	Modernisation, in the Thai language
Thunniyom	Capitalism, in the Thai language
Tuakhaa	Coming of age, in the Pwo-Karen language
Uposatha	A Buddhist chapel
Yer	Pwo-Karen pronoun, meaning I
Yuu	To live, in the Thai language
Yuudiigindii	To live, eat and do well (or a sense of well-being), in the Thai language
Yuumiikwaamsuk	To live happily, in the Thai language
Yuusanuk	To enjoy living, in the Thai language
Wattanathamchumchon	Cultural Development Perspective (CDP), in the Thai language

Chapter 1 Setting The Scene

On Wednesday 30th of January 2019, one of the Thai national newspapers published the headline that there had been resistance from the local population to a few dam projects proposed by the state and developers in southern Thailand. The sites impacted by these projects included villages in the riverine forestland. The state justified the projects by saying that, in these areas, there was a need to save more water resources through two dammed reservoirs. There was also to be a new canal for water stream diversion as well as a new saltwater gate. Part of the resistance resulted from there being no serious discussion within the state between the developers and the local people. In particular, the local people argued that any serious saltwater intrusion usually arose every 50 years or so, and thus there was no pressing need for the construction of the proposed saltwater gate which might have disrupted the brackish water ecosystem. This situation inflamed the concerns of the local population as to their everyday livelihoods and possible forced displacement (Dailynews, 2019, p. 13)

Figure 1-1 One of The National Newspaper's Headlines Highlighting One of The Anti-Dam Movements Mobilising against Developers in front of The Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperations (MAC).

Source: Dailynews' Headline (2019, p. 1)

Figure 1-2 There Had Been Resistance from The Local Population against Several Proposed Dam Projects in Southern Thailand.

Source: Dailynews (2019, p. 13)

1.1 Background to The Study

The headline suggests that the author initiated the investigation of this thesis with the presupposition that different worldviews, arising from various positions and experiences held by different individuals, notably the developer and the developed, may not have been collaboratively constructed to address their mutual understandings and expectations when initiating or concluding development projects. Within the context of this research, the thesis explores and examines the points of convergence between these distinct practical discourses to advance our understanding of how social progress is made. The question raised is: *what if development is reconsidered?*

To set the stage for this tension, we must consider three important backgrounds. Firstly, in discussing the conceptual language of development, it is crucial to understand that the term "kaanpattana" (development) in the Thai context is dynamic and contentious. This is particularly significant given the dearth of clear development policies and the conflict between "Big" and "small" development paradigms. Additionally, there exists a historical Thai context for the usage of this term, which has evolved over time. For instance, standard Thai-English dictionary definitions of "kaanpattana" and "development" emphasise concepts like "progress" and "advancement." The concept of "Development" with a capital "D" is commonly associated with human development and is rooted in the perspective of colonial economic historians, for whom development was primarily linked to resource exploitation (Hart, 2001). In the Thai context, this "Big D" has overshadowed the indigenous Thai terms and "small d" developments, which may not be as explicitly associated with such a grand scale. The evolution of terms can be traced from

the existing Thai term "buurana" (reconstruct, rehabilitate, repair, or restore) to the terms "wattana" and "pattana," reflecting the long historical context of linguistic changes.

Moreover, it is valuable to consider the Thai term "siwilai" (civilisation), as suggested by Winichakul (2000, pp. 529, 521). The concept of making Siam "siwilai" encompassed various aspects, ranging from social etiquette to tangible advancements such as new infrastructure, electricity, administrative reforms, legal systems, dress standards, and even dental care. The Siamese pursuit of "siwilai" reflected a transcultural process, wherein European ideas and practices, introduced through colonialism, were transferred, adapted, and blended within the Siamese context. In the period of Thai development (1950s-1980s), "siwilai" became closely tied to the concept of material progress or "kwaamcharoen." These terms distinctly signaled a shift toward a new era or modernity, departing from traditions, ancient norms, or bygone times. Another term that signifies this secular development and material progress is "thansamai," which gained prominence during the 1960s modernisation era. Translated as "keeping up with the age" or "keeping up with the times," "thansamai" highlights the dynamism in the language, contrasting the dominance of "Big D" developments over "small d" developments, as emphasised by Demaine (1986, p. 95).

Certainly, within this thesis, the utilisation of the term "development" functions as a deliberate critique, underscoring that the impositions on weaker and poorer nations were not haphazard occurrences. The categories of developed and underdeveloped were socially constructed and gained prominence during the era of liberalist endorsement. Building upon the insights of Rigg, Allot, Harrison, and Kratz (1999, p. 74), it is highlighted in the Thai context that Harvey Demaine (1986) was the pioneer scholar extensively delving into the term "development" – a pivotal concept in the international development vocabulary – examining its etymology and its specific connotations in the Thai context. Demaine elucidates that the term only became widely utilised in the late 1950s, coinciding with the establishment of General Thanarat's National Economic Development Board (NEDB) and the introduction of the inaugural Five-Year Plan in 1961. From this context, it becomes evident that "kaanpattana" signifies progression or advancement. The term would be more accurately rendered as "modernisation" rather than the commonly used, ambiguous, and multidimensional "development."

Secondly, considering the dearth of in-depth development policies, there seems to be a prevailing myth or misconception about Thailand's challenges before the 1960s. It was commonly believed that Thailand, as a developing country, faced significant hardships, including extreme poverty. However, according to Zimmerman's findings (1999), based on a rural economic survey conducted between 1930 and 1931, the Thai population did not seem to suffer and, in fact, enjoyed a relatively decent standard of living. Thailand was already outperforming many of its regional counterparts.

Nonetheless, despite their relatively reasonable Quality of Life (QoL), Thai peasants seemed to lack access to credit, financial resources, markets, technology, entrepreneurial opportunities, and a sense of capitalism. These conditions among rural peasants set the stage for much of the subsequent mainstream development studies. Demaine's critique (1986, p. 94) aligns with Zimmerman's findings, suggesting that addressing development in Thailand necessitates understanding changes in social structures and state priorities. These changes were initially manifested with the establishment of The National Economic Development Board and its plans.

Hence, if extreme poverty was not the sole issue, it becomes apparent that adjustments in policies were necessary to instigate changes in social structures and attitudes essential for development. This perspective can be characterised as a critique of the inadequacies in development policies, echoing throughout Thailand's five-year national economic and social development plans, particularly the initial three (1961-1976). Despite each plan having distinct focal points aligning with the global development trends of their respective periods, they collectively adhered to the shared belief, articulated by Rigg (2019, p. 34), that development, defined as "material progress," could primarily be attained by integrating individuals into the mainstream market and, for farmers, through production oriented towards the market.

If the development discourse regarding the deficiency of policies was indeed the case, it could be argued that the conditions and difficulties experienced by these peasants may have arisen due to the lack of effective and consistent approaches to developmental planning, regardless of whether people were already living relatively decent in actuality though possibly with limited cash resources. In response to this limitation, the state initiated its first socio-economic development plan. Concurrently, The World Bank emerged as a major financial supporter and facilitator, providing substantial economic assistance to Thailand. However, the provision of such developmental support to Thailand by The World Bank reflects the global political tensions of the time between liberalism and communism. The politics of the era necessitated Thailand to take a side. Thai leaders consequently aligned with liberalist First-World partners, receiving significant support, primarily in the form of funding and development facilitation, thereby propelling a wave of modernisation. Thailand has thus experienced over four decades of development through a liberalist modernisation paradigm (Baker & Phongpaichit, 2005; Demaine, 1986, pp. 96-100; Phongpaichit & Baker, 1995; Parnwell & Arghiros, 1996). This liberalist modernisation and development bolstered the government's expectation that its development policy would transition Thais away from agriculture and integrate them into the mainstream market, promoting the marketisation of production.

Thirdly, addressing the clash between "Big Development" and "small developments," the influence of liberalist development partners marked a significant shift for Thailand. This presence restricted the

country's ability to incorporate ethnic and ecological diversity within the framework of social progress. The dominant development paradigm, along with its mechanisms, started to overshadow and suppress local concepts of advancing society and alternative approaches to sustainable development. Thus, during the 1980s, the mainstream development paradigm became taken-for-granted (Hoogvelt, 1997; McGregor A. , 2009; McKay, 2004). During this period, several large-scale development projects were undertaken which were indeed beneficial to many people (McKinnon, 2008; Parnwell & Arghiros, 1996). Unfortunately, there was little critical appraisal of the setting up, implementation and long-term evaluation of these projects. More importantly, the projects were rarely co-created with the interests or inputs of the local people surrounding them. Poor understanding, dialogue and a lack of participation between stakeholders were common problematic issues.

It appears that more significant development disparities[1] and tensions have gradually emerged in Thailand due to the clash of different developmental worldviews, practices, and the distribution of benefits. Concerning these benefits, some of the detrimental effects of the mainstream development paradigm (often referred to as "Big Development") have become focal points. For instance, these effects have exacerbated socio-economic inequality, led to adverse health impacts caused by pollution, and frequently resulted in the displacement of residents due to large-scale projects. However, developmental conflicts and the emergence of an anti-development movement among dissatisfied individuals are not new in Thailand. Back in the 1970s, the country witnessed its first anti-development mobilisation, led by national university scholars. These scholars critiqued the negative impacts of export-oriented growth management on central Thailand, even though it did not lead to substantial policy changes. Nevertheless, this public critique increased awareness of critical arguments against the state's development policies and inspired Non-Profit Organisations (NGOs) and local people to engage in anti-development movements across the country. These tensions eventually gave rise to one of the most significant anti-state movements in Thailand's history during the 1990s, known as the "Assembly of The Poor[2]" (Phatharathananunth, 2002; Pintobtang, 1997).

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[1] The author uses the term of "development disparities" in a way that acknowledges different interpretations from various parties. The term itself implies a recognition of unequal development, and how these disparities are perceived or prioritised may vary based on different perspectives.

[2] The Assembly of The Poor (AOP) is a non-governmental organisation (NGO) in Thailand with the primary goal of assisting individuals affected by development projects and industries in becoming active participants in the development process, thereby allowing them to reap the benefits of these projects. The AOP is designed to serve as a political advocate for villagers and marginalised segments of society. As an organisation, it collaborates with other NGOs in Thailand. However, when The Assembly of the Poor initially commenced its activities, it faced allegations of undermining Thailand's unity and the democratic principles of Thai ideologies. This NGO represents an amalgamation of seven districts, each representing a distinct region of Thailand. Its members encompass both urban and rural small-scale

Referencing Chatthip Nartsupha (1984) and Rigg (2019, pp. 20-21), Nartsupha's role as a radical Thai historian emphasises the concept of the natural, primordial, or original village. Nartsupha envisions the village in its pre-state and pre-capitalism state, operating as a subsistence economy that produced food for internal consumption, detached from external influences. This perspective highlights the village's self-sufficiency, characterised by strong internal bonds and land control based on membership. Reciprocal labor exchange played a vital role in production, and the absence of class division or conflicts within the village was notable. NGOs, activists, and radical scholars have embraced this idea as a means to shield the village from modernisation. By the mid-1980s, this concept reached its pinnacle as the "community culture" or "wattanathamchumchon school of thought." This school of thought serves as an alternative development perspective, challenging the statist ideology of mainstream development and modernisation. For these radical scholars and activists, the village community signifies not only a physical settlement but also a unit of social bonds with cultural and historical significance. It embodies an ideal village gradually eroded by the encroachments of the state and the market.

Potential negative impacts arise from mainstream development and market forces. In alignment with the wattanathamchumchon school of thought, Seri Phonphit (2001, pp. 27-28) advocates for "people's development" as an approach to rural community development. This perspective incorporates elements of human development and popular participation, echoing the core principles of the development decade, while concurrently serving as a strategy to counteract the adverse effects of mainstream development and marketisation.

The "people's development" approach, adopted by communities in Thailand, initiates a development process facilitated by community leaders or accepted outsiders familiar with the community. Termed "people's development," the approach emphasises the active involvement of community members as researchers, planners, data collectors, strategists, and creators of development projects and activities. External facilitators contribute to the process, but ultimately, it relies on the initiative of the people themselves. Phonphit's work establishes the groundwork by showcasing the experiences of three community-based groups of local developers – Inpeng, Mairiang, and Yomna – demonstrating how these groups can achieve community self-reliance. Phonphit advocates for a three-pronged strategy, focusing on self-confidence, re-establishing relationships between nature and the community, and self-management, as crucial for achieving

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agriculturists as well as manual labourers. Thanks to its diverse membership, The Assembly has the capacity to bridge regional and class divisions (Pintobtang, 1997).

self-reliance. This concept aligns with the wattanathamchumchon school of thought, emphasising the idea of redefining development as reciprocity.

Such circumstances and trends have led certain stakeholders to explore alternative and indigenous paradigms for development practices (referred to as "small developments") and advocate their implementation as alternatives to the mainstream paradigm. However, it has proven challenging to pinpoint the existence of these alternative paradigms, as they have predominantly remained concealed and marginalised. Indigenous accounts of development alternatives have often been subsumed within the broader liberalist discourse on development.

Through such a newspaper headline, there is the implication that the continual reproduction of the mainstream development paradigm haunts those who are used to experiencing the country's traumatic history and the detrimental impacts of mainstream development practices. Similar events have marked Thailand's development history concerning such mega-projects – in particular the hydropower dams built during the 1980s – that forcibly displaced indigenous peoples.[3] For example, in the 1980s, the whole district of Huaikhayeng in the Kaanchanaburi province was relocated from the upper-dam area to the current resettlement location which lies at the forefront of a national park. Inadequate compensation and frequent disputes over local people's alleged intrusion into the national park have continually made the people unhappy with the state's compensation for their displacement and thwarted long-term protection of their ownership of their newly allocated lands (Kanchanatawal, 1992). However, for over half a century, the modernising approach of mainstream development has played a dominant role in driving changes in Thailand, becoming the country's mainstream development paradigm. Although it has sometimes been slightly disguised in other forms, the central tenets of the approach have seemingly been deeply and tightly embedded within paradigms exercising statist discourse, power and control.

The aforementioned backgrounds have served as the driving force behind this research. It has become evident that the concept of development can be reimagined. There is no single absolute truth or universally accepted notion of how to achieve social progress. Consequently, the pursuit of social progress cannot be encapsulated within a single, all-encompassing paradigm controlled by a sole powerful agent, typically a dominant developer. Therefore, the underlying philosophy of this research is to uncover different perspectives on the concept of social progress through historical experiences drawn from mainstream development. Many of these experiences have

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[3] The author acknowledges that there might be some revisionist scholars who question the use of the term "indigenous." In this context, where the term "indigenous" is employed to describe minority groups in Thailand, these scholars may raise concerns about its applicability, particularly given that even the lowland Tai are considered indigenous (Farrelly, 2009; Reynolds, 2009; Walker A. , 2009a; 2009b).

revealed instances of suppression and marginalisation of indigenous/local ideas about achieving social progress. These local perspectives often feature distinct languages and cultural narratives that differ from the dominant discourse of mainstream development. Arguably, these local perspectives fundamentally acknowledge the practical aspects of social progress. Furthermore, this thesis explores the idea that indigenous-local worldviews on social progress may underscore differences in their foundational principles when it comes to conceptualising and achieving social progress. These differences become particularly salient when considering contextual values, traditions, norms, and social institutions.

The author posits that a more nuanced contextual understanding of ideas about achieving social progress in Thailand can enhance our comprehension of the sources of development disparities and tensions. This enhanced understanding allows for a broader exploration of how individuals occupying diverse positions may hold varying worldviews and experiences related to the pursuit of social progress. Consequently, different people engage in their unique sense-making processes as they strive for social progress. The research also endeavours to explore what we can glean from past and ongoing development in Thailand when viewed through the lens of local perspectives and experiences. Within this framework, the thesis proceeds to identify and examine the dynamics of multiparty politics in relation to the conceptualisation of social progress. Building on this analysis, the thesis ultimately seeks to restore a more balanced consideration of interests that encompasses the values, rights, and dignity inherent in both indigenous-local approaches and those of mainstream development.

1.2 Research Objectives

- To dig into what progress means for a Pwo-Karen settlement in western Thailand
- To reveal how these local notions of progress intersect with mainstream approaches and narratives
- To explain why indigenous approaches lose their ability and power to shape development approaches and outcomes in any significant sense
- To reveal the development disparities that arise from the tensions between mainstream and local indigenous (development beliefs/approaches)

1.3 Research Questions

1.3.1 Core Question

- How do local perspectives and experiences help us understand what is meant by the term "development" in the context of Thailand?

1.3.2 Sub-Questions

- If Development is retreated, what is the nature of mainstream development?
- How does the Pwo-Karen idea of making social progress look like?

- What is precarity distributed across subjects' formation?
- What is the scope of the situation where a local worldview and worldviews of mainstream development clash?

1.4   Synopsis of The Thesis

The thesis is organised into nine chapters. In Chapter 2, developmental anthropology is adopted to ground the thesis through the theoretical and conceptual foundations of power, resistance, hegemony and governmentality, for example. Accordingly, the author realised how the mainstream development discourse had largely come to dominate the development industry. The prevailing post-development critique ensured that there was room for such further elaboration. The critique also aided the author in the search for other possible ideas that have as yet not been identified or come into being. Chapter 3 outlines the methodological framework. The research's philosophical paradigm is based upon social constructivism, interpretivism and critical ethnography alongside ethical considerations. The author records the way in which he positioned himself and his participants to show how, through the ethnographic work, he came to understand his own self and others.

Chapter 4 contextualises the modernisation landscape, human geography and cultural landscape. There is a need to make sense within a contextually political context, one that puts Thailand at the forefront in order to glean several versions of modernisation. For example, the chapter discusses the national administrative reforms through the prism of territoriality and modernisation projects that took place during the colonial expansionist era. Further, an understanding of Pwo Karen-ness needed consideration of their cultural ecology from which several cultural and social practices are derived. The chapter discusses the modernised sedentarisation of land use, one which had caused them to struggle in their efforts to survive in a cash-based society.

Chapter 5 contextualises the politics of The Khao Laem Dam construction and Raipa Village. This chapter is deemed one of the highlights of the thesis, as it exposes the way in which mainstream development once framed its discourse and practices over its object through The Technical Capability Approach (TCA). The politics of evidence from different dam-engaged sources is presented in support of this analysis. Chapter 6 draws upon ethnographic data from Raipa's everyday life in the post-dam construction era from the perspectives of three individual cases. Each ethnographic case study evidences an overarching deficiency in terms of spatial and temporal control caused by The Khao Laem Dam construction and modernist land reforms. They processually shunted such cases into situations of precarity. To understand indigenous-local ideas of making social progress, their precarious conditions suggest that such ideas should be reconceptualised more efficiently through contextual reconsideration.

Chapter 7 illustrates local experiences of making social progress and its inherent contradictions as seen through the eyes of three controversial parties. The chapter shows that conditional contexts and life opportunities (i.e. attending modernist schooling and undocumented living status and religions) caused different degrees of impact upon social progress and aspirations among such parties. Chapter 8 discusses politics across maasher and mainstream development. It also reconceptualises the whole set of local experiences of development, addressed in relation to an extant theoretical framework. Through a power analysis of mainstream development, its discourse was socially produced and proliferated by its agents on the ground. The chapter also signifies that mainstream development multiplied itself through more discursive mechanisms. In contrast, indigenous-local ideas of making social progress passed themselves on through their more practical mechanisms. In the final chapter, Chapter 9, the findings of the thesis are drawn together and summarised. The chapter discusses the notion of wattanathamchumchon (Cultural Development Perspective: CDP). Also, it proposes key theoretical-methodological and development policy-making implications for both academia and industry, with a view towards making social progress in the future.

Chapter 2 Theoretical Landscape and Framework of Development Anthropology

Development is thus a slippery and elusive character in the story, its meaning shifting according to who is using it and in what context (Gardner, 2012, p. 5).

The peculiar representation of Lesotho which emerges from The World Bank Report must not be understood as simply the product of mistakes or errors. There are, indeed, mistakes and errors in the report just reviewed, and there are nearly as many in most other such reports. But these mistakes and errors are always of a particular kind, and they almost invariably tend in predictable directions. The statistics are wrong, but always the same fantasy (Ferguson, 2014, p. 55).

2.1 Introduction

This chapter's central focus is to make sense of the theoretical landscape of developmental anthropology and its framework. Accordingly, it is divided into three major sections. The first section explores the broad discussions of development knowledge, including global development's trajectory, critically rethinking ideas of making social progress and the current demarcations of development knowledge. The second section investigates how mainstream development is deemed a contestable hegemonic discourse. The section considers notions of power and resistance. Next, we consider regulation of development's rationality on its objects through the concepts of hegemony and governmentality. Finally, we present the nexus arising between mainstream development's knowledge, a regime of truth, and the structural production of its discourse. The third section discusses and signposts those principal areas of the thesis elucidated through this theoretical framework. One of the highlights of the chapter is the contention that a post-developmental critique addresses the domination by mainstream development of the whole development industry. It also considers the supportive theoretical framework in which other possible ideas of making social progress can be identified and emerge.

2.2 Examination of Development Knowledge

2.2.1 Trajectory of Global Development

Some aspects of the importance of global development's trajectory must be addressed. This section will present it in chronological sequence. To begin with, when global society began to focus on the elevation of people's QoL, particularly from the 1960s onwards, the main challenge was how such an elevation could actually occur. A wide range of transnational development organisations, particularly those funded by The World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), increasingly worked together to achieve this transformation, particularly through trickle-down mechanisms offered by development projects and financial support.

From the 1950s to the 1960s, the phenomenon of international aid saw transnational development organisations enthusiastically offering financial support to elevate the standard of living of those identified as being in need. A significant motivation that emerged during The Cold War was the liberation of The Least Developed Countries (LDCs) from communist influence by fostering strong partnerships and dependence on first world liberal states (Gardner & Lewis, 1996; Mabogunje, 1980). The US played a major role in promoting such liberation.

Historically, The Truman Doctrine, proclaimed by Harry S. Truman, the 33rd US president, on March 12, 1947, is seen as marking the beginning of The US's evolution into a global policeman. It entailed committing resources and manpower worldwide in an attempt to contain what some perceived as a mythical monolith: the international Communist conspiracy. While critics and defenders of The Truman Doctrine have their differences, they tend to agree on two points: that the President's statement marked a pivotal moment in the history of American foreign policy and that US involvement in The Vietnam War was a logical, perhaps even inevitable, extension of the policy Truman initiated (Gaddis, 1974).

There is no doubt that President Truman employed sweeping rhetoric, suggesting an unprecedented commitment to resisting communism wherever it surfaced (Gaddis, 1974). This mainstream development approach was thus employed globally as a political tool by capitalist liberal states, aiming to spread the liberal ideology as a safeguard against the political influence of socialist-communist states. This geopolitical tension led to a tripartite division of the world into the first (liberal), second (socialist), and third (LDCs) worlds (Escobar, 1995; McMichael, 2008).

During The Cold War, LDCs were targeted by both first and second-world states to become their partners. Mainstream development, as a project for the alleviation of poverty and the elevation of people's QoL, was first proposed in LDCs by the first world states. It was hoped that such development projects would sabotage second world efforts, as people in LDCs in partnership with the first world states would be happy and satisfied with their newfound QoL. If they lived well, they probably would not need to look at other developmental approaches for their national socio-economic improvement. As identified above, the alternative contending approach for socio-economic improvement in The LDCs was socialist communism, wherein issues of justice and equality in terms of socio-economic standing were elevated. People in socialist-communist states were ideally secured in their livelihoods through socio-economic equality, as they could take advantage of the equitable allocation of resources by the socialist-communist states. At the same time, these states sabotaged the first world states by alleging that capitalist liberal First World Countries' decision-making and implementation of socio-economic policies probably contributed to widespread socio-economic injustice and inequality (Escobar, 1995; Gardner & Lewis, 1996).

Aid, as provided by the first world states, was however only offered through practices of trickle-down modernisation. In a literal, though not personal sense, Modernisation Theory mainly identifies how traditional societies are made modern. It considers the internal social variables of societies and the assistance needed to transform such traditional ways to become modern. The transformation is created through funding, adopting new technologies and making traditional societies follow the path and manner that more developed societies have taken. The trickle-down mechanism seeks to distribute wealth, progress, technology and other material standards of living from core modern societies to peripheral ones. However, by the late 1960s, some of the failures of such trickle-down mechanisms had gradually emerged (Ferguson, 2014).

In the 1970s, Robert McNamara, an American business executive and politician, served as the head of The World Bank. He brought the issue of global poverty to the forefront of the global development agenda. Transnational financial aid continued to be offered to state-owned development sectors. Under McNamara, states played a key role in enabling development and alleviating poverty through financial support from The World Bank. Nevertheless, during this period, The World Bank's development model was initially criticised as being one of the causes that exacerbated global poverty and socio-economic inequality (Waeyenberge, 2006). Frank and Wallerstein (Gardner & Lewis, 1996) went on to develop Dependency Theory and World System Theory, respectively, as a critique of The World Bank's model.

According to Gardner and Lewis (1996), and based on Frank's notion of the structure of underdevelopment in Latin America, Dependency Theory draws considerably upon radical Marxism. The major discussion in the theory focuses on the unequal relations existing between developed and less developed nations, couched in the terminology of North and South. In particular, inequality in terms of international trade, exacerbated by the economic protectionist policies of the global North and the export dependence of The South, became very apparent. The conceptual model explaining this redistributive process is the asymmetric relationship arising between core modern states and their peripheries, with Wallerstein's World System one of the better known conceptual models. This model depicted the global North as the core states behind capitalist modes of production, and the global South as their dependent peripheries. Such peripheries are inevitably and inextricably linked with capitalist modes of production, as peripheral states unavoidably feed raw materials to the capitalist manufacturing industries of these core states. This situation makes such peripheral states dependent upon capitalist markets and unable to develop their manufacturing industries to suit and supply local needs. Moreover, capitalist elites in The South exacerbated the development of peripheral states by taking advantage of their local populations, mostly via unequal exchanges such as those trades established between rural peasants, remorseless middlemen and the capitalist elites. The raw

materials and profits finally leaked out of the peripheral states and into the hands of the capitalist elites and the shareholders of their private enterprises.

At a local level, such a model can also serve to explain the exploitative relations that evolved between the urban and rural areas of The South. The urban areas, as modern cores, suck raw materials from the rural environs, with the latter's local capitalists, through their strong connections with the urban capitalists, playing a crucial role in this extraction of resources. The theories of Dependency and World System thus make sense of underdevelopment, as it is embedded in global political structures. Although these places are not underdeveloped accidentally, they are actively run underdevelopment schemes that serve to benefit other areas within the core-periphery relation. In this sense, carrying out policy reforms from a Modernisation Theory perspective cannot provide adequate ways out of underdevelopment, as such reforms do not address the roots of the problems inherent within global political structures. Viewing development models through Modernisation Theory could potentially alleviate the short-term miseries of life adversities in The South. However, one of the possible solutions these theories posit is that peripheral states must radically reform their socio-cultural and political structures so as not to be dependent on first world aid; indeed, a socialist-inspired revolution is an example of such radical internal restructuring (Gardner & Lewis, 1996).

Escobar (1995) encouraged careful scrutiny of The World Bank's development model during the 1980s-1990s as part of the economic reforms which occurred during the transition from liberal to neoliberal ideologies within the paradigms of economic development. Indeed, as global poverty and inequality persisted during the early 1980s, The World Bank, working with The IMF, started making loans to LDCs for their structural adjustment. This structural adjustment, or bureaucratic reform, was increasingly expected to help LDCs become more efficient in their development administration. The lending was tightly bound, with very strict conditions that caused each LDC government to regain its recentralised-administrative role in the enterprise of bureaucratic reform to ensure that it would create a perfectly working market. Such perfectly working markets were assumed, by both The World Bank and IMF, to help LDCs to maximise their trading interests, with their ensuing economic growth possibly leading to a better QoL for their citizens, albeit indirectly. Critical notice at the time implied that successful development needed state intervention to achieve the structural adjustments necessary for a perfectly working market (Waeyenberge, 2006).

Neoliberal ideology, adopting a market-based approach to economic systems, emphasises the functionality of a free market. Despite the perception that the state's involvement in development administration would diminish, it allowed for state intervention in managing a

market-based economy, following the principles of neoliberal development encapsulated in The Washington Consensus.[4] This involved practices such as fiscal discipline, redirecting public expenditure, tax reform, interest rate liberalisation, exchange rate management, trade liberalisation, liberalisation of foreign direct investment, privatisation, deregulation, and the protection of property rights. The Washington Consensus, often seen as policy-based lending (Waeyenberge, 2006), reflects the incorporation of liberal ideology into global markets, presenting potential benefits for core economies under specific conditions.

Furthermore, the concept of sustainable development emerged in the development industry during the 1980s, presenting an approach that underscores two often conflicting perspectives. One perspective is concerned with curbing the excessive consumption of natural resources, while the other prioritises material development for economic growth and human well-being, contingent on the availability and utilisation of natural resources (Redclift, 1987). In essence, sustainable development proposes a balance between an economically growth-oriented approach, the prudent use of natural resources, and the promotion of social equality.

Prior to 1987, there was significant debate about the meaning of sustainable development due to the term's inherent ambiguity and multiple potential interpretations (Hadden & Seybert, 2016; Redclift, 1987). A more precise definition of global sustainable development emerged following the publication of a 1987 report on sustainable development by The World Commission of Environment and Development (WCED), also known as The Brundtland Commission (Redclift, 1987; WCED, 1987). The report defined sustainable development as "development which meets the needs of current generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." This definition is commonly known as The Brundtland definition (WCED, 1987, p. 41).

During the 1990s, the notion of economic improvement via the development industry was seriously challenged and ideas of making social progress were initially studied as a discourse. The discourse analysis of The World Bank's development model and its practices became a wider discussion, it has been influential in academic critiques of the development industry. Knowledge of The World Bank's development model, together with its production and its

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[4] The Washington Consensus comprises ten economic policy prescriptions considered the "standard" reform package for developing countries confronting economic crises. These guidelines were crafted by institutions based in Washington, DC, including International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and The United States Department of the Treasury. English economist John Williamson coined the term in 1989. The recommendations put forth by The Washington Consensus endorse policies that advocate for free markets, emphasising macroeconomic stabilisation, liberalisation of trade and investment, and the augmentation of market forces within domestic economies (Waeyenberge, 2006).

influence over LDCs, were primarily explored via poststructuralist and postcolonial analysis (Escobar, 1995; Ferguson, 2014; Gardner & Lewis, 1996).

Ferguson (2014) and Escobar (1995) rose to become two of the most influential development anthropologists. They built upon other development anthropologists by examining The World Bank's development model through socio-cultural discourse. Their notions also encourage us to be aware that The World Bank's development model partly exacerbated global poverty and inequality. There were also hidden exploitative relations that arose between the developed and the less developed worlds. Ferguson further highlighted that, at the time when mainstream development was first introduced, such development was seemingly intended to enable global transformation into a capitalist, industrial and modern economy couched in such terms as capitalist development, the development of the forces of production, and modernity. However, from a moral perspective, such development has also had a domineering influence on our understanding of what improvement of The QoL actually means. In this sense, while superficially speaking, mainstream development is an activity in the form of a social programme, one which sought to reduce global poverty, from the 1970s onwards it seemed that some of the rural development projects had only served to become part of the global expansion of capitalist modes of production.

Seemingly, the implementation of economic improvements alone could not sustainably elevate The QoL or lift people out of poverty and inequality in the long term. Thus, in the 1990s, the concept of human development, first introduced by Amartya Sen in 1999, became one of the alternative approaches to more sustainably emancipate people from socio-economic adversity. Human development posits that socio-cultural and political dimensions must be seriously considered in development practices. This approach suggests that individuals should have the freedom to make their own life choices. In this vein, human development emphasises that everyone deserves equal entitlement to a good life, thereby broadening the definition of development to include human welfare (Sen, 1999).

An individual scale of assessing the predicament of development is perhaps more essential than a national scale. It compels us to consider the comprehensive effects of development, rather than casually assuming that economic growth and the increased aggregate income it generates will smoothly and unproblematically translate into improvements in the human condition (Khan H. A., 2004; Navarro, 2000; Sen, 1999). Such individual assessments examine five livelihood assets: financial, natural, social, physical, and human capital (Fukuda-Parr, 2003; Khan H. A., 2004; McGregor J. , 2008; Navarro, 2000; Robeyns, 2005; Sen, 1999). However,

from the 1990s onwards, it became more common to delve into what is termed the post-development era (Ferguson, 2014; Gardner & Lewis, 1996).

Between the 1990s and the 2010s, The United Nations (UN) introduced The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) specifically for Least Developed Countries (LDCs). These eight goals addressed global concerns related to poverty, hunger, disease, inadequate education, gender inequality, and environmental degradation. They were universally adopted and came with established, measurable, and time-bound objectives. The MDGs played a pivotal role, particularly in the global anti-poverty efforts, spanning from 2000 to 2015. The primary focus was on developed countries aiding LDCs by fostering solidarity and providing assistance through financial support and advanced technologies. However, The MDGs had a more flexible structure, lacking firm legal commitments and being regarded more as a set of moral and practical commitments rather than stringent obligations (McMichael, 2008; Sachs, 2012).

As of the early 2020s, it appears that some of the previously set goals have not been fully achieved, and significant environmental concerns persist. Recognising the imperative of addressing these ongoing challenges, The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were initially formulated at The Rio+20 summit in June 2012. The SDGs emerged explicitly during a special session of The UN General Assembly convened to review The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) the following year. The intention was to extend efforts to achieve The MDGs while also addressing environmental issues that remained unattended in the earlier goals. The SDGs follow the "triple bottom-line" approach to human well-being, incorporating the interconnected dimensions of economic development, environmental sustainability, and social inclusion. Encompassing a broad spectrum of economic, social, and environmental issues, the seventeen global goals aim to tackle challenges related to poverty, hunger, health, education, climate change, gender equality, water, sanitation, energy, environment, and social justice. As part of the post-2015 development agenda, The SDGs are designed to guide the development industry until 2030 (Sachs, 2012).

According to Sachs (2012), one of the experts who served Secretary-Generals Kofi Annan and Ban Ki-Moon as a special adviser on The MDGs and The SDGs, these global goals remain important because the world is confronting a new set of challenges. For example, in addition to climate change, humanity is facing a rapid growth of the global population. As such, the demand for grains and meats will increase. It is predicted that one billion people, particularly in Africa and South Asia, will continually face hunger and malnourishment. Differences in educational attainment have ensured a perpetuation of the longstanding inequality between professionals and non-professionals. Discrimination against women and minority groups, such as ethnic, religious and racial groups, is currently intensifying.

The overall trajectory of global development introduces us to the transmutation in terms of the shapes of ideas for making social progress. After the embodiment of ideas of making social progress was firmly framed into a liberalist agenda during the 1960s, the shapes of these ideas had seemingly been similarly transformed. From the first goal of improving people's QoL to the present-day SDGs, developmental thinking has ontologically suggested that we were possibly experiencing its politics of recognition, shape and goals. All in all, these helped to shape the overarching questions embedded within this thesis.

2.2.2   Contemporary Critiques of Development

Ferguson's (2014) critique suggests it is hard to separate common development ideas from academic ones. This difference is less noticeable outside of LDCs. In this thesis section, instead of using "development," we use "ideas of making social progress" to mean "kwaamcharoen" (progress). This is further discussed in sections 4.2 and 7.5.3. The goal is to find a neutral term for positive social change that is not necessarily called "development" in the liberalist sense. This can change how we view power and bias in these ideas.

In a liberalist sense, the roots of development can be traced back to The Truman Doctrine (Gaddis, 1974; Truman, 1947) and Walt Rostow's Theory of "The Stages of Economic Growth" (Rostow, 1959, p. 1; Tsiang, 1964, p. 1). The Truman Doctrine, announced by President Harry S. Truman on March 12, 1947, was a cornerstone of American foreign policy. It committed to supporting democracies against authoritarian threats, with the primary objective of containing Soviet geopolitical expansion during The Cold War. Truman further detailed this doctrine on July 4, 1948, by expressing the commitment to counteract communist uprisings in Greece and Turkey. Beyond these specific commitments, The Truman Doctrine symbolised broader American support for nations facing the influence of The Soviet Union. It set the stage for American foreign policy and played a pivotal role in the formation of The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in 1949, an alliance that endures today. Historians frequently use Truman's speech to mark the beginning of The Cold War. In addressing Congress, Truman stated:

> It must be the policy of The United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or outside pressure (Truman, 1947).

Truman argued that totalitarian regimes, by coercing free peoples, posed a direct threat to international peace and the national security of The United States. He contended that without aid, Greece and Turkey were at risk of succumbing to communism, with potentially severe consequences for the entire region. The Truman Doctrine, therefore, became informally ingrained as the cornerstone of American Cold War policy, extending its influence not only in Europe but globally. It marked a significant shift in American foreign policy towards The Soviet Union, transitioning from a wartime

alliance to a strategy focused on containing Soviet expansion. This shift was particularly notable in response to the earlier Soviet takeovers in Eastern Europe (Gaddis, 1974; Truman, 1947).

Rostow's five stages provide a generalised framework for understanding modern economic history, delineating key growth phases: the traditional society, the preconditions for take-off, the take-off, the drive to maturity, and the age of high mass consumption. These stages offer a structured overview of the economic development process, depicting the transition from traditional agrarian societies to advanced industrialised economies. Beyond the age of high mass consumption, challenges have emerged in some societies, potentially arising from the diminishing relative marginal utility of real income. Rostow's stages are underpinned by dynamic propositions concerning shifts in supply, demand, and production patterns over the course of economic development.

In contrast, Rex Mortimer's works, particularly "*Indonesian Communism under Sukarno*: Ideology and Politics 1959-1965" (Mortimer, 2006) and "*Stubborn Survivors*: Dissenting Essays on Peasants and Third World Development" (Mortimer, Herbert, Tiffen, & Monash University, 1984), present a politically charged perspective, suggesting that mainstream development approaches might exacerbate existing problems. Informed by a Marxist lens, Mortimer's writings are shaped by the interests and concerns he developed during his membership in The Australian Communist Party (which he left in 1969) and his two significant trips to Asia—one to China in 1957 and another to Indonesia in 1964—prior to pursuing postgraduate studies. Focusing on The Indonesian Communist Party during the Sukarno years, Mortimer offers insights into Asian Marxism, social science, and peasant issues. He critiques the limitations of development theory, shares his experiences in China, and notably, contributes a seminal article on the shortcomings of Australian scholarship on Southeast Asia (Khan J. S., 1985; Legge, 1980; Scott, 1986; Simpson, 2009; Young, 1986).

According to Khan (1985, pp. 128-129), Mortimer placed significance on the undertaking of critiquing academic liberalism. This endeavor, while not solely driven by immediate political goals, serves to unveil the political implications inherent in liberal social science. Beyond that, Mortimer aimed to carve out a space for a critical approach within the realm of academic social science. The specific contours of this approach are outlined by the critique of liberalism, which:

obliges us to look beyond specific instances of short term economic succcess or failure among Southeast Asian and other new states to the basic long term tendencies at work in both parts of the world. It requires us to re-examine all our assumptions about progress, reconciliation, universalism, and the respective weights to be attached to reformism and root-and-branch challenge to existing world relationships. It compels us to integrate to neglected international relations dimensions of development into Southeast Asia studies, and dissect the impact of foreign economic, political and cultural penetration upon Southeast Asian societies in a no-holds-barred fashion. It robs us of all justification for imposing straitjackets upon out ambit of investigation by excluding such questions as the relevance of the experience of China and north Vietnam to the problems of development. It may even force us to conclude that The Third World Countries can only obtain relief from the excruciating fix by which they are forced to defind themselves in terms of something that is unattainable and withheld from them, in a world where the overweening power of the industrial gigants has been broken (Mortimer, Herbert, Tiffen, & Monash University, 1984, p. 139).

Not only did Mortimer produce works focusing on Indonesia before his death, but Tania Murray Li is another post-development anthropologist actively contributing to Indonesian development studies. Some of her insights align with this thesis section, where this author contends that mainstream development often exacerbates existing issues. In her essay "*Compromising Power*: Development, Culture, and Rule in Indonesia" (1999, p. 295), Li's study is firmly rooted in an ethnographic analysis of Indonesia's official programme for resettling isolated populations. While there are many accounts detailing the harm inflicted on indigenous populations by inept bureaucrats and oppressive regimes, Li's focus diverges. She aims less to shed light on the predictable disruptions caused by state power at the periphery and more to emphasise the importance of such peripheral activities in shaping the self-proclaimed centre. As others have illustrated how colonialism was pivotal in the West's self-perception (Cooper & Stoler, 1997), Li delves into development as a modern state's endeavour at self-definition and governance, both always being fragile and contingent achievements.

Regarding Thailand, the country's shift away from liberalist development may be attributed to its deep-seated political conflicts between inherent national totalitarianism and external liberalism. Over time, the latter struggles to endure in the long term as it is frequently undermined by coups (Bello, 2006; Bello, Cunningham, & Poh, 1998). Historically, the Thai military, more than any other in Southeast Asia, has demonstrated a consistent tendency to intervene in politics, executing approximately 13 military coups since 1932. Thai military personnel harbour a deep-seated institutional disdain for civilian politicians, whom they perceive as inept. While generals often promise a return to civilian rule post-coup, they tend to govern either directly or indirectly through military-appointed civilians. Frequently, these generals have formulated interim constitutions that position them as advisors to interim civilian governments (Bello, 2006; Bello, Cunningham, & Poh, 1998).

For instance, the civilians under the scrutiny of the generals often exhibit a tendency towards compliance for the regime. Supachai Panitchpakdi, a prime contender, served as a director-general of The World Trade Organisation, where his leadership was perceived as weak and overly aligned with the interests of developed countries rather than those of developing nations. Furthermore, between 1997 and 1998, he held the position of deputy premier in Chaun Leekpai's second administration, which stringently adhered to an IMF programme that had detrimental effects on the country. At the time, he admitted at an interview:

> We have lost our autonomy, our ability to determine our macroeconomic policy. This is unfortunate (Bello, 2006, p. 5).

His track record raises questions about his capacity to withstand the influence of the military and other dominant factions within the nation. This regression from democratic principles carries implications that extend beyond Thailand alone. The coup reflects a broader pattern: a notable crisis of legitimacy among the elite democracies established during the 1980s and 1990s, which Samuel Huntington characterised as the "Third Wave of Democratisation." The Thai coup marks the second significant downfall of an elite democracy in recent memory, prompting speculation about the possibility of further such occurrences. Bello ponders whether this trend signals a counter-movement that could potentially steer democracies toward totalitarian or semi-totalitarian regimes (Bello, 2006; Bello, Cunningham, & Poh, 1998).

The structure of liberal democracy underwent a division into its constituent elements: liberalism and democracy. Bello described this scenario as "Democracy on The Ropes," wherein elections, though relatively free, primarily served to determine which coalition of elites would wield governmental power as a means of advancing private capital accumulation. Predictably, the widespread corruption during the 1980s and 1990s alienated the middle class in Bangkok. Additionally, both urban and rural poor populations failed to perceive the advent of democracy as heralding significant changes in their lives (Bello, 2006; Bello, Cunningham, & Poh, 1998). Consequently, Bello, among other sociologists, contends that the notion of development within a liberalist framework is incompatible with Thailand's totalitarian culture and exacerbates existing issues. Through Panitchapakdi's earlier mentioned interview, indications emerge suggesting severe compromises in liberalism, democracy, national autonomy, and macroeconomic policies in Thailand. These challenges persisted from the era of corruption through the Asian financial crisis of 1997-2001 (for further detailed discussions, refer to section 2.2.3).

To date, Jason Hickel stands out as a prominent post-developmental critic, challenging the merits of economic growth and advocating for degrowth. Notably, his book "*Less Is More*: How Degrowth Will Save the World" serves as a crucial piece where liberalist development is critically

examined. He presents a compelling indictment of capitalism's impact on human society and, more recently, on the environment that sustains us all (Beeson, 2021; Hickel, 2021).

Hickel's central claim, elaborated upon in the first part of his book, is that the productivity-driven behaviour associated with homo economicus is not innate. This behaviour is a result of five centuries of cultural conditioning. Essentially, individuals have been moulded, and sometimes even forced, to adopt behaviours that may not align with our intrinsic social nature but undeniably contribute to the rapid degradation of the biosphere. It is indisputable that humanity's collective footprint on the environment has reached unsustainable levels. Yet, as Hickel observes, some individuals bear more responsibility than others. Despite hopes of an economy's dematerialisation, even service sector jobs demand considerable material resources. Furthermore, rampant consumption and the concentration of resources among a few exacerbates inequality — a significant and intentional by-product of capitalist expansion that urgently needs addressing (Hickel, 2021).

From this realisation, two radical conclusions emerge. First, any policy aimed at reducing the incomes of the ultra-rich will benefit the environment. Second, achieving justice is paramount to counteracting the growth imperative and addressing the climate crisis. Such ideas, previously deemed unattainable, now seem feasible, especially as states demonstrate their potential in response to urgent crises (Beeson, 2021; Hickel, 2021). Beeson (2021) adds that scaling such interventions is challenging. One silver lining from the climate crisis is the growing acknowledgment that it is a collective issue; no country is truly isolated, not even Australia. Recognising the profound nature of these problems and accepting that collective effort and sacrifice are paramount in the new global order marks the beginning of the solution.

Hickel (2021) offers the most comprehensive argument for "degrowth" encountered by this author. At its core, degrowth advocates for a planned reduction in energy and resource use, aiming to balance the economy with the natural world in a safe, just, and equitable manner. It seems precisely the collective action needed at this pivotal moment. It is heartening to witness thought leaders who comprehend the challenges faced by humanity and propose credible solutions. However, Hickel's insights about the monumental shift in mindset required highlight the enormity of the task in the shrinking timeframe available. He underscores that the battle is not merely economic; it is a profound re-evaluation of our existential beliefs. It necessitates decolonising not just territories and communities but also our mindsets. This author concurs with Hickel's prognosis on the unsustainability of capitalism and the potential pathways to reshape our socio-economic fabric (Beeson, 2021; Hickel, 2021).

From the standpoint of this thesis, ideas of making social progress and tensions should simply be understood as defining those projects that enhance QoL and help to eradicate poverty. It is

believed that people will have a better education, agricultural productivity, communicative networks and healthcare programmes (Khan H. A., 2004; Navarro, 2000; Sen, 1999). This life enhancement is encouraged through infrastructural development. Mainstream development might commence with the construction of bigger dams for better irrigation systems, power plants for electricity supply systems, highways for better communicative systems, and so forth. The question is whether the alternatives are mutually exclusive. *What if those very projects exacerbate injustice and inequality or have hidden agendas?*

For this reason, the thesis follows the reasoning of Ferguson (2014). According to Ferguson, the examination of a development project in Lesotho in the 1980s, supported mainly by The World Bank and The Canadian Institute for Development Management, was instructive, yielding a useful and broader understanding of development approaches and projects. The development programme in Lesotho systematically divided its work into seven interconnected sub-projects. The project tackled issues of agriculture, education, rural development, cooperative enterprises and health. Four of the seven sub-projects directly promoted triumph over physical adversity. The others facilitated these four other sub-projects, establishing offices for administration, economic analysis and evaluation, as well as a mechanical and technical division. The Thaba-Tseka district, which was selectively targeted, constituted a pilot case study of how to overcome geographical adversity. Lesotho is referenced here because the systematic implementation of the development project was superficially envisaged as a commonsense response to life adversity. On the surface, it seemed that the people of Thaba-Tseka would be more able to enjoy higher QoL with more life choices. It seems reasonable enough to suggest that a development project can have a positive impact upon people in LDCs. However, without a critical consideration of the ideas of making social progress, we would likely never realise that an idea of making social progress can represent something other than mainstream development's projects for well-being. Section 2.3.4 explores this issue in more depth.

This thesis is indebted to Ferguson (2014), Escobar (1995) and Li (2007), as they provide an alternative account of the ideas of making social progress as a consequence of the influence of Foucauldian discourse analysis. Examining mainstream development as a political economy and discourse, they tap into mainstream development, not only as projects for well-being, but also as other more profound forms of being a dominant discourse. Their deconstructions of mainstream development mark the unlocking of the ontology of its power and domination over the development industry. In this sense they ask the questions, *why is it that only mainstream development dominates other ways of making social progress in this development industry? Why are other development models in this industry not subtly revealed?* The power and the domination of mainstream development are suggested to underpin how The World

Bank sought opportunities to monopolise the market of the development industry and highjack the political agenda of global political economy. Mainstream development, thus, provided employment opportunities, the growth of new marketplaces, the making of foreign investments and the commercialisation of new technologies. As it could also possibly be deemed a geopolitical space, it was a way for liberal and democratic ideologies to be disseminated globally. All in all, Ferguson and Escobar have provided this thesis with the theoretical lens to make sense of ideas of making social progress more profoundly.

When considering mainstream development as a geopolitical space, we cannot separate the local politics of development practices from global forces. The model of The World System of exploitative relations between modern cores and their peripheries reminds us how development benefits at every scale. The development industry, hence, is not only an interface where contributions to projects for well-being and liberal progressivism occur, it is also a battleground where struggles for justice undoubtedly continue. In this regard, this situation implies that one of the reasons as to why development practices and their stakeholders can have a better life and state of happiness can be achieved more readily than in other contexts.

However, this umbrella term of development, which was used in quite a liberalist sense, may yield different senses of power, bias and cultural-ideological politics to other possible weak ideas of making social progress. Personally, this author's fixed ontology in terms of ideas of making social progress was made more flexible because its social nature had seemingly never been fixed. Ontologically, the shift proved that there may exist as yet untapped ways of thinking about such ideas. Most importantly, it was sufficiently critical that, we could start conceiving how we could tap into such untapped ways of thinking to make sense of such ideas from other possible angles as yet not considered. Thus, this thesis started with a reconsideration of the alternatives to describing, both in general and neutral terms, making change and betterment, ideas which may not necessarily be deemed as development in relatively a liberalist sense. From this point onwards, this author initially decided upon calling these general and neutral notions as ideas of making social progress (kwaamcharoen) in lieu of development. Most importantly, this is intended to show an ideological and political-economic awareness of the prevailing ideological politics and historiographical development surrounding mainstream development.

2.2.3   Development Anthropology Demarcation

In this section, we draw upon the insights of several scholars in the field, specifically Escobar, McGregor,[5] Gardner, and Li to address five key points related to the demarcation of development anthropology. The first part highlights how the post-development critique currently serves as a general demarcation. The second and third parts delve into the individual contributions of Escobar and McGregor. The fourth part focuses on Gardner's emphasis and affirmation of demarcation. Lastly, the section examines Li's research in Indonesia, suggesting that the findings from the Indonesian context might also apply to the situation in Thailand.

Initially, development anthropology has traversed boundaries and delineated the post-development critique, which challenges traditional conceptualisations of mainstream development and thus complicates the understanding of social processes. Consequently, an expanding array of scholars, activists, and intellectuals across diverse disciplines within the development realm has proposed alternative worldviews concerning how social progress can be understood. Notably, new perspectives, particularly those rooted in geographical and anthropological approaches, have emerged. Moreover, the distinction between the perspectives of academics and practitioners is increasingly blurred, as they integrate their own insights with those of stakeholders, including rural communities. This convergence entails that various actors now play pivotal roles in offering radical critiques of problematic development paradigms. Such dynamics characterise the landscape of post-development (Escobar, 1995).

Secondly, as highlighted by Escobar (1995), poststructuralist and postcolonial critiques have had a significant impact on post-development discourse. These critiques have brought to light the internal dynamics between Western-centric development discourses and their hegemonic power relations that dominate over less developed countries (LDCs). In his influential work "*Encountering Development*: The Making and The Unmaking of The Third World," Escobar argues that the development discourse propagated by institutions like The World Bank directly contributes to the widespread impoverishment and underdevelopment of LDCs, along with their control, organisation, and exploitation. This perspective offers a divergent view on the effects of The World Bank's development discourse. Employing Foucauldian discourse analysis, Escobar (1995)suggests that development is shaped by three key axes: dominant liberalist knowledge forms, subjectivity forms molded by such discourse, and the regime of power that governs practices.

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[5] While McGregor may not be universally recognised as an anthropologist, his perspectives on development studies are nonetheless valuable and merit inclusion in this section.

Escobar's three axes, primarily influenced by Foucauldian discourse analysis and Said's Orientalism (2003), suggest a complex interplay between the establishment of power relations and the construction of development discourse by institutions such as The World Bank within the development industry. In a similar vein, Said's Orientalism offers a discursive examination of colonial regimes and the imperialist formation of former colonial states, while Escobar illustrates the parallels in how the development discourse propagated by The World Bank can inadvertently assert dominance over LDCs. Specifically, Escobar's critique compellingly underscores the significant repercussions of globally labeling Asian, African, and Latin American states as LDCs and treating them accordingly (Escobar, 1995)(see more discussions in detail in the section 8.6.1).

Thirdly, McGregor's (2009) examination of post-development sheds light on the fundamental disparities between the two conceptualisations of development. Advocates of the first concept argue that mainstream development contributes positively to reducing global poverty. Conversely, proponents of the second concept assert that mainstream development perpetuates global poverty and inequality by fueling the expansion of global capitalism. Similar to Escobar, the latter group views mainstream development as a geopolitical arena where transnational development organisations exercise their influence. They perceive mainstream development as a mechanism for inequality and the promotion of global capitalism for several reasons. Crucially, they see it as a space where power is wielded geopolitically to further the interests of dominant actors and maintain existing structures of inequality and exploitation.

An illustrative example is the progressive liberal ideology evident in The World Bank's development discourse, which prioritises economic growth based on Modernisation Theory and its trickle-down effect. Consequently, certain social institutions must adapt to bureaucratic reforms and structural adjustments required by LDCs to foster ideal functioning markets. These adaptations aim to align social institutions with commercial frameworks within market-based economies, where they coexist and compete alongside private firms, pivotal in delivering services. The influence of neoliberal ideology within economic development paradigms has led to the privatisation of state-owned sectors, including water and energy providers (Gore, 2010; Waeyenberge, 2006). Consequently, the private sector gains greater control over certain social services such as utility supplies and healthcare programs. While competition among suppliers may ensure acceptable quality, equitable access remains uncertain as prices fluctuate in market-based economies, posing challenges for individuals with low or unstable incomes.

During the 1997-2001 Asian financial crisis, local elites were not the primary culprits. Taking Thailand as an example, The IMF pressured the incumbent government to adopt a rigorous reform programme. This programme entailed significantly reducing expenditures, declaring numerous corporations

bankrupt, liberalising foreign investment laws, and privatising state enterprises. The IMF's $72 billion rescue fund was not utilised to bolster the local economy but rather to enable the government to settle its debts with foreign creditors (Bello, 1999; Bello, 2006; Bello, Cunningham, & Poh, 1998).

When the initial government of the period hesitated to adopt these measures, The IMF advocated for a change in leadership. The succeeding government complied entirely with the Fund's directives. For the next three years, Thailand had a government that was more accountable to a foreign entity than its own citizenry. Given these circumstances, it is unsurprising that the government's credibility waned, resulting in an economic downturn and over one million Thais descending into poverty. Meanwhile The US Trade Representative told The US Congress that:

> The Thai government's commitments to restructure public enterprises and accelerate privatisation of certain key sectors – including energy, transportation, utilities and communication – (are expected) to create new business opportunities for US firms (Bello, 2006, pp. 2-3).

The IMF played a significant role in undermining the legitimacy of Thailand's nascent democracy. This was not an isolated incident; there have been numerous instances where The Fund eroded a government's credibility, especially among the economically disadvantaged. This pattern seems to be reversing the so-called "Third Wave" of democratisation that began in the developing world in the mid-seventies. In many of these instances, The IMF – with the backing of the US government – is implicated. For example, in Venezuela in 1989, a surge in transportation costs triggered an urban revolt against a fragile democratic regime. In The Philippines, The IMF eroded the credibility of the post-Marcos democracy by prioritising debt repayment over development. Meanwhile, in Pakistan, The IMF and World Bank policies significantly weakened the legitimacy of civilian governments led by Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif (Bello, 1999; Bello, 2006; Bello, Cunningham, & Poh, 1998).

Geopolitically, post-development has shed light on the hegemonic struggle between transnational development organisations and the states under their influence. An emblematic illustration of this domination is the propagation of capitalist liberalism through financial assistance. For instance, in 1947, France became the first nation to receive a development loan from The World Bank. However, this loan was contingent upon stringent preconditions, complicating France's eligibility. Notably, one condition stipulated the immediate removal of all members associated with The French Communist Party from the government. Once France complied with this demand, the loan was swiftly granted and disbursed. Subsequently, similar preconditions were imposed on numerous other countries, particularly LDCs (Bird, 1992; Gardner & Lewis, 1996).

However, this thesis operates under the assumption that mainstream development reinforced and expanded global capitalism and inequality. Additionally, it suggests that the primary

hegemonic struggle between powerful and weak entities continued unabated. This struggle, both at discursive and practical levels, was likely to unfold during this period, with local power struggles generating their own development discourse and practices. Moreover, the perception of development as a discourse remained resistant to deconstruction and restructuring.

Fourth, Gardner's perspective (2012, p. 5) positions her as one of the post-development thinkers who extensively explore the characteristics of the concept. According to Gardner, in the present post-development era, a broader spectrum of individuals, under diverse guises, engage with existing development practices. Furthermore, differing viewpoints regarding notions of social progress result in varied interpretations thereof.

Predictably, cultural losses and gaps are significant focal points for post-development scholars (Escobar, 1995; Ferguson, 2014; Gardner & Lewis, 1996). One approach to identifying such losses and gaps, along with alternative local knowledge, involves critically examining how mainstream development discourse suppresses and conceals the development discourses and practices of marginalised groups. Utilising Foucauldian discourse analysis can unveil the dominance, suppression, and concealment of these marginalised discourses by more powerful voices. Consequently, this approach enables the author to recognise that individuals engaged in development from different contexts often hold divergent notions of social progress. Prior to this realisation, these voices may have remained unheard[6] and marginalised. With this understanding, the thesis incorporates power and discourse analysis into its theoretical framework and develops an appropriate methodological framework.

Lastly, Li critically engages with Ferguson's framework, which critiques development discourse and practices in Lesotho (discussed further in section 2.2.3). She suggests that, while recognising the discursive effects, turning failure into further development involves more than a mechanical internal process. The interaction between development projects and their targets requires intricate cultural work. From a governance perspective, Li asserts that the target group's compliance or even consent is essential to distinguish development from outright coercion (Li, 1999, pp. 298-300).

Li not only introduces a cultural perspective to Ferguson's framework but also delves into the politics involved in translating and recognising development through Indonesian experiences. The relevance of Indonesian cases to the thesis is emphasised by the intricate development history of Indonesia, particularly under the New Order regime, which placed significant emphasis on

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[6] Certain scholars may contend that these voiceless individuals conceivably possess representatives capable of articulating the concerns of the voiceless. The author acknowledges this potential reality throughout the entirety of this ethnographic study.

development with deep and tumultuous roots. The systematic effort to reorder and regulate the relationship between population and resources in Java during the colonial era expanded to other islands, intensifying under the ethical policy in the early 20th century (Anderson, 1983; Breman, 1980; Li, 1999; Schrauwers, 1998). However, disruptions caused by events such as the Japanese occupation, the struggle for independence, regional separatism, and the political mobilisation during the Sukarno era resulted in significant setbacks, disrupting organised government programs (Anderson, 1983; Li, 1999). Suharto's rise to power in 1965, amidst mass killings targeting alleged communists, marked a crucial turning point. The legitimacy of the New Order regime relied heavily on the promise of preventing a return to such chaos, achieved through both overt repression and subtler governance strategies. Scholars like John Pemberton (1994) have highlighted the regime's consistent reframing of political issues in terms of cultural diversity, a theme echoed by others (Dove, 1999; Khan J. S., 1999; Li, 1999; Schrauwers, 1999).

Another assertion is that development should be pursued as the opposite of, and the solution to, an overabundance of politics (Feith, 1981; Langenberg, 1990; Li, 1999). The populace is encouraged to remain out of the streets and within their well-organised villages, directing their efforts towards progress and development. Within the state discourse on culture, "primitives" occupy a somewhat ambiguous position—they have not yet been fully incorporated into bureaucratically recognised and presentable forms of culture. However, they do play a notable though spectral role in the state discourse on development, wherein they:

> have quietly become icons of the archaic disorder that represents the limit and test of state order and development. From the perspective of the elite, primitives, unlike communists, are not regarded as seriously dangerous but rather as wildly untutored – somewhat like ordinary village farmers, but much more so. Disorderly yet vulnerable, primitives are relatively scarce, and their taming becomes an exemplary lesson in marginality through which the more advanced rural poor can be expected to position themselves nearer the centre (Li, 1999, p. 299; Tsing, 1993).

Similar to the politics surrounding the translation of "Development" in Thailand discussed in Chapter one, in the context of Indonesia's New Order, the term "development" is rendered as "pembangunan." Its meaning was redefined by shifting away from its nationalist-era connotations of awakening (membangun) to a more literal interpretation of construction (also membangun). Additionally, the concept of construction was narrowed down from the broader notion of nation-building to the more specific task of constructing the nation's infrastructure and physical facilities. The alternative term that could be translated as "develop" (berkembang) suggests natural growth and progression, which did not align as closely with the objectives of the New Order regime (Heryanto, 1988; Li, 1999).

The physical construction and provision of tangible resources (such as seeds, credit, and cleared land) to the favored constituents of the regime have predominantly been financed by international donors, licensing agreements with transnational corporations, and notably, oil revenues, particularly during the oil decade of 1973-1983. These external funds have not only allowed the regime to restore but also significantly expand the bureaucratic apparatus. They have distributed state resources without imposing significant taxes on citizens, thereby maintaining limited internal accountability (Anderson, 1983; Li, 1999; Tanter, 1990). However, despite the regime's assertive claims, such as designating Suharto as The Father of Development, the legitimacy provided by development during the New Order era has always been fragile (Heryanto, 1988; 1990; Li, 1999). The disparities between the aspirations of individuals seeking state resources and the frustrations of those whose assets—such as land, forests, and other means of livelihood—are seized for state or private initiatives, highlight the unfulfilled promises and constraints of New Order-style development.

By scrutinising the development anthropology landscape, this thesis has assimilated crucial concepts from the literature, fostering an awareness of the shift towards regarding development as discourse. This shift is attributed to the influence of poststructuralist and postcolonial critiques on post-development perspectives. Considering that the delineation of knowledge in developmental anthropology aligns with the post-development premise, any future development knowledge production should be seen as a form of post-development critique.

The philosophical paradigm for critique appears to have shifted towards subjectivism, with social constructionism and interpretivism serving as pivotal ontological and epistemological positions. These perspectives reject singular regimes of truth and pre-existing meanings, suggesting the existence of diverse thought. Consequently, alternative ways of attributing meaning may surpass mere ideas of making social progress, as explored in Chapter 3.

2.3 Post-Development Critique in Perspective

2.3.1 Rethinking Power and Resistance

This section delves into the theoretical discourse surrounding the idea that power operates invisibly and unconsciously in a horizontal manner, challenging conventional understandings of coercive power and presenting a critical paradigm open to questioning. Traditionally, the term "power" can be understood in two distinct senses. Firstly, it may encompass all successful forms of control exerted by one entity over others, while coercion can be seen as the act of securing compliance through the threat of sanctions and deprivation (Lukes, 2005). Alternatively, power may be conceptualised as influence and control, serving as interchangeable synonyms denoting the capacity of one wielder to impact another party, thereby altering the likely course of future

events. However, it becomes evident that power operates within its own complex dynamics. In light of this, three notable issues warrant consideration.

Initially, the traditional understanding of "power" appears limited to its visible manifestations. Lukes (2005) explains that scholars following a pluralist approach to decision-making have historically focused on concrete decisions to theorise power. From this perspective, power is analysed within the context of decision-making scenarios. Pluralists emphasise observing conflicts over key issues as essential for attributing power. They argue that without observable conflict, power cannot be effectively exercised. However, this approach confines power to situations where there is visible conflict over policy preferences, as demonstrated through political participation. In reality, the use of power extends beyond observable behavior during decision-making conflicts (Lukes, 2005).

Even though present scholars increasingly theorise over the concepts of power in its various aspects and critiques, theoretical discussions over the narrow concepts of power use were previously bound together with only the actual behaviour implicated in the making of decisions within a visible political conflict. The genealogy of power studies, as constructed by Foucault and Butler, views the nature of power use in contrast by showing that power can be both invisible and occur without conscious behaviour. In other words, one may act in response to an external power and may simultaneously be wielding internal power, whether voluntarily or involuntarily. Power may thus be quietly affected and it silently operates everywhere one exists.

Foucault's contribution to the knowledge of power is that he looks upon power use in the opposite direction from traditional descriptions of power. His question on power use, thus, is rather to do with an operation of power on the ground rather than looking at the power flowing hierarchically from the top to bottom. Over time, patterns of power use transmute in their form, depending upon the prevailing regime of societal truth. The fluid transformation of the patterns of power used on each occasion and context helps to serve each society by meeting the expectations of those acted upon by the patterns of power used. In this sense, power seems to partly shape what one is expected to be through the everyday experiences in which power is expressed (Foucault, 1982; 1998; Rabinow, 1991; Smart, 1985).

Foucault offers a more profound understanding of the term "power" after he studies conditions for the constitution of delinquents in many forms, including the mad, the sick, the criminal and those who are imprisoned (Foucault, 1965; 1991a). The type of such delinquents in question, particularly the mad, shows us that its form can be fluid in transmuting its predicament of being, meanings and its management of them. These are dependent upon one particular regime of truth in a society at a particular time and location. The regime of truth of a society can be

debunked by new threats and can be transformed over time if a set of the regime of truth is accepted in common. Before the advent of modern Western society, the mad could be treated as sacred individuals who were believed to be able to contact supernatural powers. This regime of truth was threatened by the regime of truth of modernity, particularly forms of psychopathology and modern medicine. The being, meaning and management of the mad have consequently shifted. The mad are now categorised as psychiatric patients and are required to be cured in a psychiatric hospital, or through other medicalised interventions so as to be able to return to a state of normality. The presence of psychopathology and modern medicine in modern Western society, moreover, has legitimately served the society in quarantining the mad in a socially constructed place called an asylum, together with the sick or ill, who are collectively seen as a health threat to normalised individuals. These medical sciences also function as a repository to store knowledge about the mad and other delinquents. Simultaneously, they act as mechanical producers of knowledge on the mad to reproduce power in order to legitimately quarantine those also identified as mad. This case can also be applicable to justify imprisonment of the criminal and the prisoner (Foucault, 1965; 1982).

Secondly, there exists a plausible argument that the observable manifestations of power are primarily evident at a macro level, overlooking its finer nuances at an individual level. By delving into the insights of Foucault and Butler, a deeper understanding of the mechanisms of power and its manifestations can be achieved. Both Foucault and Butler contend that power operates through interpellation, shaping individuals as both subjects and objects of power simultaneously. This suggests that power not only influences individuals but also constructs their identities and determines the conditions of their existence. Thus, power is not solely an external force that individuals resist but also an integral aspect of their being, influencing their actions and shaping their identities.

Butler (1997) offers the "Theory of Subject Formation" wherein the term "power" plays a crucial role for theoretical explanation. Briefly, she claims that there are two forms of power at play around individuals, namely "prior power" and "after power." Butler considers, like Foucault, the individual body as a site in which power is proliferated, accumulated, circulated and wielded. The notion of "prior power" possibly constitutes all those norms that influence individuals, either voluntarily or involuntarily, to follow them. In Butler's view, individuals need this "prior power" as an important resource for the process of forming themselves individually and as socially recognised individuals. Without it, individuals may possibly never be recognised by the self or others. The concept of "prior power" thus prompts individuals either to react against or respond to encompassing norms. The reactions against and responses to such norms will show up in everyone's existence. In other words, the inauguration of being of each individual requires the "prior power" to help inaugurate the process of self-recognition within a society (Butler, 1997).

The theoretical explanation of how "prior power" affects individuals internally is one of Butler's most valuable contributions to knowledge. Individuals' internalisation is processed through having a conscience which normally refers to a sense of right and wrong. Having a conscience is of course influenced by one's perceived encompassing norms. Within the process of internalisation, individuals can be both subjects pressing power on themselves to overcome bad conscience while simultaneously playing the role of subordinates. Likewise, individuals' internalisation of thoughts and deeds through conscience may be considered along with other forms of internalisation. For example, internalisation through conscience is compatible with Freud's structural model of the psyche. The "ego" results from the realistic part through the contention that arises between the "id" and the "superego," with the id representing the set of uncoordinated instinctual trends, and the "superego" playing the critical and moralising role (Butler, 1997).

Additionally, these concepts of internalisation, whether through the maturation of conscience or Freud's psychoanalytic framework, are closely linked with the concept of guilt. This model posits that guilt does not solely stem from the absorption of external restrictions but also functions as a safeguard to shield loved ones from potential harm. Essentially, guilt serves as a mechanism for individuals to adopt societal norms, protecting their cherished relationships and coping with loss. These different modes of internalisation underscore how individuals' internal dynamics shape their self-awareness and societal acknowledgment (Butler, 1997).

The addition of the "prior power" to the process of individuals' internalisation brings us to the notion of "after power." However, no power recoils within this process, rather power seems to be transmuted into undetectable and invisible forms that become embedded in individuals' minds. Individuals passing through the process of internalisation can then become self-recognised and socially recognised as they wield power in various forms through social roles and actions. When individuals have a good enough conscience, they may become socially recognised and constituted as subjects legitimately wielding power on behalf of various social roles and actions. In contrast, when individuals do not have good conscience, they are possibly socially recognised and constituted as subordinates who are constrained to wield less power than their peers. They tend to be pressed on by power rather than becoming an individual wielding power. They may also have no rights to take on valuable social roles and actions on behalf of their societies. Yet this state of being does not mean they are not discerned in their societies. They remain a visible social factor, albeit a weak factor. It is noticeable that "after power" is significant in enabling the powerful to negotiate with all outside norms which may be referred to with the "prior power," while the weak find this difficult to do. This completes the circle of power operation at an individual level (Butler, 1997).

Overall, Butler's contribution was closely associated with Foucault's notion of power, in that they offer a location from which power quietly enters and circulates through people, explaining how power is transmuted into invisible forms embedded within people's minds. Moreover, it was discernible that Butler and Foucault shared in common how individuals served precisely as the site of the reiteration and repetition of power, as they became recognisable by and through the use of power. This author concurs with the notion that reiterations and repetitions of power facilitate the exercising of power. In the struggle for power, this was what the powerful could meaningfully do but the weak could not.

After Foucault and Butler, this thesis contends that the invisible use of power remains to be captured and conceptualised. On one hand, one can see from Foucault's contribution to knowledge, especially in relation to the notion of power, that the use of power was not confined solely to an actual behaviour within the decision-making process or within an observable conflict. Rather, power was diffused everywhere and partly determined people's shapes as social beings. Power is thus closely bound with the regime of truth serving each society quietly. This also reiterates the contention that knowledge is a form of power (Foucault, 1982; 1998; Rabinow, 1991; Smart, 1985). On the other hand, Butler's contribution may have more to do with mental structure, as she finally helped to cover a complete cycle of power operation and its outcomes. Her theoretical explanation of how power affects people at an individual level, which the existing common description of power did not offer, was an especially valuable contribution (Butler, 1997). This author notes that Butler made a considerable effort to elaborate and develop the idea of power from Foucault. Her Theory of Subject Formation aligns with Foucault's concept of "The Self," one which required that power was a factor that enabled both individual and social recognition (Butler, 1997; Foucault, 1982; 1998).

Thirdly, Foucault and Butler contend that resistance accompanies power (1998). While this resistance can be viewed through a discursive lens, it also applies to political contexts (Butler, 1997). Unlike traditional political thought, which often focuses on resistance against top-down coercion between the powerful and the weak, Foucault and Butler's perspective starts with individuals at a horizontal level. According to Foucault, power permeates all aspects of society and operates not only through coercion but also via knowledge and truth regimes. Power, in his view, shapes individuals through everyday experiences, continuously exerting its influence. Similarly, Butler's concept of internalisation suggests that resistance to power begins as individuals encounter social norms or "prior power." Individuals internalise these experiences and may either resist or conform to social norms and power dynamics. Thus, resistance against power begins with individuals' internalisation of social norms and their subsequent evaluation of right and wrong internally (Butler, 1997; Foucault, 1982; 1998; Rabinow, 1991).

The notion that where there is power, there is resistance (Foucault, 1998) is subtler than meaning the performances of demonstrations, protests and movements against the illegitimate coercion of power many people generally see. Power and resistance are counterparts as, of course, resistance allows power's exercise to be discerned. Many people, however, seem to dismiss the consideration of resistance at an individual level, particularly the process of individual's internalisation wherein power is simultaneously an input and output, according to the ideas of Foucault and Butler.

The critical rethinking of power and resistance by Foucault and Butler greatly influences the interests of this thesis, and their critical framework thus guides this research to be firmer in terms of its power analysis. To profoundly look at the term "power," in particular in terms of its dynamic flows, Foucault and Butler's contributions seem to offer a sound critical rethinking. Particularly, they have influenced this thesis in terms of how power affects people; the consequences of its operations; precisely how and where power resides; and how it circulates in and around people.

Nonetheless, these notions of Foucault and Butler equipped audiences with theoretical considerations while making sense of living contextual conditions and opportunities. The beings described through individual cases and differing parties are presented in Chapters 6 and 7, respectively. In this sense, rethought power and resistance could serve as part of resources for the self-construction of beings and repositionings, thereby generating divergent worldviews that are congruent with one's certain experiences and issues. In particular, this situation could be seen to arise in the case of changes in conventional worldviews towards the belief in a family-protecting spirit in one of the ethnographic family cases, which is further elaborated in Chapter 6. These chapters presupposed that contextual conditionings, power resources, and self-positionings among the engaged multi-parties were deemed to be powerful influences towards each of the parties. They internalised their conditionings, turning them into their existence. Also, such things were considered part of conditionings that led them to have differing worldviews.

2.3.2 Unravelling The Principles of Hegemony and Governmentality

The concepts of hegemony and governmentality are significant within the critique of mainstream development discourse. What makes either such discourse able to reiterate itself or make its objects domesticated seems to be one of the more common inquiries of post-development critiques. To address this topic, two theorists, Gramsci and Foucault, discuss notions of hegemonic schemata in their own different ways.

First, the concept of hegemony as presented by Gramsci deals with the mutual consent of people. In this sense, consent results from a collective common sense towards a particular everyday matter. Historically, it seems that the concept of hegemony is usually employed by Marxist scholars so as to critique the capitalist worldview and its hegemony. Such a concept

was first proposed to explain why the bourgeoisie largely dominated others at a particular time. It is, thus, concerned with the hegemonic contention of class interests (Gunn, 2006; Williams, 1977). With this in mind, Gunn (2006) points out that a hegemonic premise contains a situation wherein contending counterparties struggle, creating the particular whole lived reality as either common sense or public popularity. For this reason, we see that power and the practice of hegemony are inextricably and quietly interwoven. Further, the objects of this practice may not notice that they exist under hegemonic power. This situation results in an inability to recognise being under hegemonic power and an inability to think of other alternative worldviews. They even seem unable to question their own actions as arising only within one particular socio-cultural context.

However, following Agyrou (2005), Gunn (2006) and Williams (1977), the author sees such a concept as a cultural apparatus, one that is put in place to domesticate its objects and to collectively form either shared worldviews or to instil common sense. Thus, socialisation becomes very important in shaping worldviews. In this sense, people as the objects of hegemonic power, will be likely to make sense of their social worlds according to their mutual political-economic contexts, values and norms. Given these circumstances, they likely share and perceive their collective worldviews as common sense. Further, they are unwittingly organised for the purposes of social cohesion.

Second, in the modernist era, the concept of Gramscian hegemony alone perhaps cannot succeed in hegemonising its objects. Once its underlying mechanism has been revealed, its objects should be more cognisant of it. A new mode of control then needs to be introduced. The concept of governmentality, as critiqued and revealed by Foucault, plays an important role as new technologies of power work together with the concept of hegemony. Governmentality was critiqued and revealed to explain a new mode of control, particularly in the managing of objects. The subjects of governmentality increasingly use soft power to manage their objects' disciplinary knowledge. For this reason, Foucault believes that it bolsters the notion that knowledge is power. He claims that the operation of discourse and formalised bodies of knowledge in areas of social life and needs of self-manipulation sustain self-discipline and consent to submission. In other words, modernist rulers render to the ruled both self and social discipline. Moreover, the ruled have evolved a shared sense of citizenship and so tamely give their consent to practices such as state surveillance (Foucault, 1991b; Rabinow, 1991; Smart, 1985). Foucault's critique of governmentality has influenced developmental anthropologists, including their post-development critiques.

For this thesis, the concept of governmentality is concerned with disciplinary power as it is directed at individual bodies. Governmentality is a notion of governance through freedom and governance that lies beyond the state. However, it is seemingly also part of the prevailing practices of hegemony. The practice of governmentality will result, not only in self-governance by its objects (as they will be able to rule themselves from growing their own self-discipline and self-repression), but also through unwitting supplication to state surveillance.

The author perceives that the concept of hegemony was appropriate across many areas of their social life, including the progressive ideology arising within ideas of making social progress. For example, in the development industry, the progressive liberal ideology for making social progress has been shaped to underpin the existence of mainstream development discourse. Many of the participants of this research have succumbed to the identification of their states as being backward and in need of development. Moreover, the need to serve as a good development partner was promoted under the shadow of this hegemonic power.

For example, from the 1960s to the 1980s, it was common that the state and its people largely submitted to this seemingly commonsensical worldview. Such common sense, thereby, led to the mainstream development discourse and its practices being able to achieve their goals and to continue replicating itself over four decades. Notably, according to Escobar (1995), even though the post-development critique of mainstream development discourse had emerged, we nonetheless saw these revisionist efforts transmuting its recognisable shape into other forms so as to retain its objectives within its hegemonic schemata. In this sense, it had only been couched into other languages such as the green revolution and sustainable development. These new languages reveal how this one particular idea of making social progress continued to thrive to globally dominate its targeted objects, albeit in different guises, while retaining its singular purpose in keeping its objects under its hegemonic power.

Specifically speaking, the example case of the discursive construction of mainstream development is drawn from the Lesotho case study of programming mainstream development projects (this author discusses this in detail in the section 2.3.4). In this case, Ferguson (2014) shows how mainstream development agencies took over Lesotho's development industry through a dominant blueprint. Ferguson critiques that, during the creation of Lesotho's subjectivist form of backwardness, transnational organisations concurrently started ensuring that knowledge and the techniques of mainstream development practices were propagated so as to form a blueprint for emancipating Lesotho from its perceived backwardness. Not surprisingly, from the standpoint of technical capabilities, such development practices could prosper as they were aimed at overcoming only those controllable signifiers of backwardness.

Later, this developmental blueprint was put in place as a panacea for similar allegedly-constructed backward areas across the globe. At that time, it was strongly believed, in one way rather than another, that such blueprints could emancipate these people and their nations from their subjectivist form of backwardness (Ferguson, 2014).

In a similar context, Li (1999, p. 298) identifies a "governmentalising" approach where development projects intersect with the people they aim to serve. Li emphasises that for such projects to be seen as genuine development efforts rather than mere coercion, the compliance or at least the consent of the targeted group is essential. For instance, during the harshest periods of apartheid in South Africa, the claim that the homelands and related "betterment schemes" were for the development of the black population was barely credible, especially to those directly affected. For any development initiative to be effective, there needs to be a certain level of compliance from the target group. This compliance is an achievement in itself and should not be taken for granted (Ferguson, 2014; Li, 1999, p. 298).

Nonetheless, this author also argues that there were no fewer than three groups of people under the auspices of this hegemonic and governmental power. The first group constituted those people who were completely hegemonised and governmentalised, and thereby entirely subjugated to the state's power. They also felt comfortable when surveilled by the state. It is possible that the state viewed them as good citizens and good development partners. The second group comprised those people who could not be dominated by such hegemonic and governmental power. Hence, they were neither subjugated to the state's power, nor did they feel happy being surveilled by the state. The state seemingly saw them as development antagonists. One of the possible reasons that they dissented from the state's actions was that they had imbibed different ideologies from the state, implying that they had been hegemonised and governmentalised by other sources of hegemonic power.

According to Argyrou (2005), acquiescence is a hallmark of hegemony and arguably also a sign of governmentality. The third group, thereby, constituted those people who acquiesced to the hegemonic and governmental power of the state. They, consequently, were not truly subjugated, nor did they really feel happy to be surveilled by the state. The state supposedly saw them as good citizens and as good development partners just so long as they stayed silent. This situation was nonetheless problematic, however, as we did not perceive their thoughts. Yet, the way in which this group stayed silent seemingly proved that mutual consent sometimes does not align with untold personal thoughts (Scott, 1985).

In the case of this thesis, concepts of hegemony and governmentality seemingly caused objects of mainstream development to regularly succumb to its development rationales. In this

sense, its objects were subdued by such reasoning. However, some of them unwittingly gave their consent to be surveilled and managed by the state, while some maintained their state of feigned conformity. All in all, this thesis addresses notions of hegemony and governmentality in order to show how many of the participants stuck with the statist discourse of development, its means of surveillance and methods of control.

2.3.3   Ferguson's Analysis of Discourse on Mainstream Development

Ferguson's "*The Anti-Politics Machine*: Development, Depoliticisation, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho" (2014) is perhaps one of the greatest contributions to development anthropology. His work does not narrate how Lesotho, his specific case study, has changed, or detail who prefers or does not prefer development projects. Moreover, the work has no accounting of the social and historical transformation of Lesotho. Instead, in this account, he reveals mainstream development as being a dominant discourse. When the work was published, there were two views of development in conflict. The first view claimed that development was a key policy in overcoming poverty. The second, viewed development as one of the causes of global poverty. Radical critiques were made by Neo-Marxist and Dependency Theories of mainstream development. The implication is that, for any given project, be they early 1960s big dam projects or late 1970s basic needs projects, *inter alia*, they are rationalised, almost by definition, according to the logic of capital. This appears to be a general political denunciation by Ferguson.

The author of this thesis views mainstream development as a discursive regime, one which is socially constructed in its definitions and in terms of how they are established and framed. Where Ferguson departs from previous analyses is through his profound understanding of its discourse. Therefore, his inaugural ontological claim potentially captured the connections of making societal progress through knowledge and a mainstream development discourse, addressing how these two forces contribute to the structural production of collective mainstream development at a global scale. Ferguson's post-development critique of mainstream development discourse was influenced by a Foucauldian examination of discourse production and its power. Mainstream ideas and practices are thus powerfully shaped by the world of accepted utterances within which we live. Here, this author outlines the Foucauldian influence over Ferguson's examination.

Firstly, the idea of a decentralised and scattered power of control over unrecognisable objects is taken up by Ferguson. Such decentralised power is essentially dispersed through the trickle-down mechanism. It seems that those rural development projects which were supported by The World Bank and IMF brought about an invisible powerful constellation of control. This situation made it harder to identify who exactly was wielding such power. In fact, all those wielding power continued to exist quietly, even though such power had already been

decentralised and dispersed. We, therefore, unwittingly live in the thrall of many powerful mainstream developers, both at a local and global level, and these are embedded in development projects spread across the developing world.

Another way in which mainstream development's power has proliferated and continued to play a silent, yet crucial role in subjugating its objects, is through the elevation of ideas of transforming social progress into a form of systematic knowledge. As such, mainstream development knowledge generalises a discursive regularity in the guise of making social progress. Such regularity has produced the rationale that being in need of mainstream development is common sense. This especially normalised the view of LDCs as being (unspoken) development objects, whereupon they became such objects through the internalisation of the need to be developed. The formation of a common sense of needing to be developed was undertaken by making well-known those problem-solving theories and techniques which are endorsed within mainstream development's rationales and practices.

In this way, not only was mainstream development's power embedded in mainstream development knowledge, but moreover, this power was also decentralised and proliferated through its practitioners into all arenas. The role of these practitioners as the agencies of mainstream development's power was put into place to shape their objects in line with mainstream development's rationales. Moreover, the decentralised power scattered through such practitioners partly transmuted them into almost unrecognisable development agencies. Yet, surprisingly, they remained empowered, retaining influence over their objects. Furthermore, such practitioners helped to exercise mainstream development's power. Ultimately, mainstream development's rationale became axiomatic as a singular regime of truth presented as common sense. Some practitioners unwittingly inculcated their objects in terms of what to do and what not to do in order to acquire the status of being developed (Ferguson, 2014; Rabinow, 1991; Smart, 1985). This author elaborates this issue in the section 8.2.5, discussing through the author's case of dam construction.

Thus, one can see how Ferguson's critique of the mainstream development discourse was influenced by Foucault's works, particularly the latter's discourse analysis on the constitution of a class of delinquents in his genealogy of the prison. It also seems that Ferguson's critique is akin to Foucault's analysis of criminology's discourse in the sense that they both carefully examine discursive regimes of truths. These socially constructed regimes result in particular regularities which serve to ensure that the prevailing discourses continue to dominate and influence their objects without their awareness (Ferguson, 2014; Rabinow, 1991; Smart, 1985).

2.3.4   Overview of The Technical Capability Approach (TCA)

The TCA is a mainstream development technique which was devised for creating a subjectivist form of backwardness fostered by such mainstream development discourse, in addition to the need to be developed only via controllable issues and problematisation-resolvability. The TCA addresses those technocratic issues which persuade audiences to believe that such issues can only be tackled by higher engineering approaches in one way rather than another. The TCA thus devalues senses of polity. Furthermore, it seems to ignore those arguments over forces of real political economy in which certain mainstream development projects are favoured, whether intentionally or otherwise. Only selected technical issues are thus brought to the table, whilst political-economic forces which, both supposedly and actually constitute a part of the underlying root causes of prevailing issues, are gradually devalued and avoided. Such devaluation and avoidance are thereby facilitated via a fallacy of composition. The production of distorted Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and Environmental Health Assessment (EHIA) reports seem to serve as an apparatus that helps to dismiss and devalue well-documented issues which are otherwise widely witnessed and logically credible (see more discussions in detail in section 5.3 in Chapter 5).

Consideration of mainstream development discourse cannot be devoid of an examination of those subjectivist forms fostered or the way in which it is produced. The theoretical lenses used to ground this section derive mainly from Ferguson, as he points out that LDCs' backwardness and perceived need to develop were socially produced. In this sense, the domination of the mainstream development discourse is deeply submerged within the individuals' sensibility. The more it can deeply dominate people, the more it could reiterate itself. This situation prevented us from considering other possible alternatives. It seems that the majority of people at the time fell into this ontological trap, one which impeded them from tapping into other ways and means of making social progress. These situations included the inability to consider that a given people's or state's perceived backwardness was discursively constructed or that alternative ideas of making social progress still existed. However, the persistence of such an ontological trap remains a great concern.

Ferguson chose Lesotho's mainstream development programme as his case study. In Lesotho's World Bank Country Report, when compared with other scholarly works, revealed that there was a deliberation to make up, decorate and distort some of the statistical figures and national data. This was perhaps executed for the benefit of subjectivist formation of a notion of backwardness to promulgate the need to develop the country. However, the report seemed to have been successful, as it could promote a development partnership between Lesotho's then government and transnational development organisations. Because of this effort, Lesotho has since been,

both within itself and by others, discursively recognised as one of the most backward countries and thus most in need of mainstream development projects (Ferguson, 2014).

Ferguson makes this clear by revealing how mainstream development permeated Lesotho. In the same way, most LDCs, which were once objects of such transnational development organisations, likely shared the situation of Lesotho. For Lesotho, Ferguson shows us how it became an object of mainstream development. In other words, he illustrates how Lesotho could not deny or avoid being recognised by others and, therefore by itself, as an LDC, a backward nation truly in need of such mainstream development projects. To begin with, Lesotho had to be presented as aboriginal, a civilisation as yet not incorporated into the modern world. From this state, Lesotho could be progressively transformed by the introduction of basic infrastructure, educational programmes, and a modern economy. Second, Lesotho had to be presented as agricultural so that it could be developed through specifically agricultural improvements, rural development projects, and technical inputs. For this reason, Lesotho must be indulgently identified as a nation of farmers. Third, Lesotho had to be defined by a clear boundary of the national economy. This clear boundary would subsequently support the introduction of development policies for the economic planning of its own state-based economy. Without such a boundary, any policy for the economic development plans would not need to be introduced (Ferguson, 2014).

Lesotho was ultimately presented within the framework of governmentality, suggesting that its economy and society were under the control of a centralised and efficient national government, capable of aligning with external development agendas. Mainstream developers needed to demonstrate that Lesotho's perceived backwardness was not a result of ineffective governance, as this would undermine the effectiveness of any development plans (Ferguson, 2014). As a result, Lesotho was consistently depicted in this manner, with traditional subsistence sectors viewed with hostility. These portrayals positioned mainstream development in Lesotho as a logical solution to national challenges such as poverty. Despite this, Lesotho's experience had a broader impact, shaping mainstream development into a globally embraced endeavour.

However, Ferguson points us to be dubious of the way in which Lesotho was presented as needing development. His in-depth comparative study on Lesotho's World Bank Country Report and other scholarly works on Lesotho leads us to conclude that there were clearly serious and obvious errors in both the statistical figures presented and in terms of the national features described. According to Ferguson (2014), it is implicitly revealed that The World Bank's report was self-indulgent, one which was written up so as to legitimately serve the introduction of the development projects. The report is also deemed to serve as part of a

greater scaffold for the production of the mainstream development discourse. In this way, Ferguson sets out his critique over the production of the mainstream development discourse.

Firstly, as the report identifies, Lesotho had not yet been integrated into the modern world. Some scholarly literature had indeed pointed out that it had in fact, until then, traded with European nations. Moreover, as Lesotho was bordered and landlocked within South Africa, once a constituent of the modern British Empire, it was inevitable for it to turn away from further economic integration with South Africa. Secondly, the report pointed out that Lesotho was a nation of farmers with few important agricultural inputs. Some of the previous anthropological studies on Lesotho, conversely, had pointed out that its agricultural sectors had been historically developed by The British Empire. Some of the arable lands had been transferred to Dutch settlers for their agricultural productivities. The agricultural inputs, thus, seemed to be not as backward as indicated by the report. However, most importantly, it transpired that Lesotho was not primarily dependent upon its agricultural sector. A large proportion of the labour force was required for South Africa's manufacturing industries and Lesotho thus served as a source of migrant workers for foreign industries. Lesotho likely earned a considerable remittance, one which seemingly constituted the greatest proportion of its national income as compared to any other form of economic activity. It was thus relatively unreasonable to claim that Lesotho was a nation of farmers.

Thirdly, it was not quite possible to demarcate a clear boundary for Lesotho's national economy. This was due to the fact that it was economically dependent upon South Africa's economy. The greatest proportion of its national income was that remittance which was generated by its migrant workers who poured into South Africa, implying that demarcating clear boundaries for Lesotho's national economy was immensely difficult. Fourth, the report did not sufficiently identify the capabilities of the government, nor the extant level of corruption in Lesotho. It seems that the report also avoided discussing Lesotho's political context. This possibly led readers not to consider any political factors that might obstruct national development. Therefore, the report brought about sufficient space for transnational organisations focusing on development to insert themselves as direct practitioners in the field. The absence of any provision of the government's capacity would cause such organisations to be less able to incorporate themselves within the national government through funding its state-based development projects (Ferguson, 2014). All in all, a key point regarding the construction of The World Bank Report was that these selective representations could be addressed through The TCA of mainstream development.

Li references Ferguson's work, which treats development as a discourse. According to Li (1999, pp. 297-298), Ferguson posits that development, as a discourse, depoliticises everything it touches (Ferguson, 2014; Li, 1999, p. 297). This happens by obscuring the expansion of state bureaucratic power and by consistently reframing political questions — whether about land, resources, jobs, or wages — as technical problems that can be solved with technical development interventions (Ferguson, 2014; Li, 1999, p. 297). But the critical question arises: *who does this discourse truly impact?*

Li points to Ferguson's examination of how political issues are often not addressed in the documentation of international development agencies working in Lesotho. However, she argues that Ferguson does not adequately demonstrate the depoliticising effects of development discourse on the Lesotho population. For instance, Li cites Ferguson's study on an internationally-funded rural development programme. This study reveals that Lesotho officials connected to the programme recognised its potential in consolidating both the political party and the state's authority in a region known for rebellion.

Furthermore, the local villagers, identified as the target group, were acutely aware of how initiatives like livestock management, which on the surface seem technical, could influence their lives in ways they deemed undesirable. As a result, many chose to feign compliance, ignore the directives, or even actively undermine them. Of significant note, Li highlights Ferguson's contention that when development efforts fail, the development apparatus shields itself using a circular logic. This logic suggests that failures merely underscore the need for improved plans, better programmes, enhanced institutional capacity, and a more robust state apparatus. Ferguson believes this self-preserving outcome stems from the overarching power of development discourse, which can insulate itself from any contradictory information (Ferguson, 2014; Li, 1999, pp. 297-298).

It has so far been made clear that we may not discern that power which is embedded within the mainstream development discourse. Such power is submerged through mainstream development's knowledge, regimes of truth, and those subjectivist forms of alleged backwardness as fostered by the discourse. For Ferguson, making sense of how power is exercised through the mainstream development premise helps us to be aware of the strong connections of mainstream development's knowledge, regimes of truth and subjectivist forms. Such awareness of the connection ultimately gives rise to an understanding of the structural production of mainstream development discourse, one which has largely dominated the development industry for over four decades. This domination has shaped and narrowed the ideas of making social progress into a limited and little-discussed concept, one which is principally presented as being monopolistic common sense for LDCs.

The notion of TCA was posited as a blueprint for an examination of the discussion arising over the politics of dam projection and the associated resettlement programme in Chapter 5. This author believes that becoming the mainstream development object requires one to justify and accept the rationale of mainstream development. The case of Lesotho resembled the development situations arising from the 1960s to the 1980s in Thailand. Perhaps, the research site adopted for this research shared the same fate as Lesotho, given that the introduction of The World Bank's mainstream development into Thailand was seemingly primarily directed at a reduction in national poverty, a programme that one could not miss out on for indispensably political reasons. Likewise, this thesis follows on from what Ferguson gleaned from the report of The World Bank describing how Lesotho was discursively framed in its subjectivist form of backwardness and need for mainstream development. However, the author would not claim that Lesotho was typological of mainstream development, rather it was a case study that could be used to learn from and then make critical comparisons with the case study presented in this thesis. One of the aims was to prove that mainstream development knowledge was perhaps more discursively powerful.

2.4 *Theoretical Framework*: Theoretical Baseline and Knowledge Production

There are six themes from this Chapter 2 that are used to make sense of the case studies and ethnographic data throughout this thesis. To begin with, the thesis needs to readdress the context of those living conditions and opportunities arising between the old usufructuary and modernist-sedentarianised land use and ownership. One of the most crucial issues is that such differentiation brings about the deficiency of spatial and temporal control while living in a planned urban landscape comprising a street grid. This circumstance imposes upon the displaced Pwo-Karen living within this newly sedentarised house-farm plots a state of precarity. These are discussed as part of the contextualisation presented in Chapter 4. Moreover, how does such a state of precarity appear when illustrated through the ethnographic case studies presented in Chapter 6.

Second, there is a need to readdress the contextual political considerations which accelerated Thailand's broad modernisation, one that was especially swift after the colonialist-expansionist era. This readdressing is discussed in Chapter 4. In this section, it shows that the context of the Cold War ran Thailand rapidly towards mainstream development discourse and its practices. Through this, the author resorts to the contributions of many scholars to theoretically debate the case study, i.e., Argyrou (2005), Escobar (1995), Gardner and Lewis (1996), Mabogunje (1980), McGregor (2009) and McMichael (2008). Central to this debate is to present that there was a new type of coloniality through pre-empting and usurping people's mental structures so as to run self-repression and self-discipline for the scheme of discursive colonisation. This author also needed to employ part of the scholarly work of Winichakul (1994)'s "*Siam Mapped*: A History of The Geo-Body of A Nation" to support the argument. In that, it contributed to how Thailand

prepared itself to negotiate with British and French superpowers to avoid inclusion in their colonisation, as well as presenting how Thailand bridged itself through taking advantage of modern knowledge of nation-state construction, human geography and historiography across discursive colonisation of The First World Countries (FWCs).

Third, one major argument of the thesis debated The TCA. This debate follows Ferguson (2014) and Li (1999, p. 307; 2007), in that it addressed technocratic issues in the capitalist-liberalist projections of mainstream development infrastructures. It seems to deliberately dismiss some forces of polity and political economy encompassing such projects. This TCA is also part of the mainstream development's apparatuses for the discursive construction of backwardness. When the logic of mainstream development discourse and its practices occupies people's mental structures, this situation prevents them from being able to think about other possible alternatives of making social progress. This sounds like an ontological trap to be concerned with in terms of the persistence of such danger. All of these are discussed in Chapter 5 to understand how the case was fabricated via its socially-constructed backwardness through such TCA.

Fourth, the thesis points out a few sorts of precarious conditionings, especially from uneven development policies and practices (Chin, 2019; Kusakabe & Myae, 2019; Rigg, Oven, Basyal, & Lamichhane, 2016; Rosario & Rigg, 2019). Such conditionings possibly squeeze precariats to incorporate outside forceful conditions and generate self and social recognitions outwards. In this way, this concept can work further with the discursive way of power-resistance analysis, as theorised by Foucault (1982; 1998; Rabinow, 1991) and Butler (1997). This thesis follows the logic that power and resistance coexist. It suggests that precarious conditions act as power resources, influencing through visceral resistance. Additionally, it emphasises the dialecting of such processes within the mental structure at the individual level during self-construction. In this sense, such forceful precarious conditions seem to provide conditions for those to hinge upon, harbour and preserve within their resulting being. These all are used in theoretical debate with the case studies presented in Chapters 6 and 7.

Fifth, this thesis brings the notions of hegemony by following Agyrou (2005), Gunn (2006) and William (1977), as well as of governmentality by Foucault (1991b; Rabinow, 1991) and Li (1999; 2007), to theoretically discuss each habitus and disposition of different parties in tensions. For example, the thesis discusses the good old day normative worldview and Buddhist forces hegemonising the group of elderly people who may see their educated young people as outcasts. On the contrary, the thesis debated the statist modern education through scholarly-based knowledge governmentalising those educated young people who may see their counterparts as conservationists. More so, this theoretical discussion covers the Christian

Myanmar-S'gaw civil war evacuees[7] in that it makes sense that it is their Christianity that effectively hegemonises them. The thesis discusses these notions further in Chapter 7.

Sixth, this thesis works alongside Escobar (1995)'s, Ferguson (2014)'s and Li (1999; 2007)'s Foucauldian discourse analysis, Chapter 5 addresses this discourse analysis throughout via the identification of the capitalist-liberalist projects in the guise of TCA. Apart from this, the author raises some of the discourses such as discursively statist happiness through modernisation together with statist Sufficient Economy's Philosophy (SEP) discourse, as cultivated in Thai people's mental structures. The thesis presents how and why indigenous-local villagers must learn to speak the accepted languages of the discourses in order to be treated well and access funding and resources. Through these, the thesis covers three axes of Foucauldian discourse analysis, which include knowledge (scholarly-based knowledge), the regime of truth (culture) and subjectivist forms fostered by the discourse (symbolic working on the mental structures' level). These discussions are theoretically debated in part of Chapters 6 and 7. All in all, this point of the critique helps us to affirm that mainstream discourses and practices are powerfully and forcefully shaped by the world of accepted utterances within which we live.

Taken together, the six areas elucidated are collectively reappraised in Chapter 8. In this account, the author has brought together some of the thematic highlights to debate the validity of this theoretical framework. In particular, the author discusses one indigenous-local idea of making social progress uncovered during the course of this fieldwork, one that cuts across the mainstream development discourse. One of the aims of this research is to unveil the latent politics and tensions arising between groups in terms of different degrees of power, hegemonic and governmental schemata, practicality and discourse.

All in all, to understand the mainstream development discourse and its practices require us to work alongside the critique of the post-development approach. They begin their discussion via a genealogy of the literature, pointing out the history of each development's knowledge and power (Escobar, 1995; Ferguson, 2014; Gardner & Lewis, 1996; Li, 1999; 2007). This thesis, then, assumes that there are possibilities the mainstream development discourse ran its power and forces on the ground and therefore concealed and dominated other indigenous-local practices of making social progress. This thesis, later on, explores how come such mainstream discourse of development and its power forces subjugated and prevented weak

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[7] One of the Karen tribes speaks the S'gaw language. This tribe is also known as Pga-K'nyau, Pga-Gan-Yaw, or Pakayor. The S'gaw-Karen can be found primarily across the Tanintharyi, Ayeyarwady, Yangon, and Bago regions of Myanmar, as well as in the western and northern parts of Thailand.

indigenous-local practices from making social progress by exercising their greatness. Within these circumstances, such tension ran people into distinct ways of destiny.

2.5 Concluding Remarks

Several critical issues, as identified through this survey of the landscape of development anthropology, are relevant to this thesis. Foremost, as ideas of making social progress have, over time, been couched in different phraseology serving distinct viewpoints, it should not be held that there is a single fixed or dominant idea. If there were, other alternative ideas would be repressed and hidden. Instead, as development anthropologists, we can search for other ideas that have, as yet, not been identified or come into being. The post-development critique ensures that there is room for further such elaboration. Secondly, this author realises how the mainstream development discourse has largely come to dominate the development industry. It has led to this theoretical discussion of how locals can either be deemed to be dominated or not dominated by the state. The promotion of the mainstream development's rationale is affected through the presentation of local peoples as being backward and in need of being developed. The rationale for such mainstream development being formally promoted by the state possibly proves to us how knowledge is akin to power. This is because such reasoning, under the guise of mainstream development knowledge, can effectively coerce some locals to become good development partners.

However, the prevailing concepts of power, resistance, hegemony and governmentality have encouraged this author to consider two main issues. The key literature suggests that one should reconceptualise traditional notions of power away from a behavioural to a poststructuralist perspective. In this sense, power enables one discourse to repress and conceal the existence of other weak discourses. Power, therefore, can be seen as an open resource, one that can be effectively wielded to perpetuate its own existence. Second, as power and resistance are effective counterparts, this leads us to understand the completion of a cycle of power operation which seemingly ends with the process of an individual's internalisation. This examination of resistance departs from the current literature in its conceptualisation of power, as it requires an examination of mental structure through considering precarious conditions and contexts. Taken together, the knowledge demarcation of development anthropology has thus far fallen within the post-development premise. Knowledge production, thus, ought to be no less than the superimposition of the post-development critique upon ideas of making social progress.

Chapter 3 Researching Local Perspectives and Experiences of Development in Thailand

> Good research requires making philosophical assumptions, paradigms, and frameworks explicit in the writing of a study, at a minimum, to be aware that they influence the conduct of inquiry (Creswell, 2007, p. 15).

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodological position held and used during the research. There are overarching key considerations that must be addressed. The first grounds readers in the philosophical research paradigm that underpins this research. This research's philosophical paradigm is embedded within social constructivism, interpretivism and critical ethnography. The second proposes critical ethnography as a primary methodological approach for this project. This includes framing a research question, selecting a field site, employing ethnographic methods, interpreting and analysing ethnographic data. The third reveals ethical dilemmas on the ground and how they may be overcome. The last discusses the role of critical ethnographic reflexivity which, as a supplementary methodological tool, helps to reflect upon one's reasoning, one's own identity and that of others.

3.2 Philosophical Research Paradigm

As social realities in this research are subjective, often contested and diverse, with potentially differing points of view from both participants and the researcher, the nature of such research into social realities is thus ontologically and carefully defined. In this sense, there was neither a singular regime of truth, nor any singular pre-existing meaning waiting within the participants' social worlds. The researcher assumed that social realities were probably given their meanings in different ways and recognitions, dependent upon the different experiences that the participants perceived and constructed (Bryman, 2004; Creswell, 2007; Flick, 2014; Sumner & Tribe, 2008). For this reason, the researcher identified social constructivism as the ontological stance taken for this research. The researcher understood that ideas of making social progress, based on Thailand's local perspectives and experiences, were socially constructed. Social constructivism allows us to perceive that such circumstances are socially contingent. How to make sense of them, nevertheless, requires packaged interpretivism as an epistemological model.

Interpretivism as an epistemological stance is theoretically packaged together with social constructionism, as understanding development from this perspective requires interpretation of such experiences. In this sense, the what and how of the existence of development from local Thai perspectives and experiences could not deny any interpretation of where both the participants' and this researcher's accumulated diverse experiences lay, nor any influence of their personal, cultural or

historiographical backgrounds, as these are all significant to any interpretation. Interpretivism as an epistemological position for this research thus played a crucial role in revaluing, deconstructing and reshaping development experiences, having been contributed by all participants. All in all, interpretivism allows us to perceive a diversity of experiences where alternative ways of meaning may exist for each development experience (McGregor A. , 2009; Sumner & Tribe, 2008).

Methodologically speaking, this research employed critical ethnography as its methodological programme and approach. This approach entails two main elements. Firstly, critical ethnography is a qualitative method wherein the researcher describes and interprets the socio-cultural patterns of values, behaviours, beliefs, and language within a community or culture-sharing context. This involves extensive observations of cultural landscapes, primarily through participant observations and interviews, wherein the researcher immerses themselves in the everyday lives of participants. Additionally, other activities such as archival research, interviews, analysis of statistics, media coverage, and various other sources of information were integrated into the critical ethnography (Feldman, 2011). Overall, in this initial element of the ethnographic account, the researcher focused on understanding the meaning of behaviours, the use of language, and the interactions among participants in the culture-sharing context, which served to address the overarching research question (Bryman, 2004; Thomas, 1993).

Secondly, a critical ethnographic approach was more appropriate for this research as compared to traditional or realist ethnographies. This critical ethnography included an advocacy perspective within ethnography. For example, this researcher advocates the cultural-political emancipation of the Pwo-Karen village having been excluded from society at large. This critical ethnography, moreover, was politically minded, seeking to speak out against inequality and domination through such critical ethnography. This researcher determined that critical ethnography was compatible with the central research question, as it allowed the researcher to methodologically present a value-laden orientation, the empowerment of people, a challenge to the status quo, and a critique of power and control. It truly concerned issues surrounding power, empowerment, inequality, inequity, dominance, repression, hegemony, and victimisation (Creswell, 2007; Thomas, 1993).

Taken together, a local understanding of making social progress from a Thai perspective and experience was considered through this philosophical research package. It emboldened the researcher to rethink that the developer was not the sole authority as to what development was or should be simply through how they framed and embodied it. Instead, the people surrounding a development industry have their own right to make their own sense of ideas of making social progress.

3.3 *Why Critical Ethnography?*

The historical political consequences of the development of critical ethnography underscore why critical ethnographers aim to craft practical and value-driven inquiries. Their objective is to produce knowledge that can foster a democratic society and a more critical citizenry (Foley, 2002).This production of knowledge also has an emancipatory intent (Herbama, 1971) that, in some way, challenges the status quo (Foley, 2002). The distinction between conventional and critical ethnography lies in how their research questions originate from a passion to investigate injustices, such as racism, social control, power, stratification, and the distribution of cultural rewards and resources, and to reveal how cultural meanings shape and restrict existence. This project's question leans on critical ethnography to understand the developed and the indigenous-local ideas of making social progress in terms of life conditions, precarity, opportunity, power, resistance, and the resources available for self-construction and cross-cultural positioning among the involved parties (Thomas, 1993, pp. 34-36). There are three fundamental elements that render this ethnography as critical.

Firstly, this researcher aligns with Ganguly's perspective. Ganguly (1990) asserts that conventional ethnographic studies of colonialism were perceived to recreate and reproduce discourses of racial and cultural differences, thereby reinforcing the hegemony of the colonisers over the colonised. Consequently, Marxist Anthropological studies of tribal societies became increasingly appealing. These viewpoints on power dynamics contributed significantly to the evolution of critical ethnography, especially its ontological shifts and epistemological advancements. Employing critical ethnography indicates this researcher's recognition and concern for power dynamics.

Secondly, guided by Madison (2005, p. 9), this researcher challenges the idea that true knowledge is solely derived from direct experiences and that experiences consist solely of social facts. The core claim of positivism—that reality can be objectively interpreted—is not fully embraced in this research. The researcher acknowledges the inability to wholly separate from participants' representations and refrains from making universal generalisations about them. Not all phenomena have clear causes and effects, and analyses are often subjective and value-laden (Denzin, 2001, p. 44). This perspective allows for the co-creation of representations, detailed descriptions of phenomena, and a blending of subjectivism and value-orientation. The distinction between emic and etic approaches is not always clear-cut.

Thirdly, drawing from May (1997) and Thomas (1993, pp. 33-34), this researcher believes post-positivism promotes the recognition of subjective human experiences and validates local knowledge and vernacular expressions as substantive analytical frameworks. A value-laden inquiry aiming for societal change aligns with post-positivism (Madison, 2005, p. 10). Critical ethnography

critiques cultural and political forces that privilege certain groups while disadvantaging others. This inquiry and the methods of critical ethnography contribute to societal betterment. Chapters 4 to 8 delve into themes interwoven with cultural and political discussions.

This researcher observes that the value-laden and practical perspectives of critical ethnography differ significantly from conventional positivist notions of science. The ontological and epistemological foundations underlying conventional critical ethnography within a positivist paradigm exhibit nuances. Yet, classifying the philosophical assumptions of all critical ethnographers is challenging, given the diversity of their philosophical underpinnings (Foley, 2002).

Given the primary research focus on the influence of socio-cultural and political forces in shaping progress ideologies, this critical ethnography is deemed appropriate for addressing such concerns. Ontologically, as elaborated in Thomas's "Doing Critical Ethnography" (Thomas, 1993, pp. 33-34), cultural forces identified in this research influence individuals' conditions and societal responses. Constructs like gender and race shape identities and the intrinsic meanings that categorise people, leading to subtle, unequal power and resource distributions. Understanding these nuances requires observing and discerning the socio-cultural and political constraints present in the researched environment.

3.4 Research Processes

This section addresses several key considerations related to the use of critical ethnographic methodology. Initially, the framing of the overarching research question is briefly described. This is followed by a discussion on the selection of the field site and the research methods employed during the fieldwork. Lastly, the section delves into the interpretation and analysis of the ethnographic data.

3.4.1 Question Generation

An issue arises regarding how this researcher framed the overarching research question for discussion as a difference between critical and conventional ethnography was uncovered. This relates to how the framing of research questions embarks from a place of passion to examine such injustices as racism, social control, power, stratification, and the allocation of cultural rewards and resources, revealing how cultural meanings both shape and constrain existence. This researcher framed the research question in this way as the ethnography investigated what remained to be known from the shapes and forms that local people used to recognise underdeveloped or backward states, their unequal allocated power and resources, and their response to such oppressing limitations. Additionally, the processes by which socio-cultural and political forces of mainstream development influence local people to acquiesce, to force classification and an uneven distribution of power and resources in subtle ways remains unknown (Foley, 2002; Thomas, 1993).

Table 3-1 Key Methods for Collecting Fieldwork Data

Methods	Numbers (N)	Locations
1. Interview-based methods		
Formal interviews	1. Village head	Raipa Village's head office
	2. Village head assistants -Governing - Peacekeeping	
	3. School directors - Raipa School - Pilokkhi BPP School	Raipa School Philokkhi School in Pilokkhi Village
	4. Pwo-Karen Local Wisdom Keeper	Lai Wo Subdistrict Administrative Organisation
	5. The abbot	Raipa Temple
Informal interviews	1. Local wisdom keepers on a village history	Each of their houses
	2. Local experts on a local issue of forced displacement	
	3. Local wisdom keepers on a family-protecting spirit	
	4. Local experts on a local issue of civil war evacuation	
	5. School teachers - Raipa School - Raipa Kindergarten	Raipa School Her house
	6. Thai businessman	His grocery store in the village
In-depth interviews	1. Two males village as head assistants in their peacekeeping roles	Raipa Temple
	2. Two females as local wisdom keepers on a village history	Each of their houses
	3. Two females and one male as local experts on a local issue of forced displacement and relocation	
	4. Two females as local wisdom keepers on a family-protecting spirit	
	5. Two females as local experts on a local issue of civil war evacuation	
	6. one males as a local expert on an anti-dam	

	mobilisation	
	7. One male as a Thai businessman	His grocery store in the village
Focus group discussions	1. One female and three males as an elderly group of participants	Raipa Temple
	2. Two young females and two young males as a youthful group of participants	
	3. Three females and two males as a Christian Myanmar-S'gaw war evacuees' group of participants	Raipa Church
2. Questionnaire Survey		
Household survey	104 out of 259 households	Raipa Village
3. Ethnographic-based methods (How the ethnographer lived in the village, being embedded in daily life was recorded in field notes.)		
Wathching T.V., a Thai boxing and lottery show programmes	One male as a local expert on an anti-dam mobilisation	His house
Hanging out and informal interviewing with key participants during a boat trip over the dammed reservoir	Two females as local experts on a local issue of forced displacement	Khao Laem Dam's reservoir
Hanging out and informal interviewing with a key youth participant during the making of geo-social mapping	One young male who is one of minority Myanmar-S'gaw civil war evacuees.	Raipa Village
Participating and making merit with one family in Thakhanuun Temple	Two females and one male villagers as a family	Thakhanuun Temple
Helping women groups at a funeral	Many people	In the kitchen of Raipa Temple
Participating Songkran Festival		Raipa Temple
Participating the Pwo-Karen blessing and wrist thread tightening ceremony		
Cooking with the businessman's family	Three females and one male as a family	His grocery store in the village
Having everyday conversation with people waiting for giving food to monks in the early morning	Many people	Raipa Village
Following one family to go farming organic vegetables	One Female and one male as a family	Raipa Village's farm plot
Attending religious ceremonies both Buddhism and Christianity	Many people	Raipa Temple, Raipa Church
Participating in village meetings		Raipa Village's hall
Living in the village, taking part in all normal village's activities		Raipa Village

Source: Field Survey (2019)

Thus, the selection of topic commonly began with only a vague reflection on broader issues and these, in turn, were only subsequently narrowed down after data collection after considerable background data had emerged. Even though the overarching question simply asked *How do local perspectives and experiences help us understand what is meant by the term "development" in the context of Thailand?,* this did not mean that the researcher took such a simple question for granted. How the researcher focused in on the issue was essential. Not only was it possible to generate insightful answers from such a broad and simple research question, but it was hoped that the way in which the researcher investigated would open a window into a wider scene and thereby provide a more insightful account (Foley, 2002; Thomas, 1993).

3.4.2   Site Selection

The research site was carefully selected in the hope of being able to answer the overarching research question. To begin with, contextually speaking, although Thailand has endured long traumatic experiences and a history of negative impacts from the inefficient management of the setting up and operations of such large-scale development projects, this series of events was nonetheless being reiterated. The proposals of such big development projects, without local participation in the decision-making process, exacerbated and led to a conflict arising between locals and developers. This led this researcher to consider potential ethnographic sites and key participants who had direct experience of the development projects. In this sense, this ethnography could not ignore any previously affected locations or people.

According to Marcus and Fischer (1999), the researcher charted the plots, stories, and allegories of development narratives across various socio-cultural, chronological, and issue contexts. Consequently, a single village in its post-development era was chosen. This village had previously experienced the construction of a hydropower dam in the 1980s, leading to the forced displacement of the forest villagers. The ethnographic location is a village named Raipa, situated in the Thongphaaphuum district of Kaanchanaburi province. This village became the primary site where the forcibly relocated individuals were moved to. Originally, Raipa Village was a Pwo-Karen community, and almost all of its residents have been officially registered and recognised as Thai. In the 1980s, The Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand (EGAT) directed the villagers to vacate their forest village, which was soon-to-be submerged. Following their land's expropriation by EGAT, the agency provided the households with a relocation package, which included financial compensation and a new land allocation. Since then, those villagers who accepted this package have resided in a resettlement community organised by the state (Phutaraphorn & Kataleeradaphan, 1979; Pongsapich, Phutaraphorn, & Lapthananon, 1994).

Even though there had not previously been any organised anti-development movement in this area, the local people, according to prior studies, had complained that the land allocated in the relocation was less fertile and supportive than that of their former area in terms of traditional upland rice cultivation. Moreover, their allocated land used to be part of a national forest reserve and this itself became an issue as they must be extremely vigilant to not intrude onto the nearby protected area (Phutaraphorn & Kataleeradaphan, 1979; Pongsapich, Phutaraphorn, & Lapthananon, 1994). Even though The Wildlife Conservation and Protection Act 2019 and National Park Act 2019 enabled them to gather some forest resources through the legal state's strict approaches and channels, these provisions have still proven practically difficult. Thus, this researcher believes that this research site was able to answer the research question.

3.4.3 Data Collection

- **Formal Interviews**

Formal interviews were conducted following prepared questions and scheduled appointments. Key participants, including the head and assistants of Raipa Village, school directors, the Pwo-Karen local wisdom keeper, and the abbot, were interviewed. The interviews primarily consisted of open-ended questions aimed at eliciting factual information and viewpoints from the informants. Data on prevailing socio-economic conditions, issues of forced displacement and relocation, security concerns in the borderlands, and cultural practices were collected through these interviews. Recordings of the interviews were made using a recorder, and transcripts were created in the subsequent year following the conclusion of fieldwork. The specific topics covered in the interviews can be found in Appendices 7 and 9.

- **Informal Interviews**

The researcher primary conducted informal interviews in the fieldwork with local wisdom keepers and experts. Also, the researcher conducted informal interview with school teachers and Thai businessman as well as others. These informal interviews contributed general information and issues about a village history, forced displacement and relocation, family-protecting spirit, civil war evacuation, schooling, socio-economic conditions, and Pwo-Karen ideas of making social progress. This interview approach was able to be performed anywhere, often in temple's activities during the participants' break, at participants' houses, at school after classes, and at a grocery store. The researcher conducted multiple interviews and experienced that participants occasionally contributed different information at different interviews. Controversial information was predominantly regarding Pwo-Karen ideas of making social progress, where the researcher made clearer and further through setting a few focus group discussions.

Informal interviews helped the researcher to get to know the village and to make himself of interest to potential participants as they expressed interests in and curiosity about the researcher's life and background. Their questions shared in common, for example *where does this researcher come from?, what is a purpose of the studies? Where does the researcher stay over and how long does the researcher take?* Many cases found during informal interviews caused the researcher to return for further in-depth interview. For example, the researcher returned for further in-depth interviews with two families where belonged to two females contributing information regarding forced displacement and relocation. Moreover, the researcher came back to conduct in-depth interviews with two females keeping wisdom on a family-protecting spirit as he though this might be a good entrance to understand the Pwo-Karen cosmic world. One of best things of these informal interviews is that participants could point out key people for this researcher to have further conversations with. This may be called a snowball and recommendation approach.

- **In-depth Interviews**

There were 47 participants interviewed in the first round. The snowball and recommendation approach helped to narrow them down to 13 participants for in-depth interviews. Such 13 in-depth interviews were all people with valuable experiences who were willing to discuss their views at length. The researcher conducted in-depth interviews with eight females, and five males. The interviews were mostly open-ended, but the researcher had a list of questions to go through. Predominantly, the list of questions regarded the issues of village history, forced displacement and relocation, a family-protecting spirit, civil war evacuation, and an anti-dam mobilisation. Everytime, the researcher asked whether they realised and knew any Pwo-Karen ideas of making social progress. Finally, these in-depth interviews caused him to organise focus group discussions as in-depth interviews alone could not provide insightful information regarding Pwo-Karen ideas of making social progress.

One of the cases that the researcher considers an in-depth interview was the case of Pha Beh Keh. The researcher returned to him and had insightful conversations several times. Each time took an hour. This researcher had an opportunity to watch T.V. with him, a Thai boxing and lottery show. This helped in-depth interviews going more smoothly. This case contributed very significantly a wide range of life's conditionings, precarity, opportunities, power and resistance as conditional resources, for example. Topics in question can be seen from The Appendices 7 and 9. The researcher recorded the interviews using a recorder, and transcribed them in the following year after finishing this fieldwork.

- **Focus Group Discussions**

The researcher conducted five focus group discussions (FGDs). Each group was composed of individuals with distinct experiences and age groups (detailed participant ages can be found in Chapters 4 and 7) to ensure a diverse range of information. The first focus group, consisting of one female and three males from an older age bracket, deliberated on the Pwo-Karen ideas of making social progress at The Raipa Temple. The second group, comprising two young females and two young males, discussed contemporary development issues, also at Raipa Temple. The third group, which included three females and two males who are Christian Myanmar-S'gaw civil war evacuees, addressed precarious issues. The fourth group, composed solely of female community development workers, debated gender matters. Lastly, the final group, made up of male community development workers, considered the themes of reciprocity versus mainstream development.

Detailed results from these FGDs are presented in Chapters 4 and 7. However, a brief overview is as follows: the first group collaborated with the researcher to identify and co-construct "maasher" as a form of Pwo-Karen ideas of social progress. The second group focused on mainstream development concepts introduced to the youth through schooling. The third group primarily delved into life's conditions, precarity, and opportunities. The fourth group compared indigenous working styles with statist approaches. The final group explored the role of gender in community development (specific topics can be found in Appendix 8). All FGDs were recorded and subsequently transcribed the following year.

- **Questionnaire Survey**

The questionnaire survey was a tool employed by the researcher during fieldwork to obtain comprehensive data. Although informal interviews and participant observations provided valuable insights, as did time spent in the village being involved in daily life, they were insufficient to gather a detailed socio-economic profile of the villagers. To remedy this, the researcher designed a questionnaire to delve into villagers' socio-economic conditions. Between March and May 2019, this household survey was administered to 104 households in Raipa Village (from a total of 259 households). The questionnaires were written in Thai (see Appendix 6) and covered topics such as demographic and socio-economic profiles, experiences of forced displacement and relocation, and agricultural livelihood. Two assistants accompanied the researcher during data collection.

The criteria used to define a "household" were based on Rigg's specifications (2015; 2019, pp. 102-103). Rigg outlined the key roles and responsibilities of a household, which included activities such as labor sharing and resource management.

- Combining production and income;
- Attending to the existential and various needs of household members;
- Caring for, nurturing, and educating offspring;
- Reproducing the farm family and household.

The survey required one member from each household to respond. The researcher aimed to gather as much data as possible within the first three months of fieldwork. Some challenges encountered included the remote locations of some households and language barriers. Concurrently, a young male participant assisted the researcher in creating a geo-social map of the village.

One significant challenge, mirroring the issues faced by Rungmanee (2014, pp. 58-59), was collecting specific statistical data, particularly regarding total monthly household incomes and property ownership. Since most participants had irregular incomes and did not maintain financial records, exact monthly earnings were difficult to ascertain. Instead, the researcher helped participants calculate their daily earnings from specific activities, and then determined how often they engaged in such activities each week. Some participants were hesitant to disclose their cash income and debt details. In such cases, the researcher provided income ranges for participants to select from, and chose to exclude questions about debts. Processing this economic data proved particularly challenging. Data from the structured questionnaire survey was later compiled in Microsoft Excel for chart and table analysis.

- **Participant Observation**

The participant observation with certain key participants—such as during merit-making at the temple and monthly meetings at the village hall—coupled with the interview process, spanned almost a year, from March to November 2019. The researcher made short visits to the village several times in subsequent years and maintained contact with a few primary participants through Facebook and Line applications. These measures ensured that the researcher was deeply embedded within the culture of the ethnographic site, gaining insights as an insider. Interviews often resembled everyday conversations rather than formal sessions and typically occurred in participants' homes or while they engaged in daily activities.

Given the study's focus on Pwo-Karen conceptions of social progress, life's conditioning, precarity, opportunities, power, resistance, and so forth, everyday conversations emerged as one of the most valuable data collection methods. After initiating fieldwork in the village, the researcher realised that participating in villagers' daily activities was the most effective approach. Rungmanee (2014) noted that her work and talk technique fostered a sense of comfort among villagers and encouraged casual conversation. This method allowed her to engage with participants in a natural and non-threatening manner. The researcher adopted this approach and found its utility undeniable.

Figure 3-1 Geo-Social Map of Raipa Village

Source: Field Survey (2019), Drawn by Toe Ki, One of The Youth Participants

In the village, pivotal information often surfaced indirectly during casual discussions, especially while socialising in groups and discussing everyday matters. The researcher became involved in local activities, such as informal interviews with key participants during boat trips over the dammed reservoir and attending Pwo-Karen blessing and wrist-thread tightening ceremonies, as well as more mundane activities such a shoping in the local market. Starting conversations and participating in these activities prompted villagers to share information, occasionally leading to direct questions relevant to the study. Concurrently, participants enjoyed highlighting the location of their former inundated village and engaging in the wrist-thread tightening and blessing rituals with the researcher. Before achieving full immersion in the ethnographic setting, the researcher often encountered responses like "I don't know." or "it might be better to ask others." The researcher aimed to engage with people's everyday practices as closely as possible. It became evident that frequent participation in their activities was the best way to foster comfort, promoting casual conversations over direct inquiries.

In addition to the materials above, and extensive daily fieldnotes, the researcher maintained a reflective journal throughout the final stages of the research as a supplemental tool. This tool was taken into account, helping the researcher to restore the unconscious into consciousness, particularly in relation to ethical dilemmas. This approach allowed the researcher to consider himself a researcher with a growing and changing understanding of his role and to record those decisions made and their theoretical justifications. Also, it made evident the interaction of thoughts, feelings, fears, desires and needs within the researcher. The reflective account, therefore, enabled the researcher to identify any changes which needed to be made to the research design, the methods employed, and the approaches used throughout this ethnographic project (Berger, 2015; Ortlipp, 2008; Pillow, 2003).

3.4.4 Interpretation and Analysis

Ethnographic interpretation and discourse analysis are taken into serious consideration. During the fieldwork, the researcher understood that interpretation is not just a term or a list of typological labels that are assigned to a data set in order to make sense of it. Rather, it requires the serious consideration of institutions, actions, images, utterances, events, customs, as well as all the usual objects of scientific interest, not to mention those on whom these objects of interest bear most heavily (Geertz, 1980; Foley, 2002; Thomas, 1993). Interpretation, as a consequence, served as the way in which this researcher revised what was witnessed and interpreted and fashioned it into something more critical and originally insightful. In this way, potential insights from the ground could be brought back to the focus of the researcher's attention and were able to challenge preconceived notions and conceptualisations. While interpreting, the researcher was unable to distance himself from his pre-existing assumptions,

yet remained critically aware of his perceptions and conclusions. Data collection from those observations, anecdotes, impressions, documents, and other symbolic representations of cultural nuances which seemed common could thus be seriously and critically reframed into something original (Foley, 2002; Marcus & Fischer, 1999; Thomas, 1993).

However, being critical and original in this sense also meant challenging those very assumptions and settled views on the idea of making social progress in ethnographical studies. The researcher undertook this challenge by ontologically and epistemologically repositioning himself away from previous studies in the field so as to be able to critically review any settled schools of thought and finally to contribute some new form of knowledge. This does not however mean that the interpretations that others provided in previous studies should be overlooked, rather they served as the foundations of this project, a bedrock on which to build further knowledge. This researcher, at least, proposes different ontological and epistemological positions from which to review conventional ideations of making social progress.

According to Mills (1967), Foley (2002) and Thomas (1993), interpretation challenges the imagination by requiring endless reflection on a data set and a continuous search for sociological images and metaphors of ideas of making social progress. Collectively, these processes individually reorient taken-for-granted objects and reframe them within a new social aspect. Through these reformative processes, the researcher regarded the research data as being non-final and incomplete, as the results were only a partial perspective, one which was subject to rethinking. Moreover, the researcher admits that intellectual reflections proved to be crucially important as they could spawn new and more critical ways of thinking. For this reason, the researcher considered heavily, while gathering data, that he needed to seek original ways in which he could decode those symbols embedded within cultural accounts that instilled uneven power relations, thereby constraining ideology, beliefs, norms, as well as other forces that asymmetrically distribute social rewards, advantage the powerful at the expense of the dispossessed, and undermine their participation in, or understanding of ideas of making social progress (see the discussions in the sections 7.2, 7.3 and 7.4).

At the same time, it was undeniable that discourse analysis became crucially significant to this critical ethnography. In this analysis of ethnographic data which took place immediately after each set of interviews and participant observations, the researcher treated language and its use as being integral to a regime of power. This arises because a symbolising phenomenon, whether seemingly isolated or communicated via one set of meanings, necessarily excludes others (Foley, 2002; Thomas, 1993). After Bourdieu (1977) and Thomas (1993), power is used to label and name the events and participants of this research, which in and of itself

constituted the power to organise, manipulate and add meaning to experiences. All of the researcher's interactions, particularly through all forms of linguistic exchange, led to the construction of a form of symbolic domination in the pre-naming of shapes in cognition and discourse. The researcher believed that this included his researcherity as a critical ethnographer, who commenced this study harbouring pre-classified realities while simultaneously naming and classifying new meanings. Further, the researcher was empowered to determine and transmit realities from the field site to a public audience through a body of messages from which he was able to make sense of the data set as it spoke to him. Thereby, these reported discourses were as important as the language of the texts of the field notes analysed. To conclude, the goal of this researcher was that both the language of the data set accrued and that which the researcher and his key participants employed were seriously and critically examined. This analysis was undertaken to identify those traditions, norms, institutions, artefacts, and other characteristics of cultural accounts which provide access into the world of social lives to uncover alternative metaphors, meanings and local understandings of making social progress on the ground (Foley, 2002; Thomas, 1993).

3.5 Limitations of Field Research

Several limitations were inherent in this ethnography. First, the validity and reliability of the data appear to be of concern. As noted by Le Compte and Goetz (1982) and Rungmanee (2014, pp. 59-60), ethnographic results are often unreliable and suffer from a lack of validity and generalisation. Reliability hinges on the degree to which studies can be replicated. Validity, on the other hand, is concerned with generalisation. This contrasts with scientific research where the researcher can exert maximal control over external variables. In ethnography, however, such control is elusive since it operates in a natural setting and is challenging to reproduce.

However, Rungmanee (2014, pp. 59-60) highlights Bryman's (2004) distinction regarding reliability and validity in ethnography from Le Compte and Goetz's perspective. Bryman argues that the terms "reliability" and "validity" in ethnography cannot be applied in the same manner as in scientific research. Ethnography delves into words and meanings, reflecting the viewpoints of participants. Bryman emphasises that reliability, validity, and accuracy in ethnography concern an accurate and systematic methodology.

This researcher concurred with Rungmanee's limitation. Despite considerable effort in the fieldwork, the inherent nature of ethnography—relying on participant observation, oral histories, and personal experiences—can be selective, biased, and incomplete. It is also recognised that replication is nearly impossible due to the uniqueness of events in natural settings. Historical information often derived from participants' collective memories can be

fleeting. An attempt was made to show participants photos to aid in recalling the past. A boat trip with key participants over the dammed reservoir might have aided their recollection of past events. Therefore, critical ethnography was employed as a foundational methodology to enhance credibility. Especially since critical ethnography embraces subjective human experiences, the contingencies of truth claims, local knowledge, and vernacular expressions, allowing both the researcher and participants to identify and co-construct social experiences.

Second, language barriers posed a challenge, especially with specific groups like the Christian Myanmar-S'gaw civil war evacuees and the elderly. A rapid acquisition of key vocabulary items in both S'gaw and Pwo languages was essential. Fortunately, most of the majority Pwo-Karen in Raipa Village spoke Thai as their second language, reducing language barrier challenges. Conversations with S'gaw Karen, however, required a S'gaw-Thai translator, who was not always available due to his studies in Kaanchanaburi.

Third, one might question why multi-sited ethnography was not conducted, given the apparent migration and remittance patterns from Bangkok's metropolitan area. Theoretically, this researcher aligned with Marcus (1995) and Rungmanee (2014, pp. 60-61) who posit that the strength of ethnography lies in the in-depth knowledge acquired from field immersion and fostering relationships. Practically, the primary cases were not of those who were spatially dispersed. Additionally, budget and time constraints played a role. Consequently, multi-sited ethnography was not pursued. However, visits to Kosadoeng and Lai Wo Pwo-Karen Villages were undertaken to compare with the Raipa case.

3.6 *Doing Fieldwork*: Examples from A Written-Research Journal

During fieldwork, daily activities were routinely recorded in a research journal. For example, a reflection was written every day when walking for food with monks, whereupon the researcher realised how much Buddhism had influenced the ways of life of the participants. When recording reflections after visiting the participants' farm plots during the day it was possible to comprehend how they grew organic vegetables. The journal reflected on how compassionate the researcher was towards the precarious conditions of their agricultural subsistence. The researcher depicted how hungry he felt at night as there were neither convenience stores nor restaurants in the village. It was noted by the researcher that every household cooked their dinner, unlike the familiar urbanised lifestyle in which dinner is purchased from night markets most of the time.

Likewise, the researcher reflected in the journal as to how difficult it was dealing with aggressive wild elephants destroying the participants' farm plots because, some nights, a few wild

elephants walked around his shelter. The researcher described his fear, keeping as quiet as possible so as to spontaneously tackle such roaming elephants. Last, but not least, the researcher reflected upon the fact that, throughout his year in the village, he had to awaken at 5 am and take a cold shower every morning in stark contrast to the warm showers and freedom to sleep at will that constitute part of a wealthy urban existence. Through these reflections the researcher was able to discern, at the very least, that rural and urban lifestyles were meaningfully different.

Nothing supersedes illustrating these reflective processes as recorded in a written research journal. The researcher selects the first piece to present one day's experience of the journal, as shown below. Its originally-hand written version is appended in Appendix 10. Also, the researcher elected to present another hand-written excerpt from his written journal regarding a special occasion known as the Pwo-Karen blessing and associated wrist thread tightening ceremony. Both this second one and its originally-hand written version are presented in Appendices 11 and 12, respectively.

3.7   Critical Ethnographic Reflexivity

According to Gadamer (1976), Foley (2002) and Thomas (1993), reflection may be considered the practice of rigorous examination of how such examinations can themselves affect the process of data gathering, analysis, and subsequent public dissemination. Reflection, as the practice of repeated thinking upon a research project, becomes a tool through which to grow self-awareness of the process and consequences of knowledge construction by bringing the original act of knowledge back into consciousness. Therefore, as a critical ethnographer, it was borne strongly in mind that it is preferable to be an active creator than a passive recorder of narratives and observed events, and this fostered a carefully examined personal and intellectual engagement with key participants. Regardless, as the research was dependent upon artificial objects and of being fully immersed with key participants, the role of natural empathy was realised and accepted in addition to other people's demands of empathy as well as any other possible expectations and emotional attachments which could be formed at any time. However, in this section, we discuss three crucial issues concerning reflexivity. The first is how the researcher managed emotional attachments during his interactions with participants. The second is how he saw and reflected upon himself during fieldwork. The third concerns some of the roles that a research reflexive journal imparts upon its researcher.

Figure 3-2 Excerpts Presenting One Day's Experience

Sunday 31st of March 2019

The weather was very cold in the morning. This was unexpected as, during the time, it was so hot and very humid. I did not prepare any woolen coat as I thought that there was nowhere as cold and chilling as the UK. So, I took my sweater to put on. I guessed that the weather was not more than 20 degrees Celsius. I thought that the village was in the valley and higher than average sea levels, plus the bamboo house helped to cause more sensitivity to chilly weather. The woven bamboo wall was easy for air ventilation.

I woke and get up just before 6 am, washing my face and teeth with extremely cold water. One thing that I forgot to tell was that there was no piped water in the toilet. I must carry water in 2 buckets in 6 rounds from the toilet to the water tank in the temple. I was quite exhausted as it felt like chaos to do this. Moreover, there were no lights in the toilet. Luckily, I brought an electric torch which was greatly helpful.

At a quarter past 6, I saw the monks with food carriers and tiffins lining up on the small road. They prepared to walk for food. The walking routes were divided into two routes, which were the upper and lower areas of the village using the temple as a boundary marker. I choose walking for the lower area. My duty was to put curry and any other food eaten with steamed rice. People brought their cups of steamed rice and put them into the monks' alms bowls. Some families added bouquets to these bowls as they believed that their next lives would be prosperous, fortunate and beautiful. This walking for food helped Buddhist people to learn to give alms willingly and sincerely.

I was unfamiliar with the way in which curry and food had to be put in the food carriers or tiffins before giving and monks' receiving by their hands as, in my hometown, all food cannot be put in any carrier or tiffin until monks received it in their hands first. In this sense, monk food touching is a symbol that they already received food. So, I was reluctant and quite slow while putting food into the carriers and tiffin's as I all the time I waited for them to give food into the monks' hands. This waiting caused the monks and me to walk for food so slow and this was not usual for the monks here. Today, I felt like I made everybody slow and everybody must wait for me. At the moment, I felt quite uncomfortable.

One person was coming to help me tackle the situation. He lived nearby and was quite familiar with the monks and the temple. He came to me and helped take one of the food tiffins and went in advance to the next house, not waiting for the monks, to get all food put into the tiffin. He was very active and quick, while I was very slow, awkward and unskilled. It seemed that my task today was just following them all and helping carry the full carriers and tiffins.

However, everything went well. We all came back to the temple's food hall where every monk must bring all food they gained to share here. I, as their helper, must eat after they have all finished their breakfast. The food today seemed no different from other Thai food, as there was food cooked from local vegetables in greater proportion. I saw pickle spider weeds, or spider flowers, pork curry, local vegetables, stir-fried and so on. It was noticeable that all carriers here were not to put coconut milk in, but rather chili and herbs were more exceptional. This exceptional feature of curries was quite different from other places in Thailand.

After coming back from the temple and finishing taking a bath, I went to Nong Poe Sher's house around 10 am to talk to Nong Poe Sher's mom, Mue Yah Tee. She is 79 years old. I started talking to her about general things about her daily life experiences, such as what she played in her back garden, what her health conditions were, and so forth. I tried to get her to become more familiar with me by talking generally. Then, I made an effort to get to the point about her experiences of forced displacement.

There were two key points to her contribution. The first was her experiences surrounding her migration from former to new places. Another was the influence toward her while making the decision to willingly move out and move in. Firstly, she went on to the point that she did not want to move into the current location. It was very hard to make a decision for her whole family to move out, as her family had found the best place, the former village, to settle for living. She engaged in such agricultural activities as planting rice, cassava and many types of fruits even though there was no infrastructure in the form of electricity, good roads, a school, and so on.

However, she still insisted that she and her family were very well with such primitive subsistence. Once, she was informed by the officers of EGAT and the people from the government she insisted on not moving out and so she and her husband thought about the gradual return to high ground. However, the place called Mairaipa was their final destination for settlement.

Mue Yah Tee seemed to have a good vision for the future lives of her kids. Thus, she and her husband left their kids, Nong Poe Sher and her brother with their relatives and neighbors in the new village. This was so that their kids could have access to a good education by attending a Thai school. So, this family had two separated agricultural lands. One was in Mairaipa Village and another was in the current village. She grew rice and other products there until her health deteriorated and Nong Poe Sher brought her to stay with them and to take care of her in the current location.

In summary, the only things that cause her to accept the newly allocated lands offered were that her kids could go to school. Personally, it seems that the modern school was very important for elderly Karen people. It appeared that elderly parents mostly wanted their kids to attend Thai schools. I thought they hoped they could lift their lives to be better in everything, especially in terms of income stability, through having and achieving a standard education. This was why I saw and realised that the coming into the village of a Thai modern school had transformed the village, particularly as regards the Karen people's thoughts of being better off.

Secondly, her becoming a Thai citizen was the main point of this talk. The coming of EGAT together with the state at the time of the dam construction was not immediately apparent. The instruction to move out of their former location was not rushed. To my understanding, it was almost 20 years early. Mue Yah Tee recounted that the first thing the EGAT and the government did was a population survey and a proof of identity. This was due to the fact that the government could rightfully allocate lands for them after such forced displacement and, it would be truly and fairly beneficial for those Karen people as they would legitimately and legally get land titles. This was because this district location was closest to the Thailand-Myanmar border. There were Myanmar-Karen from the Karen state of Myanmar smuggling in this area. In other words, what the EGAT and the government did was to filter original Thai-Karen out from other smuggled Karen people.

After Mue Yah Tee and other neighbors received their Thai ID cards and became full Thai citizens, it was high time for them to consider and prepare themselves to move out and into the newly allocated location. Until the deadline arrived there were two choices for Mue Yah Tee to consider. The first was completely moving and resetting in the new location. The second was gradually falling back to the high ground. As I presented previously, Mue Yah Tee and his husband chose both options.

However, her way up to the higher place and the way to send her kids to the current location sounded exhausting. She needed to use carts, elephants and rafts to move and transport all their possessions. It was very chaotic and trying to do so. Mue Yah Tee's family did not take long to make a decision to move out. She presented the case that there could be no stopping the evacuation for dam construction as required by EGAT and the government and she needed to move out and as fast as she could. So, Mue Yah Tee's family did not wait too long to start moving out.

Mue Yah Tee and Nong Poe Sher, from my perception, held differing views of the need to conserve the local knowledge and wisdoms of the Karen. While Nong Poe Sher made large efforts to conserve Karen knowledge and wisdoms, Mue Yah Tee seemed not to think of anything rather than whether she and her family had sufficient food to eat tomorrow and that her kids could go a good school. Even though Mue Yah Tee's mother was a folk doctor, Mue Yah Tee had not gleaned any traditional knowledge of health care. At the same time, Nong Poe Sher, who was raised by her Grandmother, seemed to have gained traditional knowledge and an understanding of Karen identity more than Mue Yah Tee had.

Many times I observed Nong Poe Sher. She could do embroidery works and switch on and off from the Karen language fluently, staying close to the abbot despite the fact that there is a big gap in their ages, maintaining traditional styles of agriculture, and holding conservational ideas about other animal species, including wild elephants. Many people in the village seem to accept Nong Poe Sher as a village sage or a local scholar of wisdom, and I have no evidence to refute this claim.

Before lunchtime, I drove to the bus station in town to collect my two assistants Chitsamroeng and Juisai. Both of them are university students who were introduced to me by my former colleague. On Sunday these two guys are commonly free while on Monday and some Saturdays are set aside for their own homework. So the arranged time for coming to the village is dependent upon the best fit between myself and them and, as this is a week-by-week pattern, I outlined roughly their roles in assisting me.

First of all, I needed people who could help me to collect general village data. This includes house numbers, occupations, incomes, land uses and the like. For the whole village, I, by myself, definitely cannot finish this collection of data on time and so I expect to get these two guys to help me with this. In the second place, one of these guys, namely Chitsamroeng, can fluently switch between Karen and Thai. Thus, he is enormously helpful for us, as most of the elderly generation and some who are middle-aged are not able to speak Thai fluently. While Chitsamroeng talks in Karen and translates it to us, Juisai can take notes and write them down on the forms provided. In the third place, I feel safer while having someone accompanying me especially when staying in the village where everyone here thinks we are strangers. Having people stay over nights with me can reduce feelings of fear and isolation.

I realise that Chitsamroeng and Juisai have extreme differences in their personalities and traits. I have already talked about Chitsamroeng previously. Today, after the briefing on how to work and the introduction of Chitsamroeng to the assistant of the village's head, Sah Pong, Chitsamroeng was more relaxed, less anxious and seemed braver. I thought he had an increase in confidence after he found that the work he was required to undergo did not get him to work alone. I assumed that his lack of confidence and the tension I had observed while sitting in front of me during our first meeting was caused by his imagination of having to work alone in isolation. He may be afraid that he would not get the work required done well and on time. My positive interpretation of Chitsamroeng's personality and traits has become representative of Karen people's personalities and traits such as shyness, vigilance, austerity, and humility. Some of Chitsamroeng's personality traits are collectively shared with others I have found and met in the village.

I realise that the personalities and traits of these two guys are relatively influential towards the data they gain. So, I must note here that their personalities and traits remind me and mark their personalities and why they can overcome some issues or cannot tackle others in the field. However, I think that I have already presented some significant personality traits of Chitsamroeng, but not yet those of Juisai. So, let me present some significant characteristic features of him.

Juisai is a very tall and boyish person. He seemingly has Chinese ancestry as he has got a yellow complexion and looks like a Chinese person. He is a very modern person, very passionate about playing games on his mobile phone. He presented himself as a funny hyperactive person and sometimes has an insufficient concentration span, preferring to do things in a single moment. He is an adventurous person, one who loves to explore new things and very much likes working in rural areas. The outstanding feature I saw in him was his bravery and confidence. He showed his curiousity and eagerness to know and to try collecting data. He seemed more doubtful than Chitsamroeng, although not as talkative. So, I see this as the best fit, having these two guys working together. Chitsamroeng, even if he does not have confidence, this is made up for in Juisai. At the same time, Juisai may not be very talkative, a deficit compensated by Chitsamroeng.

Again, I believe that the way they both approached their key informants significantly brought about either good or bad quality conversations. Especially, Chitsamroeng has shared Karen routes with the key informants so this may help build easier trustworthiness between Chitsamroeng and the people in the village. I thought that the character and ideas of Chitsamroeng significantly helped us to get the work done. In this sense, Juisai, at the same time, could help Chitsamroeng to make notes and remind him of some of the questions that had not yet been asked.

Then, after around 3 pm, Sah Pong, together with Kong Eh, who is another assistant of the village head came to us to bring us to walk around the village. This door-to-door introduction to the villagers helped us greatly as the villagers gained some trust from us through Sah Pong's and Kong Eh's introduction. We scoped the area for this initial introduction which took the form of door-to-

door greetings in the lower area of the village, comprising some thirty families, as I planned to address these 30 families with interviews within the first three weeks.

I noted, while walking from door-to-door, a few families for in-depth interviews later on. The first was Paan's family, which had relocated from one of the former areas. Paan was elderly with much to say and so I told her to come back for the interview. The next family still recalled their evacuation experiences accurately. The last family was Pha Beh Keh's family, which seemed to have an overwhelming amount to tell us. He was an interesting person, as he had experiences of resisting such forced displacement.

Finally, he succumbed to the EGAT and the government's requirements for villagers to move out and resettle in the current location. However, this does not mean that I will ignore the rest of the families identified for the in-depth interviews, although I will wait first for each household's basic information to be collected and aggregated by Chitsamroeng and Juisai to see if I find some exceptional issues within each household's information. If so, I will follow up with them to get further in-depth interviews.

The lower area of the village, having the temple demarcated between the upper and lower areas, has more modern styles of houses along the concrete roads. There are a few traditional Karen-style houses, including Pah Beh Keh's house. Rather than houses, there is a government child development centre and an arts and crafts centre. Karen females in the village with embroidery skills come to work here and get 150 Baht a day (£3.50). The products made by workers here will be delivered to The Foundation for The Promotion of Supplementary Occupations and Related Techniques of her Majesty Queen Sirikit of Thailand. This enables the garments to find wider markets and to distribute the products to such markets in order to realise quick profits for the workers.

I observed the two guys who were my assistants in that they felt very much more relaxed after the door-to-door introduction. Chitsamroeng, in particular, seemed to regain his confidence and enthusiasm to do this job as he had thought about my system of data collection in which the door-to-door introductions was one of the forms of support offered. It seemed as though the job of these two guys was made easier. After the door-to-door introductions, their gestures toward their job responsibilities immediately seemed to positively change.

Finishing up with walking around the village to introduce ourselves door-to-door, we returned to our accommodations and prepared to sum up our activities. I wanted to hear these two guys' opinions and feedback. In a group setting, discussions with them allowed me to assess the challenges they considered important. At this time, they had nothing to be worried about. They insisted that they could help me to get the basic information from the villagers and survey the village. I found that we were much closer than before. They did not feel tense anymore while talking to me. This was a good sign for our future teamwork.

The weather tonight was quite hot and humid. The early night-time in the village was not chilling at all compared to the early morning. Especially, living in a tent that absorbed hot weather and humidity well ensured that we did not fall asleep. The village started becoming quiet around 7 pm, so we all had to reduce our noise and gradually we fell asleep. Tomorrow, we plan to wake up early in the morning to walk for food with the monks, trying to present ourselves much more to the villages to win their trust.

Source: Field Note, 2019

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First, there was an emotional attachment with key participants that emerged in dealing with them and their data set. While dealing with participants and their data set, the researcher became inextricably interwoven with the participants and their sympathetic issues. Sometimes, the researcher became disillusioned by their sentiments and the issues observed leading to a sense of disagreement. For example, during the brief conversations and survey of potential participants, they drew heavily upon the romanticism of reciprocal living with nature, spending their forest lives in the culture of rotated swidden farming. However, the researcher's extended ethnography in the village through in-depth interviews and participant observations proved a disillusionment to a romanticised imagination. Living amid this forest life based upon a culture of rotated swidden cultivation was however their optimal path for survival, one which they could practise within their own forestland's contextual conditions and opportunities. In reality on the ground, living such a forest life was tough and exhausting. Some of the participants showed how living such a forest life was inconvenient, particularly in terms of a very low standard of sanitation. Some of their ancestors often contracted malaria or Bancroftian filariasis.

For this reason, when some of them expressed how much they missed their good old days in the forestland apart from the extended in-depth interviews and participant observations, this might have led to the researcher being overwhelmed through emotional attachment as it would have induced ever greater sympathy towards their plight and misfortunes in being displaced and forced to struggle with a harsh new way of life in a new land. In the researcher's opinion, in terms of an increase in standards of sanitation, this form of living upon this allocated resettlement site was much better. Even though some of them kept expressing that living a forest life is better than living on a resettlement site, this may simply have been the logic of sour grapes and a sweet lime. If they could have chosen to return to forest living, none of them would have opted to have done so. However, as long as it was realised that such changes in perspective basically shape the final results, any emotional attachment by the researcher was not problematic. This researcher believes that intellectual critical reflection upon emotional attachment is partially designed for this reason so as to declare and to posit those conditions, constraints, decisions made and record the ethnographer's own stances to audiences who question such problematic involvements with key participants and the data set (Berger, 2015; Foley, 2002; Ortlipp, 2008; Pillow, 2003; Thomas, 1993).

Two issues remained to be addressed. To begin with, the researcher realised on occasion how carefully the role distance had to be set. Yet, an ethnographer should not seek to maintain a distance between himself and his potential key participants, as such a distance may then undermine the development of any rapport that enables the researcher to progress beyond surface narratives. It was perhaps better to say that this was a rather careful formation of

relationships. This helped to create an intellectual interrelationship (Adler & Adler, 1987; Foley, 2002; Goffman, 1972; Horowitz, 1986; Thomas, 1993). Next, the researcher retained his sympathy for participants and their issues, while simultaneously disliking disagreeable contentions, although he took care to be critical in his subsequent written account, even though written themes are less likely to be affected by any sympathy. The written account thus focused upon those more abstract themes and issues, ones that were less vulnerable to distortion by emotional attachments (Foley, 2002; Thomas, 1993).

Second, the researcher's positionality marked how he saw and reflected upon himself during the fieldwork. As a researcher, personal experiences, values and ideologies inevitably influenced this ethnography. For this reason, the researcher considered these affective conditions throughout as a Thai male ethnographer conducting research in his home country. Thus, any personal experiences, values and ideologies ensured there were either similarities or differences arising between the researcher and the participants, including race, class, gender, age, sexuality and life experiences (Hopkins, 1993; Rungmanee, 2014). These differences and similarities both challenged and advantaged the researcher in a variety of ways. For example, it was quite fortunate that there were few language barrier problems, as many of the participants in Kaanchanaburi were bilingual Pwo-Thais. Even if the participants spoke different languages, the Thai language helped connect us as a shared spoken language, as we all were able to communicate at least. Also, the ethnographer's Thai heritage allowed him ready access to his research location and participants as his black eyes and hair, tan complexion and Buddhist background ensured that he blended in with his surroundings.

Nevertheless, the researcher was keenly aware that there were overarching issues relating to social class and those expectations that derived from his educational and family background. As a member of the academic staff at one of the well-known Thai Universities and having been funded to complete a PhD in The UK by The Royal Thai Government, the participants expected the researcher to be professionally smart, wealthy and reserved in keeping with their perceptions and stereotypes of university lecturers and their preconceptions that government scholarship students must be very clever, earn a good salary, and be hard-boiled. Moreover, as the researcher derived from a family of government teachers, this situation possibly increased the participants' sense that both the researcher and his family were of middle-class status. Given that most of the researchers' family members had attained at least a bachelor's degree, this might potentially exacerbate the participants' perceptions of a high-achieving and achievement-oriented academic research student. In reality, on the ground, some of the participants seemed rather crestfallen as they recognised that we were extremely distinct in

terms of social class and educational background. Such uncontrolled perceptions on the part of the participants posed unconscious power and privilege relations between parties.

Such issues were mitigated by following the suggestions of Rungmanee (2014). During her multi-sited ethnographic investigation of the rural Thailand-Laos borderland, performed at an Australian higher education institution, she faced issues of class and educational background differences while practicing her fieldwork. Despite this, she had expected that her Thai identity could help her to easily access participants, yet her social and educational background made it harder for her to blend in effortlessly with her participants. She had been asked by her participants how rich she and her family had been, why she had not just sat comfortably in air-conditioned offices, what she would have been prepared to pay for their cooperation, and whether one of the participants' daughters could have worked for her in Bangkok as a domestic worker. Rungmanee had confirmed that, as university lecturers, scholarship students and members of middle-class families, we could not avoid such uncontrolled perceptions, no matter whether we were as wealthy, smart, successful or middle-class as they perceived. Ultimately, Rungmanee had employed her own created technique called work and talk, as well as her eagerness to learn new things to decrease the cultural gap arising between her and her participants.

In this case, the researcher took her suggestions about work and talk on board. When the participants had seen the researcher's eagerness to learn new things and experiences such as walking for food with monks every morning, engaging in hand embroidery, and enthusiastically joining in with as many of the temple's activities as he could, it was evident that he had become more socially accepted. The participants seemed to perceive the researcher as their subject to be learned about and realised that educated people might not actually know everything. There were many things the researcher did not know or experience and for which he needed his participants' guidance. All in all, it was noted that, while researching the participants, they had also been studying their researcher.

Some of Rungmanee's experiences could not be agreed with more, especially being conceived by an advocate. Likewise, many of the researcher's most problematic issues in forming relationships with participants was that some viewed him as a resource and as an advocate. For example, some of them asked for money in different ways. To deal with this issue, the researcher honestly stated that, as regards some of the issues such as financial support, he was able to contribute in part by paying back to the temple where he was allowed to stay without charge. Thus, the researcher considered contributing money towards the temple's electricity and water bills. However, the researcher made it clear to them that all personal requests would be denied as he did not see himself as an advocate.

Third, there are a few roles in which a reflexive research journal proved to be useful in forming this ethnography to address. To begin with, the researcher did not view reflexivity as only the quotidian repository of confessional tales and moments of catharsis during this project. Rather, the researcher considered reflexivity to be part of those methodological tools that helped him to be able to be self-supervising throughout the entire course of this ethnography. Using reflexivity as a methodological tool has helped the researcher to recognise himself, others and his project (Berger, 2015; Pillow, 2003; Thomas, 1993). As a tool, the research journal helped the researcher to recognise himself, particularly who he was, and where and how he positioned himself among the participants and how this potentially might cause harm to them. It also helped the researcher to develop his recognition of others, helping him to understand others while remaining aware of his own identity.

Moreover, it contributed to the identification of truth on the ground, as an active journal made it more possible to reflect upon and to identify truths from the fieldwork. These emerged from a comparison of data gained from various participants. This often helped in reflection upon the researcher's reasoning, judgement and emotional reactions. Such a journal thus constituted material through which to identify those corrections to be made for subsequent decisions (Berger, 2015). Finally, any recognition of responsibility stemmed from all those significant words inscribed within the research journal, particularly those pertaining to each ethical decision-making process. Thus the researcher seriously and truly learned the difference between responsible and irresponsible actions by using the research journal for reflexivity (Pillow, 2003).

3.8   Ethical Considerations and Responsibilities

In this section, this researcher presents two major highlights along with examples of ethical considerations and responsibilities in accordance with The Association of Social Anthropologists of The UK (2020), The British Sociological Association (2017), The Singapore Statement on Research Integrity (2010), and The University of Hull Research Data Management (2017). These highlights and examples are drawn from the time spent conducting fieldwork and disseminating the results. The first ethical dimension considers how the researcher managed issues arising over obtaining informed consent within ethnography, as well as those emanating from data collection. The second considers how the researcher protected the confidentiality of his participants during the ethnographic presentation.

Firstly, informed consent proved a challenge to obtain throughout most of this ethnography. The researcher thus decided to follow commonly held ethnographic practice in obtaining informed consent, seeking the most suitable and appropriate participants to work with, those who were considered to be the most willing to engage in discussions. Those participants who

felt most comfortable discussing such issues at length or who had significant experiences were preferentially selected (Le Compte & Schensul, 1999). This practice was also adopted through the researcher's openness and integrity as he gave a clear oral presentation to prospective participants as regards his scholarship and ethnographic apprenticeship in order to negate some of their suspicions towards the project. However, this was not always possible during casual encounters, so the researcher maintained and did his level best to conduct himself responsibly, sincerely, openly and honestly.

Of all the potential ethical issues that could occur during the data collection period on the ground, one of the most complicated situations that can arise in ethnography is during fieldwork. This concerns suspicions that may be aroused towards the researcher's identity and the purposes of the project. Most likely, people initially harboured suspicions as to who would benefit from this ethnographic research and questioned whether there was any hidden agenda. To overcome this challenge, the researcher needed to present himself with truth and honesty. Doing so treats people with respect not only in return for potential collaboration, but also ensures that symmetrical relationships are formed between the researcher and the participants so as to reduce the chance of any perceived interest-exploitation or uneven power relationships evolving. Rather than working on the researched, this was an exercise in working with participants. Therefore, it was incumbent upon the researcher to continue to maintain openness and honesty and to treat people with respect and consistency (Hopkins, 1993; Le Compte & Schensul, 1999).

Practically, in ensuring that the researcher remained open and honest, it was necessary to clearly illustrate the purposes of this project. Thus, all those engaged were provided with a brief paper summarising the nature and goals of this ethnographic project. The aims, methods, contributions and possible concerns of the project were discussed. Moreover, the researcher bore in mind that he must minimise the discomfort of subjects by questioning them in a courteous and emotionally neutral manner. This did not mean that the researcher maintained a distance between himself and the participants, as such a distance could possibly undermine the building of any rapport or good relations. If there were any noticeable signs of emotional discomfort or reticence while speaking about a given topic or answering a specific question, the researcher did not press further. It was also hoped that it would be possible to record these interviews with a standard voice recorder, if the participant was agreeable. After the interview and transcription, if each participant wanted access to a transcription of their recording, a summary in both Thai and English was made available to all those who took part. In each interview, the researcher verbally thanked each participant. Although no compensation was offered, light refreshments were provided during the interview as a gesture of appreciation for their valuable time.

Secondly, the confidentiality and management of participants' transcriptions were important to this ethnographic presentation. To begin with, the presentation of truth was central to this stage of the process. However, it was also a serious consideration due to possible consequent harms from any written and spoken accounts disseminated through this thesis. The validity and reliability of written and spoken accounts of the results were ensured, and the researcher neither forged, nor distorted any data in order to legitimate the misuse of such accounts. More importantly, anonymisation and confidentiality were effective tools employed in the written and spoken accounts so as to preclude the participants from any potential physical or mental harms that might endanger them after the research had been disseminated. This safeguard was seriously considered as different political stances between people can sometimes lead to physical violence (Hopkins, 1993). Alternatively, some of the results obtained for this thesis seemed too sensitive, potentially inflicting harm upon participants and the common good. In agreement with the supervisory team, the researcher had to prevent the dissemination so as to protect the participants and their societies from possible harm and social exclusions. For example, the researcher mitigated so as not to expose, nor to signpost any discussions about potential acts of illegality witnessed during the fieldwork in accordance with the edicts of the ethical approval committee.

Further, there was the strict management of transcriptions and recorded materials to address. A digitalised and hard copy format of all recorded materials, electronic/audio data and transcripts used in producing written accounts were safely stored, preserved or necessarily disposed of, as appropriate. Particularly attention was paid in relation to personal data such as names, addresses and contact details. This was in order that summary papers of the transcriptions and research outcomes could be rechecked and corrected in accordance with what participants considered to be wrong so that they could be returned to each participant correctly. This researcher kept each of these recorded materials and personal data in highly safe and separate places such as lockable cabinets and in an encrypted format on the university's password protected drive while transcribing and writing up the results. The researcher and his supervisors were the only two parties with access to the recorded materials in question. They were safely archived for five years in these safe and separate places for the researcher's own future reference and were scheduled for disposal on or after the 26th of September, 2026 (The University of Hull Research Data Management, 2017). This preservation of records for a mandatory five year period of storage was also made clear at the outset to all participants before they took part in the project.

3.9   Concluding Remarks

This chapter provides a methodological justification for this critical ethnographic project. The chapter has been broken down into four key issues. In the first instance, the researcher identifies and justifies the research's philosophical paradigm, one of ontological social constructivism. This epistemological

programme constitutes interpretivism which is subsequently packaged as an identified ontological foundation. After examining the research question, critical ethnography is considered an appropriate methodological programme for this research. Second, the researcher proposes how critical ethnography can help in answering such an ethnographic inquiry. All in all, critical ethnography starts with and enacts a value-laden ethnographic project which approaches events that are, otherwise not quite deemed to be right in our culture and society. Its process is not simply to look sceptically at society, but also to immerse oneself in diverse dimensions of topic selection, a data set's acquirement, translation, interpretation and discourse to search for ways that move beyond conventional means of observation and narrative. In the third place, ethical considerations serve as an indispensable component of this chapter. The quality of ethical responsibility hinges upon ethnographic contexts and an ethnographer's capacity to make ethical decisions whilst tackling ethical issues. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion of reflexivity. It contributes to how the researcher can position himself and his participants so as to understand himself and others. Also, such a process helps in the process of making a series of ethical decisions efficiently.

Chapter 4 Contextualising Modernisation Landscape, Human Geography and Cultural Landscape

> For The Karen, swidden fields and fallows, do not represent merely a system of cyclical land use or rotational rice planting. Rather, each stage of the cycle is imprinted with various aspect of Karen livelihood. The cycle is thus a site imbued with personal life histories, with fond memories of journeys from childhood to adulthood, with bonds of sisterhood and brotherhood, and with ties forged between members of the community through labour exchange and hope for future generations. It is a site where Karen youth grow up and become Karen. The Karen calendar years rotate around the cycle of swidden. For example, to calculate the age of a child, parents will begin with remembering what swidden plot they were cultivating when that child was born. They will then calculate the number of swidden fields they have cultivated in subsequent years, up to the current year. The total will be the age of that child (Laungaramsri, 2000, p. 261).

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the modernisation landscape, human geography and cultural landscape of the research site. The chapter chronologically presents the modernisation of Thailand through the development of its statehood. This aims to make sense of the political scene that accelerated Thailand towards modernisation. Then, the chapter addresses Karen forest life before their forced relocation caused by the dammed reservoir. Through contextualising rotated swidden farming, it takes to understand that Pwo Karen-ness needs consideration of its swiddening culture from which several cultural and social practices stem. The chapter concludes with the introduction to the grid street planned resettlement site. This modernised sedentarisation of land use and ownership replaced Pwo-Karen usufructuary systems of land use and ownership. Such replacement has been one of the causes, shunting the Raipa villagers into becoming a voiceless object of development with associated precarity. Both changes in the villagers' geographical domicile and socio-culture have led to a differentiation in the Karen political economy. The chapter equips audiences with the notion that this modernised sedentarisation of land use and ownership has given them new forms of struggle through sedentarily staying in a state of deficiency of spatial and temporal control.

4.2 *Khwaamcharoen*: Unveiling The Variances in Translation

There is a need to address some of the linguistic issues, as well as to understand why this author adopts and maintains "siwilai," "civilisation," and "progress" as translations for "charoen." Moreover, specific points in the historical modernisation of Siam (Thailand) showcase its landscape of charoen. This will be highlighted through two works by Winichakul (1994; 2000). In Winichakul's (2000) article titled *"The Quest for "Siwilai"*: A Geographical Discourse of Civilisational Thinking in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century Siam," the term "siwilai" emerged as one of the earliest transliterations from the English language, dating back to the mid-nineteenth century. The transliterated "siwilai"

remains in use today, functioning interchangeably as a verb, adjective, and noun in both written and spoken language. This linguistic innovation reflects attempts to localise the term, adapting its connotation for local comprehension. Nonetheless, the transliterated form hints at its foreign origin.

"Charoen" (which relates to "siwilai," civilisation, and progress) holds historical significance in two main ways. Firstly, its meaning is tied to the establishment of the modern nation-state of Siam under royal governance. "Siwilai" was a topic that King Mongkut (1851-1868) and likely the elite of his time grappled with. Even before ascending the throne, he sought explanations from his Western acquaintances. He once acknowledged that Siam was part civilised and part barbaric (Kasetsiri, 1996; Winichakul, 2000, p. 530). Despite their political differences, the elites universally desired for Siam to achieve "siwilai." They firmly rejected associating "siwilai" with Christianity, remaining devout Buddhists. However, their comprehension, interpretations, and aspirations for "siwilai" evolved and became more contentious. Similar to its English counterpart, "siwilai" encompasses a broad spectrum of meanings. It signifies refined manners and etiquette on one end. A prominent intellectual of that era remarked that the trend of Thai men wearing shirts symbolised Siam's transition from barbarism to a more "siwilai" state, akin to Europeans (Kulap, 1995; Winichakul, 2000, p. 530). Over time, this interpretation evolved into normative discourses and behaviour guidelines, as seen in influential Thai treatises such as "sombatkhongphuudii" (Qualifications of The Gentility[8]).

Conversely, much like in English, "siwilai" also alludes to a state of development or progress.[9] As observed by a Thai historian, Western items and behaviours were deemed "siwilai" (Kasetsiri, 1996; Winichakul, 2000, p. 530). Nonetheless, this adaptation process was not straightforward. Given its varied interpretations, especially in this latter context, "siwilai" became increasingly politicised in Thai cultural history, eventually morphing into a battleground for political disputes. Critics, primarily from the urban literati (comprising intellectuals and bureaucrats), leaned towards a nationalist interpretation of "siwilai" over a royalist one. As calls for political and societal reforms in the name of "siwilai" grew louder, opposing perspectives on its definition became more pronounced.

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[8] The positive conduct encompasses various aspects of Westernised behaviour such as the removal of headwear, smoking pipes, and adhering to proper table etiquette. Additionally, it extends to behaviours regarded as Thai and aligned with Buddhist principles (Winichakul, 2000, p. 530).

[9] The quote is attributed to Raymond Williams (1983, p. 58), where he delves into the concept of "civilisation" as understood in English during the eighteenth century. He highlights elements such as the Enlightenment spirit, secular advancement, and modernity. However, he acknowledges the relative nature of its meaning.

Furthermore, one interpretation of "siwilai" led to the adoption of another semantically similar term: "charoen." Etymologically rooted in the Khmer language, "charoen" traces back to at least the fourteenth century. Historically, it meant cultivation, growth, or enhancement in a positive sense, often in non-material contexts like accruing merit or attaining Buddhist enlightenment. However, by the nineteenth century, "charoen" began to signify secular development, material progress, and technological advancements. It gradually became synonymous with "siwilai" in this respect. This contemporary interpretation is now a staple in everyday vernacular, with "charoen" and "siwilai" used interchangeably (Winichakul, 2000, p. 531).

Terms like "siwilai," "civilisation," "progress," and "thansamai" (meaning modern or contemporary) signify directional flows of time, contrasting with the cyclical, preordained Hindu-Buddhist temporal concepts of yore. "Siwilai" and the modern understanding of "charoen" are components of a budding temporal awareness wherein concepts of history, progress, and nostalgia became conceivable. It became evident that Siam had an imperative to evolve with the times (Winichakul, 2000, p. 531). From these linguistic nuances, we discern that "siwilai," "civilisation," "progress," and "thansamai" have overlapping connotations. In this thesis, the term that seems to resonate most with modern Thai usage is "charoen."

4.3 Historically-Modernising Landscape of Thailand

In Winichakul's (1994) "*Siam Mapped*: A History of The Geo-Body of A Nation," four primary issues pertinent to Thailand's modernisation landscape are raised, especially from a geopolitical perspective. Firstly, the book delves into the dramatic shift in perceptions of the domain of Siam's modern nation-state. The second issue highlights the modernisation initiatives that emerged during the colonial-expansionist era, spurred by contemporary mapping and topographical surveys. The third topic addresses the early formation of modern institutions influenced by Westernisation. Lastly, it elucidates some modernisation challenges faced due to nationalistic and chauvinistic policies post the 1932 revolution.

Firstly, the indigenous premodern political spaces in mainland Southeast Asia, including Siam, were not recognised by modern nation-state building and modern geography. Undoubtedly, modernisation of such indigenous premodern political spaces was propelled by two Western superpowers. In mainland Southeast Asia, during the premodern political space, multiple sovereignties and submissions were practically commonplace for the weak kingdoms and chiefdoms across the premodern frontiers of Siam. For example, the chiefdoms of The Karen, Lu, Phuan and numerous other ethnic people submitted tributes to whichever superior kingdoms were able to provide protection. In this sense, Siam, Burma and Vietnam overlapped in their frontiers and these borders constantly shifted depending upon the rising and falling of empires. Differentiation, in terms

of having modernist ideas of sovereignty, integrity and global relations among indigenous polity and geography, was the starting point for the reforms and modernisation projects. Primarily, it seems that the role of the modernist technology of space, or mapping of exclusive territorial boundaries, plays its crucial part in rendering the grid of the modern mentality of people in relation to indigenous polity and geography. In Siam's case, such new technologies of space have brought Siam towards a serious consideration of the modern knowledge and practices of polity and geography. In other words, these were only the mainstream discourse, practices and languages of modern polity and geography the Western superpowers wanted to hear. Only modernist maps of exclusive territorial boundaries could make arguments heard (Winichakul, 1994).

Franco-Siamese tension over claims to territories on the right bank of The Mekhong in the Lao region, especially during 1880s-1890s, was one of the main fundamental-contextual causes. The *Thesaphibaan* system, literally meaning "protection over territory" in English, was adopted as the new administration. This administrative approach raised notions of centralisation and hierarchical bureaucracy to a higher degree and more autonomously between Bangkok and its territories. In this system, the administration of Siam's territories was run through Bangkok-appointed rulers, most of whom were members of the royal family. The protection over such territories under the auspices of Bangkok and its ministers was expected to directly control taxation as well as judicial, education and administrative issues. The reform to the Thesaphibaan system presented a dramatic transition in the idea of the realm of Siam. The system, for the first time, made an effort to realise those units which comprised the legitimate realm in territorial terms. Unsurprisingly, this reform arose as a result of the new idea created by the modern discourse of geography and mapping technology. In this sense, modern geography and mapping were a discursive paradigm. Particularly, mapping constitutes a practical means of acquiring the new governing and administrating system. Such paradigms and practices forced Siam to reorganise and to redistribute indigenous spaces, being reformed to suit the new modern polity. This modern polity constituted the new exercise of modern administrative power on a territorial basis (Winichakul, 1994).

Table 4-1 The Development of Modernisation Projects by James Fitzroy McCarthy's Team of Cartographical Surveys

Years	Projects
1881	The telegraph line from Taak of Siam to Moulmein of British Burma.
1882	A map of Sampheng, which was the heart of Bangkok's Chinese community. The map contributed to increasing the efficiency of the collection of the Chinese head taxes.
1882-1883	A map of the boundary between Rahaeng and Chiangmai to settle their dispute over the woodcutting tax.
1883	A map of the boundary between Pattani and Perak. These two were the Malay states. Where the former belonged to Siam, the latter was under The British-Malaya.

Source: Winichakul (1994, p. 118)

Second, the introduction to modern mapping and topographical survey subsequently led to a few modernisation projects. The first two materially-modernist infrastructures constructed were the roads in Bangkok, including the one from Bangkok to the gulf, and major telegraph lines. Bangkok's zone, in particular, became more urbanised. The first telegraph line ran from Bangkok to Paknam. On the other hand, the second line ran from Bangkok to Bangpa-in. Another telegraph line was constructed from Bangkok to Battambang, now part of Cambodia, in order to connect with the French line to Saigon in Vietnam. Such cut roads in Bangkok and the major telegraph lines that ran from Bangkok to important towns were the nascent steps in moving Siam and Thailand toward modernisation in the following century. Moreover, during the early 1880s, Siam employed a British technician to map Siam to integrate with the British triangulations. James Fitzroy McCarthy, thus, was employed by Siam's government to complete triangulations and the rest of unsurveyed frontiers. However, after his work had been completed, McCarthy developed further modernisation projects by using the survey's outcomes (Winichakul, 1994). Some of his modernisation projects are listed in Table 4-1.

At the same time, between the 1890s and 1900s, the Franco-Siamese conflict over the Lao region was particularly tense and fierce. Mutually-accepted cartography and maps were however only evidence for negotiations as agreeable territorial demarcations were difficult to produce, as neither party permitted alien surveyors into their respective territories. Whose maps would be more accurate to be used in negotiations was an issue that was often raised. While both Siam and The French claimed the territories and proposed their maps as the basis of negotiations, both also implied that their maps had not yet been completed. Thus, further cartographical surveys were required. Ultimately, they had to accept the fact that their maps had merely been preliminary ones, despite the military status quo. Siam and French Indochina, thereby, agreed and allowed one another's cartographers to continue their activities in the opponent's occupied Lao region territories for the benefit of the ongoing proposed negotiations in Bangkok. The competition in terms of topographical surveying and mapping conducted by both Siam and The French accompanied the political unrest in the Lao region (Winichakul, 1994). The Siamese topographical surveys for boundary mapping made after 1884 are summarised in Table 4-2.

Table 4-2 The Siamese Topographical Surveys and Development of Modernisation Projects since 1884

Years	Projects
1884	The topographical survey of the northeastern boundaries around Luangphrabaang, Sipsong Chuthai, Huaphan and Phuan.
1884-1885	Travelling to Luangphrabaang via different routes through Nan, and topographical survey of the country around Luangphrabaang.
1885-1886	Travelling to Luangphrabaang but not be able to make it as the late arrival of the troops.
1886-1887	Travelling to Chiangmai, Luangphrabaang and Thaeng and the topographical survey for military and administrative purposes.
1887-1889	Construction survey for the Bangkok-Chiangmai railway.
1890-1891	The mapping of the boundary on the frontier between Siam and Burma.
1891	The undertaking of triangulations of the northern frontier in order to connect with the system of triangulations from British India's eastern frontier; cartographical survey of the northwestern frontier and accomplishment of the boundary map of this part.
1892-1893	The conducting of triangulations from the northwest and north of Lanna eastward across Luangphrabaang and the areas northeastern to the south of Luangphrabaang.

Source: Winichakul (1994, p. 124).

Third, there were the establishments of modernist institutions to address. The grid of the modern mind was made through the modernist educational institution establishment. In this sense, the initial Western-style schools instilled modern mindsets in people, especially among the King's close associates, especially after Bangkok realised that maps were truly indispensable in building roads, electricity grids, telegraph lines and railways. In early 1875, the training of around fifty soldiers selected from The Royal Bodyguard began, which was the first Western-style regiment in the country. The training scheme was termed the "Military Engineers of the Royal Bodyguard" by one of King Chulalongkorn's English assistants. Unfortunately, only a few of them could finish their training, and the training scheme was suspended until 1881 (Winichakul, 1994).

According to Winichakul (1994), the grid of modern mindset of The Siamese had been seriously cultivated and appeared after 1882. Prince Damrong suggested the establishment of the first mapping school to train officials to assist the European technicians. Due to the limited workforce demand, most of the students were only limited in number and only descendants of high-ranking government officials were admitted. The modules offered were Western mathematics, astronomy and the utilisation of sophisticated scientific devices. The students also studied how to calculate coordinates and many other topographical measurements. In fact, studies on the history of the modern education establishment in Thailand hardly mentioned anything about this modern mapping school. This is because the school was run for a particular purpose rather than being a school for general education. However, it can be said that the modern mapping school was one of the first of the few Western-style schools in Siam and was run by Siam's government. Most importantly, the school offered intensive studies in

English and Western scientific knowledge, in response to the need for cartographical employment. Since 1885, mapping had been no longer been a foreign technology to Siam, as the Siamese government established The Royal Survey Department (RSD). The department was responsible for all governmental surveys, planning and mapping projects.

Following the works of Agyrou (2005), Gunn (2006) and William (1977), both concepts of hegemony and governmentality, as addressed in Chapter 2, are sufficient to serve to address this situation, wherein the grid of the modern mindset of some Siamese has since become accepted as a common worldview and held as common sense among those Western-leaning and educated people. The way in which the modernist discourse and knowledge were able to attain their hegemonic position required the technique of governmentality – the very modernist technology of power as critiqued by Foucault. In this case, the concept of governmentality contributed to blindsiding the discourse's objects via the discipline of intensive studies of Western mathematics, astronomy and English. This was because the formative and familiar mechanism of hegemonic projects of colonisation of the British and French superpowers had been revealed and the objects of such hegemonic projects made cognisant. In other words, such related disciplines of intensive studies of English and Western scientific knowledge, as newly-modernist techniques of power, had constructed a new form and mechanisms to assist hegemonic projects and positions of Western-led modernisation in Siam, including Western-style regiments and (mapping) schools.

Fourth, some other notable modernisations arose through nationalist-chauvinistic policies and practices after the 1932 revolution. This revolution overthrew the absolute monarchy, which was replaced by the constitutional monarchy. This rupture in the continuous history of Siam was intentionally amended by anti-imperialist written histories derived from those very nationalist-chauvinistic policies. After Siam lost some of its territories to the British and the French superpowers during the late nineteenth century, Siam, especially the monarchy and elites, felt a deep agony of defeat, one which scarred Siamese memory. The issue of the lost territories as a national wound was raised frequently in many chauvinistic written histories, so much so that it became a prime issue on the chauvinistic agenda in the late 1930s. Since this time, such historically-chauvinistic written projects had transferred this wound of nationhood onto the monarchy. The loss of territories as being akin to the loss of royal dignity was largely rhetorical (Winichakul, 1994).

The trend towards global fascism, one which Phibunsongkram's government followed during the period of 1939-1944, played a significant role in modernising the early post-colonialist era prior to the onset of The Cold War. Phibunsongkram's regime espoused the fascist chauvinism of a national civilisation. In May 1939, the name Siam was changed to Thailand (or The

Kingdom of Thailand). Several nationalist notions and practices were deployed to the national threshold in the hope of national modernisation. Such notions and practices were affected through enforced government guidelines. In particular, new cultural and economic norms in terms of behaviours were stipulated and practically implemented from an individual level to the public level. During World War II, Phibunsongkram's government introduced several elaborate efforts to civilise Thai culture. A number of commissions were founded to stipulate what Thai culture should be and to supervise its dissemination. Many detailed practices from domestic affairs to social ones, and from private matters to public ones, were prescribed for Thais to follow strictly. For example, traditional clothing and practices of chewing betel nuts were strictly prohibited. Conversely, trousers, skirts and kissing before going out for work in the morning were fully prescribed (Winichakul, 1994).

Further, the agenda of the independence movement, especially the most active elements rising between 1940 and 1941, became very clear. The movement was committed to recover the former territories on the right bank of The Mekhong in the Lao region which had been ceded by the Franco-Siamese treaties of 1904 and 1907. Thus, Phibunsongkram's government needed to propagate the notion of "The Great Thai Race" and "The Brotherhood of Tai People" in mainland Southeast Asia to energise the movement's power. Also, such government must draw popular attention to propel the movement in the long run. Such public propaganda, then, was strongly set into motion and publicly promoted through leaflets calling for Siamese and Tai people to unite and strive for the return of the lost territories. In 1940, the Phibunsongkram's government request for the return of the lost territories to Thailand was rejected. This rejection marked a turning point for the incumbent government in deciding to cooperate with the Imperial Japanese Empire. This cooperation was intended to avoid any political turmoil in the aftermath of their incursions and also because the government hoped to gain the support of the powerful Japanese in presenting nationalist arguments within the international community. As a consequence, military cooperation began between Thailand and Japan in December 1941. As the Japanese dominion over mainland Southeast Asia appeared indomitable, the Japanese army was able to occupy the western part of Cambodia. In return for this military cooperation, the Japanese gave Thailand the western region of Cambodia. However, this possession was only to last until the end of WW II with the defeat of The Japanese (Winichakul, 1994). After WW II ended, *The Development Era* officially started. Concurrently, The Cold War between The First and The Second Worlds gradually increased in its overarching tensions of ideology, polity, economy, socio-culture, technology and development.

4.4   Pwo-Karen Human Geography

4.4.1   *Why Do Living Contextual Conditions and Opportunities Need To Be Taken into Account?*

There are uncertainties in specifying exactly what is considered to be making social progress. This is because such ideas, under several specific values, transmuted across separated places and times, seem to be exposed to re-interpretation and altered sensibilities over differing contexts and times. Thus, framing dynamic contextual conditions and life opportunities influencing participants is indispensable. This helps to sustain discussions of cases so as to be more simpatico with only their own engaged contexts, whether these be life's conditionings, opportunities, or influences for the self-construction of beings and their positionings among others. To this end, there are three supportive ideas to address.

First, without framing contextual conditions and life opportunities surrounding the Pwo-Karen participants, it seems difficult to fully comprehend their ideas of making social progress, as they have never been formally fixed during the trajectory of global development. For example, the legacy of mainstream development models and its practices of transnational organisations which, from henceforth, the author will term mainstream development has, over time, quietly been transmuted in its socio-cultural recognitions to serve its beneficiaries for many reasons. Its first purpose was to increase people's QoL during the 1960s. In later decades this expanded to encompass the fight against global poverty.

Today's purpose, represented in the efforts of The SDGs, is to balance economic, political, socio-cultural and environmental dimensions for people's sustainable well-being. Throughout this period, the development industry has been dominated by powerful transnational organisations, notably The World Bank, IMF and The UN. However, when people involved in the development industry view, understand and expect different outcomes from development projects, they persistently strive for their expected benefits, perhaps unsurprisingly.

Second, the author thus personally believes that, in order to identify the extent to which people feel satisfied with their expectations of the benefits of development, is of course to address their individual subjectivity. While some may be satisfied with such material living standards as good healthcare, educational programmes and job opportunities, some may only frame satisfactory features in more intangible forms (Ryan & Deci, 2001). These forms may include the right to voice their concerns politically, to take part in all processes of development practice, or to prevent natural-cultural resources from being altered by development practices. For others, it may only be the desire to be socially recognised and publicly heralded as defenders of human and community rights.

Third, working alongside the post-development critique and critical ethnographic methodology, this author follows Escobar (1995), Ferguson (2014), Gardner & Lewis (1996), McGregor (2009), and Thomas (1993). For this reason, importance is placed upon the losses and gaps of The Pwo Karen-ness in their perceptions of their own conditional contexts and life opportunities. In particular, the author understands that the Pwo-Karen participants possess their own ideas of making social progress, as experienced from their own locational, chronological and contextual positions. Thus, the author's starting presupposition was that these people likely grow their perceptions from ideas of making social progress differently to others in differing contexts. To some extent, whether they either have or do not have positive perceptions of one particular idea of making social progress depends upon their subjectivist circumstance and judgement. Their experiences, through their own interactions with practices of making social progress across different positions, geographical, economic, political, socio-cultural, ideological and chronological contexts, are thus significant in shaping their perceptions. Such perceptions, at a personal level, are one of the key determinants of whether they accept or do not accept the importance of a particular idea of making social progress that has been imposed upon them. For this reason, contextualising their human geography and cultural landscape should initially carefully be made sense of.

4.4.2 Former Inundated Raipa Village in Collective Memory

In this section, there are a few points to address. The first is to contextualise the whole cultural ecology of Thungyai Naresuan and The Huaikhaakhaeng Wildlife Sanctuary. Before the sanctuary was decreed and the dam constructed, the area used to be a large forestland. The second introduces wider threats from dam constructions and land reforms in such forestland. The third addresses brief ethnographic experiences.

First, in geographical terms, to understand their human geography we must take into consideration the whole cultural ecology of Thungyai Naresuan and The Huaikhaakhaeng Wildlife Sanctuary as decreed by The UNESCO World Heritage Property (THUWHP). THUWHP encompasses approximately 5,775 km^2 and is considered to be the largest conservation area in mainland Southeast Asia. It spans the Kaanchanaburi, Taak and Uthaithaani provinces in the west of Thailand and abuts the border with Myanmar (Figure 4-1). The property combines two contiguous sanctuaries, namely The Thungyai Naresuan and Huaikhaakhaeng (which were separately established as sanctuaries in 1972 and 1974, respectively). The year of UNESCO's inscription, however, was 1991.

The deep forest of TUWHP, in which Pwo-Karen settlements have historically long existed, has been acknowledged as a mutual realm of Pwo-Karen culture. Their cultural practices predominantly stem from rotated swidden farmlands that sustain their culture and people.

This whole forest had been reckoned to be part of the Shan-Thai folded mountains. The forest contains ridges that run parallel from north to south. Numerous headwater stream valleys served as sources of important river systems. Two of these were The Upper Khwaeyai and The Upper Khwaenoi. These headwaters encompassed superlative forest habitats and contained not only wildlife, but also a few ethnic groups, including The Pwo-Karen (Cox, 1987).

Secondly, during the 1980s, a few threats to the deep forest emerged. Development projects in buffer zones constituted one of the biggest threats to the integrity of the forestland. Especially as regards dam projects, agricultural development and mining to the east and south of the forestland, involving road constructions, brought about systematic deforestation in some parts of such buffer zones. Moreover, these facilitated access to the deep forest and exacerbated poaching. The consequence of the loss of rich riverine forests caused by such dam projects, therefore, has also resulted in the displacement of The Pwo-Karen from their newly inundated homeland. A few dam projects in the upper Kaanchanaburi province to provide electricity and irrigation development for the entire Maeklong Basin have effectively displaced these local minorities (Hirsch, 1988).

In this regard, two primary lessons appear to have been learned from such development, and this brought about postponements, pending further investigations for other scheduled dam projects. Indeed, one of the principal dam projects has remained indefinitely suspended. In this section we address these lessons. In the first place, such experiences of forced displacement led to considerations of adequate compensation as payment for land lost could hardly buy similar land of equivalent quality elsewhere. Second, some forced displacements led to potential cultural genocide owing to prohibitions of rotated swidden farmlands and indigenous tribal worship. This possible loss has been deemed by some scholars to be immeasurable. The current long, thin reservoirs and their orientation have also divided the entire forest cultural system into fractions (Cox, 1987; Hirsch, 1987b; 1988; Rigg J. , 1991b). Not only do reservoirs serve as barriers to wildlife during seasonal migrations, but they also divide the Pwo-Karen cultural landscape (Figure 4-2).

Figure 4-1 The UNESCO World Heritage Property's Map of The Thungyai-Huaikhaakhaeng Wildlife Sanctuary

Source: https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/591/multiple=1&unique_number=699

In this regard, two primary lessons appear to have been learned from such development, and this brought about postponements, pending further investigations for other scheduled dam projects. Indeed, one of the principal dam projects has remained indefinitely suspended. In this section we address these lessons. In the first place, such experiences of forced displacement led to considerations of adequate compensation as payment for land lost could hardly buy similar land of equivalent quality elsewhere. Second, some forced displacements led to potential cultural genocide owing to prohibitions of rotated swidden farmlands and indigenous tribal worship. This possible loss has been deemed by some scholars to be immeasurable. The current long, thin reservoirs and their orientation have also divided the entire forest cultural system into fractions (Cox, 1987; Hirsch, 1987b; 1988; Rigg J. , 1991b). Not only do reservoirs serve as barriers to wildlife during seasonal migrations, but they also divide the Pwo-Karen cultural landscape.

Third, there are ethnographic experiences of The Raipa Village that must briefly be addressed. Before the 1984 displacement, Raipa Village was known as Laipa Village (Table 4-3), an isolated settlement hidden deep within Thailand's western riverine forest valley. The authentic title of the village should have denoted a very rocky waterfront (Figure 4-5) as befitted the history of the former location. The actual Pwo-Karen term lai (spelled and pronounced rai at present) means very rocky.

> Lai has consistently been heard wherever Pwo-Karen settlements are found within challenging rocky geographical contexts. "Pa" is a geo-linguistic term denoting an open space. Pwo-Karen settlements that include the term "pa" highlight an open space as a notable feature. The Pwo-Karen villagers in these areas lived without electricity, piped water, or reliable communication. Their indigenous subsistence relied on forest items, including local vegetables, mushrooms, and wild animals. The village was encircled by ecologically rich land, forests, and swamps. Every household owned oxen and cows, and some families even had trained elephants to assist with agricultural tasks (Nong Poe Sher, Interview, March 2019).

This depiction expressed a feeling that was missed among the displaced Pwo-Karen, while contributing to trade-offs between the former and current villages. Their forced displacement has triggered an emotive sentiment that they have been endlessly encountering all manner of new difficulties surviving in a cash-based society and have experienced unprecedented struggles for economic enrichment.
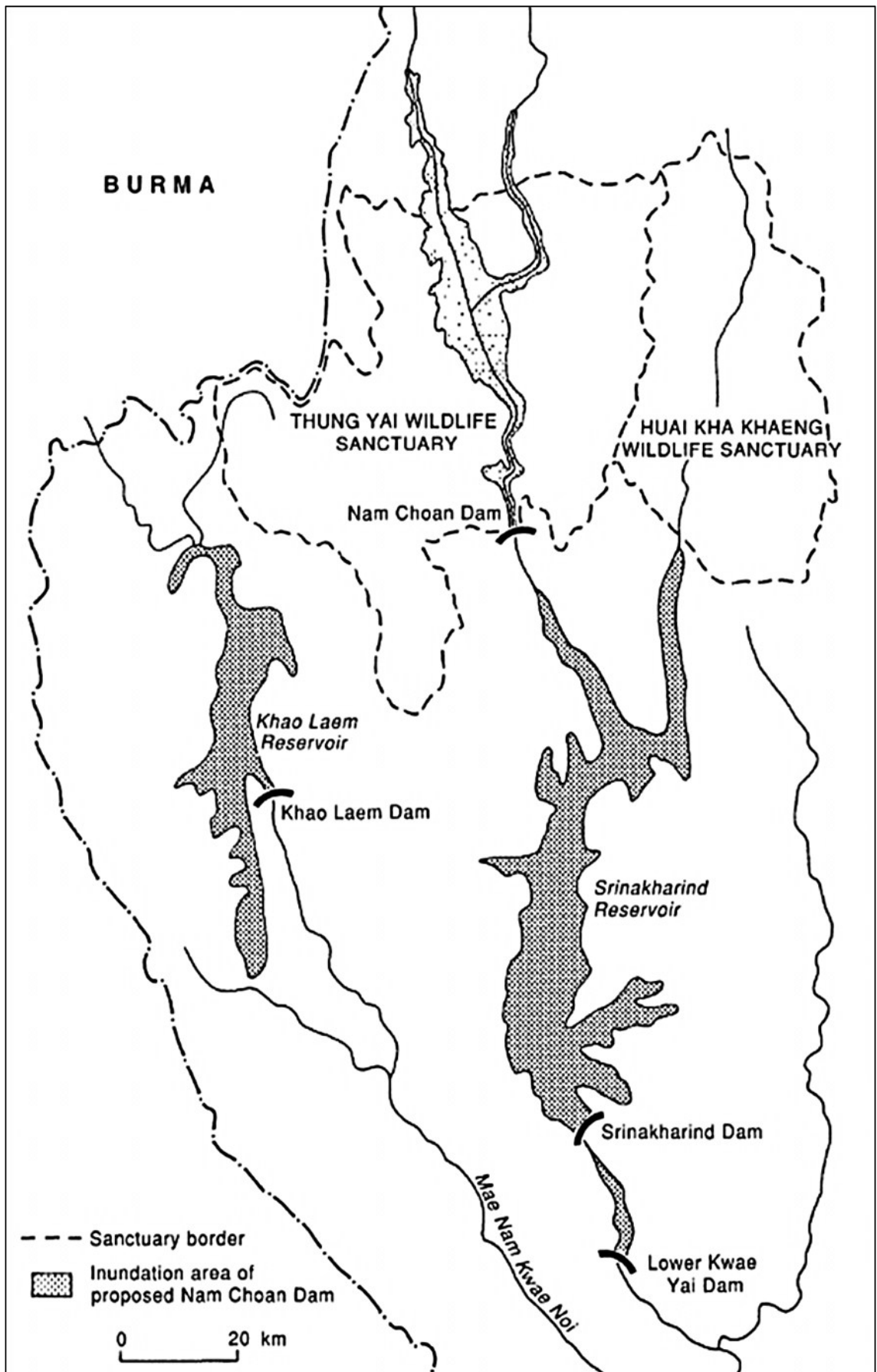
Figure 4-2 The Locations of A few Dams and Their Reservoirs in Upper Kaanchanaburi Riverine Forestland

Source: Rigg (1991b)

Figure 4-3 One of The Displaced Pointing Out Her Former Inundated Village over The Reservoir

Source: Field Survey (2019)
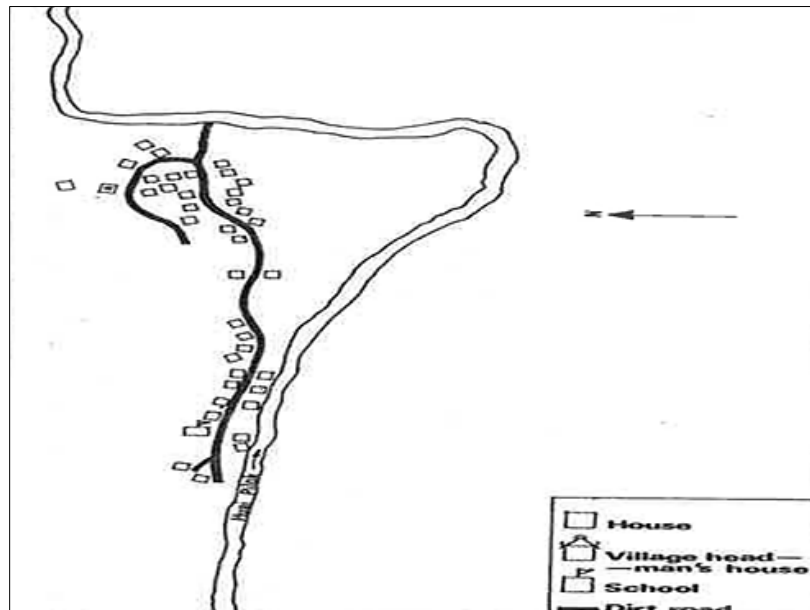
Figure 4-4 Map of The Former Inundated Raipa Village on The Headwater Bank of The Pilok River

Source: Phutaraphorn & Kataleeradaphan (1979, p. 147)

Figure 4-5 One of The Edges Found on The River of Khwaenoi Shows What Former Raipa Was Alike.

Source: Field Survey (2019)

The Pwo-Karen's common and long memory of their inundated village has, therefore, not been confined only to the area of the former inundated location, but it has consciously been conflated with the entire ecological forestland, river systems and cultural landscape of this region of Thailand's western forestland. In this sense, their former home was not only the exact inundated locale; but it meant the entire realm of ecosystem and cultural landscape spread over the rich western forestland. Everywhere in the forest was home. Most of the time, some participants expressed how much they missed the good old days in their former homeland, referred to as having a better ecosystem and cultural landscape. Their contribution held a sense that their underwater village encapsulated a better biological ecology and easier agricultural-related cultural practices, predominantly stemming from their practices of rotated swidden farming. Even though it sounds romanticised, it comes to the researcher's understanding that their forests, rivers, land, plants, wildlife, gods, spirits, even human beings have been mentally torn apart from each other.

4.5 Pwo-Karen Cultural Landscape

4.5.1 Rotated Swidden Farming

There are two primary types of integral swidden systems in Thailand: pioneer swiddening and established swiddening, known in Thai as "railuenloi" and "raimunwian," respectively (Conklin, 1957; Walker A. R., 1975). While these adaptations have nuances depending on location and ethnic group, they are fundamentally distinct. Pioneer swiddening is practiced by The Hmong, Lisu, Lahu, Akha, and Yao. All of these groups are Sino-Tibetan speakers, most of whom migrated into northern Thailand approximately (or more than) a century ago. On the other hand, established swiddeners comprise groups like The Karen, Khmu, Htin, and Lawa. Excluding The

Karen, the rest belong to the Mon-Khmer ethnic groups, who have likely inhabited Southeast Asia for millennia. While the Karen are usually categorised as Sino-Tibetan, they have resided in Thailand for potentially several centuries, and even longer in neighbouring Myanmar.

Walker (1975) suggests that the variations between the two swidden adaptations stem from their practitioners' perceptions— their norms, models, and ideals— of how swiddening ought to be conducted. Even though the pioneer method ideally involves the clearing of large tracts of climax forest annually, it is still practiced even when little swiddenable climax forest remains in Thailand. To comprehend the logic behind the pioneer method, it is vital to study its roots, particularly where it was first institutionalised in the primary forests. This practice historically necessitated frequent village relocations in pursuit of these primary forests. In contrast, established swiddeners employ a different swiddening approach. Their villages are generally settled in fixed territories, where they cultivate secondary forests rotationally. It is this established swiddening method that we will delve into in this section.

There are a few issues to address in relation to rotated swidden farming and its nature. Another issue relates to what is rotational swidden agriculture. The next one discusses extant threats and tensions towards rotated swidden cultivation arising through conflicting ideologies as regards conservation between intruding liberalist-modernist and indigenous practices. Firstly, *what is rotated swidden farming?* Rotated swidden farming, or swidden cultivation, is a form of upland rice agriculture practised by hill peoples, including The Pwo-Karen. In brief, such cultivation has a cycle. It begins with the clearance of forestland at the end of the dry season, when swiddeners will burn felled trees so as to restore the soil's lost nutrients. Swidden land will be cultivated for different lengths of time, depending on the soil's fertility. Subsequently, swiddeners will allow barren land to be naturally recovered. Given enough time, swiddeners will return to this cultivable land again for a secondary forest swidden. In other words, swiddening systems rely on a drifting sequence of short agricultural periods of a few years followed by fallow time for an appropriate number of years. This time ensures that secondary forestland is given sufficient time to redevelop (Schmidt-Vogt, 1997).
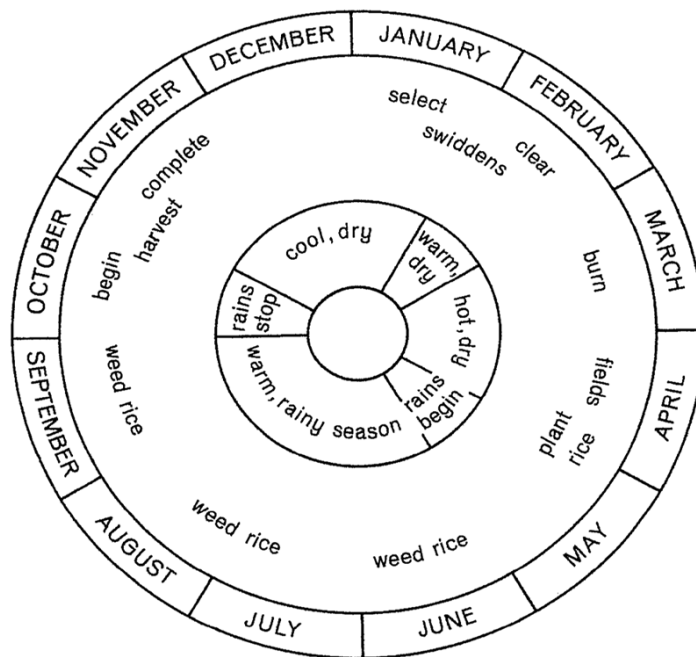
Figure 4-6 The Annual Cycle of Karen Swidden Activities

Source: Schmidt - Vogt (1997, p. 52)

A regular yearly swidden cultivation cycle follows a relatively predictable pattern (Figure 4-6). Seasonal variations play a crucial role in swidden activities. During the warm and dry months of January and February, selected fallow areas are cleared. In March, typically characterized by hot and dry weather, the cleared vegetation is set on fire. By the end of April, upland rice seeds are planted along with other local crops like chillis and cucumbers. This strategy ensures a supply of vegetables before the rice is ready for harvest. Throughout the rainy season, spanning from May to September, the primary focus is on weeding to facilitate optimal rice growth. Some vegetables become ready for harvest during this period. Once the rainy season subsides in October, the rice is ripe for harvesting, which the Karen swiddeners complete by November. The cool and dry month of December offers a reprieve before the cycle restarts in January.

Karen rotational swidden farming is a central aspect of what Andrew Walker (2001; Forsyth & Walker, 2008) terms "The Karen Consensus." However, instead of idealising this form of Karen agriculture, Walker's observations and arguments present a more nuanced, critical, and subject-to-revision portrayal. Walker suggests that the widely held belief that Karen rotational swidden farming is both sustainable and advantageous needs to be examined within the broader context of the historical development of Karen farming practices. Historical and ethnographic evidence indicates that Karen rotational swidden farming remained viable over extended periods only when supported by factors such as low population density, ample land availability, and significant opportunities for village fragmentation and outward migration. The Karen people migrated to northern and western Thailand over the past couple of centuries,

settling in regions previously vacated due to conflicts among Burmese, Siamese, and northwestern Thai communities. Considering the relatively recent establishment of Karen settlements in this area, the conventional distinction between rotational and pioneer shifting cultivation may require reevaluation, as it could be somewhat exaggerated.

> Karen rotational cultivation may, in fact, be a short-term to medium-term pioneering technology that was adopted in relatively recently settled areas prior to the establishment of larger communities and more settled forms of agriculture (Walker A. , 2001, p. 151).

Secondly, there is an inherent contradiction and the allegation of threats over this swidden cultivation which must be addressed. Some lowland people consider swidden farming to be a destructive practice, one that leads to progressive degradation of the forest. Before the 1990s, the modern conservationists' discourse on swidden cultivation as a destructive practice leading to major deforestation emerged as a widespread and misleading rumour throughout Thailand. In terms of discourse, power and control, the fact was quite clear that Karen swidden cultivation constituted a potential knowledge gap for modern conservationists, one which was used to divert lowland people's awareness to become unfriendlier to Karen swiddening. Such a potential knowledge gap proved perilous as Karen swiddeners were alleged to slash and burn trees in forestland without limit, boundaries or reserve. This suspicion held by unfriendly lowland people and the state towards Karen swiddeners transformed into a justification for state surveillance and manipulation of both swidden cultivation and Karen swiddeners. Before the 1990s, voiceless swiddeners and scholars discursively fought back against this modern conservationists' discourse on swidden cultivation as being a destructive form of agriculture (Laungaramsri, 2000).

The modern conservationists' discourse against hill people's swidden cultivation and swiddeners prompted a change in the state's land reform schemes. Two Indispensable schemes were to be the introduction of a national parks' establishment and of building big dams. These tangible reforms subsequently required hill swiddeners to be forcedly relocated as part of state-sanctioned resettlement sites. The modernised state's considerable efforts to invest in these tangible land reform schemes were consequently at stake. Whether the eradication of swidden cultivation and hill swiddeners succeeded or not depended upon the validity of the modern conservationists' discourse against swiddenning and its strict enforcement on the ground. There was no exception made to the former inundated village of Raipa. The idea of swidden farmland's expropriation by the state's modernised conservationists had been embodied in 1959. At the end of this decade, it was deemed to be time that the Thai government took the American concept of the establishment of national parks and big dam projects seriously. Thereafter, such modern conservationists' discourse against the hill people's swidden agriculture became embodied and tuned into practice through the strict enforcement of swidden expropriation,

national parks, dam construction and the forced relocation and resettlement programme. It was noted that these projections took place predominantly in those areas in which hill people used to live. Thus, the Raipa villagers shared the same fate as the other hill peoples. The forced relocation and resettlement of the Raipa villagers were required for the expropriation of forestland in order to construct The Khao Laem Dam.

There were widespread suspicions of a hidden agenda. It was doubtful whether the incumbent government's intention was only to be rid of the hill people who were perceived as backward by the state. It was believed that such backwardness would present an obstacle to programmes of national modernisation and development. In order to build a nation's political stability and unity, having a hegemonised and homogenous citizenry is deemed a primary and indispensable need. For this reason, people who had never previously been in the state's eyes or even considered significant were brought under state surveillance and manipulation (Laungaramsri, 2000; Winichakul, 1994). The process of "Thai-isation" through schooling and lowland socialisation through being brought down to lowland resettlements was seriously undertaken. From the 1970s to the 1980s, the relocation and resettlement of hill people from the uplands to the lowlands became a primary task of the incumbent government to build a more stable national polity and unity (Laungaramsri, 2000).

From the 1990s until the present, this wider perception of rotated swiddening agriculture has, however, since shifted towards neutrality. Hill people, NGOs and scholars have been in collaboration to discursively fight back against the modern conservationists' discourse against swiddening. There has been a considerable effort to turn perceptions of swidden cultivation as a destructive form of agriculture into one of thoughtful and sedentary rotated farming. There has been a positive outcome from such collaboration and the progress made. Presently, lowland people and the Thai state remain relatively vigilant against using the phrase "swidden cultivation" in a destructive sense. Rather, the phrase "rotated farming" is preferred as a defining cultural practice. As a consequence, rotated farming has become widely seen as a hill people's culture rather than as a destructive form of deforestation (Laungaramsri, 2000). Nevertheless, the modern conservationists' discourse on swidden cultivation as a destructive form of land use has left a legacy, and the decline in swidden farming has caused ethnic communities to encounter differentiation in terms of their social, gender and production relations. Raipa Village has proved no exception to this rule.

The situation reflects upon the critique of Ferguson (2014) through the perspective of post-development, one which is influenced by a Foucauldian examination of discourse production and its power. The altered perception of swidden cultivation as a destructive form of farming

into one of thoughtful and sedentary rotated agriculture (in the sense of agroforestry) was thus shaped by the world of accepted utterance within which we lived. This author of this thesis views a set of swidden activities as being a discursive regime, one which was socially constructed in its definitions and in terms of how such definitions were established and framed. Hill people, NGOs and scholars worked together to discursively counter the modern conservationists' discourse against swidden culture, in of itself a departure from more insightful analysis than that of modern conservationists and one that was affected through their indigenous profound understanding of swidden discourse. Thereafter, their inaugural ontological claim potentially recaptured the connections of farming rotated swiddening through knowledge and the wider thoughtfully reperceived discourse of such swidden activities, readdressing how these two forces contributed to the structural production of co-understandable and collective swidden discourse at a national scale.

4.5.2 Pwo-Karen Swidden Culture

This section delves into the cultural practices of The Pwo-Karen, which are closely intertwined with their reliance on swidden farming. The evolution of "Karen-ness" and the Karen habitus appears to have developed in tandem with rotational upland farming. This farming practice not only underpins the subsistence economy of their villages but also shapes notions of Karen-ness, gender differentiation, and social relations. For instance, before embarking on the process of slashing and burning the forestland, swiddeners must seek the blessings of The Karen Rice Goddess. This ritual is perceived as a way to obtain permission from the gods and goddesses to clear the swiddens, thus alleviating any guilt associated with exploiting natural resources. Such practices hold profound significance for the Karen swiddeners, given their belief in the omnipresence of spirits in rice grains, trees, and water. Disrespecting these deities by using natural resources without seeking their consent could invoke their wrath, leading the superstitious Karen swiddeners to believe they might face misfortune. Moreover, swidden farming delineates distinct gender roles within the Karen community. While men undertake tasks like adventurous land exploration and felling large trees, which are perceived as riskier, women are responsible for selecting the best rice grains for cultivation, weeding, and managing household needs (Laungaramsri, 2000; Schmidt-Vogt, 1997).

Moreover, before their harvesting season comes, swiddeners will have a chance to visit their home to take part in a Karen soul calling ceremony. A soul calling ceremony will be performed on the full moon of the ninth lunar month every September.

According to local Karen beliefs, each Karen individual possesses 37 souls. When Karen swiddeners venture into the forest to practice their upland cultivation, some of these 37 souls may become lost, either in the farmland or within the forest. It is a deeply held belief that the loss of these souls can lead to illness and misfortune. Consequently, swiddeners make a pilgrimage back to their homeland to participate in a soul calling ceremony. This ritual aims to summon the lost souls, fortifying and rejuvenating them (Mue Poe Jee, interview, August 2019).

Swiddeners will then be ready for the coming harvest season. In this ceremony, the most indispensable activity is that elderly people will bind the hands of the younger generation with white threads to signify their welcome home. Appeasement is thus performed through offering the gods, Goddess and protecting spirits several auspicious offerings such as pure water and cultivated bananas. Last, but not least in importance, there appears to be some form of social value from this ceremony. Swiddeners returning to their ancestral homeland will benefit socially to ensure a reciprocal exchange of labour as land clearance in the forest requires many hands. Such soul calling ceremonies thus facilitate negotiations on reciprocal labour under informal circumstances.

Figure 4-7 The Author Having Been Wrist Tied in Pwo-Karen Soul Calling Ceremony

Source: Field Survey (2019)

4.5.3 *Chaangtaonaa Vs. Chaangtaolhang*: Exploring Genders and Gender Roles

The author conducted participatory observations and discussions with female community workers who have been actively involved in village development. On the afternoon of August 20th, 2019, as they assembled for the village savings cooperative meeting, the author sat and conversed with them throughout their session. During this interaction, he identified several issues related to gender and production relations in the village. The women participating in

this task were Bue Poe Lo, Nong Poe Yer, Ma Pong Eh, and Poe Kong Yai. All of them are in their 40s and have been actively involved in various village tasks.

Bue Poe Lo, 44, once worked in cities during her teenage years. Later, she returned to serve as a teacher's assistant at the village's child development centre, employed through The Sub-District Administrative Organisation (SAO). Subsequently, she was hired as The Village Health Volunteer (VHV) by The Sub-District Health Promotion Hospital (SHPH). Currently, she is a full-time housewife and assists with the temple's activities. Nong Poe Yer, aged 46, married someone from outside the village, prompting her to relocate and start her family in another province. She returns to Raipa Village on special occasions and has recently built a house there. However, she lives alone, as her husband works and her children study in another province. An advocate for subsistence agriculture and The Sufficiency Economy's Philosophy, Nong Poe Yer often travels for observational studies. Monthly, she works for the village's savings cooperative, handling account records, collecting debts, and transferring funds to the village's BAAC account.

Ma Pong Eh, a 46-year-old, has operated her small restaurant since her youth. Known for her support of the temple's activities, she was nominated and subsequently appointed as one of The VHVs. Due to her trustworthy and kind nature, she has recently been named the head of VHV. Poe Kong Yai, aged 45, serves as one of the three assistants to the village's head. Among the participants, she was the most reserved, but she possesses vast experience in village development bureaucracy. Her father previously held a similar role, making her familiar with these responsibilities from a young age. On village development days, Poe Kong Yai is often seen working alongside fellow villagers on tasks like weeding and cleaning public spaces.

The participatory observation and discussions highlighted significant issues related to women and development. A central observation is that women often act as the primary supporters of their families. Their contributions to livelihood progress are undeniable and pivotal. While Pwo-Karen men might lead adventurous lives, the role of women in providing foundational support is irreplaceable. Many of these women see reflections of their roles in the lives of their mothers, who, 30-40 years ago, stood as the pillars of their families. In their view, their mothers were the true family leaders. Some of the participants put that:

> Yes, my mother truly was the leader of our family. Ever since I can remember, I have witnessed my mother embodying this leadership role. She held significant influence in our family, and no one dared to offend her. I watched her break through gender limitations. She was capable of anything, her femininity never held her back. I have learned immensely from her. In many ways, what I learned from my mother shaped me into who I am today (Bue Poe Lo, August 2019).

> My father passed away when I was just a child. My parents had been together for only 17-18 years before my mother remarried. From what I can remember, I never witnessed any arguments between my parents. My step-father, I must say, was a hard-working individual. He would always follow my mother's lead. She was usually the one to make plans, and he would adhere to them (Nong Poe Yer, August 2019).

The roles of Pwo-Karen women in the past, especially their roles as mothers, have been closely examined. At first, the participants were unsure if the women's roles in the family were as important as the men's roles. However, as they thought more about it, they recognised the critical roles they play as mothers and housewives. In many ways, what they do for their families today reflects what they saw and learned from their own mothers.

Yet, these participants believe their supportive roles within the family have evolved, especially since they were compelled to relocate. Over the past 30 years, their familial obligations have undergone significant changes. They unanimously recognised that a shift towards more capitalist production relations played a pivotal role in reshaping women's family responsibilities. This change became even more evident as family expenses surged, driven by an increasing engagement in capitalist modes of production and relations. For example, they detailed how a significant portion of their finances is directed towards their children's education, covering costs for uniforms, school buses, and daily allowances. The remainder of their earnings is often invested in agricultural inputs, particularly fertilisers for rubber-oil tree and cashew tree plantations. Concurrently, they also set aside funds for household utilities like gas, electricity, and piped water. All participants agreed that such expenses are now unavoidable, contrasting starkly with the simpler financial concerns of their parents' era in the former forest village.

> Since moving to this resettlement site, I have witnessed significant changes in my life. Everything, especially from an economic standpoint, has become more challenging. My expenses have been increasing steadily. I remember a time when we did not have electricity or piped water, so we did not need to pay for them. Additionally, as my children advanced in their education, the costs rose substantially. During my school days, I managed without an allowance. Nowadays, it is unthinkable for students to go to school without one. Things have evolved, and as a result, my responsibilities have expanded. All household tasks still fall on me, and now, I also have to seek additional work opportunities to diversify our income (Nong Poe Yer, August 2019).

> I will not deny that I have been the one planning our financial matters. If the amount set aside for family expenses falls short, it is my responsibility to make up the difference. For instance, if my husband earned 5,000 baht and it was not enough to cover all our costs, finding the extra few thousand would fall on me (Bue Poe Lo, August 2019).

Secondly, women are not only supporting their families but also playing a significant role in village affairs. The participants have observed an increase in female involvement in these

matters. However, this observation is not meant to discredit their male counterparts or suggest they are ineffective. Instead, it appears that opportunities for women to participate have expanded, making it more common to see them involved in various village tasks.

> I believe both men and women participate in the village's affairs, but I have observed more women getting involved lately. While men might take longer to engage in specific village tasks, they eventually join in (Poe Kong Yai, August 2019).

In this context, many of the village tasks involve gathering villagers to clear grass along the village roads, tidy up the village temple and community hall, engage in reforestation, and dike the village waterways. Despite these tasks being labour-intensive, more women appear to participate. Additionally, among The VHV, 10 out of 12 members are women, and the head of VHV, Ma Pong Eh, is also female. This significant female participation underscores their essential roles in supporting their community.

They also shared that they had not initially believed in women's leadership. It was not until about ten years ago, when their village had its first female leader, Sairung, that they recognised women could hold leadership roles just as effectively as men. From that time, Ma Pong Eh noticed women feeling more liberated and eager to participate in village affairs. Increased involvement in matters beyond household responsibilities may have been a way to overcome suppressed emotions. Historically, Pwo-Karen women might have been confined by societal norms that expected them to remain domestic and focused on familial roles. Realising that they could confidently engage in broader community affairs, it is understandable that many women felt empowered to step outside and contribute more to the village. Ma Pong Eh expressed that dedicating time to village work was a form of self-fulfilment for her. She found happiness and enjoyment in working alongside her neighbours. Moreover, everyone concurred with Ma Pong Eh's sentiment that serving the village allowed them more opportunities for social interactions.

> It seems that women were once suppressed and felt emotionally restrained. When volunteer opportunities arose in the village, many women were eager to participate. This gave them a chance to feel liberated and to socialise (Ma Pong Eh, August 2019).

However, there seemed to be a consensus among the participants that fear held many women back from venturing outside their familial roles to engage in external matters. The primary concern revolved around decision-making. They felt that men were typically more decisive than women. In their view, village affairs often demanded decisions that prioritised the collective good. Women worried that their perceived sensitivity might compromise such decisions. In essence, they did not see themselves as definitive decision-makers.

> Once we were born as women, it felt as though we could not take on leading roles. I believed we should have been able to lead a bit more. However, I understood and accepted that men might be better at making decisive choices for the family. In my case, I genuinely wanted my husband to make decisive decisions for family matters rather than myself. I believed he might be more resolute than me, but he never took action (Ma Pong Eh, August 2019).

The next concern was the capacity to confront challenges; women's approach might not be as assertive as men's. The participants believed that taking leadership roles in the village might inevitably involve dealing with firearms, underhanded dealings, and factional disputes. Lastly, Poe Kong Yai pointed out that women might find it particularly challenging to manage village affairs, especially in the forest villages. These areas were too isolated with desolate paths, which might make women feel insecure and unsafe while working.

> I observed that women were hesitant. Only men seemed to have the courage to delve into matters involving firearms, dark powers, and factional disputes (Bue Poe Lo, August 2019).

> My forest village did not feel safe. I believed women might be intimidated by its isolation and desolate paths (Poe Kong Yai, August 2019).

> When I was young, I believed that the administration of the village was the domain of men. Women did not seem to be a part of it. It appeared to me that women could not be as decisive as men. Moreover, I felt the outside world was reserved for men. If you looked at governmental entities, like military camps, police stations, or district administrative offices, the majority of employees were men. Everything seemed geared towards men. Even if women seemed capable of doing everything men could, I genuinely believed it was not on equal footing. Given a choice, I would have preferred to be born male (Nong Poe Yer, August 2019).

Third, through the author's ethnographic experience, there was a consistent theme of respect shown towards male counterparts. This respect was often demonstrated discursively, with participants showing reluctance to assert their greater responsibilities compared to men. Instead of directly verbalising their feelings, they chose to express them indirectly, indicating a deference to their husbands, even when they felt they were the primary contributors to their family. For instance, during discussions, when the author used terms implying that they were the dominant figures in the family, they requested alternative phrasing. Some participants frequently referred to a well-known Thai idiom, drawing an analogy with the term "chaangtaonaa." This term equates the husband to the front legs of an elephant, symbolising leadership, while they saw themselves as "chaangtaolhang," signifying the hind legs or the follower.

> I cannot confidently say that I was the most powerful or the big boss of the family. I believe it is more accurate to say I had the broadest responsibilities towards the family. Using the term "big boss" sounds as though I did not respect my husband (Nong Poe Yer, August 2019).

I believed my husband continued to be Chaangtaonaa (Bue Poe Lo, August 2019).

With this end in mind, there are several critical aspects to consider. Firstly, the greater responsibilities and obligations of women towards their families might stem from changes in production relations. The subsistence economy, prevalent while living in the former forest village, depended heavily on domestic labour where money was not of paramount importance. At times, labour came at the cost of debt. On the other hand, the cash economy transformed production relations among people to be more capitalist-oriented. In this economy, there is a considerable requirement for money and surplus. There are inputs to invest in, and larger outputs are expected. Survival in this cash economy necessitates income diversification. As a result, every able individual must work. However, the need for women to earn more has been added to their existing responsibilities, indicating that women must work harder and shoulder more tasks within the family.

Secondly, The Pwo-Karen in the past might not have been deeply concerned with or aware of gender divisions. There could be a culture of gender division in this Pwo-Karen village, but it was seemingly not a significant issue. Such a culture might have guided them in terms of labour division based on gender, but previously, it seemed less pronounced in other areas of life. There were no substantial differences between women and men, as everyone had responsibilities for their household's livelihood. There was no contention over who would lead a family.

The clarity about which gender would assume leading roles became more pronounced when the state's bureaucracy entered the forest village, undermining their matrilineality (this matrilineality will be further discussed through a Pwo-Karen practice of family witchcraft in section 6.2.3 of Chapter 6). Additionally, the dominant Thai discourse of patriarchy shaped women's perception of being followers through formal education. By learning the official Thai language, the concepts of being a leader, or "chaangtaonaa," and being a follower, or "chaangtaolang," were discursively defined, affecting the mindsets of both men and women. This distinction became more pronounced for The Pwo-Karen as they worked to define the roles men could assume, as well as activities women were discouraged from pursuing. Furthermore, The Pwo-Karen felt the need to integrate themselves by becoming Thai citizens. Being Thai citizens meant adapting to and assimilating the dominant Thai culture, including its patriarchal elements, into their indigenous culture. This discourse, perpetuated through traditional education, subtly ingrained these views on gender division that persist to this day. Mentally, even though every public space has opened up for women's participation, women continue to perceive existing gender inequalities.

4.5.4 Reciprocity Vs. Development

The author had several opportunities to participate in the village's monthly meetings. On Wednesday, 21st August 2019, following the meeting, he engaged in an informal discussion

with a group of male community leaders. The central topic was the differences between Pwo-Karen's social progress, rooted in reciprocity, and the prevailing development approach. Four key individuals participated in this discussion.

Cha Dah, in his 50s, is a village representative in The Huai-Khayeng Sub-District Administrative Organisation (SAO). Three decades ago, he was a monk in a temple in the provincial district. Today, he is instrumental in the village's development initiatives. Sah Bue, though without an official leadership title in the village, is widely recognised for his reliability and informal leadership. Observations during village activities suggested Sah Bue's inherent leadership qualities. Kong Eh and Sah Pong, both assistants to the village head, have significantly contributed to the village's development initiatives. Sah Pong, the sole university graduate in the group with a major in Public Administration, is particularly enthusiastic about development. In his late 30s, his vigour is evident, and throughout the author's year in the village, Sah Pong's support was unwavering.

Several ideas emerged during the discussion. The mainstream development concept, or "kaanpattana" in Thai, differs from the Pwo-Karen's practices of reciprocal assistance. In Cha Dah's view, "maasher[10]" —a term in the Pwo language—refers to a call for such cooperation. He believes that while kaanpattana and maasher are related, they have nuances. This insight spurred the author to delve deeper into the concept of maasher, especially with older participants (this is further explored in section 7.2.1 of Chapter 7).

Interestingly, the participants frequently mentioned kaanpattana over maasher. The latter seemed overshadowed by the former, particularly as the Pwo-Karen community adopted official Thai language through formal education. The term "maasher" appeared to be in decline, only resurfacing when participants were specifically asked to translate concepts into their native tongue. The author's challenge to their routine use of kaanpattana sparked reflective pauses, as they had never previously been prompted to consider the differences between the two terms.

Participants held diverse views on the nature of development. Sah Pong associated development with modernisation. Sah Bue viewed it as a process of improvement, characterised by voluntarism, reciprocity, and collaboration. Its primary goal, he opined, is positive change or achieving a state described as charoen.[11] Cha Dah, after some contemplation, aligned development with the Pwo-Karen's traditional practices of mutual aid, known as maasher.

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[10] Pwo-Karen reciprocal help and cooperation for common good, in the Pwo-Karen language
[11] Progress, in the Thai language

All participants seemed to concur, particularly with Cha Dah's perspective, and they expanded on their thoughts. They felt kaanpattana was more a way of life than merely programmes aimed at enhancing The QoL. They also associated their understanding of development with the temple, a pivotal mental anchor for villagers. For example, two days later, the village was preparing for the wrist-tying ritual in the temple, a significant Pwo-Karen ceremony signifying a warm homecoming. This event, one of their most prominent annual gatherings, necessitated extensive collaboration and cooperation (The take-over of kaanpattana over maasher, as well as the characteristics of each, will be clarified in Chapter 7.)

> In my view, development is voluntary and arises from collaboration and cooperation. In my language, the call for such collaboration and cooperation might be termed maasher. The indispensability of collaboration and cooperation is rooted in my belief that development tasks cannot be undertaken and achieved by just a few individuals. I concur with Cha Dah that we have practised maasher for a very long time. It has become an integral part of our way of life and culture, particularly given the central role of the temple as our anchor. The day after tomorrow, we are hosting a significant event at the temple. Therefore, tomorrow, we will prepare for it. We will engage in development work within the temple grounds. If you wish to witness our approach to development, I invite you to join us tomorrow (Sah Bue, August 2019).

Frequently, the participants referenced kwaamcharoen as an outcome of successful development. One situation considered indicative of charoen was changes in behaviour. For instance, wearing underwear has become the norm today. During the participants' youth, there was no perceived need for underwear, and no one felt embarrassed bathing naked in the river. Some participants believed this shift occurred when new behavioural norms were introduced to the village through television and radio broadcasts, as well as through formal education (further details can be found in section 5.4.1 of Chapter 5).

Furthermore, kwaamcharoen is often subjectively judged. For example, villages that have their names displayed on guideposts, indicating public recognition, might be viewed as charoen. Villages with busy roads are deemed charoen, as are villages located near markets and towns. From Sah Bue's perspective, it appeared that achieving kwaamcharoen often came at the cost of weakening Pwo cultural preservation. Sah Bue ironically put that:

We were once indigenous forest villagers. When we began interacting with the outside world, we could not escape its norms, which largely reflected the majority Thai culture. Television programmes, particularly news and entertainment, have deeply influenced our mindset, especially among our younger generation who grew up watching TV. The majority Thai culture and its entertainment broadcasts have had a profound impact. In a way, our actions reflect the adage, when in Rome, do as The Romans do. Regrettably, some of our youth have forgotten their roots and upbringing. Nonetheless, I view this situation as a possible manifestation of charoen. Yet, this form of charoen poses a risk to our Pwo culture. *Are you aware that some of our rituals are now maintained out of mere fear?* The concept of charoen seems to diminish this fear. Consequently, faith in rituals such as the soul-calling ceremony, traditional medicine, and family witchcraft has waned. When people stop believing in and practicing these rituals, they risk being lost forever (Sah Bue, August 2019).

4.6 Relocation and Resettlement

4.6.1 Overarching Resettlement Site of Huaikhayeng

In this section we will address three points. The first is to illustrate a geographical landscape of the resettlement site of Huaikhayeng. The second is to constitute how dam-affected villages became organised and manipulated within new allocated resettlement sites. The third addresses some of ethnopolitical issues arising in the aftermath of relocation. First, the Huaikhayeng resettlement site (HKR) had an original capacity of 670 households which remained to be resettled. In actual fact, 614 households were originally resettled when the programme was adopted (Figure 5-2). The overarching resettlement site was then divided into six sub-resettlement sites as provided by The EGAT and its affiliations. It had a few significant features, as it was considered the largest of the five offered resettlement areas. It was also one of only two resettlements located in the Thongphaaphuum district, whereas the other three resettlements were situated in the Sangkhlaburi district.

The HKR lies in the Huaikhayeng sub-district, where most of its population was relocated after the construction of The Khao Laem Dam. The sub-district is situated between the right edge of the reservoir and the Thailand-Myanmar borderland. One of the participants contributed that:

> The sub-district was established shortly after my relocation and resettlement. I recall that The HKR initially fell under the jurisdiction of the Thakhanuun sub-district, which at that time was viewed as the district capital. Later, for administrative purposes, the HKR area was designated as an official sub-district, situated approximately 30 kilometres southeast of the Thakhanuun sub-district (Sah Pong, interview, March 2019).
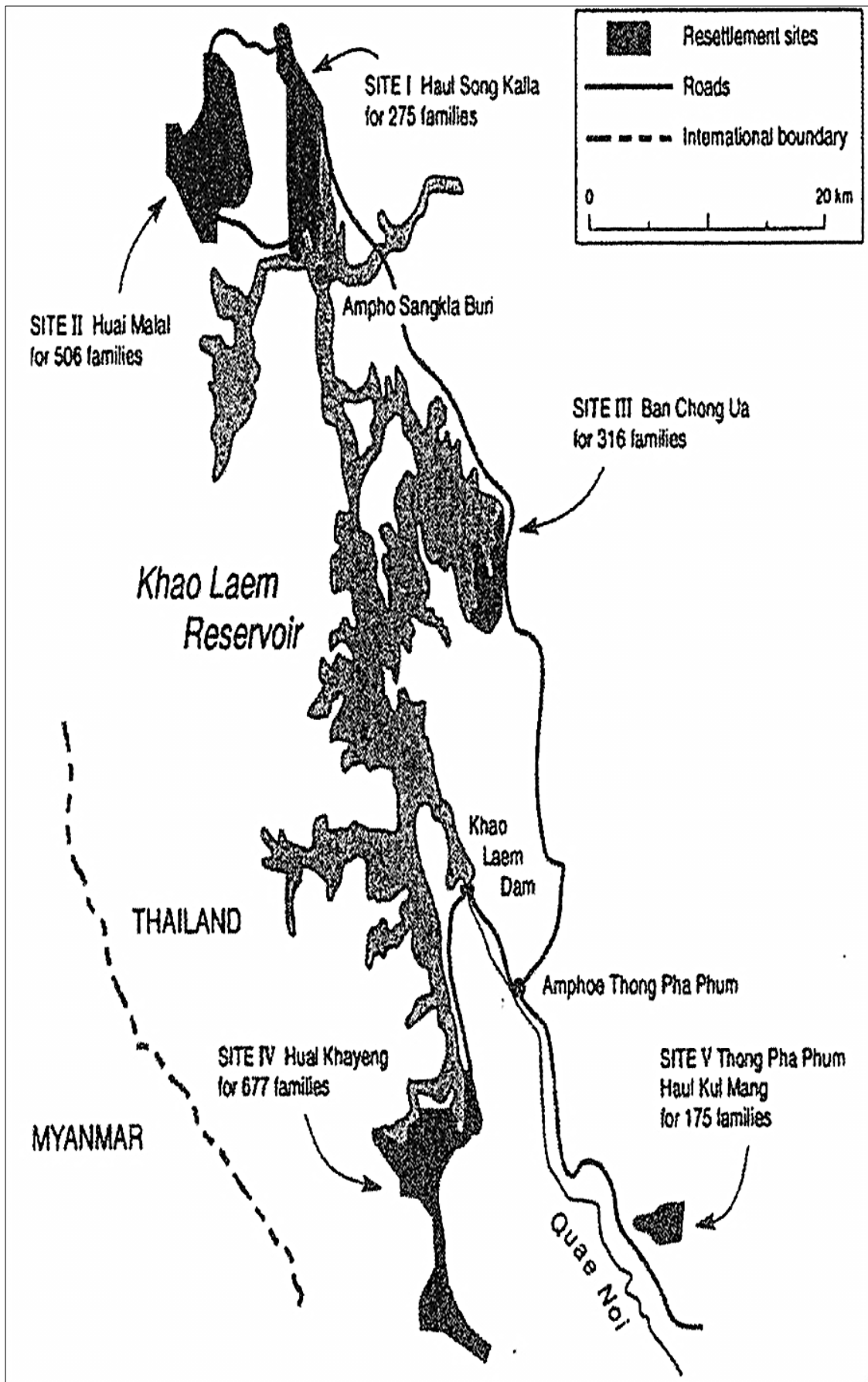
Figure 4-8 Resettlement Sites around The Reservoir, Where The Huaikhayeng Resettlement Site
Is Located.

Source: Pongsapich, Phutaraphorn & Lapthananon (1994, p. 314)

The HKR comprises six sub-resettlement sites. Sub-resettlement sites 1 to 5 are situated in one large area, while sub-resettlement site 6 stands alone. There appears to be a trade-off between them. While sub-resettlement site 6 seems more communicatively convenient as it lies on the asphalt main road along the reservoir, the others are further away with less quality road access. Moreover, evacuees from the former district also obtained fewer land plots than the latter.

The author's chosen ethnographic site was situated in sub-resettlement site no. 5, which was the outermost, being approximately 12 km away from sub-resettlement site no. 6. The HKR, in which intermixed minorities were relocated and resettled, had its Karen population living in the outermost sub-resettlement sites nos. 4 and 5. This state of affairs resulted from being pushed aside by other lowland farmers by both Thai/Laotian evacuees and government officials on the pretext that the Karen people preferred to stay closer to nature. The outermost land would thus meet Karen preferences as it was located close to The Forest Industry Organisation's (FIO) wooded territory, which served as a buffer zone. This view of The Karen and other minorities by the government caused the Karen evacuees to be domiciled in the most remote sub-resettlement sites nos. 4 and 5.

Second, whereas land availability could be divided and allocated and arranged into six sub-resettlement sites, the affected villages appeared to comprise more than six villages. For this reason, some of the villages had to be merged with others. Unfortunately, some of them have permanently disappeared and exist only through their remembrance. Table 4-3 shows that no fewer than three villages' titles have permanently been eradicated, including Huaikhayeng Lao, Huaikhayengmon and Laikhongteh. The former inundated Pilokkhi Village was absolutely removed from the face of the map. Nonetheless, some of the Pilokkhi villagers, together with alien S'gaw, who call themselves Pga-K'nyau, Pga-Gan-Yaw or Pakayor, did not desire to relocate and resettle and instead have staked out new forestland on an ascending edge of the reservoir and retained the name of Pilokkhi Village. Thereafter, the new Pilokkhi Village remains to be resettled and is located on the edge of the reservoir. Later on, the new Pilokkhi Village became a refuge for Myanmar-S'gaw immigrants, while only a few Thai-Pwo reside in the village today.

Third, negatively, the very forced relocation that brought intermixed minorities to live within the same sub-resettlement sites triggered ethnic conflicts in some locations. In some sub-resettlement sites, ethnic conflicts took place due to the different lifestyles of Thais, Mons, Laotians and Karen. In the case of The Karen, they seemingly preferred living in isolation while others appeared to prefer a more dependent social life. As a result, some Karen and others tended to simply leave and go back to stake out new forestland elsewhere. In contrast, sub-resettlement site no. 5 seemed to have fewer ethnic conflicts. This was likely due to the fact

that they were all comprised of Karen. Although they may have emerged from different sub-tribes, there were few conflicts as they shared some core features of the Karen lifestyle. The notion of uniting and merging Karen villages contributed to some positive outcomes (Pongsapich, Phutaraphorn, & Lapthananon, 1994).

However, one of the issues which The Karen have been traumatically suffering under until the present day is the change of politico-economic life experienced through changes in land use. Incredibly, their forest life and the legacy of rotated swidden cultivation have been totally transformed by the penetration of the modern state's land ownership system. Independent and mobile life rotating from one usufructuary tract of land to another has abruptly ceased for almost Pwo-Karen. The Karen are forced to farm sedentary land plots whose legal title deeds have been arranged by the government. The livelihoods of the participants have been irrevocably altered by such changes in the land ownership system and land use.

4.6.2 *Raipa Village*: Sub-resettlement Site No. 5

The author combined his ethnographic research with elements from Kanchanatawal's 1992 study (1992) to craft a more comprehensive ethnography. Kanchanatawal's work focused on socio-cultural changes in Karen communities, and Raipa Village was among the villages she examined. This section provides five key insights. First, it gives a concise geographical overview. Second, it delves into several incentives that influenced the decision to relocate and resettle. Third, it shares experiences related to the processes of relocation and resettlement. Fourth, it highlights characteristics of the grid-planned resettlement that have increased land values. Lastly, it introduces and defines three distinct zones within the village.

First, in relation to the geography, Raipa is a 1,650 rai[12] (2.64 km^2) gradient located on the right side of the Khao Laem reservoir. It borders sub-resettlement site no. 3 (Huaikhayeng Village) and no. 4 (Prachammai Village), which lie to the north and the south, respectively. To the west, its boundary runs parallel to FIO's forestland, whilst to the east of Raipa is a mountain range covered by forest that marks the border between Thailand and Myanmar. Remarkably, there was a jungle trail that geo-socially connected Myanmar-S'gaw and Pwo with the village and other nearby areas. This is, no doubt, why there are numerous aliens of both S'gaw and Pwo descent currently living in the village.

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[12] One acre is equivalent to 2.53 rais.

Table 4-3 The Arrangement of Relocation and Sub-Resettlement Sites in HKR

Former names	Populations	Agricultural land uses	No.	Current names
Thamadua	A Thai village of 38 households. They immigrated from various provinces.	Wet rice cultivation.	1	Thamadua
Paklampilok	A Thai immigrant village of 24 households from the northern region.	Both wet and dry rice cultivation with good yields.	2	Paklampilok
Huaikhayenglao (disappeared)	A Laotian immigrants' village of 67 households from Myanmar. There were 7-8 Thai households.	Most farmers owned land. But some rented land for cultivation.	3	Huaikhayeng
Huaikhayengmon (disappeared)	A Mon immigrant village of 32 households. It was situated on the other bank of the Huaiprachammai stream, opposite Huaikhayeng Lao village.	Most farmers rented land for dry rice cultivation.		
Prachammai	A Karen village with almost half of its population were Thai and immigrant Mon. Villagers were quite well-off.	Both wet and dry rice cultivation.	4	Prachammai
Laipa (Lai to Rai)	A Karen village of 38 households. Some could speak Thai.	Both wet and dry rice cultivation.	5	Raipa (Lai became Rai)
Laikhongteh (disappeared)	A Karen village of 16 households. Few villagers could speak Thai.	Both wet and dry rice cultivation.		
Pilokkhi	A Karen village of 19 households. Fewest villagers could speak Thai.	Dry rice cultivation.		
Wangpatho	A large and old Thai village of 160 households dating back 50-70 years. The village lied on the Thongphaaphuum to Sangkhlaburi road, which was not far from the edge of The Khwaenoi River. The average land holding of each household was 99.9 rais.	Wet rice cultivation both on farmers' own and rented land.	6	Wangpatho

Source: Phutaraphorn & Kataleeradaphan (1979, pp. 139 - 146).

People in this sub-resettlement site experience a seven-month long drought season from November to May, while the winter of December and January can be very cool. In the drought season, water resources are limited despite having a weir. Raipa Village does not share the same good conditions in terms of water and land resources as its former inundated location. The land provided was less fertile and inappropriate for agriculture (Kanchanatawal, 1992).

In the forest buffer zone between the village, FIO's forestland and the border, people could find teak, hardwood, and bamboo. Some forest fare such as wild boars, frogs, and edible ferns were gradually becoming harder to find (Kanchanatawal, 1992). In these days, moreover, they were not allowed to make full use of these resources after the buffer zone became part of The Thongphaaphuum National Park in 2009. This situation was relatively controversial, as the national park was a subsequent inception, one that disrupted the subsistence use of forest by the villagers.

> Encroachers now face fines and imprisonment. In this sub-resettlement site, villagers increasingly rely on the cash economy, including the Thongphaaphuum market and various mobile markets. These mobile markets consist of trucks that bring in food and commodities for sale in the village (Sah Pong, interview, May 2019).

Second, Kanchanatawal's ethnography exposes some of the incentives behind the decision-making process to relocate and resettle. Raipa Temple and Raipa School were very significantly intended to serve as anchoring institutions by the authorities. To begin with, during the transitional period of evacuation, EGAT and its affiliations negotiated with an abbot and monks in the forest at the time and relocated them to the new land first as they well knew that the villagers surrounding the inundated areas were devoted to Buddhism. If they could successfully relocate and resettle such influencers, the proposed evacuees would subsequently follow in their wake. Thus, this ethnography is also unable to deny the fact that the current abbot has truly served as a spiritual anchor for the villagers.

> At the time, The Raipa Temple was led by its current abbot. The villagers held a close relationship with the temple and its abbot, Prakru Sittikanchanaporn, due to his significant contributions to the community. For instance, during his younger years, his temple offered language courses in both Pwo-Karen and English to young followers on weekends. While the Pwo-Karen language has long been the mother tongue of the community, its use has waned among the younger generations. English, on the other hand, was taught by some of the Myanmar-Karen monks (Mue Poe Loe, May 2019).

Regarding The Raipa School, according to Kanchanatawal (1992) and Phutaraphorn & Kataleeradaphan (1979), parents' attitudes towards their children's education played a significant role. The Chulalongkorn University Social Research Institute (CUSRI) completed The Socio-economic Study of The Khao Laem Dam Project (SESKP) before handing it to The EGAT

(Phutaraphorn & Kataleeradaphan, 1979). It revealed that, even if parents actually required their children's labour for cultivation, they preferred to send their children to schools. This was because parents expected their children to bring back a brighter future in return. EGAT took this opportunity to relocate The Raipa School at the same time as the temple was relocated. Such relocation of the two anchoring institutions had become seen as a state strategy to encourage the decision to migrate.

Third, this ethnography of the author tells of a few actual experiences of relocation and resettlement into this sub-resettlement site. To begin with, Ma Pong Eh's family, which was the first family to relocate from the inundated village, depicted her family's journey to this current village.

> EGAT provided support services, including organised trucks to transport deconstructed house elements such as walls, stilts, and roofs. Boats were also made available to carry these items across the water. All transported items were collected either at the temple or the school, and it was up to each family to reclaim these items and transport them to their designated land plots. Both the temple and the school were the first to be relocated. Although EGAT and its affiliates had previously prepared a grid street plan and designated land plots for this sub-resettlement site, a significant amount of forestland remained uncleared and overgrown. This meant that EGAT only cleared the plots near the temple and school. The responsibility of clearing the forestland for individual family house plots fell to the respective families. As a result, my family temporarily stayed in the temple's praying hall and alternated with the school's classrooms until we cleared the overgrown brush from our allocated house plot (Ma Pong Eh, interview, April 2019).

Not only did Ma Pong Eh's family recall those critical times during the relocation, Mue Yah Tee was also able to recall the events clearly. Mue Yah Tee, now in her 80s, contributed an alternative method used to relocate her belongings. Waiting for the help offered by EGAT and its affiliates proved unreliable and so personal bullock carts were pervasively used for relocation. Domesticated elephants were amongst other facilitators, carrying belongings on their backs. This alternative means of relocation took a full day to reach the new village.

While Ma Pong Eh's family was the first family deciding to relocate and resettle, Mue Tong Yee's family was the last, as it appeared to be the most openly opposed against the relocation and resettlement caused by the dam construction. In Ma Pong Eh's case, most of her family's belongings were successfully relocated. This was because her parents had decided to relocate quite early and thus had sufficient time for preparation.

> My situation was more challenging compared to Ma Pong Eh's family. Relocating at such a crucial time, I found myself relying heavily on my own resources. The most distressing aspect was that some vital items, including parts of our house, had already been submerged. My family realised that our decision to relocate and resettle came too late (Mue Tong Yee, April, 2019).

However, Mue Tong Yee's family's experiences of anti-dam construction support the findings of the report of The Post-Project Study of Khao Laem Resettlement Areas (PPSKR). It identified that the displaced Karen in Thongphaaphuum's resettlement sites were the most openly opposed groups against the dam construction and their relocation (Pongsapich, Phutaraphorn, & Lapthananon, 1994). These few cases represent how the people were relocated, supported and served by EGAT's facilities in terms of actual hands and timing. Further, there were around 40 villages in the inundated areas that had to be relocated and resettled to one of five resettlements available at the time (Pongsapich, Phutaraphorn, & Lapthananon, 1994). This sounds far from a straightforward exercise. HKR thus presented variations in the origins of evacuees who were resettled.

Fourth, land values have since been added by convenient facilities in this sub-resettlement site. Raipa Village in the form of a grid street plan was one of the most important factors in accommodating land sales (Figure 4-9). This is due to the fact that every plot of land has title deeds facilitating a legal transaction. It also has conduits for electricity poles and piped water resources. Unfortunately, the only constraint is that Raipa Village is considered excessively remote and to be located in susceptible borderland. Land sales, thereafter, have only been popular among locals and landlords. Unsurprisingly, some of the house plots in the grid plan have been hand-changed by some wealthier neighbours, outside large landlords and moneylenders.

> Some land plots have been pledged to local moneylenders. Pledgers and their pledgees exchange title deeds and agree on lending rates. Through this arrangement, lending often becomes substantially cheaper, with lower compound interest than bank loans. In the worst-case scenarios, some pledgers have not been able to redeem their pledged land plots, leading to these plots ultimately becoming the property of the pledgees (A Thai moneylender, Interview, March 2019).

So why not choose the bank lending programme? This is because access to bank lending programmes is not practically accessible for some of the pledgers. The problem is that these pledgers often have a limited social opportunity to find creditable sureties for suretyship. Also, the long process of bank lending programmes may take too long and loans may not be approved in time for their need. Therefore, local moneylenders have optionally been seen as the best lending source, as pledgers have easy and practical access to them.

During this ethnographic fieldwork, most of the registered households had access to a power supply. Most of the households had basic electric devices such as mobile phones, televisions, and washing machines, although connection signals for mobile phones had proven unreliable. Television signals were received through satellite broadcasting transmission and were very poor in the rainy season.
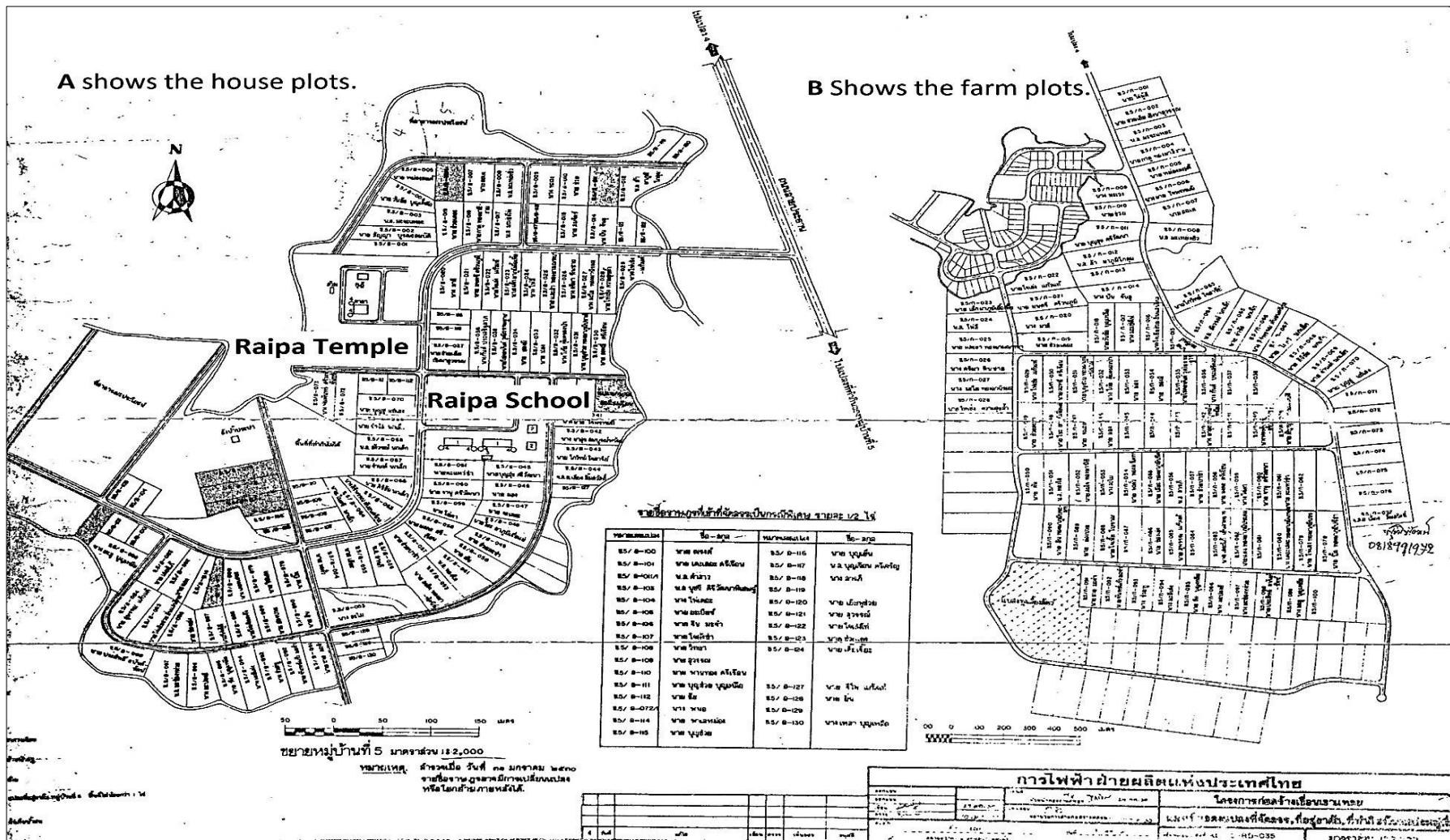
Figure 4-9 Grid Plan Map of Raipa Village, Created by EGAT on 30th January, 1987.
The A-Side in The Figure Shows The Allocated House Plots Which Were Separate from Their Allocated Farm Plots (B Side).

Source: EGAT (1987)

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However, the grid street plan posed some subsequent issues of concern. Seemingly, it had subverted the Pwo-Karen's system of land ownership and land use which used to depend upon rotated swidden cultivation. This sedentary land use had gradually begun to sabotage Pwo-Karen life economically, socially and culturally, contributing to an increase in their life risk and precarity in the long run (see Chapter 6 for more details).

Fifth, the author considered there to be three zones in the village and also some differences in ethno-religion which needed to be addressed. It could be said that the temple and the school serve as a dividing line between the lower and upper zones. Both zones were occupied by major Pwo-Karen. The third zone was marked by a Christian church and community and was occupied by the minority Myanmar-S'gaw civil war evacuees. While some of them had been registered with the Thai state as being stateless, some had no registration or documentation. As the native Pwo-Karen dwellers had their own Pwo language and uphold Buddhism, this posed more a sense of foreignness between The Pwo-Karen and The Myanmar-S'gaw. However, the differences between them had been laid on the basis of consideration of tribal blood, ethnic origins, living status, languages and religions.

4.6.3 Some Other Important Changes in The Village

This author had the opportunity to visit the nursery where organic vegetables were grown with Cha Dah, Sah Bue, and Kong Eh. En route in a truck, a conversation emerged about the changing dynamics of the village. It appears that the production relations in the village have been gradually shifting due to the increasingly competitive market-based economy. The significant change, attributed to the land reform programme, suggests that global capitalism reached the village concurrently with the introduction of liberalist development through land reform schemes. Lives have become more heavily dependent on capital and extravagant items. During their lifetime, there are several pivotal changes in the village worth noting.

Firstly, a significant transformation occurred with the introduction of electricity and electric light bulbs, replacing kerosene lamps. Nights in each household became brighter. Furthermore, villagers found a new mode of entertainment: watching television programmes, though this was not available in every household. Films, which were once rare commodities, became more accessible through television.

> I no longer needed to walk a great distance just for open-air movies shown in different neighbouring villages. I remember that the open-air movies came around here twice a month, so I had plans to watch movies every fortnight. However, the introduction of televisions along with video players increased my opportunities to watch movies. Some television owners allowed me, as a neighbour, to watch movies, but I had to pay them five baht (Cha Dah, April 2019).

Figure 4-10 On The Way in A Truck to Visit A Nursery of Organic Vegetables

Source: Field Survey (2019)

The second significant change was when the village acquired its first public satellite-based telephone service. It was initially set up in the house of the village head. Villagers could make phone calls from there. If anyone received a phone call, the village head would summon the person using the village's communication tower. Later, the telephone was relocated to the village centre in the form of a telephone booth. As with many other places, the popularity of the public phone booth declined with the rise of mobile phones. The introduction of such a public telephone to communicate with those outside the village indicated an increase in urban migration for work purposes.

The third major shift pertained to increased access to car ownership. Due to the rise in urban migration for work among the younger generation, some accessed bank loans, using their jobs as collateral. Most of the younger generation left the village after finishing high school to work in the Kaanchanaburi metropolitan area and Bangkok. On one hand, some had no choice as their parents no longer had land plots for agricultural production. On the other hand, the younger generation lacked agricultural skills. These factors prompted them to migrate to urban areas for income generation.

In Bangkok, the Laadkrabang industrial district became one of the popular destinations where personal connections for job placements were vital. This scenario mirrors Rigg's (2019) observations in northeastern Thailand, where the younger generation's out-migration was often based on networking skills, sometimes regardless of professional skills, to diversify income. Sah Bue cited a case illustrating this out-migration trend.

Many young people left the village around the age of 18 to work in Bangkok. A significant number worked for one of the largest bakery factories as stock clerks. They relied on personal connections, including relatives and friends already employed at the factory, to help secure positions for them. While many changed jobs and moved to different factories, these transitions were often based on personal connections rather than formal job applications (Sah Bue, April 2019).

For this reason, it was observed that the number of cars in the village increased significantly about ten years ago. Some younger villagers, after saving money to purchase cars, returned to the village. Their parents also used these cars for agricultural purposes. However, before the rise in car ownership, motorcycles were indispensable. Every villager needed a motorcycle for both agricultural and communication purposes.

The participants agreed that capitalism has firmly taken root in the village. Capital is indispensable. Without it, the villagers cannot accomplish much, especially in terms of their agricultural productivity which increasingly relies on expensive inputs such as fertilisers, herbicides, and insecticides. Additionally, food must now be purchased rather than obtained through subsistence hunting. Politically, the participants believed that capitalism can elevate a person to the status of a successful capitalist, leading to wealth. Once wealthy, individuals have a greater chance of gaining admiration and trust, enhancing their prospects of being elected as leaders. However, even though they concurred that they might not possess capital in the form of savings, other assets were viewed as capital. They believed that owning a substantial herd of cattle was akin to having capital. Some families living near the river might own long-tailed boats, which are also seen as capital. These forms of capital can be invested to generate additional income. Therefore, in their view, capitalism may not always manifest in the form of savings; any asset that can be leveraged for profit can be deemed capital.

Conversely, households lacking these forms of capital might be considered impoverished. Sah Bue argued that:

> As such households have no assets for further investments and income, this causes them to live below the average standard. It is easily observed that these households typically have houses with bamboo-wood walls and vetiver roofs. The floors of the houses are made from softwoods rather than hardwoods. Furthermore, the intersection of a lack of savings combined with social abandonment exacerbates their situation. Such intersectionality represents true impoverishment (Sah Bue, April 2019).

However, basing assessments of wealth on the type of houses built may not always accurately reflect the financial status of the household members. This is because members of each household may have varying aspirations for progress. In this context, while some households may genuinely be impoverished, others might not be. For instance, households that

predominantly rely on indigenous subsistence hunting in the forest might not place a high priority on improving their housing. If the husband goes out hunting, a basic shelter that protects the wife and children from rainstorms might be deemed sufficient. Even if such households possess savings and assets, they may not choose to display their wealth through the construction of standardised houses

> To my understanding, the essence of capitalism is that individuals become wealthy and influential, leading to them gaining popularity and admiration. Such individuals are often chosen to lead not necessarily due to their virtues but primarily because of their wealth. In our situation, while many of us might not have significant monetary wealth, we own assets like herds of cattle. Some of my river-dwelling friends have long-tailed boats. As long as these assets can be leveraged to generate income, they can be considered capital. For instance, cattle carts can be rented out to transport goods, and long-tailed boats can be hired for transportation. However, it is unfortunate for families that possess nothing, especially if they are also socially excluded. In my perspective, those families without any assets and lacking social inclusion are genuinely impoverished. Some of our villagers fall into this category, evident from their makeshift homes constructed from materials like bamboo walls and floors, topped with vetiver roofs (Kong Eh, August 2019).

4.7 Concluding Remarks

Development of this chapter began with the contextualisation of Thailand's modernisation landscape. There appear a few contextually political considerations that moved Thailand forward to modernisation, especially in the wake of the confrontation with colonial expansionist forces of Western superpowers. The modern nation-state building for Thailand is perhaps to be learned from bridging Thailand with the second wave of superpower dominion.

This chapter also states the importance of conditional contexts and life opportunities. It discusses the researcher's exploration of typical geographical location Karen villagers in terms of their common preferable living. This is to show that an ideal living location is significant for Pwo-Karen villagers to stay in good health. After such exploration finishes, the author comes to understand that an ideal Karen village has to be wrapped in its rich natural-cultural ecology. An understanding of the being of Pwo-Karen thus cannot avoid contextualising their cultural ecology from which variations in cultural practices derive. For example, to understand Karen forest life one must take rotated swidden cultivation into consideration. It is because such cultivation interlinks with Pwo-Karen cultural practices and social values, including the appeasement of The Pwo-Karen Rice Goddess, the Pwo-Karen soul calling ceremony, gender differentiation, division of labour, and the facilitation of reciprocal economy.

The introduction of rotated swidden cultivation and its cultural practices is helpful. It contributes to equipping audiences with notions of traditional Pwo-Karen usufructuary land use and ownership

systems which are far removed from modern state agricultural ownership systems. The chapter implies that the differentiation of land use and ownership systems between those divergent cultures has brought about variations in socio-economic issues. For example, when each family increases in number, yet land availability does not change, tensions between extensive demand and limited supply arise. Modern sedentarisation of land use and ownership has introduced a new form of difficulty and precarity to The Pwo-Karen, one which is discussed in Chapter 6.

Last, but not least, in terms of importance, as per the post-development critiques of Escobar (1995), Ferguson (2014), Gardner and Lewis (1996), notwithstanding the critical ethnographic methodology of Thomas (1993), this author places importance upon the losses and gaps of being Pwo-Karen villagers in their perceptions of their own contextual conditions and opportunities. Particularly, this author makes sense that the Pwo-Karen villagers have their own versions of thoughts of what constitutes making social progress, as experienced through their own positions, whether locationally, chronologically or contextually. For this reason, the author's inaugural assumption was that Pwo-Karen villagers tended to evolve their perceptions from differing ideas of making social progress to those living in different contexts to themselves. Thus, Chapter 4, which contextualises Pwo-Karen villagers' human geography and cultural landscape, is obviously indispensable.

Chapter 5 Politics of The Khao Laem Dam Project and The Resettlement Programme of Raipa Village

I (McNamara) recommend that The Executive Directors approve the proposed loan (The World Bank, 1976, p. 23).

5.1 Introduction

Such a quote has completely transformed the whole cultural ecology of wildlife and people of The Khao Laem Dam reservoir.[13] For this reason, it is important to explore how the discursive power of liberalist development originates through an examination of reports from the mainstream development agencies. First, the author proposes a range of evidence between often contradictory sources over the politics of forced displacement. Through this, the author investigated differences arising between reports from the mainstream development agencies, alternative suggestions, and the narratives of ethnographic participants. Second, the chapter presents a few case scenarios from the perspective of statist institutional legitimacy on the ground. The discussion of The Raipa School is exemplified. This chapter goes on to discuss the state's legal framework for The Nationality Act regarding the transformation of ethnic minorities. Lastly, there is a discussion of the notion of the state's bureaucratic-authoritarian procedures, including the hierarchy of the phuuyaibaan (an official head of a village) and the imposed establishment and inception of the national park.

5.2 Building of Khao Laem Dam in The Development Era of Thailand

Between 1950 and 1979, Thailand underwent substantial influence from international aid programs and initiatives, shaping its economic policies and development strategies. A significant milestone in Thai economic history occurred in 1957 when a World Bank advisory mission was dispatched (Warr, 1993; Wattana, Sharma, & Vaiyavuth, 2008, p. 42). This mission aimed to assess the country's economic condition and propose the establishment of a national economic planning framework. The World Bank observed a lack of cohesive vision among Thai government agencies, resulting in disjointed and inefficient state interventions (Wattana, Sharma, &

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[13] Hirsch (1988) argues that dam projects epitomise the clash of interests between local communities and broader society, prompting the search for objective methods to evaluate their pros and cons. The primary approach to this assessment is through cost-benefit analysis. However, historically, this method has often failed to prevent the construction of environmentally and socially disastrous schemes. One of the challenges lies in the difficulty of assigning costs to certain variables, leading to their dismissal or oversight. Many of these overlooked variables represent significant impacts of dam projects. Subsistence assets, for instance, have been undervalued, along with archaeological findings, cultural diversity, and biodiversity, including undiscovered species. While these assets are considered priceless, their lack of a monetary value often results in their neglect. This issue persists, as seen in the case of The Nam Choan Dam in Thailand, which poses a threat to the last remaining pristine tropical forest area in mainland Southeast Asia. Despite advancements in economic analysis techniques, such crude calculations continue to influence decision-making processes.

Vaiyavuth, 2008, p. 42; Unger, 1998). As a result, The World Bank recommended the creation of a central planning agency for continuous economic analysis and development planning. Following this advice, The National Economic Development Board (NEDB) was established in 1959, playing a pivotal role in economic policy (Warr, 1993; Wattana, Sharma, & Vaiyavuth, 2008, p. 42). In 1972, it was renamed The National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB) to underscore the importance of social development in Thailand's development trajectory. The NESDB was tasked with formulating five-year development plans, facilitating Thailand's shift from an agrarian to an industrial economy. Despite these changes, Thailand's economic planning philosophy has remained committed to a market-driven approach.

In "*More Than Rural*: Textures of Thailand's Agrarian Transformation," Rigg (2019) observes that Thailand's national development plans reflect shifts in the broader development landscape. Themes debated globally are also evident in Thailand's development strategies. This convergence between national and international dialogues is not unexpected, considering that many technocrats within the influential planning agency, The NESDB, were educated at US institutions. Additionally, The World Bank played a significant role in shaping early plans and financing numerous development initiatives (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 72; Phongpaichit & Baker, 1995).

The foundational document for Thailand's development strategy was a report resulting from a mission to the nation conducted between July 1957 and June 1958 by The World Bank. The following year, the report titled "A Public Development Program for Thailand" was released (IBRD, 1959). This significant document underscored the urgent necessity for a central agency dedicated to the continuous study of the nation's economy and the planning of its development (IBRD, 1959, pp. 20, 208-214; Rigg J. , 2018, p. 2; 2019, p. 72). Subsequently, The NEDB was established. The report noted that while the country had achieved economic growth with minimal government oversight, this trajectory was unsustainable:

> For many of the more important economic problems which Thailand will face in the future are unlikely to be solved save by the initiative of The Government. These are not problems of the distant future. They are sufficiently near that it is essential for The Government to begin preparing its plans now if it is to cope with them before they become critical. Moreover, The Government – given its limited resources and the growing demands upon them – will have to play its part more effectively in the future than in the past if the momentum of the economy and the welfare of the growing population are to be maintained (IBRD, 1959, p. 1; Rigg J. , 2018, p. 2; 2019, p. 72).

While the report highlighted the importance of the private sector in driving development, it also pointed out a fundamental flaw in the government's previous development endeavors: a lack of clear objectives, both for the overall effort and within specific sectors of the economy. Planning up to that

juncture had been ad hoc, as suggested by the report, prompting the mission to advocate for the establishment of a central planning organisation in Thailand (IBRD, 1959; Rigg J. , 2018, p. 2).

This report signified a shift from perceiving development as an organic phenomenon requiring minimal state intervention to recognising the pivotal role of the state in driving development. While the report somewhat overstated the notion that the economy had developed autonomously without guidance, it highlighted the absence of systematic planning as envisioned by The World Bank. During this early phase of development, there was widespread confidence in the ability of states to steer economic and social progress through development planning (Rigg J. , 2018, p. 2).

On a pragmatic level, the objective of Thailand's development planning and its associated documents was to offer a roadmap for the development journey. Consequently, planning became the intellectual cornerstone of the overarching modernisation ideology (Myrdal, 1968; Rigg J. , 2019). This technocratic exercise not only delineated the path of development but also subtly aimed to foster aspirations that could hasten the modernisation process (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 73).

The Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand (EGAT), a state-owned entity, received financial backing from The World Bank during Thailand's early economic and social development initiatives, particularly in the construction of The Khao Laem Dam. Notably, The First Development Plan (1961-1965) primarily focused on public expenditure. Its core objective was to stimulate private sector growth by investing in critical infrastructure such as transportation, communication, power, social services, and agriculture (Warr, 1993; Wattana, Sharma, & Vaiyavuth, 2008, p. 42). This plan heralded the onset of the modern development era, transitioning the government's role from direct economic dominance through public investment to facilitating private enterprises by providing essential infrastructure.

Due to limited domestic savings, both the public and private sectors resorted to foreign borrowing to bridge the financial gap. Consequently, trade deficits and government budget shortfalls were commonplace during this period. Following advice and concessional financing from USAID and The World Bank, significant power generation projects were initiated (Greacen & Greacen, 2004; Wattana, Sharma, & Vaiyavuth, 2008, p. 42).

Table 5-1 Thailand's National Economic and Social Development Plans

Plans	Key directions
1th Plan (1961-1966)	This strategy aims to improve the quality of life for the Thai population. To attain this objective, there needs to be a rise in the overall per person output of goods and services. Over the next three years, spanning from 1964 to 1966, a substantial part of the Government's budget will be dedicated to building irrigation systems, improving and expanding roads and other modes of transportation, providing cost-effective electricity, and other infrastructure initiatives (NEDB, 1964; Rigg J. , 2019, p. 35).
2nd Plan (1967-1971)	This strategy aims to ensure that the advantages of development are fairly distributed throughout the country, with a special focus on reaching isolated and less developed rural areas. Because of its demonstrated effectiveness in encouraging private economic expansion, Transport and Communications will continue to be the most significant sector within The Development Plan (NEDB, 1966; Rigg J. , 2019, p. 35).
3rd Plan (1972-1976)	The objective is to increase agricultural production by an average of 5.1% annually, compared to the 4.1% rate achieved in the Second Plan period. This strategy is in line with the goal of increasing the income of the rural population. To accomplish this, the government has implemented measures such as accelerated production efforts for certain agricultural products, strategies to diversify crops, and programs to improve marketing (NESDB, 1971; Rigg J. , 2019, p. 35).
4th Plan (1977-1981)	The plan explicitly aims to prioritise social development and achieve a balanced spatial economy through regional growth (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 68). Its strategy focuses on economic growth and reducing poverty by concentrating on expanding and developing agriculture within irrigated regions (Yothasmutr, 2008, p. 5).
5th Plan (1982-1986)	The plan specifically aims to prioritise poverty and the well-being of the poor (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 68). Emphasising concepts like decentralisation, self-help, participation, and self-reliance, it represents a shift in development thinking. Among these new approaches are the decentralisation of planning and the encouragement of local initiatives (Rigg J. , 1991, pp. 199-200). Notably, a primary objective of the plan is to steer the nation towards becoming a semi-industrialised country with fiscal and economic stability (Yothasmutr, 2008, p. 6).
6th Plan (1987-1991)	This plan emphasises a shift towards participatory development, with particular attention on achieving progress through widespread public engagement (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 68). It champions rural development by empowering communities to find solutions to their challenges, drawing from a philosophy of self-reliance. To realise this vision, local organisations at village and sub-district levels will be strengthened. There will be a concerted effort to mobilise local resources and motivate individuals to address both personal and communal challenges. The plan also envisions a decentralisation of authority, fostering greater participation in development, streamlining the collaboration between government agencies and the public, and bolstering the significance of people's organisations. The ultimate aspiration is for the rural populace to achieve self-sufficiency, actively enhance their living standards, and determine their future in line with the principle of basic minimum needs (Rigg J. , 1991, p. 200). Lastly, the plan remains committed to boosting competitive potential, aiming to elevate both income and quality of life through efficient rural development practices (Yothasmutr, 2008, p. 6).
7th Plan (1992-1996)	In this plan, environmental considerations gain heightened significance—a trend that has persisted in subsequent plans. Notably, this emphasis aligns with the focus of The World Bank Development Report 1992, which explored the interplay between development and the environment (World Bank, 1992; Rigg J. , 2019, p. 60). Additionally, this plan delves into the concept of quality of life (QoL), signalling a broadening of the developmental agenda. However, the proposed strategy to enhance QoL is by fostering an entrepreneurial spirit (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 68). Moreover, the plan introduces discussions on sustainable development, emphasising the importance of economic growth stability, income distribution, human resource development, and natural resource conservation (Yothasmutr, 2008, p. 6).

8th Plan (1997-2001)	This plan was formulated shortly before the Thai financial crisis of mid-1997 (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 69). As Rigg (2019, p. 69) points out, the plan quickly became irrelevant in practical terms soon after its publication. Notably, it is the only plan where the terms "social" and "society" are mentioned more frequently than "economy" and "economic". The plan, even more than the Sixth Plan, places significant emphasis on participation and participatory methodologies in development. Yothasmuth (2008, p. 6) notes that the plan underscores a human-centric integration, striving to bolster provincial and rural development potentials to improve quality of life. The importance of community participation and harnessing community potential in development is also highlighted.
9th Plan (2002-2006)	The plan placed renewed emphasis on poverty and, for the first time, gave genuine consideration to the concept of empowerment. King Bhumibol's philosophy of the sufficiency economy emerged as a recurring theme, a motif that has persisted in every subsequent plan. Sustainability was also a focal point of The Ninth Plan (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 69). Overall, the plan sought to bolster the quality of society using the sufficiency economy philosophy, emphasising social-based strengthening and promoting community economic development (Yothasmutr, 2008, p. 7).
10th Plan (2007-2011)	Sustainability continues to be a key feature of this plan (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 69). The plan advocates a balanced approach to development, emphasising the importance of community and societal strengthening for security. Additionally, it underscores the empowerment process and the stabilisation of the community economy. Notably, the plan also promotes the cultivation of human ethics for practices that benefit the public (Yothasmutr, 2008, p. 7).
11th Plan (2012-2016)	Similar to a few earlier plans, sustainability is a central feature of this plan. However, the emphasis is less on environmental sustainability and more on sustainable and resilient economic growth (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 69). The plan sets ambitious objectives: improving the national environmental quality to meet international standards, enhancing the efficiency of greenhouse gas emission reductions, and expanding forest areas to restore ecological balance. Furthermore, it envisions a Thai society marked by harmony and well-being, where inequality is reduced and the number of individuals below the poverty line diminishes. It aspires for all Thais to have lifelong learning opportunities, better health, and robust social institutions. Economically, the plan aims for inclusive growth at a rate commensurate with its potential, targeting an upgrade in Total Factor Productivity (TFP) to at least 3% per annum, enhancing Thailand's competitiveness, and increasing the contribution of SMEs to at least 40% of The GDP (NESDB, 2011).
12th Plan (2017-2021)	This plan outlines six primary objectives. Firstly, it emphasises the cultivation of a robust value system among the Thai people, encompassing traits like discipline, spiritual refinement, self-sufficiency, and the embodiment of Thainess. Secondly, it seeks to mitigate income inequality and reduce poverty levels. The third objective focuses on fortifying the Thai economy to make it both resilient and competitive. Fourthly, it prioritises sustainable management of natural capital and the enhancement of environmental quality to bolster green growth while ensuring food, energy, and water security for Thailand. The fifth objective underscores the strengthening of national sovereignty, security, safety, reconciliation, and overall confidence in the nation. Lastly, the plan aspires for public administration to be efficient, modern, transparent, accountable, decentralised, and to encourage public participation (NESDB, 2016).
13th Plan (2023-2027)	This plan incorporates the ongoing application of The Sufficiency Economy Philosophy and emphasises both individual and societal resilience, ensuring readiness, adaptability, and sustainability. Moreover, it aligns with The UN Sustainable Development Goals. Furthermore, it advocates for Thailand's development to be harmoniously integrated with the principles of bio-economy, circular economy, and green economy (NESDB, 2022).

Sources: NEDB (1964; 1966; 1971), NESDB (2011; 2016; 2022), Rigg (1991a; 2019) and Yothasmutr (2008)

The Bhumibol Dam Project was among the earliest World Bank loans extended to EGAT for constructing large-scale dams and power plants. Other dams constructed during the 1970s and 1980s include Sirindhorn, Sirikit, Srinagarind, and "Khao Laem" (Rich, 1994; Wattana, Sharma, & Vaiyavuth, 2008, p. 42). For Thailand to secure concessional financing from The World Bank, the nation was encouraged to form state-owned electricity companies (Greacen & Greacen, 2004; Wattana, Sharma, & Vaiyavuth, 2008, p. 42). For instance, EGAT's inception was largely influenced by The World Bank. In the late 1950s, the Bank mandated the Thai government to establish an autonomous power agency, which later became EGAT, as a prerequisite for future power loans. The Bank was not just directly involved in EGAT's inception; it was also EGAT's primary external financing source, hence exerting considerable influence over it (Wattana, Sharma, & Vaiyavuth, 2008, p. 42). Before concluding this section, it would be beneficial to summarise the significance of The National Economic and Social Development Plans in a table format (Table 5-1).

5.3 *Era of The Big Dam*: *Why The Khao Laem Dam?*

From the 1960s onwards, the country seemed unable to resist the pressure for its integration into the global political economy. Aligning with a specific political economy beyond the first, second or third worlds presented varying degrees of pressure for national security. Apart from the economic rationales for well-being derived from development policies and practices, a concealed political agenda also existed. This author contends that several significant political-economic considerations related to development in Thailand during the 1980s, a period when dam projects proliferated across the nation. Large tangible development projects, including substantial dam projects, carry not only political-economic considerations but also stand as physically and technologically impressive structures, visibly showcasing the achievements of the country and its reigning government. As a result, dam projects have transformed into a modernist legacy of Western developmentality. The allure of large dams has been heightened by their sheer scale, serving as monuments to progress and, in instances like in many former colonised states such as India, as symbols of independence and national self-sufficiency (Hirsch, 1988, p. 3). By the late 1980s, over 30,000 dams had been planned and constructed worldwide, leading to this period being dubbed the era of the big dam (Hirsch, 1993; Laungaramsri, 2000; Rigg J. , 1991b). There are five reasons why it is crucial to address the construction of dams in this epoch.

The first reason is that the state's rampant deforestation via monopolistic state-run logging enterprises as a prelude to dam projects offered high profits for the state. This is due to the fact that, after the mid-1950s, the supply of teak and miscellaneous woods of the country became completely monopolised by state-owned organisations and affiliated companies, namely The FIO and The Thai Plywood Company Limited (TPC), respectively. Therefore, the state's widespread programme of deforestation due to land reform for agriculture and settlement, as well as dam

projects for irrigation, provided adequate incentive and proved beneficial to the state as all cleared teak and other timbers were commercially valuable enterprises for this state-run monopoly channelled through FIO and TPC (Hirsch, 1993; Laungaramsri, 2000).[14]

Second, there existed an overarching developmental framework that clearance constituted development. This author agrees with Hirsch (1987a, p. 137; 1993), who pioneered human geo-ethnography in changes in land use patterns in western Thailand during the 1980s. His exposure to the conceptualisation of clearance under the guise of development for maintaining national security is indispensable. After 1976, there was a massive political mobilisation against the incumbent military government as large numbers of students, farmers, and trade unionists fled into the forests to escape violent political repression following the coup d'état. Simultaneously, communist camps had sprung up in many deep forests around the country and these attracted the refugees who sought to avoid arrest and confrontation with the authorities. In the government's view, this situation turned many forests, in which guerrilla movements could readily be formed, into an extant threat. The country's many forests connoted a threat to national security and central authority.

This context grounded a political sense that ultimately raised the act of clearance to become part and parcel of the practice of development through schemes of land reform. THUWHP, in the late 1970s, served as one of many secure base zones in The Communist Party of Thailand's (CPT) armed struggle. Since then, the political pressures have opened the door for deforestation in various forms as a part of development practices for both land development for its own sake and communism demobilisation as a covert agenda.[15] Dams thus became a state political apparatus in the upper Kaanchanaburi province, but south of THUWHP, they were an effective security apparatus through which to demobilise CPT's bases (Hirsch, 1993; 2006, p. 303). Three dam building projects in the area with their associated land reforms over a period of 15 to 20 years provided state authorities with opportunities to bring the region and its population under ever greater surveillance and control. State

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[14] It is significant to acknowledge that, although Thailand has experienced a swift deforestation rate, the methods and motivations for forest clearance vary from those seen in other regions. Unlike some areas where extensive forest clearing is conducted under governmental permits to establish large ranches, Thailand has not witnessed such practices on a large scale. Additionally, although land ownership in Thailand is not distributed equally, issues surrounding land ownership have become more pronounced (Ganjanapan, 1986; Hirsch, 1987a).

[15] Hirsch (2006, p. 303)highlights a shift in community organisation due to security concerns. Historically, rural areas in western Thailand rarely saw police presence in most communities, and until the late 1970s, education was limited to only a handful of villages. Governance was primarily handled by the community itself, often under the guidance of an influential figure who may or may not have held formal positions like village head or kamnan (tambon chief). However, this dynamic changed with the establishment of District administrative headquarters, accompanied by the construction of police barracks nearby. During this period, certain regions in western Thailand were designated as communist infiltration zones, leading the government to intensify efforts to assert control.

authorities enthusiastically engaged in such practices, especially The Land Department, Land Development Department, Royal Irrigation Department and EGAT.[16]

Thirdly, deforestation and forest degradation became a state apparatus through which to socially construct a sense of necessary protection for areas, both for conservation and aesthetic reasons, primarily to please the liberalist community, especially in the first world. This was also part of the liberalist friendship development agenda (Laungaramsri, 2000; Rigg J. , 1991b). Since the end of WW II, there had been a hidden political agenda between the first world and Thailand through financial and technical support. In this regard, for example, Americanisation entered Thailand in the form of advisory aid. In 1955, the American government under The US-Thai Cooperation Programme brought with it the prototypical US national park system. The first group of state officials from the various integrated royal departments for national forestland development visited Yellowstone National Park. The other group, involved with national irrigation development, experienced The Tennessee Valley Authority, an inter-state water resources development agency. They acquired American technical technology for developing water resources through the construction of hydroelectric dams. These experiences became a motivational idea for national modernisation and development in the aftermath of WWII (Laungaramsri, 2000).[17]

Fourth, paradoxically, dams were an unnecessarily destructive project in the state's view, yet dam projects proved to be indispensable in creating physical boundaries and markers to delineate the proposed protected areas and to serve the needs of the flora and fauna within them. Any protected area possibly needs environmentally-degraded contexts, both geographically and socially, so as to unequivocally justify its protection. A few large dam projects were created, but one of them, The Nam Choan Dam, had been suspended due to

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[16] Throughout the different stages of Thailand's development endeavours, a recurring concern has been the potential existence of an inherent bias against rural areas. The notion that urban regions, populations, and activities have consistently received preferential treatment in development efforts has been deeply ingrained. This perceived bias was used to justify strategies for rural development during the 1960s and 1970s (Larsson, 2013; Rigg J. , 2019, p. 70). It remained a topic of debate in studies conducted during the country's rapid economic expansion in the 1980s and 1990s, as seen in the works of Parnwell and Arghiros (1996). Deputy Prime Minister and Air Chief Marshal Dawee Chullasap once remarked in a radio interview that, "if stomachs are full, people do not turn to communism" (as cited in Dixon, (1999, p. 85) and Rigg (2019, p. 243)).

[17] According to Hirsch (1996, p. 16) regarding The SWCs, there is also backing for dam construction from communist nations. For instance, Vietnam's Hoa Binh Dam, with a capacity of 1920 megawatts, serves as a benchmark for assessing the impacts of large dams and other national-scale construction projects. It stands as the most extensive hydroelectric project in Southeast Asia and was constructed with assistance from The Soviet Union. Construction of Hoa Binh commenced in 1979, and flooding began in 1983. The reservoir reached its maximum capacity in 1994 with the installation of the eighth turbine. The dam contributes nearly half of the country's electricity supply, addressing power shortages in the south through a new 1,500-kilometre, 500-kilovolt transmission line that connects previously isolated sections of the national electricity grid.

environmentalist objections during the 1980s.[18] Both the operational Srinagarind and Vajiralongkorn dams lie to the south of, and implicitly function as, geographical decorators for The THUWHP, making THUWHP a veritable green island (Laungaramsri, 2000; Rigg J. , 1991b).[19]

By 1989, the politics of deforestation in Thailand had become a more serious issue. There was a contradiction between conservationists and developers over what was considered to be a forest. In 1986, official figures estimated the forestland at between 25 and 29 percent of the country, while informed unofficial estimates put the forested areas at only 15 percent of the national geography (Hirsch, 1990b; 1993). Part of the government's argument for resettling the Karen people, who had long since practised swidden cultivation, was the construction of a discourse that these practices led to forest degradation and ultimately to deforestation (see the section 5.4.1). This was somewhat ironic, given the large-scale deforestation being undertaken by logging companies at the time, but this focus on indigenous practices created a useful narrative for justifying development and resettlement.[20] Threats caused by swidden cultivators began to appear in school lessons as a primary cause of deforestation. The discourse of threats presented to Thai forests by this hill tribe minority spread across the country and, via social construction, presented the Karen people and other swidden cultivators as perilous culprits and catalysts of deforestation. Ultimately, the politics of such discourse provided sufficient attribution and legitimacy for developers to continue their land reforms through land development for agriculture, irrigation and settlement (Laungaramsri, 2000).

In actual fact, the Karen people and their culture of swidden cultivation contributed to the conservation of THUWHP's ecosystem, as we observe that THUWHP has remained intact. The abundant green island of THUWHP has, for centuries, signified the existence of a balanced reciprocity between The Karen and the forestland, an equilibrium which could hardly find

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[18] The decision in 1988 to halt The Nam Choan Dam project in western Thailand was primarily influenced by political concerns over the scheme's unpopularity. This unpopularity stemmed from the potential impact the dam would have on the surrounding forest area, which many consider to be the finest remaining in Thailand (Hirsch & Lohmann, 1989; Hirsch, 1990b, p. 173).

[19] Hirsch (1993, pp. 1-2; 1995, p. 178) examines the case of the Tab Salao Dam. This dam is situated on the eastern edge of The Huai Khakhaeng Wildlife Sanctuary, which is part of the World Heritage area. As such, the dam is a crucial component of the proposal to establish a buffer zone. Positioned near the Sanctuary's headquarters and spanning the road leading into The Sanctuary, the Tab Salao area has been influenced by the societal reactions to the tragic 1990 suicide of the Sanctuary's chief, Seub Nakhasathien.

[20] In the context of northern Thailand, the regional extent of deforestation is significant for its reflection of prevailing patterns. Contrary to popular belief focusing on the northern hills, the forest loss in this region over the past twenty-five years has been notably less than in other areas (Hirsch, 1987a; 1990b). While many associate deforestation with shifting cultivation, especially opium swiddens, and teak logging, these factors have played a relatively minor role in the overall decrease in forest area. Logging and land resettlement for upland cash cropping in other regions, especially those surrounding the central plains and in the northeast, have been more dominant factors in deforestation (Hirsch, 1990b, p. 168).

similar comparison elsewhere (Hirsch, 1993). On the other hand, a rapid decrease in the forested areas over a few short decades has rather resulted from these projected land reforms. For example, The Wildlife Conservation Act and The National Park Act were effectively enacted in 1960 and 1962, respectively. Dam projects were executed over the following decades for the purposes of both irrigation and electricity generation, gaining further popularity. In addition to this, land reform for agricultural and settlement developments also became a trend during the same decade (Laungaramsri, 2000; Rigg J. , 1991b).

The fifth reason is that dams can possibly be construed as geographical barriers to intruders. The areas these dams occupy are located in sensitive borderlands and The Myanmar-Karen have a long history of routinely crossing this border for both formal and informal trade, to visit with relatives and friends, or for the goal of more permanent migration. In the state's view, dams became rather a political apparatus through which to add geographical barriers to smugglers and squatters. Dams played an important role during the 1980s in serving the political and economic pressures of development, with developers being paid handsomely for a greater provision of hydroelectricity, freshwater and infrastructure provision than was required for the localities concerned. More critically, such dams were not always destructive. The absence of dams may mean that the government is unable to demarcate and thus protect areas as green islands. In this sense, viewing dams as the fruits of liberalist development served as an emblem of national security, modernisation and development (Hirsch, 1988, p. 3; 1993; Laungaramsri, 2000; Rigg J. , 1991b).

However, there is a dam issue highlighted by Walden Bello et al. in "*A Siamese Tragedy*: Development and Disintegration in Modern Thailand." Following Bello, Cunningham, and Poh (1998, p. 206), a development that has contributed to accelerated deforestation is the construction of massive dams, which cater to the energy and water needs of Bangkok's population. Deforestation represents one of the most significant ecological threats to the Thai countryside. Since dam-building began in earnest in 1960, over 2,000 square kilometres of forest have vanished beneath hydroelectric dam reservoirs (Hubbel, 1992). In human terms, the construction of 13 dams has uprooted at least 24,002 families, including 5,500 from The Lam Prao Dam and 1,800 from The Khao Laem Dam, to name a few (Traisawasdichai, 1994).

Bello et al. (1998, p. 206) note that damming the countryside, following The World Bank-inspired National Economic Development Plan, has exacerbated matters. The drive for dam-building has principally come from The Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand (EGAT), taking inspiration from the 1961 Plan. This plan aimed to lay the foundation for rapid urban-based industrialisation. EGAT approached its responsibility with gravity, and by 1970, three large dams were already in place. By 1980, this number had increased to ten, and by 1991, there were 26 dams, boasting an installed capacity of

2,427 MW (Murray, 1992; Traisawasdichai, 1994). In doing so, EGAT established itself as one of the premier dam-building entities globally, becoming a beacon of national pride and a testament to modern technological advancement (Murray, 1992). However, EGAT's aggressive pace of dam construction would not have been achievable without external loans, a substantial part of which was sourced from aid agencies such as The World Bank and The Asian Development Bank.

Despite EGAT's reputation for efficient development, the agency has been criticised for disregarding affected communities and the environment. EGAT's technocratic agenda clashed with the social and environmental concerns surrounding the proposed Nam Choan Dam. This dam would have submerged 223 square kilometres, much of which lay within The ThungYai Naresuan Wildlife Sanctuary (Bello, Cunningham, & Poh, 1998, p. 207). EGAT's attempts to fast-track The Nam Choan Dam project faced significant public resistance, eventually forcing the project's suspension in 1982 and again in 1986. These struggles spotlighted the underlying flaws of the big dam approach and the lack of environmental consideration in such projects (Bello, Cunningham, & Poh, 1998, p. 207; Murray, 1992).

Bello et al. (1998, p. 207), McCully (1997), and The West Bank Project (1997) address the ecological and social implications of The Vajiralongkorn Dam.[21] Due to the expropriation of dam water for urban and industrial needs, inhabitants along the rivers typically face diminished water availability. The water table descends with the desiccation of floodplains, and downstream rivers witness a decline in water levels, leading to a significant reduction in previously easy water access. This is evident from the experiences of the villagers in The Maeklong River Basin. The initial phase of water diversion from The Vajiralongkorn Dam on The Maeklong River to Bangkok commenced in late 1995. Protests ensued shortly thereafter, claiming that this diversion by The Bangkok Metropolitan Water Authority (MWA) would jeopardise the farmlands to cater to Bangkok's needs. A study by Professor Decharat Sukkamnert of Kasetsart University substantiated these concerns, indicating that water scarcities would amplify from January to April/May each year. Currently, water shortages persist during the dry season from March until approximately September/October annually. This diversion is highly likely to result in the devastation of farmlands along The Maeklong, as water recedes from the basin.

Moreover, the long-term social consequences for riverine villagers contribute to the widespread unpopularity of dams. Compensation generally covers only direct impacts, such as

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[21] This dam refers to today's Maeklong Dam, located in the province of Kaanchanaburi. Originally named Vajiralongkorn Dam, its name was changed to Maeklong Dam in 2001 with the royal assent of His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej The Great. On 13th July 2001, the name of Khao Laem Dam was changed to Vajiralongkorn Dam. Both dams are operated by EGAT. Generally, when the author mentions The Vajiralongkorn Dam in this thesis, he is referring to the Khao Laem Dam.

flooding of homes and farmlands. The state authorities typically overlook other costs, including the inconvenience of longer travel to farmlands, social and opportunity costs, and the altered lifestyles of those indirectly affected by the dam constructions.

5.4 Politics of Dam Projection and The Resettlement Programme

Situated in Thailand's western deciduous riverine forest, this dam has created a reservoir with a surface area of 388 km^2 at the headwater of The Khwaenoi River (Phutaraphorn & Kataleeradaphan, 1979). Since 1984, Pwo-Karen forest settlements, once home to over 3,000 settlers, had become completely inundated and permanently displaced.

This author started examining the issue by studying some of The World Bank's official documents pertaining to The Khao Laem Hydroelectric Project. To begin with, there are two significant documents to address, namely The Staff Appraisal Report and The Project Completion Report. These were documented by EGAT with the strong support of The Project Department of The East Asia and Pacific Regional Office. The first document systematically outlines sub-tasks to be completed for every stage and also estimates the required investment expenditure. The second document presents a list of achievable tasks and details the actual expenditure incurred. In this regard, the chapter will draw upon only issues of forced displacement and resettlement in the ensuing discussion, as these are most pertinent to the subject of this thesis.

5.4.1 *Staff Appraisal Report*: The First Report

In 1968, EGAT, with assistance from the Japanese government, investigated potential irrigable development over the Khwaenoi watershed. This initial report, which was completed in August 1970, suggested that the dam site would be situated on The Khwaenoi River at Phutoei Village. In 1972, through the financial support of the Australian government, EGAT in conjunction with an Australian-based company, The Snowy Mountain Engineering Corporation (SMEC), conducted an additional investigation. The report indicated that very unfavourable geological conditions existed at Phutoei Village. Therefore, an additional investigation of another possible dam site should take place 30 km upstream of Khao Laem Mountain. A subsequent investigation into the Khao Laem region began in November 1973. Concurrently, an EGAT survey commissioned by The Applied Scientific Research Cooperation of Thailand conducted The Upper Khwaenoi Basin Preliminary Environmental Study Report (dated September 1975), to investigate ecological and environmental factors arising within the region. The feasibility report produced by The SMEC was completed in October 1977. In March 1978 and February 1979, the feasibility report was officially approved by EGAT's board and The Royal Thai Government, respectively. The World Bank and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)'s Power Sector Mission subsequently visited Thailand in September 1977

to initiate the project's preparation, and the project was further appraised during a Power Mission to Thailand in February and March of 1979 (The World Bank, 1979).

EGAT, underwritten by The Royal Thai Government, first presented its need for a loan to finance The Khao Laem Dam construction in June 1977. In February 1979, EGAT, under the paid consultancy services of SMEC, known internationally as SMEC Holdings Limited, submitted their Staff Appraisal Report to The World Bank and its affiliated IBRD. Of the allied services, the hidden political agenda was seemingly that The Kingdom of Thailand, Japan, The World Bank and IBRD, The US and The Commonwealth of Australia were able to project their liberalist friendship and power through the construction of large engineering works.

Aside from The US and other transnational organisations, which had clear liberalist ideologies, SMEC also took a significant political role in this liberalist political power struggle. It is noteworthy that SMEC was directly affiliated with the Australian government. The firm provided a complete range of engineering services for transport, hydropower, energy, water and the environment. It had, under the vis-à-vis reciprocity with its own government, continuously been funded by the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau. Later, in 1989, SMEC became a Commonwealth Government owned public company. Since the 1960s, it has offered a wide range of engineering services across The Southeastern Asia Region, including Thailand (Porter, Allen, & Thompson, 1991). Negotiations for the building of The Khao Laem Dam were completed in September 1979. This was the date of inauguration of the dam's construction (The World Bank, 1979). Estimated expenditure and sources of funds are as summarised below:

Table 5-2 The Proposed Financing Arrangements of Khao Laem Dam Construction.

Financing parties	Sub-tasks to be financed	Foreign	Local	Total	%
		USD $ million			
IBRD	Construction equipment for resettlement	2.7	-	2.7	22.1
	Civil works	68.6	-	68.6	
	Consultancy services	8.7	-	8.7	
Commercial banks	Preliminary works and civil works for right abutment cut-off	31.7	-	31.7	8.8
Suppliers or export credits	Hydraulic and electro-mechanical equipment	43.1	-	43.1	17.6
	Transmission facilities	20.6	-	20.6	
Government contribution and equity	Local costs	-	127.0	127.0	35.1
EGAT's funds	Local costs	-	59.5	59.5	16.4
Total project cost		175.4	186.5	361.9	100

Source: The World Bank (1979, p. 23)

The figures according to the table, are based on prices from mid-1979 through to 1984 and illustrate that, on one hand, the estimated prices for foreign costs were 48.5 percent for preliminary works, resettlement, civil works, consultancy services, equipment and transmission facilities. The remaining 51.5 percent was allocated to road relocation, administration, duties and taxes. Significantly, the estimated figures for the resettlement costs were the least of the cost burdens. Only 0.75 percent of the total cost funded by IRBD was allocated to the resettlement programme. Practically, one might assume that all budget management and manipulation were based on average pay, as this is common practice.

To meet The IBRD's requirements for beginning the project, EGAT and The Royal Thai Government were officially required to submit risk assessment reports. In this Staff Appraisal Report, ecological, social and cultural aspects were generalised and reported a number of risks along with their solutions. First, the issue of the controllable conservation of wildlife and logging was presented. The report showed that over 65 percent of the coming reservoir was classified as disturbed and as non-forestland. Timber and bamboo were deemed as being marketable. Undersized trees were similar in numbers to mature timber at approximately 351,400 trees. The report suggested that these marketable timbers and commercial forest products from the proposed reservoir should be removed beforehand. Moreover, the report suggested that forestland degradation and deforestation already had a long history due to the practice of swidden cultivation. Further, the report implied that EGAT and its government realised that the regional ecosystem would definitely be affected and altered through the creation of the dam and inundation of the large reservoir area with water. In particular, the disruption of seasonal migration of wildlife by such a large reservoir was already a serious point of concern. Thus, the report stressed that there would be considerable efforts to relocate any wildlife trapped on artificial islands (The World Bank, 1979).

Second, the issue of poor land use and agricultural activities was reported. The paper illustrated that the mixed deciduous and evergreen forest covering the proposed reservoir site had, for over 50 years, already long been exploited for logging and swidden cultivation, both illegal and legal. Furthermore, the coming reservoir could be classified as part of existing forest resettlements, plantations and both lowland and upland rice fields. As farmers tended to depend mainly upon rainfall in the wet season for growing crops, the quantity of rice grown in this area was relatively small and therefore deemed insignificant. Accordingly, the government assigned The Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives (MAC) to deal with the issue. In due course, The MAC came up with the plan to allocate approximately 406 km^2 of land for agricultural and settlement development elsewhere (The World Bank, 1979).

Third, the issue of human geography was considered. The report takes a straightforward approach to the challenges of controlled relocation and resettlement, yet does not see fit to adequately consider the complex nature of such a project. From the report, there were around 10,800 people (*circa* 1,800 households) who were continuously resident within the designated reservoir area. These people comprised five main ethnic groups, with some 50 percent of Karen descent, 25 percent Mon, 15 percent Laotian, 7 percent Burmese/Thai, and 3 percent of other extraction. Sangkhlaburi district, in which five villages were estimated to have a population in excess of 3,000 people, was considered the most heavily populated. On the other hand, the interview survey in the report referred to 44 and 42 percent identifying themselves as lowland or upland rice farmers, respectively. Some 8, 4 and 2 percent indicated themselves as traders/labourers, small allotment gardeners, or workers of miscellaneous occupation, respectively.

Based on mid-1979 price levels, the average yearly family income for 72 percent of the 570 households surveyed was less than 5,000 baht. Around 25 percent of those households declared themselves to generate income below 1,000 baht per annum. These incomes excluded the value of agricultural products grown for the households' own consumption. Last, but not least, the report also considered a public health matter. It stated that the area of the proposed reservoir was generally "primitive" and had a very low standard of sanitation. Malaria and Bancroftian filariasis were notorious public health hazards. At the time, only two second-class health centres, three midwife centres, and only one malaria eradication unit existed in the region. Only one small Christian hospital, in which only a solitary qualified medical doctor was based, could be found in Sangkhlaburi district (The World Bank, 1979).

In order to tackle the challenges of the local population, the planned relocation and resettlement programme was seriously considered. A survey was conducted to estimate future losses, taking on board lessons from the previous experiences from The Srinagarind Dam Project which are discussed in more details below. The report estimated that the total cost for compensation was 158.9 million baht, accommodating 2,200 families. A further 29.9 million baht went towards public houses and buildings, while 38.9 million baht were allocated for private properties. The economic opportunities lost in terms of land, crops, and fruit trees were compensated at 45.3, 32.9 and 11.9 million baht respectively.

Some four sites were infirmly identified for resettlement, constituting 239 km^2 in total area. The first two sites were of 19.5 and 43.5 km^2, with a capacity to house 200 and 400 families, respectively. The other two locations offered 70.5 and 105.5 km^2 with a capacity for 550 and 1,050 families. Most importantly, this Appraisal Report established that the displaced people would be allocated some 20 rais, in total. This was divided into 2 rais for a dwelling and 18 rais (approximately 7 acres) for cultivation. These would be made available to each family (The

World Bank, 1979). The report, further assigned EGAT's specific responsibilities in providing the new communities with all standard facilities, including roads, electricity, freshwater, schools, and other basic services. EGAT enumerated every possible cost as shown in Figure 5-1.
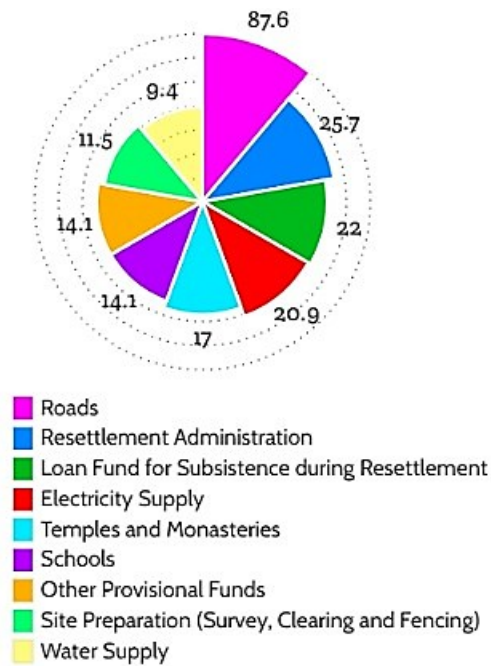
Figure 5-1 Cost of Resettlement Schemes As Estimated and Enumerated by EGAT (Million Baht)

Source: The World Bank (1979, p. 71)

In the author's view, a relatively large and significant expenditure was allocated to roads, schools and wats (temples). Some 49 percent of the total estimated total cost of around 118.7 million baht was invested in such developments. This indicated the extent to which EGAT realised that these institutions were deemed indispensable incentives and anchors for migration decisions made among the prospective evacuees. Nonetheless, it was noted that some 180 families situated below 98 metres of a certain point had to be relocated before July 1st, 1981. According to the scheduled date for reservoir impounding, the remaining families had to be relocated no later than July 1st, 1983.

More than anything, it seemed as though this report made a considerable effort to establish an over-reaching claim that the proposed dam area was backward, and consequently the need for such a dam project and land reform was paramount. Without this style of documentation, such inferred backwardness might appear to be only an illogical inference with no credible foundation. Once such constructed backwardness took root in other sections of the report which documents only possible and controllable remediation, the schema for dam construction and land reform achieved greater validity and political potency, enabling those in power to achieve their operations and become an emblem of liberalist development discourse at a ground level.

Theoretically speaking, the way in which this first report was documented resonates with Ferguson's (2014) critique of TCA, one which was itself influenced by a Foucauldian examination of discourse production and its power. At the beginning of the projection of The Khao Laem Dam, this first report described the reason for its construction and emphasised that it was the simplest and easiest of all problems to solve, taking advantage of the eloquence euphemism via the use of technical academic discourse, statistics and figurations. The document sounded very professional and was read creditably. The powerful projection and documentation through the use of such eloquence-euphemism languages and jargon, partly through such construction of the dam as being part of this overarching strategy, meant that Thailand was to be able to move forwards and to be structurally presented, despite its intrinsic hostility towards national pre-modernist obstructions and the constructed form of subjectivity which alluded to backwardness throughout. The projection and documentation portrayed the need for the construction of the dam for Thailand on behalf of mainstream development, that it was common sense and indispensable to overcoming the backwardness. Thus, we see that the way in which this first report was documented was adopted through the TCA's penchant for co-constructing both an inherent sense of backwardness and a need for further development.

5.4.2 Project Completion Report

From the second report, a few issues were highlighted on the front page (The World Bank, 1986, p. iii). Aside from technical issues, the delay in the proposed deadline and the satisfaction of plans for the resettlement programme were presented. Khao Laem Dam and its associated power stations were commissioned around a year behind the projected schedule, as additional civil works to lay the foundations for dam construction were needed. Nonetheless, the resettlement programme and formation of agricultural cooperatives were reported as being successfully achieved on time (The World Bank, 1986, p. iii).

The dam was subsequently sealed and the filling of the reservoir began on June 1st, 1984. The test runs of the electricity generating units were performed from October 1984 to March 1985. The first three months of the first rainy season passed by and the reservoir reached its 152.08 metre level (The World Bank, 1986). This meant that nothing could continue to live within its basin and all wildlife had since migrated to the remaining forestland. Whilst some people had relocated to new resettlement sites, some remained to stake out new territory in the residual forestland at higher elevations.

The progress of the relocation and resettlement programmes were euphemistically reported. The construction of 45.5 km of main access asphaltic road, together with 165 km of villages' dirt roads had been successfully completed. In addition, 22 kV power supply lines, domestic water supply systems, schools, health centres, wats (temples) and Buddhist monk residences

were successfully established. The affected people were compensated with 286.38 million baht (equivalent to 10.6 million USD), and 1,765 families of the original estimate of 1,800 families were successfully relocated and resettled in their newly allocated lands.[22] Each family which had held land within the inundated area was provided with a one rai (0.16 hectare) home plot and 14 rai (2.24 hectare) of farmland. Each resettlement site was set up with agricultural cooperative societies and agricultural promotion centres for extension services. Some 18 million baht (0.7 million USD) were set aside as loans for subsistence during resettlement, and each family could be lent a maximum of 10,000 baht (370 USD).

EGAT declared that the choice of where families should relocate was their own. As a consequence, some families, after receiving due compensation, elected to resettle elsewhere (The World Bank, 1986). In such cases, each family would sell their land to neighbours or traders, albeit for a very low price. However, from the Figure 5-2, there was an exception in Baanchongua, as more families than initially estimated elected to resettle in the village (The World Bank, 1986).[23]

Financially speaking, based on this report, the actual total cost (excluding interest) during construction rose to 376 million USD of which 158.93 million USD derived from foreign funds and 217.22 million USD were incurred in local costs (seeTable 5-3). Significantly, according to the figures in the table, based on mid-1979 to 1985 price levels, only 0.27 percent of the 376.2 million USD allocated went towards construction equipment for resettlement sites. For IBRD's loan purposes, consultancy services, as provided by SMEC, comprised 5.53 percent of the total foreign cost and 2.34

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[22] In the report to which this author refers, there was no elaboration on where the 35 families relocated. They might have sought out higher land around the reservoir or moved to areas away from it. Some might not have been registered accurately due to statistical errors in data collection. In the author's opinion, the numbers in this report are based on estimates. He does not concur with the exact figures of 1,765 or 1,800 families, believing that these numbers were likely approximated. The SESKP, discussed in section 5.3.4, also estimates the number of affected individuals to be greater than what mainstream reports and this author have previously stated.

[23] However, the construction and resettlement programme of The Khao Laem Dam, a collaboration between The EGAT and IBRD, seems to be more effectively managed than the dam projects primarily overseen by The Royal Irrigation Department (RID). For example, Hirsch (1989, p. 82) examined the case of The Tab Salao Dam (also situated in western Thailand) and found that the dam created a reservoir, submerging 18 square kilometres of forest reserve land. Nevertheless, this land had been encroached upon by farmers since the early 1970s, and by 1981, approximately half of the area was under cultivation. In that year, The RID conducted a survey of households in the affected communities to determine future compensation. Since The RID designated it as state forest reserve, no cash compensation for land was provided. Instead, compensation for land was offered in kind, with each household receiving an allocation of 2 hectares of forest reserve land, irrespective of their prior holdings. Additional compensation included removal expenses and cash payments for fruit trees. The allocated land in the resettlement site was to be held under a usufructuary license. This form of title reflects The Sor Tor Kor usufructuary license introduced by The Royal Forest Department (RFD) in 1983 as an innovative form of tenure on degraded forest reserve land (Feder, Onchan, & Yongyuth, 1988; Hirsch, 1989, p. 82). This license grants the holder continuous use, subject to a five-year trial period and a 2.4-hectare limit. The license can only be transferred through inheritance and cannot be mortgaged or sold.

percent of the total project costs, respectively. This infers that it was an indispensable element for several reasons. In relation to the foreign funds, civil works constituted by far the greatest investment cost. From every foreign source of funding, 106.8 million USD, or 67.17 percent of the 159 million USD allocated from foreign funds were spent on civil works. Overall, the figure for expenditure on civil works comprised 28.39 percent of the total project cost, including all funding sources.

Upon reviewing reports by EGAT and IBRD, it is evident that The TCA enhanced the credibility of The Khao Laem Dam Project by highlighting backwardness and the need for its eradication. Following Ferguson (2014), these reports from major development agencies showcase how the dam's construction echoed mainstream development's articulate and diplomatic representation. As seen in sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2, a selective problem-solving approach was adopted, with challenges being simplified and addressed through technology. However, broader issues related to the national political economy were conspicuously absent. These reports exemplify a problem-solving style of planning and documentation.
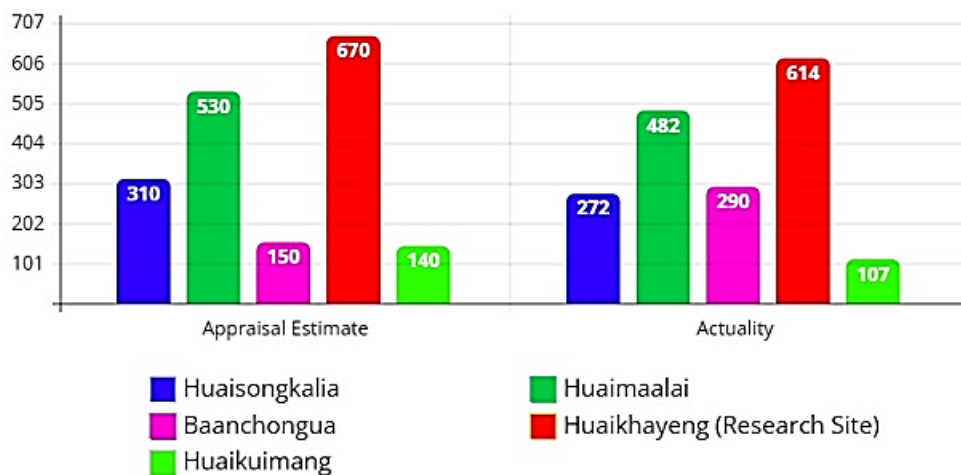
Figure 5-2 List of Resettlement Sites and No. of Families Resettled

Source: The World Bank (1986, p. 6).

More so, there were the devaluation and avoidance of a sense of national polity, as accommodated through a compositional fallacy. In this sense, these reports distorted and skewed the associated risk assessment report and project completion report, respectively. They seemed to serve as an apparatus that contributed to omitting and devaluing well-documented issues which were otherwise broadly witnessed and logically credible.

5.4.3 Some of The Inherent Discrepancies between The Two Reports from The Mainstream Development Agencies

Significant differences in expenditure figures arise between the first and second reports, although this thesis is not positioned to problematise such budgetary details, as these costs

would be managed and manipulated in relation to average pay and costs according to working conditions and all contingent possibilities. Therefore, it is excessively critical to seek such faults. As such, this thesis will only draw upon the issues of relocation and resettlement and, in this context, there appears to be one overriding issue to address, namely a discrepancy between the first and second reports over the issue of appraisal and actual land propositions.

The first report committed 20 rais to each household, of which 2 and 18 rais were for the dwelling and agricultural land, respectively, while the second report finalised upon a figure of 15 rais, of which 1 and 14 rais were allocated for a house and farmland, respectively. Such land expropriation by EGAT reimbursed the villagers at a rate of 2,500 baht per rai. Further, all fruit trees were compensated at different agreed rates according to their type and yield. In actuality, the decrease in land allocation by 5 rais from the first commitment affected the displaced in the current allocated location, as this further limitation of land became part of their structural economic difficulties.

Table 5-3 The Actual Financing Arrangements

Financing parties	Sub-tasks to be financed	Foreign	Local	Total	%
		US $ million			
IBRD (Loan 1770-TH)	Construction equipment for resettlement	2.7	-	2.7	21.24
	Civil works	70.2	-	70.2	
	Consultancy services	7.0	-	7.0	
IBRD (Loan 2000-TH)	Civil works	17.0	-	17.0	5.0
	Consultancy services	1.8	-	1.8	
Commercial banks	Preliminary works and civil works	19.6	-	19.6	6.01
	Hydraulic equipment	3.0	-	3.0	
Suppliers or export credits	Hydraulic and electro-mechanical equipment	29.3	-	29.3	10.02
	Transmission facilities	8.4	-	8.4	
Government contribution and equity	Local costs	-	121.8	121.8	32.37
EGAT's funds	All other local costs	-	95.4	95.4	25.36
Total project cost		159.0	217.2	376.2	100

Source: The World Bank (1986, p. 9)

Nota bene: In February 1984, IBRD agreed to include The Khao Laem Hydroelectric Project as a subproject under The Power Subsector Project (Loan 2000-TH). Therefore, the excess foreign currency costs of the civil works and consultancy services for The Khao Laem Hydroelectric Project were not financed by Loan 1770-TH.

While each household may increase in terms of its occupants, the number of land plots remains the same, and land use is limited because of the settlement's proximity to The FIO forestland and the national park. Thus, successive generations are increasingly at risk of becoming landless farmers.

In this author's actual experience in the field, one participant confirmed that those who were displaced across different locations indeed received variations in the amount of land allocated. One woman's family was initially relocated to sub-resettlement site 6, where they had been situated alongside the main asphalt road. However, she found that such a site could not further improve her family's well-being through agriculture, as this meant that her family would only receive around 10 rais, in total. As a consequence, she chose not to resettle there and instead indicated a preference for sub-resettlement site 5 to obtain more 5 rais. These 15 rais were very small when compared with the *circa* 200 rais she had once used at the former, now inundated, location.

Table 5-4 The Contradiction between The Appraisal Report and The Project Completion Report over The Land Allocation Issue

The Staff Appraisal Report	The Project Completion Report[24]
Twenty rais of land including 2 rais for a dwelling and 18 rais for cultivation will be made available to each family (The World Bank, 1979, p. 70).	The resettlement programme was carried out satisfactorily. …. Each family, which had owned land in the reservoir area, was provided with a one rai (0.16 hectare) home plot and a 14-rai (2.24 hectare) farm plot (The World Bank, 1986, p. 6).

Source*: The World Bank (1979, p. 70; 1986, p. 6).*

Nothing was attributed to account for such discrepancies. Even compensation for breaking original promises were not detailed within the second report. It seems that the reports both underestimated and understated the seriousness of this issue, as the resettlement programme had given less consideration to this than other aspects of the project as it was perceived to be of little importance. The fact that only 0.75 percent of the total estimated cost, as funded by IBRD, was set aside for the resettlement programme implied as much. Further, the estimated minimal figuration excessively simplified the whole programme of relocation and resettlement which would never be as minimal or as simple as it would definitely have been in nature (The World Bank, 1979, p. 23).

5.4.4   Contestable Evidence Provided by Alternative Reports

There are also a few alternative sources to discuss which present differing accounts when considered against the reports produced by the mainstream development agencies. First, The SESKP in 1979 argued differently regarding the complexity of the proposed resettlement programme. The SESKP, which was a separate project apart from The World Bank reports,

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[24] The report does not provide details regarding those who do not own land. In the author's perspective, he believes that undocumented individuals were likely wary and apprehensive of Thai officials. Those undocumented who had some proficiency in Thai might have found opportunities to prove their birthplace as Thailand, thus potentially benefiting from the state's relocation and resettlement schemes. Conversely, non-Thai speaking and undocumented migrants might have chosen to settle on higher land, maintaining a low profile. Consequently, these individuals continued to be undocumented residents around the reservoir. While older generations remained without documentation, younger generations born in Thailand began to obtain Thai ID cards (see section 5.4.2 for further discussion).

though one which gained support from The EGAT, was conducted by The CUSRI. It drew upon the affected peoples' opinions. The study presented the great displeasure of those who had to be relocated and resettled. It seemed that negotiation had not led to an efficient co-working in this regard. Among The Karen, notably, it revealed that, among the various groups of minorities including Karen, Mon and Laotian, The Karen were the most openly opposed to the project.

The report also implied that those affected had the resettlement forced down their throats, succumbing to the state's final judgement under implied threat of inundation. *So why did they finally decide to relocate and resettle?* Indeed, they witnessed and experienced the actual water levels reaching their villages until no force of will could enable them stay and survive. Ultimately, their final acceptance of their need to relocate and resettle came from a lack of alternative options and was, therefore, in a sense a form of acquiescent fatalism. This situation was advantageous to developers as the issue moved on more easily. The report implicitly signified that the issue of relocation and resettlement was actually too problematic in nature to make it readily controllable and that it was never minimal in its total cost (Phutaraphorn & Kataleeradaphan, 1979).

Second, PPSKR, which was conducted by CUSRI in 1989, exposed some of the discrepancies as regards the land allocation policy, CUSRI's suggestions, and actual land distribution. PPSKR illustrated that EGAT encountered the issue of a lack of available land. This irresolvable situation subsequently caused each family to actually receive only 1 rais for a house and 14 for a farm plot. However, the possibility of such lack of available land should not have been a surprise to EGAT, given the findings of the previous report by The SESKP which was shared with EGAT. CUSRI, through SESKP, had already helped EGAT to estimate the total amount of land needed for the entire resettlement programme. This constituted around 35,000 rais (5,600 ha), from which each household would obtain approximately 19.2 rais (3.1 ha), on average. It also showed that a compromise point in terms of the amount of farmland allocated should be 18 rais (2.9 ha). This amount of land would have been minimally sufficient for the evacuees, but even this came with preconditions. These preconditions were that additional alternatives and support services from The EGAT must simultaneously be provided so as to generate diversified incomes, and no less than they had earned from their previous holdings of approximately 33-43 rais at their former possessions (Phutaraphorn & Kataleeradaphan, 1979).[25]

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[25] One of the significant contributions of this thesis lies in its critical examination of the outcomes stemming from historical and contemporary rural development initiatives, such as the Khao Laem Dam project. Scholars like Lipton (1977) and Parnwell & Arghiros (1996) have posited that the problem of rural underdevelopment often triggers another issue: migration. Klausner suggests that the solution to both challenges must be sought within the rural areas themselves. This perspective has persisted in the development discourse, echoing the earlier debates on urban bias in the 1970s and 1980s (Rigg J. , 2019,

It could be observed that the report from the mainstream development agencies (The Completion Report) left no apparent attributions for such discrepancies. In this sense, there was sufficient room to make sense of whether such a report intended to avoid raising further doubts concerning the irresolvable land allocation issue and the previously resolved land allocation issue which were not in favour of the inhabitants or those resettled. The strategic way in which the report's authors circumvented this issue was as follows:

> The resettlement program and the establishment of agricultural cooperative societies included in this project were successfully completed on time (The World Bank, 1986, p. iii).

This statement may have been so worded as to prevent the report from raising any possible suspicion, attention or inspection towards this issue. This author believes that this was a very subtle writing technique and, despite this, the actual land allocation (which did not meet the promises made) is actually embedded here through an indication that all went as planned and agreed. This report resonated with the very way in which statist institutional legitimacy could render the final judgement over those people who were directly affected by the development project and the conditions for their living and relocation. It seems the report is overly focused on addressing only controllable technical issues. This seemed to be the reason why the report does not seek to elaborate upon the somewhat less controllable issues of relocation and resettlement programmes (Table 5-5). Also, this may allude to its dishonour and unprofessional expression. For example, it had often sought to rationalise why the dam construction had fallen a year behind its proposed schedule. On more than a few occasions, it had attributed these delays to the extension of geological works with the requirement for further civil works.

Third, there were a few polemic contests that were directly challenged by some journal articles (Cox, 1987; Hirsch, 1987b; 1988; 1996; Rigg J. , 1991b) over the politics of water release and downstream ecological degradation. Indispensable downstream ecological concerns had not been taken into

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p. 95). The author of this thesis contends that inadequately organised development projects, particularly large-scale endeavours involving relocation and resettlement programmes, may exacerbate challenges related to migration. Often, state-provided land is limited while family sizes continue to grow. This situation, coupled with migration, is conceptualised by Rigg, Salamanca, and Parnwell (2012) as "diversification-for-survival," which compels family members, primarily the younger generations, to seek better employment opportunities in larger cities. This phenomenon of diversification is not unique to Thailand or Southeast Asia; it is also observable in other rural regions globally (Ellis, 2000; Wiggins, 2014; Rigg J. , 2019, p. 173). However, the extent to which factors such as industrialisation, economic growth, infrastructure development, and increased migration influence livelihood diversification is particularly evident in the context of Asia (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 173; Rigg, Salamanca, & Parnwell, 2012; Rigg & Vandergeest, 2012). In the most severe cases, some migrants do not return, even when there is an urgent need for labour on farms. Parnwell (1986, p. 110) observes that certain migrants remain absent during critical farming periods, resulting in labour shortages. This, in turn, leads to fields being left fallow and families struggling to cultivate crops without additional assistance, as they are unable to secure workers or machinery to compensate for the labour deficit. Simultaneously, drainage systems and irrigation canals, neglected due to the labour shortage, deteriorate (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 248).

serious consideration as lessons to be learned from the previous dam construction nearby. This baseline information provided by scholars and civil societies seemed not to have been taken into serious consideration by EGAT, nor did any such information in the reports from mainstream development agencies suggest how to tackle these issues. For instance, according to Hirsch (1987b), downstream Maeklong watershed systems suffered a great deal of upstream filling with a large reservoir area. This arose due to the fact that The Khwaeyai River from The Srinagarind Dam merged with The Khwaenoi River from The Khao Laem Dam, forming The Maeklong River. In the case of The Srinagarind Dam, it took almost three years to fill. During this period, the impact of stopping the current flow of the Maeklong watershed systems was realised.

After the start of the Srinagarind Dam's operation, the filling up of its reservoir exacerbated the intrusion of saline water at the estuary of The Maeklong River. The effect of this saline intrusion of saline water caused some 600 million baht in terms of damage to coconut plantations in the downstream Sumutsongkhram province in 1981. More seriously, EGAT refused to offer any compensation and the blame fell upon natural drought. In this sense, as The Khao Laem Dam was located upstream to the entire system of the Maeklong watershed, the filling of such a large reservoir area with water would of course have further exacerbated such saline intrusion and further damaged downstream plantations. Furthermore, after The Srinagarind Dam began operations, the question of water release during times of low flow and in the dry season had been raised. Lowland farmers in The Maeklong Basin had never been assured whether EGAT would send sufficient water downstream for lowland agriculture during the dry season. This was because EGAT needed high levels of water to be conserved behind the dam wall to guarantee sustained hydroelectric output.

There were several more issues of concern. First, the ecological impact on fisheries was reported, as there would be a consequent loss of nutrients in shallow water fisheries. Second, drought in rain shadow areas would become more severe due to the absence of moisture from evapotranspiration caused by the loss of forest cover on the eastern side of the reservoir (Hirsch, 1987b). Critically speaking, this author follows the work of Ferguson (2014), whose directs us to be dubious of the way in which Lesotho was presented as needing development. Ferguson's in-depth comparative study concerning the case of Lesotho's World Bank Country Report, and other academic works pertaining to Lesotho, led to a conclusion that there were obviously serious and clear errors, both in terms of the statistics and figurations presented and the national features as portrayed (for a more detailed discussion please see the sections 2.3.3 and 2.3.4). As regards the researcher's specific case study, it is implicitly revealed that The Staff Appraisal Report (the first report addressed in the section 5.3.1) and The Project Completion Report (the section 5.3.2) shared similarities with the case of Lesotho.

Table 5-5 Financing Comparison between The Appraisal and The Completion Reports (Table 5-2 and Table 5-3 Have already Been Combined.)

Financing parties and add (+)/remove (-) of fund sources appraised			Sub-tasks to be financed and add (+)/remove (-) of sub-tasks appraised			Appraisal Report				Completion Report				
Appraisal Report	Completion Report	(+)/(-)	Appraisal Report	Completion Report	(+)/(-)	F	L	T	%	F	L	T	(+)/(-)	%
IBRD (Loan 1770-TH)	(+) IBRD Loan 2000-TH		Construction equipment for resettlement		-	2.7	-	2.7	22.1	2.7	-	2.7	-	21.4 (+5)
			Civil works			68.6	-	68.6		70.2	-	70.2	(+) 17.0	
			Consultancy services			8.7	-	8.7		7.0	-	7.0	(+) 1.8	
Commercial banks	-		Preliminary works and civil works for right abutment cut-off	Preliminary works and civil works	(+) Hydraulic equipment	31.7	-	37.7	8.8	19.6	-	19.6	-	6.01
			-	Hydraulic equipment		-	-	-	-	3.0	-	3.0	(+) 3.0	
Suppliers or export credits	-		Hydraulic, electro-mechanical equipment and transmission facilities		-	43.1	-	43.1	17.6	29.3	-	29.3	-	10.02
						20.6	-	20.6		8.4	-	8.4	-	
Government contribution and equity	-		Local costs		-	-	127.0	127.0	35.1	-	121.8	121.8	-	32.37
EGAT's funds	-		Local costs		-	-	59.5	59.5	16.4	-	95.4	95.4	-	25.36
Total project cost						175.4	186.5	361.9	100	159.0	217.2	376.2	21.8	100

Source: The World Bank (1979, p. 23) and The World Bank (1986, p. 9).

Moreover, the two reports documented were akin to those of Lesotho, and were written so as to be self-indulgent by EGAT, and The World Bank. These reports served to legitimise the construction of The Khao Laem Dam. The reports were also considered to serve as part of a greater scaffold for the production of the mainstream development discourse within Thailand. In this way, this author sets out his critique over the capitalist-liberalist production of the mainstream development discourse as it influenced Thailand through the case of this construction and the issues surrounding The Khao Laem Dam. This critique is discussed further in sections 8.2.1 and 8.2.2.

5.4.5 Challenging Evidence Drawn from Personal Ethnographic Experiences

There are a couple of contestable sections within The Appraisal Report to address. The first section of it broaches deforestation and forest degradation. On one hand, the report is mainly intended to justify building the dam. It seemingly deliberately contributed to hostility towards Karen swidden cultivators, alluding to the notion that only swidden cultivation had allegedly caused deforestation and forest degradation in one way or another. The report excluded legal and illegal logging practices, forest settlements, plantations, and rice fields as forms of destructive land use, despite many arguing that these actions were partial causes for such deforestation and forest degradation.

On the other hand, logging seemed not to be a problematic issue in the report. It openly accommodated profiteering from logging prior to the dam's construction. The report explicitly recommended harvesting marketable timbers for exploitation before the creation of the dam and the filling of a large reservoir area. This section of the report strongly recommended that such logging would be an opportunistic gain rather than a loss, whereas the Karen practice of swidden cultivation was seen as a form of wanton destruction.

The second section of the report discusses land use and agriculture activities. It was selective in both the information and data it focused on so as to present Karen activities as being ecologically damaging whilst underplaying the role of other activities in the forest. Once the first section had excluded logging, forest resettlements and rice plantations as forms of active deforestation and forest degradation, it thereby legitimated state institutions, such as The MAC, partaking in the organisation of those forest activities free from ethical concerns or pressure. This section of the report truly empowered the self-legitimacy of statist institutions in converging to share interests with EGAT. To begin with, it incontrovertibly asserted that logging and other forms of settlement and agriculture had long been practised in the area. Thus, it sounded as though any other investment by MAC to improve and organise these existing activities would increasingly be for the common good, with no conflicting interests arising.

Taken together, there are four main points to consider. First, based on the author's ethnographic experiences, clear contradictions exist between the accounts of the Pwo-Karen

witnesses and the reports from mainstream development agencies, particularly concerning whether the proposed reservoir area had previously been deforested or if the forestland was already degraded. The author had numerous encounters with Tah Seng,[26] primarily at the temple. These interactions often led to daily conversations, especially about how Pwo-Karen villagers previously worked their land. During one notable Buddhist holy day, the author vividly remembers a conversation about Tah Seng's life in the forestland.

> In my ancestors' time living in the forest, I cannot deny that they relied on rotational swidden cultivation. However, in my understanding, swidden cultivation never harmed the forestland. Swiddeners often planned cyclically where to move their farmland next. They never cleared deciduous or evergreen forests, choosing instead sparser areas dominated by bamboo rather than untouched forest. For this reason, the idea that our swidden cultivation led to deforestation and forest degradation saddens me (Tah Seng, October 2019).

Second, through regular conversations with Sah Bue and Mue Poe Jee, who often waited to offer food to monks in the early morning, it became evident that the forestland had been abundant prior to the dam's construction and the subsequent filling of the reservoir. Some participants described the richness of both flora and fauna. Aquatic wildlife was plentiful in swamps and along the Khwaenoi headwaters. One participant also shared that, even before the dam was constructed, the forestland had been heavily commercialised.[27]

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[26] He is in his 70s, whom this author invited to join a focus group discussion (see section 7.2.1).

[27] This ethnographic data, in conjunction with Hirsch's research (1992, pp. 48, 51-53; 2006, p. 300), suggests that the forestland, prior to its inundation, was already integrated into a market-based society. Contrary to assumptions, the forestland was not isolated from the external world, as evidenced by the presence of commercial loggers. Transportation during the 1950s primarily relied on foot or cart tracks, and although trade was limited, it involved the exchange of forest products such as yaang resin and skins for necessities like salt and a few other non-local goods. This trade, facilitated by lowland Thais using buffalo carts, was virtually unavoidable for The Pwo-Karen. In addition to the Karen, Thai and Chinese traders, along with a few Lao migrants, began to populate the area. By the 1960s, logging companies had expanded into western Thailand, and by the 1970s, roads built by timber concessionaires became commonplace. Some timber workers acquired land in Thongphaaphuum and invited relatives from various provinces. The introduction of capital into agriculture was noticeable post-settlement. Initially, middlemen, often of ethnic Chinese descent, played a crucial role in commercial upland agriculture. Traders in Thongphaaphuum provided both financial support and marketing channels for crops like cotton, maize, and later, various other crops. Anan Ganjanapan's analysis (1986, pp. 155, 394) aligns with the author's perspective. Ganjanapan argues that Thai society had been transitioning towards a market-based economy since at least the early 20th century, primarily through rice trade. Consequently, the subsistence economy has likely been in decline since then. When Ganjanapan conducted his PhD research in the village of Baan Sanpong in northern Thailand, he observed a crisis of subsistence associated with diminishing landholdings and increasing inequalities. He believed the solution might involve a combination of land reform and revitalising peasant agriculture. While this problem identification was deeply rooted in the agrarian context of the time, its connection to broader forces, such as the commercialisation resulting from the extension of the Bangkok-Chiangmai railway line in 1922, was evident. This railway accelerated the commercialisation of farming in the

I witnessed and experienced a rich natural abundance, which fostered a vibrant reciprocity between people, wildlife, and forestland. By the mid-1970s, numerous dirt roads were built for timber harvesting. This infrastructure enabled the Pwo-Karen villagers to further connect with the outside world, primarily due to the influx of both legal and illegal loggers (Sah Bue, August 2019).

It was the large-scale logging companies, not the average villagers, that primarily drove deforestation and forest degradation in the area. If engaged, villagers often became woodworkers for these companies, earning daily wages. I saw the logging industry as the primary culprits in forest destruction, not the harmonious relationship my Pwo-Karen community had with nature. The widespread commercialisation of marketable timbers was not an idea originating from our community (Tah Seng, October 2019).

One way I profited was by producing homemade liquor, which I sold to loggers and neighbouring communities. I am aware it was illegal, but in the forestland, homemade liquor was quite popular. Drinking was one of the few available entertainments. The money I earned from this venture was used for household purchases, such as salt, seasoning powder, and shrimp paste (Mue Poe Jee, July 2019).

Third, we must bear strongly in mind that The MAC-affiliated TPC was granted a monopolistic logging concession in Thailand. Through TPC's logging activities, it became clear that the suggestion to remove marketable timbers from the area before the creation of the dam and the filling of a large reservoir area would return MAC's benefits from logging only indirectly. Possibly, it was fair to say that such a report from the mainstream development agencies emphasised MAC's legitimacy through the eradication of TPC's illegal logging counterparts. This also established MAC's legitimacy in being able to surveil the logging industry in the area as the state, through all forms and levels of operations, retained a superior position.

Fourth, the author believes that each aforementioned section within The Appraisal Report both discursively and mentally affected its readers. A different tone was established in various sections that were intended to cause variable sentiments. For example, the former section was lucid in its implication of threat stemming from the practice of Karen swidden cultivation through the use of terms such as "deforestation" and "forest degradation." In contrast, illegal and legal logging activities, forest resettlements, plantations and rice fields gained privilege of place through the use of more neutral terms such as "land use" and "agricultural activities." Critically, this raises a question as to whether illegal logging, as well as encroachment by landless migrant lowland farmers, also contributed towards active deforestation and forest degradation. All in all, these sections of the report from the mainstream development agencies had left no room or welcome

Chiangmai Valley, prompting farmers to cultivate non-glutinous rice and other crops like sugar cane, tobacco, cotton, and soybean for sale (Rigg J. , 2019, pp. 176-177, 250).

for indigenous beings or their activities. This deliberative writing style and technique truly sought to discredit and devalue the entire practice of swidden cultivation in a very subtle manner.

According to Ferguson (2014), a key notion regarding the construction of the reports as written by mainstream development agencies is that selective representations can be addressed via The TCA of mainstream development. As alluded to in the sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2, the reports did their job successfully. They worked at a discursive level to persuade audiences and to cultivate a hostility towards these practitioners as wanton destroyers of forestland. Discursively speaking, the intended use of such negative terminology as deforestation and forest degradation in relation to Karen activities was fruitful, turning Karen beings into cruel deforesters in the eyes of the intended audience. The reports seemingly intended to avoid the use of such negative language through the use of more positive language towards other activities in the forestland conducted by anyone other than The Karen. Without a seriously critical consideration, we may not discern that there was power at work, embedded within the reports on behalf of the mainstream development discourse.

In this respect, these reports reflect dominant discourse on the very ground where mainstream development projects were proposed, projected and constructed (Escobar, 1995; Ferguson, 2014). In this case, this author saw that the reports produced knowledge on Karen swidden activities as being a destructive form of agriculture against the modern liberalist conservationists' discourse. Further, the reports produced the regime of truth which was exercised through a collaboration of The EGAT (Thai government) and IBRD, thereby constructing a capitalist-liberalist culture and establishing rules of capitalism and liberalism through such policymaking. In this case, it was for the national development of hydropower generation, irrigation systems and modern-sedentary land use, through the construction of Khao Laem Dam so as to respond to the need to eradicate socially-constructed backwardness in forms of energy shortage and unsustainability, unreliable irrigation systems, pre-modernist land use and mobile swidden activities. Then came subjectivist forms of subjectivity as fostered by such discourse, which escalated and regularised relations of power to be less objectivist and more symbolically subjectivist. In this case, such subjectivism took the form of afforestation vs. deforestion, modern land use and agricultural activities vs. pre-modernist and mobile swidden cultivation, and indigenous tribes vs. modernist beings.

Such discourse successfully established new ways of national development through hydropower generation, irrigation systems and modern-sedentary land use. Concurrently, it successfully constructed new ways in which to negatively view The Karen and their activities. They became socially seen as wanton deforesters who practised an ancient swidden culture that needed to be

eradicated for failing to comply with modern knowledge and the capitalist-liberalist culture in their role as the normative regime of truth. Ultimately, these reforms of thinking, especially among progressive nationalists, leaders and some of the educated inhabitants, led to these new ways of national development within Thailand. This forced some of its indigenous constituents to accept that they needed to adopt such new ways of practising national development owing to their backward and pre-modernist swidden agriculture. This took the form of bringing in development experts and professionals to move Thailand forwards via the construction of The Khao Laem Dam concomitant with land reform and development around its resulting reservoir.

With this end in mind, an in-depth comparative study of the two reports opposed to indigenous first-hand experiences exposed their self-evident mistakes and abandonment of the responsibilities of mainstream development agencies. All these circumstances proved that those who projected, documented, constructed and framed both The Khao Laem Dam and the mainstream development discourse were really powerful and that their reports were allowed to be very self-indulgent.

5.5 Statist Institutional Legitimacy in The Politics of Raipa Village

Drawing on the works of Hirsch (1989; 1990a; 1993) and Winichakul (1994), it becomes clear that to uphold the standardised concept of Thai-ness at a local level, especially among populations on the nation's edges both geographically and culturally, there needs to be a tangible representation in the form of official emissaries. The Border Patrol Police (BPP) was instrumental in this aspect, holding the mandate to instill and maintain loyalty to the nation while fostering Thai identity. Specifically, The BPP engaged with frontier populations susceptible to ideological subversions that could weaken their attachment to Thai-ness, especially during the tensions of The Cold War. The looming threat was their potential alignment with The CPT. Drawing on the insights of Bourdieu (2014), Bourdieu, Wacquant, and Farage (1994), and Wacquant (2005), this section aligns with their ideas on Bourdieusian symbolic power, as manifested through legitimate state representatives on the ground, especially in educational settings. In essence, intensive inculcation by preparatory or ruling class institutions fosters an esprit de corps, resulting in a cohesive integration aligned with the visions of the ruling classes. The subsequent section will delve into specific examples reflecting this dynamic.

5.5.1 Raipa School

The author visited Raipa School on Wednesday, 7th August 2019, accompanied by Ma Pong Eh and other VHVs. Their primary mission was to ensure all students were vaccinated against poliomyelitis. The vaccination process was swift, as the administration of the oral Polio vaccine was straightforward for the experienced VHVs. Concurrently, the author took the opportunity

to delve into the school's history by conversing with the school's principal at the time, and one of the local schoolteacher. These conversations highlighted two main issues. The first pertains to the role of the forest village school under the control of The BPP (Border Patrol Police[28]). The second revolves around the current state of affairs in this sub-resettlement site.

Firstly, in this specific ethnographic case, The BPP's school (formerly known as Wisetkun in the inundated village) played an indispensable role. From its inception, the author contends that the school served not only an educational function but also played a significant surveillance role. The BPP and its school were instrumental in maintaining peace and order in the borderlands, countering smuggling activities and addressing threats from the CPT's movements.

> On May 16th, 1974, under the leadership of The BPP, villagers collaborated to construct the first BPP school on an eight-rai plot. Civil societies also contributed an additional fund of around 150,000 baht. The outcome was a single-storey wooden building housing three classrooms. Notably, all the teachers were also serving as police officers of The BPP. Later, the school received the royal patronage of Princess Mother Srinagarind. On May 16th, 1982, The BPP handed over the school to The Office of The National Primary Education. After eight years in operation, the school had expanded its curriculum to cover prathomsuksa[29] levels one to three[30] (Khunthong, August 2019).

Second, although the new version of The Raipa School in the current sub-resettlement site had a stronger teaching role, it nonetheless remained a mouthpiece of the state politically.

> During the time of the evacuation, 10 rais were allocated for the construction of the school. EGAT commenced the relocation of the school early in the relocation process, and by the 1st of October 1982, the school was ready to commence its inaugural classes. In the interim, the original school persisted in delivering lessons to its students until the completion of its resettlement on the 26th of March 1984. EGAT and its affiliates situated The Raipa School diagonally opposite the temple, in line with the village's grid plan. EGAT furnished two standard single-storey buildings and three official residences. By the end of 1992, Raipa School had expanded its curriculum to cover prathomsuksa levels one to six.[31] Given that the school extended its teaching up to prathomsuksa six, it can be stated that Raipa School had fully transformed into a standard government primary school (Mue Tong Yee, August 2019).

Raipa School also served a political role against the CPT movement. For example, state news and propaganda were publicly broadcast via the school's broadcast tower. The most

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[28] They were genuine police officers. In Thailand, there are various types of police, including normal police, border patrol police, immigration police, tourist police, and railroad police. However, all of them fall under the authority of the overarching Royal Thai Police.
[29] A primary school level in the Thai educational system.
[30] This is internationally equivalent to year three to five.
[31] This is equivalent to year three to eight in the Western education system.

interesting point was that the broadcast tower routinely served its duty as a mouthpiece at every opportunity during the day, except for the two periods from 09.00-12.00 and 13.30-16.00 during which teaching was delivered. The sort of news and information broadcast are illustrated in Table 5-6 below.

Table 5-6 Programmes Broadcast Daily from The Raipa School's Tower

Time	Forms of government news and information broadcast offered by The National Broadcasting Services of Thailand
06.00-08.00	Domestic news
08.00	National anthem
08.00-08.20	Social news
08.20-09.00	Political news, especially for democracy promotion
09.00-12.00	No broadcast
12.00-12.15	Traditional Thai Songs
12.15-12.30	Social news and documentary programmes
12.30-13.30	Domestic news
13.30-16.00	No broadcast
16.00	Public announcements
16.30-18.00	Domestic news
18.00	National anthem

Source: Kanchanatawal (1992, p. 148)

The programmes broadcast daily aimed to serve the entire village with the intention of fostering a stronger sense of national loyalty. This commitment included the daily playing of the national anthem twice through the school's broadcasting tower. Regularly, political news promoting democracy was aired to enhance the villagers' understanding of a democratic system of governance with The King as The Head of State. Seemingly, this approach had dual objectives. On the one hand, it intended to prevent the fostering of communism, ensuring its eventual decline; on the other, it sought to re-establish the monarchy's stature. This strategy appeared to be a concerted effort by the government to shift the villagers from their traditional Pwo culture towards the central Thai culture, exemplified by the broadcasting of traditional Thai songs. At the discursive level, scholars such as Baker C. (2013), Bissell and Parrott (2013), Kotonen (2020), Rentfrow (2012), and Shekhovtsov (2013) concur that the aesthetic qualities of music were seen as a valuable cultural apparatus. They also regard it as an effective ethnopolitical tool, working in tandem with overt propaganda to enhance the ethnopolitical security essential for nation-building.

During the day, Raipa School focused on its educational role. Literacy appeared to be an ultimate end goal for its students to attain. When the world celebrates its diversity, the school has a

chance to cultivate some further part of the curriculum. However, the pupils and villagers no longer enjoy[32] the school's broadcast tower as it only serves to provide school announcements.

> Nowadays, our teachers employ teaching methods that emphasise project-based learning, which subsequently boosts students' capacity to absorb local wisdom. However, the term "teacher" has taken on a broader meaning. Through project-based learning, elderly ancestors are invited to participate and share their past experiences, particularly regarding agriculture. Additionally, pupils are permitted to wear their traditional Pwo-Karen V-neck dresses and longyi on Fridays (Khunthong, August 2019).

Hypothetically speaking, there are a few points to address after the notions of Foucault (1991b; Li, 1999; 2007; Rabinow, 1991)'s critiques of power and governmentality and Butler's (1997) tenet of subject formation. First, according to Foucault, power is everywhere and it is not solely an apparatus of coercion. Rather, power is diffused through knowledge and the regime of truth. Foucault's notion of power is quite different from other conceptions, as it partly shapes individuals to be what they currently are via their everyday experiences in which power is constantly expressed. Raipa School, under the force of nationalist-chauvinist demands, thus resonates with the notion of Foucault's power in that it plays its role as a mediator conveying nationalist-chauvinist messages and a discourse of Thai-ness to the Raipa villagers. The school serves this role in the forms of the infiltration of knowledge, truth regime and more subjectivist forms, as fostered by the discourse. In this sense, we may see this knowledge as existing through the various disciplines taught in the school. The truth's regime may be discerned as capitalist-liberalist and central Thai cultures expressed as a primarily normative regime of truth, one which is put into practice through nationalist-chauvinist curricula and educational policies. Lastly, there were several subjectivist forms fostered by the discourse which were directed at and persuaded its object to mentally respond to and succumb to achieve differentiation. These subjectivist forms took the form of Thai-ness vs. Indigenous-ness or other; educated vs. uneducated; democratic liberalist vs. cruel communist; national loyalist vs. national traitor. Through all these manifestations, it seemed that Raipa School did a good job of influencing Raipa villagers to be shaped as nationalists and hence desirable citizens.

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[32] The author believed that former pupils might have appreciated the school's broadcast tower because it potentially offered them a sense of acceptance as Thai citizens through various methods adopted by the state's school. The broadcast tower, with its nationalist-security purposes, aligned with the national vision of progress (nation-state building being an aspect of this overarching idea of advancement). However, local concepts of social progress or the preservation of Karen-ness appeared to be overshadowed by this dominant national narrative. While there might be individuals who resisted this national perspective, the author might not be aware of them.

Second, Raipa School must then play its role in inculcation and socialisation in order to realise the nationalist-chauvinist hegemonic project of maintaining a shared worldview of Thai-ness and of being desirable Thai citizens. According to Agyrou (2005), Gunn (2006) and William (1977), this author discerns that such hegemonic projects of nationalist-chauvinist government, with Raipa School serving as a cultural apparatus, have effectively been put into practice to render the Raipa villagers submissive and to collectively form either a shared worldview or to instil a common sense of Thai-ness and of being desirable Thai citizens. Thereby, the role of Raipa School in inculcation and socialisation becomes indispensable in shaping such worldviews. In this way, the Raipa villagers, as the objects of such hegemonic power would tend to understand that their social worlds correspond to their mutual political-economic contexts, values and norms, all of which were of course inculcated and socialised by the schoolteachers. Within these circumstances, the Raipa villagers tended to begin to share and perceive their collective worldviews and common sense of Thai-ness and of being desirable Thai citizens. Further, they were thus unconsciously organised for the aim of social cohesion.

Third, according to Foucault's (1991b; Li, 1999; 2007) critique of governmentality, Raipa School (in its governmentalising role) also played its part in managing the Raipa villagers who, under the school's governmentality, were increasingly subject to soft power in the form of inculcation and socialisation to manage the Raipa villagers' disciplinary knowledge. For this reason, the author follows Foucault's belief that disciplinary knowledge bolsters the notion that knowledge is power. In this sense, this author asserts that the operation of the modernised state's homogenised Thai-ness discourse through such formalised bodies of knowledge in areas of social life regarding worldviews of Thai-ness and the desirability of becoming Thai citizens seeks to subvert the needs of the Raipa villagers. This leads to self-manipulation in expected ways in the view of the state, thereby sustaining their self-discipline and consent to submission. In this sense, progressive nationalists, leaders and some of the educated inhabitants, as modernist rulers, led the ruled villagers via both self-administered and social discipline. Nevertheless, the ruled villagers had evolved a shared sense of the desirability of Thai citizenship and so submissively gave their consent to such practices such as Thai state surveillance. The case of Raipa School's governmentalising role proved that they were concerned with disciplinary power as it was directed at individual bodies of Raipa villagers at ground level. All in all, this case affirmed that governmentality was a notion of governance via freedom, a concept which lies beyond the state. Nonetheless, it also seemed to be a part of the prevailing practices of the hegemonic scheme. Ultimately, this case proved that governmentality, in practice, would affect such outcomes, not only via the self-governance of its objects – as Raipa villagers would be able to rule themselves by growing their own self-discipline

and self-repression in order to conform with the expected behaviours as directed by the Thai state – but also through unconscious supplication to Thai state surveillance apparatus.

Within this end in mind, no one could reconsider that this state's school once formed a crucial part of the culture that constructed the self-thought of backwardness within the mindset of minorities. Rhetorically speaking, the school set up and ran the software of self-thought backwardness. This enabled the Raipa villagers to have embraced the emblems of the state in terms of literacy, modernity, civility and development through national state-led curricula and teachers' delivery. Universal knowledge was put in place of indigenous knowledge, as only the former could possibly be framed as the key to job markets from which the parents' agrarian lifestyle appears to have been excluded. On one hand, it served as an ironic creator, while on the other, it was a silent saboteur of identity and diversity. Throughout the existence of Raipa School, it serves not only as one of the state's representatives within the village but those who pass through its doors are milled by its pedagogical process to develop their criticality, incorporating and internalising those statist influences imposed upon them. This situation, in return, affords opportunities for them to critique their state and its affairs. For this reason, the state is indeed in all of us (Bourdieu, 2014).

5.5.2   Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Procedures of The State

The interface between the state's control and organisation of "Thai-ness" via a controlled and organised locality in terms of both practical and grassroots levels was constructed through the notion of a state in the village. Such a notion and its call are conceived from Hirsch (1989; 1990a; 1993) and Rigg (1997; 2019). Also, this includes the Bourdieusian notion of symbolic power, which claims that such power is made possible through forms of statist and institutional legitimacy working through horizontal agents positioned at the ground level of the village (Bourdieu, Wacquant, & Farage, 1994; Wacquant, 2005). There are three examples to address.

Firstly, it is important to discuss the enactment of The Nationality Act concerning the transformation of ethnic minorities. In July, the author visited Nong Poe Sher[33] to discuss the historical context of Raipa Village. At that time, Nong Poe Sher was teaching a younger generation the art of embroidery. The author learned various aspects of embroidery, such as the crucial local materials, the patterns of lines embroidered, and the techniques of embroidery. At Nong Poe Sher's house, the author met her mother, Mue Yah Tee. In speaking with her, the author discovered that Mue Yah Tee had directly experienced this transformation from being an

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[33] She is one of my cases in the section 6.3.2.

ethnic minority to becoming a Thai citizen. This conversation provided a valuable opportunity to delve into her journey of acquiring Thai citizenship. Through this ethnographic study, the author believes that Mue Yah Tee's case offers significant insights into this issue.

> 1974 was the year I proved my Thai nationality. As one of the villagers of Raipa in the former inundated forestland, I had to report, especially about my children's places of birth, to a phuuyaibaan. This was essential as the phuuyaibaan would relay my details to the district officials as further evidence of my nationality, facilitating the issuance of my formal identification card (Mue Yah Tee, [34] July 2019).

Mue Yah Tee, who is now in her 80s, related her process of becoming a Thai citizen. EGAT and the government played a crucial role in affecting a population survey and seeking proof of identity before proposing the dam construction. This facilitated their capacity to rightfully and legally allocate land for their resettlement in the wake of forced displacement. As she was living in the borderland at the time and the Thai language was not her mother tongue, what The EGAT and government did was to filter her out from other smuggled Myanmar-Karen people. The filtering process relied most heavily upon phuuyaibaan, or credential witnesses, as well as providing proof of birthplace to confirm that she and her fellow family members had indeed been born in Thailand. Her experiences shed light on the influential role of the phuuyaibaan.

Second, there is the notion of an officially sanctioned governmental bureaucracy to address. This is what Chayan Vaddhanaphuthi (1984) and Hirsch referred to as a bureaucratic-authoritarian state, one that was put into practice with a specific locality. Such bureaucratisation of procedures was yet another aspect of innovation on outsiders' terms. Supposedly participatory structures became channels of access from the state into the village. A proliferation of committees and rules was a component of klum[35] in general, which literally means "group" in the English language. As a consequence, indigenous polity and leadership were replaced by a new statist bureaucracy. Traditional leaders thus became less legitimately endorsed by the state. New formal positions of phuuyaibaan, kamnan, kammakaan-muubaan and tambon, literally village head, as well as a sub-district head and committees in the English language respectively, were established and were further empowered by the state. These new official positions were expected to act as agents of the state in enacting local surveillance, control and manipulation

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[34] The author believes that once their domicile in Thailand had been registered, it became easier to issue land title deeds and allocate resettlement sites, respectively.

[35] "Klum" is a Thai word that translates to "group" or "grouping." In the indigenous Karen context, the term "maasher," referring to reciprocal labour exchange, was inherently seen as a klum. While there were informal klums in indigenous and local settings, the introduction of official klums by state authorities aimed to broaden their scope in terms of purposes, management, and budget. Naturally, these more structured, state-sponsored klums came at the cost of the indigenous sense of community and natural reciprocity.

(Hirsch, 1990a; 1993; Rigg J' , 1997; 2019). Raipa Village was kept under surveillance through these constructed groups and structures. The influence of the state in the village, in this regard, thus became part of the reason for the organisation of the rural villagers. It was often found that such statists learned a bureaucratic-authoritarian style of governing from the overarching authoritarianism of the Thai state. Instead of serving as facilitators and accommodators, they seemed to act as judges over life and death itself. In fact, they could perhaps have governed better by connecting directly with their hierarchical bureaucracy to solve the villages' issues – for instance during the water consumption conflict, as discussed below.

In this field site, the author made every effort to attend the village meetings, which were typically scheduled for the second Tuesday of each month. Through conversations with the participants, it became evident that water consumption was a recurring and significant issue. By the third observation of these meetings, the phuuyaibaan and water committees seemed to take the most definitive actions to address the conflict. Over the subsequent months, the author investigated these water-related issues in depth, engaging with several key ethnographic participants. In summary, it was clear that the politics of water consumption were indeed at play. [36]

To begin with, some villagers did not make their payment for water consumption on time. The phuuyaibaan often advanced his money in order to run a lift pump. This situation was unfair on those who made their payments in a timely manner.

> I must announce that the utilisation of water resources from the village's water tower necessitates a renegotiation of a new agreement governing water usage. If such a new agreement is not established and does not meet my satisfaction, no one will be permitted to use this precious water resource (phuuyaibaan, May 2019).

Ultimately, the politics of payment, access to, and use of the water from the tower led to conflict among three parties: the phuuyaibaan and his committees, those who paid punctually, and those who were either unable or unwilling to pay in a timely manner. The following day, the author visited Sah Bue's house to discuss these water issues.

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[36] It is essential to highlight the village's approach to water resource management. The responsibility lay entirely with the villagers, who sourced water from three main methods based on individual preferences. The first method was groundwater: each family would drill, pipe, pump, and store water on their own. While they did not incur a specific groundwater charge, they covered the electricity costs for the pumping process. The second method utilised water from a hill reservoir, often yielding muddy water. For distribution, electricity was needed to pump the stored reservoir water, with villagers charged according to their usage plus maintenance costs. The third method involved a local water tower, similar to the reservoir system, where water charges mirrored the second option. The choice between the reservoir and the tower depended on the village's water conditions; for example, if reservoir water was too muddy or sparse, villagers would opt for the water tower.

Myself and, notably, those who paid punctually, appeared particularly displeased with the phuuyaibaan's decision. We had maintained a strong sense of personal responsibility in settling our bills. Therefore, we believed we had every right to ask him to allow us continued access to the water tower resource. His ultimate decision, however, seemed authoritarian and unfair (Sah Bue, May 2019).

The author also found that the water supply and its attendant issues had long been problematic and a source of trauma for this village. Those issues which Kanchanatawal (1992) had mentioned about the shortage of water supply, especially during the drought season, had continued apace. The author suggests that as they are embedded within the hierarchical bureaucracy and thereby have legitimacy, the phuuyaibaan could have done better by connecting this water issue to his overarching government to solve the problem in the long run.

Third, the authoritarian style of policing and enactment is of crucial importance. According to the narrative of Sah Pong, EGAT and the state were very strategic as regards limiting the use of the forestland surrounding the village.

> Before the relocation process commenced, the state established a semi-governmental office named The FIO around the designated new land. This office was tasked with managing and deciding concessions for the forestland situated between the village's frontiers and the deeper jungle. In my view, this forestland acted as a buffer between the village and the dense evergreen forestland that lay further afield. However, any utilisation of this buffer zone required explicit permission from The FIO, with entry into the region beyond the buffer strictly prohibited. In 2009, the territory beyond this buffer was designated as part of Thongphaaphuum National Park. The subsequent introduction of this national park posed a direct challenge to those of us who traditionally relied on it for hunting and foraging. Accessing such forestland became progressively more challenging, even though the decisions surrounding national park designations appeared to be broadly imposed (Sah Pong, August 2019).

Regarding such arbitrariness, it seemed that the events which took place in this current sub-resettlement site merely replicated those which used to transpire over the reservoir. However, the lessons relating to the relocation of people and the protection of livelihoods had seemingly not been learned. In 1987, when the dam's construction was finally finished, there was no legal announcement of any intentions toward forestland conservation, nor was the institution of any national park decreed. Two years after the dam commenced its operations, The MAC decreed the establishment of Khao Laem National Park to protect the deeper forestland surrounding the reservoir. In November 1991, these protections came into legal effect, and anyone who encroached upon the forestland was subject to legal action. Those villagers who lived on the ascending edge of the reservoir had remained lawfully for seven years after the first dam began its operations, although the 1991 decree subsequently turned these villagers into semi-encroachers. Khao Laem National Park constrained the villagers from staking out further forestland or from

travelling into the forestland to hunt or forage. It thereby became a threat to the way of life of the remaining villagers. However, this author perceives that there was a compromise made to the villagers in terms of their traditional practices. This notion is supported by the fact that a few villages remained situated within the forestland without further need for relocation or resettlement. These remaining villagers have thereby been effectively endorsed by the state. The state also allows those villagers with national ID cards to get their houses registered. Nevertheless, there was an exception in that any land plots in these residual villages could not be sold.

In conclusion, this section affirms the notion of symbolic power as theorised by Bourdieu. Such symbolic power, exercised in terms of having official leadership and authority, was affected via legitimate statist agents at ground level. In particular, these agents may apparently be discerned in forms of schoolteachers, BPP, phuuyaibaan and national park foresters. Without these statist agents (or only schooling itself) it would have been far more difficult to restore and sustain loyalty to the nation and thereby maintain a shared sense of Thai-ness. Further, it would have been too hard to prevent those frontier villagers from drifting from their desired state of Thai-ness into identifying with CPT during The Cold War. This section (5.4.2) supplements the governmentalising role of The Raipa School (see the section 5.4.1) in the way that hegemonic and governmentalising schemata working upon Raipa villagers' mental structures must be bound together to explain the whole set of such statist hegemonic and governmentalising projects in reality at ground level. Both sections led to the complete portrayal of making an "integration of integration" or, in other words, a sense of group solidarity desirable to the progressive nationalists, leaders and some of the educated inhabitants, including the modern ruling classes (Bourdieu, 2014; Bourdieu, Wacquant, & Farage, 1994; Wacquant, 2005).

5.6 Concluding Remarks

According to Ferguson (2014), The TCA addressed the technocratic issues related to The Khao Laem Dam Project. Several reports suggested that these issues could be managed exclusively through a specific engineering approach, leading The TCA to overlook the broader national polity. Additionally, it often sidestepped the debates surrounding the actual national political economy that influenced the construction of the dam, whether this was deliberate or inadvertent. By focusing solely on technical aspects, the underlying national political economic forces, which arguably formed the basis of many ongoing issues, were systematically undervalued and dismissed.

This section draws on theoretical insights from Ferguson (2014), who posited that the perceived "backwardness" and development needs of LDCs, including Thailand, were socially constructed. The prevailing development discourse deeply influenced, predominantly, progressive nationalists, leaders, and some of the more educated populace. As this discourse

continued to dominate perceptions, including those of the Raipa villagers, it perpetuated itself, limiting individuals from considering alternative development trajectories. Many residents, it seems, succumbed to this ontological trap, hindering them from exploring different means of societal advancement. They struggled to discern whether their perceived backwardness was artificially constructed or if there were alternative pathways to societal progress. This author, however, asserts that the continued existence of this ontological trap is deeply concerning.

In the era of major dam construction, an examination of EGAT's reports, as presented to The World Bank, unveils the capitalist-liberalist modus operandi of The TCA. The necessity for mainstream development projects appeared to be artificially crafted through documents that painted a picture of constructed backwardness. Such reports hinted that identified problems could be managed with controllable technical solutions. Clear political undertones emerge when considering the villagers' responses to the dam reservoirs. They were, during this period, compliant subjects of development. The profound impact of capitalist-liberalist developmental policies and practices was subtle yet profound, overshadowing the villagers' experiences. Although these policies and practices were conceptualised away from the villagers, they still posed significant threats to the established capitalist-liberalist framework. Consequently, these villagers faced compulsory relocation and resettlement schemes and underwent forced assimilation into lowland Thai culture.

This chapter contends that the Pwo-Karen villagers' forest existence within the dam reservoir region was not only undervalued by these reports but also made them vulnerable to the politics of such influential and euphemistic narratives. These carefully crafted reports underscore the idea that discourse practices, particularly within the context of the identifiable problem-solution narrative for the dam project, wield significant power. These practices can advantage or exploit stakeholders, depending on their stance towards the dam project. Furthermore, the villagers consistently encountered the state's institutional legitimacy. The state's bureaucratic-authoritarian processes concurrently played a pivotal role, ensuring that the villagers remained under state oversight, control, and influence, albeit passively.

Chapter 6 Ethnography of Everyday Life in Raipa during The Post-Dam Construction Era

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a picture of the Raipa villagers' everyday life in the resettlement site. It shows their precarious conditions in terms of post-dam construction and post-forced displacement. Through ethnography, it proposes an investigation of important differentiations within Raipa Village. Initially, the quantitative demographic figures are illustrated as gathered from 103 households domiciled in this village. The chapter ends with three ethnographic case studies of villagers' precarious everyday lives. Such precarious conditions are going to enlighten audiences with influentially contextual reconsiderations for the further reconceptualisation of local experiences of development. One of the aims of the chapter is to address a deficiency of spatial and temporal control arising due to mainstream development. Specifically speaking, precarity is produced by such controls. Social life, under such control, finally shapes the way in which people develop and maintain worldviews, including their thoughts and visions of what constitutes making social progress.

6.2 Ethnography of Differentiations in Raipa Village

6.2.1 Brief Profile of Raipa Village from Field Surveys[37]

- **Population Structure**
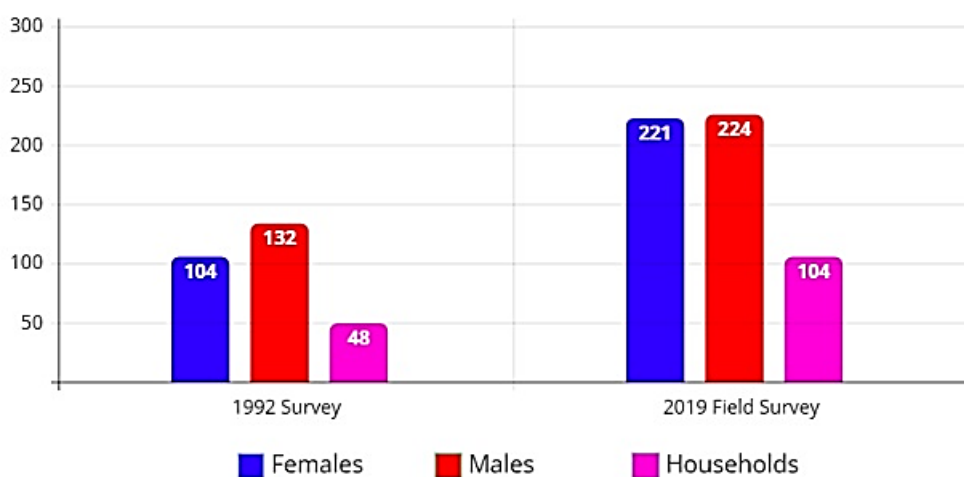
Figure 6-1 Comparison in Terms of Population, Gender and Household Numbers between The 1992 and 2019 Field Surveys

Sources: Kanchanatawal (1992, pp. 118 - 119) and Field Survey (2019)

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[37] There are illustrations of the challenging changes faced by the villagers from the works of Kanchanatawal conducted in 1992 and these ethnographic findings to compare and discuss.

There is a notable change in the population structure that merits discussion. The author compares the 1992 census data, as documented by Kanchanatawal, to highlight this differentiation clearly. There has been an approximate doubling in the population and the number of households from 1992 to the 2019 field survey. This increase suggests a growing mass demand for land, potentially for income-generating purposes.
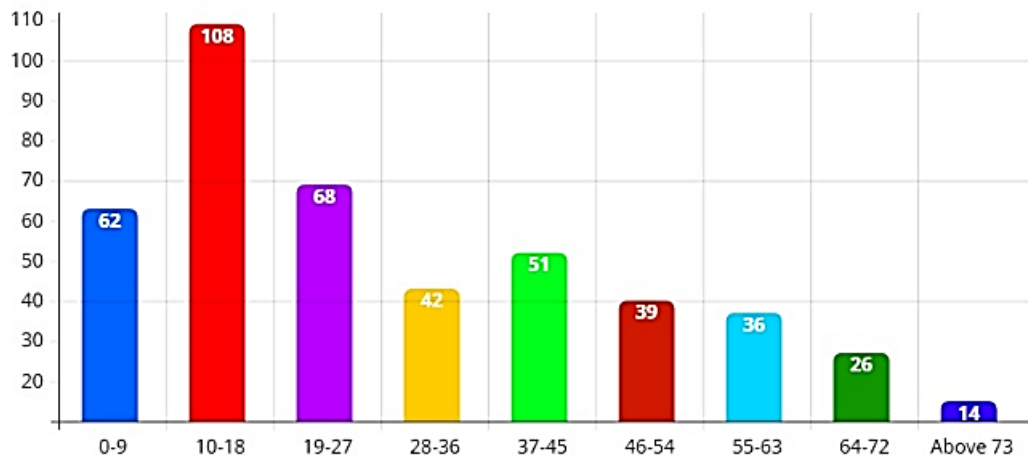
Figure 6-2 Population Structure by Age

Sources: Kanchanatawal (1992, p. 119) and Field Survey (2019).

The demographic structure of the village population, particularly in terms of age distribution as depicted in Figure 6-1 and Figure 6-2, is significant. While the number of individuals under 14 remained relatively unchanged from the 1992 to the 2019 surveys, there was a marked increase in the population aged over 45. This demographic shift suggests that villagers in this age group tend to have a higher life expectancy. Furthermore, the substantial increase in the number of people over 60 and those between 45 and 60 could indicate enhanced healthcare programs, improved access to health facilities, and better knowledge of health maintenance. At the very least, these statistics prompt us to contemplate the further advancement of healthcare services. For instance, the incidence and mortality rates from diseases such as malaria and Bancroftian filariasis have significantly declined, particularly after the 1980s, indicating effective control over such epidemics and illnesses.
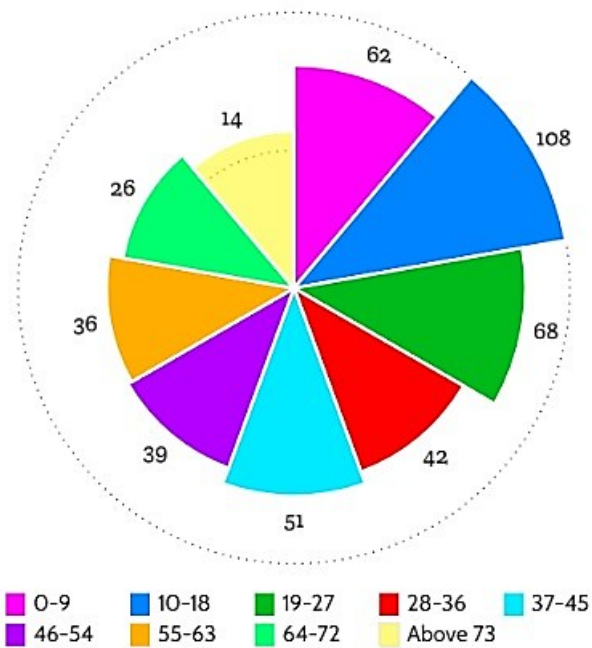
Figure 6-3 2019 Field Survey Findings of Population's Age Structure Expressed As Percentages

Sources*: Field Survey (2019)

- **Self-Identification Regardless of Race and Nationality**

According to the most recent field survey on self-identification conducted in 2019, there were variations in racial and national self-identification among the inhabitants of Raipa Village. The Karen ethnicity, both Pwo and S'gaw branches, constituted the majority, with 276 villagers identifying as Karen. In contrast, 137 villagers identified as Thai, with the notable occurrence of villagers claiming Thai identity despite having one Karen parent. A minority of 18 villagers identified as Burmese, five as Mon, and one as Laotian, while seven villagers were uncertain of their ethnicity. It is critical to consider the possibility of significant variability and the potential confusion among villagers regarding the distinction between race and nationality.

From the author's perspective, the key observation from these findings is the fluid nature of self-identification. Notably, there seems to be a subdued identification with Karen-ness in favour of Thai-ness. These findings highlight the effectiveness of the modern state's narrative promoting a homogenised Thai-ness, reinforced through land reform policies aimed at encouraging sedentary living. Additionally, the data points to the significant political influence of education in the state's successful imposition of its ideology upon Karen mindsets, with schooling aligning the Pwo-Karen's perspectives more with those of the lowland Thai.
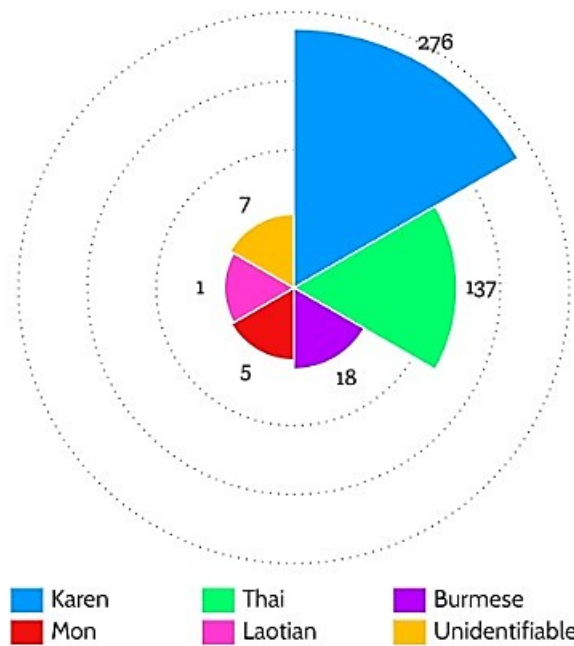
Figure 6-4 Self-Identification Regardless of Race and Nationality in Raipa Village

Source*:* Field Survey *(*2019*)*

- **Kinship**

There has been a shift in the Pwo kinship structure. The Raipa Pwo, traditionally a matrilineal society as documented by Kanchanatawal in 1992 (1992), showed signs of departing from this practice according to the 2019 field survey. The ritual appeasement of family-protecting spirits, typically passed down through the maternal line, had largely been forsaken, with only a few families still adhering to it. Even among these, the decision to continue the practice was selective, and some daughters expressly rejected the responsibility. An example is Mue Poe Loe, Sah Bue's wife, who actively opposed the practice, having lost belief in the family-protecting spirit. Presently, the villagers of Raipa do not solely depend on matrilineal descent and appear to embrace social values that honour ancestors, akin to other lowland Thais. In the familial context, both matrilineal and patrilineal lines are now observed, mirroring those of lowland Thais elsewhere. Consequently, younger generations may not associate certain practices with matrilineality, nor necessarily adopt patrilineal customs, leading to a more individualistic approach.

- **Housing Materials**

Traditional Pwo-Karen houses have been replaced by modern-style houses, similar to those occupied by lowland Thais. Kanchanatawal (1992) observed that most houses in the resettlement area were traditional at that time. Wooden elements from old houses in the flooded areas had been repurposed to reconstruct homes in the new location, preserving an authentic and idyllic appearance. However, there were exceptions where a few houses were

built in a modern style akin to those of lowland people. Back then, villagers did not use cooking gas and collected firewood from nearby forests, and sanitary toilets were scarce.

In contrast, the ethnographic evidence from the 2019 survey suggests a reversal in housing style. Only a few traditional houses remain, with the majority having modernised. Little remains to signify the identity of a traditional Pwo-Karen village. Electrical appliances and cooking gas have become common, and sanitary toilets of varying quality are now widespread. This material advancement seems less common within the Christian community where Myanmar-S'gaw civil war evacuees reside.

- **Costume**

The traditional Karen V-neck costume has become a symbol in the counter-discourse to homogenised Thai-ness. While such costumes have been preserved within a few families, their use in everyday life has become rare, typically reserved for special occasions like weddings and Songkran. According to Kanchanatawal (1992), younger generations at that time were unfamiliar with these traditional garments; their parents had forsaken them in favour of the modern attire preferred by lowland Thais. Consequently, Pwo-Karen identity was no longer easily discernible through their attire but could still be recognised by their distinctive accent and language.

However, recent ethnographic findings reveal a resurgence of these traditional costumes as a form of resistance against the dominant Thai cultural narrative. At the community level, the younger generation appears to be reclaiming their heritage, challenging the long-standing Thai-isation by reintegrating tribal symbols into daily life. The traditional Karen V-neck costume has thus been re-adopted as a proud emblem of Karen identity and a part of the local counter-discourse.

In discussions with the director of Raipa School, it was discovered that the school plays a crucial role in revitalising and reinforcing Pwo-Karen identity. This is accomplished through initiatives such as Friday's Traditional Costumes' project, which encourages the celebration and wearing of traditional attire.

> On Fridays, school pupils were invited to don their V-necked costumes in lieu of the formal school uniform. This attire, when worn within the school premises, infused both the school and the village with vibrancy and diversity. The variations in the colours and styles of these costumes garnered aesthetic appeal and drew considerable attention. Post-school hours, the pupils promenaded through the village in their tribal V-neck outfits, eliciting a sense of distinctiveness (Khunthong, Interview, August 2019).

The author also experienced that every time their parents participated in the temple's events, such V-neck costumes were worn with pride. Therefore, it had become increasingly commonplace in the village to envisage greater use of the traditional Karen costume, in direct contradiction to the prevailing trend of the 1992 survey. However, some might critically argue that such drivers were

possibly a means for the school to engage in the reproduction of some new forms of Thai-isation. Given its previous role in Thai-isation, this situation perhaps presented a more acceptable and tamer expression of cultural differences, one that was potentially more controllable.

6.2.2   Differentiations in Land Use

Central to this section, this author aims to present the grid planned land plots and their role as a fundamental agent of change in the villagers' lives following the post-dam construction era. This deals with changes in land use issue which subsequently affects every villager's life, shunting them onto a different type of village's political economy. There are a few challenging changes to address. In this section, the most challenging issue is the differentiation in land use arising after rotated swidden cultivation and the usufructuary land ownership system had been replaced by modernised sedentarisation of land ownership system. More seriously, such challenging change has been integral to the economic impact caused by population growth. This means that there has been seemingly increasing demand in terms of land exploitation, although the availability and capacity of such land have not kept pace with the demands of each household. For this reason, the author is encouraged to investigate land use and its production relations with the villagers in Raipa Village over their allocated sedentarised land plots. Through this approach, four aspects must be addressed.

First, the land availability for each large family did not meet every member's needs. As house plots remained the same in terms of size and capacity, this meant that house plots in the village have become ever more densely occupied. The author noted that one rai for each household's house plot has been divided into a few more extensions for the next generation of children to raise their own families.

> Our extended family is obliged to reside within the confines of our parents' house plot. I constructed and operated my own dwelling and a small street restaurant adjacent to my parents' residence. Regrettably, a single rai of house plot proved inadequate to house everyone, compelling my brother to seek employment in Bangkok with scant hope of returning to share the limited land with our parents. It is understood that only our parents' farm plot, not their residential plot, is to be inherited. Should he desire to establish his own family in Raipa Village, he would be necessitated to erect his abode on the farm plot that he is entitled to inherit (Ma Pong Eh, Interview, June 2019).

This situation had precedent with Kong Eh, who was one of the three assistants to the village head. Kong Eh must raise his own family in his parent's farm plot which has inheritably been divided for him.

I constructed a modest cottage for habitation within a secluded corner of my rubber tree plantation, resulting in a degree of isolation. The principal concern among my family members was that such seclusion might heighten life's perils, notably due to aggressive incursions by wild elephants and thefts. Nevertheless, these potential hazards were inescapable, given the absence of alternative living spaces for my family. Our parents' house plot was too small to accommodate every family member. Some of my sisters have been allocated shared sections of the house plot at the rear, while some of my brothers, facing similar circumstances, have had to utilise portions of land within the farm plot (Kong Eh, Interview, June 2019).

Second, changes in crops plantation have, over time, seemingly been influencing both production and social relations. Plantation changes have also exacerbated the degrees to which social and production relations are followed and changed. To begin with, not so far to the south of the grid of planned house plots, villagers' farm plots have been standalone. The most interesting observation was perhaps that these farm plots have been invested in through a variety of crops. Upland rice had been grown during the first period following relocation and resettlement in the 1980s. Then came the advent of cash crops which were seen as being more lucrative, especially cassava and other cereal crops. At a later stage, rubber plantations appeared and organic vegetables were grown.

Such forced relocation and resettlement ceased usufructuary land use and ownership and also accelerated the villagers' economic difficulties. Likewise, there has never been a plan to cover limits to farmland in the wake of population growth. As their ancestors had never conformed to fixed agricultural plots, any income generated from agriculture on such limited farmland has been automatically restricted. As a result, farmers in Raipa Village must seek the best cash crops and find urban employment in the hope of overcoming their families' economic adversity.

Third, social and production relations among villagers appear to have undergone a fundamental change.[38] This idea is one of the findings initially derived from the focus group discussions with the elderly inhabitants (see the section 7.2). As the village became integrated within the cash economy, villagers began to respond to such economic pressures by considering occupations other than farming.[39] For instance, some remittance was generated from the younger generation working within the Bangkok metropolitan areas through kinship connections.

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[38] In 1992, household production began to transition towards a more commercial model. Initially, the production within each household appeared to be dependent on its own labour force; however, in instances of labour shortages, the hiring of waged labour became the preferred solution over the more traditional practice of reciprocal labour. Consequently, the use of reciprocal labour diminished significantly and became a rarity (Kanchanatawal, 1992).

[39] See the notion of multiplicity used by Rigg (2006; 2019, p. 173) in 5.3.4 of Chapter 5

I was employed and resided in Laadkrabang, Bangkok, for a considerable period, working at a baking factory known as Farm House. Prior to this, I had sampled around ten different factories, eventually settling on one in close proximity to my lodgings; the journey was a mere three minutes by bus. Additionally, my younger sister, having recently completed her secondary education, was poised to travel to South Korea imminently, with plans to remit funds to our mother on a monthly basis. I was confident that her contributions would significantly alleviate our family's financial burdens. In our village, it has become commonplace for young individuals, akin to my sister, to seek employment outside the village and send a portion of their earnings home. For instance, Nor Bor Gor, whom you might have observed in the temple's prayer hall some days ago, had also relocated to Bangkok for work (Cha Dah, interview, April 2019).

In the case of cash-cropping, even though a little upland rice continued to be grown, farmers grew more cash crops like cassava and nuts. However, these cash crops never generated a good profit as the land was limited in its productivity. Therefore, some villagers sought temporary employment as a supplementary source of income. For instance, they were employed as woodworkers, waged harvesters, or migrant workers. Some of the more affluent families became entrepreneurs and ran small businesses selling commodities such as salt, sugar, and detergent. At the same time, they would buy agricultural products at low prices and extract a profit by selling them on to larger middlemen beyond the village. However, for the majority of villagers, even this diverse set of strategies proved insufficient to generate a stable income.

On the other hand, such situations have changed considerably in the present day. Household production is now used solely for commercial ends. Rarely did the researcher witness any strong dependence upon a subsistence-reciprocal economy, nor could the growing of upland cash crops be envisaged. Most of the farm plots have since been turned over to rubber tree plantations, and the villagers are increasingly reliant upon them. Rubber sap farming is a form of mono-cropping, so other cultivated crops would never be produced at the same time. This has resulted in the absence of upland rice and other edible crops being grown in the village. This kind of plantation caused changes in production relations. When most of the barren land was turned into tapped-rubber oil farming, landless farmers who used to help take care of the landlords' barren land no longer found an opportunity in generating subsistent produce for their households' consumption. In the village, such landless farmers were predominantly Myanmar-S'gaw civil war evacuees. They grew popular cash crops in exchange for taking care of the landlords' barren farmland, yet most of their produce had to be returned to their respective landlords. Despite this, profit may not have been the driving purpose among such landless farmers, as their goal was to ensure that their families would have sufficient edible crops to consume.

As rubber tree plantations have a long life span and may be easier to manage than other edible crops, landless farmers found it increasingly difficult to gain temporary employment

through this form of mono-cultivation. Moreover, as the households of each landlord's family were increasing in number, they seemingly had an adequate labour force to tap the rubber tree oil. This caused small farmers to experience fewer employment opportunities. Diversification of income generation was therefore greatly constrained. During this fieldwork, it seemed that there were no more local middlemen to exploit any agricultural surpluses given the decrease in diversity of cash crops. Small local grocery stores were economically depressed as access to larger markets was made easier by improved communications.

Thus, the situation directed us to observe incorporation into a wider market and economic system, leading the periphery toward a decrease in life chances and exacerbated poverty. This market assimilation seemed to be caused by the mainstream development discourse through trickle-down theories leading to yet further exploitation even to the point where local entrepreneurs suffered because of the proximity of more centralised competitors. Thus, the Raipa villagers' experience of mainstream development is not necessarily positive, and yet they had brought it into the dominant discourse bringing us back to power discussions.

After Gardner and Lewis (2012) and based on Frank's tenet of the structure of underdevelopment in Latin America, such situations resonated with the theoretical explanation as to where Dependency Theory draws heavily upon ideas of radical Marxism. The theory emphasises the asymmetric relations existing between developed and underdeveloped countries. Particularly, such asymmetry, as manifested in forms of international trade, seems very obvious. Further, such a phenomenon is reflected on within Wallerstein's world system, one which illustrates the asymmetries arising between core modern states and their peripheries, and between the urban and rural areas of The South (for a more detailed discussion see the section 2.2.1).

At this local level, the situation in The Raipa Village could be theoretically explained by such a system in that the wider urban markets, such as bigger rubber industrial entrepreneurs located outside the village, have sucked raw materials from the village's environs, leaving the village's local entrepreneurs, through their strong connections with such urban wider capitalist-industrialist entrepreneurs, playing a crucial part in the asymmetric extraction of such resources with little return for the Raipa villagers. Both theories of Dependency and The World System make sense of such underdevelopment, as they are deeply embedded within political-economic structures. This helps us to understand how underdevelopment in the village and elsewhere, is not accidental. The Raipa Village actively runs underdevelopment schemes that serve the benefits of other wider urban capitalist-industrialist markets and entrepreneurs within the concept of the core-periphery relation. Without an understanding of this situation in the village, any modernisation theory perspective cannot offer sufficient solutions for such

underdevelopment, for such a perspective may not be insightful enough to address the root cause of the problems inherent within the political-economic structure of the village (Gardner & Lewis, 1996). However, the experiences of one of the cases, namely Bue Lah (see the section 7.2.3) can be more of a supplement than the actual reality on the ground.

Fourth, some of the villagers turned to cultivating organic vegetables and formed a collective for such organic produce. The most important cultivars were Kale and Bog Choy. Initially, a representative from The Royal Project invited farmers who were interested in growing organic produce to visit. Those farmers who were interested underwent some form of training to ensure that the produce grown met with their quality controls. Investment in building a nursery was sponsored by both parties. Where farmers were obliged to produce very high-quality organic vegetables, The Royal Project supported that produce's transportation and marketing. This cultivation of organic produce had only been a relatively recent development and had not yet secured a long-term income generation. As some of the farmers confided that only those vegetables which met stringent quality requirements were transported out and marketed, this meant that the disposal of the remainder of these vegetables would rest on their shoulders. It was thus unsurprising that many of the local village groceries sold these surplus vegetables at low prices.

This case aligns with the findings from Andrew Walker's case study of Baan Tiam and other villages in Chiangmai, as documented in his 2010 study (p. 260). He reported that farmers have expressed grievances that The Royal Project favoured farmers not based on need, but rather on the probability of their success in cultivating high-cost and labour-intensive crops. Furthermore, those who cultivated crops for The Royal Project have vociferously lamented the frequent rejection of their produce, which often failed to meet the stringent aesthetic standards required for the sale in increasingly selective urban markets.

6.2.3   Inherent Politics of Differing Worldviews

The author delves into the theme by examining the concept of family-protecting spirits, an authentic aspect of the changing Pwo-Karen worldview. It is revealed that certain obligations must be fulfilled with respect to these hereditary spirits. This insight emerges as the author illustrates their current rejection, suggesting that their influence is not as potent or culturally significant as it might once have been. Nonetheless, the author posits that the Pwo-Karen worldview has undergone noteworthy transformations, particularly in relation to the inheritable practice of Pwo witchcraft, which is considered a major point of contention. Engaging in dialogues with Mue Poe Loe, Mue Eh Sher, and their mother Mue Poe Jee provided fascinating insights into these shifts. Historically, traditional family witchcraft was viewed as a mysterious, auspicious, and fearsome element of village life. In contemporary times, however, there has been a marked shift in

perception, with the practice no longer deemed as fearsome; some villagers even view this witchcraft as an onerous ancestral legacy, leading to the abandonment of its customs.

To begin with, the very detailed descriptions of family witchcraft offered suggested that damage had been caused by such influential ideas as development, capitalism, and liberalism. In the author's view, things had not only really changed and had been damaged by such physical modern infrastructure as dams, roads, large industrial factories, and large plots of land cleared for residency and agriculture. However, their worldview had also been truly changed and damaged by the visceral shift in, and transformation of, people's thoughts about ethical reciprocity, as well as their ethical internalisation of whether to culturally retain or reject those natural bodies, non-living entities, and supernatural sanctities which had been historically engaged.

Influential ideas such as development empowered these people to either confidently accept that which was desired or deny the undesirable and the arbitrary. Interestingly, while as empowered people they had gained in terms of power and confidence, those unspeakable natural bodies, non-living entities and supernatural sanctities had concurrently become weaker.

In the author's ethnographic experience, two parties presented inherently contradictory worldviews towards the practice of their family witchcraft. The first of these parties were Mue Poe Loe and Mue Eh Sher who were female siblings. The second was their mother Mue Poe Jee, who remained faithful in fostering the spirit of witchcraft, albeit in a more compromising way with her daughters. To Mue Poe Loe and Mue Eh Sher, it seemed that the external influential ideas of liberalism had dragged them out to face the wider world. Subsequently, the global trend may have changed the way in which they thought about supernatural sanctities.

> It appeared that only those entities which I could visually substantiate were considered to exist, and my material senses and sensations felt tangibly substantial and beneficial.[40] Conversely, entities that I could not visually substantiate — phenomena that could not be materially perceived — were deemed to have no practical use and, consequently, lacked meaning (Mue Poe Loe, Interview, April 2019).[41]

Mue Poe Loe and Mue Eh Sher seemingly internalised these outside forces more willingly than their mother, Mue Poe Jee. They had different ways of thinking about their mother's family witchcraft

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[40] The Pwo-Karen maintained two primary beliefs. Historically, many adhered to spiritual witchcraft, likely prior to the widespread adoption of Buddhism. Presently, they predominantly practise Buddhism. In contrast, The S'gaw Karen have relinquished the practise of spiritual witchcraft and have converted to Christianity.
[41] It could be argued that many, including Mue Poe Jee who practised witchcraft, would assert that such non-material elements are entirely perceptible to the senses.

through a more scientific and evidentiary perspective. Through this process, they seemed to be empowered to be sufficiently confident to challenge their mother's family witchcraft. However, as an ethnographer, it was observed that their challenge was not in any way aggressive. It was rather courageous confidence to manipulate the busy and complicated ways of addressing the family-protecting spirit. In this sense, they performed their own witchcraft at their convenience and comfort.

> The alteration of witchcraft traditions, such as eschewing annual worship, has liberated us from previously felt pressures. Furthermore, we have rationalised new experiences that have not resulted in punitive measures from our spirits, as was once forewarned, nor have we suffered grave illnesses, malevolent spiritual vengeance, or spectral haunting and possession. Owing to this, we have garnered the fortitude to venerate our ancestral spirits solely at times of utmost convenience and comfort (Mue Eh Sher, interview, April 2019).

Some of these novel and real experiences may have caused other villagers to abandon such traditional practices, as they had proved to themselves that there was no need to set into motion any form of worship to communicate with their family-protecting spirits. Similar to other aspects of rituals, they had no need to ask for permission to share fair interests with natural bodies, non-living entities, or spiritual sanctities as their fearful ancestors had done. Such sedentarianism of land use and ownership may have empowered their notion of absolute ownership over the land. Thus, making use of the water, soil, rice, or grains seemed no less appropriate without asking for permission to share them with the supernatural world. This was because no punishments from gods, The Goddess, spirits or ghosts were meted out in their real everyday experiences on the ground. The author believes that this was the reason why some of the villagers were confident enough to relinquish their sanctities and to let their family-protecting spirits go (or else treat them as conveniently and comfortably as they could). Likewise, what was gleaned from Mue Poe Loe from a more scientific rationale revolved around superstitions pertaining to anxieties over health and how some people contracted serious and incurable diseases rather than the implicit threat of witchcraft imparting sickness as a form of spiritual punishment.

Why did the worship of heritable family-protecting spirits become seen as a burden by younger generations? There appeared a few problematic conditions of worship that did not sit well under prevailing circumstances. Particularly, there were restricted lineaged successors, offerings and time required.

> The stringent requirement to offer leaves of snake plants and mole rats was exceedingly challenging, due to the difficulty in sourcing these items. Of greater significance was the stipulation that during worship, all members of the female lineage must be present together. Any form of disturbance, be it speech, coughing, sneezing, or hiccuping, irrespective of intent, necessitated that the entire worship process be recommended on the subsequent day (Mue Poe Jee, Interview, April 2019).

Often, when worship was disrupted due to involuntary coughing and sneezing, those participants with only a single day off from work encountered considerable difficulty. This was especially problematic for those travelling from Bangkok. Consequently, there was significant pressure on the successive daughters, upon whom the responsibility entirely lay. As a result, some prospective successors were reluctant and displeased at the prospect of inheriting these rituals, while others renounced such spiritual practices entirely (Mue Poe Loe, Interview, April 2019).

Mue Eh Sher accepted her inheritance even though she realised that this was a big burden. Under some family pressure, Mue Poe Jee agreed to enter the religious order and had to gain the acceptance of her fostered spirit before being ordained.

I therefore did my mother a favour by assuming this burden (Mue Eh Sher, Interview, April 2019).

However, unless Mue Poe Jee had accepted her fate, her family would have had a way out that allowed everyone to be happy. This author perceived that their earlier plan had been to let their foster spirit go at the end of Mue Poe Jee's life. There would have had to have been an extra ritual during cremation, but it would not have been unduly complex. Through this research, it became apparent that Mue Poe Jee and her daughters had sufficient power to choose whether to either accept or deny their family-protecting spirits. In their ancestors' time, challenging such spirits had been impossible through the fear and implicit threat of incurable illness, spiritual possession and haunting.

Among Mue Poe Loe, Mue Eh Sher and Mue Poe Jee (their mother), there are a few theoretical debates to discuss regarding Foucault's (1982; 1998; Rabinow, 1991; Smart, 1985) or Butler's (1997) notions of power, the self, or subject formation. Firstly, these cases of the family resonated with those who rethought power and resistance were able to serve as resources for the self-construction of beings and repositioning, especially as regards changes in the conventional worldviews of Mue Poe Loe and Mue Eh Sher, into becoming free from such conventions. This would, therefore, give rise to their divergent worldviews from their mother, views which are congruent with one's personal experiences and issues. Particularly, this case of changes in their conventional worldview towards the belief in their family-protecting spirit addresses a crucial part of those powerful influences which address such cultural conditions as development, capitalism, liberalism, individualism and science. In this sense, Mue Poe Loe and Mue Eh Sher internalised their conditionings, turning them into their specific existence as scientifically-minded people, a framework that diverges from their mother's beliefs. They then appeared to be who they became and were. All in all, power, in the manifestation of conditions and influences, is affirmed by these cases and is rethought as a resource for self-construction. Without this power resource, they would have not been able to appear to be who they became and were, or as we saw them.

Secondly, in the case of rethought resistance as a resource, the bravery and confidence (to differing degrees) of Mue Poe Loe and Mue Eh Sher to resist the forces of worship of a heritable family-protecting spirit resulted from their incorporation and internalisation of such power-resistant resourcing. Their self-constructions of being more scientifically-minded people then objectified and externalised their controversial worldview from that of their mother. Following Butler (1997), their resistance to conventional worship of their family-protecting spirit indeed took place earlier than their formative resistance. Through their experiences, they came across influential norms of such conventional worship at the same time as they were exposed to the incorporation of such external forces as development, capitalism, liberalism, individualism, and scientific thought. At an individual mental level, they had already weighed their preferences through making sense (or not making sense) of actual experiences at a ground level, leading them to become what they decided to be and do. Thus, being sufficiently brave and confident to challenge, retreat and relinquish their sanctities stemmed from their use of influential norms and outside forces as power-resistant resources for their self-construction of being, thereby generating divergent worldviews.

These cases also reflected upon the notion that both Foucault and Butler theoretically offer a site from which power is silently imbued, submerged and circulated through individuals, portraying how power is transmuted into indiscernible forms buried within their mental structure. In the case of Mue Poe Loe and Mue Eh Sher, the tenet of those scholars can help to explain how Mue Poe Loe and Mue Eh Sher served precisely as beings may take place through the scientifically-minded being of existence, including certain practices, as well as divergent ways from their mother in expressing their belief in the merit and worship of a heritable family-protecting spirit. On the other hand, Mue Poe Jee may remain a conventionally-minded being, believing in the merits of the worship of the family spirit, whereas the scientifically-oriented influence was incorporated by Mue Poe Loe and Mue Eh Sher, turning them to that worldview. In these cases, we found that Mue Poe Loe strongly resisted such worship, while her mother strongly advocated keeping such traditional forms of worship alive. Interestingly, the compromise position rested with Mue Eh Sher, who no longer believed in the worship yet still practised such rituals to please her mother.

Lastly, there is the issue of gaining symbolic power and capital to address Mue Poe Jee's family case. Following Bourdieu, Wacquant and Farage (1994), increasing symbolic and capital power potentially helps one to gain an exalted status and be paid due respect. The situation of the worship of family-protecting witchcraft in the day was that, at the same time as other people were abandoning their traditions of family witchcraft, these people tended to honour and value those who kept the practice alive. Thus, conservative families seemed to gain symbolic power and capital in the form of exalted status and communal respect.

At the reality of ground level, this author experienced that Mue Poe Jee's family had gained such status and was paid due respect as one of these conservative families. It seemed that her family was honoured and valued as a repository of knowledge of witchcraft. Gaining such status and respect seemingly caused Mue Poe Jee's family to be able to connect with her view (together with that of her daughters) across discussions with scholars, researchers and students outside the village. For example, this author witnessed that there was a group of students coming to interview such families to understand how to properly organise the worship of family-protecting spirits. Further, the ethnographic interview towards such families was also evident in that the author was aware of her exalted status and paid due respect to her family as one of the most knowledgeable families on the subject, giving them the legitimacy and full entitlements to speak confidently about such worship.

It seemed as though today's family witchcraft was only a familial and tribal symbol. Not many of the families that remained elected to keep their families' traditions of witchcraft alive, and they possibly became symbolically viewed as repositories of such rituals. They, then, gained exalted status within the village and were paid due respect as conservative families, being able to make use of their symbolic capital through the respect gained (Bourdieu, Wacquant, & Farage, 1994). All in all, this section addressed the presuppositions spanning controversial worldviews and among people that contextual conditions, power resources, and self-positions continue to play a significant role in influencing multiple parties. These engaged multiple parties were likely to internalise their conditionings, turning them into their own unique beings and thereby having different worldviews.

6.3 Ethnographic Case Studies

6.3.1 *Pha Beh Keh*: A Life with Disability and Ageing

The lower reaches of the village contained a cluster of modern-style houses that line the steel-reinforced concrete road. In this area, there remained a few examples of the traditional Karen style of house and one of them was that of Pha Beh Keh. There are several issues to address here, and this section addresses one of the participants who had a lot to tell. First, there is a general life history to recount. At first sight, the author perceived that Pha Beh Keh felt lonely. After talking, it was acknowledged that he had just recovered from his paraplegia which was caused by a landmine explosion around ten years ago. Thus, this visit to Pha Beh Keh caused him some delight as revealed by his facial expressions during our conversation. Pha Beh Keh, aged 67, lived with his daughter and son.

> My daughter, aged 17, had been diagnosed with a mental illness and was consequently required to leave school prematurely, having completed only up to Prathom Suksa 5. My son, who is 16 years old, was still attending high school. I have several other daughters who, although they are currently employed outside the village, seldom have the opportunity to visit me (Pha Beh Keh, Interview, October 2019).

Pha Beh Keh had a small traditional Karen house that was constructed on one-metre tall stilts which meant that the space under the house had nothing except a cradle as it was too small for any other use. The house comprised three rooms, including two bedrooms and a kitchen. There was a small communal area in which Pha Beh Keh frequently sat watching the television. Next to the television, there was a wardrobe and a bed was situated nearby. It was noticeable that a Buddha shelf extended out of the main communal area.

> On Buddhist holy days, I would adorn the shrine with a bouquet to express my reverence for The Lord Buddha, and to honour the memory of my deceased ancestors and wife. Typically, I would gather blooms from the golden shower trees, which flourish in my vicinity, for this purpose. My wife passed away approximately a decade ago; she struggled with alcohol dependency and succumbed to cirrhosis of the liver and kidney disease. After initially responding well to medical treatment, she unfortunately regressed into alcoholism, her health rapidly declined, and she passed away. Prior to my wife's passing, my mother died from cancer. We endeavoured greatly to provide our mother with the finest hospital care available, and I personally took her to The National Institute for Cancer in Bangkok for treatment (Pha Beh Keh, Interview, October 2019).

It was unclear exactly how much Pha Beh Keh had earned to pay for his mother's treatment and it was unclear from whom his mother's financial support had come. Yet, such treatment and associated transportation must have been relatively expensive. Unfortunately, his mother lost her fight against cancer and she returned to pass away at home. Not long after, Pha Beh Keh lost his elder brother who was still domiciled in Pilokkhi Village.

Second, there are his adventures and prevailing health conditions to address. From all accounts, Pha Beh Keh's life had been adventurous. He was the youngest child of his family. His elder brother became the head of The Pilokkhi Village which was, by now, underwater. Pha Beh Keh spent his teenage life in the same way as the other Pwo-Karen, working on rotated swidden farms, collecting subsistence forest items and travelling in the forestland. When he turned 19, he had left the village seeking informal employment within the logging industry. He did everything relating to harvesting timber, from the clearance of forestland to carpentry. He travelled with his work to many provinces, although the final province of Maesot District in Taak Province left its mark in the form of his traumatic suffering. He lost his ability to walk from the explosion and his left leg was left paralysed.

While employed as a woodsman at 57 years of age, I was charged with the task of traversing the border between Thailand and Myanmar. At that juncture, a fraught situation prevailed due to tensions amongst the Karen, Myanmar, and Thai armies along the border, resulting in landmines being laid both along the frontier and within Myanmar. My duty was to transport gallons of water to the Karen army. The lorry driver, opting for a shortcut, failed to recognise the area was heavily mined. On the return journey to the Karen army encampment, the lorry triggered a landmine. Regrettably, I was the sole casualty who sustained severe injuries and subsequently regained consciousness in the intensive care unit at Maesot Hospital. The incident resulted in the loss of my leg, necessitating a hip and knee prosthesis, along with extended physical therapy. In my late fifties, I was compelled to forsake my vocation as a woodsman and return home, devoid of any form of income (Pha Beh Keh, Interview, October 2019).

This was the reason why, during most of the visits for interview, he was usually to be found sitting still on the floor watching the TV. Even though he has since been able to walk, he prefers sitting on the floor to moving around.

I once endeavoured, albeit unsuccessfully, to ride a motorbike to the market; however, my leg condition impeded this attempt, compelling me to forsake my motorcycle mid-journey and opt for the yellow bus as an alternative. During cold nights, the discomfort intensifies markedly, as the metal within my prosthesis is particularly susceptible to low temperatures (Pha Beh Keh, Interview, October 2019).

Third, his participation in the anti-dam building movement makes for an interesting presentation. During the mid-1980s, when the forced relocation had caused hardship, Pha Beh Keh was one of those who had actively resisted and participated in the anti-dam building movement. He related first-hand experiences of being a resister moving against EGAT.

I accompanied my friends, who had experienced similar adversities, to manifest our dissent. We journeyed to the national parliament, a venue symbolic for voicing our disputes, particularly against the incumbent government that had sanctioned the hydropower dam project, leading to the displacement of people. Above all, my intention was to solicit sympathy and provoke empathetic reactions from The Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand (EGAT) and the ruling government (Pha Beh Keh, Interview, November 2019).

There were major reasons for his decision to resist construction of the hydropower dam. The first reason was his consideration of the potential loss of the Pwo-Karen's subsistence lifestyle and the second was his contention that the reimbursement for land and opportunities lost due to the forced resettlement was unfair.

I had learnt from the unfortunate experiences of those who were displaced and involuntarily relocated due to the construction of The Srinakarind Hydropower Dam. Furthermore, the intensification of the anti-dam mobilisation emboldened me, and I harboured no fear in vocally opposing EGAT. Nevertheless, I ultimately found myself unable to withstand EGAT's authority and resignedly settled on the land that was newly allocated to me. In contrast, my elder brother sought to avoid the floodwaters by moving to higher terrain, where the prospect of claiming new forestland presented him with enhanced agricultural prospects. He was able to clear land and extend his usufructuary land rights more readily than I could in the resettlement area. While I was bound by the regulations of the resettlement, my elder brother was able to maintain his conventional way of life, practising rotational swidden agriculture (Pha Beh Keh, Interview, November 2019).

Pha Beh Keh thus was one of the few people who had retained a strong kinship and connection between the remaining villages at the edge of the reservoir and the resettlement village.

Fourth, Pha Beh Keh became landless and indebted which caused him to suffer from economic hardship and precarity. So Pha Beh Keh had not only lost his loved ones and his leg, but also his farmland.

I was compelled to sell my farmland to fund my paraplegia treatment and physical therapy, as The National Universal Healthcare Programme was inadequate to cover all the costs associated with my care (Pha Beh Keh, Interview, October 2019).

At the time of interview, he retained only one rai (0.40 acres) for living. More seriously, his farmland was sold for only a small sum of money which made him poorly as he ran out of money after each treatment. In actuality, it could be observed that Pha Beh Keh seemed to have a residential area of less than one rai and it was assumed that he may have apportioned some of this land for sale.

Pha Beh Keh's life within the resettled village had become more engaged with the cash economy and issues with debt had added to his difficulties. As a matter of fact, this kind of difficulty was precipitated by his inability to stay well enough to effectively maintain control over resources and production. This inability to accumulate and manipulate capital, finance, and land ownership had caused many villagers, including Pha Beh Keh, to experience deteriorating personal situations.

Some families had resorted to selling not only their land but also the roofs and stilts of their houses for minimal sums of money. In my situation, the disposal of my land occurred through a land pledging arrangement. The title deed of my farm plot served as security for a loan. The moneylender prepared a contract mandating punctual repayments along with interest. Under these terms, the moneylender deliberately made it impossible for me to reclaim my farmland. Consequently, the land I had pledged was sold through expropriation to settle the debt and the accrued interest (Pha Beh Keh, Interview, October 2019).[42]

In talking to Pha Beh Keh about debt issues, it seems as though one of the root causes of the problems came from the fact that each family had insufficient land plots allocated to accommodate all family members. While there had been an increase in family members, the capacities of the land plots had remained the same. While some family members had remained to work in the agricultural sector, generating an unstable income, the prices of commodities always increased. Villagers' incomes soon became insufficient to pay for their outgoings. One of the strategies that was commonly adopted to mitigate such cash flow crises was the informal pledging of land to moneylenders in the area.

On the other hand, if those villagers in need could have had access to formal lending programmes through banks, and The Bank for Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives (BAAC) in particular, they would have received reasonable loans instead.

This option was utterly unfeasible for many landless villagers, myself included, as we lacked access to credible sureties. Numerous villagers with credentials were apprehensive that as debtors, we would fail to repay our debts, potentially leading to the forfeiture of their sureties. It emerged that co-surety for loans from The Bank for Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives (BAAC) was an arrangement made among the more affluent villagers who had established trust and credibility over an extended period. Such mutual guarantees were exclusively extended to those within the community who possessed such strong mutual connections (Pha Beh Keh, Interview, October 2019).

Fifth, there is his reflection upon experiences of forced displacement to learn from. He crystalised his life rhythm and cruel fate into two different forms of pain. On one hand, when Pha Beh Keh had lived in the former area, traditional subsistence may have caused him inconvenience and discomfort as there was no good infrastructure in terms of hospitals, roads, schools, electricity or piped water.

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[42] The author previously engaged in conversation with one of the village moneylenders, owing to a personal association with the moneylender's family (the moneylender's elder sister served as one of the ethnographic gatekeepers). The moneylender would elucidate to the author the strategies for acquiring land and houses from Karen individuals who had pledged their properties (see section 4.6.2).

I found it wearisome to leave home for farming, foraging for forest subsistence, or honing my woodworking abilities. Toiling in the open fields, cultivating cassava and rice, left me fatigued as I endured the intense heat of the sun. Malnutrition and malaria were prevalent amongst my peers, and the absence of formal education precluded access to stable employment, leading to erratic income. These hardships appeared predominantly physical, yet they allowed for greater liberty. I was relatively content living under such conditions, as my preference was for a life of freedom, devoid of subjugation to others, and a world without the pressures of haste or competition (Pha Beh Keh, Interview, November 2019).

On the other hand, at the resettlement site, Pha Beh Keh encountered fierce economic difficulties even though the village's economy and infrastructure seemed far more convenient.

I found myself increasingly interacting with capitalists and authority figures, such as moneylenders and government officials. I was subject to scrutiny by others. For instance, I was compelled to participate in The Non-Formal and Informal Education (NFE) programmes offered by the district office of The NFE. This initiative aimed to ensure I obtained a primary educational qualification, although I harboured doubts regarding the extent to which such a degree could enhance my prospects for a better life (Pha Beh Keh, Interview, November 2019).

To conclude, it was evident that, throughout Pha Beh Keh's life, he had encountered losses and life adversities. However, Pha Beh Keh seemed extrinsically relaxed and accepted his fate. Many times when talking about life adversities, he attempted to make light of them. He smiled every time as though he would have never have felt hurt by fate. Behind his tales and in his eyes there was an expression of loneliness. Even though as an interviewer one feels compelled to smile along with his narrative it was difficult to find such stories easy to relate to. Empathy was felt for his suffering and his loss of meaningful, beloved people and opportunities. Although he did his best to hide the pain and make light of his experiences, talking to him was often an emotional experience. All in all, the life story of Pha Beh Keh resonates with his pain and difficulties and yet, at the same time, how he relates to and copes with such adversities is reflected upon at length. In this sense, when considering his hardships, we are required to scrutinise his conditionings, restrictions and constraints diligently.

6.3.2 *Nong Poe Sher*: A Local Wisdom Keeper

Nong Poe Sher, the daughter of Mue Yah Tee, was referred by the head of the village as she was considered socially valuable as one of the indigenous knowledge keepers. Nong Poe Sher was a smiling and humble person in her early forties. She was born the granddaughter of one of the village's folk doctors. However, Nong Poe Sher's mother was denied the indigenous

knowledge of healthcare.[43] Nong Poe Sher's family thereafter retained no practical knowledge of traditional healthcare. In this section, we present five aspects of Nong Poe Sher.

> Nevertheless, certain events remain etched in my memory with clarity. For instance, I recall that my grandmother once assisted in a childbirth. Consequently, having lived with her, I became well-versed in local wisdom and indigenous knowledge. It is, therefore, no surprise that I possess proficiency in hand embroidery and fluency in both the Pwo-Karen and Thai languages (Nong Poe Sher, Interview, March 2019).

First, Nong Poe Sher seemed to be one of those villagers who knew a lot about Raipa Village. For example, she knowledgeably informed the interviewer that Raipa (formerly Laipa) literally meant a village area with a rocky waterfront as its landmark in the Pwo-Karen language (Figure 4-5).

> We utilised the waterfront for various activities, including laundering and transport. During the forced relocation, the authorities responsible for organising sub-resettlement site 5 incorrectly transcribed the village's name. The Pwo-Karen pronunciation of "Laipa" was officially recorded in Thai as "Raipa[44]." Consequently, "lai," denoting rocky geography in Pwo-Karen, was altered to "rai," which in Thai refers to a farm. This transcription error resulted in substantial changes not only in pronunciation but also in meaning (Nong Poe Sher, Interview, March 2019).

The former pa /pʌ/ became phonetically respelled by the longer vowel and was re-pronounced /pɑ/ with a falling tone (pronounced like paa). In terms of literal meaning, the Pwo-Karen pa /pʌ/ meant an open space waterfront, whereas the official Thai pa /pɑ/ (pronounced like paa) means an aunt. The re-spelled and re-pronounced version, therefore, denoted a farm of an aunt with no geo-linguistic connotation and no contextually-historical features, thereby resulting in nonsensical village names. However, this nonsensical differentiation of village names was not restricted to Raipa Village. The evidence from Table 4-3 indicates that many villages in the areas demarcated had lost their authentic names. Some of the villages, such as Laikhongteh Village, have forever disappeared after being merged into other larger villages.

Second, part of the discussion with Nong Poe Sher concerned her relocation experiences. During this period she was seven years of age. She recalls the way in which her family members moved from their old house with their possessions being hard and chaotic.

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[43] The author does not perceive the discontinuation of indigenous healthcare knowledge as intentional. As relayed by Nong Poe Sher, this knowledge was not perpetuated by her mother; thus, Nong Poe Sher did not have the opportunity to assimilate it consistently. When her grandmother practised as a folk doctor, Nong Poe Sher was too youthful to acquire such learning.
[44] See Table 4-3 and Figure 4-5

Our family was compelled to employ carts and elephants to transport our belongings to the resettlement site. Upon encountering floods, we resorted to bamboo rafts to navigate to the far side of the reservoir. It took me an entire day on foot to reach the new resettlement location. Initially, my parents did not join my elder brother and me at this site, as they were reluctant to abandon their ancestral home. Gradually, they ventured back to the flood-affected zone, seeking higher ground. They settled in what became known as Mairaipa Village, or "New Raipa," a community of around 30 families devoid of infrastructure, electricity, roads, or bridges connecting to the mainland. Consequently, I lived separately from my parents, under the care of relatives and neighbours within the resettlement site. I remember that our parents were keen for my elder brother and me to remain there because of the superior facilities, such as a school, electricity, and roads. Above all, they were convinced that the resettlement site, with its formal educational institutions, would afford their children a better education (Nong Poe Sher, Interview, March 2019).

Third, there was her conservationist role to address. Nong Poe Sher volunteered to conserve her village's local wisdom and indigenous knowledge surrounding herbs, proverbs, plays and Pwo-Karen teachings. Distributed around her house were examples of such knowledge in the form of awnings. For example, Nong Poe Sher once narrated her Pwo-Karen idea of harmonically living with nature. This happened after we discussed the issue of wild elephants destroying villagers' farm plots and produce.

I maintained that many of The Pwo-Karen were well-acquainted with and held reverence for wild elephants. This was evidenced by our historical use of elephants to transport personal effects, reflecting a deep-rooted understanding of these animals. Moreover, our currently trained elephants were once wild, underscoring that dealing with today's aggressive wild elephants was not an unprecedented challenge. Numerous elderly villagers from the previous village had observed the application of ancestral wisdom in capturing and taming wild elephants. The behavioural patterns of wild elephants were well understood by The Pwo-Karen (Nong Poe Sher, Interview, March 2019).

Nong Poe Sher added the example of when some 70 wild elephants invaded to eat the villagers' agricultural produce. According to her narrative, many government officers working in forest and wildlife conservation were afraid of such wildlife, especially wild elephants. As the officers seemed to be unable to connect with and communicate with such wildlife, their solutions were relatively violent and threatened such wild elephants. Their acts of aggression towards such wild elephants brought concern to both Nong Poe Sher and some villagers. Therefore, some of the more elephant-knowledgeable villagers began disseminating the need to try to treat such wild elephants with friendship first. Some of the villagers began to be more polite, softer, and more respectful towards the wild elephants so as to gain a better reconnection and re-communication. Since then, how such wild elephants watched, treated, and responded to villagers returned to the way they were originally respectfully treated. Once the wild elephants had finished their wanderings, they tended to return to the forest with fewer tense encounters with the villagers.

Our resettlement site was once the habitat of these wild elephants. We would watch them frequenting salt licks and natural marshes that we provided, where they could feed and hydrate. Additionally, the location of our resettlement site intersected with their migratory path between northern and southern forests. However, from the elephants' point of view, it appears that our resettlement site posed a disruption to their traditional routes, ultimately leading to their discomfort (Nong Poe Sher, Interview, March 2019).

This conforms with the more elderly villagers' experiences. The resettlement site once belonged to a big herd of wild elephants. Some 40 years ago, this area was overgrown with forest and it formed part of their migration calendar. They usually made a large migration once every ten years. Such elephant-knowledgeable villagers had posited that the wild elephants waited to allow their nutrients in salt licks and swamps to be replenished before they returned to eat and drink. The concept of this narrative was akin to the notion of Pwo-Karen's affinity for rotational farming. These nuances of reciprocally living with nature among The Pwo-Karen, the wild elephants, and forestland all shared a common core of natural indigenous living with nature.

The way in which Nong Poe Sher explained her core indigenous knowledge sounded highly knowledgeable. Not only was the issue over the relationship between villagers and wild elephants insightfully espoused, but Nong Poe Sher addressed the fundamental symbiosis between The Pwo-Karen and other living species.

I proposed that The Pwo-Karen conducted themselves respectfully towards all living entities, cognisant of the paramount importance of reciprocal respect. We acknowledged that without a harmonious relationship with nature, our lives could not flourish. The guiding principle held that if nature thrived, life would likewise benefit, given that life is an integral part of nature. It is therefore unsurprising that the Pwo-Karen, particularly the elders, devoted significant efforts to The preservation of nature (Nong Poe Sher, Interview, March 2019).

However, Nong Poe Sher seemed to be a conservationist as opposed to younger generations and those who did not advocate such conservationism.

Nong Poe Sher possibly considered herself an indigenous knowledge keeper and conserver. There were a number of bodies of indigenous knowledge she aimed to consolidate.

> I intended to integrate the Pwo-Karen's indigenous knowledge of weather forecasting, which involves interpreting the migratory patterns of insects. This traditional wisdom observes the movements of ants and spiders, as well as alterations in the construction of their nests and webs. To enhance my understanding, I plan to consult Mue Tong Yee's mother, a key informant well-versed in this knowledge. She was the recipient of this wisdom and is quite adept at discerning the behavioural variations of different insects with the shifting times and seasons. According to Pwo-Karen elders, these behavioural shifts enable the prediction of rain, storms, and droughts. The Pwo-Karen community regards themselves as an integral part of nature, upon which their livelihood depends (Nong Poe Sher, Interview, March 2019).

For this reason, this author does not want to establish a complete schism between the symbolically subjectivist dichotomous narratives of characterised substance as being non-scientific and a natural proximity to nature versus objectified-taught scientific substance as representing the reality on the ground. Indeed, such substances may remain scientific although remaining in quite different versions to formal organisations and social institutions. Thus, it came to the researcher's attention that we needed to be careful about how we simplistically diminish indigenous skills by portraying indigenous people as being over-romanticised, rather than seeking to laud their skills. This was because those indigenous people with knowledge of rotational farming (agroforestry), elephant migration and training, and weather forecasting seemed to be experts in scientific observation and inference in their own indigenous ways.

Fourth, there were however tensions between her and some other villagers, particularly a degree of antipathy between Nong Poe Sher and Mue Tong Yee, as both of them seemed contestable, especially in the way they tried to speak knowledgeably. In this sense, all the languages they used to explain the Pwo-Karen knowledge, even Pwo-Karen ideas of making social progress, were taken into account before being converted into expertise. Thus, many elaborations and decorations could be felt throughout such conversions of simple languages into more sophisticated ones.

Mue Tong Yee, who was an official schoolteacher, also vernacularised these kinds of languages. In the case of Mue Tong Yee, her discussion about ideas of making social progress sounded more of a legacy of her modernist educational attainment. Mue Tong Yee may discuss her indigenous knowledge more scientifically, whereas the researcher found that her discussion about such knowledge was less contextually-bound with the knowledge than Nong Poe Sher might have believed. In this sense, the way in which Mue Tong Yee explained her indigenous knowledge was more on the basis of natural rules and interpretations, whereas Nong Poe Sher's explanation sounded contextually richer and not as focused on the fundamentals of the natural rules, even if Nong Poe Sher tried to explicate in the same manner as Mue Tong Yee. Frequently, Nong Poe Sher considered both supernatural and natural beings while discussing her indigenous knowledge. In the researcher's view, this caused Nong Poe

Sher's discussion about her indigenous knowledge to sound contextually authentic and unique, even though she tried to speak in a sophisticated way.

Once, Nong Poe Sher had the opportunity to visit with Mue Tong Yee's mother and Mue Tong Yee had taken part in the conversation. At the time, Nong Poe Sher and Mue Tong Yee had a disagreement regarding one of the Pwo-Karen folk plays, called "thong[45]." Moreover, Nong Poe Sher found that Mue Tong Yee's mother was not independent enough to freely pass down her indigenous knowledge and experiences as she seemed to be directed by Mue Tong Yee at all times.

For instance, there was a disagreement over occasions when it could be publicly played. According to the abbot's knowledge (see the section 4.6.2), Nong Poe Sher insisted thong could be publicly played only on unfortunate occasions, primarily for a funeral. However, to Mue Tong Yee's mind, thong could be played in public on every occasion. Mue Tong Yee valued and interpreted thong as one of the common folk plays and arts which The Pwo-Karen could proudly display to the outside world. Moreover, in her view, the thong tradition could be preserved through a learning programme in school. This caused Mue Tong Yee to form her group of pupils to play thong and made an opening to hire outsiders as an off-site job. The stance of both parties was understandable.

> From my viewpoint, the "thong" was traditionally associated with inauspicious occurrences, making it challenging for me to reconcile its performance during routine events. Specifically, the introduction of thong into auspicious occasions provoked concern that it might attract misfortune (Nong Poe Sher, Interview, August 2019).

From Mue Tong Yee's side, thong was considered similar to other Southeast Asian folk music, sharing similar performing styles and materials. Regardless of whether it invited auspicious or misfortune events, she believed that thong could be considered as a performing art.

Nevertheless, Nong Poe Sher contended that Mue Tong Yee frequently re-evaluated and reinterpreted Pwo-Karen folk plays and indigenous knowledge in excessively generalised ways.

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[45] It is a folk performance that commences with the use of a couple of elongated bamboo sticks, manipulated by several pairs of individuals holding the opposite ends. These participants create auditory effects by pressing the sticks down onto wooden blocks. Additional sounds are produced when the sticks are brought together to generate a clapping noise. Performers of the Thong dance must exercise caution, placing their feet between each pair of separated bamboo sticks and then lifting them promptly as the sticks are clapped together.

I was of the conviction that my Pwo-Karen cultural narratives could not be readily re-fashioned by external influences, a concept I found entirely unacceptable. I did not hold the belief that such external forces, despite also being part of the broader Pwo-Karen culture, should be freely amalgamated with my own traditions. I maintained that the variations in location, local beliefs, and practices possess their own contextually deep and significant meanings. Consequently, my personal Pwo-Karen cultural experiences, rooted in my specific context, have not been readily blended with external elements (Nong Poe Sher, Interview, August 2019).

Fifth, the ethnographer found that trying to speak knowledgeably and learnedly afforded Nong Poe Sher an opportunity. During the course of this fieldwork, Nong Poe Sher was one of the key participants in the effort to cultivate organic vegetables under royal patronage (see the section 6.2.1). Nong Poe Sher attended a firm providing agricultural training on many occasions.

The Royal Project once sponsored my participation in an observational study in Japan. The purpose of this training programme was to augment my expertise in managing my own organic farm (Nong Poe Sher, Interview, August 2019).

It was unsurprising that she had such wide visions and sounded knowledgeable. Nong Poe Sher's vernacularisation of buzzwords and her homemade awnings revealed her considerable efforts to express her culture in accepted languages. According to Hirsch (1990a, p. 215), Nong Poe Sher's strategy resonated with one of the classic strategies that was adopted during the 1980s.

…but they serve as the channels through which resources enter the village, and these resources are greater for villages which are seen as ready, together [for development] than others.…In Yot's words, "If they see that we are ready, together [to conform], they [district officials] will come and help in other matters." This is confirmed in official discourse by the Department of Agricultural Extension officer's repeated analogy of district office and villages as mother and children: the child who cries the loudest (that is, the village which shows it is ready, together) gets fed (helped) first. Readiness becomes conformity, togetherness unanimity of response to superior authority (Hirsch, 1990a, p. 215).

This case of Nong Poe Sher affirms the role of an individual who provides a service as a local wisdom keeper. Also, she was a conspicuous example of those who wielded power against power, whether wittingly or otherwise. In this way, she well realised how to negotiate with the state within its own accepted mainstream development languages. She helped to affirm that knowledge diffused through the state's mainstream development discourse was all-powerful. Further, this phenomenon affirms that our world is shaped by the accepted utterances within which we live.

With this end in mind, one of the most important things to learn from Nong Poe Sher was that, without having learned to vernacularise and express such accepted languages, she would never have been successful in negotiating and standing firm in her position. Nong Poe Sher's case presented that some of the villagers may learn to vernacularise and express some of the

hegemonic languages of mainstream development, both to profit from it and to resist it. Otherwise, it would have been impossible for them to successfully negotiate with outside forces if they did not know how to converse acceptably in the manner of their preferred terminology.

6.3.3 *Tee Shyer*: A Christian Myanmar-S'gaw Civil War Evacuee

It was by chance that Toe Ki, a teen Myanmar-S'gaw civil war evacuee living in the village, recalled one of the fieldwork assistants. In the local grocery store where Toe Ki first greeted the assistant, the assistant noted who had greeted him. Toe Ki asked the assistant if he remembered and the assistant had seemed unsure. The following day, after breakfast, the researcher and assistants emerged from the temple and made our way to Toe Ki's house. There we met him and his mother who were living in a traditional house that looked much the same as other houses in this church community area. It appeared old and makeshift. Accordingly, the group used the house's porch as a convenient place for a conversation even though it did not appear too strong as, while we were moving our chairs to be more comfortably seated, we could hear the bamboo wood floor straining.

Tee Shyer, who is the mother of Toe Ki, was originally S'gaw. She had moved with her husband to stay in the current village as an undocumented migrant.

> I hail from a small district in the Karen state of Myanmar. Before relocating to the village, I married my first husband with whom I had a daughter. Following our separation, I remarried a man who was a member of the Karen army, often traversing the border. We had three children together: Toe Ki, Lee Wah, and Kamlai. I lived with my children in our home while my husband was away on duty in the Karen state. Tragedy struck when Toe Ki was ten years old, as he lost his father. This event precipitated financial struggles for our family, compelling me to find employment to cover the living and educational costs of my three children, particularly their schooling in Raipa. Being undocumented, I owned no land, which precluded me from legal employment and earning a fair wage. I undertook work clearing forests and as a gardener. Nonetheless, our family's plight worsened when I was gardening, as I encountered an attack by an aggressive wild elephant[46] (Tee Shyer, Interview, August 2019).

Tee Shyer had lost further life opportunities after being attacked by a wild elephant. Her misfortune had begun one early morning when she had left home on a motorcycle travelling with her friends to work as a hired hand at a farm that was only 30 minutes away.

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[46] This event had transpired only a few years before this fieldwork.

> While riding my motorcycle, there were no warning signs before I was suddenly attacked by one of the larger elephants. It trampled on my stomach with its front legs and flung my body to and fro. The incident occurred with such rapidity that my friends were unable to come to my aid. I lost consciousness and later regained it to find myself in an intensive care unit at the local hospital (Tee Shyer, Interview, August 2019).

At this point in her narrative, she expressed how unfortunate she felt and did not want to imagine how, if she had died that day, her three children would have survived.

Doctors diagnosed Tee Shyer with hepatorrhexis – a ruptured liver – and a broken left leg. In the long run, this prohibited her from engaging in hard manual labour and so she had been unable to work, keeping herself as healthy as possible so that she could take care of her children until adulthood. However, the ethnographer considered that the cost of treatment must have been potentially high and therefore difficult to manage, especially on account of her undocumented status. Some of the cost was covered by her neighbours in the church community and, at the time, she helped the church with its financial records as a bookkeeper.

The way in which Tee Shyer coped with her life adversities was remarkable. Firstly, she was fortunate to receive aid from the Karen army in which her husband had served.

> Aid arrived as essential items, including whole grain rice, canned fish, Karen chilli, and curry paste. These provisions were delivered once every three months. Typically, the order for these supplies was made by a Karen colonel in the Karen state, who would place a telephone call to one of the influential grocery store proprietors in the village (Tee Shyer, Interview, August 2019).

Secondly, Tee Shyer had used her Christian connections to leave Toe Ki in one of the children's shelters in the neighbouring district. Toe Ki, thus, received his education through the support of such a shelter. Tee Shyer's second boy, Lee Wah, was sent away to Ayutthaya province. The story of this second son was quite interesting and revealed Tee Shyer's capacity to strategise over life choices to ensure every child received a better life and education. Lee Wah was sent away to one of the Buddhist temples and had been ordained as a Buddhist novice despite the fact that he was baptised a Christian. Tee Shyer revealed her embarrassment in her eyes and was uncomfortable relating that she well knew that this was ethically inappropriate.

> As a single mother, I faced limited options. My sole desire was for my children to obtain a sound education and a more promising future. Had I not orchestrated matters in this manner, they would have been deprived of educational opportunities, and our household expenses would have remained unmitigated. The prospect of Lee Wah converting to Buddhism cast a shadow of uncertainty over the future, yet I found myself content to allow him the autonomy to make his own life choices (Tee Shyer, Interview, August 2019).

Fortunately, Kamlai, who was her youngest daughter, was still in primary education at Raipa School. Therefore, Kamlai stayed home and accompanied Tee Shyer. From all accounts, it was hard not to feel sorrow for Tee Shyer's adversities. Even though one might not have agreed with her decisions and solutions, it seemed fair to accept that everyone needed to find their own best life choices. Rather than feeling negative, the ethnographer made an effort to adopt a neutral stance.

With this end in mind, Tee Shyer's case resonated with the situation of minorities who lacked any formal legitimacy or channels to negotiate with other units in the village or external societies and authorities. The only institution that supported these weak people from minority groups like Tee Shyer was the Christian church. The life choices made by Tee Shyer were underpinned by such Christian organisations and, unofficially (and sometimes illegally), by other movements. However, the life history of Tee Shyer reflected upon minorities' generally restricted conditions. For these people, religious forces and organisations seemed to be of great significance, optimising such minorities to accept and feel lucky about their fate.

6.4   Understanding The Cases through Theoretical Debates

6.4.1   Dynamics of Power and Resistance

Power, as it operates on the ground, plays an essential role in shaping an individual as an active entity. We understand power not only as constructing the individual but also as providing the conditions for his or her existence (Butler, 1997; Foucault, 1982; 1998; Rabinow, 1991; Smart, 1985). Furthermore, adopting a discursive approach from Foucault and Butler to examine mental structures, it appears that the concept where there is power, there is resistance (Foucault, 1998) can address certain scenarios more subtly than perceiving resistance merely as a series of overt actions like demonstrations, protests, and movements against the illegitimate coercion of power, which are commonly observed. Within this framework, power and resistance are viewed as two facets of the same entity, as resistance enables the manifestations of power to be discernible. Such a perspective prompts a re-evaluation of resistance at the individual level, particularly regarding the internalisation and dialectic processes of a person, where power is allowed to circulate in a continuous flow of inputs and outputs.

Taken together, such a reconceptualisation of power by Foucault and Butler can address the case of the being of Pha Beh Keh, particularly his role as an activist in the dam resistance. His inauguration of such existence as a resister needed a power resource, one which was the forced relocation and coercion of power by EGAT and the mainstream development agencies, enabling him to begin the process of self-recognition as a state contender within society. His resistance to forced displacement indeed started immediately within the level of mental structure after his first interaction with such an invasive coercion. He then internalised his experiences,

externalising his reactions against the force. In this sense, he weighed the right and wrong in his personal internal conscience, turning him into a resister and state contender as witnessed.

Akin to the case of Pha Beh Keh in terms of resistance at a mental level, we can learn from the case of Tee Shyer the inherent processes of individual internalisation as well.

> The fact that Tee Shyer's second son, Lee Wah, was ordained as a Buddhist novice despite being baptised as a Christian, left Tee Shyer feeling vulnerable and mortified, as she recognised her decision as ethically questionable. This raised compelling contemplations about why Tee Shyer contested her established religious ethics. The embarrassment she must have felt was significant, especially since the Christian community had begun fundraising for her after the elephant attack, which necessitated financial aid for her medical treatment. These actions positioned her as a miscreant in urgent need of resources, pushing her towards the reality of being a single mother with limited life options. Specifically, her predicament compelled her to allow her nearly adult children to leave home prematurely, in the hope they would gain better educational and life opportunities elsewhere. Such forces, when perceived as coercive, demanded of her momentous choices. I personally believe that she harboured an innate resistance to such conditional forces and challenging conditions, reflected in her responses to desperate circumstances. Later, she internalised these experiences, rationalising her methods to surmount these challenges. Thus, she engaged in a dialectic of resistance, internally debating her moral compass to discern right from wrong. Her predicaments were laden with moral complexity, as the pursuit of improved prospects for her children necessitated a departure from steadfast Christian fidelity. In essence, her decision, while advantageous for her children, presented a conundrum for her Christian identity. Conversely, adherence to her Christian principles would have meant forgoing the enhanced opportunities for her children's education and future (Field Note, August 2019).

To the case of Nong Poe Sher, this author sees her inauguration as a critical local wisdom keeper or critical conservationist as a truly-needed power resource, which was the more powerful and more strongly accepted position in terms of the forces of formal education occupied by those who were formally educated, assisting Nong Poe Sher to set out the process of self and social recognitions within her society. Nong Poe Sher seemed to internalise her experiences, objectifying her resistance against such a stronger and more socially accepted position/forces, in reified forms of resistance against Mue Tong Yee. In this sense, Nong Poe Sher dialected resisting receptively to her intrinsic conscience, becoming such a being.

> I observed Nong Poe Sher making concerted efforts to engage Mue Tong Yee in a deliberative exchange through superior crossover arguments. If Mue Tong Yee presented her indigenous knowledge from a scientific perspective, Nong Poe Sher was, nevertheless, capable of countering with a more profound and meaningful historical context of such knowledge, employing a distinctly indigenous mode of expression. Moreover, I noted that Nong Poe Sher could elucidate this indigenous knowledge with the same scientific rationale as Mue Tong Yee. These are the reasons why I regard Nong Poe Sher's explanation of such indigenous knowledge to be contextually richer, more authentic, more unique, and more multifaceted. Consequently, I consider these attributes to be highly significant in evaluating her contributions (Field Note, August 2019)*.

6.4.2   Essence of Symbolic Power

The case of Nong Poe Sher presents an intriguing point of discussion. Initially, she is regarded as someone who has successfully amalgamated internalised and indigenous methods of storytelling with scientific modes of articulation. She adeptly oscillates between her conservationist duties and statist or conformist roles, embodying a hybrid identity. Her case underscores the complexity in attempting to dissect and understand narratives by cleaving them into dichotomous categories of scientific and non-scientific traditions of expressing indigenous knowledge. Consequently, I am persuaded that Nong Poe Sher has assumed a pivotal role as both a custodian of local wisdom and a discerning conservationist, adeptly navigating her responsibilities and engaging with power in a critically informed manner.

Following the earlier concept of rethinking of power resourcing, as well as the notion of symbolic power and capital of Bourdieu, Wacquant and Farage (1994), it seems that diffused power on the ground retains an important role in building Nong Poe Sher as a critical local wisdom keeper and a critical conservationist. In the power struggle, Nong Poe Sher must accumulate as much as possible to establish her exalted status in order to be able to negotiate with outside forces to benefit her position, in particular through having sufficient symbolic power and capital. The less formal educational achievement she faced, having dropped out of school at a young age, the more lifelong learning she had to acquire to succeed at every opportunity. Given these circumstances, we see that Nong Poe Sher progressed at every opportunity to chase up bodies of knowledge, great or small, indigenous or scientific, as she seemed to realise these as conditions (of symbolic power and capital) that could lift her to a properly exalted position, providing her with a return in terms of reputation, credit and budget. She seemed to have been successful in forming herself in this way. For this reason, we see Nong Poe Sher could alternate her role between conservationist and statist conformist through her choice of narrative.

Especially in terms of the power struggle evident between Nong Poe Sher and Mue Tong Yee, we may find out there were tensions and resistance between these two actors. In this sense, the position of Mue Tong Yee, in her role as an official schoolteacher, wherein such a role

attracts stronger symbolic capital according to the notions of symbolic power of Bourdieu (Bourdieu, Wacquant, & Farage, 1994) than that of Nong Poe Sher, who dropped out of school at a formative age. The more powerful and more strongly accepted position occupied by Mue Tong Yee provided her with resources and conditions in relation to Nong Poe Sher in order for her to internalise and incorporate such pressing forces within her mental structure. Such a stronger position in terms of forces aligned with Mue Tong Yee against Nong Poe Sher helped her to begin the processes of both self and social recognition through her intrinsic resistance, turning her into a critical opponent, given any opportunity, of Mue Tong Yee's position.

6.4.3 Dimensions of Subject Formation

In light of Judith Butler's theories concerning subject formation and the capacity for negotiation within structures of power, the three cases align well with such theorisation. In the instance of Pha Beh Keh, his resistance against the prevailing forces of mainstream development agencies, their discourse, and the state proved largely ineffectual. Despite his endeavours, they were ultimately subsumed by the dominant development discourse, which continued to grow in influence and ubiquity. The conflict between Pha Beh Keh, the development agencies, their discourse, and the state, resulted in him and his faction becoming marginalised, effectively yielding to the prevailing authority. Rather than transforming into a figure of power or influence, Pha Beh Keh was subdued by the ascendant discourse and its practices, his legitimacy to oppose progressively undermined. In a profound sense, he forfeited his ability to negotiate against the voice and practices of the mainstream development narrative.

To Nong Poe Sher's case, her reaction against such strongly accepted positions and forces was rather successful. Her strategy of alternating between two modes of expression, namely indigenous and scientific routes of explanation, were incorporated and then turned into her dispositions. These aided Nong Poe Sher's search for symbolic power and capital in the form of reputation and credit which she exercised increasingly. Through her power struggle with acolytes of scientific logic she had been able to avoid being subordinated to the position of underdog or lesser authority with an associated diminution of power. Nong Poe Sher was likely the one who was once pressured by power but had been able to flip over to pressure her counterpart. Finally, she turned herself into a hybrid, being able to switch back and forth in every scenario of expression of indigenous knowledge, and this switching depended upon her judgment as to the nature of her interlocutors. By virtue of this fact, Nong Poe Sher retains sufficient legitimacy and entitlement to share an exalted position, especially with those specialised in the area of the interpretation of indigenous knowledge and dissemination. In a strong sense, Nong Poe Sher has gained a high level of negotiability with her counterparts.

The case of Nong Poe Sher aligns closely with the research conducted by Larry Lohmann (1995, p. 226) and Rigg, Allott, Harrison, and Kratz (1999, pp. 597-598). Similar to how seemingly identical words can have different meanings in various languages, they can also convey different connotations to distinct societal groups. It is not simply a matter of ordinary villagers and workers being unacquainted with technical jargon; the implications are broader. Words assume unique nuances for an urban elite member in contrast to, for example, a farmer. Moreover, the application of words and language diverges.

> Her hybrid identity has endowed her with the capabilities, skills, and strategies necessary for effective negotiation. Nong Poe Sher's proficiency in alternating between indigenous and scientific modes of knowledge expression, coupled with her keen perception of her interlocutors' expectations, enables her to adeptly adapt mainstream development discourse for her own benefit. Her fluency in this language allows her to willingly and effectively secure funding and resources. Moreover, in her capacity as a conformist to state ideologies, she has become a valued collaborator for government development sectors. From this author's viewpoint, Nong Poe Sher has become an essential operative within the framework of state surveillance and development initiatives, contributing to the generation, circulation, and reinforcement of state power and legitimacy at the grassroots level (Field Note, August 2019).

Lohmann underscores that while the elite may gravitate towards written communication, the non-elite predominantly engage in oral traditions: the former often impersonal and not limited by physical space, championing universal concepts, whereas the latter are embedded within local contexts, prioritising moral values and community significance. Lohmann posits that when interest groups forge strategic partnerships yet agree to communicate on their own distinct terms, it is then that diverse voices are most emphatic and influential.

> Thus, villagers can speak in their own voice at meetings and demonstrations…while newspapers expose abuse, dissident academics speak credibly in scientific or economic language against corporate consultants, students take the political offensive, bureaucrats fight turf wars within ministries, phuuyai approach phuuyai at the top levels and non-governmental organisations arrange forums at which the diverse members of alliances learn how to co-ordinate with and use one another better, look at themselves from the points of view of the other groups present, and maintain mutual respect across systems of thought (Lohmann, 1995, p. 226; Rigg, Allott, Harrison, & Kratz, 1999, p. 598).

However, just as some academics have been quick to adopt local ideas, local people have also embraced scientific terminology to advance their causes. Hence, villagers in Thailand now use terms such as niwetwittayaa (ecology), paathammachaat (natural forest), and paachumchon (community forest), all of which have been imported from the more elitist lexicon (Lohmann, 1995, pp. 222-223; Rigg, Allott, Harrison, & Kratz, 1999, p. 598).

To the case of Tee Shyer, she was not fully endorsed by Thai immigration laws, being only a stateless evacuee living on the edge of The Kingdom. The power of such laws was extremely overwhelming for Tee Shyer. When it came to any legislative matter, Tee Shyer was neither endorsed, nor protected by or due to benefit from any laws and their enforcement. It was, of course, impossible for her to negotiate with such powerful laws to obtain what she desired. Every matter of negotiation must proceed through legal channels as provided by the state, and it seemed that the few channels the state provided made it impossible for her to negotiate anyway. For example, she was extremely restricted in her domicile and retained only her livelihood within the district. If she wished to leave her district to travel to the inner Kingdom, she first had to present a written form to ask for permission from the district governor. However, such stateless evacuees, including Tee Shyer, have indeed migrated to the inner Kingdom without official permission. However, this legislative issue could turn them into illegal immigrant criminals at any time, depending upon when and how the district governor becomes more serious in his or her inspection.

Thus, any negotiation with the state by Tee Shyer was not as simple and easy as the case of Pha Beh Keh, for Tee Shyer must deal with the great powers and forces of legislation. Any negotiation against such power could unwittingly shed light on her and run the risk of her being construed as an illegal immigrant and therefore a criminal to be treated badly at all times. Hence, it was better for her to stay silent and vigilant, away from the prying eyes of the statist legislation. For this reason, her negotiation and engagement with the state were fragile and subservient to the greater power and force of immigration laws and their enforcers. As such, they were increasingly exercised, instead, becoming increasingly powerful and forceful in taking a position over Tee Shyer. Through the power struggle between Tee Shyer and such forces, she became an underling and succumbed to such things, being subordinated to a position of less power. In other words, Tee Shyer could only be a weak faction or an object of power and its attendant forces (an object of legislation and its enforcement). Without an object like Tee Shyer, immigration laws, together with their enforcers, would not have a defendant for them to prosecute. In the end, Tee Shyer was degraded by more powerful laws and their enforcers to a position of lesser legitimacy without a right to seek an exalted position. In this sense, she lost her legitimacy, rights and capacity to negotiate with the voices of the rules of laws and their enforcers.

6.4.4 Interplay of Hegemony and Governmentality

Concerning the theories of hegemony and governmentality, there is merit in examining why mainstream development discourse and its associated practices struggled to subsume Pha Beh Keh's perspective. Theories of hegemony (Agyrou, 2005; Gunn, 2006; Williams, 1977) and governmentality (Foucault, 1991b; Li, 1999; 2007) are pertinent in analysing this case, which

demonstrates that Pha Beh Keh's modern mindset was not entirely subjugated by dominant developmental narratives and methodologies. Throughout his active opposition to the dam construction, it appeared that these discourses and methodologies failed to infiltrate and impose their hegemonic and governmental agenda upon Pha Beh Keh's cognitive framework. His resistance to forced relocation and the coercive exercise of power indicated that such frameworks could not obscure his vision with the prevailing development narrative and its practices. Consequently, these discourses and practices were unsuccessful in crafting new forms and mechanisms to facilitate their hegemonic endeavours within Pha Beh Keh's mental structure.

Moreover, this author assumes that Pha Beh Keh seemed not to be subdued by any mainstream channels of inculcation and socialisation by the development discourse so as to facilitate his submission to the mainstream development agencies, discourse and state. Throughout the testimony of Pha Beh Keh, this author argues that such a statist hegemonic project of mainstream development discourse and practice failed to hegemonise and governmentalise his mentality to be in alignment with progressive nationalists, leaders and some educated citizens. This inability could not render him submissive, being unable to blend his mental structure with theirs. Within this circumstance, Pha Beh Keh was likely unable to start sharing and perceiving his collective worldviews and common sense perspectives on the mainstream development discourse. Further, he was not organised for such cohesive aims.

Moreover, in alignment with Foucault's critique of governmentality (1991b; Li, 1999; 2007), Pha Beh Keh's early departure from formal education is deemed significant. In this context, he appears to have evaded the schooling system's governmental role. Pha Beh Keh had limited exposure to being shaped by educational institutions through their subtle exertions of soft power, namely inculcation and socialisation, to govern his disciplinary knowledge. Hence, this author concurs with Foucault's assertion that knowledge equates to power (1965; 1991a; 1998). The author contends that such limited interactions with the mechanisms of mainstream development discourse through formalised knowledge significantly impacted the shaping of social life, worldview, and consensus on mainstream development. Additionally, the expectations of self-regulation in accordance with the perspectives of mainstream development bodies, their discourse, and the state did not underlie Pha Beh Keh's self-discipline or acquiescence. This explains why progressive nationalists, leaders, and some educated citizens, as proponents of modernist development, failed to steer Pha Beh Keh's personal or societal discipline. Pha Beh Keh also did not evolve an alignment with the mainstream development narrative and its practices and thus resisted submission to the surveillance of the Thai state. Pha Beh Keh's case reinforces the scrutiny of disciplinary power aimed at individuals. It also suggests that the absence of governmental schemata not only

results in a lack of self-regulation (since Pha Beh Keh did not develop self-discipline or self-suppression to comply with the conduct expected by the mainstream development entities and the state) but also in an inability to yield to the Thai state's surveillance as anticipated.

On the other hand, the author deemed Pha Beh Keh to be dominated as hegemonised and governmentalised by alternative local worldviews and common sense, including religious beliefs. Through his testimony, this author experienced that he missed his good old days in his former, now inundated village, rather than living within the allocated confines of his current resettlement site. In this sense, this author considers Pha Beh Keh to be a carrier of the good old days normative worldview. This normative worldview seemed to have its own particular significant norms which influenced Pha Beh Keh. In terms of Foucault's notion of the self and Butler's tenet of subject formation, Pha Beh Keh incorporated such a good old days normative worldview through developing a collective consciousness so as to assimilate within his respective social groups. Also, during such a process of incorporation, Pha Beh Keh had to integrate his world of objects within his mental structure (i.e., swidden activities, the Pwo-Karen gods and goddesses, the Pwo-Karen souls, gender, division of labour, and the reciprocal economy), turning him into a person with a marked hostility towards the discourse of the mainstream development agencies and the state. All in all, the particular norms of the good old days worldview seemingly and at least partly prompted Pha Beh Keh to react against the forced relocation/coercion of power as manifested in his active resistance to the dam. For this reason, Pha Beh Keh, in his role as a dam activist, was a member of one of the groups that were relatively hard to dominate by the hegemony and governmentality of the mainstream development discourse and state surveillance.[47]

Last, but not least in terms of importance, it seems that Buddhist forces (e.g., the notion of Karma in the sense that one may do bad things in a previous life, bad things happen to one in this life, as well as what goes around, comes around), especially pertaining to the "c'est la vie" mindset, caused him to become increasingly fatalistic. The fact that he was very faithful to

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[47] According to Li (1999, pp. 314-316; 2007), the governmentality and hegemony embedded in mainstream development discourse, practices, and state surveillance can be theoretically elucidated by the Foucauldian concept of governmentality and the Gramscian notion of hegemony, respectively. Li examines development as a project of governance. The resettlement programmes in Indonesia that Li analysed exemplify attempts to reshape individual subjectivities and reorganise spatial arrangements to improve the populace's welfare and facilitate governance. Regarding hegemony, Li leans towards a Gramscian perspective, viewing politics as the arena where various forces and relations—economic, social, cultural—must be actively engaged to engender specific power dynamics and forms of control. This compels the author to comprehend hegemony not merely as consent or as a project by a singular, unified state but as a field of contention. Moreover, it is perceived as the mundane and personal compromises through which power relations, including domination and subordination, are experienced in daily life. The experiences of Pha Beh Keh, including his resistance and subsequent acquiescence within the frameworks of mainstream development discourse, practices, and state surveillance, strongly echo Li's discourse on Gramscian hegemony.

Buddhism, decorating his Buddha shelf and routinely going to pray at the temple on every holy day, may reflect the influence of such forces within his mental structure. His case resonated with the role of Buddhist forces in influencing how he framed his worldview and made sense of hurtful fate via self-retreatism. In this sense, Buddhism becomes his foundational worldview, becoming an indispensable framework to help him to make sense of his fatalistic acceptance. Any loss of his chances to negotiate and overcome the statist enforced relocation, protect his loved ones, regain the full use of his legs, gain a sense of wellness over the condition of his daughter and recover his rightful land plots were effectively ended through the acceptance of the rule of karma. It seemed that he just hoped that his losses would at some point be offset by positive future events. This author felt that the law of karma significantly influenced Pha Beh Keh's decision to retreat from his struggles with misfortune.

In terms of power resistance in perspective, the Buddhist force which Pha Beh Keh incorporated into his mental structure, thereby converting himself to such a worldview and disposition, reflects that diffused power on the ground takes a crucial role in his construction as an individual. Thus, the author argues that power resources, such as the power of illegitimately forced relocation/coercion; that of non-negotiable counterparts; the mainstream development discourse and its practices; Thai state surveillance; and Buddhism can be rethought as part of those power resources for the construction of the individual as well as providing the conditions for their existence.

In this way, the notion of power of Foucault and Butler can explain the rise of Pha Beh Keh as an active member of the dam resistance and his subsequent retreat into fatalism. Also, they can theoretically explain the reasons why Pha Beh Keh, as a subordinate, manifested as an individual who had less will to fight and always sought to make sense of his fate through the notion of a thing being at the expense of other things. In this sense, such notion of power reveals the theoretical fundamentals of why he handled any difficulties by staying positive and becoming a retreatist, insofar as he could.

6.4.5   State of Precarity

The concept of precarity elucidates numerous ways in which state developmental policies, processes, and practices engender precarious conditions that, paradoxically, are conducive to promoting economic growth. The ethnographic case studies showcased herein exemplify how mainstream state development establishes new forms of marginalisation or precarity, effectively creating a new social stratum of the marginalised or the precariat.

Guy Standing (2011; 2013; 2014) points out that the main characteristic of the precariat is not the level of wages or income received at any given time, but rather the absence of community support during times of need, the uncertainty of employment or state welfare, and the absence of additional private benefits to supplement financial earnings. The vulnerability and, for some, the

struggle for survival that characterised rural life several decades ago has shifted to a state of precarity. This change is essential for the ongoing existence of smallholders (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 140).

> Simply put, until smallholders can be assured that their exit from agriculture will not expose them to livelihood insecurity, they will likely hold on to their land and therefore stall the farmsize transition (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 140).

> The insecurities of much non-farm work ripples back to the farm spatially and sectorally…there is a mutuality in the livelihoods of greying farmers and their children; livelihood security is, in other words, co-produced in the factories and the fields of East Asia. Factory work alone would not deliver security; and farming alone would not secure subsistence. For families that may be one illness away from poverty, the strategy adopted is consistent, not capricious (Rigg, Salamanca, & Thompson, 2016, p. 130; Rigg J. , 2019, p. 140).

The initial case studies highlight varying extents to which individuals are perceived as minorities dispossessed by land acquisitions and relocations to facilitate the construction of The Khao Laem Dam. This has significantly worsened their already precarious existence, particularly given their reliance on agriculture. Many have faced adverse terms of trade, diminishing landholdings, and increasing debts, necessitating investments in new agricultural inputs and technologies. The third case study illustrates precarity through the experience of a Myanmar-S'gaw civil war evacuee who lacks fundamental protections. Despite the modernisation of their village and state acknowledgment of their plight, their conditions have continued to decline without the cushion of a social safety net.

Raipa Village is notably diverse in its population and economic frameworks. Consequently, some villagers have faced increased precarity, marked by a substantial lack of spatial and temporal agency. Nonetheless, such precarious states — including worsening trade terms, reducing landholdings, accruing debt, and statelessness — are partly attributable to uneven development policies (Chin, 2019; Kusakabe & Myae, 2019; Rigg, Oven, Basyal, & Lamichhane, 2016; Rosario & Rigg, 2019). These policies affect all villagers, as evidenced by the three detailed case studies. These conditions have shaped individuals, influencing the formation of their identities and societal roles. Theoretically, the villagers' precarious circumstances have become intertwined with scholarly discourse, being examined through theories that reconceptualise power and resistance as tools for constructing and recognising one's social identity and selfhood.

These three ethnographic case studies illustrate that the individuals involved often lack agency over when or how they will confront illness or other urgent crises. Such predicaments, prevalent and exemplified in the experiences of Pha Beh Keh and Tee Shyer, underscore the procedural nature of precarity. Pha Beh Keh's situation, for instance, is emblematic of a state of precarity generated by indebtedness and enforced dependence, leading to

disempowerment and discrimination—characteristics of an indebted landless precariat. Within the cycle of debt, these precariats are regarded as expendable by dominant economic entities, including moneylenders, state apparatus, and the salaried class. Despite the village's rapid physical modernisation, there has been a notable absence of fundamental protections for the precariat (Chin, 2019; Rosario & Rigg, 2019). Particularly in Pha Beh Keh's family's case, where family members have had to pursue insecure income diversification outside the village, they share the precarious conditions common among rural communities across Thailand.[48]

> Nonfarm work may provide higher incomes, but we cannot interpret this to mean that it also delivers greater security. When jobs can evaporate in a flash during times of economic or environmental crisis with little severance pay, when social safety nets are thinly woven for those who lose their jobs, and when social protection for the elderly is limited to a quite modest Old Age Allowance, maintaining a foothold on the land is sensible rather than perverse. Rural people in Thailand may be objectively wealthier in material terms and less vulnerable in existential terms, but for many that wealth is allied to greater precarity (Rigg J. , 2019, pp. 139-140).

The case of Nong Poe Sher echoes the gradual yet profound transformation in productive lifestyles, transitioning swiftly from traditional subsistence farming to reliance on state-supported plantation schemes. This shift may have altered her vulnerability from one associated with subsistence agriculture to a precarious state under the state's plantation support policies. She perceives potential threats to future livelihoods in such state-backed agricultural models, which have contributed to her ongoing precarity (Kusakabe & Myae, 2019; Rosario & Rigg, 2019). Ethnographic examinations of individual narratives reveal two crucial insights: firstly, mainstream development can progressively coerce citizens into a precariat; secondly, the precarious circumstances they face demand a significant contextual re-evaluation.

These cases indicate that most rural Thais, though not all, are no longer subjected to the dire livelihood uncertainties of bygone eras. The fear of famine, undernutrition, and the dire choices required during illness have lessened considerably. This shift marks substantial progress. However, rural livelihoods in 21st-century Thailand are far from stable, with precarity supplanting vulnerability as the primary indicator of insecurity in rural areas. To grasp the essence and origins of precarity, it is imperative to consider the processes of industrialisation, labour market regulation, and, more broadly, globalisation, alongside changes within the agricultural sector itself. These wider processes influence employment conditions, whose impact resonates in the fields and villages of Thailand. Paradoxically, engagement with non-farm work, which has historically mitigated vulnerability through diversification, now appears

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[48] The case of Cha Dah in the section 6.2.2 also falls within this precarious condition.

to be a contributing factor to the rise in precarity. Thus, the alleviation of traditional livelihood vulnerabilities is counterbalanced by an increase in precarity (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 190).

6.5 Concluding Remarks

One of the key points of this chapter is that it prompts a discussion of mental structures within the discursive framework of Foucault and Butler, echoing the adage "where there is power, there is resistance" (Foucault, 1998). However, their interpretations of this discursive approach were more nuanced than mere protests against unwanted power and oppression. Through this lens, power and resistance are interdependent, representing two facets of the same entity. This concept encourages us to contemplate resistance within the mental structure, particularly through the internal processes of internalisation and dialectic. During this process, power can circulate in a continuous cycle of inflows and outflows. Take, for instance, Pha Beh Keh, whose precarious situation led him to adopt a stance, turning him into an active resistor of the dam. His opposition to the coercive power of forced relocation may have stemmed from a nostalgic adherence to the good old days normative worldview. It appears that he was once deeply influenced by this perspective, making it challenging for the dam developers to sway his opinion. Furthermore, influenced by Buddhist beliefs such as the principles of karma, he eventually seemed to adopt a fatalistic c'est la vie attitude, accepting his hurt fates.

Nong Poe Sher exemplifies this as well. She critically internalised her surrounding conditions, engaging in a form of mental self-resistance. Being a hybrid, a blend of indigenous and scientific knowledge systems, she adeptly alternated between roles, interpreting and conveying either indigenous or scientific narratives, in addition to being a custodian of local wisdom and a conformist to state ideologies. Her critical roles hinged on her astute judgement of when it was appropriate to engage with a certain worldview, thus she tailored her responses to meet her interlocutors' expectations favourably.

Nong Poe Sher's case demonstrates her ability to leverage power against power, deftly adopting a resistance stance in her war of position. She employed the requisite skills and strategies to harness her knowledge for critical negotiation, overcoming opposition from entities such as the state and mainstream development agencies. By negotiating in the language of mainstream development, she successfully secured funding and resources. Her situation affirms that our reality is constructed by the dominant discourses of our society.

Tee Shyer, another case study, presents a different aspect of precariousness where personal circumstances are closely linked with legislative authority. Despite being stateless and unrecognised by law, which barred her from basic welfare services, she negotiated for improved

well-being. Her predicament required her to make moral choices for her family, balancing ethical considerations with practical outcomes. The potential impact of these choices on her children's education and future was significant. Her case represents a high degree of intrinsic resistance at the mental level, accompanied by the risk of disgrace and infamy. Choosing to deviate from her Christian upbringing, she risked losing legitimacy and a revered status, leading to feelings of guilt and shame. Thus, she was relegated to a disempowered group, struggling to assert herself against more dominant norms. These scenarios set the stage for rethinking local notions of social advancement, which the following chapter addresses.

Chapter 7 Local Experiences of Making Social Progress and Their Contradictions

Work is money, money is work, happiness abounds (Sarit Thanarat's Doctrine, Hirsch, 1990).

When villagers are called upon to assist with mutual tasks at the temple, participation is voluntary. Those who partake are believed to accrue merit, while those who abstain do not—this is the general understanding. In the context of cooperation or "pattana," I believe that without these acts of communal effort, progress, or "kwaamcharoen," cannot be realised. For instance, our uposatha hall in the temple would not have been completed without the contributions of the devout villagers, who recognised the future benefits of their labour. This cooperation likely stems from a communal desire to achieve and witness kwaamcharoen within the village. However, it is important to note that the Karen people are composed of many sub-tribes, each with its distinct traditions, languages, and cultural practices. Therefore, my views may not align with those of all Karen sub-tribes (Pah Brong, Focus group discussion, 19th August 2019).

7.1 Introduction

In the last chapter, the author explored the lives of several local people to examine the different ways in which engagement with mainstream development has impacted them and how, for many, this has reduced their life happiness and brought about greater precarity and impoverishment. As a continuation, Chapter 7 critically investigates Raipa Pwo-Karen worldviews and their ideas of making social progress, called maasher.[49] Their investigation and conceptualisation of it are drawn from discussion with elderly people. Then, the ethnographer raises the worldviews of mainstream development from the survey's youthful participants. They see the notion of making social progress in a radically different manner to their antecedents. These two parties elucidate the inherent contradictions in how one should think about and express local experiences of making social progress. Lastly, the ethnographer proposes local experiences of making social progress as contributed by the Christian Myanmar-S'gaw civil war evacuees who are considered a peripheral minority within the village. Their contribution reveals that any further development is meaningless unless they can get by. One of the central themes of this chapter addresses conditional contexts and opportunities such as attending schools, living status and religion. All of these are dependent on the extent to which people aspire to make social progress.

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[49] Pwo-Karen reciprocal help and cooperation for common good, in the Pwo-Karen language

7.2 *Maasher*: Pwo-Karen Cooperation for Common Good

7.2.1 *What Is Maasher?*

The group of elderly people crucially proved indispensable in confirming the existence of Pwo-Karen cooperation, conceptualised as maasher. The concept of maasher was discovered through the time spent in the village, and its importance was seen through the author's daily ethnographic activities. The discussion below drawns on these understandings, and from a focus group the author organised to consider maasher specifically. This FGD was joined by four participants, including Pah Brong, Dah Pue, Tah Seng and Mue Rong Seng. Pah Brong was the eldest participant, aged 74 at the time. He is a talkative person, full of administrative experiences to relate as he once served the village as its head for two periods. The next participant is Tah Seng, who was 70 years old. He is a critical person, sharply critiquing the village's situations from the perspective of a general layman. Tah Seng was reliant upon his own agricultural production. Thus, his experiences are greatly interwoven with agricultural perspectives. Dah Pue, who was 60 years old, is also loquacious. Even though he was not originally from the Karen villages, he was nonetheless insightful as regards Karen culture. He had married his Karen wife a very long time ago when they lived in their former, now inundated, location. Dah Pue is now a member of The Village Health Volunteers (VHVs). The final participant was Mue Rong Seng, the only female in The FGD. Mue Rong Seng was 60 years old and lived on her rubber oil tapping plantation. She related her experiences of living in the village as a Pwo-Karen woman.

Through this FGD, the main discussion was a consideration of maasher. This group of elderly people helped to conceptualise what they conceived as making social progress, whether from the Pwo-Karen perspective or the progress of kwaamcharoen. All of these people were able to express their ideas through a few conceptual languages. To begin with a matter of fact, the conceptual language of maasher is not a firm conception, but is rather pervasively realised among The Pwo-Karen. In other words, maasher cannot be literally compared to or equated with the term "kaanpattana"[50] (development), where kaanpattana is clear in its ideologically-spoken and written account nationwide. This is because there exist no such terms or ideas

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[50] In the Thai language, "kaanpattana" denotes the concept of development. This term has been translated and interpreted from the English term "development," which itself is discursively constructed by First World Countries (FWCs) and institutions such as The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), with a primary focus on socio-economic progress. Consequently, kaanpattana is sociolinguistically imbued with the nuances of the term "development." It is employed to signify the process of achieving modernity (and progress, in the Thai context) as a form of social advancement with the objective of attaining a state of modernity. In this thesis, the Thai translation and interpreted term kaanpattana, derived from the English "development," epitomises a modernist Western cultural approach to social progression. It has been integrated into the existing Thai lexicon (as kaanpattana is not a novel term) which renders its meaning more culturally and ideologically charged.

within the Pwo-Karen lexical memory. Linguistically speaking, maasher has functioned as a verb rather than as a noun or as an adjective to describe the state of making social progress. Maasher, in their mind, is an important verb to achieve a state of the common good.

Thus, a conceptualisation of maasher arose as a result of discussions with these elderly participants and it is the closest conception of the idea of making social progress. Ultimately, the term "maasher" was mutually agreed upon as being used while referring to and signifying their indigenous-local making of social progress, or as part of their wider Pwo-Karen cooperation. In this ethnography, maasher indigenously signifies the idea of making social progress, and an effort was made not to use the term "kaanpattana" in place of maasher. This is because, from a cultural and political standpoint, we considered that the term "maasher" is sufficiently unique not to be conflated with other terms.

The discussion began by asking whether there is any other term describing ideas of making social progress in their Pwo-Karen lexical memory. Then it transpired that there were a few other terms which were used in a similar manner to maasher. However, everyone agreed with the term "maasher," as it had been used ubiquitously. When maasher is used, there appear to be very specific cultural connotations attached to it.

> Indeed, we possess terms that describe the pursuit of social progress. Initially, I considered "auuko[51]" to be the appropriate term. This word signifies the act of participating with the aim of fostering pattana, which denotes development. However, upon reflection, maasher appears to be a more accurate term than auuko. While auuko simply refers to a call for assembly, maasher in our Pwo-Karen language explicitly means cooperation (Tah Seng, Focus group discussion, August 2019).

> Upon hearing maasher, we are called to respond with enthusiastic cooperation. It is customary for at least one member of each household to represent their family in the communal tasks of the village. Maasher is widely recognised as a sincere request for assistance in village matters. Notably, the concept of maasher seems intertwined with the Buddhist idea of accruing merit, which often motivates participation in communal activities, particularly those initiated by the temple. I posit that this pursuit of merit is not about receiving tangible rewards but is, in essence, about attaining a sense of joy and satisfaction through self-fulfilment (Mue Rong Seng, Focus group discussion, August 2019).

Today, maasher covers all the village's tasks, regardless of location, so long as participation brings a sense of fulfilment and happiness. Sometimes, maasher can be taken onboard as a

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[51] Call for gathering up, in the Pwo-Karen language

vehicle through which to maintain the village's norms. All in all, it seems that the keyword maasher connotes a cooperation for the common good.

The origin of maasher can be traced back through a consideration of one of the most pervasive forms of indigenous-local labour exchange, conceptualised as maaduu[52] in Pwo-Karen. The nuances separating maasher and maaduu exist to the degree to which participants feel obligated to pay each other back. On one hand, the norm of maaduu places importance upon repayment and its aim seems to pertain to economic self-interest. On the other hand, maasher is relatively not performed on a calculated basis and it is not strictly required to be paid off. Even though maasher also contains an element of self-interest, this pertains more to psychological rather than economic well-being as its overriding aim is to serve the common good. Some mutual tasks involve maaduu on a calculated basis. For instance, maaduu takes place when there is a need to move houses or to prepare food for a household feast. There was a common sense among local villagers that a day's labour should ultimately be returned in kind, and almost always through the same tasks. More than anything, maasher resonates with the notion of authentic indigenous-local cooperation. There appears a cardinal feature within such acts of indigenous cooperation. Indigenous cooperation is relatively spontaneous, relying upon short-term cooperation to solve problems expeditiously.

7.2.2 Modernity in An Indigenous-Local Perspective

The focus group discussion (FGD) guided us towards the concept of modernity, or "Thansamai" in Thai. There was a possibility considered that the Pwo-Karen language might not have an equivalent term for modernity. Pah Brong articulated, from an individual perspective, that those who seem modern are deemed to be adept at keeping pace with the world. As a result, the elder participants of The FGD did not perceive themselves as modern or contemporary. This sentiment stemmed from their acknowledgment of difficulties in keeping up with global developments.

> What is modernity, or thansamai? "Tuakhaa[53]" in my language means coming of age. The concepts of modernism, or thansamai, were firstly heard while I was studying in school. In my opinion, I think if we do not do pattana, we will not achieve progress, or kwaamcharoen; otherwise, we are not modernist, or thansamai, *would we?* I think if we achieve modernity, or thansamai, it means we are civilised. On an individual level, getting modernist-style outfits worn is personally considered timely fashioned, or thansamai. But, it is weird in my view. We cannot wear things like that. Sometimes, I consider such modernist-style outfits are inappropriate, showing too much skin. However, I think elder people than me in the original locations may talk about this topic better than me (Pah Brong, Focus group discussion, August 2019).

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[52] Indigenous-local labour exchange, in the Pwo-Karen language
[53] Coming of age, in the Pwo-Karen language

However, Tah Seng critically argued that differences have arisen in time-space contexts between elder and younger generations. As a result, it is relatively difficult to confirm whether one generation is more of its time than another. Tah Seng sounded as though there existed different contextual conditions in the evaluation of the state as being modernist and of the zeitgeist. In this sense, the elderly lifestyle may at first seem obsolete and queer in the view of the younger generation, whereas the youth might conversely perceive the ways of the elderly as being strange.

> The conceptual languages of modernity, or thansamai, may not exist in my Pwo-Karen language. Otherwise, it exists, but our generation may not know it anymore. *Does tuakhaa mean modernity, or thansamai?* I do not think so. However, I think the younger generations are living in different time-space contexts and conditions to us. So, they are modernist and stylish in their ways, while we have other versions of modernity, or thansamai, depending upon our ways and circumstances (Tah Seng, Focus group discussion, August 2019).

7.2.3 Politics of Happiness and Enjoyment

During the focus group discussion, an intriguing issue emerged concerning the indigenous-local structures of thought and language used by the participants to express their views. Specifically, the manner in which they articulated the seemingly contradictory concepts of "happiness" and "enjoyment," which often overlap in the Pwo-Karen language. Field research revealed that most elderly individuals employed the term for happiness (or "kwaamsuk[54]" in Thai) less often than for enjoyment (or "kwaamsanuk[55]" in Thai). For example, Ma Pong Eh's mother mentioned that residing in their current location did not afford more enjoyment than life in the forestland. Her response appeared unusual because, in the Thai language, the term for enjoyment or kwaamsanuk might not typically be associated with the term for living, or "yuu[56]." In essence, the conventional expression would be "yuumiikwaamsuk[57]," translating to happy living, rather than "yuusanuk[58]," which conveys enjoying life.

> If happiness could be equated with possessing all essential modern conveniences, such as a house, adequate food and water, money, medicines, and clothing, then it would follow that my family members ought to experience the same level of happiness as I do (Dah Pue, Focus group discussion, August 2019).

Tah Seng added the term "kwaamsanuk" to The FGD. He drew an analogy between kwaamsanuk and having fun with friends while achieving merit in the temple. He claimed that:

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[54] Happiness, in the Thai language
[55] Enjoyment, in the Thai language
[56] To live, in the Thai language
[57] To live happily, in the Thai language
[58] To enjoy living, in the Thai language

Kwaamsanuk is a genuine allure, drawing the villagers together at the temple and other communal spaces (Tah Seng, Focus group discussion, August 2019).

In the conceptual language of The Pwo-Karen, happiness and enjoyment, or kwaamsuk and kwaamsanuk respectively, are conveyed by the single term "merk", used interchangeably. Consequently, it is commonplace for The Pwo-Karen to speak of yuusanuk, meaning the enjoyment of life, rather than yuumiikwaamsuk, implying a life of happiness. This linguistic practice reflects a mentality where happiness and enjoyment are conceptually synonymous. Merk encapsulates this sentiment, suggesting that in the Pwo-Karen lexical tradition, the concept of "happiness" as the fulfillment of all material needs does not seem to exist in an ontological sense. Overall, kwaamsanuk may denote fun, whereas kwaamsuk resonates with happiness in a more profound, Buddhist sense.

The ethnographer raises this issue because the younger Pwo-Karen generation may no longer speak in terms of yuusanuk, rather they might refer to yuumiikwaamsuk, or happy living, as the Thai people commonly do. Also, happiness, or kwaamsuk, signifies a certain material sensibility. Moreover, among the younger generation, the term "enjoyment," or kwaamsanuk, is no longer used to describe the state of happiness, or kwaamsuk. Enjoyment, or kwaamsanuk, stands alone, being used only within the context of having fun, whereas happiness, or kwaamsuk, is only spoken in relation to that satisfaction which derives from having all material needs satiated, as Dah Pue used to illustrate. That is to say that, happiness, or kwaamsuk in Dah Pue's perception, includes such material considerations as incomes. For this reason, in this author's opinion, the happiness or kwaamsuk in use within their culture has seemingly been discursively constructed by outside forces.

7.2.4   Hierarchical Structure of The Pwo-Karen Society

With regard to the conceptual language and discourse, there arises another intriguing matter. During the focus group discussion, the binary nature inherent in the Pwo-Karen language was deliberated upon. Such an exploration could illuminate the extent of the hierarchical structure within their socio-cultural world. The ethnographer has postulated that, given the Pwo-Karen's socio-cultural world exhibits a less discernible hierarchical order, this is reflected in their lexicon which contains fewer extreme or diverse binary terms. This suggests that The Pwo-Karen might possess a diminished inclination towards self-comparison or competitiveness.

Thereby, the local ideas and practices concerning social progress focus on assessing progress in a way that cannot be easily measured. Instead, they rely on subjective qualitative judgements. Further, such judgement is hinged upon their regime of thoughts and experiences. More importantly, the way in which judgement is reported relies upon their less hierarchical

vocabulary. Under these circumstances, it may be difficult for The Pwo-Karen to vernacularise alien ways of quantifiable evaluation in terms of making social progress. Moreover, such alien expressions of the state of having made progress in the sense of catching up with some form of mainstream development models may even be meaningless for The Pwo-Karen. This is because they have placed more emphasis on cooperation and less on a sense of comparativeness or competitiveness, and this has possibly influenced the Pwo-Karen notions of social progress. Thus, when they are questioned regarding what making social progress would look like, their responses are more in the sense of the common good and self-fulfilment in terms of feeling good and doing well.

> My language has no "pom[59]" and "kun[60]" in polite Thai, literally I and you in English. We use only "yer[61]" and "ner[62]" in the Pwo-Karen language, literally I and you respectively. There are obscure hierarchical positions in our language and culture. Regardless of how big our interlocutors are, we remain to use ner representing them, and yer representing us anyway. Even though talking to our parents, only those two pronouns are used anyway. Unlike Thai, there appear a lot of extreme hierarchical positions. For example, Thai people must use royal languages while speaking to the royal family members. Also, Buddhist Thais have certain monk-related vocabulary items to choose while having conversations with monks. But, the Pwo-Karen language has nothing like these. If I must speak to The King and the monks in my own language, their pronouns will be ner, and mine will be yer anyway. I consider both yer and ner are morally neutral. They do not signify either politeness and vulgarness through those two pronouns (Dah Pue, Focus group discussion, August 2019).

7.3 Big Development

7.3.1 *What Should Development Look Like from A Younger's View?*

This section mainly discusses the worldviews of mainstream development by the youth participants. These include Tai Lew Yee, Poe Kong Sher, Mue Nong Sah and Jee Sai. They were all in matthayomsuksa 4, or year 11, in their local high school. There are a few overarching issues to address, such as their local experiences of development, its outlook and counterparts. They are possibly considered a legacy of mainstream development discourse through modernist schooling.

The researcher began a discussion as to what the habitus of having been developed looks like. Their key idea was that, as long as they were able to sense positive changes in a certain location within a before-and-after comparison, this feeling could be evaluated as development. Their evaluation of development is dependent upon their embodied experiences of living under

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[59] Thai pronoun, meaning I
[60] Thai pronoun, meaning you
[61] Pwo-Karen pronoun, meaning I
[62] Pwo-Karen pronoun, meaning you

different types of conditions, as well as their sensory evaluation, mostly including the sight evaluation and its subjective judgements. For instance, Tai Lew Yee mentioned the arrival of better roads in the village. Similarly, Mue Nong Sah supported the argument that the coming of electricity and lamp posts used instead of kerosene lamps signified a state of development. On the other hand, Poe Kong Sher surmised that, if he could feel positive changes through his sensory evaluation, these positive changes could be counted as a state of development.

> Several major advancements have been observed in the village, particularly concerning enhanced access to communications and public services. Previously, my travel was limited to dirt roads leading from the village to the district market, often marred by unreliable water supplies due to leaking sub-standard pipes. The local school environment was once disorganised, lacking adequate educational materials, and public spaces in the village were similarly disordered, leaving villagers reliant solely on agriculture for their livelihood. Currently, these conditions have seen substantial improvements. Main access roads to the village have been surfaced with asphalt, facilitating faster and safer transportation. Water infrastructure has been upgraded with the installation of standardised iron pipes, significantly reducing leaks, and the establishment of groundwater sources and several pumping stations has led to more efficient and reliable water supplies. The school now presents a welcoming environment, enclosed with proper fencing, and is equipped with advanced technological resources, including computers and tablets, for teaching and learning. The village also boasts a new hall for community gatherings and an occupational centre offering embroidery courses for women during their leisure time. Additionally, the village now exudes vibrancy and brightness at night, courtesy of lamp posts illuminating the surroundings (Tai Lew Yee, Focus group discussion, August 2019).

Reflecting on the positive transformations within their community, the group of young participants engaged in a lively dialogue about the development of their village. They recognised that within their own lifetimes, the village had undergone significant changes, surpassing the standard level of development typically expected by the state. Their confident demeanour suggested a belief that their village had indeed exceeded this normative benchmark. However, their verbal accounts were more reserved, hinting at an underlying consensus that the village's development journey was still ongoing. Fundamentally, these young individuals view development as a progression that yields positive change and propels the community forward.

7.3.2   Role of Modernist Schooling in Shaping Students for State-Led Modernisation

Viewing such development as improvement, positive differentiation and moving forwards, constitutes a legacy of modernist education through schooling (and through other aspects of state and media). Although there is no specific module for development studies within the Thai school curriculum, the topic has nonetheless proliferated across all areas of studies, and particularly within the module of social studies. Moreover, it seems that notions of development have become conflated with moral values which schoolteachers pass down to their students.

> Mostly, I and my friends were taught to have self-development and proper conduct in life. Sometimes, these were taught out of the lesson hours. They seemed like moral values added up outside the class. I felt like if we do respect ourselves, other people, and societies at large through keeping self-discipline and legality, we were going to achieve every level of development (Poe Kong Sher, Focus group discussion, August 2019).

In addition, the terms "kwaamthansamai" and "kwaamcharoen" in Thai, literally modernity and progress, respectively, were frequently referred to by the youth participants. They considered them to be one of the aims of development.

> I believe that development and modernisation are nuanced concepts. The capacity for timely improvement suggests a propensity for further modernisation. Consequently, development has enabled people to attain greater convenience and comfort by keeping pace with modern advancements. It appears that individuals in this era work with greater efficiency and effectiveness than those in previous times (Tai Lew Yee, Focus group discussion, August 2019).

7.3.3 *Development Dilemma*: Prioritising Economic Growth

Jee Sai introduced the term "economic development" into the discussion, highlighting the classic dilemma between mainstream development orientation and the prioritisation of economic growth. This dilemma echoes the politics of the alternative concept of sustainable development, as outlined in Chapter 2. Two divergent schools of thought have influenced the emergence of sustainable development: one concerned with curbing the overconsumption of natural resources, and the other advocating for material development to spur economic growth and societal well-being, despite its dependence on the consumption of natural resources (McMichael, 2008; Redclift, 1987). The proposition was to achieve a balance between growth-focused economic development and the prudent use of natural resources, alongside promoting social equality. However, this term is inherently contradictory and fraught with tension. It aims to meld two problematic concepts of development in an attempt to find a middle ground between environmentalists and development economists. The challenge lies in the fact that growth-oriented economic development may relegate the environment and human welfare to a secondary status, whereas a counter-growth stance prioritises environmental or human considerations in the development hierarchy. Combining "sustainable" with "development" suggests an effort to strike a balanced consideration among economic growth, environmental conservation, and human welfare—goals that are challenging to reconcile. According to Redclift (1987), no material development program exists that neither consumes natural resources nor impacts the environment adversely, just as no environmental or human safeguards can be implemented without some degree of hindrance to material development. These conflicting narratives and tensions are prevalent in the term "sustainable development" and are reflected in the considerations of these young participants.

However, this controversy of mainstream development orientation, a concern raised by Jee Sai, has persisted, resulting in alternative proposals for development in place of economic growth, and this contention has led to the conversation of possible development orientations of late.

> I think we need to place economic growth first before developing other aspects. We need to make sure that our nation has good profit from export products so that the state can invest in good public welfare and infrastructures. Then, we all will have a common good. I believe that if our national economy is unstable and unreliable, all of us will be more dependent upon the state's extra support. This is not appropriate. It will also be like a vicious circle (Jee Sai, Focus group discussion, August 2019).

There was some contradiction within the group as to whether economic growth should come first. Some suggested prioritising social development over economic growth. However, it seemed that a compromise was agreed upon in that moral self-development came first. A few contributed that developmental orientation should begin at an individual level. If the potential of individuals is developed, then they will be able to make a constructive difference both economically and socially. More than anything, the question of what should come first among economic growth, social development and moral self-development, was not as important as how they critically described how they thought about those notions and thereby could convince others. So far, it was evident that the discussion of making social progress and development among the youth participants was more discursive and broader in its range of issues than the previous FGD of elderly people. There was no mention of maasher in the discussion and all the topics raised were completely different.

These youthful participants have discussed their ideas of making social progress in a manner that is completely divergent from that of the elderly group of people. It seems that their progressive thoughts concurred with those who were taught scholastic knowledge and inculcation. These youthful participants approached ideas of making social progress in a discursive sense rather than in a practical manner. Here we see that the power and practices of the mainstream development discourse have reached and proliferated horizontally, pervading the youths' formal education.

7.3.4 *Settakitpopiang*: Exploring Sufficiency Economy through Youth

The youth participants broached the contentious issue of how "thunniyom[63]," or penetrating capitalism in Thai, has faced resistance from the state-promoted discourse of The Sufficiency Economy

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[63] Capitalism, in the Thai language

("setakitpopiang[64]" in Thai). Poe Kong Sher pointed out that capitalism involves having sufficient capital. Jee Sai illustrated this by saying that constructing a house requires funds to purchase materials, which in turn are considered capital. Tai Lew Yee concluded that money, as a form of capital, is a crucial input that can be invested for further production. The author observed that the contributions from the participants seemed to have been shaped by their educational experiences at school.

On the other hand, it seemed that the youth participants had been more deeply inculcated as regards the notion of Sufficiency Economy's Philosophy (SEP). The author observed that they had known a great deal about the discourse of SEP. There is a need to introduce a formal definition of The SEP. Some hold that the tenet of The SEP is more a principle of morality than an alternative development theory. The notion of The SEP has been inserted into the school curriculum as well as local development organisations' developmental blueprints. The common notion of sufficient living espoused by King Bhumibol has been transformed into an epistemological form, becoming a powerful national theory of development. It has thus far extensively influenced the Thai people.

> Sufficiency Economy stresses the middle path as an overriding principle for appropriate conduct by Thai people at all levels, from family to community to country. It calls for national development and administration to modernise in line with the forces of globalisation. Sufficiency means moderation, reasonableness, and the need for self-immunity for sufficient protection from impact arising from internal and external changes. To achieve this, the application of knowledge with due consideration and prudence is essential. In particular, great care is needed at every step in the utilisation of theories and methodologies for planning and implementation. At the same time, it is necessary to strengthen the moral fibre of the nation, so that everyone, particularly public officials, academics, and businessmen, adhere first and foremost to the principle of honesty and integrity. In addition, a way of life based on patience, perseverance, diligence, wisdom and prudence is indispensable to create balance and be able to cope appropriately with critical challenges, arising from extensive and rapid socio-economic, environmental, and cultural changes in the world (Sub-Committee of NESDC, 2007, pp. 7 - 8).

To these youthful participants, there are some conceptions of SEP to discuss. To begin with, Tai Lew Yee considered that the discourse of The SEP places importance on keeping to the middle path, which literally means moderation. The term "popiang[65]," literally meaning sufficient, leads to well-being. People who are popiang, or sufficient, will be able to stand on their own two legs. At this point, Mue Nong Sah completely agreed with Tai Lew Yee. Tai Lew Yee also believes that people should live frugally.

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[64] Sufficiency Economy, in the Thai language
[65] Sufficiency, in the Thai language

> In my case, my parents cultivated homegrown vegetables for our household consumption, which I can confirm saved our family a considerable amount of money (Tai Lew Yee, Focus group discussion, August 2019).

At the same time, Poe Kong Sher elaborated that following the principles of SEP constitutes keeping good self-discipline. His key ideas are to live moderately and to distribute all life risks. For instance, he started the day with a good time allocation for study and housework.

> My parents made an effort to move away from monoculture due to the risks associated with potential price drops for specific crops. This diversification of produce has not only reduced financial risk but also contributed to a more varied diet (Poe Kong Sher, Focus group discussion, August 2019).

Last, but not least, Jee Sai deemed that sufficient living equates to well-being and to having enough good food to eat in a family.

> I believed that growing our own vegetables would assist my family in sustaining ourselves. Moreover, these vegetables were clean and organic, contributing to improved health among my family members. I also hold the view that the principles of The Sufficiency Economy's Philosophy (SEP) are more about moral values than anything else (Jee Sai, Focus group discussion, August 2019).

There is, however, a contradiction arising within the statist discourse of SEP, the understandings of the youth participants, and the Pwo-Karen local experience of sufficiency in relation to the elder generations' viewpoint. One of the participants, Nong Poe Sher (see the section 6.3.2), had previously raised the issue of SEP against her Pwo-Karen ways of sufficiency. She contributed that Raipa Village has largely interpreted the tenet of SEP, as passed down by the government, as being a national development strategy and agenda. This causes the village to become more concerned with self-sufficiency than creating and performing any of the village's efforts to make social progress.

The thing that they most needed to do to respond to the state's whim was to learn to vernacularise it appropriately. In this sense, this has more to do with reconceptualising languages rather than recultivating the elements of The SEP. However, Nong Poe Sher crystallised the notion that indigenous-local acts of sufficiency within her ancestral Pwo-Karen culture were not exactly the same as the state's edicts for self-sufficiency. The nuances lie in the fact that her indigenous-local approach to sufficiency has not been about retreatism, in contrast to the state's notions of sufficiency, resulting in tense sense of self-reliance, self-exploitation and self-isolation from the outside world among those who abide by it.

It appeared that there was no explicit concept of sufficiency in my Pwo-Karen language. My parents never explicitly instructed me to live sufficiently; however, I observed that The Pwo-Karen inherently practised a life of sufficiency. I surmised that ecological and geographical factors influenced my ancestors' sufficient lifestyle. For instance, rice was not overly produced or stored for extended periods, as it would rot and develop a musty smell. In the forest, there was no need to sell rice. The cost of transporting rice to the market discouraged commercial farming. As for our temporary-looking homes, my parents, while residing in the forest village, would perform annual renovations. It occurred to me that they did not fully exploit the available hardwoods, instead using bamboo for walls and woven vetiver for the roofs. Growing up, I often wondered why they did not construct sturdier houses using more hardwoods, which could have eliminated the need for yearly renovations. These reflections led me to believe that the concept of sustainability was not present in their mindset. Although I later recognised that the ease of relocating these houses was due to the rotational nature of swidden farmland, it seemed there were no long-term plans or goals (Nong Poe Sher, Focus group discussion, August 2019).

7.4 Presence of A More Precarious Faction

7.4.1 Challenges to Achieving Well-Being

Sah Bue, a prominent village elder, recounted a significant migration of Christian Myanmar-S'gaw civil war evacuees into the village. These evacuees, originally from Karen State, initially found refuge in the neighbouring Prachammai Village (sub-resettlement site 4). Subsequently, some utilised personal connections with Sairung, the head of Raipa Village at that time, to facilitate their resettlement in Raipa Village. The local villagers consented to this arrangement, allowing the evacuees to join the small existing Christian community within the village. Since then, the Myanmar-S'gaw evacuee community has grown, with more relatives continuing to arrive through kinship networks, often as undocumented migrants, and settling in the village's marginal areas.

As the lead ethnographer, an FGD comprising five Christian Myanmar-S'gaw civil war evacuees was established. The first two participants were males, Tah Kler who was then 56 years of age and Sah Toe, who was 55. The other three were females called Tah Jue, Bue Lah and Nor Por, who were aged 24, 26 and 39, respectively. All of them have been labourers and temporary workers. Tah Jue was the only one taking on a voluntary role as a S'gaw language teacher for the younger generation in the community. The discussion mainly revolved around their well-being, happiness and aspirations.

To begin with, being undocumented and stateless is adverse and tough. This situation, in their view, is relatively central to their extended socio-economic difficulties. Thus, asking them to assess their state of well-being and happiness elicited difficult responses stemming, principally, from their being undocumented. In this regard, as long as they have no documents, it seems that their self-evaluation of the state in terms of their well-being would impact negatively and lead to

pessimism. For instance, Sah Toe expressed in hand-to-mouth terms what he did every day. If he was healthy enough to work, he was also lucky that he could feed his family members that day.

> On the day I am healthy enough to work, I deem this day I have well-being. Mostly, I am not frequently in well-being due to unhealthiness. Sometimes, I have even not enough to keep the pot boiling. Subsequently, feeling unwell and unable to generate income causes me to feel stressed. To me, well-being can only arise when I am in healthy conditions and ready to work for my family in order to eat well. More than anything, just keeping fit is true well-being. I have also suffered from haemorrhoids for ten years. The time its symptoms got more serious, I felt weak and must stay home the whole day. Of course, no works mean no income, leading to being stressed. The only way that I will completely get well from such a haemorrhoid is to have surgery. Again, I have no money to get surgery (Sah Toe, Focus group discussion, August 2019).

Sah Toe's contribution was compatible with Tah Kler's notion. Tah Kler assessed that his well-being was also the poorest it had been during the past ten years, as he had been fatigued at all times whether he worked or did not. Moreover, he has faced unknown causes of aches in his wrists and ankles, resulting in his being unable to work. Being hospitalised is impossible and he does not make a profit. Part of his house had been destroyed by wild elephant attacks.

> This year is considered my toughest year. Sometimes, I suffered from joint pains, especially in my wrists and ankles. Some said these symptoms are from incurable mosquito diseases. But, I have never seen anyone get seriously diagnosed in the hospital due to unaffordability. So, I do not know whether mosquitoes are carriers. Each time we went to the hospital for curing these symptoms, we must pay up to 2,000 baht. The doctor only gave us one set of pain relief. Without it, all symptoms would come back again. So, we alternatively took a Myanmar folk medicine instead. It is a lot cheaper and can reduce pain to some degree. Additionally, in the past few years, my cassava growing on one of my landlords' land has been a deficit. I then must cease growing cassava. My house was destroyed and it was now slanted. These resulted from the coming of aggressive elephants in the farm and living area. This was quite dark humour as such elephants were barked at by a few dogs. Once the elephants were provoked, they became angrier and more aggressive, wiping out everything in front. Unfortunately, my house at the time was in front of them, and it was destroyed. I think to go in the forest to get some logs so as to renovate my house, but getting logs is illegal. So, I have just left my house slanted this way (Tah Kler, Focus group discussion, August 2019).

In Bue Lah's opinion, she critically divided well-being into two perspectives for discussion. The term "well-being" in English has been translated as "yuudiigindii[66]" in Thai, literally meaning living and eating well. Being influenced by such Thai terminology, Bue Lah discussed living well as being prised apart from eating well. Overall, in her view, everyone in her Christian community lives well if in Thailand. On the other hand, in terms of eating well, Bue Lah was afraid that she

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[66] To live, eat and do well (or a sense of well-being), in the Thai language

and her people may not eat well. Sometimes, she stated that it was unaffordable to purchase commodities such as rice, shrimp paste, and salt. The most disappointing thing is that she has lost her chances to store some upland rice and vegetables after helping some landlords to take care of their barren farm plots. The changes in production relations between landlords and her, as well as changes in land use, have ultimately affected her state of well-being.

> I personally think that we are living well as long as we have not been deported from Thailand. As long as we have a church to pray for our God, this is enough to live well. But, we may not eat well as eating well may depend upon budget to purchase good food in order to keep our family members well-fed. I consider how much we earn is how well we eat. Moreover, the fact that we have no land plots to make use causes us to live uncertainly. In the past, some of the benevolent landlords gave us chances to take care of their barren land plots. We could grow rice and other vegetables. Even though the whole produce must be given back to the landlords, some small amount of them kept as ours were enough for the family's consumption. This kind of reciprocal farming helped lighten our load significantly. At least, we did not need to buy vegetables. At present, all land has been transformed to rubber oil planting and profitable hardwood afforesting. So, we must do temporary labour works instead (Bue Lah, Focus group discussion, August 2019).

7.4.2 Exploring The Quest for True Happiness

There was often considerable overlap between the concepts of well-being and happiness in the village, making it essential to isolate the perceptions of happiness. Understanding these perceptions could reveal the villagers' satisfaction with their daily lives. All participants concurred that the absence of illness epitomised true happiness, valuing health above all as a lasting expectation. However, this year, a sense of unhappiness was prevalent among many. Nor Por suffered from a severe toothache, while Tah Kler and some family members were afflicted with incurable illnesses, frequently experiencing fever and skin rashes. Sah Toe endured chronic piles. These three participants unanimously expressed that happiness was unattainable while they and their loved ones were burdened by such ailments.

Speaking about happiness in The FGD sounded hopeless and sluggish, as though they had never engaged with a state of having happiness before. On the other hand, speaking about sadness elicited many emotional reactions.

> My son has long been afflicted with a mental illness, a situation that has caused me profound anxiety due to uncertainty about how to assist him effectively. Although I am aware that he requires long-term mental therapy, the cost of medication is dauntingly high, particularly when the full medical fee is necessary in the absence of state healthcare coverage. Indeed, the ill health of my family members has been a deep source of sadness for me (Tah Kler, Focus group discussion, August 2019).

Tah Jue added that having become indebted could be one source of her sadness. In her economic hardship, she must borrow money from moneylenders.

Especially during uncertain times, my neighbours and I have found ourselves heavily indebted due to unemployment. Paying off debts is only possible when we regain our incomes after finding employment. Despite this challenge, we are obligated to manage the high-interest rates that result from informal lending. Consequently, with limited options available, we are compelled to acquiesce to usurious conditions (Tah Jue, Focus group discussion, August 2019).

It could be noticed that such accounts of sadness, as illustrated by the participants, evokes an emotional response. At the same time, their accounts of happiness are relatively sluggish and nothing indeed to be enthusiastically discussed.

Aforementioned accounts of happiness and sadness are something to do with their forming aspirations of social progress. In their view, it seems that nothing is expected in the long run. Having love around and being protected by their God is sufficient. For example, through asking them to wish, Sah Toe did not wish for anything, except having enough to get by, as well as having love in the family and sufficient health to work. He hoped that God would bless him in order to meet with good people. If he must go to a hospital, he hoped that his God would bestow upon him the best medicine and the kindest doctor. Akin to Tah Jue's wishes, she went along compatibly with Sah Toe's wishes. She too was hopeful of being healthy, of being ready for employment. She also hoped to be able to share with good neighbours. Love and reciprocity seem to be sufficient for living. She hoped that God would bless her, bestowing upon her only those people who would give her respect and not treat her badly.

7.4.3   Assessing Social Progress among Christian Myanmar-S'gaw Civil War Evacuees

During the discussion on social progress, their contributions commonly emphasised the importance of reciprocal and voluntary cooperation. For instance, Tah Kler and Tah Jue considered that:

Convening every Saturday to clean the church is regarded as contributing to social progress. Participation in communal tasks, such as clearing grass from the roads or building dikes for waterways, is similarly perceived as advancing social progress. When a leaking pipe causes inconvenience to all villagers, repairing it is also seen as a step towards social progress. The benefits derived from these collective efforts are aimed at the common good (Tah Kler, Focus group discussion, August 2019).

Social progress may begin at the individual level. For example, I proposed that you (Tah Kler) should cease drinking. Similarly, it was recommended that those who have been idle engage in church activities attend prayer sessions every Sunday (Tah Jue, Focus group discussion, August 2019).

It seems any view of making social progress would be senseless if one cannot get by. Moreover, their stateless positions aggravated their struggle to make a livelihood in their weakened positions. For this reason, they felt it better to uphold Christian positivity and believe in the love of their God to cope with such hard times and understand their collective

destiny. This author felt that they had run out of time, with insufficient needs met, lacking the disposition to reflect upon any issues regarding making social progress.

Even though their perception of making social progress was not significantly different from the aforementioned local ideas, their differing ethno-religious foundations from the majority of the village become meaningful. For example, Christianity becomes their foundational worldview, being so significant a part as to help them to make sense of fate. Having their God as their anchoring sanctity seemed psychologically sufficient. This seemingly causes them to not aspire to anything else so long as they are sure their God is beside them. All in all, the case of the Christian Myanmar-S'gaw war evacuees presents the intersectionality of life's precarious conditions, one which significantly affects the way in which they cultivate and express their aspirations of making social progress.

7.5 Examining Local Social Progress and Contradictions through Theories

7.5.1 Manifestations and Mechanisms of Power

- **Knowledge Is Power**

The phenomenon that indigenous conceptual languages, like maasher, are susceptible to subjugation by terminologies that are more established and assertive in their ontology, epistemology, and methodology aligns with Foucault's assertion that knowledge equates to power. This notion is reinforced by his in-depth analysis of the conditions that form delinquency in various contexts (1965; 1991a; 1998).

Applying this explanation to our context, the inherent difficulty in ontologically defining and epistemologically refining indigenous conceptual languages, as opposed to the terms of scholarly knowledge in modern Western society, is significant. This discrepancy leaves indigenous languages in a state of vulnerability, potentially overpowered by more established terms and their discourses, which can overshadow and transform the indigenous expressions as predicaments of existence, meaning, and manipulation. These transformations are contingent on the prevailing truth regime within a society, which can be challenged and potentially altered by new discursive forces if a segment of this truth regime gains social acceptance.

Before the ascendance of modern Western society and its global influence, indigenous conceptual languages like maasher operated as uncodified norms of everyday life, reflecting their relationship to their object world, including swidden activities, gender roles, division of labour, and reciprocal economies. These indigenous regimes of truth have since been confronted by the modernity's truth regime, especially that associated with capitalism and the mainstream development discourse.

Within the robust contestation from mainstream development narratives, indigenous conceptual languages are often labelled as archaic and targeted for eradication by development initiatives. This perspective deems indigenous languages as aberrant, while scholarly knowledge is considered normal and capable of curing them. The mainstream development discourse legitimises its societal role by marginalising and weakening indigenous languages, relegating them to symbolic locations deemed backward and uncivilised. These locations are the subjective forms of subjectivity promoted by capitalist, liberalist, and mainstream development discourses, which stigmatise them as threats or harmful entities to the progression advocated by nationalists, leaders, and educated members of society.

Academic institutions, as custodians of scholarly knowledge on mainstream development, also act as power repositories, constraining and delegitimising those considered backward. Thus, indigenous conceptual languages are stripped of their agency and might, excluded from the mainstream repository of development, and possibly destined to fade away. This scenario aligns with Foucault's principle that knowledge is power, whereby scholarly knowledge wields the power to negate alternative forms of knowledge, potentially standardising them within everyday social life.

- **The Formation of Weaker Conceptual Language of Maasher**

This formation of weaker conceptual language of Maasher aligns with Butler's (1997) Theory of Subject Formation. It raises questions about the extent to which indigenous conceptual languages can maintain their integrity and negotiate with mainstream development discourse. We must consider if these indigenous languages are vulnerable and at risk of being readily assimilated, thereby bolstering other dominant terminologies and discourses. Indigenous conceptual languages like maasher interact with the mainstream development discourse and may be co-opted, relegated to a subordinate position, and utilised within broader power dynamics. In these power struggles, indigenous languages face the danger of becoming marginalised and eventually succumbing to dominant forces.

Regarding the destiny of maasher, it appears that it has been overshadowed by the mainstream development discourse, relegated to a position of lesser influence. Maasher has likely been compelled by external power dynamics rather than establishing itself as an equal voice for its own continuity. Consequently, maasher is at risk of losing its legitimacy and its standing in society. In a profound sense, indigenous conceptual languages such as maasher may diminish their ability to engage with the mainstream development discourse, potentially leading to their disappearance.

- **Insufficiency of Power among The Christian Myanmar-S'gaw Civil War Evacuees**

In light of Butler's Theory on Subject Formation and the necessity of sufficient power for negotiation, the focus group discussion (FGD) with the evacuees significantly echoed these

concepts. The predicament of The FGD participants mirrored that of Tee Shyer, as discussed in Section 6.3.3. They, being registered as stateless evacuees, found themselves outside the full purview of Thai immigration laws. Such legislative constraints cause them considerable oppression; despite not being legally bound, they remained utterly unprotected, with no means to assert their rights or negotiate for better living conditions, mobility, or access to adequate healthcare. The constant threat of being targeted by the state as illegal immigrants or criminals loomed over them should they attract unwanted attention.

Negotiations with the legislative powers could inadvertently lead to criminalisation and abuse. Thus, their strategy was one of silence and vigilance to evade state surveillance. Any attempt to engage with the state could expose them to harsher legislative actions and the use of force. As a result, these external pressures and their chosen strategy of retreatism forced them into a subordinate or weak position, dominated by external forces.

On the other hand, the legislative forces and their enforcers require subjects like these Christian Myanmar-S'gaw civil war evacuees to assert their authority. Without such individuals, the legislative powers would lack a target for their enforcement actions. Therefore, the power of these Christian Myanmar-S'gaw civil war evacuees is diminished not only by external forces but also through their self-imposed retreatism, leading to a decline in their legitimacy and any claim to societal standing. Consequently, they have lost not only to the forces of legislation but also to their own retreatist approach.

- **Power of God**

The lot of the evacuees, marked by an ill-fate, a lack of negotiating power, and restricted access to basic necessities, has likely fostered an increasing sense of fatalism. The focus group discussion (FGD) revealed that for them, the presence of divine love and protection is sufficient, indicating a strong influence of Christian beliefs on their mindset. The participants' faith shaped their interpretation of the world, accepting their difficult fates and limited prospects for improving their QoL with a sense of self-retreatism, optimism, and self-comfort.

Christianity has evidently become a foundational worldview for them, an essential element that helps them make sense of their fatalism. Consequently, their challenging circumstances and inability to access basic needs are reconciled by finding solace in the protection of their God. They live in hope that their deity will eventually grant them a brighter future. This author understands that their profound belief in God and adherence to Christian values have significantly steered them towards remaining within a Christian-led community.

7.5.2 Perspectives on Hegemony and Governmentality

- **The Dominance of Maasher and Traditional Norms**

The forces of maasher and the good old days normative worldview may be deeply ingrained within the mental structures of the elderly, shaping them into staunch bearers of these perspectives. Such power dynamics compel them to perceive themselves as relative to the modernists and trendsetters of their time, reinforcing power at the grassroots level that is pivotal in constructing such a worldview. This author posits that mainstream development discourse, its practices, and accepted terminology are central to the construction of self and society, influencing recognition and conditioning existence.

Drawing from the conceptual frameworks of hegemony in the works of Agyrou (2005), Gunn (2006) and William (1977), it is considered that the elderly may be more influenced by maasher, traditional worldviews, and Buddhist principles than by the forceful currents of mainstream development discourse. At the outset of the focus group discussion (FGD), it was evident that they longed for the good old days of their now-submerged forestland. Hence, they are viewed as custodians of maasher and traditional worldviews, fostering a collective consciousness that allows them to assimilate seamlessly within their cohort. During internalisation, they must integrate the world of their objects (indigenous-local labour exchange and reciprocal maasher economy) into their mental frameworks, positioning them at odds with the capitalist world (waged labour and market economy). Consequently, this group of elderly individuals resists subjugation by the hegemonic strategies of mainstream development discourse, including, at times, state surveillance mechanisms.

The tension between adherents of maasher and traditional worldviews and those aligned with modernisation is noteworthy. Within the discourse surrounding maasher and traditional perspectives, often upheld by the elderly, there is a tendency for modernists to view the traditionalists as the other. Conversely, the modernists may be seen as outcasts in the eyes of the traditionalist elderly.

- **Hegemony and Governmentality through Schooling**

There are theoretical points to consider. Drawing on Foucault's critique of power concerning governmentality (Foucault, 1991b) and Butler's Theory of Subject Formation (1997), power permeates through knowledge and regimes of truth. It influences individuals, partly shaping them through everyday experiences where power is continuously expressed. The case of students being taught moral values by their teachers to achieve self-discipline and self-development resonates with Foucault's principle. In this sense, the national curriculum, educational policies, and the state exhibit a desire to mould individuals into model citizens

under surveillance. Schools and their teachers serve as intermediaries, imparting the discourse of exemplary citizenship through indoctrination and socialisation.

Furthermore, this discourse encompasses a regime of truth and symbolic forms that run concurrently. The regime of truth could be interpreted as the culture of good citizenship and national unity, while the dualistic symbolic forms, fostered by this discourse, might present contrasts between good citizenship and criminality, order and chaos, organisation and disarray, harmony and discord, as well as moral integrity and guilt. The school has been tasked with guiding students along these predetermined paths.

The school's role extends to fostering a hegemonic framework that consolidates a shared perspective on good citizenship. This author perceives the hegemonic framework imparted through education as constructing a cultural apparatus aiming for students' eventual acquiescence to the state and the internalisation of a collective worldview or "common sense" regarding being a good Thai citizen. Consequently, students become objects within this hegemonic schema, their understanding of the social world shaped by the learning environment provided by the school on behalf of the curriculum, educational policies, and the state.

The school actively employs soft power through indoctrination and socialisation to manage disciplinary knowledge. This approach maintains students' self-discipline and enforces compliance with the state. Progressive nationalists, leaders, and certain modernist members of society direct both the self-concept and social discipline of students. They have cultivated a collective understanding of good Thai citizenship, conditioned to consent to pervasive state surveillance practices.

In their role of governance, schools and teachers demonstrate that disciplinary power is strategically applied to people's mental frameworks at the grassroots level. Over time, this approach to governance encourages self-regulation, enabling the state to exert control and influence over its citizens under the guise of freedom, ensuring enduring governance that extends beyond the mechanisms of the state itself.

7.5.3   Re-evaluating The Concept of Development on The Ground
- **The Historical Context of Kaanpattana**

In Thailand, there exists a dominant discourse on development that, while influenced by Western ideals, also incorporates indigenous perspectives deserving acknowledgment. The discourse of development possesses a dual nature, being universally recognised yet locally nuanced. While there is a global ethos of modernisation centred around consumerism and growth, individual country experiences unveil the complexity beneath this surface. Defining development is a challenge often met with the understanding that its meaning is contingent on context. This

suggests that interpretations of development vary depending on the specific context. For instance, economists may view development through the lens of economic growth, while geographers might consider broader indicators of human well-being (Rigg, Allott, Harrison, & Kratz, 1999, p. 583).

In the broader context of minimal discourse, the earliest Zimmerman survey stands out. It predates the coining of the Thai term for development (kaanpattana) and precedes the establishment of The Thai National Development Board (NEDB) in 1959 by nearly three decades. Despite reporting satisfactory living conditions among rural Thais, the survey reflects the prevailing ethos of the development agenda. Zimmerman (1999, pp. 112, 195 and 317) contends that significant enhancements to living standards are achievable. The report identifies three obstacles hindering optimal efficiency in rural Siam: a lack of incentive for adopting improved methods, inadequate understanding of the capitalist economy among rural inhabitants, and insufficient development of mechanisms required for implementing this capitalist economy. Zimmerman emphasises that providing agricultural credit poses a major economic challenge for the nation, one of critical importance and immediate concern (Rigg J. , 2019, pp. 33-34).

The inception of the contemporary development project in Thailand can be traced back to 1959 with the establishment of The National Economic Development Board (NEDB) by Prime Minister Sarit Thanarat. This event marked the commencement of the country's development era (samaipattana), where the pursuit of development (pattana) became the central tenet and rationale behind much of the state's domestic policy (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 67). As noted by Demaine (1986, pp. 95-104), "kaanpattana" was a term coined relatively recently and was adopted by the Thai state in 1957. The inception of The NEDB, instigated by Thanarat, was responsible for formulating Thailand's inaugural five-year economic development plan (1961-1966). Kaanpattana signifies progression or advancement and is often more aptly translated as modernisation rather than development. It is frequently associated with khwaamcharoen, which Hirsch interprets as prosperity, particularly in a consumerist context (Hirsch, 1989, p. 50; Rigg, Allott, Harrison, & Kratz, 1999, p. 584). However, this interpretation is not inherently derived from charoen itself, which denotes moving forward, progressing, or prospering, without an intrinsic materialistic or consumerist connotation (Rigg, Allott, Harrison, & Kratz, 1999, p. 584).

While there may be uncertainties regarding the materialistic implications of Thai development terms, villagers and village leaders generally perceive development in material and infrastructural terms, such as roads, water supply, and electricity. It is also observed that villagers view development as something external, imposed upon them, rather than an initiative they undertake autonomously (Rigg, Allott, Harrison, & Kratz, 1999, pp. 584-585). Vandergeest suggests that development is portrayed by the government as a form of largesse within a social contract.

Notably, the state typically provides material, technological, or financial "gifts" that are beyond the means of local communities to self-provide, such as infrastructure and credit facilities. This perception of development as a gift, or perhaps an entitlement, has deep roots in Thai history (Rigg, Allott, Harrison, & Kratz, 1999, p. 585; Vandergeest, 1991, pp. 421-426).

Rigg, Allott, Harrison, and Kratz (1999, pp. 585-586) point out that before the widespread use of "kaanpattana" in the early 1960s, "wattana" was a common term to denote development in Thailand. The term "wattana" signifies progress or growth, aligning closely with the multifaceted notion of development found in Western discourse, which encompasses various aspects of human advancement. This term is sometimes coupled with "charoen," which also denotes progress and advancement. Interestingly, Thai non-governmental organisations (NGOs) tend to prefer "wattana" over "kaanpattana." They view "wattana" as more suitable because it links development with progress rather than with the economically charged concept of modernity. In agreement with Rigg et al. (1999, p. 586), it can be argued that while "kaanpattana" has gained widespread usage relatively recently, local concepts of progress and existing terms aligned with development were already deeply rooted in Thai society.

- **Maasher Vs. Pattana**

The tension arising between the conceptual languages of maasher and kaanpattana might be explained in terms of outside-inside conceptual languages. Indigenous ideas and practices of cooperation had scarcely been assigned definitive meanings, titles, or forms. In other words, such ideas and practices have ontologically existed, yet they had scarcely undergone any epistemologisation in order to conceptualise a more solid principle. At the national level, across local interrelations, the author considers kaanpattana as superseding such indigenous cooperation as its potential preconceives shape. Once the process of taking over or possession is complete, the existing indigenous cooperation had been displaced. Such existing indigenous cooperation has instead become known as taken-for-granted kaanpattana, while pattana has come to be widely socially perceived as a verb for whatever ideas and practices of making social progress predominate. This is due to the fact that the usurped, superseded, and possessed maasher previously functioned as a verb. Thus, kaanpattana and pattana, in the Pwo-Karen mind, can only be perceived as verbs, for they have shared their ontological existences. Between the Pwo-Karen cooperation and mainstream development lies a knowledge paradox which leads to difficulty in prising them apart. It is quite correct to say that the term "kaanpattana," in the villagers' mind, has become glocalised. Seemingly, maasher remains as yet unmilled, being more raw than kaanpattana, whereas kaanpattana has already been epistemologically milled, being more mature than maasher.

One of the highlights is that this section makes sense of the observation that there are external cultural influences, those which permeate and dominate this locality's idea of making social progress. Through examining cross-cultural conceptual languages among The Pwo-Karen, Thai, and English, we have found that there appear to be some ontological concepts that are absent between these conceptual languages. Some conceptual languages indicate less hierarchical structures than others. This influences the specific ways in which people think and speak about states of progress based on whether their attributes will be within hierarchical structures. In the Pwo-Karen conceptual language, it seems less straightforward to ontologically identify and epistemologically process than in other terms. This causes its susceptibility to be dominated and subjugated more easily by other terms which are more powerfully and firmly established ontologically, epistemologically, and methodologically with regard to their form of forming knowledge.

This is possibly one of the reasons why we sometimes see that some of the more conceptual languages are nuanced; indeed, they are supposed to be different and to be independent of one another. For example, indigenous ideas of making social progress in the guise of Pwo-Karen cooperation are not supposed to be under the realisation of mainstream development. This is because each of their cardinal features is rooted differently. Further, their foundations and aims are divergent. As a result, local ideas and practices of indigenous making social progress and mainstream development are extremely tightly bound, resulting in their being difficult to unravel and prise apart.

Accordingly, there are two perspectives which are divided in terms of discussing indigenous-local ideas of making social progress such as maasher and mainstream development in the form of kaanpattana. Most of the time, when the author discusses the local idea of making social progress and utilises their term for making social progress, this is intended to mean indigenous-local cooperation. In this ethnographic case, the ultimate aim of such making of social progress has been for the village's common good and psychological self-fulfilment. Thus, the indigenous-local notion of cooperation regains its rightful balance in sounding more neutral and fairer than the term "kaanpattana", or "mainstream development."

On the other hand, the term "kaanpattana" appears to be more discursively constructed after The First World Countries' (FWCs) discourses of development, as already discussed in Chapter 2. Kaanpattana, in this sense, relates more to such approaches as capitalism, nationalism, liberalism, and globalism which lead on to capitalist, nationalist, liberalist, globalist and modernist achievements. Likewise, at the level of global transnational interrelations, the English term development has been imported and translated into Thailand's context via use of the existing term kaanpattana. Kaanpattana, before the coming of mainstream development, once also had a very loose meaning, signifying making social progress in general. Later on, such alien ideas of making

social progress from The FWCs perspective have usurped the existing conceptualisation of and superseded local ideas of making social progress in the country, including kaanpattana. As such, FWCs' discourse of making social progress has since been officially endorsed by the government. This results in an increase of power in the tenet of such alien concepts of making social progress.

This is possibly one of the reasons why we often observe that some of the more conceptual languages are nuanced; indeed, they are intended to differ and to remain independent of one another. For instance, indigenous ideas of making social progress in the guise of Pwo-Karen cooperation are not meant to fall under the purview of mainstream development. This is because each possesses cardinal features that are rooted distinctly. Moreover, their foundations and objectives are divergent. Consequently, local ideas and practices of indigenous social advancement and mainstream development are inextricably bound, resulting in their being difficult to disentangle.

Accordingly, there are two perspectives divided in terms of discussing indigenous-local ideas of social advancement such as maasher and mainstream development in the form of kaanpattana. Frequently, when the author discusses the local concept of social progress and employs their term for it, it is intended to denote indigenous-local cooperation. In this ethnographic case, the ultimate aim of such social progress has been for the village's common good and psychological self-fulfilment. Thus, the indigenous-local notion of cooperation regains its rightful place, sounding more neutral and equitable than the term "kaanpattana," or "mainstream development."

On the other hand, the term "kaanpattana" appears to be more discursively constructed following The FWCs' discourses of development, as already discussed in Chapter 2. Kaanpattana, in this sense, relates more to approaches such as capitalism, nationalism, liberalism, and globalism which lead to capitalist, nationalist, liberalist, globalist, and modernist achievements. Similarly, at the level of global transnational interrelations, the English term development has been imported and translated into Thailand's context through the use of the existing term kaanpattana. Kaanpattana, before the advent of mainstream development, also had a very general meaning, signifying making social progress in general. Subsequently, alien ideas of social progress from The FWCs' perspective have usurped and supplanted the local conceptualisation of social progress in the country, including kaanpattana. As such, The FWCs' discourse of social progress has since been officially endorsed by the government, leading to an increase in the power of such foreign concepts of social advancement.

Many Thai individuals have begun to vernacularise the term "kaanpattana" in the context of The FWCs' notion of social progress, applying it to all actions of social advancement on the ground. This trend has diminished the influence of indigenous-local concepts of social progress. This occurred because the general populace did not recognise that they were being overshadowed by the more dominant term kaanpattana, which was supplanting their indigenous-local meanings of social

advancement. This pre-emptive occupation signifies a diminution and eventual erasure of indigenous-local perceptions of social progress. As a result, it has become exceedingly challenging for indigenous-local concepts of social progress to persist and flourish autonomously. In essence, the foreign mainstream development had already pre-empted and occupied the space once held by indigenous-local notions of social progress. This is why nowadays indigenous-local individuals tend to use the term "kaanpattana" to describe all acts of social progress, irrespective of whether each act is genuinely a product of their own indigenous-local cooperation for the collective welfare. Hence, when the term "kaanpattana" is employed, it denotes the practice of modernist progress, aiming to achieve a state of modernity and advancement, or kwaamthansamai[67] and kwaamcharoen in Thai.

In summary, the tensions among the terms "maasher," "kaanpattana," and "development," in terms of discursively supplanting one another, resonate with Ferguson's (2014) observation. Not only does this author concur with his assertion regarding the notable challenge in separating the mainstream development discourse from the broader academic discourse on concepts of social progress, but in this ethnographic case study, we have also identified and corroborated that superficial resemblance appears to exacerbate the difficulty in disentangling those discursively dominant terms maasher, kaanpattana, and development within the interwoven glocality of language. Without meticulous analysis, the evidence for their distinctiveness would be less readily perceived.

7.5.4 Foucauldian Discourse Analysis of The Elderly's Happiness and Enjoyment

There is an inside-outside discursive context to address. Whereas the local idea of merk, kwaamsanuk, or enjoyment had been indigenous, another discourse of happiness, or kwaamsuk, has since permeated into the locality. It was not only that the indigenous villagers now had to learn to speak of happiness, or kwaamsuk, but also they must internalise and conceptualise such conceptual language to utilise it. In other words, the Pwo-Karen idea of merk, kwaamsanuk, or enjoyment has been discursively subjugated by the national discourse of happiness, or kwaamsuk. In the context of Thailand, such first-world discourse and its practices of mainstream development were imported into the country under the spell of Sarit Thanarat's Doctrine, which concentrated on economic development (Hirsch, 1990a). The government of Field Marshal Thanarat instigated the construction of a national capitalist discourse, cultivating a capitalist sensibility within the minds of the Thai population. Sarit Thanarat's Doctrine of national development was scrutinised in relation to pro-US and anti-communism policies. His economic measures were deemed to be socially satisfactory by the masses.

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[67] Modernity, in the Thai language

Thanarat's early post-war discourse of mainstream development operated through the trickle-down doctrine. This discourse and its practices intended to increase consumptive demand, which, in turn, helped to expand national production. This path was believed to be the golden route towards growth, industrialisation, and increased productivity. Therefore, in the 1960s, many sectors in the market-based economy enjoyed high demand in terms of consumption as well as surpluses. In particular, those government policies that supported producers by providing cheap labour made business sectors satisfactorily productive. Concurrently, there was a discursive construction of active consumers in the hope of increasing demand for national products. Sarit Thanarat's discourse of development subtly fabricated and conflated jobs, monetisation, and happiness. The discourse introduced a new value to the country, wherein active national job markets were seen as the route to realising that jobs meant incomes, and incomes would lead to greater pleasure. Such fabrication and discursive construction between jobs, monetisation, and happiness were introduced and adopted by the mainstream macroeconomic planners of The Office of The National Economic and Social Development Council[68] (NESDC). Through Sarit Thanarat's popular slogan, "work is money, money is work, happiness abounds," this discourse became prominent from the early 1960s (Hirsch, 1990a).

These discursively constructed discourses of happiness, or kwaamsuk, within their native Pwo-Karen culture, as cultivated by the statist mainstream development discourse, also known as Sarit Thanarat's Doctrine, can be critically discussed through Escobar's (1995) and Ferguson's (2014) post-development critique of the mainstream development discourse. Thanarat's Doctrine suggests that creating certain perceptions or knowledge may serve to fabricate and conflate disparate ideas such as monetisation and happiness. It appears that, in this perception, a lack of either jobs or money would lead to unhappiness. The slogan also created a new particular regime of truth, wherein it was exercised by The NESDC, thereby constructing the capitalist culture and coining its rules through a series of national development plans. At the national level, the agenda of such a slogan potentially promoted the predicaments of financial liquidity and cash flow, in addition to active labour and job markets wherein happiness was at stake for anyone who decided to conform to this value. The cultivation of this new truth regime, in the form of importing capitalist culture into the country, was adopted to respond to the need to rid oneself of backwardness in the forms of a pre-modernist culture of work and inactive markets for jobs and labour. This gave rise to symbolic forms of subjectivity as fostered by such a

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[68] Some scholars employ the term "Board" instead of "Council" when referring to The National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB). Nevertheless, its official website employs the term "Council." This author opts for the latter in accordance with the official website.

discourse. In this case, the dualist-symbolic forms were, for instance, being employed versus being unemployed, working hard versus being lazy, and being happy versus being unhappy.

Such discourse promoted new ways of thinking about jobs, money, and happiness. It potentially helped to construct new ways of thinking about happiness simply through the possession of jobs and money, reducing the many activities in life that could alternatively lead to happiness to a single focus on working hard and accumulating capital as a means of attaining happiness. In contrast, those who did not conform to these new ways of thinking might have fallen foul of this normative perception of knowledge and capitalist culture, thereby becoming a threat to such a culture and in need of serious manipulation. Perhaps, these reforms in thinking, particularly among capitalists, deflected other ways of thinking regarding the planning of national development policies which, by their very nature, became the overarching themes of the new policies that were addressed and emphasised solely through the bundling together of jobs, monetisation, and happiness. Through this phenomenon, the author could not concur more that mainstream discourse and its practices are powerfully shaped by the world of accepted utterances within which we live.

7.5.5 Exploring Statist Discourse in Sufficiency Economy's Philosophy (SEP)

- **Foucauldian Discourse Analysis of SEP**

The author prefers the use of the term "discourse," as he considers that the notion of SEP encompasses all the elements for such a definition. The first element is that there are institutions where such systematically constructed knowledge regarding the notion of SEP has been produced and widely disseminated. Also, these institutions are empowered to keep such knowledge active. For example, The Office of The NESDC has been formulating development policies in which knowledge of SEP is deemed central. The discourse of The SEP has its proponents working at every societal level, and all policies have been implemented. Schools under the supervision of The Ministry of Education have a duty to inculcate the tenet of The SEP. Every school student must attend the SEP module and is commonly asked to complete the SEP's projects, mostly concerning homegrown vegetable cultivation, savings accounts, and performing basic household accounting.

Furthermore, The Department of Community Development has put such policies directly into practice by passing down various SEP projects to the heads of the villages. Most of the villagers must create such projects in close collaboration with local community development officers. They often respond to such directives by creating and practising their projects in a manner similar to the students' projects. Most Thai villages will have many manifestations of the discourse on The SEP. Mostly, these manifestations concern maintaining the middle path, observing the need for self-

immunity, and upholding the principles of honesty and integrity. Moreover, these manifestations constitute evidence that each village has complied with the SEP's state policies.

The second element is the SEP's regime of truth. The tenet of The SEP has long been established as a national development agenda by The NESDC. It has also been placed at the centre of all national development policies since 2002. After the national economic crisis of 1997, the tenet of The SEP was promoted as an urgent national agenda to address and surmount such economic hardship. King Bhumibol's speech calling for his people to live sufficiently in 1974 returned to mainstream consideration. In the late 1990s, the incumbent government and NESDC, along with emeritus scholars, made considerable efforts to epistemologise King Bhumibol's speech. Thus, the tenet of The SEP has been gradually formed as a regimen of truth, one that held high hopes of empowering the nation and enabling it to stand independently. This approach was seemingly believed to be one method of dealing with the crisis rather than another. People were urged to follow the notion of SEP as though it were able to function as a natural rule of law, aiding individuals to cope with and to surmount socio-economic hardship.

The final element is the SEP's form of subjectivity as fostered by its discourse. Specifically, it must complement and work in conjunction with mechanisms of power and control. Such a form of subjectivity escalates and regularises power relations to be less objectivist, though more symbolic, than such binary juxtapositions as contentment versus greediness, moral economy versus capitalism, and sufficiency versus insufficiency. These symbolically binary positions between what is characterised as and deemed to be contentment, moral economy, and sufficiency, and what is conceptualised and couched as greed, capitalism, and insufficiency, are forms of subjectivity that have been actively fostered by the SEP discourse. These forms of subjectivity are what we irrationally recognise relatively often. Last, but not least in terms of importance, is the emergence of subjective and symbolically-defined irrational threats as derived from greed, capitalism, and insufficiency within the SEP discourse. These are all believed to be threats within the SEP discourse, its adherents, and, more importantly, the nation.

Such discourse has successfully cultivated among some of the Thai people a belief in and strict adherence to the mantra of The SEP. Through the complementary working mechanisms of the SEP discourse, including its systematically produced knowledge, regime of truth, and subjectivity, it has been able to foster such a discourse and its discursive practice. Thus, knowledge of The SEP and its dualistic notions has continually been refined and disseminated through national development policies, modernist schooling, acculturation, and ground-level projects. Such knowledge gains popularity and accumulates its means of power and control through the snowballing of followers. Eventually, SEP's knowledge is transformed into a widely held and absolute national belief and, as a

dominant regime of truth, governs its adherents as though it were an incontestable natural law, above suspicion, even though it is actually a series of social constructs. All in all, in terms of discourse, power, and control, this author argues that the statist discourse of The SEP has become another mainstream development, yet it seems to have gone unnoticed.

Following the logic of Ferguson (2014) and Foucault (1982; 1998; Rabinow, 1991; Smart, 1985) in critiquing the discursive regime of mainstream development, we can apply this logic to the discussion of the SEP discourse. This has helped this author to be more confident in arguing that The SEP, as a discursive regime, was socially produced in its definitions and in terms of how it was constructed and framed. Where this author departs from previous discourse analysis (i.e., the statist conservationist discourse in fomenting hostility towards Karen swidden culture as a destructive form of deforestation as presented in Chapter 5) is through an insightful understanding of how to conduct discourse analysis and analyse this case study of SEP discourse. Thus, the initial ontological claim possibly captures the interconnections of The SEP through knowledge and sufficiency culture to the truth regime, addressing how these two forces have aided the structural construction of a collective SEP at a national level. This author followed this with Ferguson's post-development critique, which was further influenced by a Foucauldian examination of discourse production and its forces.

- **Hegemony and Governmentality through SEP**

In this manner, not only were the SEP's forces submerged by the SEP lessons taught in schools as scholarly-based knowledge, but these forces were also decentralised and dispersed through their practitioners, including schoolteachers, into all arenas. Their role is to implement such policies to mould their pupils in accordance with the SEP's established rationales. Moreover, the infiltrating forces via such practitioners partially transformed them into predominantly unrecognisable repressed agents of the SEP agenda. Nonetheless, surprisingly, they retained influence over their pupils, still empowered. Furthermore, such practitioners came to assist in the exertion of the SEP's forces. Ultimately, the SEP's established rationales became axiomatic as a singular truth regime that was outwardly presented as common sense. Some practitioners unconsciously instilled in their pupils what they should and should not do to achieve the status of contented individuals. All in all, these socially produced regimes introduced certain regularities that served to ensure the prevailing discourse continued to dominate and influence its subjects without their conscious awareness.

Interestingly, such a situation helped to reiterate the power logic, wherein the scholarly-based knowledge of sufficiency in the forms of the SEP discourse can blindside educated young people, rendering them unable to perceive other possible versions of sufficiency, even

attempting to eradicate those existing alternative possibilities beyond the pervasive SEP discourse. Thus, such scholarly knowledge through schooling maintains its role in achieving the hegemonic project of upholding a shared common sense regarding a scholarly-based understanding of the SEP discourse. Through this approach, statist sufficiency became another method of aiding individuals in their quest for contentment.

This author identified such a hegemonic project of the SEP discourse through its guise as scholarly-based knowledge contributing to a construct as a cultural tool, one which was practically adopted to render citizens submissive to the statist SEP and to commonly construct either mutual worldviews or instil a common sense directing people to become contented and satiable. Consequently, the role of the scholarly-based knowledge of the SEP discourse is indispensable in shaping its subjects within formal educational institutions to carry such worldviews. In this manner, educated young people become the objects of the SEP's hegemonic project, inclined to understand their social worlds within the SEP learning contexts as provided by such formal educational institutions in the development and policies of nationally-led SEP curricula. Within these circumstances, they began to share and make sense of their collective worldview and common sense via the SEP discourse, even if it was unwittingly.

Formal educational institutions also played a role in managing educated young people. The governmentalising project was increasingly conducted through the exercise of soft power, for the purposes of inculcation and socialisation, to manipulate their disciplinary knowledge of the SEP discourse. This author contends that the operation of the SEP discourse through such scholarly knowledge sustained the educated young people's self-discipline to ensure their submission to the statist SEP-led development and its policies. In this context, SEP-led progressive nationalists, leaders, and some of the SEP-educated populace, as modernist rulers, directed the educated young people in terms of their self and social discipline. They had fostered a shared sense of being contented and easily satiated individuals, and their submission lent their consent to practices such as Thai state surveillance. This instance of scholastically-based knowledge within the SEP discourse proved to be an effective form of disciplinary power as it targeted individuals' mentalities at a grassroots level. Over time, this governmentality of scholastically-based knowledge of the SEP discourse served as a means of self-governance contributing to statist hegemony and the governmentality of educated young people, albeit under the guise of freedom, resulting in a condition of self-governance that will persist long after the state apparatus has dissolved.

- **Misrepresentations of SEP**

Nong Poe Sher's viewpoint (Section 6.3.2) aligns with the critique of Hirsch (1990a). He posits that Thailand's SEP has been a form of self-retreatism, which exploits individuals' personal and

social opportunities as they begin to delink and isolate themselves from society. Such isolation implies that people must work harder and bear sole responsibility for their livelihood. For instance, individuals understand that they should save money by consuming homegrown vegetables rather than purchasing them from markets. Moreover, a serious consideration of The SEP involves avoiding excessive market-based activities and commercialisation. While these activities may hold high moral value, they simultaneously prompt people to become less ambitious, or to adopt a different and reframed form of ambition. To Hirsch (1990), this diminishment of ambition constitutes self-retreatism. He argues that people should not need to resort to self-exploitation, especially during challenging times.

What if The SEP is not an economic project but a political one? Following Elinoff (2014, p. 90) and Rigg (2019, pp. 81-82), this perspective can only be appreciated if The SEP is not interpreted and assessed as a developmental project but rather as a political initiative. This necessitates a consideration of the class-based contradictions that inform and shape rural change and change for rural people. Rural Thailand is evolving into a particular space, where the delivery of development to marginalised and relatively poor rural individuals is no longer the primary purpose of governmental policy; increasingly, the mission has shifted to control and limit the desires and aspirations of the rural populace to prevent them from altering the political discourse. As Elinoff states, sufficiency projects reframe the political and material desires of impoverished citizens as problematic consequences of excess. Discursively, sufficiency denotes the poor as illegitimate political entities requiring personal development to attain citizenship. Sufficiency is utilised as a disciplinary mechanism aimed at transforming the emotional lives of the impoverished.

It appears that, according to Walker (2010, p. 260), there exists a disconnect between sufficiency economy rhetoric and local economic practice. He contends that the current focus on the sufficiency economy may not truly represent a concern with rural development. Rather than undergoing a simple transition from agrarian to post-agrarian, rural households are developing economically diversified and spatially dispersed livelihood strategies, in which agricultural and non-agricultural endeavours are often interlinked (See Section 4.6.3) (Walker A. , 2010, p. 259; Wilson & Rigg, 2003). The perspective that agriculture can provide a solid base for self-reliance is a selective and simplified interpretation of economic realities. In truth, local agriculture often exists and persists on a foundation of external social and economic connections. The concept that external linkages should be developed only after establishing a foundation of local sufficiency is inconsistent with the economically diversified livelihood strategies pursued by rural individuals in contemporary Thailand. It harks back to an agrarian vision of the past. It is erroneous to presume that someone residing in a rural village is necessarily focused on agriculture. *What implications do these findings hold for rural*

development policy? Significantly, the idea that subsistence-oriented agriculture can serve as a foundation for rural livelihoods – and that this base should be well-established before progressing to subsequent stages of development – fails to recognise the diversity of local livelihood strategies (Walker A. , 2010, pp. 244, 256 and 258).

7.5.6 Deconstructing Binary Notions of Making Social Progress

The author embraces and applies Rigg's concept of moving beyond binaries as discussed in his book "More Than Rural" (2019, pp. 24-25, 46, 55, 63, 103 and 153). Presenting the rural debate in a rural-urban binary fashion may offer clarity, yet few scholars are absolutists in depicting one position against another, or rural populations as categorically conforming to such positions. The presence of Christian Myanmar-S'gaw Civil War Evacuees as a more precarious faction at the research site prompts an inquiry into how the elderly-youth binary is constructed or manifested. The introduction of evacuees' existing notions of "True Happiness" (Section 7.4.2), "Making Sense of Social Progress" (Section 7.4.3), and "Power of God" (Section 7.5.7) provides an excellent context for exploring ideas of non-dichotomy.

Furthermore, this author has contested such dichotomy on the grounds that the elderly's concept of maasher and the youth's pursuit of big development have become increasingly intertwined, as made evident by the outcomes of the focus group discussions (FGDs) conducted with both groups. On one hand, the elderly appear to recognise some utility in the outcomes of big development. On the other hand, the youth acknowledge the importance of indigenous reciprocity and express a desire to conserve it. This author posits that these situations cannot be addressed in a binary fashion.

7.5.7 Investigating The Presence of The State within Us

Before concluding, an interesting issue to discuss in this section is the notion that one can think critically about the state, yet one must remember that the state is in all of us (Bourdieu, 2014). In summary, modernist schooling enhances criticality in people's mental structures, thereby incorporating it and enabling them to critique the state in return. In this regard, modernist schooling becomes part of the discourse, where the youth develop divergent worldviews from their counterparts. The language of mainstream development they utilise seems to derive from the socialisation of state schools in one way or another. The state school prepares them to collaborate with the state by shaping their tame responses to the statist discourse of national development. This situation partly coincides with the Bourdieusian notion of the construction and maintenance of one's legitimacy through the role of schooling. Perhaps the sentiment of partnership with the state stems from a commonality of schemata governing perception, appreciation, thought, and action, revealing the unthinking complicity of a series of well-orchestrated unconscious acts. The fundamental importance of the pedagogy of preparatory

classes is less in its content than in its medium, which is, of course, a state school. This separates their students from the general populace. A state school endeavours to instil in its students a distinct relationship with culture, one that emphasises the state's partnership with the self as a prelude and precondition for development above others (Wacquant, 2005).

The author observed that the youth participants discussed development issues with considerable aspiration. Through modernist education, they confidently and fluently vernacularised the term "development," or "kaanpattana" in Thai. They expressed comfort in speaking in hegemonic mainstream developmental terms such as modernist development, economic growth, and SEP. Some of the youths' worldviews suggest they have been distanced from their ancestral norms and consequently feel like outcasts. In their understanding of development and utilisation of development terminology, they have truly vernacularised the language of hegemonic mainstream development, in contrast to their elder generations.

7.6 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has addressed three theoretical discussions. Firstly, the focus group discussions (FGDs) were analysed through the lens of power logic. Here, power is considered a resource for both self and social construction and a means to achieve recognition, thus influencing the participants' existential conditions. This author specifically engaged the group of elderly people and the Christian Myanmar-S'gaw civil war evacuees in debating this logic. An attempt was made to understand why and how weak indigenous conceptual languages, such as maasher, failed to become sufficiently powerful to transform into empowered subjects; instead, they were overshadowed and weakened by more dominant scholarly knowledge. Conversely, this author highlighted the effectiveness of the SEP discourse, which, disseminated through school education, prevailed over the educated youth, hindering their ability to perceive or seek alternative truths. This scholastic SEP-led knowledge also simultaneously undermined the value of indigenous sufficiency.

Secondly, The FGDs were discussed within the frameworks of hegemony and governmentality. For instance, the group of elderly people was potentially swayed by the normative worldview of the good old days, influenced by Buddhist tenets, leading them to view their counterparts as outsiders. Conversely, the group of young participants was likely influenced by scholastically-based knowledge, including the mainstream development discourse and the SEP discourse and practices, leading them to view their counterparts as archaic. Yet, educational institutions played a pivotal role in fostering state hegemonic and governmentality schemes. Such institutions, often in the form of schools, inculcate and socialise individuals to adhere to the national curricula and developmental policies as desired by the state. These points were

discussed in this chapter to highlight the hegemony and governmentality of being a good Thai citizen in line with the SEP discourse, for example.

Thirdly, this chapter has addressed a couple of Foucauldian discourse analyses by introducing the notion of discursively-constructed happiness by the Thai state, as promoted in this Pwo-Karen village, alongside the SEP discourse. These analyses highlighted the significance of formalised bodies of knowledge, scholarly or otherwise, in fulfilling the officially expected self-discipline of individuals. These standards had to align with certain pervasive truth regimes, such as cultures of capitalism, modernism, and mainstream development discourse. Underlying these discourses were symbolic forms of subjectivity embedded within the mental structures of their subjects. Such dualist-symbolic forms included, for instance, being employed versus being unemployed, striving for the longest end versus ensuring sustenance, working hard versus being idle, experiencing happiness versus unhappiness, contentment versus greed, moral economy versus capitalism, and sufficiency versus insufficiency.

With this in mind, one of the chapter's key points suggests that there are variations in terms of conditions and opportunities among these contradictory groups. The author posits that such conditions and opportunities cause certain groups to have either higher or lower aspirations for social progress than others. For instance, the youth group may think globally, largely due to their modernist education. It appears that their worldview is based on modernism and globalism, also reflecting life experiences and opportunities different from their elder counterparts. Their considerations of development issues tend to be more discursive than practical.

The older generations offer contrasting local experiences of social progress. Perhaps, having not received a modernist education, they are less influenced by mainstream development discourse and practices. They may perceive social progress as a practical and mundane process that integrates into their daily life experiences. Consequently, many elderly individuals speak of concepts like maasher as practical cooperation intended largely for the common good.

Conversely, notions of social progress and mainstream development may be irrelevant or meaningless to groups such as the Christian Myanmar-S'gaw war evacuees, who appear largely marginalised. Given their precarious hand-to-mouth existence, fraught with uncertainty and hardship, there is no leisure to contemplate ideas that do not directly contribute to immediate improvement, especially since they cannot negotiate with the state for their well-being due to their undocumented status. Their reliance rests in their faith, the hope for food and aspirations for health.

Chapter 8 Understanding Development in Thailand through Local Perspectives and Experiences

> The construction site of Khao Laem Dam was where the power and control of the mainstream development discourse at the grassroots level were generated and disseminated. Khao Laem Dam was, therefore, symbolically more significant than merely being a hydropower dam and reservoir. Instead, the dam served as a discursively generative mechanism of power and practices of mainstream development at the grassroots level (Field Note, 2019).

8.1 Introduction

This chapter mainly discusses mainstream development via a post-development critique in order to make sense of development in Thailand from local perspectives and experiences. The mainstream development discourse, which has long dominated and monopolistically operated within the discursive power struggle in relation to making social progress, is critically revealed in order to unfold the mechanism of the discourse. There are a few major elements of such discourse to address. These include mainstream development's knowledge, truth regime, and form of subjectivity as fostered by the discourse. One of the highlights of this chapter presents politics across both maasher and mainstream development. Through it, we reconceptualise the entire set of local experiences of development in relation to the existing theoretical framework. Following a post-development critique and considering cross-cultural positions,[69] the chapter readdresses the constructed mainstream development discourse, which has been influenced by its agents in a horizontal manner. It finally signifies how mainstream development replicates itself through a more globally discursive mechanism, whereas maasher reproduces itself via local practice.

8.2 Critical Analysis of Mainstream Development Discourse

Of course, maasher is today less powerful than mainstream development. Throughout this post-development critique, it is understandable that maasher is limited by its loose and practically unwritten forms of knowledge of making social progress, indigenous regime of

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[69] This author considers Phongphit's socio-cultural approach (1986, p. 18). Phongphit suggests that many villagers in numerous villages have become aware that the only way to survive and counteract the mainstream of the new way of life is to rekindle an interest in their cultural values. They must reconnect with their own history. Once historical awareness is established, the appreciation of cultural values is reinvigorated. One's potential and strength are unearthed. Faith in life is restored. Through action and reflection, analysis and synthesis, and with assistance from some NGO workers, the people rediscovered and revitalised their own history and cultural values. The analysis does not necessarily have to be founded on class struggle. In fact, not many people are truly committed to this theory. Theory and Systematic Analysis and Reflection should be developed from reality – the people's own experiences. Otherwise, it would merely be another method of imposing our conceptual framework onto the people. We have now reached a discernment that, along with our commitment, leads us to understand what we truly mean by faith in the people. The people are not merely subjects of history; they are the drivers of development. They, the impoverished, constitute the majority of the population.

truth, and mythical subjectivity, as fostered by its discourse. The fact that its discourse is unfirmed, narrowed, limited, localised and indigenous has rendered it weak against the scientific modernism of mainstream development. However, this section points out why mainstream discourse can further strengthen itself and push aside its counterparts. It presents itself, according to the results gleaned from researching mainstream projections and documentation of this case study, by framing its discourse of mainstream development over its objects. There are three areas of this critique which remain to be addressed. The first area discusses The Khao Laem Dam as a genesis of mainstream development discourse on the ground. The second addresses TCA for Khao Laem Dam Project. The third debates the usurpation of the mainstream development discourse into general academic discourses of ideas of making social progress, thereby reaching the zenith of its hegemony.

8.2.1   Khao Laem Dam As A Genesis of Mainstream Development Discourse on The Ground

It appears that The Khao Laem Dam was once served as the genesis of the mainstream development discourse at the ground level. According to Ferguson (2014), since the 1960s, big dam projects and, from the late 1970s, basic needs projects, had been rationalised, almost by definition, by the mere logic of capital and rather less so by the logic of politics.[70] The logic of capital signifies a political denunciation which lay at the root of what Ferguson (2014) calls The TCA. However, in this case study, both the logic of capital and of politics find ambivalence, being quietly disguised and freely interchanged so as to sustain liberalist development in specific circumstances, whether it comes to light or not. Drawn from this case study, it transpires under both the overarching influence of capital politics and political capital resourcing. This case study is situated at a critical point in time, whereupon both capital needs and the CPT counter-insurgency had been in a critical state up until the late 1970s. Thus, for this case study, it is often difficult to prise apart one logic from the other during this epoch. Moreover, it is challenging to weigh up whether one logic comes first rather than the other during this era. This is due to the fact that liberalist development projects appear to come to Thailand as a packaged combination of such logics.

This author is profoundly influenced by Ferguson's Foucauldian analysis of discourse. The way in which mainstream development establishes and embodies itself on the ground can be reflected

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[70] A succinct conventional account of mainstream post-war development ideology identifies the 1970s and 1980s as the period when The New Right prevailed over the modernisation, structuralist, and Marxist-inspired models of state-led development that dominated the 1950s and 1960s. A free market operating within a global liberal trading regime was seen as the best guarantee of efficient and effective economic growth and the eventual alleviation of poverty (Mawdsley & Rigg, 2003, p. 276; Toye, 1993).

upon through the construction of The Khao Laem Dam, the chosen research site. Through such a critique, power and the control of mainstream development on the ground is firstly decentralised and then scattered through the trickle-down mechanisms of structural development concepts, professional practices and transnational capital over objects of power and control, primarily the local Pwo-Karen people, laypeople, and even local authorities within the area.

The construction of Khao Laem Dam within western Thailand's riverine forestland was supported by IBRD and liberalist first world alliances, giving rise to an invisibly powerful constellation of actors who gain control over the mainstream development discourse.[71] As the distance between development practice on the ground and the command of such transnational organisations is extremely distant,[72] so the objects of power and control, namely the local Pwo-Karen, laypeople and local authorities could not tap into the essence or workings of such an overarching discourse or its organisations. This situation makes the objects of mainstream development hard to identify in terms of exactly who is wielding such power and control. The objects of power and control were thus themselves often unaware that they were living with a number of the powerful mainstream development agents, either at a national level or an international level, despite their being embedded within the construction of The Khao Laem Dam.

The author re-understands that the construction site of Khao Laem Dam is where the power and control of the mainstream development discourse are generated and diffused at ground level. The Khao Laem Dam is thus symbolically meaningful, far more so than just being a hydropower dam and reservoir in its physical incarnation. Rather, the dam functions as a discursively generative scheme of power signifying the practices of mainstream development at ground level. Ultimately, mainstream development's rationale and aspiration become axiomatic, manifesting as a singular regime of truth and as common sense. Axiomatically, such professionals encourage their objects to observe what one should or should not do so as to acquire the state of being called developed as though it were part of a natural truth. Also, this author argues that the power of the mainstream development discourse is submerged through The Khao Laem Dam as it accommodated the regime of truth, mainstream knowledge of development and forms of subjectivity the discourse fostered. Understanding how power is exercised within the realm of

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[71] The initiation of the planning for the construction of The Khao Laem Dam coincided with the implementation of The Second National Economic Development Plan, marking a pivotal moment in Thailand's overall development strategy, particularly in rural areas. These initial phases of planning and development hold significance, especially when viewed in the context of The World Bank's influential report of 1959 (NESDB, 1982).

[72] As emphasised by Mawdsley and Rigg (2003, p. 279), institutions such as The World Bank, The International Monetary Fund (IMF), and government agencies like The UK's Department for International Development (DFID) wield considerable hegemonic influence. The World Development Reports (WDRs) serve as crucial instruments in advancing and legitimising the development agendas promoted by these institutions.

mainstream development has compelled this author to become aware of the strong nexus of its knowledge, regime of truth and its various subjectivist forms. So then, such critical awareness has brought about a making sense of its structural production of the discourse.

8.2.2 Technical Capability Approach (TCA) Making Way for The Khao Laem Dam Project

It seems that The TCA helps The Khao Laem Dam Project to become more rationalisable through constructing a subjectivist notion of backwardness and projecting the need to get rid of it. This author believes that, as such, TCA is part of the genesis of mainstream development discourse at the discursive level. Researching the historical reports from the mainstream development agencies,[73] the way in which the construction of the dam resonates upon how mainstream development is formed euphemistically become evident. Some of the key points in the reports have been presented earlier in Chapter 5. They point out the problem-solving style of projection and documentation, in which only some of the issues can be problematised and successfully solved via technology, both evidently and visibly. Of course, all of the actual-uncontrollable political-economic issues that are bound tightly with the development's issues are seemingly intentionally dismissed and redacted from the reports.[74] The problems and the solutions raised have to be fixed and have been objectivistically reduced to become only technical issues that are otherwise quite simple, perhaps too simple, to be solved successfully.

In the projection of The Khao Laem Dam, its reports describe the rationale for its construction as the simplest of all problems to be solved, taking advantage of the euphemism through the use of scholarly development jargon, statistics and figurations. It all sounds very professional. This

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[73] For instance, earlier editions of The WDRs showed little recognition of the support for large dam projects. It was not until 1990 that the first acknowledgment of potential harm to people from dam construction emerged. Prior reports had discussed technical issues like salinisation and waterlogging but had not delved into the negative social consequences. However, even in the 1990 report, criticisms remained somewhat abstract, suggesting that specific subgroups might suffer unless planners anticipate and prevent such outcomes (Mawdsley & Rigg, 2002, pp. 103-104; The World Bank, 1990, p. 59). Moreover, while the 1990 report explicitly credited The World Bank for the significant benefits brought by the dam projects it financed, it became vaguer when addressing issues of poverty, displacement, and environmental impact associated with dam construction. The language became more ambiguous, suggesting that these concerns had not always been adequately addressed by governments and aid agencies. This was as close as it got to admitting that The World Bank might bear some responsibility in the matter (Mawdsley & Rigg, 2002, p. 105; The World Bank, 1990, p. 59). By the 1992 report, there was a more open acknowledgment that the problems could be severe, although they were framed as management deficiencies rather than recognising deeper-rooted inequalities of power and perspectives (Mawdsley & Rigg, 2002, p. 104; The World Bank, 1992, p. 96).

[74] In this author's view, cultural awareness is frequently intentionally disregarded. In reality, people in rural areas are deeply rooted in their culture, which plays a crucial role in development efforts. If individuals are reconnected with their cultural roots, the villagers can truly be themselves. They gradually gain greater self-confidence and recognise that they are the ones who can and must take control of their own destinies (Phongphit, Introduction, 1986, p. 17).

powerful projection through the use of euphemistic languages enables Thailand to be systematically presented despite its inherent hostility towards national pre-modernist barriers and the constructed form of subjectivity that alludes to backwardness throughout. The projections depict the need for the mainstream development of Thailand as being common sense and essential to overcoming such backwardness. The way in which those reports are formulated are based on the TCA's penchant[75] for creating both an inherent sense of backwardness and a need for development, rationalising these twin evils so as to get the dam's construction approved. Among progressive nationalists, leaders and some of the educated inhabitants, this discourse become deeply submerged within their mentality, dominating their thinking and leading them to authorise the dam's construction as though this particular development of hydropower generation, irrigation systems and land use is the only way to affect change.

In the section 5.3 of Chapter 5, the accuracy and veracity of these reports are challenged, given the dubious way in which they fail to adhere to their commitments,[76] especially as regards the protection and compensation of those affected. In this section, an in-depth comparative study of the reports against alternative scholarly works and indigenous first-hand experiences exposes their self-evident mistakes and abandonment of responsibility. Those who project, construct and frame both the dam and the discourse of mainstream development are really powerful and their reports seem very self-indulgent. It is as if they all were only written to legitimately serve as a scaffold for the introduction and production of the discourse and its projects. This author follows Ferguson (2014) in making a key point regarding the fabrication of the IBRD's documents as being only selective representations and addressable solely through The Technical Capabilities of mainstream development.

8.3   Rethinking Power As A Resource across Maasher and Mainstream Development

This section regards how power is rethought. According to the author's own integration, arrangement and application of the theories of Foucault (1982; 1998; Rabinow, 1991; Smart, 1985)

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[75] Similar to the content found in The WDRs, they are evidently not considered an appropriate platform for acknowledging or addressing the past errors of The World Bank. This reluctance to openly discuss The World Bank's positions, actions, and agenda significantly impacts the WDRs' claim to offer comprehensive, impartial, and objective insights into the development field (Mawdsley & Rigg, 2002, p. 106). However, the disparity between the WDRs' mild language and The World Bank's stringent policies is not merely a benign outcome of The WDRs serving as reflective documents, crafted by various authors, and possessing a degree of autonomy from The Bank. They also serve as a beneficial public image for The Bank, enabling it and related entities like The IMF and the US government to assert dominance over both the discursive and practical aspects of development (Mawdsley & Rigg, 2002, p. 109).

[76] Whilst WDRs are notable compilations that consolidate a wide array of information, they have relinquished their potential to lead the way in conceptualising development by neglecting to engage with alternative viewpoints or fully recognise previous errors (Mawdsley & Rigg, 2002, p. 93).

and Butler (1997), power is not limited, nor does it constitute observable behaviour while influencing conflicts. Yet, power is diffused everywhere and significantly governs our embodiment as social beings. Power is tightly interwoven within the regime of truth that serves each and every society, working silently to subserve all to its will. Therefore, the acts of people repressed by power correspond to such repressive power. Such power is incorporated and then externalised and wielded, whether voluntarily or involuntarily. Such incorporation, externalisation and wielding of power are integral to how people embody themselves and how they come to be who they are. In this sense, those who occupy each field, whether following the school of maasher or that of mainstream development, are powerfully determined and influenced by their own governing ways. Power in this sense thus becomes a resource. In this section, there are four issues to discuss. The first introduces the general conflict of ideas arising between maasher and mainstream development. The second travels the discursive establishment of mainstream development. The third addresses the rise of mainstream development, and the telling of the fall of maasher. The fourth rationalises why power can be rethought and positioned as a resource.

8.3.1   General Conflict of Ideas Arising between Maasher and Mainstream Development

There is a general observation from ethnographic experience over the politics of power arising between maasher and mainstream development to address. Both the powers of maasher and mainstream development are invisibly circulated and operated at the ground level. Across time, patterns of power have been transmuted in their various forms, relying upon the particularly efficacious regime of truth within the discursive field of making social progress. In this sense, power is likely to shape those who do what they are expected to do through their everyday experiences and expressions of power. Thus, both the powers of maasher and mainstream development have coexisted on the ground, jostling in juxtaposition across various times and populist contexts.

Speaking personally and plainly, both competing powers reflect norms, determining and governing each of their objects so that they become embodied within their own mentality, each believing in their own truth about whether maasher or mainstream development – and, of course, their corresponding forms of practice – are sacrosanct. Followers of maasher believe that their regime of truth can lead to new ways of making social progress, thereby serving their society through certainty-locational and chronological contexts. Once the regime of truth of mainstream development has outplayed and subjugated that of maasher, it is then possible that its own truth regime of making social progress has come of age and arrived as the primary approach. The regime of truth of mainstream development thus comes to replace that of maasher to serve its respective believers and factions. In this critical time, maasher has no longer been passed on to successive generations causing it to gradually disappear. Its only remaining followers are the elderly who still practise its ways, while the younger generations

have learned to be governed by the doctrine of mainstream development. Last, but not least in importance, each truth regime clearly elicits differences and controversy between the upholders of maasher and the advocates of mainstream development.

8.3.2 Travelling The Discursive Establishment of Mainstream Development

There is the empowerment of mainstream development through its discursive establishment to discuss. Through the complementary working mechanisms of mainstream development discourse, including its production of knowledge, truth regime, and subjective form, the backwardness of LDCs[77] have been produced and passed into the circulation of such discourse. Such circulation is checked through modernist schooling and statist institutional acculturation on the ground. Such discourse gains and accumulates its power through the collection of many more acolytes so that it becomes absolutely believable and mainstreamed as a monopolistic dominant discourse, governing its objects as a form of natural order and ingrained attitude, even though it is only valued as an enveloping social construct.

The dichotomies arising between what is characterised as and called maasher and what is conceptualised and couched into mainstream development have become the forms of subjectivity that have been fostered by the mainstream development discourse.[78] Given that notions such as maasher are part of the conceived backwardness, maasher becomes the subjectivist form as fostered by the mainstream development discourse in order to justify its existence. Critically, such forms of subjectivity are what we irrationally recognise quite often among the symbolically subjectivist dichotomous narratives of developed countries vs. LDCs, North vs. The South, forwards vs. backwards, civilisation vs. uncivilised indigenous-ness,

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[77] The WDRs increasingly convey the message that the fault lies not with the world failing developing countries but rather with the developing countries failing themselves. For instance, WDR91 discusses the responsibilities of International Finance Institutions (IFIs) and The North but asserts that the prospects for developing countries primarily lie in their own hands hands (Mawdsley & Rigg, 2003, p. 274; The World Bank, 1991, p. 111). WDR89 identifies the primary causes of Sub-Saharan Africa's development challenges as population growth and domestic mismanagement. It assigns secondary importance to an unspecified poor external environment and makes no mention of the impact of externally sponsored political and military instability, debt, the political and economic legacies of colonialism, or a world trade system biased against The South (Mawdsley & Rigg, 2003, p. 274; The World Bank, 1989).

[78] The author finds himself in a position reminiscent of that experienced by revisionist historians and anthropologists. Despite their endeavors to challenge the prevailing notion of sedentary subsistence farming, this portrayal of the past has proven remarkably enduring. From the widely read essays of William Klauser (1981; Rigg J. , 2019, p. 94) to the radical village history presented by Chatthip Nartsupha (1984), the prevailing belief suggests that prior to the firm establishment of the development project in the 1960s, Thailand's rural populace resided in isolated, predominantly sedentary, and subsistence-focused communities, which has become almost unquestionable. This entrenched perspective has established a somewhat problematic standard against which modern social and economic transformations are measured and judged. Consequently, a range of problematic dichotomies, implicit in some studies and explicit in others, have been established (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 95).

modernist society vs. premodern society, development professionals vs. non-professionals, and structural vs. non-structural development. Last, but not least in terms of importance, the institutionalised presence of such creations as LDCs, The South, backwards, uncivilised peoples, pre-modernity, unprofessional and unstructured development within the mainstream development discourse have all been viewed by those dominated and governed by mainstream development as mainstream development's symbolically subjectivist threats to humankind.

In the mainstream development era, this situation leads to intensive research and the generation of knowledge concerning undesirable states and potential remedies. As a result, higher education systems and research institutes transform into think tanks for the study and teaching of development, offering a direct response to socially constructed approaches to problem-solving. Incredibly, such scholarly institutions intensively research and teach development studies under this overarching regime of truth regarding mainstream development, even if such ways of thinking about mainstream development are symbolically subjectivist, irrational and socially constructed. Further, these institutions for development studies function as a repository in which to store knowledge about mainstream development and its threats so as to eradicate them. At the same time, they act as mechanical producers of knowledge on mainstream development and its supposedly eradicated threats. They also reproduce power in order to legitimately diagnose and define who and where should be identified and located as threats to mainstream development. Under this regime of truth, such threats have to be eradicated from the path of mainstream development, enabling it to march towards the agglomeration of power and absolute hegemony.

This theoretical explanation can serve to rationalise why the now weak school of maasher has been debunked by more powerful ones like mainstream development. During the old times, growing up under the populism of maasher, it discursively influenced its followers so that they had their own knowledge, their own indigenous regime of truth, and their own mythical forms of subjectivity as fostered by its discourse. Once mainstream development has come of age through its working elements of science, colonialism, liberalism, capitalism, modernism and globalism, all of which have been systematically intertwined, its various eclectic elements synergised efficiently, enabling it to hegemonise and governmentalise most of the world. Mainstream development has thus discredited such old normative influences as maasher, turning its followers into upholders of mainstream development through scientifically-structured knowledge, new modernist regimes of progressive truth, and subtly believable forms of subjectivity as fostered by such discourse. This thesis tells of the fall of maasher and the rise of mainstream development.

8.3.3   Rise of Mainstream Development, and Fall of Maasher

Such highly potent hegemonic schemata of mainstream development then weaken the extant indigenously local maasher discourse in terms of its ideas of making social progress. This author believes that such forms of indigenously weak discourse can be outplayed, evaded and subjugated through their predicament of being. In this case study, the discourse of maasher has been discredited through being outplayed, evaded and subjugated by mainstream development, a doctrine which has then established itself to become more and more socially acceptable in place of maasher.[79]

It can be said that, prior to the invasion of Thailand by dominant Western scientific, educational and cultural systems, indigenous ideas of making social progress, such as maasher, were quite subjectivistically treated as being essentially unformed and epistemological concepts. Their discourse on making social progress largely hinged upon indigenous cooperation, having no clear structural laws or rules in place to compel such cooperation. Such indigenous forms of cooperation comprise a subjectivist set of practical regularities rather than an objectivist set of rules.[80] Once such scientifically-driven Western educational and cultural systems and the discourse of modernity have been set in place of indigenous practices, they become discursively threatened, particularly by the coming doctrines of education and acculturation that accompany modernist forms of making social progress. The power and being of things like maasher thereby

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[79] Nartsupha (1984, p. 76) contends that even when capitalism evolved, it did not correspond with transformations within the village community. Capitalism arose outside Thailand and permeated the nation, affecting the village in its traditional form without altering the production structure or technology, developing private property rights in land, or fostering significant growth of a local bourgeoisie. Capitalism thus came into conflict with the old village community. The village was compelled to resist, at times employing traditional methods which afforded it a considerable advantage. This situation differed markedly from the European experience, where the village underwent gradual changes over an extended historical period from ancient to modern times. By the time the capitalist system took shape in Europe, private property rights were already established, agriculture had undergone a revolution, and the seeds of a local bourgeois class were well established.

[80] Rigg (2019, p. 144) asserts that there were no notable structural or systematic deviations in labour usage. The majority of rural households functioned as small-scale landowners, employing either their own labour or exchanged labour to cultivate crops and raise animals primarily for personal consumption. These households were self-reliant, autonomous farmers, as depicted by Nartsupha in his influential work "The Thai Village in The Past." Collaborative efforts were evident in rice farming, with cooperative labour for tasks like transplanting, harvesting, and threshing, known as longkhaek (inviting a guest), kaanaomuu (lending a hand), or aoraeng. In areas where rice transplantation was practised, villagers assisted each other in preparing the soil to construct bunds for water retention in the fields. Additionally, they aided one another in winnowing, pounding, or polishing rice by hand. The guiding principle was that individuals who completed their own tasks would assist those who had not yet finished (Nartsupha, 1984, pp. 27-28; Rigg J. , 2019, pp. 145-146).

become discursively weak, ultimately making way to the dominant discourse and becoming less important.[81]

The power of mainstream development embeds itself within people's mental structures which helps to reproduce its discourse in the long run. The spreading of power horizontally at a ground level plays a significant part in its self-construction as a legitimate agent which is simultaneously both an object and a subject of power. Subjects of power gain their existence by wielding their own power, providing the conditions for their existence. Butler, in particular, is critical to our re-understanding that power is not as easily conceived as we have always supposed, but is rather also what subjects in their formation depend upon, harbour and preserve within the being that subjects become and are.

This issue is very important when examining what the powers of maasher and mainstream development both do to each of their carriers and where such powers are located. Powers of maasher and mainstream development can be working as influential norms, encompassing each of their people. As a consequence, such carriers of each power pass their reflective influences on to their close contacts and relations. This circular phenomenon turns an individual body into a site of power, one which is proliferated, accumulated, circulated and wielded pervasively within a circuit of inflows and outflows.

8.3.4 *Why Power Can Be Rethought and Positioned As A Resource?*

Butler's notion affirms that power can be deemed as a resource in the coming into being of individuals. Maasher, mainstream development, and their respective powers have their own particular norms that influence their own subjects and objects, whether voluntarily or involuntarily. Both the subjects of maasher, such as the elderly maasher carriers of our village,

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[81] Following Nartsupha (1984, pp. 76-77), the traditional village community, lacking technological advancement, could not withstand the pressures of the state and capital. However, unlike in Latin America, the village did not disband but continued its resistance for an extended period, supported by the abundance of natural resources. As time progressed, the population grew, resources were over-exploited, and this natural bounty began to wane. The inherent challenges of resisting in traditional ways – issues that had always existed over time – became increasingly evident. The village entered a period of decline. The number of landless individuals rose steadily. Villagers faced confusion as the institutions central to their lives disintegrated with no replacements. The future challenge lies in how to conserve the positive elements of the village community – how to maintain traditional production relations while enhancing the form and increasing productivity through technological advancement within the village. This approach will enable villagers to preserve their distinctiveness and dedication, to develop their organisational strength to enhance their negotiating power, and to provide the impoverished with institutional support upon which they can depend. The state and capitalism should not view themselves as detached from the village. In fact, the state, capitalism, and the village coexist within the same Thai society, within the same system, and must rely on each other. Permitting one segment to deteriorate while others flourish by exploiting the weakened segment will not lead to genuine prosperity, will not establish stability in Thai society, and will not ensure the contentment of the Thai people.

and those inculcated by mainstream development like our educated youths, need such normative influences to serve as an indispensable resource for the formation of themselves as socially recognised individuals. Without it, followers of maasher or mainstream development can not be recognised. Such norms prompt each of their followers to either react against or respond to all-encompassing normative influences. The reactions to such normative influences reveal themselves through the individual existences and degrees of legitimate power of such followers. The beginning of the formation of being of such people requires normative influences to help to initiate and form their process of recognition while they are instituting themselves within their respective groups and society. More concretely, both the followers of maasher and mainstream development incorporate and internalise such normative influences through developing a collective consciousness in order to assimilate within their respective groups. This informs them by ensuring that they comprehend the values of right and wrong ascribed to by their group. Also, they need to be able to integrate their world of objects within their mental structures, turning them into dispositions. Within the process of incorporation, internalisation and dialection, people can at once be both subjects and objects, pressing and oppressing such power through themselves and on themselves to overcome their infelicity while playing their role within their respective groups and societies.

At the same time, there are of course people who fall out of group or society as they miss their formative and normative influences, whether maasher or mainstream development. These kinds of people are among those who are perceived as illegitimately weak, unable to express power, holding no symbolic reputation, no credit and no capacity to negotiate. However, in this scenario, power has not gone anywhere or lost its greatness, rather it seems to have been transmuted into other, unseen forms of power which are negatively embedded within people's mental structures.

People who cannot keep up and maintain such a proper normative conscience may be socially recognised and constituted as the subordinated who are limited and wield less power. In this situation, these kinds of people tend to become objects rather than subjects of power, pressed by power in every direction. Such power-pressed objects are likely to be distrusted and seen as having no legitimacy in taking exalted positions in the service of their groups and societies. However, this predicament does not mean that they are not seen. They remain as social factors, albeit as weak ones. Having legitimacy is indispensable, both for the permission and accommodation of the subjects so as to be able to successfully negotiate with and challenge undesired normative influences, preventing them from flowing into themselves, their groups and societies.

This author argues that the power inherent within each idea of making social progress, whether maasher or mainstream development, is pervasive so long as the participants remain as a site of

power operation and circulation. Also, rethinking power's notions can be considered as a resource when affecting different forms of self-construction. This leads to a re-understanding that, when power exists as a resource surrounding individuals and groups, it has various conditionings and different ways of exerting its influences, and thus the self-construction of beings may take place through different forms of existences, including divergent worldviews, aspirations and practices, as well as different ways of expressing ideas of making social progress.[82]

8.4 Tension and Rethinking Visceral Resistance across Maasher and Mainstream Development

The author understands that the complexities of local relations, aspirations and ambitions may lead people to very complex situations and understandings whilst being further inculcated to one disposition over another. Either maasher people or mainstream development advocates may not actually practice only one thing over another, whether this be maasher or mainstream development. However, in short, this section seeks to present one of the interesting tensions which are those which arise when maasher people collide with those who advocate mainstream development. Moreover, it looks deeply into and rethinks resistance at a visceral individual level. There are two points to discuss. The first discusses tension arising between parties when interacting. The second addresses that visceral resistance which is inherent within each individual's mentality.

8.4.1 Tension Arising between Parties When Interacting

When the followers of maasher come across followers of mainstream development, each party recognises, perceives and values the ideas of the other path, there being no active barriers to understanding in the form of divergent discursive and practical positions. In the discursive realm of maasher, mostly promoted by elderly Pwo-Karen, those scientifically educated youths who

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[82] In a broad and populist context, Phongphit (1986, pp. 20-21) presents a notion of power that encourages us to consider the appropriateness of development implementation. Our typical process is always to plan our actions first and then study the execution. Interest in culture pertains to the second phase: the execution, yet it should be paramount in the initial stage, before formulating policy. We proceed in this manner because we believe we are more knowledgeable than the people; we possess more resources. We have knowledge and money – our forms of power. We have an abundance of reasons to justify our actions. The only aspect we neglect, which is the most crucial, is the people's rationale. We, as outsiders, must acknowledge that we have exploited the people in various ways. We have enriched ourselves with power, experiences, expertise, and knowledge. We claim ownership of the people's resources, potential, wisdom, and problems. We desired to develop them, asserting that development belongs to us. Grandiloquent terms are commonplace in our language. What we must do now is return to the people what is rightfully theirs. Restore their resources, their potential, their wisdom, and their problems. We need to transition from a mechanical worldview to an organic one, which the people, especially those in villages, still retain. We will never be able to comprehend the people objectively, irrespective of our good intentions and methodologies. The subject-object epistemology is outdated. We must engage with them as fellow human beings. To become one with them means to share not just their ideas and problems but also their past and present, their aspirations and their struggles; to commence from where they stand – their roots.

have followed modernity and mainstream development may be seen as other in eyes of such elderly. The educated youths within the discursive realm of maasher thus become the outcasts.

On the other hand, within the discursive boundary of mainstream development, which mostly belonged to the scientifically educated younger generations, the elderly carriers of maasher, who remain to continue indigenous cooperation apace, are possibly considered as the other and become outdated and outmoded outcasts. In this power struggle, the more powerful discursive trend of mainstream development has come of age so it outplayed, evaded and subjugated advocates of maasher and it seems that they are unable to resist the tidal wave of such mainstream development.

This situation really matters. This thesis thus contends that ideological conflicts,[83] especially in terms of making social progress, are deeply rooted and indeed generated from differences arising between discursively accepted norms and self-genesis. As a matter of fact, locational and chronological contexts, precarious conditions, and circulated experiences on the ground are incorporated and internalised through these so that people externalise and objectify such concepts of self in their different understandings of each idea of making social progress. In this sense, understanding self-construction and ways of expressing ideas of making social progress are significant keys when viewing development disparities and tensions.

8.4.2   Visceral Resistance Inherent within Each Individual's Mentality

There is visceral resistance to rethink. The notion of resistance goes beyond such objectivist marching against undesirable and unpleasantly coercive uses of power, rather it takes place at the individual level horizontally and starts earlier than we used to think. It begins as soon as we encounter normative influences and right ourselves in their processes of self-incorporation and objectification. This critical perspective is significant and important, as it urges us to begin thinking about subtle forms of resistance and not just visible anti-mainstream development movements. More so, those people who resist something may not be open and overt in their physical resistance

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[83] This scenario has the potential to give rise to class divisions and conflicts. Nartsupha (1984, p. 73) argues that traditionally, there were no class divisions or conflicts in rural areas. However, the author agrees with Rigg (2019, p. 197) that maintaining Nartsupha's viewpoint is challenging, also acknowledging that rural Thai society has shown sensitivity comparatively. Historical records suggest the existence of some degree of inequality and poverty before the modern era. Nevertheless, in this context, "class" refers to new tensions and conflicts emerging from recent class interactions and entanglements (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 213; Tubtim, 2012, p. 114). These conflicts are not primarily about land access or labour relations but rather about clashes over differing values and lifestyles. The juxtaposition of individuals from diverse backgrounds (Tubtim, 2012, pp. 121-122) creates a potential for conflict due to misunderstandings; for example, when an ornamental hedge is replaced with an unsightly wall, or when a villager harvests bananas from a neighbour's trees without permission. The author also suggests that the emergence of self-generated and innovative ways of expressing concepts of social progress can exacerbate tensions related to class divisions and conflicts, reflecting varying values and lifestyles.

for fear of social sanctions. More subtly, visceral resistance within the mental structure of an individual is a critically new and subtle way of rethinking the issue. Hence, resistance against normative influences arising in the process of individual incorporation and internalisation is one of the areas that post-development thinkers can think about and research.[84]

Both the advocates of maasher and mainstream development resist one another's influence during the process of individual incorporation and internalisation. Whether they can continue with maasher or else follow mainstream development results from their either resisting or cognitively judging the respective rights and wrongs internally in order to get along with the prevailing trends and norms (in terms of making social progress) of their groups and societies. This critical way of rethinking resistance has proven indispensable in understanding the normalisation of both maasher and mainstream development. Power and resistance in any form constitute a critically-indispensable resource, whether through enabling individuals to wield potency and symbolic power or creating a visceral dialectic for self-construction for beings and positionings.

To conclude, the critical question regarding mainstream development resistance should thus be fulfilled and directed at the points where people start resisting each of ideas of making social progress. *What is the process of incorporation and internalisation for such resistance? What does this invisibly visceral resistance look like?* This arises because, where there is resistance against maasher, the power of mainstream development is exercised. In contrast, where there is resistance against mainstream development, so the power of maasher is wielded.

This section brings us to look back at the possibility of invisible visceral resistance, wherein such resistance starts much earlier within our mental structures than we used to understand, albeit in a subtler, less physical way. Resistance begins with our first contact with the encompassing normative influences of a new idea of making social progress, as well as within the process of

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[84] According to Nartsupha (1984, pp. 73-74), in his book "The Thai Village Economy in The Past," he examined a similar phenomenon. He asserts that historical changes had their origins within the village. The evolution of the state, and subsequently capitalism, occurred externally to the village. Both state and capitalism influenced life within the village but were not institutions of the villagers themselves. These external forces did not contribute to the development of the village; rather, they sought to extract benefits from it. Consequently, the villagers did not wholeheartedly cooperate with these two entities. They were compelled into cooperation and, in reality, resisted both the state and capitalism consistently, both tacitly and overtly. Practices such as producing food for personal use – growing rice for household consumption, weaving local-style cloth, pounding rice, and not employing hired labour – persisted over a long duration. It is a common belief that villagers were willing participants in this cooperative lifestyle. Their foundational institution was the village itself. The process of external domination over the consciousness of the villagers was not fully realised. A disconnect persisted. The village's consciousness remained autonomous. The communal awareness of ethnic minorities endured in the Thai countryside. Resistance to state and capitalism also occurred at the level of consciousness.

incorporation and internalisation of such influences. This resistance takes place horizontally at the individual level on the ground and is subtly invisible, yet definitely exists (see the cases as examples through the section 6.4.1). As resistance can also take place viscerally, there is much work to be done on viscerally subjectivist dialectics arising within people's mental structures. Thus, when it comes to appearing more subjectivist, externalised and objectified beings may vary in terms of their self-perceptions and conceptions of their own specific conditionings and differing influences. Likewise, this author believes that ultimately, coming into the beings of individuals after such visceral resistance manifests itself in the form of divergent worldviews, aspirations, and practices, as well as different ways of expressing their respective ideas of making social progress.

8.5   Hegemony and Governmentality across Maasher and Mainstream Development

8.5.1   *How Does Hegemonic and Governmental Schemata Work in General?*

There is the work of hegemonic and governmental schemata to address. Both concepts of hegemony and governmentality addressed in Chapter 2 can help us to understand how mainstream development become accepted as a common worldview and common sense among those aspiring, educated people and their tame objects. Those people of hegemony and governmentality within mainstream development power tend to make sense of their social worlds in response to mainstream development's normative influences. Under these circumstances, they tend to share common worldviews and present it as the common sense of mainstream development. The internalisation and incorporation of these norms lead them to externalise and objectify the organisation for national development in its form for the sake of mainstream development. For this reason, people, as the objects of mainstream development, have their own version of mainstream development's aspirations. As such it is often these aspirations that are adapted into more discursively structured forms of knowledge and adopt constructed subjectivist forms in their mental structures.

Such notions of hegemony and governmentality sustain the mainstream development discourse. Its people are likely to succumb to the socially diagnosed definition of their predicament as being backward and in need of professional development. This can be done through the notion that its objects must be good partners of mainstream development. Unsurprisingly, this situation finally causes it to reach its level of hegemonic power and control. It can be said that succumbing to such socially rationalised notions of backwardness and the need for professionally structured development lead mainstream development's discourse so as to achieve its goals and to be able to replicate itself continuously and quietly.

However, the way in which the mainstream development discourse, including its knowledge, its truth regime, and its forms of subjectivity, can achieve its hegemonic position needs the technique of

governmentality, that very modernist technology of power outlined by Foucault. Such concepts help to blindside the objects of the discourse through the related discipline of development studies. This is because the formative and familiar mechanism of hegemonic projects of mainstream development (i.e., sustainable development, MDGs and SDGs) has been revealed and the objects of such hegemonic projects made cognisant. In this sense, it can be said that such related disciplines, as a newly-modernist technique of power, have created a new form and mechanisms to aid hegemonic projects and positions, including the mainstream development discourse.

8.5.2 *Hegemony and Governmentality: What Happens on The Ground?*

The case of the ethnographic site that once succumbed to such hegemonic and governmental schemata is presented. In this case, it is quite clear that some of the Pwo-Karen participants, while living in their former inundated village, had already succumbed to the knowledge and logic of their socially-discursively constructed backwardness and the need to be subjected to development. Some of their villagers, leaders and elites accepted the way in which both they and their people, would be better off starting a new life with improved opportunities in the new allocated land and resettlements as provided by the state. In this sense, knowledge and logic of the mainstream development discourse over those people's mentalities enable it to manage its objects in a subtler and softer use of power and control. Such modernist rulers as professional mainstream developers established and instituted self-discipline among the Pwo-Karen villagers. As a consequence, the ruled Pwo-Karen have started to contrive their own shared sense of common Thai citizenship in good partnership with the mainstream development discourse to develop themselves. Through developing the knowledge and logic of such discourse and legitimacy, they tamely gave their consent to such practices as state surveillance and management. Seemingly, such things will not only render self-governance among its objects, but they will also make their objects generate within themselves and perform by themselves acts of self-discipline and self-repression.

Critically speaking, we must not however forget the possibility that extant and feigning conformists exist among the villagers. Following Scott (1985), the fact that mutual consent sometimes does not align with untold personal thought addresses this situation. Thus, it is not too much of a stretch to claim that all the villagers succumbed to the knowledge and logic of their socially-discursively produced backwardness and the need to be subjected to positive differentiation. Nor did all the villagers, leaders and elites succumb to the idea that they would be better off beginning a new life with developed chances within the new allocated land and resettlement sites as arranged by the government. Therefore, there remains the possibility that, among those villagers, leaders and elites, some of them constituted those who merely acquiesced, despite appearing cheerful, to the hegemonic and governmental power of the

state. In actuality, they had not been truly subjugated, nor were they actually happy to be kept under state surveillance. In this way, the state supposedly discerned that they were good citizens and good partners just so long as they stayed quiet. This phenomenon was nevertheless problematic, however, as we could not perceive their untold thoughts.

8.5.3 Impacts of Hegemonic and Governmental Schemata on Three Participant Groups

Whether such hegemonic and governmental schemata have worked perfectly or not, it seems to this author that there appear three groups of participants who interplay with such schemata. The first group constitute Nong Poe Sher and the younger generation, who are socially and locally considered to be those with active and high developmental aspirations. Among the younger generation, the mainstream development discourse is achieved through the inculcation of scientific-modernist schooling and it fully governs them. The logic of science, the problem-solving way of thinking, and global studies are significant determinants, governing them to stick with such ways of thinking, including being unaware of discursively-produced backwardness and the need to make it change. This has been affected through the related disciplines of development studies embedded within their schooling.

In the case of Nong Poe Sher, she may not be acquiescing as she seems to use the language of mainstream development to contextualise power relations. Nong Poe Sher speaks the languages of mainstream development fluently and willingly so as to access funding and resources. She sometimes seems to realise how to play with the power and control of mainstream development for her own benefit. Nong Poe Sher is one of those individuals whom government sectors of development count as being in partnership. From the author's perspective, she is significantly important within the state's surveillance and its development projects, as she helps to generate, circulate and exercise the state's power and legitimacy at a local level.

The second group comprises the elderly, including Pha Beh Keh. The author considers them to be that group of people who are quite difficult to dominate, or else who are not completely dominated by the governmentality of the hegemonic scheme of state surveillance and mainstream development. They are actually unhappy with the way in which the state once limited their freedom and manipulated them as objects merely for the purposes of dam construction. Through their hearsay, it is evident that they miss their good old days[85] in their now

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[85] The wattanathamchumchon school of thought warrants attention in this context. Through the efforts of non-governmental organisation (NGO) activists and radical scholars, the community acquired an alternative development perception and was celebrated as something to be safeguarded against modernisation, rather than pursued as a means to achieve it. This viewpoint reached its peak in the mid-1980s, manifesting as the community culture or wattanathamchumchon school of thought (Phongphit, Introduction, 1986; Rigg J. ,

inundated village rather than living within the allocated confines of their current resettlement site. However, they were not so radical a group of people that they moved against state surveillance and mainstream development. Yet, if they had a chance to voice their opinions, they would give no credit to the state, its surveillance, or its development approach. One of the possible reasons for this is that those elderly people have been hegemonised by maasher's way of life and thinking, would have preferred to remain maasher people.

The third group is invisible and ethically problematic to identify. They constitute those people who acquiesce to the governmentality of the hegemonic scheme of state surveillance and its developmental approach. They signify a degree of feigned conformity, as if they had been happy with the state surveillance and its approach to development. The state may supposedly deem them to be good citizens and development partners and have taken their silence as tacit consent. This circumstance is problematic for the author, as their real unspoken thoughts remain unclear. Even though this third group is invisible and difficult to identify, any such identification may have been unethical and unfair on them as with any allegation without evidence, yet it is ontologically clear that they exist. Their silence could possibly have made their lives easier, not attracting any attention that might be interpreted as alleged threats to the state. Especially, their lives could have been smoother beyond the prying eyes of the state and their leaders in partnership on the ground. They may have disguised themselves by situating themselves among the first group deemed to have fully succumbed to state surveillance and mainstream development. Otherwise, they may have been an element of feigned conformity among the people in the second group in revealing their resistance against the state to the author, yet also pretending publicly to remain in a good partnership with the state surveillance and mainstream development.

What causes this group to uphold their silent appearance is possibly a fear of retaliation by the state. In other words, they fear that they would be treated badly if they openly voice their dissent. Moreover, it can be perceived that it is better to remain silent when the state is seen to be unreliable and non-communicative. This group may then believe that silence is golden. To this author, this group is among the most critical modes of expression of an opinion. They are learning

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2019, pp. 20-21). According to this school of thought, an ideal village is idealised by these activists and scholars. It is argued that this ideal village has been progressively eroded – in a harmful manner – by the influences of the state and the market (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 21). In his influential work "The Thai Village Economy in The Past," Nartsupha (1984, p. 73) depicts the Thai village economy in the past as a subsistence economy. Production for food and for internal use persisted and could be sustained without dependence on external sources. Bonds within the village were robust. Land control was regulated by community membership. Cooperative exchange labour was employed in production. Individual households were self-reliant. People collaborated in social activities, and there was no class division, aside from the presence of slaves who were considered part of the household. Class conflict within the village was absent.

and managing to remain beyond the difficult situation. Even though some may argue that they are the least critical among these three groups, given their acquiescent silence, the author still considers that their silence does not necessarily imply the absence of critical thought. Perhaps, they are quietly maintaining a visceral criticality. Their internalisation of these issues, inwardly debating over whether to voice their opinions, thus reflects upon their criticality as they weigh the benefits of openly voicing dissent, reminiscent of the weighing of good and bad conscience contended by Butler. However, this author agrees with Argyrou (2005) in that this tense situation implies the full operation of hegemonic power as it has made its objects acquiescent.

Who knows, perhaps Nong Poe Sher and the younger generation are actually indeed part of this feigned conformity. Otherwise, who could know the true colours of the elderly people and the Christian Myanmar-S'gaw civil war evacuees, or whether Pha Beh Keh and Tee Shyer are also and indeed part of this feigned conformity. The author argues that they, even though they are problematically invisible, are among the most critical.

The concept of governmentality for this hegemonic scheme causes the mainstream development discourse and its objects to succumb regularly to the need to be developed. This modernist technology of power has been exercised through the structured knowledge of mainstream development and state surveillance; through a scientifically modernist truth regime, and via socially constructed forms of subjectivity as fostered by the discourse. All of these mechanisms instill in people self-discipline and self-repression, reproducing and working circularly and endlessly. Some have been domesticated to the rationales of the state and its developmental discourse, while others have retreated into feigned conformity (Scott, 1985). However, one must not forget that power remains their indispensable resource for the self-construction of beings and their positionings. In the process of creating hegemonic and governmental schemata, power as a resource thus remains an indispensable variant, whether such self-discipline and self-repression can be cultivated successfully. Further, we must consider whether they objectified and externalised self-discipline, self-repression or feigned conformity.

8.6 Reconceptualising Local Experiences of Development in Thailand

8.6.1 Development As Discourse and Politics

Mainstream development can be challenged by the post-development critique. The post-development critique leads to the slipperiness of mainstream development being conceptualised (Gardner, 2012). The author reflects upon the Raipa villagers, who were once concerned with the large-scale construction of The Khao Laem Dam, as well as the funding scheme introduced by The IBRD and the liberalist first-world alliances. Through such post-development critique, this thesis argues that more people under various guises have engaged with development practice.

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This thesis also argues that differing viewpoints on ideas of making social progress contribute to variable thoughts, perceptions and actions towards such notions. Thus, any such divergent ideas have differing philosophical positions that govern the way each agent thinks about and makes social progress, or else pursues development in uniquely different ways. This is encapsulated in the differences between maasher and mainstream development.

The author introduces a brief history of mainstream development discourse and its hidden political agenda as applied to Thailand. A collaboration between the Thai government, IBRD and the liberalist First World Countries leads to the construction of Khao Laem Dam, revealing the internal dynamic that then exist between the Western centrist discourse of mainstream development and its domination over Thailand through forms of hegemonic power relations. Such engagement in mainstream Thai development by such major actors maintains Thailand within their ideologically liberalist worldview.

Discursively, throughout this thesis, the author has revealed how The World Bank's development discourse has reflected upon the three principal axes that define mainstream development. The first is structurally-produced knowledge of mainstream development through schooling and government channels. The second is the regime of truth exercised through the collaboration between the incumbent Thai government and its liberalist alliances,[86] thereby establishing new culture and constructed rules of liberalism and capitalism through policy-making, schooling and written discourses serving as knowledge. This kind of policy governs and compels people to follow liberalism and capitalism. The last principal is that those forms of subjectivity fostered by such discourse, which escalates and regularises power relations to be less objectivist but more symbolically subjectivist (for instance developed countries vs. LDCs, progress vs. backwards and development experts vs. non-professionals). Such discourse successfully constructs the new Thailand, which is globally recognised as an LDC and treated as such. Ironically, these reforms lead Thailand, and its locally-indigenous constituents, to accept that they are, in their very

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[86] The World Bank plays a central role in both the tangible and ideological aspects of development – a reality that cannot be overlooked in any thorough examination of the sector. It possesses unparalleled economic and institutional capabilities, allowing it to implement projects and initiatives worldwide (Mawdsley & Rigg, 2002, p. 104). As noted by Valderrama (1997, p. 24), The World Bank has emerged as the primary provider of financial and cooperative resources globally. It receives the largest share of funds among multilateral financial organisations and surpasses The UN in terms of grant resources. Additionally, it attracts commercial funding. This substantial influence enables The World Bank to shape mainstream development discourse significantly. Through its affiliations within The OECD, particularly with US political power, it exercises considerable influence in shaping broader global circumstances and relationships (Mawdsley & Rigg, 2002, pp. 104-105).

nature, one of the least developed and most backwards of nations, one which needs development experts and professionals[87] to move it forwards.

Geopolitically speaking, the post-development critique has underlined the hegemonic contest between transnational organisations striving for development and their dominated objects, including Thailand. This process is then repeated, on a smaller scale, through its indigenous-local constituents as concentric circles of domination and the dominated. This thesis may come to serve as a key illustration that such domination over Thailand is likely motivated by the expansion of capitalist liberalism. Funding of large-scale development as the dam construction was at stake. There is though an implicitly hidden agenda forced upon Thailand by The IBRD and the liberalist first world alliances, in that such large-scale dam construction had to be adopted wherever the risk of and sensitivity to communism[88] was found, especially within the deep-riverine forestland. Therefore, the dam constructions, including this case, become a truly geopolitical space, leading to the intention to remove all risks associated with the communist movement (Bird, 1992; Gardner & Lewis, 1996; McGregor A. , 2009).

8.6.2 *Is Development Making Things Worse?*

There is a need to state the author's own theoretical positionality. The post-development account of critiques primarily refers to those major contestations which emerge between the two divergent development concepts. On one hand, it is a concept which is upheld by scholars who still strongly

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[87] This stems from a mechanistic worldview that fragments reality into discrete parts. While expertise continues to progress, only a minority attain expertise, leaving the majority reliant on them. This dynamic is mirrored on the international stage, where The Developed First World deepens the dependency of The Third World. *Is this what is termed Neocolonialism?* Such patterns persist at local and national levels, where the minority, holding greater economic, political, and social influence, imposes their ideas and agendas. Even after years of development efforts, the question remains: *who has truly developed whom? Have the minority uplifted the majority, or vice versa? Have government officials fostered the people as outlined in The National Economic and Social Development Plans, or have they profited from the people, their purported beneficiaries?* Similarly, *have Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) empowered communities as they assert, or have they themselves been shaped by the people?* While these entities flourish, the people languish in poverty, and their reliance on them deepens as they acquire increasingly advanced skills and technology (Phongphit, Introduction, 1986, pp. 16-17).

[88] Despite the considerable power that both The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and The World Trade Organisation (WTO) wield in shaping the institutional and regulatory framework for economic development and trade, The World Development Report (WDR) series fails to provide a comprehensive discussion on their impact and role in development (Mawdsley & Rigg, 2002; Mawdsley & Rigg, 2003, p. 275; Wade, 1996). Of the relatively sparse coverage offered, most is unreservedly positive. In some instances, this endorsement is achieved through omission – a tactic previously noted in The WDRs in relation to other contentious issues and institutions, including The World Bank itself (Mawdsley & Rigg, 2002; Mawdsley & Rigg, 2003, p. 275; Wade, 1996). For instance, WDR00/01 presents an overview of post-communist Russia's descent into economic and social distress without acknowledging the role of The IMF's catastrophic and myopic policies that contributed to economic fragmentation, a mafia-takeover, and the ensuing social impoverishment and political instability (Mawdsley & Rigg, 2002; Mawdsley & Rigg, 2003, p. 275; Stiglitz, 2002; The World Bank, 2001). In other sections, this allegiance is manifested through a highly selective evaluation of their policies and ideologies (Mawdsley & Rigg, 2003, p. 275).

believe that mainstream development endures to contribute to the achievement of global poverty's eradication. On the other hand, many scholars (Hickel, 2021; Mortimer, Herbert, Tiffen, & Monash University, 1984; Mortimer, 2006; Bello, Cunningham, & Poh, 1998; Bello, 2006), including this author, challenge the doctrine of mainstream development as a form of destruction, one that causes, expands and perpetuates global capitalism and inequality.[89] Thus, the author considers and agrees with those who deem that mainstream development is akin to a geopolitical space in which the power of those transnational organisations that practise development was circulated and exercised in every direction.

For example, the author envisages that The World Bank's development discourse places great emphasis on economic growth in all its forms.[90] This may even have extended to the creation of fictitious need for commodities and resources, especially pertaining to electricity and water resources. Hence, at one point in Thailand's development trajectory, it is observed that are structural adjustments[91] required. This leads The World Bank to demand bureaucratic reforms of the Thai government. The incumbent government aims to catch up with neo-liberalist ideologies as far and as fast as possible to create a perfect working market economy. Thus, electricity and water resources have become both fictitious commodities and resources for purchase and consumption. The commencement of large-scale dam projects in Thailand signifies an enjoyment of national liberalism and an open embrace of neo-liberalist ideologies. More seriously, it is predicted that some of the fundamental social services would increasingly fall into the hands of the private and semi-privatised sectors. The fact that prices can not be controlled or regulated by anyone means that they are never fixed, either minimally or maximally, thereby disadvantaging the poor (Gardner & Lewis, 1996; Gore,

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[89] Some, however, perceive the rural dilemma as intricately tied to the widening gap in land distribution and the emergence of a significant number of comparatively impoverished rural households struggling to maintain subsistence-level holdings, striving to survive and meet basic needs. This viewpoint, adopting a more populist stance on the matter, views it not as a question of inadequate production but rather as one of unjust distribution (Rigg J. , 2019, pp. 224-225). As stated by Kevin Hewison (2014, p. 847), the inequality of circumstances in Thailand stands as the foundational reality from which all others seem to stem. While economic growth may have lifted some boats, it certainly has not done so uniformly (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 225).

[90] The World Development Report 2009 (WDR09) presents bold assertions regarding the significance of agglomeration for urban demographic and economic transformation. It suggests that disparities in living standards arise from a notable characteristic of economic development – its spatial unevenness. Unfortunately, prosperity does not arrive consistently across all locations. This pattern holds true across various geographic scales, from local to national to global. Cities tend to progress more rapidly than rural areas (Bryceson, Gough, Rigg, & Agergaard, 2009, p. 723; The World Bank, 2009, p. 1).

[91] Regarding IMF-led structural adjustment, The 1988 World Development Report contends that reform has generally assisted in reducing poverty by boosting agricultural income and improving the efficiency of public sector spending on infrastructure and vital social services (Mawdsley & Rigg, 2003, p. 275; The World Bank, 1988, p. 28). The 1991 Report assesses the impact of structural adjustment, acknowledging, albeit critically, that evidence concerning economic growth is inconclusive, yet it overlooks any mention of the commonly associated costs of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). Even the most impartial analyst of IMF-led structural adjustment during the 1980s and 1990s might find these assessments excessively favourable, given the varied evidence regarding their outcomes (Mawdsley & Rigg, 2003, pp. 275-276; The World Bank, 1991).

2010; Hoogvelt, 1997; McGregor A. , 2009; McMichael, 2008; Waeyenberge, 2006). In this case study, it is ironic that, even though the villagers live beside a hydropower dam, some families can not even afford electricity given that they have low and unsecured incomes[92] with which to purchase electricity. Moreover, even if they have lived on the edge of reservoirs, they only have access to water resources of low quality for their farms and personal consumption. In the worst-case scenario, during the summer and dry season, there are no available water resources from formalised sources at all.[93]

8.6.3 *Redefining Development*: Beyond Binary Constructs

These overarching concerns lead us to examine realities on the ground, where ethnographic fieldwork revealed the subtle politics of maasher amidst mainstream development. This ethnography contemplates the impetus for understanding alternative worldviews on the concept of social progress, beyond just mainstream development. In the post-development era, the premise of development provides an opening for diverse individuals and actors to play pivotal roles, including offering radical critiques of its contentious aspects. On the ground, examining ideas of social progress through the lens of indigenous participants from Raipa Village, in conjunction with the author's perspective, has yielded a discussion of the discursive concept and practicality of maasher. This thesis, therefore, begins at this juncture to elucidate the notion of maasher more explicitly, identifying what has pre-existed and what has been subdued, obscured, and overpowered.

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[92] The issue of insecure incomes requires attention. According to *The World Bank's 2009 World Development Report*: Reshaping Economic Geography, internal migration is seen as crucial for communities left behind, helping to alleviate poverty and stabilise household consumption. It serves as a significant pathway out of poverty for rural households that can no longer rely solely on agriculture for their livelihoods (Rigg J. , 2019, pp. 108-109; The World Bank, 2009, p. 166). Phongphit (2001, p. 17) also argues that familial and community ties have weakened, with each individual devising their own survival strategy. Many have moved to distant urban centres, returning only once a year or during the rice-growing season. Thus, migration's reasons and impacts are mostly evaluated in economic terms, with little attention given to their social implications and the possibility that economic progress and material benefits may have associated costs. In The World Bank's Agriculture for Development report (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 119; The World Bank, 2007, pp. 21-22), concern is expressed that in middle-income countries like Thailand, fragmented landholdings may endanger survival if alternative income sources are not available. The report suggests that rural development hinges on shifting labour to the more dynamic sectors of the economy.

[93] These circumstances drive some individuals to migrate to cities, which are perceived as market actors, similar to firms and farms, catering to the demands of the market (Bryceson, Gough, Rigg, & Agergaard, 2009, p. 725; The World Bank, 2009, p. 145). At the heart of The World Development Report 2009's (WDR09) notion of agglomeration lies the concentration of population and economic activity, along with the movement of capital and resources; hence, migration is essential (Bryceson, Gough, Rigg, & Agergaard, 2009, p. 733). The policy challenge is not to prevent households from migrating but rather to ensure they do not do so for adverse reasons (Bryceson, Gough, Rigg, & Agergaard, 2009, p. 734; The World Bank, 2009, p. 147). However, WDR09 tends to overlook the fact that the vibrant national economies in Southeast Asia, particularly Thailand and Vietnam, owe their success not only to the influx of foreign capital and modern industrial investments but also to the development of rural employment opportunities and commercial agriculture (Agergaard, 2009; Bryceson, Gough, Rigg, & Agergaard, 2009, p. 735; The World Bank, 2009).

In line with the post-development critique, the author emphasises the cultural losses and discontinuities faced by the Pwo-Karen participants. The author acknowledges that The Pwo-Karen have their distinctive approach to the idea of social progress, having interacted with these concepts from their unique locational, chronological, and contextual standpoints.[94] Consequently, maasher emerges as the outcome of the author's deconstruction of the dominant mainstream development discourse, which has historically overshadowed and concealed the less influential maasher. The concept of maasher has remained unrecognised within the post-development critique, as it has been voiceless.[95] Foucauldian discourse analysis is credited for its academic contribution to the suppression and obscurity of other marginalised discourses. The author contends that the revelation and articulation of maasher demonstrate that there is not one singular regime of truth, nor one exclusive concept of social progress. Maasher exists alongside the dominant paradigm of mainstream development and is awaiting our understanding. The author suggests that this scenario precludes dichotomous discussion. The introduction of the Pwo-Karen term "maasher," alongside the English term "development" and the Thai term "kaanpattana," presents robust evidence of non-binary thinking.

8.7 Concluding Remarks

This chapter mainly reconceptualises our power analysis of the mainstream development discourse. There are two conclusions. First, the mainstream development discourse is socially constructed and diffused by discursive units of mainstream development agents. Predominantly, such diffusion has been proliferated through scholarly written knowledge, scientific problem-solving approaches of the regime of truth, and forms of subjectivity as fostered by the discourse.

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[94] This author concurs with Phongphit (1986, p. 17) that individuals should be the architects of their own development and destiny, not merely in theory but in practice; they should be the proprietors of their labour and its fruits, their resources and technology, and ultimately, their culture. Furthermore, the author endorses Phongphit's view that culture is not static but continually evolving. No one can return to the past; no villager is capable of doing so. They may reminisce about the good old days, yet they do not genuinely wish to regress. They yearn for the values they hope to perpetuate in contemporary living. They aspire to discover new conditions and forms that encapsulate these values, suitable for the present circumstances.

[95] Mehta (1999) argues that references to alternative voices, indigenous knowledge, and local expertise within The World Development Report 1998/99 (WDR98/99) are brief mentions that diverge from the Report's predominant top-down approach to knowledge transfer (from North to South) that it espouses. She maintains that this contradicts The World Bank's own recent promotion of participatory approaches in development (Mawdsley & Rigg, 2003, p. 281; The World Bank, 1999; 2000). The second, and more severe, criticism is that The WDRs' increasing emphasis on participation and civil society involvement primarily serves as a strategy for securing agreement and delivering services more cost-effectively, services that many states currently provide. Hildyard and Wilks (1998), for example, contend that The WDRs and The World Bank do not genuinely address the more transformative aim of empowering individuals through participation. In their view, The World Bank regards participation simply as a more effective means of fulfilling its largely unchanged neoliberal objectives – not as a new and transformative framework that requires a fundamental reassessment of The Bank's underlying beliefs (Mawdsley & Rigg, 2003, p. 281).

Therefore, people who are potentially dominated and governed by the mainstream development discourse keep themselves hegemonised and repressed through such accounts of knowledge, truth regimes, and forms of subjectivity. Mainstream development has firmed these axes of making its discourse powerful and hegemonic in order for them to be circulated.

Second, the most astonishing argument of differences arising between the mobilisation of maasher and mainstream development is possibly what forms exist and how they multiply themselves. Seemingly, maasher has been passed on to its followers in the form of inculcated practices. Practices, as seen in everyday life, are keys to be incorporated, objectified and passed on to others. For maasher, it is thus nothing to do with discourses. The elderly maasher carriers gain these systems of practices through the inculcation of practices. Maasher perhaps faces loose axes of knowledge, truth regimes, and subjective forms, and is thus less able to make its discourse firmer or more powerful for subsequent circulation. This then results in its limited transmission through inculcated practices. In contrast, the propagation of mainstream development depends on the powerful forces of discourse. Those dominated by mainstream development are potentially governed by forces of discourse which are more than merely inculcated practices to practice. All in all, the elaborate possibilities of these arguments have already been explicated within this chapter.

Chapter 9 Epilogue

The paramount contribution of this thesis lies in its articulation that a profound comprehension of development necessitates an initial understanding of the myriad worldviews that people harbour regarding it. Conversely, an authentic understanding of the milieu encompassing development is indispensable for grasping the true essence of what development entails. This reciprocal relationship between people's perceptions and the concept of development forms the crux of the thesis, positing that the essence of development is interwoven with the tapestry of human perspectives and contextual realities (Field Note, 2019).

9.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises and highlights the main findings of the thesis. The chapter begins by delving into The Cultural Development Perspective (CDP), known as the populist development paradigm in Thailand, and examines where maasher seemingly fits within this context. Subsequently, the discourse analysis reveals that ideas promoting social progress may have been gradually overshadowed by mainstream development narratives. Additionally, these concepts are often expressed in subtly varied forms of alternative languages and cultural narratives emanating from diverse locations. Following this, there is the need to examine conditional contexts, life opportunities, and sources of power and resistance as resources for the self-construction of beings and their positionings that lead to worldviews whereupon those ideas come out differently. In this case, through a post-development critique and critical ethnography, an alternative idea of making social progress and its politics within mainstream development could be identified and come into being. The chapter ends with suggestions that development policy-making should regain its rightful balance and concern itself with optimising people's well-being and benefits. Hearing the voices of those people confronting proposed large-scale development projects should take precedence.

9.2 *Wattanathamchumchon*: Cultural Development Perspective (CDP)

- **Comprehending Methodological Framework**

Studies of development within and concerning Southeast Asia have frequently been excessively general, repetitive, and descriptive, applying theories extrapolated from other developmental experiences instead of formulating indigenous explanations for the region and its role in the global economy (Taylor & Turton, 1988, p. 1). This author endeavours to elucidate how this circumstance has emerged. The author will now concentrate on the other side of the paradox – the significance of Southeast Asia in the analysis of development.

Such changes and events, [96] pushing the region more to the forefront of world affairs, have also served to highlight the characteristics which make it one of the most exciting regions of the developing world for political and sociological analyses. When asked why she was specialising in the study of Southeast Asia, a Masters's student of development recently replied to us that, "well, from a development point of view, its got everything." Her reasons for reaching such a conclusion would probably include the following points, on which we can briefly elaborate, by way of illustration (Taylor & Turton, 1988, p. 2).

The author employs a critical ethnography as the primary methodology. Critical ethnography charts an efficient approach to deconstructing social events that are evidently out of place. The experiences of critical ethnography on the ground reflect upon how the author goes beyond conventional forms of ethnographic observation and narrative. In this sense, the author rather immerses himself in the diverse dimensions of everyday issues, not only within the acquired data set, but also in the politics of evidence and in cross-cultural translation, interpretation and analysis. Moreover, this process of embedding oneself in a critical approach of semi-discourse and practicality seeking out alternatives enables the author to move beyond traditional ways of understanding ideas of making social progress. More importantly, the author allows himself, very carefully, to make use of a value-laden way of performing ethnography, wherein reflexivity proves indispensable.

The thesis initiates a critical re-evaluation of cross-cultural perspectives. However, this author navigates cautiously through the divergent arguments presented by Hewison and Rigg. Hewison (1993) characterises the wattanathamchumchon or cultural development perspective (CDP) as a methodology, a stance contested by Rigg, who argues that it does not constitute a methodology. According to Rigg, while Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) workers may adopt The CDP, it lacks substantive methodological underpinnings, except in the most general sense of the term (Rigg J. , 1993, p. 1712).

- **Dissecting The Principles of Populist Development Paradigms**

The thesis reappraises a few highlights through theoretically debating the politics of contrasting maasher and mainstream development. Between the two, the author argues, there lie different degrees of discursive power, hegemonic and governmental schemata.

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[96] For example, the key to understanding accumulation and the capitalist transition in Southeast Asia is not solely in how producers (peasants) have been dispossessed of their means of production (land), but also in how their enduring connections have facilitated accumulation (Glassman, 2006, p. 615). In other words, developmental transitions have not resulted in the removal of people from rural areas and the severing of their ties with the countryside; instead, there has been a diversification of rural livelihoods. These transformations have unfolded in significantly different ways, reflecting not only variations among locations and regional contexts but also the distinct developmental periods of the times (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 166).

Further, it seems that mainstream development can propagate itself through discursive mechanisms, whereas maasher is passed on through more practical means of practice. The author addresses the extent to which stories of the rise and the fall of maasher and the rise of mainstream development can be told.

In the context of the practical applications of "maasher," this concept appears to align with populist ideologies. Kitching (1982) and Hewison (1993, p. 1705; 2000, p. 288) explore the significance of populism and neopopulism, observing their close alignment with the defining characteristics of the CDP. These characteristics, in conjunction with The CDP, encompass:

- A deep respect for tradition and a preference for organic societal models;

- A conservative approach, with changes stemming from the natural evolution of existing community institutions and customs;

- An idealisation of the past as a golden era, viewing the unspoiled, idyllic village and its traditions as having been diminished;

- A focus on agricultural development;

- A consideration of labour-intensive methods in the context of industrialisation;

- A pronounced emphasis on justice, equity, and equality;

- A depiction of outsiders, particularly urban inhabitants, as exploiters responsible for extracting surplus from rural areas.

- **Interpreting The Sufficiency Economy's Philosophy (SEP) within The Cultural Development Perspective (CDP)**

This thesis has examined The SEP, which the author considers a component of The CDP. The SEP, akin to The CDP, can be described as populist and conservative, often marked by a somewhat romanticised view. This perspective, while possessing its limitations, also offers significant strengths. Populism intriguingly challenges conventional economic and rural development paradigms. The CDP, with its focus on the community, prioritises community development, deprioritises initial emphasis on technology, and targets the poor and marginalised, eschewing a programmatic approach. This differentiates The CDP from traditional development initiatives. Significantly, The CDP seeks to leverage strengths that orthodox methodologies typically overlook or misinterpret as weaknesses (Hewison, 1993, p. 1706).

However, Rigg (1991a, p. 204) critiques The CDP as being externally imposed and elitist, arguing that concepts such as village self-reliance, cooperation, and participation have been appropriated by academics and the state, then recontextualised within an alien framework. Despite its strong village connections, the clarity of these roots becomes obscured in the new discourse. The impact of intellectuals on localist discourse, particularly during economic crises, has been notable, often leading to an endorsement of localism. The challenge arises when this

localism is detached from its village-level development origins, repositioned in a context barely distinguishable from previous populist narratives. As an intellectual construct separated from its grassroots beginnings, it risks promoting regressive strategies (Hewison, 2000, p. 290).

Furthermore, the thesis has approached the SEP discourse through a Foucauldian discourse analysis. This methodology enables an examination of how formally organised bodies of knowledge and academic-based knowledge are crucially employed to govern the self-discipline of their subjects. Such self-discipline is inextricable from its accompanying regime of truth, such as moral values and a culture of sufficiency. However, these academic-based knowledges and regimes of truth, especially regarding a culture of sufficiency, cannot endure if they are not supported by their symbolic forms of subjectivity. These forms, deeply embedded within the mental structures of their subjects, encompass binaries like being employed versus unemployed, moral economy versus capitalism, and sufficiency versus insufficiency, among others.

In Chapter 7, the influence of state schooling in promoting The SEP is underscored as significant, with schools actively enforcing discipline among students to embrace principles of sufficiency. According to Phongphit and Hewison (2001, pp. 85-86), teachers emphasise the indispensability of education, frequently telling children that attendance at school is essential to avoid becoming "stupid," a derogatory term implicitly referencing their uneducated parents and grandparents. This label, stigmatising lack of formal education, has been increasingly accepted by villagers, who recognise their limited knowledge about the subjects taught in school and broader global events, information typically relayed by teachers, traders, government officials, and the radio. Additionally, parents initially supportive of their children's further education often face the harsh reality of financial constraints or the inadequate standards of rural primary schools. For many villagers, the aspiration is to see their children become government officials, a role locally referred to as "chaokhonnaikhon," symbolising authority and power over others. This perception is further entrenched by the condescending behaviour of officials, who sometimes act as superiors rather than civil servants, reinforcing the hierarchy and occasionally treating villagers as "stupid" (see sections 5.5.1 and 7.5.2).

- **Navigating The Landscape of Development Languages and Logics**

Through a cross-cultural approach, the author discovers that some of the languages used points out degrees to which hierarchical features in the use of languages are meaningfully different. It implies that the Pwo-Karen's notions of ideas of making social progress possibly place greater emphasis on cooperation and less on a sense of comparativeness or competitiveness. These features of their language potentially allude to their having only limited lexical adjectives to supplement their aspirations while expressing such ideas. In this sense, the Pwo-Karen culture

potentially contains fewer words which describe the predicament of outdoing, competing, comparing or triumphing over others. Rather, their indigenous language describes their predicament as being more practically subjectivist and qualitative in their modes of expression.

However, it is worth considering that the distinction between indigenous-local cooperation and market-based relationships may be viewed through different foundational logics, making it challenging to determine what is categorically right or wrong. The author acknowledges that, given the numerous changes to rural society and economy, evaluating their impacts is not straightforward (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 24). For example, Nartsupha (1984, p. 27) argues, based on his oral histories, that longkhaek (reciprocal labour exchange) symbolised the covenant that linked villagers, binding them to the community (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 25); whereas Kemp (1992, p. 195; Rigg J. , 2019, p. 25) reports that respondents were pleased to be relieved of the burdensome obligation to reciprocate help upon request and eagerly adopted wage labour. The issue is that the dichotomy between society and market, as delineated by the distinction between longkhaek (society) and wage labour (market), is inherently flawed. Wage labour involves a social contract, and reciprocal labour exchange contains an inherent logic of productivity (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 25).

- **Making Sense of Local Endeavours**

The thesis leads to a prising apart of indigenous ways of making social progress from those of mainstream development. The author undertakes a critical ethnographically-based approach to work at a semi-discursive and practical level. Through these vistas, it is possible to take into consideration various nuances and discrepancies in terms of the use of conceptual language in describing maasher and mainstream development. In their core essence, whether nuanced or discrepant, both have supposedly been different in terms of their sense, shape and aims. Ultimately, the thesis introduces local experiences of making social progress and their inherent contradictions. It draws upon three issues from three FGDs to address. The first group is drawn from among the elderly who introduce the concept of maasher which exist ontologically, yet has not firmly epistemologised, resulting in it being loosely defined in terms of its status of knowledge. Practically speaking, maasher is aimed at making common good rather than placing importance on driving modernisation, like mainstream development.

Indeed, in Thailand, villagers often demonstrate initiative and self-reliance by collaborating on community projects such as digging ponds, constructing roads, or repairing dams. However, the decision-making and organisation involved in these activities differ significantly from those required for grassroots development. Thongyou (1986) argues that the traditional concepts of self-reliance and self-help, as understood in village contexts, are not in line with governmental interpretations of these ideas. Even development ideologies meant to be culturally sensitive

can become disconnected from the village foundations they aim to support. In Thailand, the wattanathamchumchon ideology, significantly influenced by Thongyou and adopted by several NGOs, claims to focus on folk/peasant culture and to be derived from local definitions of development (or anti-development/counter-development). However, this ideology might be more accurately described as an elite reinterpretation of village culture from an external perspective. Academics, and subsequently the state, have appropriated select aspects of village self-reliance, cooperation, and participation, recontextualising them within an entirely foreign framework. Despite its purported village-centric approach, in practice, it deviates little from the conventional development strategies it aims to replace (Rigg J. , 1991a, pp. 203-204).

Hewison (1996, p. 149) observes that demographic change is a fundamental aspect of the emergence of new consumerism in Thailand. The accumulation of wealth among a significant minority, coupled with an expanded domestic market, has spurred a quest for novel lifestyles. This is particularly evident in the second group, drawn from the younger generation, who adopt new lifestyles and present their views on social progress in ways markedly different from other groups. Their perspectives on social progress align more closely with those of mainstream development, standing in stark contrast to the views of the elderly. While the adherents of the maasher concept approach progress in a practical manner, the younger generation tends towards a discursive approach. The attitudes of the younger generation underscore the pervasive influence and horizontal diffusion of mainstream development discourse, particularly in the education of the youth.

The last group is drawn from among Christian Myanmar-S'gaw civil war evacuees. Any ideas of making social progress may be meaningless unless they can get by. Their undocumented status exacerbates their life's struggles and disempowered status. However, they adopt religious positivity to respond to such difficulties and to make sense of their collective fates.

9.3   Critical Aspects in The Scholarly Refinement of The Thesis

- **From Colonialist Hegemony to American-Led Development**

In the context of Thailand's history, following the analysis of Winichakul (1994), the nation, after initially experiencing the proactive colonisations by the British and French superpowers, was subsequently subjected to a second wave of forceful domination by The FWCs. This wave posed significant challenges to its national security. Rather than undergoing traditional colonisation, Thailand adapted through the implementation of nationalist-chauvinistic policies, aiming to homogenise a collective notion of "Thai-ness." Consequently, the nation underwent comprehensive geopolitical and socio-cultural transformations under the guise of mainstream development. This period was marked by a critical intersection of modern knowledge in nation-state building, human geography, and national historiography, intersecting with the discursive coloniality of The FWCs. The

process of Americanisation played a pivotal role in this context, targeting Thailand and other LDCs. Field Marshal Thanarat, Prime Minister from 1958 to 1963, was instrumental in this transition. He promoted a new trend of reviving and manipulating traditional symbols, including the monarchy, particularly as part of his American-backed counter-insurgency campaign (Turton, 1988, p. 128).

- **Interpreting Human and Contextual Dynamics in Developmental Contexts**

The thesis contextualises the human geography and cultural landscape to enable audiences to take into consideration the contextual living conditions and opportunities. It points out an idealised ecological and cultural geography in which the ancestral Pwo-Karen had raised their own forest life and souls. Living a forest life through the practice of rotated swidden cultivation gave rise to year-round cultural practices. The coming of mainstream development and the sedentarianisation of projects, land use and ownership in place of the old ways of usufructuary land use and ownership have consequently shunted the Pwo-Karen participants into new forms of difficulty and precarity.

The thesis encourages a reconsideration of the precarity of living owing to differences in life's conditionings. There are three individual cases to discuss. To begin with, Pha Beh Keh presents as a person who has always understood that something is at the expense of something else. Suffering from paraplegia due to the explosion of a landmine, he has become fatalistic with the onset of old age. Moreover, his precarity through processual indebtedness has exacerbated his damaged fate. The way in which he copes with such difficulties is to hang up his life with his children's contributions and to stay as positive as possible. Then, the case of Nong Poe Sher addresses the role of a person who serves as a keeper of local wisdom. She is also a conspicuous example of people wielding power against power, whether consciously or unconsciously. In this sense, she knows how to negotiate with the state in its own accepted languages of mainstream development. She proves that knowledge spread through the statist discourse of mainstream development was all-powerful.

Tee Shyer is the last case, an undocumented Myanmar-S'gaw war evacuee. Being so restricted, she has found a number of life strategies and choices to enable her family members to maintain their well-being. Some of her ways seem inappropriate, yet her options are limited in her efforts to overcome life's adversities. Tee Shyer's case discusses the supportive roles of the Christian church and community towards people in need. Moreover, her Christian context causes her to become increasingly fatalistic relative to representatives of other groups. Her circumstances present how religious forces influence the way in which Christians in the village frame their worldview and ways of making social progress.

- **Ground-Level Precarity**

Precarious conditions, for example deteriorating terms within trade, shrinking landholdings, indebtedness, and undocumented status of evacuees, are potentially caused by inefficient

development policies and practices. The case studies contained within this thesis are encompassed by such precarious conditions due to forced displacement through the dam's construction. These precarious conditions seemingly serve as conditioning forces towards their self-genesis as well as their sense of self and social recognition. In this way, the conditions are scrutinised as power resources providing conditions for them to lean on, harbour within and preserve as part of their newfound existence.

These precarious conditions are seen as significant agents of power and force, contributing to their self-incarnation, as well as self and social recognitions. These conditions are viewed as influences that provide a foundation for individuals to rely upon, embrace, and retain within their evolving identities. From a theoretical standpoint, these precarious conditions are eventually intertwined within scholarly debates, engaging with theories that re-examine power and resistance as resources for self-social construction and recognition.

9.4   Intellectual Contributions and Scholarly Impacts of The Thesis

- **Politicisation of Mainstream Development**

This author argues that, during the Cold War context, mainstream development discourse and its practices rapidly accelerated its great power and forces. Financial global cooperation among The FWCs and The LDCs in seeking development projects were really active, particularly during the internationally-led and forceful US influences that existed from the 1950s to the 1960s.

It is evident that many government initiatives in rural areas were driven by a distinct political agenda. For example, The Accelerated Rural Development programme (ARD), initiated in 1965 with substantial United States support, was primarily focused on the northeast of Thailand. This region, which witnessed the onset of an armed insurgency in the same year, received approximately 70% of US aid to Thailand. The programme aimed to coordinate a wide range of rural development programmes in security-sensitive provinces, with the intention of persuading and sometimes reclaiming local villagers. Ninety percent of The ARD budget was allocated to road construction, with explicit military, political, and economic objectives (Turton, 1978, p. 117). Furthermore, foreign aid and investment, along with US military expenditure, have significantly bolstered the Thai economy. However, joint-venture agreements have enabled Thai capitalists to access capital, expertise, and skills in previously inaccessible sectors, accepting a subordinate role within the global capitalist framework, with potential consequences such as net capital outflows and trade dependency (Hewison, 2013, p. 273).

Moreover, Hewison (1988, p. 77) argues that Thanarat prioritised economic development from the beginning of his tenure, aiming to modernise Thailand. An International Bank for

Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) report (1959, pp. 94-106) outlined the country's development trajectory. The World Bank highlighted the need to elevate manufacturing activity through private endeavour and recommended that the government bolster private business confidence, facilitate industry expansion, and promote import substitution industrialisation (ISI) through various measures. Thailand's first national development plan closely followed these suggestions. Thanarat's initiatives from 1958 offered domestic and foreign capitalists the necessary assurances. He was determined to foster stability and progress in a Thailand he viewed as corrupted by pseudo-Westernisation. His strategies encompassed economic development, education, strict law enforcement, suspension of the constitution, monarchism, and a pro-American foreign policy, reflecting his desire for order, stability, and dignified progress. Although Thanarat's motives might have been multifaceted, his approach to business and economic development was generally welcomed by both domestic and foreign investors (Hewison, 2013, p. 277).

There existed a covert agenda, which was primarily concerned with preventing allies of The FWCs from aligning with the communist bloc. Additionally, there was an effort to counter and diminish the influence of communism over The Second World Countries (SWCs). For instance, in 1975, villagers in Thailand faced the threat of arrest on charges of communism if they voted for candidates supporting the programmes of The Peasants Federation of Thailand. The government-controlled press and radio harshly criticised The Federation, portraying its efforts to mobilise the masses as acts of subversion and treason. Such vilification reflected the intense political climate of the time, where affiliations and ideologies were scrutinised, often leading to severe consequences for those perceived as aligning with opposing political doctrines (Turton, 1978, p. 123).

- **Consumerism As A Neo-Colonial Construct**

During the Cold War era, the capitalist-liberalist model of development was employed internationally as a political-administrative instrument. In this critical period, a novel form of colonisation emerged, termed discursive coloniality, which involved the occupation of mental structures. Andrew Turton provides insightful observations on this new form of consumerist colonisation.

Turton (1988, pp. 207-208) emphasises the importance of examining beyond formal structures to understand the processes that instil new patterns, ideas, norms, and values related to work and consumption, which simultaneously function as forces of production and ideology. These structures, in an institutional context, include economically significant entities such as chambers of commerce and key producers and exporters' associations. Turton provides an illustrative example from his research in a small, relatively isolated upland valley in northern Thailand during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Here, wage labour had only recently been

introduced on any significant scale. The perception of timekeeping devices like clocks and watches evolved from symbols of prestige to practical tools. The traditional practice of marking time by the crowing of cocks was gradually replaced by time-specific phrases linked to daily activities. By 1980, the same region saw villagers accustomed to working in Bangkok's metal factories or Middle Eastern construction sites, reflecting a shift away from traditional agricultural practices and time management.

The hegemonic power of consumerism has consistently endeavoured to dominate rural life. Cha Dah, in Chapter 4, describes how the introduction of an open-air cinema in his region offered a glimpse into the external world through advertisements and films. Turton (1988, p. 208) reinforces this observation, highlighting the aggressive marketing strategies employed in rural areas by transnational corporations. These corporations initially introduced villagers to cinematic experiences, depicting foreign territories and urban lifestyles, and later promoted or sold consumer goods, often in areas lacking basic amenities like electricity. This exemplifies how capitalist ideologies can permeate societies even before the establishment of capitalist production relations.

Resistance to this pervasive consumerism does, however, emerge intermittently. Villagers debate the necessity of marketed products, favouring traditional alternatives and expressing concerns over health implications. The introduction of electricity in some communities has been contested due to the escalation of consumer needs it triggers. Additionally, the advent of television has been associated with increased gambling and expenditure in local establishments. From a local perspective, such consumerism is often critiqued through Buddhist values, which suggest that it fosters greed and, consequently, unhappiness.

- **Deconstructing The Production of Development Discourse**

Through a discourse analysis of a few reports obtained from the mainstream development agencies, the thesis reveals how liberalist development can be framed through a projection of only technocratically solvable problems. Created euphemistic reports are sufficiently discursively powerful to either benefit or manipulate those affected. The villagers also inevitably interface with the state's institutional legitimacy on the ground. The state's bureaucratic-authoritarian procedures must simultaneously play a crucial and parallel role. During the development process, these complementary forces help to keep the villagers under a state of surveillance, control and manipulation.

For example, in the post-Pacific War era, governments in the region were confronted with the challenging task of creating new cultural forms or transforming existing ones to cultivate a sense of nationhood, while ensuring they did not alienate or undermine indigenous ethnic cultures. This issue has been of significant importance in the field of Development Studies, with Southeast Asia

offering numerous case studies. Unfortunately, the majority of these studies highlight negative outcomes, with most cases showing attempts to curtail or eradicate the influence of indigenous cultures. This trend is illustrated by various cases: the Karen, Shan, and Kachin peoples of Burma; the highland communities of Thailand and Laos; The Moros of The Philippines; and The West Papuans in Indonesia – all of whom have faced aggressive campaigns of cultural assimilation and economic exploitation by the nascent national governments (Taylor & Turton, 1988, p. 7).

- **Vernacularising Development Discourse**

This thesis, following the principles of Foucauldian discourse analysis, examines various discourses. In addition to scrutinising the dominant mainstream development discourse, particularly detailed in Chapter 8, the author critically discusses concepts like a discourse-constructed notion of happiness and contentment within the context of capitalism and modernism in the Thai state. These ideas are explored in how they are integrated into the indigenous village and the SEP discourse. For the purposes of illustration, the villagers acquiescently learn new ways of speaking about happiness in a Thai capitalist and modernist sense, rather than conversing about being happy in their own sense. This is especially the case in such instances where the indigenous culture has no words to describe happiness directly, having evolved terms such as enjoyment instead. This gap in sociolinguistics between the indigenous and modern world proves advantageous to the latter in starting to cultivate new discourses and grow the objects more easily in expected ways through various channels of inculcation and socialisation.

For example, Nong Poe Sher incorporates outside forces. She constitutes a hybrid, managing her self-dialection both indigenously and scientifically and, moreover, she achieves this while presenting as a statist development conformist at times and as a conservationist of local wisdom at others. Her outside forces shape her to be skillful and strategic in assessing what her interlocutors prefer to hear so that she can do their bidding, enabling her to carry out their requests and achieve her own goals. This case affirms that, if one is skillful and sufficiently strategic to understand and manipulate such power, it can be employed to use against one's counterparts successfully. In this sense, having the art and criticality of negotiation with those who are counterparts can yet succeed in a war of position. Last, but not least, in terms of importance, her case affirms that our social worlds are shaped and run by the accepted utterances within the very societies in which we live.

- **Uncovering The Technical Capability Approach (TCA)**

One of the central tenets of this thesis' contributions has discussed The TCA. After Ferguson (2014), The TCA addressed technical issues in the projection of Khao Laem Dam. These mainstream development agency reports convince audiences to feel that such issues could merely be tackled by higher engineering approaches in one way rather than another. The TCA,

thus, ignores a sense of polity. Moreover, it is likely to ignore any arguments from the forces of exact political economy wherein the construction of the dam is favoured, whether deliberately or otherwise.[97] Only selected technocratic issues are therefore taken into consideration, while others for example the exacting political economy or culture that constitute part of the foundational root causes of prevailing issues are devalued and avoided.

For this thesis, Ferguson's post-development critique elucidates that the perceived backwardness and need for development are discursively produced (part of the process was affected through The TCA. In this sense, the domination of the mainstream development discourse and its practices is thus bottomless, submerged within the mental structures of, for the most part, the progressive nationalist leaders and some of the educated inhabitants. To this extent, given that such a discourse can largely dominate them, this meant that the discourse can replicate itself. This situation prohibited others from tapping into possible alternatives. This situation also runs the majority into an ontological trap, one which prevents them from realising optional opportunities to evaluate other ideas and ways of making social progress. More importantly, the phenomenon drives their inability to consider that the statist's mantra of perceived backwardness is publicly created or that alternative tenets of making social progress still exist. It is conceived that the persistence of such an ontological trap constitutes a major issue.

- **Exploring The Dynamics of Dominance**

Through the lens of The FGDs of the group of elderly people and the Christian Myanmar-S'gaw civil war evacuees, power resourcing remains indispensable to their self-constructions as well as to their sense of self and social recognition. In the visceral process of dialection within their mental structure, the group of elderly people may be tied tightly within the good old days' normative worldview which, together with their Buddhist forces, led to their turning into conservationists in the eyes of the modernistically educated young people. On the other hand, the Christian Mynmar-S'gaw civil war evacuees may be bound tightly through their strong belief in God; their hopes for love and optimism, turning them into a group of people who hope for the best wishes of God and for sharing love with their neighbours. They also make sense of any hurt fates through optimism as a way of comforting themselves.

We may perceive that such groups of elderly people have been hegemonised by the good old days' normative worldview in alignment with Buddhist forces as part of the hegemonic

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[97] Li (1999, p. 298) proposes that, although recognising the discursive impacts, converting failure into further development requires more than a mechanical internal process. The interaction between development projects and their targets necessitates nuanced "cultural" efforts.

schemata of indigenous-ness. On the other hand, the group of youthful participants attending school is part of the governmentalising schemata of the statist modern education system. This governmentality has a key tool which was that of formal scholastically-based knowledge used for the purposes of inculcation towards their objects.

- **Rethinking Resistance**

Turton (1978) interprets development as a key factor in the emergence and evolution of the peasant movement from the early 1970s, which also influenced the appeal of The Communist Party of Thailand (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 128). However, a more critical interpretation suggests a re-evaluation of seemingly blunt forms of resistance, such as demonstrations, protests, and movements, as potentially subtler expressions. This perspective invites a reconsideration of resistance within the mental structure, particularly through the visceral process of dialectic engagement and incorporation of external forces. Such a critical rethinking of power and resistance highlights the ability of power to navigate through both internal and external channels.

This thesis explores the life of Pha Beh Keh in that his encompassing adverse conditions made him incorporate such conditional forces. The force-displacement coercion of power and his good old days' normative worldview within his mental structure had once turned him into an open resister[98] of the dam. His lack of success after his will to fight, hurt fate, and Buddhist forces has led him to accept his lot as an individual who prefers to retreat and comfort himself by accepting such adversities (see a few more cases as examples in the section 6.4.1).

- **Gazing Beyond Binary Paradigms**

These overarching concerns prompt an examination of on-the-ground realities. Ethnographic fieldwork has unveiled the subtle dynamics of "maasher" in the context of mainstream development. This ethnography explores the motivation behind understanding alternative perspectives on social progress, extending beyond conventional development paradigms. In the post-development era, the concept of development provides an opportunity for various individuals and stakeholders to assume significant roles, including offering radical critiques of its contentious aspects.

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[98] Open resistance to dam construction was fraught with danger, especially during the 1970s and 1980s. Andrew Turton (1988, p. 130) recounts his observations of the Nongbuabaan case in Udonthani province. Here, villagers from 14 villages faced the threat of losing 20,000 rai of land due to a dam and hydroelectric scheme construction, ostensibly to benefit a nearby US air base. Concurrent challenges included an increase in cattle thefts. On May 6th, 1974, a meeting of villagers and students was disrupted when the local district officer and mayor orchestrated a gathering of 1,000 outsiders, some of whom were armed. This group, holding a meeting in close proximity, used loudspeakers to label the villagers and students as communists and accused them of inciting unrest. Following the departure of 200 police and soldiers, the villagers were assaulted, resulting in three individuals sustaining gunshot wounds. The intervention of Buddhist monks was pivotal in preventing further escalation of violence.

In accordance with the post-development critique, the author highlights the cultural losses and discontinuities experienced by the Pwo-Karen participants. It is recognised that the Pwo-Karen possess a distinct perspective on the notion of social progress, shaped by their unique locations, historical contexts, and circumstances. The author argues that the revelation and articulation of maasher illustrate that there is no single absolute truth or exclusive concept of social progress. Maasher coexists with the dominant mainstream development paradigm, awaiting our comprehension. This situation suggests a departure from binary discussions. The introduction of the Pwo-Karen term "maasher," alongside the English term "development" and the Thai term "kaanpattana," offers substantial evidence of non-binary thinking.

9.5 Envisioning Future Pathways in Research

- **Intensifying Class Divides in Contemporary Society**

The diverse conditions that enable individuals to construct their own identities may become particularly tangible in terms of class, evident through varied values and lifestyles. This author posits that the situation merits further investigation within the context of class division and status. For instance, Turton (1978, pp. 125-126) argues that class status is not solely determined by income levels or the amount of land owned, despite the significant role of land ownership. Rather, an analysis of class relationships should consider various factors including ownership and control over the means of production, capital accumulation, exploitation through wage labour, money lending, trading, and social, political, and ideological affiliations. Mainstream national development can significantly impact class divisions and statuses.

Furthermore, it is contended that Thailand's rural past was not marked by a homogeneous peasantry existing in a timeless vacuum devoid of conflict or struggle. Our comprehension of class dynamics in contemporary rural areas is heavily influenced by the intellectual standpoint we adopt, which remains a subject of debate (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 197). Turton underscores the need to analyse the nature and potential of various classes in Thailand. This class stratum is inherently ambiguous, overlapping with the poor peasantry at one end and reaching towards rich peasants who exploit others' labour, accumulate wealth, and act as rural capitalists at the other. Many individuals in this middle class collaborate with poorer peasants in production and share experiences of bureaucratic and economic injustices. Simultaneously, they contribute to capitalist and dependent neo-colonial economies by reproducing themselves at no capital cost, thereby negating the need for social subsidies and providing a readily available reserve of labour. Driven by the cash economy and the external imperative to purchase expensive industrially produced goods, they are increasingly compelled to participate in the market, often at the expense of their subsistence. Numerically, more individuals in this class are likely to experience economic decline rather than prosper as petty capitalist farmers under the

prevailing conditions and structures. Indeed, many are beleaguered by debt and other challenges in their pursuit of economic improvement. Such observations highlight the significance of examining economic differentiation and class structures among the peasantry as dynamic historical processes, instead of through static and artificial divisions.

- **Strategic Decision-Making in Life Choices**

This subject can be explored more deeply. Tee Shyer's case illustrates her strategies for creating more life choices. These range from her own migration to facilitating her son's migration and ordination. However, Tee Shyer faced significant life challenges that led to morally complex decisions. In dire straits and with limited options, she had to choose between giving her children opportunities for a better education and life or staying true to her Christian beliefs. This difficult choice meant accepting one outcome at the expense of another, risking dishonour and disrepute. This is similar to Phongphit and Hewison's (2001, p. 100) observation that many people send their children to become novices or monks as a cost-effective way to access higher education. Statistics show that most student monks from Buddhist universities in Bangkok leave their religious status soon after graduation, having reached their educational objectives. Currently, the economic struggles of many families make it hard to support their sons' ordination during the three months of Buddhist Lent. Moreover, these sons often do not want to give up their jobs and income for this period. With family debts looming, the monastic life, symbolised by the yellow robe, seems like a burden, and they find little solace in temple life.

- **Migration in Pursuit of A Better Life**

The case study of Tee Shyer invites us to consider different forms of bad conditions, particularly those closely intertwined with legal and institutional forces. Tee Shyer, as a registered but undocumented evacuee, internalised these conditions. Lacking access to official state healthcare programmes and efficient channels to negotiate with the state for improved QoL, her situation reflects the broader plight of people in borderlands. These individuals, sharing Tee Shyer's fate for varied migration reasons, are drawn to Thailand for several factors, including economic incentives. Tee Shyer's case, as a civil war evacuee, is one such example, further influenced by Thailand's superior economic development relative to its neighbours.

Glassman (2007) terms this situation as Thailand's "spatial fix," where numerous industries are drawn to the country's border regions, especially those bordering Myanmar. This scenario represents a strategy for investment, profit, and development, supported by a specific political economy of migration and employment (Rigg J. , 2019, p. 62). Furthermore, migrants from Myanmar, Laos, and Cambodia, often without proper documentation, help alleviate labour shortages caused by social and economic processes. These processes have been politically facilitated through a degree of

reconciliation between Thailand and its neighbours, along with implicit approval from local authorities. Economically, these migrants are attractive due to their willingness to accept lower wages and harsher conditions compared to most Thai workers (Glassman, 2007; Rigg J. , 2019, p. 208).

9.6 Final Word

Overall, to critique the mainstream development discourse and its practices, one needs to engage with the scholarly trend of post-development critique. Many post-development theorists commence their critique with a genealogical examination of literature, tracing the evolution of each development's knowledge and power. Using this approach, the author has discerned that the discursive power of mainstream development has spread horizontally, thereby overshadowing maasher. This suggests that the discourse and power of mainstream development have been transported in their unaltered form to the selected research site, subsequently guiding its subjects onto varied paths of fate.

This thesis presents a significant scholarly contribution, characterised by its meticulous analysis of the consequences stemming from both historical and contemporary rural development initiatives, with a specific focus on The Khao Laem Dam project. There are several implications of this thesis that warrant discussion. Firstly, the potential recurrence of large-scale development continues to loom over the affected populations. Walden Bello and colleagues (Bello & Rosenfeld, 1992; Bello, Cunningham, & Poh, 1998), in their studies on Southeast Asia, influenced by Dependency Theories, consistently argue that the region's capitalism, coupled with the nature of globalisation, is inherently flawed. They assert that increased economic liberalisation typically exacerbates hardship for the majority, enriching a minority and benefitting businesses in wealthier nations (Hewison, 2000, p. 281). The newspaper headline (Dailynews, 2019) cited in Chapter 1 appears to rekindle past traumatic experiences, suggesting that the impacts of mainstream development practices are likely to recur (Figure 1-1 and Figure 1-2). A notable aspect of mainstream development, as discussed in this thesis, relates to state-led initiatives. The period from 1947, marked by Phibun's reinstatement as leader until his overthrow in 1957, followed by the Sarit Thanarat revolution in 1958, can be characterised as an era of erratic development approaches. Subsequently, the state began to formulate plans for national economic development (Hewison, 2013, p. 275).

Recent empirical evidence from Thailand indicates that several mega-development projects have been re-proposed, leading to tensions between local communities and developers. For instance, in the three years following the reintroduction of proposals for a coal power station and deep seaports in fishing villages in southern Thailand, the state has justified these projects by alleging that locals live in subsistence economies plagued by poverty and unemployment. Some locals lack legal rights to their land, despite having resided there for over two generations. The state's claim of land intrusion on state property has provided them with a pretext for potential

expropriation (Consultant of Technology Co., Ltd., 2017), exacerbating local concerns and resistance regarding their livelihoods and the threat of forced displacement.

Mainstream development has frequently ignited opposition to state-led initiatives. In Thailand, the government's version of democracy seems to have a problem with any movement against the state. Accepting diverse opinions that do not align with the government's policies has been tough, leading to the suppression of such differing views from the people. These tensions have historical roots. For example, in the 1960s and 1970s, under Thanarat's authoritarian regime, unions were outlawed, and numerous labour leaders were detained. Thanarat's vision of "Thai-style democracy," predicated on his belief that the government knew what was best for the people, suppressed any actions perceived as fostering disunity, including unions. Despite the prohibition of strikes, some workers risked imprisonment to defend their rights. Official records show only eighty-two strikes between 1958 and 1968. Both local and international investors favoured these policies, as they ensured low wages and reduced the risk of labour unrest. Major capitalists not only supported but also actively endorsed the state's policies, agreeing with the rationale behind the prohibition of strikes and unions (Hewison, 2013, p. 284).

Secondly, in terms of achieving a balanced approach in development policy-making, it is imperative for policymakers to re-evaluate their strategies with a renewed focus on people and their interests. There may be individuals who, despite their true preferences regarding local development projects, display an appearance of agreement or dissent due to socio-political pressures. Regardless of such complexities, the expressed opinions of local communities, whether of approval, rejection, or non-committal conformity, must be acknowledged and given due weight. Should indications arise that large-scale development initiatives could cause harm or provoke public disputes among stakeholders, it would be imprudent to allow such projects to proceed and thereby intensify existing conflicts or contribute to increased instability. Policies should uphold the values, rights, and dignity of the people. Furthermore, large-scale development projects must strive to restore equilibrium by prioritising the mental well-being of affected communities. Consequently, it is essential to encompass all pertinent social factors, including pressures, insecurity, discontent, dissatisfaction, and ethno-religious considerations.

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Appendix 1 The Ethical Approval Certificate

UNIVERSITY OF Hull
Faculty of Arts, Cultures and Education

ETHICAL PROCEDURES FOR RESEARCH AND TEACHING

PERMISSION TO PROCEED WITH RESEARCH: ETHICAL APPROVAL

Name:	**Thaenphan Senaphan Buamai**
Programme of Study:	**PhD Sociology and Social Anthropology**
Research Area/Title:	**Understanding development from Thailand's local perspectives and experiences**
Name of Supervisor:	**Vassos Argyrou and Julia Holdsworth**
Date Approved by Ethics Committee:	**25th February 2019**
Reference Number:	**1819PGR04**

Appendix 2 The Participant Information Sheet

UNIVERSITY OF **Hull**

Faculty of Arts, Cultures and Education

A Participant Information Sheet

Dear Participant,

My name is Thaenphan Senaphan Buamai. I am undertaking a PhD project at the School of Education and Social Sciences in the Faculty of Arts, Cultures and Education at the University of Hull, UK through a Royal Thai Government Scholarship. The topic of this project is *"Understanding Development from Thailand's Local Perspectives and Experiences."* You have received this sheet because you have been identified as a potential key participant who can respond to this investigation.

What are the aims of this project? The project is to search for, to learn from and to understand if there are alternative ideas and practices of development which may be different from other, more mainstream, ideas and practices. This will open the development community to other possible accounts of development by ensuring it begins to listen to the local people who have direct experience of development practices and experiences. My research therefore predicts that there will be different local understandings of development ideas that emerge, ideas which we can learn from.

The results of this project will allow me to gain a better understanding of your own local ideas and practices of development. Moreover, the sociocultural contexts in which your development ideas and practices have developed will be examined in my project's results. I understand that without seriously taking the time to understand your lived contexts, your local ideas and practices of what development is cannot be meaningful understood.

What happens if you volunteer to take part in this project? I will perform an interview with yourself. During this, you will be asked to provide your personal information and what experiences of development you have had through an informal conversation.

Are there any financial rewards? There are no financial rewards for participating in this research. In each interview, I will verbally thank each informant and I aim to provide light refreshments during the interview as a gesture towards using your valuable time.

Are there any risks or any embarrassment or psychological stress? If you do not feel comfortable to speak about your experiences for whatever reasons, or feel emotional discomfort during the discussion, you are feel free to say nothing at all. You will also be free to leave the discussion and the project at any point. Moreover, at any time, you can ask for any unprocessed data you have given me to be withdrawn. I advise you that you should not inform the researcher of any illegal activity during the discussion.

How will your set of data be kept confidential? During this project, your permission may be kindly asked to audio record your spoken account, as well as to take pictures and to film your cultural practices. Please feel free to say no if you feel sensitive or emotionally uncomfortable. All recorded materials and transcripts are taken for the production of written accounts, and will be carefully preserved, stored and ultimately destroyed. They will be securely kept in lockable cabinets and in forms of an encrypted format on the university password highly protected drive, that only myself and my supervisors can access.

As I may need to refer to the recorded materials and transcripts in the future, I plan to have safely archived them for five years but they will be completely disposed of after 26/09/2026. Moreover, you can feel safe and secured that your privacy is my topmost priority. Your name will be replaced by a fake name both in written and spoken accounts. All recorded electronic/audio data will be de-identified when typed up to form a transcript by using a fake name on it. This fake name to anonymise you, ensuring your confidentiality so as to prevent any possible invasion of your privacy by tracing back to you any comments in the publication of the research.

How will your data be used? The stories, beliefs and events you tell and share with me will form my data set to be made sense. My goal is that both the language of the data set and the language about which I and you speak will be seriously and critically examined. This is as to identify your meaningful characteristics of cultural accounts which provide access into the world of your social life to uncover the alternative meanings and local understandings of development you have. Ultimately, I expect to contribute new understandings by publishing the results of this project in the form of research papers, so as I can share my findings with other specialists interested in development issues.

Who reviewed the study? My supervisory team, Dr Julia Holdsworth and Professor Vassos Argyrou, and The Faculty of Arts, Cultures and Education Research Ethics Committee, all of the University of Hull.

What happens if you are unhappy during the study? You are free to withdraw from the project at any point if you feel it is not right for you. If you are concerned that regulations are being infringed, or that your interests are otherwise being ignored, neglected or denied, you should inform the Faculty Ethics Committee, who will investigate your complaint, at face.research@hull.ac.uk

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this project and best wishes,

THAENPHAN S. BUAMAI.

(Thaenphan Senaphan Buamai)
PhD student in Sociology and Social Anthropology,
The Faculty of Arts, Cultures and Education,
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Appendix 3 The Participant Information Sheet (Thai)

UNIVERSITY OF **Hull**
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หนังสือชี้แจงต่อผู้มีส่วนร่วมในการวิจัย

เรียน ท่านผู้มีส่วนร่วมในการวิจัย

นายแทนพันธุ์ เสนะพันธุ์ บัวใหม่ นักเรียนทุนรัฐบาลไทย ระดับปริญญาเอก หลักสูตรปรัชญา ดุษฎีบัณฑิต สาขาวิชาสังคมวิทยาและมานุษยวิทยาสังคม ณ มหาวิทยาลัยฮัลล์ ประเทศสหราชอาณาจักร ขณะนี้ กำลังเขียนวิทยานิพนธ์เรื่อง *"การทำความเข้าใจ "การพัฒนา" ผ่านมุมมองและประสบการณ์ ท้องถิ่นในประเทศไทย"* สาเหตุท่านได้รับหนังสือชี้แจงนี้ เนื่องจากเล็งเห็นแล้วว่า ท่านคือผู้มีศักยภาพในการ ตอบคำถามวิจัย อย่างไรก็ตาม ขอให้ท่านสบายใจและมั่นใจว่าวิทยานิพนธ์นี้ได้มาตรฐาน ทั้งในแง่จริยธรรมใน การวิจัย ซึ่งได้รับการตรวจสอบอย่างเข้มงวด และพิจารณาอนุมัติแล้วโดยคณะกรรมการพิจารณาจริยธรรมใน การวิจัยของมหาวิทยาลัยฮัลล์ ส่วนในแง่คุณภาพของผลงานวิชาการก็เช่นเดียวกัน ที่ได้รับการควบคุมคุณภาพ อย่างเข้มงวดจากอาจารย์ที่ปรึกษา 2 ท่าน คือ อาจารย์ ดร. จูเลีย โฮลด์สเวิร์ธ และ ศาสตราจารย์ ดร. วาสซอส อากิโร ทั้งยังผ่านการตรวจสอบคุณภาพจากคณะกรรมการตรวจสอบภายนอกเป็นประจำทุกปีการศึกษา

วัตถุประสงค์หลักของวิทยานิพนธ์นี้ เพื่อค้นหา เรียนรู้และทำความเข้าใจ ต่อกระบวนทัศน์การ พัฒนาต่างๆ เป็นการขยายพื้นที่ทางความรู้และความคิดให้แก่กระบวนทัศน์การพัฒนาทางเลือก โดยเริ่มต้นจาก การฟังและทำความเข้าใจประสบการณ์ตรงของผู้ที่ได้รับผลกระทบจากกระบวนทัศน์การพัฒนาของรัฐ นอกจากนี้ ยังทำให้เราตระหนักว่า แต่ละบริบทสังคมวัฒนธรรมและอุดมการณ์นั้น มีผลต่อการปลูกฝังความรู้ ความคิดและความเชื่อหนึ่งๆ ที่ให้ผลอย่างมีนัยสำคัญในภายหลังต่อการให้คุณค่ากับกระบวนทัศน์การพัฒนา หนึ่งๆ และต่อการกำหนดให้เกิดความแตกต่างทางความรู้ ความคิดและความเชื่อระหว่างบุคคล ที่อาจถูก แวดล้อม ไปด้วยบริบทสังคมวัฒนธรรมและอุดมการณ์ที่แตกต่างกันออกไป ในท้ายที่สุด กระบวนทัศน์การพัฒนา ใหม่ๆ ที่อาจค้นพบนี้ จะช่วยยืนยันต่อเราได้ว่า ระบอบของความจริงทางสังคมของการพัฒนานั้น ไม่ได้มีเพียง ระบอบเดียว

วิธีการวิจัยที่ใช้?

ท่านจะได้รับการสังเกตและสัมภาษณ์ โดยหลักแล้ว เกี่ยวกับประวัติชีวิตและประสบการณ์ ผลกระทบจากการพัฒนาที่ผ่านมา รวมไปถึงความคิด วัฒนธรรม ความเชื่อ ภูมิปัญญา ความรู้ท้องถิ่นว่าด้วยการ พัฒนา เรื่องเล่า นิยายปรัมปรา คำสอนท้องถิ่น วิถีการผลิตแบบเกษตรกรรม อาหารและการปรุง ตลอดไปจนถึง

วิถีชีวิตประจำวันที่น่าสนใจอื่นๆ การสัมภาษณ์มีทั้งที่ไม่เป็นทางการ กึ่งทางการ ตลอดไปจนถึงการอภิปรายกลุ่ม ย่อย

ท่านจะได้รับค่าตอบแทนจากการเป็นผู้มีส่วนร่วมหรือไม่?

ท่านจะไม่ได้รับค่าตอบแทนในรูปของเงิน อย่างไรก็ตาม ในการสัมภาษณ์แต่ละครั้ง ผู้สัมภาษณ์จะ แสดงน้ำใจด้วยอาหารว่างและเครื่องดื่มต่อการที่ท่านได้อุทิศเวลาส่วนตัวมาให้ข้อมูล

หากท่านกังวลต่อการเข้ามามีส่วนร่วมหรือต่อการให้ข้อมูล?

หากท่านรู้สึกไม่สะดวกหรือไม่สบายใจ ที่จะบอกเล่าประสบการณ์ของท่าน ไม่ว่าจะด้วยเหตุผลใดก็ ตาม ท่านสามารถเลือกที่จะไม่บอกเล่าประสบการณ์นั้นได้ หรือมิฉะนั้น ท่านสามารถขอยกเลิกการสัมภาษณ์ หรือการอภิปรายกลุ่มได้ทุกเมื่อ นอกจากนี้ ท่านยังสามารถขอถอนตัวออกจากการมีส่วนร่วมได้ตลอดเวลา ทั้งยัง ขอให้ทำลายข้อมูลจากการบอกเล่าประสบการณ์ได้เช่นกัน โดยทั้งหมดนี้ ท่านไม่ต้องกังวลว่าจะมีผลเสียต่อตัว ท่านตามมาในภายหลัง อย่างไรก็ตาม ขอแนะนำท่านว่าให้หลีกเลี่ยงการให้ข้อมูลที่ขัดต่อกฎหมาย หรืออาจ นำไปสู่การกระทำที่ไม่ชอบด้วยกฎหมาย

ข้อมูลจากการบอกเล่าประสบการณ์ของท่านจะถูกเก็บเป็นความลับอย่างไร?

ก่อนการสัมภาษณ์หรืออภิปรายกลุ่มย่อยแต่ละครั้ง ผู้สัมภาษณ์จะขออนุญาตจากท่าน เพื่อการ บันทึกเสียงและภาพ รวมถึงภาพเคลื่อนไหว หากท่านรู้สึกไม่สะดวกหรือไม่สบายใจ ที่จะได้รับการบันทึกดังกล่าว ไม่ว่าจะด้วยเหตุผลใดก็ตาม ท่านสามารถปฏิเสธได้ เสียง พร้อมทั้งบทสนทนาที่ถูกถอดจากการบันทึก ภาพและ ภาพเคลื่อนไหว จะได้รับการรักษาอย่างดีที่สุด ในรูปของแฟ้มเอกสารที่ต้องอาศัยรหัสส่วนตัวเพื่อการเปิดใช้งาน (an encrypted file) จัดเก็บในอุปกรณ์คอมพิวเตอร์ที่ป้องกันการเปิดใช้ด้วยรหัสส่วนตัว นอกจากนี้สำเนาต่างๆ จะถูกเก็บไว้บนพื้นที่เก็บข้อมูลของมหาวิทยาลัยฮัลล์ ที่อาศัยรหัสส่วนตัวเพื่อการเปิดใช้งานเช่นกัน (The university password protected drive) มีเพียงนักศึกษาและอาจารย์ที่ปรึกษาอีก 2 ท่านเท่านั้นที่จะเข้าถึงได้ ทั้งนี้ ข้อมูลจะถูกบันทึกนี้ไว้เป็นเวลา 5 ปี ดังนั้น ภายหลังวันที่ 26 กันยายน พ.ศ. 2569 ข้อมูลเหล่านี้จะถูก กำจัดทิ้งอย่างถาวร นอกจากนี้ ยังมีมาตรการคุ้มครองความเป็นส่วนตัว ป้องกันการสืบค้นและสืบสาวจนถึงตัว ท่าน ดังนั้น จึงใช้นามแฝงเรียกแทนตัวท่านในทุกๆ กรณี

ข้อมูลที่ได้รับการบันทึกจะถูกนำมาใช้อย่างไร

ข้อมูลที่ถูกบันทึก โดยเฉพาะบทสนทนาที่ถูกถอดจากการบันทึก จะได้รับการจำแนก จัดหมวดหมู่ และตีความ เพื่อค้นหาสัญญะและความหมายที่ซ่อนอยู่ ไม่ว่าจะเป็นความสัมพันธ์เชิงอำนาจ ความคิด ความเชื่อ บรรทัดฐาน อันเป็นส่วนหนึ่งซึ่งทำให้เกิดอำนาจในตัวบุคคลที่ไม่เท่ากัน และอาจมีผลอย่างมีนัยสำคัญต่อการเป็น อุปสรรคขัดขวางบุคคลนั้น ไม่ให้เข้าไปมีส่วนร่วมในกระบวนทัศน์การพัฒนาหนึ่งๆ หรือกระทั่งมีผลต่อการทำ ความเข้าใจต่อกระบวนทัศน์การพัฒนาชุดหนึ่งๆ นอกจากนี้ วาทกรรมวิเคราะห์จะเป็นอีกวิธีการสำคัญเพื่อการ

วิเคราะห์ข้อมูลที่ถูกบันทึก โดยเฉพาะบทสนทนาที่ถูกถอดจากการบันทึก และไม่เพียงเฉพาะข้อมูลเหล่านี้เท่านั้น
ที่จะถูกนำมาวิเคราะห์ด้วยวิธีการดังกล่าว แต่การใช้ภาษาของท่านในการสื่อข้อมูลเหล่านี้ออกมา ก็จะถูกนำมา
วิเคราะห์ด้วย ทั้งนี้ เพื่อค้นหา เรียนรู้และทำความเข้าใจ ต่อขนบธรรมเนียม ประเพณี บรรทัดฐาน สถาบันทาง
สังคม ฯลฯ เพราะเชื่อว่า การตีความจากข้อมูลเหล่านี้ จะนำไปสู่การเข้าถึง เรียนรู้และการทำความเข้าใจชีวิต
ทางสังคมของท่าน โดยเฉพาะต่อระบอบความจริงทางสังคมของการพัฒนาในบริบทสังคมวัฒนธรรมและ
อุดมการณ์ของท่านเอง

ผลของวิทยานิพนธ์จะช่วยให้สังคมในวงกว้าง เข้าถึง เรียนรู้และเกิดการทำความเข้าใจระบอบ
ความจริงทางสังคมของการพัฒนาบนฐานบริบทสังคมวัฒนธรรมและอุดมการณ์ของท่านเอง ในท้ายที่สุด จะ
นำไปสู่การทำความเข้าใจว่าการมีบริบทสังคมวัฒนธรรมและอุดมการณ์ที่แตกต่างกันนั้น ย่อมนำไปสู่การมีความรู้
ความคิดและความเชื่อหนึ่งๆ ที่ให้ผลอย่างมีนัยสำคัญในภายหลังต่อการให้คุณค่ากับกระบวนทัศน์การพัฒนา
หนึ่งๆ ภายหลังจากวิทยานิพนธ์นี้เสร็จสิ้น ยังหวังจะได้ตีพิมพ์เป็นบทความวิจัย เพื่อเปิดโอกาสให้ผู้ที่มีความสนใจ
ตรงกันได้ร่วมกันอ่าน ตลอดจนแลกเปลี่ยนความรู้และความคิดกันต่อไป

ใครเป็นผู้ควบคุมวิทยานิพนธ์นี้?

อาจารย์ ดร. จูเลีย โฮลด์สเวิร์ธ และ ศาสตราจารย์ ดร. วาสซอส อากีโร รวมถึงคณะกรรมการ
พิจารณาจริยธรรมในการวิจัย คณะอักษรศาสตร์ วัฒนธรรมและศึกษาศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยฮัลล์

หากท่านมีคำถามและความกังวลเกี่ยวกับวิทยานิพนธ์นี้?

นอกจากที่ท่านสามารถขอยกเลิกการสัมภาษณ์ หรืออภิปรายกลุ่มได้ทุกเมื่อ ทั้งยังสามารถขอถอน
ตัวออกจากการมีส่วนร่วมได้ตลอดเวลาแล้ว กรณีที่ท่านกังวลว่า ระเบียบปฏิบัติที่ดี หรือตัวท่านเองกำลังได้รับ
การละเมิด หรือหากรู้สึกว่า ศักยภาพและความสนใจของท่านนั้น ถูกเพิกเฉยหรือปฏิเสธ ท่านสามารถแจ้งมาที่
คณะอักษรศาสตร์ วัฒนธรรมและศึกษาศาสตร์ เพื่อให้เกิดการตรวจสอบและแก้ไขได้ ทั้งนี้ ผ่าน
face.research@hull.ac.uk/j.holdsworth@hull.ac.uk/v.argyrou@hull.ac.uk

ขอแสดงความนับถือและขอขอบพระคุณที่ท่านให้ความร่วมมือ เข้าร่วมเป็นส่วนหนึ่งในวิทยานิพนธ์นี้

(นายแทนพันธ์ เสนะพันธุ์ บัวใหม่)
นักศึกษาปริญญาเอก สาขาวิชาสังคมวิทยาและมานุษยวิทยาสังคม
มหาวิทยาลัยฮัลล์ ประเทศสหราชอาณาจักร

ติดต่อ

นายแทนพันธ์ เสนะพันธุ์ บัวใหม่

คณะอักษรศาสตร์ วัฒนธรรมและศึกษาศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยฮัลล์

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อีเมล t.s.buamai@2017.hull.ac.uk/thaenphan@gmail.com/face.research@hull.ac.uk

Appendix 4 The Participant Informed Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF Hull

Faculty of Arts, Cultures and Education

A Participant Informed Consent Form

Project title: Understanding Development from Thailand's Local Perspectives and Experiences

Researcher's name: Mr Thaenphan Senaphan Buamai

Supervisors' names: Dr Julia Holdsworth and Professor Vassos Argyrou

Please tick

☐ I have read the Participant Information Sheet and the nature and aim of the research project has been explained to me. I understand and agree to take part.

☐ I understand the aim of the research project and my involvement in it.

☐ I understand that I may withdraw from the research project at any stage and that this will not appear any effects to me in the future.

☐ I understand and agree that the researcher may publish documents that contain quotations by me under the use of a pseudonym.

☐ I understand that while information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified and my personal results will remain highly confidential.

☐ I understand that I may be audio/video recorded during the interview and participant observation.

☐ I understand that any data I provide will be safely stored in the researcher's password protected hard disk and on the university password protected drive. A hard copy format of all recorded materials will be kept in lockable cabinets. My data set supplied will be accessed only by the researcher and his supervisors in question.

☐ I understand that as the researcher may need to refer to my recorded data set in the future, my supplied data set will be stored until 26/09/2026. After this time, I acknowledge that my recorded data set will have been completely disposed of.

☐ I understand that I may contact the researcher or his supervisors if I require further information about the research project, and that I may contact the Research Ethics Committee of the School of Education and Social Sciences of the Faculty of Arts, Cultures and Education at the University of Hull if I wish to make a complaint relating to my involvement in the research project.

☐ I realise as suggested by the researcher that I should not inform the researcher of any illegal activity during the discussion.

Signed ……………………………………………………………… **(Research participant)**

Print name …………………………………………………… **Date** …………………………………

Signed …………………………………………………… **(Researcher)**

Print name …………………………………………………… **Date** …………………………………

Contact details

Researcher
1-3 Skidby House, Salmon Grove, Hull, HU6 7SW
UK +44 7506526234
Thailand + 66 958901819
t.s.buamai@2017.hull.ac.uk
thaenphan@gmail.com

Supervisors and Research Ethics Committee
The School of Education and Social Sciences,
The Faculty of Arts, Cultures and Education,
The University of Hull, Hull, HU6 7RX
j.holdsworth@hull.ac.uk
v.argyrou@hull.ac.uk
face.research@hull.ac.uk

x

Appendix 5 The Participant Informed Consent Form (Thai)

UNIVERSITY OF **Hull**
Faculty of Arts, Cultures and Education

หนังสือแสดงเจตนายินยอมเข้าร่วมโครงการวิจัย

หัวข้อวิทยานิพนธ์   การทำความเข้าใจ *"การพัฒนา"* ผ่านมุมมองและประสบการณ์ท้องถิ่นในประเทศไทย

นักศึกษาปริญญาเอก   นายแทนพันธ์ เสนะพันธุ์ บัวใหม่

อาจารย์ที่ปรึกษา   อาจารย์ ดร. จูเลีย โฮลด์สเวิร์ธ และ ศาสตราจารย์ ดร. วาสซอส อากิโร

คำชี้แจง ขอให้ท่านผู้มีส่วนร่วมในการวิจัยอ่านและพิจารณาข้อความต่อไปนี้ และทำเครื่องหมาย ✓ ลงใน ☐

☐ ข้าพเจ้าได้ศึกษาหนังสือชี้แจงต่อผู้มีส่วนร่วมในการวิจัย และทราบถึงวัตถุประสงค์ของวิทยานิพนธ์ พร้อมทั้งเข้าใจ และขอแสดงเจตนายินยอมเข้าไปมีส่วนร่วม

☐ ข้าพเจ้าเข้าใจและเห็นด้วยกับวัตถุประสงค์ของวิทยานิพนธ์ และบทบาทของข้าพเจ้าต่อวิทยานิพนธ์นี้

☐ ข้าพเจ้าเข้าใจและเห็นด้วยว่า ในกรณีที่ข้าพเจ้ารู้สึกไม่สะดวกหรือไม่สบายใจ ข้าพเจ้าสามารถเลือกที่จะ ไม่บอกเล่าประสบการณ์ต่างๆ ได้ หรือสามารถขอยกเลิกการสัมภาษณ์หรือการอภิปรายกลุ่มได้ทุกเมื่อ นอกจากนี้ ยังสามารถขอถอนตัวออกจากการมีส่วนร่วมได้ตลอดเวลา ทั้งยังขอให้ทำลายข้อมูลจากการ บอกเล่าประสบการณ์ได้เช่นกัน โดยทั้งหมดนี้ ข้าพเจ้าไม่ต้องกังวล ว่าจะมีผลเสียต่อตัวข้าพเจ้าตามมา ในภายหลัง

☐ ข้าพเจ้าเข้าใจและเห็นด้วยว่า ภายหลังจากวิทยานิพนธ์นี้เสร็จสิ้น จะมีการตีพิมพ์ผลของวิทยานิพนธ์เป็น บทความวิจัย และมีมาตรการคุ้มครองความเป็นส่วนตัว ป้องกันการสืบค้นและสืบสาวจนถึงตัวข้าพเจ้า โดยใช้นามแฝงเรียกแทนตัวข้าพเจ้าในทุกๆ กรณี

☐ ข้าพเจ้าเข้าใจและเห็นด้วยว่า ระหว่างการเก็บรวบรวมข้อมูลภาคสนามและระหว่างวิเคราะห์ข้อมูล ผลที่ได้บางส่วน อาจได้รับการตีพิมพ์และเผยแพร่ ทั้งนี้ ยังคงอยู่ภายใต้มาตรการการคุ้มครองความเป็นส่วนตัว ป้องกันการสืบค้นและสืบสาวจนถึงตัวข้าพเจ้า โดยใช้นามแฝงเรียกแทนตัวข้าพเจ้าในทุกๆ กรณี

☐ ข้าพเจ้าเข้าใจและเห็นด้วยว่า ก่อนการสัมภาษณ์หรืออภิปรายกลุ่มย่อยแต่ละครั้ง ผู้สัมภาษณ์ต้องขออนุญาตจากข้าพเจ้า เพื่อการบันทึกเสียงและภาพ รวมถึงภาพเคลื่อนไหว

☐ ข้าพเจ้าเข้าใจและเห็นด้วยว่า เสียง พร้อมทั้งบทสนทนาที่ถูกถอดจากการบันทึก ภาพและภาพเคลื่อนไหว จะได้รับการรักษาอย่างดีที่สุด ในรูปของแฟ้มเอกสารที่ต้องอาศัยรหัสส่วนตัวเพื่อการเปิดใช้งาน (an encrypted file) จัดเก็บในอุปกรณ์คอมพิวเตอร์ที่ป้องกันการเปิดใช้ด้วยรหัสส่วนตัว นอกจากนี้ สำเนาต่างๆ จะถูกเก็บไว้บนพื้นที่เก็บข้อมูลของมหาวิทยาลัยฮัลล์ ที่อาศัยรหัสส่วนตัวเพื่อการเปิดใช้งานเช่นกัน (The university password protected drive) ทั้งนี้ มีเพียงนักศึกษาและอาจารย์ที่ปรึกษาอีก 2 ท่านเท่านั้นที่จะเข้าถึงได้

☐ ข้าพเจ้าเข้าใจและเห็นด้วยว่า ข้อมูลที่บันทึกนี้จะถูกเก็บไว้เป็นเวลา 5 ปี ดังนั้น ภายหลังวันที่ 26 กันยายน พ.ศ. 2569 ข้อมูลเหล่านี้จะถูกกำจัดทิ้งอย่างถาวร

☐ ข้าพเจ้าเข้าใจและเห็นด้วยว่า หากข้าพเจ้ามีคำถามและความกังวลเกี่ยวกับวิทยานิพนธ์นี้ หรือหากข้าพเจ้ากังวลว่า ระเบียบปฏิบัติที่ดี หรือตัวข้าพเจ้าเองกำลังได้รับการละเมิด หรือหากรู้สึกว่า ศักยภาพและความสนใจของข้าพเจ้านั้น ถูกเพิกเฉยหรือปฏิเสธ ข้าพเจ้าสามารถแจ้งมาที่คณะอักษรศาสตร์ วัฒนธรรมและศึกษาศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยฮัลล์ เพื่อให้เกิดการตรวจสอบและแก้ไขได้ ทั้งนี้ ผ่าน face.research@hull.ac.uk/j.holdsworth@hull.ac.uk/v.argyrou@hull.ac.uk

☐ ข้าพเจ้าได้รับคำแนะนำ รับทราบ เข้าใจและเห็นด้วยว่า ข้าพเจ้าควรหลีกเลี่ยงการให้ข้อมูลที่ขัดต่อกฎหมาย หรืออาจนำไปสู่การกระทำที่ไม่ชอบด้วยกฎหมาย

ลายเซ็น .... (ผู้มีส่วนร่วมในการวิจัย)

ชื่อ-สกุล .... วันที่ .... / .... / ....

ลายเซ็น .... (นักศึกษาปริญญาเอก)

ชื่อ-สกุล .... วันที่ .... / .... / ....

ติดต่อ

นายแทนพันธ์ เสนะพันธุ์ บัวใหม่

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Appendix 6 The Questionnaire Household Survey (Thai)

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ชุดที่ ....

แบบสอบถามข้อมูลทั่วไปของครัวเรือนที่มีส่วนร่วมในการวิจัย

บ้านเลขที่ .... ชื่อเจ้าของบ้าน ....

หัวหน้าครอบครัว .... วันที่สัมภาษณ์ ....

เวลาสัมภาษณ์ เริ่ม .... น . เสร็จสิ้น .... น.

ครัวเรือนย้ายมาจากที่ใด ....

เหตุผลของการย้ายมาที่นี่ ....

ข้อมูลพื้นฐานของสมาชิกในครัวเรือน

สมาชิก/ รายละเอียด (เรียงอายุน้อยไปมาก)	คนที่ 1	คนที่ 2	คนที่ 3	คนที่ 4	คนที่ 5	คนที่ 6	คนที่ 7	คนที่ 8	คนที่ 9	คนที่ 10
อายุ										
อายุที่ย้ายมาที่อยู่ปัจจุบัน										
เพศ	ชาย (1) หญิง (2)	ชาย (1) หญิง (2)	ชาย (1) หญิง (2)	ชาย (1) หญิง (2)	ชาย (1) หญิง (2)	ชาย (1) หญิง (2)	ชาย (1) หญิง (2)	ชาย (1) หญิง (2)	ชาย (1) หญิง (2)	ชาย (1) หญิง (2)
เชื้อชาติ										
สัญชาติ										
สถานภาพในประเทศไทย (ระบุประเภทบัตรฯ)										
ศาสนา										
อาชีพหลัก										
อาชีพเสริม										
การศึกษา (ไม่มี วุฒิ, ป.4, ป.6, ม.3, ปวช, ม.6, ปวส, ป.ตรี, ป.โท, นอกฯ)										
สถานภาพสมรส	โสด (1) แต่งเข้า (2) แต่งออก (3) ทั้ง 2 ออกไปอยู่ที่ใหม่ (4)	โสด (1) แต่งเข้า (2) แต่งออก (3) ทั้ง 2 ออกไปอยู่ที่ใหม่ (4)	โสด (1) แต่งเข้า (2) แต่งออก (3) ทั้ง 2 ออกไปอยู่ที่ใหม่ (4)	โสด (1) แต่งเข้า (2) แต่งออก (3) ทั้ง 2 ออกไปอยู่ที่ใหม่ (4)	โสด (1) แต่งเข้า (2) แต่งออก (3) ทั้ง 2 ออกไปอยู่ที่ใหม่ (4)	โสด (1) แต่งเข้า (2) แต่งออก (3) ทั้ง 2 ออกไปอยู่ที่ใหม่ (4)	โสด (1) แต่งเข้า (2) แต่งออก (3) ทั้ง 2 ออกไปอยู่ที่ใหม่ (4)	โสด (1) แต่งเข้า (2) แต่งออก (3) ทั้ง 2 ออกไปอยู่ที่ใหม่ (4)	โสด (1) แต่งเข้า (2) แต่งออก (3) ทั้ง 2 ออกไปอยู่ที่ใหม่ (4)	โสด (1) แต่งเข้า (2) แต่งออก (3) ทั้ง 2 ออกไปอยู่ที่ใหม่ (4)
ที่อยู่อาศัย	ใน (1) นอก (2) ระบุ	ใน (1) นอก (2) ระบุ	ใน (1) นอก (2) ระบุ	ใน (1) นอก (2) ระบุ	ใน (1) นอก (2) ระบุ	ใน (1) นอก (2) ระบุ	ใน (1) นอก (2) ระบุ	ใน (1) นอก (2) ระบุ	ใน (1) นอก (2) ระบุ	ใน (1) นอก (2) ระบุ ....
รายได้ต่อเดือน	.... บ.	.... บ.	.... บ.	.... บ.	.... บ.	.... บ.	.... บ.	.... บ.	.... บ.	.... บ.
แบ่งรายได้ให้ครอบครัว	แบ่ง (1) ไม่แบ่ง (2) .... บ.	แบ่ง (1) ไม่แบ่ง (2) .... บ.	แบ่ง (1) ไม่แบ่ง (2) .... บ.	แบ่ง (1) ไม่แบ่ง (2) .... บ.	แบ่ง (1) ไม่แบ่ง (2) .... บ.	แบ่ง (1) ไม่แบ่ง (2) .... บ.	แบ่ง (1) ไม่แบ่ง (2) .... บ.	แบ่ง (1) ไม่แบ่ง (2) .... บ.	แบ่ง (1) ไม่แบ่ง (2) .... บ.	แบ่ง (1) ไม่แบ่ง (2) .... บ.

ข้อมูลเกี่ยวกับที่ดินทำกิน

ครัวเรือนของคุณมีที่ดินของตัวเองหรือไม่	มี (1)	ไม่มี (2)
ถ้ามี กรุณาระบุที่ดินทั้งหมด (ให้นับรวมของสมาชิกทุกคน)	ต่ำกว่า 5 ไร่ (1)	6-10 ไร่ (2)
	11-15 ไร่ (3)	16-20 ไร่ (4)
	21-25 ไร่ (5)	26-30 ไร่ (6)
	31-35 ไร่ (7)	36-40 ไร่ (8)
	41-45 ไร่ (9)	46-50 ไร่ (10)
	มากกว่า 51 ไร่ (11)	ระบุจำนวนไร่ ....
ใช้เพาะปลูกกี่ไร่		
ใช้อยู่อาศัยกี่ไร่		
ถ้ามี ที่ดินของท่านได้มาด้วยวิธีการใด	ได้รับการจัดสรรโดยรัฐ (1)	ซื้อด้วยตนเอง (2)
	ทั้งได้รับการจัดสรรและซื้อเพิ่มด้วยตนเอง (3)	อื่นๆ (4) ....

ข้อมูลการทำการเกษตรในปีที่ผ่านมา (เมษายน 2561-ปัจจุบัน)

พืชรายละเอียด	มันสำปะหลัง	ยางพารา	กวางตุ้งฮ่องเต้	คะน้า	ข้าวไร่	....	....	....
ปลูกกี่ไร่								
เช่าที่ปลูกหรือไม่	เช่า (1) .... ไร่ ไม่เช่า (2)	เช่า (1) .... ไร่ ไม่เช่า (2)	เช่า (1) .... ไร่ ไม่เช่า (2)	เช่า (1) .... ไร่ ไม่เช่า (2)	เช่า (1) .... ไร่ ไม่เช่า (2)	เช่า (1) .... ไร่ ไม่เช่า (2)	เช่า (1) .... ไร่ ไม่เช่า (2)	เช่า (1) .... ไร่ ไม่เช่า (2)
ค่าเช่าที่ต่อปี								
ผลผลิตต่อไร่ โดยประมาณ								
ลงทุนกี่บาท								
จ้างคนงานหรือไม่	จ้าง (1) .... บ. ไม่จ้าง (2)	จ้าง (1) .... บ. ไม่จ้าง (2)	จ้าง (1) .... บ. ไม่จ้าง (2)	จ้าง (1) .... บ. ไม่จ้าง (2)	จ้าง (1) .... บ. ไม่จ้าง (2)	จ้าง (1) .... บ. ไม่จ้าง (2)	จ้าง (1) .... บ. ไม่จ้าง (2)	จ้าง (1) .... บ. ไม่จ้าง (2)
ค่าปุ๋ย								
ค่ายาฆ่าแมลง								
รวมต้นทุนกี่บาท								

ภายในครัวเรือนของท่าน _มีบุคคลที่มีความรู้เกี่ยวกับภูมิปัญญาท้องถิ่นหรือไม่_ เช่น สมุนไพร การละเล่นต่างๆ เพลงและดนตรี นิทานหรือตำนาน ภาษาถิ่น การพยากรณ์ดินฟ้าอากาศ การทำนายดวงชะตา อาหารท้องถิ่น เป็นต้น (ผู้สัมภาษณ์โปรดระบุอย่างละเอียด)

มี (1)   ไม่มี (2)

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บันทึกสนามโดยผู้สัมภาษณ์ (ระบุรายละเอียดพิเศษต่างๆ ที่สังเกตพบ รวมทั้งอารมณ์ความรู้สึกของผู้สัมภาษณ์)

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ผู้สัมภาษณ์โปรดวาดแผนที่อย่างละเอียดเพื่อระบุตำแหน่งที่ตั้งของครัวเรือนหลังนี้

ติดต่อ
นายแทนพันธ์ เสนะพันธุ์ บัวใหม่
คณะอักษรศาสตร์ วัฒนธรรมและศึกษาศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยฮัลล์
ถนนคอทติ้งแฮม เมืองฮัลล์ สหราชอาณาจักร รหัสไปรษณีย์ HU6 7RX
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Appendix 7 The Semi-Structure Interview Guides (Thai)

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แนวคำถามเพื่อการสัมภาษณ์กึ่งโครงสร้าง

1. การสัมภาษณ์เพื่อให้ได้ข้อมูลทั่วไปของผู้มีส่วนร่วมในการวิจัย

การสัมภาษณ์นี้ เพื่อให้ได้ข้อมูลเชิงประชากรของผู้มีส่วนร่วมในการวิจัย ดังเช่น เพศ อายุ สถานภาพการสมรส จำนวนสมาชิกในครัวเรือน สถานภาพทางการศึกษา อาชีพและรายได้ ประวัติการจ้างงาน ระบบเครือญาติที่ตนเป็นส่วนหนึ่ง เป็นต้น นอกจากนี้ ผู้มีส่วนร่วมในการวิจัยจะได้รับการสัมภาษณ์ เพื่อให้ ประเมินจำนวนและมูลค่าทรัพย์สินที่ตนเองมีอยู่ในครอบครอง เช่น ที่ดิน รถจักรยานยนต์ รถยนต์ เป็นต้น

2. การสัมภาษณ์เพื่อให้ได้ข้อมูลพื้นฐาน และบริบทสังคมวัฒนธรรมของพื้นที่วิจัย

การสัมภาษณ์นี้ เพื่อให้ได้ข้อมูลพื้นฐาน และบริบทสังคมวัฒนธรรมของพื้นที่วิจัยทั้ง 2 พื้นที่ นอกจากนี้ ยังอาศัยการทบทวนเอกสารและผลงานวิจัยที่เกี่ยวข้องร่วมด้วย การสัมภาษณ์ประกอบด้วยหัวข้อ ดังต่อไปนี้

- ชื่อเรียกขานหมู่บ้าน และผู้นำหมู่บ้าน นับตั้งแต่อดีตจนถึงปัจจุบัน

- พิกัดทางภูมิศาสตร์ บรรยากาศและสภาพแวดล้อม สาธารณูปโภคภายใน

- *"ใครเป็นผู้บุกเบิกและก่อตั้งพื้นที่ดังกล่าว?" "เกิดขึ้นเมื่อใด?" "เหตุผลใด?" "บุกเบิกและ ก่อตั้งกันอย่างไร?"* และ *"หากมีการโยกย้ายพื้นที่ เส้นทางการโยกย้ายนั้นเป็นอย่างไร?"*

- ประวัติศาสตร์ชุมชน โดยเฉพาะการเปลี่ยนแปลงทางสังคมครั้งสำคัญๆ ทั้งนี้ ครอบคลุม ประเด็นวัฒนธรรม เศรษฐกิจ วิถีการผลิตและการพัฒนา

- ระบบเครือญาติ ความสัมพันธ์ทางสังคม การจัดช่วงชั้นทางสังคม โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่ง การ ค้นหาว่า *"อะไรคือปัจจัยสำคัญในการเชื่อมร้อยผู้คนเข้าไว้ด้วยกัน?" "ผู้คนใกล้ชิดกันมาก เพียงใด?"* และ *"บรรทัดฐานสังคมส่งผลต่อภูมิสังคมวัฒนธรรมชุมชนอย่างไร?"*

- *"บุคคลใดในพื้นที่ ที่ได้รับการยอมรับ ว่ามีประสบการณ์การได้รับผลกระทบจากกระบวน*

ทัศน์การพัฒนาของรัฐ?" และ "บนฐานบริบทสังคมวัฒนธรรมของพื้นที่วิจัยนี้ บุคคลใดมี
ความรู้ ความคิดและความเชื่อ ต่อกระบวนทัศน์การพัฒนาทางเลือกอื่นๆ ที่ไม่ใช่ของรัฐ
หรือมีกระบวนทัศน์การพัฒนาเป็นของตนเองอย่างเด่นชัด?"

3. *การสัมภาษณ์เพื่อค้นหา เรียนรู้และการทำความเข้าใจ "การพัฒนา" ผ่านมุมมองและประสบการณ์*
   ท้องถิ่นในประเทศไทย

   การสัมภาษณ์นี้ เพื่อค้นหา เรียนรู้และทำความเข้าใจ ต่อกระบวนทัศน์การพัฒนาใหม่ๆ นำไปสู่การ
อธิบายและยืนยันต่อเราว่า ระบอบของความจริงทางสังคมของการพัฒนานั้น ไม่ได้มีเพียงระบอบเดียว และ
อิทธิพลของบริบทสังคมวัฒนธรรมและอุดมการณ์หนึ่งๆ ย่อมส่งผลต่อการผลิตระบอบความจริงทางสังคมของ
การพัฒนาที่เหมาะสมเป็นของตนเอง ภายใต้บริบทและอุดมการณ์นั้นๆ ทั้งนี้ อาจกล่าวได้ว่า เป็นการทำความ
เข้าใจ ต่อขนบธรรมเนียม ประเพณี บรรทัดฐาน สถาบันทางสังคม ฯลฯ ของพื้นที่วิจัย ซึ่งจะนำไปสู่การเข้าถึง
เรียนรู้และเข้าใจชีวิตทางสังคม โดยเฉพาะระบอบความจริงทางสังคมของการพัฒนา ภายใต้บริบทสังคม
วัฒนธรรมและอุดมการณ์ของพื้นที่วิจัย

   - การรับรู้และอุดมการณ์ที่มีต่อกระบวนทัศน์การพัฒนาต่างๆ รวมทั้งของรัฐ

   - *"มีปฏิบัติการทางวัฒนธรรมท้องถิ่นใดบ้าง ที่ใกล้เคียงกับ "การพัฒนา" และปฏิบัติการ*
     เหล่านี้แตกต่างจากกระบวนทัศน์การพัฒนาของรัฐอย่างไร?"

   - *"อะไรคือการพัฒนาที่ดี?"* และ *"อะไรคือการพัฒนาที่ไม่ดี?"*

   - *ภายหลังการเข้ามาของกระบวนทัศน์การพัฒนาของรัฐ "เกิดการเปลี่ยนแปลงทางสังคม*
     ครั้งสำคัญๆ ใดบ้าง?" และ "เปลี่ยนแปลงอย่างไร?" ครอบคลุมประเด็นวัฒนธรรม
     เศรษฐกิจ วิถีการผลิตและการพัฒนา

   - *ภายหลังการเข้ามาของกระบวนทัศน์การพัฒนาของรัฐ "การเปลี่ยนแปลงทางสังคมครั้งใด*
     ที่นับว่าสำคัญที่สุด?" และ "เปลี่ยนแปลงอย่างไร?" ครอบคลุมประเด็นวัฒนธรรม
     เศรษฐกิจ วิถีการผลิตและการพัฒนา

   - *ภายหลังการเข้ามาของกระบวนทัศน์การพัฒนาของรัฐ และเกิดการเปลี่ยนแปลงทางสังคม*
     ไม่ว่าประเด็นวัฒนธรรม เศรษฐกิจ วิถีการผลิตและการพัฒนา "การเปลี่ยนแปลงดังกล่าว
     ขัดขวางหรือเป็นอุปสรรคต่อการใช้ชีวิตประจำวัน และวิถีการผลิตแต่เดิมของท่านหรือไม่
     อย่างไร?"

- ภายหลังการเข้ามาของกระบวนทัศน์การพัฒนาของรัฐ และเกิดการเปลี่ยนแปลงทางสังคม ไม่ว่าประเด็นวัฒนธรรม เศรษฐกิจ วิถีการผลิตและการพัฒนา *"การเปลี่ยนแปลงดังกล่าว ส่งผลดีต่อการใช้ชีวิตประจำวัน และวิถีการผลิตแต่เดิมของท่านหรือไม่ อย่างไร?"*

- สำหรับครัวเรือนที่พึ่งพาอาศัยทรัพยากรท้องถิ่นเพื่อการยังชีพ เช่น คลอง ป่าชายเลน ทะเล ป่าไม้ เป็นต้น *"ท่านสร้างมูลค่าทรัพยากรท้องถิ่นเหล่านี้อย่างไร เช่น จำหน่ายสด แปรรูปก่อนจำหน่าย?"* และ *"ทรัพยากรท้องถิ่นแต่ละประเภท เช่น ของป่า หน่อไม้ ปลา เป็นต้น มีมูลค่าต่อตลาดอย่างไร?"*

- สำหรับครัวเรือนที่<u>ไม่ได้</u>พึ่งพาอาศัยทรัพยากรท้องถิ่นเพื่อการยังชีพ เช่น คลอง ป่าชายเลน ทะเล ป่าไม้ เป็นต้น *"รายได้ส่วนใหญ่ของครัวเรือนลักษณะนี้มาจากแหล่งใด?"*

- โดยสรุป *"การพัฒนาที่แท้จริงคืออะไร?"* ในกรณีที่พบว่า การพัฒนาอาจไม่ได้นำไปสู่ผลดี เสมอไป *"มีวิธีการใดบ้าง สำหรับการรับมือและจัดการผลเสียหรือผลกระทบของการ พัฒนานั้นๆ ?"*

- ค้นหา เรียนรู้และทำความเข้าใจ ต่อขนบธรรมเนียม ประเพณี บรรทัดฐาน สถาบันทาง สังคม ฯลฯ ผ่านประวัติชีวิตและประสบการณ์ผลกระทบจากการพัฒนาที่ผ่านมา รวมไปถึง ความคิด วัฒนธรรม ความเชื่อ ภูมิปัญญา ความรู้ท้องถิ่นว่าด้วยการพัฒนา เรื่องเล่า นิยาย ปรัมปรา คำสอนท้องถิ่น วิธีการผลิตแบบเกษตรกรรม อาหารและการปรุง ตลอดไปจนถึง วิถีชีวิตประจำวันที่น่าสนใจอื่นๆ

4. **การสัมภาษณ์เพื่อประเมินคุณภาพของความกินดี อยู่ดีและมีสุขแบบอัตวิสัย**

การสัมภาษณ์นี้ เพื่อประเมินความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างกระบวนทัศน์การพัฒนาต่างๆ กับคุณภาพของ ความกินดี อยู่ดีและมีสุข เพื่อเปิดโอกาสให้เห็นว่า การสร้างความกินดี อยู่ดีและมีสุขนั้น ไม่อาจผูกขาดด้วย กระบวนทัศน์การพัฒนาใดเพียงหนึ่งเดียว ไม่ว่ากระบวนทัศน์การพัฒนาของท้องถิ่นหรือของรัฐก็ตาม ผู้มีส่วน ร่วมในการวิจัย จะได้รับการสัมภาษณ์ เพื่อให้ประเมินคุณภาพความกินดี อยู่ดีและมีสุข และร่วมกันอภิปราย เพิ่มเติมกับผู้สัมภาษณ์ ครอบคลุมประเด็นต่อไปนี้

- ความพอใจต่อรายได้ ความมั่นคงทางเศรษฐกิจและทรัพย์สิน

- ความพอใจต่อกิจกรรมเพื่อการยังชีพ และการจ้างงาน

- ความพอใจต่อมาตรฐานคุณภาพชีวิตปัจจุบัน เมื่อเปรียบเทียบกับอดีต

- ความพอใจต่อบทบาทของตนเอง ที่มีต่อครอบครัวและชุมชนสังคม พิจารณาบนเงื่อนไขชน
  ชั้นทางสังคม เพศสภาพ ความเชื่อทางศาสนา ฯลฯ ของตนเอง ณ เวลานั้นๆ

- ความพอใจต่อระดับทักษะ การศึกษาและสุขภาพของตนเอง

- ความพอใจต่อการเข้ารับบริการต่างๆ ที่ถูกจัดให้ ไม่ว่าจากหน่วยงานรัฐหรือเอกชน

- ความรู้สึกที่มีต่อคุณภาพของบริการต่างๆ ที่ถูกจัดให้ ไม่ว่าจากหน่วยงานรัฐหรือเอกชน

- ความรู้สึกปลอดภัยในชีวิตและทรัพย์สิน

- ความรู้สึกที่มีต่อคุณภาพของสิ่งแวดล้อม

- ความรู้สึกที่มีต่อขีดความสามารถ ศักยภาพของตนและอิทธิพลของมัน

- ความรู้สึกที่มีต่อเงื่อนไขของชีวิต เช่น ชนชั้นทางสังคม เพศสภาพ ความเชื่อทางศาสนา
  เป็นต้น

- ความเชื่อมั่นและความมั่นใจในตนเอง

- ความศรัทธาต่อความเชื่อทางศาสนา

- การเข้าร่วมกิจกรรมทางสังคมวัฒนธรรมของชุมชนสังคม

- ความเชื่อและความคิดเห็นของตนเอง ต่อการพัฒนามนุษย์ สังคมชุมชนและเศรษฐกิจ

- ความเชื่อและความคิดเห็นของตนเอง ต่อการตัดสินว่า *"อะไรคือการพัฒนาที่ดี?"* และ
  "อะไรคือการพัฒนาที่ไม่ดี?"

ติดต่อ

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Appendix 8 The Topics for Focus Group Discussions (Thai)

UNIVERSITY OF Hull
Faculty of Arts, Cultures and Education

แนวคำถามเพื่อการอภิปรายกลุ่มย่อย

1. ท่านคิดว่าสมาชิกหมู่บ้านใกล้ชิดกันเพียงใด อะไรที่*สนับสนุน/อุปสรรค*ให้สมาชิกใกล้ชิดกัน

2. ครอบครัวและหมู่บ้านของท่าน*แบ่งงานกันทำ*อย่างไร การแบ่งงานกันทำนี้แตกต่างกับรุ่นพ่อแม่ของท่าน หรือไม่ อย่างไร

3. ท่านคิดว่าสมาชิกหมู่บ้านส่วนใหญ่มีการแบ่งชนชั้นและเลือกปฏิบัติทาง*สังคม ศาสนา เพศ อายุ*และ *ชาติพันธุ์*หรือไม่ ถ้ามี การแบ่งชนชั้นและเลือกปฏิบัตินั้นมีลักษณะอย่างไร

4. ท่านคิดว่าสมาชิกหมู่บ้านส่วนใหญ่ปฏิบัติต่อกันอย่างเท่าเทียม โดยเฉพาะต่อ*ผู้หญิง*และ*ผู้มีฐานะทาง การเงินที่ด้อยกว่า* ยกตัวอย่างการอภิปราย เช่น ผู้หญิงรับผิดชอบครอบครัวมากกว่าผู้ชาย ผู้มีฐานะทาง การเงินด้อยกว่าไม่ได้รับการเชื้อเชิญให้เข้ามามีบทบาทการพัฒนาหมู่บ้าน เป็นต้น

5. การเปลี่ยนแปลงภายในหมู่บ้านครั้งสำคัญและมีอิทธิพลต่อการใช้ชีวิตของท่านมีอะไรบ้าง ยกตัวอย่าง การอภิปราย เช่น การมีโรงเรียน ถนนหนทางที่ดีขึ้น กองทุนเงินล้าน การเกษตรพาณิชย์ เป็นต้น

6. ท่านคิดว่า*การพัฒนา*คืออะไร ยกตัวอย่างการอภิปราย เช่น *ความก้าวหน้า*ในชีวิต ได้เรียนหนังสือ มีงานทำ ความสะดวกสบายในการใช้ชีวิตจากข้าวของเครื่องใช้ที่*ทันสมัย* การทันโลกยุค*โลกาภิวัตน์* เป็นต้น

7. ภาษากะเหรี่ยงมีคำใช้เรียก*การพัฒนา ความกินดีอยู่ดี ความก้าวหน้า ความเจริญ ความทันสมัย โลกาภิวัตน์*หรือคำอื่นๆ ใกล้เคียงกันนี้หรือไม่ คำเหล่านี้มีอยู่แล้วแต่เดิมในภาษาของท่านหรือถูกแปลมา จากภาษาไทยกลาง

8. ท่านมี*วิธีการวัด*ระดับการพัฒนา ความก้าวหน้า ทันสมัยและทันโลกอย่างไร ยกตัวอย่างการอภิปราย เช่น การตัดสินจากความร่ำรวย จำนวนข้าวของอำนวยความสะดวก บ้านหลังใหญ่โต การศึกษาที่ดี รอยยิ้มจาก ความสุข จำนวนเพื่อนฝูงและสังคม เป็นต้น

9. ท่านคิดว่าผู้ชายและผู้หญิงมี*บทบาทในการพัฒนา*ครอบครัวและหมู่บ้านอย่างไร แต่ละเพศมีบทบาทหน้าที่แตกต่างกันอย่างมีนัยสำคัญอย่างไร

10. ท่านรู้จักแนวความคิด*ทุนนิยม*และ*เศรษฐกิจพอเพียง*หรือไม่ ท่านเข้าใจว่าอย่างไร

11. ท่านคิดว่าวิถีชีวิตของท่านเป็นไปในแนวใดมากกว่ากัน *ระหว่างทุนนิยม*หรือ*เศรษฐกิจพอเพียง* ยกตัวอย่างแนวทางอภิปราย เช่น เมื่อ 20 ปีที่แล้วใช้ชีวิตใกล้เคียงกับแนวทางเศรษฐกิจพอเพียง และเพิ่งเปลี่ยนมาใช้ชีวิตแบบทุนนิยมเมื่อ 10 ปีมานี้ และการมีเงินทุนและที่ดินมากๆ กลายเป็นเงื่อนไขสำคัญในการยกระดับคุณภาพชีวิต เป็นต้น

12. ท่านคิดว่าชาวกะเหรี่ยงมี*แนวความคิดใดบ้างที่ใกล้เคียง*กับแนวความคิดทุนนิยมและเศรษฐกิจพอเพียง ความคิดนั้นมีลักษณะอย่างไร

13. ท่านคิดว่าแนวความคิดข้างต้นง่ายต่อการถูกทำลายและถูกแทนที่ด้วยแนวความคิดภายนอกอื่นๆ หรือไม่ อย่างไร

14. ท่านคิดว่าชาวกะเหรี่ยงมี*การวางแผน*เพื่อชีวิตที่ดีขึ้นหรือไม่ ยกตัวอย่างแนวทางอภิปราย เช่น พรุ่งนี้จะทำอะไร หรือการตั้งเป้าหมายว่า อีก 1, 3, 5, 10, 20 ปีข้างหน้า ท่านต้องมีความก้าวหน้าเกิดขึ้นแก่ชีวิตในด้านเงินทอง หน้าที่การงานหรือความมั่นคงอื่นๆ เป็นต้น

15. ท่านคิดว่าอะไรบ้างที่พิจารณาได้ว่าเป็นการพัฒนาที่ดีและไม่ดี

16. ท่านคิดว่าจิตวิญญาณของท่านใกล้ชิดมากเพียงใดกับ*ธรรมชาติ สิ่งเหนือธรรมชาติ สรรพสิ่งรอบข้างทั้งที่มี/ไม่มีชีวิต* ใกล้ชิดอย่างไร

17. ท่านคิดอย่างไรต่อความเชื่อที่ว่า *มนุษย์คือศูนย์กลางของจักรวาลและอยู่เหนือธรรมชาติ กระทั่งสามารถเอาชนะความโหดร้ายของธรรมชาติได้ทุกอย่าง*

18. ท่านคิดหรือไม่ว่าท่านอยู่เหนือธรรมชาติและสามารถเอาชนะธรรมชาติได้

19. จากที่ท่านได้ร่วมกันอภิปราย ท่านคิดว่าระดับการศึกษาที่ท่านมีอยู่ส่งผลต่อการให้ความคิดเห็นครั้งนี้มากน้อยเพียงใด เพราะเหตุใดท่านถึงคิดเช่นนี้

20. ท่านคิดว่าผู้ที่ไม่ได้เรียนหนังสือในระบบโรงเรียนเลยจะสามารถอภิปรายหัวข้อเหล่านี้ได้หรือไม่ เพราะเหตุใดท่านถึงคิดเช่นนี้

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Appendix 9 The Questionnaire Development Languages (Thai)

UNIVERSITY OF **Hull**
Faculty of Arts, Cultures and Education

"ภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปว์ที่ใช้ในงานพัฒนาชุมชน/สังคม"

ขอความกรุณาท่านโปรดให้ความเห็นต่อคำศัพท์ดังและประเด็นต่อไปนี้

1. คำศัพท์ใดบ้าง ที่เดิมมีปรากฏอยู่แล้วในภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปว์ กรณีที่ท่านสามารถระบุเพิ่มเติมได้ว่า คำศัพท์ ดังกล่าวนั้นได้ผ่านหรือไม่ได้ผ่านการแปลมาจากภาษาอื่น จะถือว่าเป็นประโยชน์ต่อการวิจัยครั้งนี้อย่างยิ่ง

2. คำศัพท์ใดบ้างที่สะท้อนแนวคิดของชาวกะเหรี่ยงโปว์ หรือมีวัฒนธรรม ธรรมเนียม ประเพณีและความเชื่อ ของชาวกะเหรี่ยงโปว์ดั้งเดิมรองรับและสอดคล้องกับคำศัพท์นั้นอยู่ ยกตัวอย่างเช่น คำว่า *"เศรษฐกิจ พอเพียง"* ที่มีความคล้ายคลึงและสอดคล้องกับแนวคิดการพึ่งพาอาศัยธรรมชาติเท่าที่จำเป็นเท่านั้นเพื่อ การยังชีพ เป็นต้น

3. กรุณาเขียนคำศัพท์ดังกล่าวในรูปอักษรกะเหรี่ยงโปว์ และกรุณาเขียนคำอ่านภาษาไทยกำกับ

ลำดับ	ภาษาอังกฤษ	ภาษาไทย	ภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปร์	คำอ่านเป็นภาษาไทย	กรุณา ☑ หากเป็นคำดั้งเดิมซึ่งไม่ได้แปลมาใช้	กรุณา ☑ หากเป็นคำที่สะท้อนแนวคิดดั้งเดิมของชาวกะเหรี่ยงโปร์	กรุณาอธิบายเพิ่มเติมว่าแนวคิดดั้งเดิมของชาวกะเหรี่ยงโปร์นั้น คล้ายคลึงหรือสอดคล้องกับคำศัพท์นั้นอย่างไร ยกตัวอย่างเช่น คำว่า "เศรษฐกิจพอเพียง" ที่มีความคล้ายคลึงและสอดคล้องกับแนวคิดการพึ่งพาอาศัยธรรมชาติเท่าที่จำเป็นเท่านั้นเพื่อการยังชีพ เป็นต้น
1.	poverty	ความยากจน			☐	☐	
2.	hunger	ความหิวโหย			☐	☐	
3.	disease	โรคภัยไข้เจ็บ			☐	☐	
4.	unmet schooling	การไม่ได้เรียนหนังสือ			☐	☐	
5.	gender inequality	ความไม่เท่าเทียมทางเพศ			☐	☐	
6.	environmental degradation	ความเสื่อมโทรมของสิ่งแวดล้อม			☐	☐	
7.	social exclusion	การขับออกจากสังคม			☐	☐	
8.	traditional societies	สังคมประเพณี			☐	☐	
9.	socialist communist states	ประเทศสังคมนิยมคอมมิวนิสต์			☐	☐	
10.	least developed countries	ประเทศด้อยพัฒนา			☐	☐	
11.	developing countries	ประเทศกำลังพัฒนา			☐	☐	
12.	reciprocity	การถ้อยทีถ้อยอาศัย			☐	☐	
13.	dependency	การพึ่งพา			☐	☐	
14.	resistance	การต่อต้านขัดขืน			☐	☐	
15.	standard of people's live	มาตรฐานของชีวิต			☐	☐	
16.	basic needs	ความต้องการพื้นฐาน			☐	☐	
17.	nature	ธรรมชาติ			☐	☐	
18.	elevation of people's quality of live	การยกระดับคุณภาพชีวิต			☐	☐	
19.	capital liberal states	ประเทศเสรีนิยม			☐	☐	

20.	developed countries	ประเทศพัฒนาแล้ว			☐	☐
21.	modern societies	สังคมสมัยใหม่			☐	☐
22.	modernity	ความทันสมัย			☐	☐
23.	modernisation	การทำให้ทันสมัย			☐	☐
24.	wealth	ความร่ำรวยมั่งคั่ง			☐	☐
25.	economic growth	ความเติบโตทางเศรษฐกิจ			☐	☐
26.	progress	ความก้าวหน้า			☐	☐
27.	technology	เทคโนโลยี			☐	☐
28.	neo-liberal ideology	อุดมการณ์เสรีนิยมใหม่			☐	☐
29.	market-based economy	เศรษฐกิจที่เปิดโอกาสให้ตลาดทำงานอย่างเต็มที่			☐	☐
30.	perfectly working market	ตลาดสมบูรณ์			☐	☐
31.	capitalist development	การพัฒนาในแนวทางของทุนนิยม			☐	☐
32.	development of the forces of production	การพัฒนาของพลังการผลิต			☐	☐
33.	trickle-down mechanism of development projects and financial support	กลไกการกระจายความเจริญจากบนลงล่างผ่านโครงการพัฒนาและงบประมาณสนับสนุน			☐	☐
34.	sustainable development	การพัฒนาที่ยั่งยืน			☐	☐
35.	human wellbeing	การกินดีอยู่ดีมีสุขของมนุษย์			☐	☐
36.	environmental sustainability	สิ่งแวดล้อมที่ยั่งยืน			☐	☐
37.	social inclusion	การยอมรับทุกกลุ่มคนในสังคม			☐	☐
38.	power	อำนาจ			☐	☐

39.	dam projects	โครงการสร้างเขื่อน			☐	☐
40.	culture	วัฒนธรรม			☐	☐
41.	resource	ทรัพยากร			☐	☐
42.	capital	เงินทุน			☐	☐
43.	improvement	การทำให้ดีขึ้น			☐	☐
44.	development	การพัฒนา			☐	☐
45.	human development	การพัฒนามนุษย์			☐	☐
46.	social development	การพัฒนาสังคม			☐	☐
47.	community development	การพัฒนาชุมชน			☐	☐
48.	spiritual development	การพัฒนาทางจิตวิญญาณ			☐	☐
49.	happiness	ความสุข			☐	☐

คำในภาษากะเหรี่ยงโปว์อื่นๆ ที่ใช้ในงานพัฒนาชุมชน/สังคม ซึ่งไม่ปรากฏอยู่ใน 48 คำข้างต้น กรุณาระบุ

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คำถามเพิ่มเติม

1. การเปลี่ยนแปลงครั้งสำคัญและมีอิทธิพลต่อการใช้ชีวิตของท่านมีอะไรบ้าง ยกตัวอย่าง การอภิปราย เช่น การมีโรงเรียน ถนนหนทางที่ดีขึ้น กองทุนเงินล้าน การเกษตรพาณิชย์ เป็นต้น

2. ท่านคิดว่า*การพัฒนา*คืออะไร ยกตัวอย่างการอภิปราย เช่น *ความก้าวหน้า*ในชีวิต ได้เรียนหนังสือ มีงานทำ ความสะดวกสบายในการใช้ชีวิตจากข้าวของเครื่องใช้ที่*ทันสมัย* การทันโลก*ยุคโลกาภิวัตน์* เป็นต้น

3. ภาษากะเหรี่ยงมีคำใช้เรียก*การพัฒนา ความกินดีอยู่ดี ความก้าวหน้า ความเจริญ ความทันสมัย โลกาภิวัตน์*หรือคำอื่นๆ ใกล้เคียงกันนี้หรือไม่ คำเหล่านี้มีอยู่แล้วแต่เดิมในภาษาของท่านหรือถูกแปลมา จากภาษาไทยกลาง

4. ท่านมี*วิธีการวัด*ระดับการพัฒนา ความก้าวหน้า ทันสมัยและทันโลกอย่างไร ยกตัวอย่างการอภิปราย เช่น การตัดสินจากความร่ำรวย จำนวนข้าวของอำนวยความสะดวก บ้านหลังใหญ่โต การศึกษาที่ดี รอยยิ้มจาก ความสุข จำนวนเพื่อนฝูงและสังคม เป็นต้น

5. ท่านรู้จักแนวความคิด*ทุนนิยม*และ*เศรษฐกิจพอเพียง*หรือไม่ ท่านเข้าใจว่าอย่างไร

6. ท่านคิดว่าวิถีชีวิตของท่านเป็นไปในแนวใดมากกว่ากัน*ระหว่างทุนนิยม*หรือ*เศรษฐกิจพอเพียง* ยกตัวอย่าง แนวทางอภิปราย เช่น เมื่อ 20 ปีที่แล้วใช้ชีวิตใกล้เคียงกับแนวทางเศรษฐกิจพอเพียง และเพิ่งเปลี่ยนมาใช้ ชีวิตแบบทุนนิยมเมื่อ 10 ปีมานี้ และการมีเงินทุนและที่ดินมากๆ กลายเป็นเงื่อนไขสำคัญในการยกระดับ คุณภาพชีวิต เป็นต้น

7. ท่านคิดว่าชาวกะเหรี่ยงมี*แนวความคิดใดบ้างที่ใกล้เคียง*กับแนวความคิดทุนนิยมและเศรษฐกิจพอเพียง ความคิดนั้นมีลักษณะอย่างไร

8. ท่านคิดว่าแนวความคิดข้างต้นง่ายต่อการถูกทำลายและถูกแทนที่ด้วยแนวความคิดภายนอกอื่นๆ หรือไม่ อย่างไร

9. ท่านคิดว่าชาวกะเหรี่ยงมี*การวางแผน*เพื่อชีวิตที่ดีขึ้นหรือไม่ ยกตัวอย่างแนวทางอภิปราย เช่น พรุ่งนี้จะทำ อะไร หรือการตั้งเป้าหมายว่า อีก 1, 3, 5, 10, 20 ปีข้างหน้า ท่านต้องมีความก้าวหน้าเกิดขึ้นแก่ชีวิตใน ด้านเงินทอง หน้าที่การงานหรือความมั่นคงอื่นๆ เป็นต้น

ติดต่อ

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Appendix 10 A Single Day's Experience Recorded in A Research Journal (Original Version)

got him very agry as he and the villagers have been harming agricultural products so far. He and the other head's assistant insisted that there was no way to live well with such wild elephants, but to be violent to them was not the way Karen people treated back to such wild elephants.

Around 9 p.m., the whether got more chilling. I thought the weather was very extremely different between day's and nights time. Luckily, I brought a sleeping bag that could help to give warmth somehow. Tomorrow, I planned to follow the monks walking for food. I hoped to introduce myself through this walking, especially following the monks would be more helpful as the Bhuddhist monks here were people's core that has tightly bound people together.

Sunday 31st of March

The weather was very cold in the morning. This was unexpected as, during the day time, it was so hot and very humid. I did not prepare any wooling coat as I thought that there was nowhere as cold and chilling as the U.K.. So, I took my Sweater long leaves to put on. I guessed the weather was not more than 20 degree celsius. I thought that the village was in the valley and higher from average sea levels, plus the bamboo house helped to cause more sen sitive to chilling weather. The woven bamboo wall was easy for air valentiation.

I woke and got up just before 6 a.m. washing my face and teeth with extremely cold water. One thing that I forgot to tell was that there was no piped water in the toilet. I must carry water in 2 buckets for 6 rounds to the toilet to the water tank in the temple. I was quite exhausted in felt chaos to do this. Moreover, there were no lights in the toilet. Luckily, I brough an eletric torch so it could be greatly helpful.

At a quarter pass 6 past six, I saw the monks with food carriers and tiffins lining up on the small road. They prepared to walk for food. The walking routes were devided into two routes which were upper and lower areas of the village using the temple as a boundary marker. I chose walking for the lower area. My duty was putting curry and any other food eaten with steamed rice. People brought their cup of steamed rice put it into the monks' alms-bowls. Some farily gave bouquets into this bowls too. They believed that their next lives would be prosperous, fortunate and beauty beauty. These walking for food helped Bhuddhist people to learn giving alms

willingly and sincerely.

I was unfamiliar with the way in which curry and food had to be put in the food carriers or tiffins before giving and monks' recieving by their hands. As In my hometown, all food cannot be put in any carrier or tiffin until monks' recieved it in hands first. In this sense, Monks' food touching is a symbol that they already recieve food. So, I was reluctant and quite slow while putting food into the carriers and tiffins as I all the time waited them to give food in monks' hands. This waiting caused the monks and me walking for food so slow and this was not usual for the monks here. Today, I felt like I made everybody slow and everybody must wait for me. At the moment, I felt quite uncomfortable.

There was one person coming to help me tackle the situation. He lived and was quite familiar with the monks and the temple. He came to me and helped take one of the food tiffins and went advance to the next and next house, not waiting for the monks, to got all food put in the tiffin. He was very active and quick, while I was very slow, ~~and~~
awkard
~~awkardty~~ and unskillful. It seemed my task today was just following them all and helped carry the full carriers and tiffins.

However, everything went well. We all came back to the temple's food hall where every monk must bring all food they gained to share here. I as their helper must eat after they all finished their breakfast. The food today seemed not different to other ~~th~~ Thai food, There were food cooked from local vegetable in more proportion. I saw pickle spider weeds, or spider flowers, pork curry, local vegetable stir fried and the like. It was notice that all ~~curry~~ curries here ~~is~~ were not put coconut milk in, but chilli and herbs were more put exceptionally. This exceptional feature of curries were quite different to other places in Thailand.

* แรงๆ (C1) ๆน ฉน กรวนลั่มๆ ๆตรงๆ่า this claim แต่ พันพ์กรวง ๆรๆๆ่า,ๆ,กๆ before lunch time ๆ่ๆๆ.
แๆๆ.(1)

in ~~the~~
Before lunch time, I drove to the bus station ~~et~~ town to get my two assistants—Tha-Nang and "Nack". Both of them are university students who were introduced to me by my former colleague. Why Sunday was that these two guys are commonly free on ~~Su~~ the weekend and Monday and some of Saturdays are set for their own homeworks. So the arranged time for coming to the
is   best
village ~~is~~ dependent upon the ^fit between me and them. And, this is a week-by-week pattern. I outlined roughly their roles in assisting me. First of all, I needed people who helped me collect

general village's data. This includes houses' numbers, occupations, incomes, land uses, and the like.
For the whole village, I, myself, cannot definitely finish this collection of data on time, so I expect
to get these to guys to help me with this. In the second place, one of these guys, namely "Tha-Nong",
can fluently switch over Karen and Thai. Thus, he is ~~very~~ enormously helpful for us as most of the people
in ~~their middle age generation~~ their elderly generation, and some of the middle age generation are not ~~to~~ able to speak Thai fluently.
While "Tha-Nong" talks Karen and translate it to us, "Nack" can make a note and write it down
on the forms provided. In the third place, I feel safe while having someone accompanying. Especially,
staying in the village where everyone here thinks we are their strangers. Having people to stay
over nights with can reduce feeling scaried and isolated at some point.

I ~~believe~~ realise that "Tha-Nong" and "Nack" have ~~totally~~ extreme differences in their personalities and traits. I have
already talked about "Tha-Nong" previously. Today after the brief of how to work and the introduction
of "Tha-Nong" to the assistant of the village's head, "Det", ~~At~~ "Tha-Nong" ~~had~~ was more relaxed, less anxious
and breaver. I thought he had an increase of confidence after he found that the work he was required
to undergo did not get him to work alone. I assumed that his unconfidence and tense observed while
sitting in front of me at our first time of meeting was caused by his imagination of working alone and
isolation. He may be afraid that he would not get the work required done well and on time.
My positive interpretation of "Tha-Nong"'s personalities and traits becomes some representations of
Karen people's personalities and traits such as shyness, vigilance, austerity, humility and humbleness.
As some of Tha-Nong personalities and ~~tra~~ triats have collectively shared with ~~our~~ other people I have
found and met up in the village.

I realise that the personalities and traits of these two guys are relatively influential towards the
data they gain. So, I must note here their personalities and traits to remind and to mark ~~that~~ ways
they are. and why they can overcome some issues or cannot tackle such issues in the field. However,
I think that I have alread presented some significant personalities of Tha-Nong, but not yet
"Nack". So, let me present some significant characteristic features of him.

Nack is very tall and boyish person. He seemingly has his Chinese route so ~~his~~ he has got yellow
complexion and been like Chinese person. He is a modern person, very much passionates play mobile
phone's game. He presented himself as a funny hyper active person and sometimes has no long enough
concentration in doing things at one moment. He is an adventurous person loving to explore new things

The ~~thing~~ I saw

and very much like working in rural areas. ~~The only thing~~ from him was his braveness and confidence. He showed his curiousity and eager to know and to try doing collection of data. He seemed more doubtful than "Tha-Nong." ~~So, I~~ ^{But} he may ^{not} ~~be~~ be as talkative as Tha-Nong. So, I see this is the best fit having these two guys working together. Tha-Nong, even if, does not have confidence, I see Nack can fulfil such confidence. ~~While,~~ ^{At the same time}, Nack may not be talkative; however, Tha-Nong can help to urge Nack to be more talkative.

บทที่ C1)

~~We~~ After coming back from the temple and finishing taking a bath, I went to Malee's house around 10 am to talk to Malee's Mom, "Ma-Pong-Yee". She is 79 years old. I started talking to her about ^{general} things around her daily life's experiences ~~such a~~ ^{uch as} what she planted at her back ~~yard~~ ^{garden}, what her health conditions ^{were} ~~is~~ like and the like. I tried to get her more familiar with me by talking generally. Then, I made an effort to get into the point which was around her forced displacement's experiences.

There were two points around her contribution. The first point was her experiences around her migration from the former to new places. Another one was the influence towards her while making decision to willingly move out and move in. Firstly, she went on the point that she did not want to move into the current location. It was very hard to make a decision for her whole family to move out as her family had found the best place, the ~~forest~~ ^{former} village, to settle for living. She did agricultural ^{pro}~~pa~~ductivities over they such as planting rice, casava and many types of fruits. Even though, there was nothing ~~in~~ in there such as electricity, good roads, a school ~~and~~ ^{and} so on, she still insisted she and her family were very well with such ^{Primitive} ~~sa~~ subsistence. Once, she was informed by the officers of EGAT and ^{the} people from the government. She insisted not to move out, so she and her husband thought about the gradual moving back to the high enough places. However, the place call "Mai-Rai-Pha" was their ~~than~~ ^{final} destination to settle.

"Ma-Pong-Yee" seemed to have a good vision for her future lives of her kids. Thus, she and her husband left ~~he~~ ^{their} kids, who are Malee and her brother, with their relatives and neighbors in the new village. This was in order that their kids could access to a good education through ~~gai~~ ^{attending} a Thai school. So, this family had ^{two} ~~two~~ separated agricultural lands. One was ~~at~~ in "Mai-Rai-Pha" village, another one was in the current village. She did growing rice and other products in there until her ~~life~~ ^{health} condition was not well, so Malee brought her to stay with and to take care of in the current location. In sum, the only thing that cause ~~she~~ ^{her} to accept the ^{new} ^allocated lands offered was that her kids could go schooling.

Personally, it seems the modern school was very important in to elderly Karen people. It seemed that elderly parents Mostly wanted their kids to attend Thai schools. I thought they hoped they could lift their lives to be better in everything, especially income's stability, through having and achieving a standard education. This was why I saw and realized that the coming into the village of a Thai Modern school caused significant changes to the village, particularly into the Karen people's thoughts of being better.

Secondly, the her becoming Thai citizen was a main point in this talk. The coming of EGAT together with the state at the time of the dam construction was not immediatly. The informing to move out of the former location did not rush. and it seemed To my understanding, It was almost 20 years early. Ma-Pong-Yee told that the first thing those EGAT and the government did was that they did a population survey and a proof of identity. This was the fact that the government could rightfully allocate lands for them after after such forced displacement. And, it would be truely and fairly beneficial for these Karen people as they would legitimately and legally get lands-titles land-titles. This was because the former location was this district location was closed to Thailand-MyanMar border. There were Mayanmar-Karen from the Karen state of Mayamar Yan smuggling sum into this area. In other word words, what the EGAT and the goverme government did was to filter original Thai-Karen out of other smuggled Karen people.

After "Ma-Pong-Yee" and other neighbours received their Thai ID cards and legally became fully Thai citizens, it was high time for them to consider and to prepare themselves to move out and in to the new allocated location. Until the -must-moving-out- moment had come, there were two choices for "Ma-Pong-Yee" to consider. First was completely moving and resettle resettling in the new location. The second was gradually falling back into the high enough places. As I presented previously, Ma-Pong-Yee and his husban chose both choices.

However, her way up to the higher place and the way to send her kids to the current location it sound exhausted. She needed to use carts and elephants and rafts to move and to transport all stuff and her house's elements. It was very chaotic and tired to do so. For Ma-Pong-Yee's family, she did not take long for a decision of moving out and in to be made. She presented there could not help stoping the moving out for the dam construction required by EGAT and the govern ment. What she did was that she needed to move out and in as fast as she could. So, Ma-Pong-Yee family did not wait too long for starting moving out.

different levels

"Ma-Pong-Yee" and "Malee", from my perception, had ~~degree of~~ of the degree to the needs as to conserve Karen's local Knowledge and wisdoms. While Malee made large efforts to conserve karen's knowledge and wisdoms, Ma-Pong-Yee seems not to ~~thing~~ anything ~~only~~ think that her and her family had rather than food to eat tomorrow and her kids could go a good school, or not. Even though Ma-Pong-Yee's mom ~~is~~ was a folk doctor, Ma-Pong-Yee did not get any traditional knowledge of healthcare at all. At the same time, Malee, who was raised up and ~~sta~~ with her grand mom in her childhood, seemed to get traditional Knowledge and the understanding of Karen identity ~~much~~ more than Ma-Pong-Yee had. Many times I observed Malee, she could do embroidery works, switch on and off Karen languge fluently, stay closed to the abbot despite that there has a big gap in their ages, have traditional style of agricultural productivities, good thoughts about other animal species like the wild elephants and the like. Many people in the village seem to accept Malee as a sage village or a local wisdom scholars, and I have nothing to deny this claim.

* หลังจากดูแลเสินทานไปกลับไป ส่งฟ กระเสสือบาง, ต้องแอ Before lunch time... ไม่จะเริ่ง be more talkative มลจ สิ่งฟ ต่อ จาก ดูเสินต่อ ไปเอย.

Again, I believe that the way they both approached their key informants significantly ~~brings~~ about either brought good or bad quality of conversations. Especially, Tha-Nong has shared Karen route with the key informants, so this may help build easier trustworthiness between Tha-Nong and people in the village. I thought the being ~~of that~~ and the property of Tha-Nong significantly helped a lot to get the work achieved. In this sense, Nack, at the same time, could help Tha-Nong to do notes and to ~~intrigue~~ from remind some of the questions having not yet been asked.

Then after around 3 p.m., Suradet together with Sang-Kom, who is another assistant of the head's village, came to us to bring us to walk along the village. This door-to-door introduction ~~on~~ of us to the villagers helped greatly as the villagers gained some trust from us through Suradet's and Sang-Kom's introduction. We scoped the area for this first time introduction of us which started the door-to-door greeting in the lower area of the village. It was around 30 families. And, I planed to these 30 families interviewing done within the first three weeks.

I noticed while door-to-door walking a few families for in-depth interviews later. The first was "Pan"'s family, which was moved out from one of the former areas. Pan was in her elderly time having things to say to us, so I told her to come back for the talk. The next family was family, which still recalled the moving out experiences accurately. The last family was "Pra-Sha's" family, which had overwhelmingly to tell. He was

a philosophical paradigm of living well with nature. ① Ontological foundation
— " — of reciprocity with nature. ② Epistemological foundation   7
③ Methodological foundation.

But finally,
an interesting person as he had resistance experiences of such forced displacement. ~~But finally~~ he must succumb
to the EGAT and the government requiring villagers to moved out and settle in the new current location. However,
                does not
this ~~did not~~ mean that I will ignore the rest of families having been identified for the in-depth interviews, but
      first each household's   collected   aggregated
I will wait for ~~the~~ ~~hhh~~   basis information ~~collecting~~ and ~~aggregating~~ by Tha-Nong and Nack. If I see
      exceptional   in-depth
some ~~of~~ issues in each household's information, I will follow up them to get further ~~indep~~ interviews.

The lower area of the village having the temple dermacated between to upper and the lower areas has modern
                                           along   are a   karen
style of houses on the concrete roads ~~ato~~ the roads. There ~~were~~ few traditional style of house to appear and one of
them is Pra-Sha's house. Rather than houses, there are a government child development centre and an arts and
crafts centre. Karen females in the village who have embroidery skills will come to work here and get 150 Bahts
            pounds   products
a day (3.5 ~~pan~~ per day). The ~~to~~ made by workers here will be delivered to the Foundation of the Promotion
of Supplementary Occupations and Related Techniques of Her Majesty Queen Sirikit of Thailand.
This gets to find wider markets and to distribute the products to such market in order to gain a quick
profit
~~pay to~~ back to the workers.

I observed the two guys who were my assistants that they felt very much more relaxed after the door-to-do intro
duction. Especially, Tha-Nong seemed to re-gain his confidence and enthusiasm to do the job as he had thought
                                                      the
about my support system of data collection which "door-to-door introduction was one of the support system
offered. It seemed like the jobs of these two guys were more and more possible and esier. After the door-to-door
                                     to job's responsibility
introduction, their gestures ~~seen~~   seemed to positively change right away.

Finishing up walking to introduce ourselves door-to-door, we came back to our accommodation and prepared
                                                                              At the
for summing up things we did today. I wanted to hear these two guys' opinions and feedback. At the
                  nges   In a group, I discussed
with them the challeg they considered. At this time, they had nothing to be worried about. They insisted to
help me get the basic information of the village and survey the village. I found that we were much closer
than before. They did not feel tensed anymore while talking to me. This was a good sign for our ~~teamwork~~.

         tonight
The weather ~~to-ni~~ was quite hot and humid. The early nighttime in the village was not chilling at all compared
to the early morning time. Especially, living in a tent which absorbed well hot weather and humidity caused us all
         asleep   being   7. p.m.
not to fall ~~asp~~. The village started ~~of~~ quiet at around ~~1:00~~, so we all must reduce our noises and
                 went sleeping
then we all gradually ~~fell as~~ finally. Tomorrow, we planned to wake up early morning to walk for
food with the monks trying to present ourselves much more to the villagers for having their trusts.

Appendix 11 The Pwo-Karen Blessing and Wrist Thread Tightening Ceremony

22nd – 23rd August 2019

I had an opportunity to take part in the village's traditional practice of Karen hand fasting. The Karen practices of tying the wrist to welcome home coming with the auspicious white thread. The event took place on the morning of Friday 23rd August, considered to be the third Buddhist holy day of this month. However, this was supposed to be held two weeks earlier, but the abbot and the villagers agreed to postpone the events at their convenience. The auspicious wrist tying this day was not according to the actual lunar calendar. This written note today gets me to consider a few points. First of all, all the experiences I gained along a few days experiencing this special occasion. I joined the village's preparation for the event until the final process. Second of all, I found hidden agendas embedded within the event. Of course, it was mainly for the welcoming home of Karens. But, there was a strategy by the temple to get it cleaned and together made the temple cosier. Third, my reflexively will be identified in the final point of this note.

I joined the event of Karen hand fasting since their preparation got started. At the moment, I was doing a focus group discussion with Karen ladies in the temple at the same time leading people were discussing with the abbot regarding the organisation of the event. Some of the ladies in my FGD were supposed to be in the event organising group, but they chose to participate in my FGD as they accepted to join my FGD before another group. However, this caused me to feel guilty as some important people were in my FGD. Ideally, they should have been with the abbot. Again, the ladies told me not to feel guilty as they considered that the event organising group could remain well run without them. So, I did my FGD continuously. Noted, as I felt guilty, so I must defend to myself that I had organised my FGD earlier than the other group did. I gave people plenty of time to consider joining this FGD and let Sah Pong, my gatekeeper, help think about who should invite to this FGD. Sah Pong had almost three weeks ahead of my set FGD to think and invite participants. I, thus, felt like I planned very early and my planning should not obstruct people's routine events.

In the morning of 22nd of August, the day before the Karen auspicious event of hand fasting, a large group of people mixed both males and females came enthusiastically to the temple. They seemed to know well what each person needed to do, and what tasks in the temple should be dealt with this day. I also felt enthusiastic and unassertive to observe and participate in their preparation for the hand fasting event this day as they all recognised this preparation as kaanpattana or development in English. The division of task workers this day seemingly depended upon the physical features of participants. Of course, the mechanical work such as lawn mowing using a mechanical mower had done by males whereas the rest of the cleaning tasks performed by hand were mostly run by the females. It seemed like the tasks considered

harder work were done more by males than females. For example, lawn mowing and all woodwork was a male challenge. Noted, there was woodwork for the ceremonial set so as to be a place to put offerings and auspiciously consecrated while threads and those offerings. The ceremonial set was also decorated by colourful curtains around the set. This looked more sacred, auspicious and beautiful at the same time.

There were three activities in which I undertook the task of participant observation. Firstly, I helped the group of ladies to get sticky rice stuffed into water tube leaves in the temple's praying hall. There were only two males helping in the group, See and I. In the group, the ladies were actively stuffing sticky rice. Some had just done this for the first time, so they needed help from the elders. I saw there had to be learning process and experiences transferred in the group. Mue Eh Sher and friends, who had no experience of doing this, learned a lot from her experienced older people. The generations younger than Mue Eh Sher and friends disappeared from the group. No children joined this group as they needed to go school and the twenties generation seemed to leave the village to study and work in the city. Mue Eh Sher and friends, in their early 30s, seemed to be the youngest allowed to help do this auspicious sticky rice stuffed for the next day event. This sticky rice stuffing, in Karen called miithong, is counted as one of the 10 auspicious things used in this Karen hand fasting event. This miithong is made from black sticky rice.

First of all, black sticky rice grains were prepared and put in the water tube leaves. The leaves were funneled before black sticky rice was put there. Then the rest of the funneled leaves were folded and tied in order to close the open part of the funneled leaves. There were both male and female miithong in similar amounts. The male ones were the single sticky rice stuffed in the funneled leaves, while the females looked like the two males dovetailed into each other and tied by very tiny bamboo rungs. In actuality, there are differences in the ways that male and female miithongs were funneled, folded and tied in detail, but I could not really separate or learn all details differentiated in these few moments. This miithong was prepared until there sufficient for everyone the next day. This was due to the fact that participants must carry all auspicious items, including miithong, on one hand while being wrist-tied. Such auspicious items seemed like offerings given to the person who was tying other people's hands. Each person could have two chances to be wrist-bound. First was the one hand side, the second was another hand side. This was the reason why miithong preparers must make sure that there was enough miithong for everyone. Before leaving this miithong preparers' group, I observed that all raw miithong was put to soak in water before they all were brought to the boil later.

I switched to the other group of working ladies who were cleaning the shrine of the village god at the back of the temple. I used to hear about this shrine before, but I have never visited. From the tales of some elderly people, they believed in the village god. They needed to offer auspicious things to the village god every May of each year. The event to offer auspicious items and celebrate seemed not as big as other Buddhist holy days or Karen special occasions. There was only one uncle living close to the temple who made and prepared all offerings by himself and seemingly only he knew everyone well. He was responsible and a representative to do this job by himself every May. The area of the shrine had a few people cleaning. One of them was Poe Kong Yai, the only one female among three village head assistants. She was sweeping and taking all litter out of the area. In the area, there was very big Bodhi Tree in the centre of the shrine area. Under the tree, the small house for the god was strongly and permanently set. In this house, there were many toy dolls devoted as retinues of the god. In front of the house, there was a set of altar tables with joss sticks and candle pots, including a few handy vases for bouquets to be put into as well. On the table, there appeared some very old bottles of water and red soda water put on the table as part of making a votive offering and redeeming a vow to the god. It could be implied that there were a number of people commonly coming to vow to the god who wished all the very best of fortune and success. Around the base of the Bodhi Tree, there were a number of plastic scraps like the old plain bottles of red soda water, candy wrappers and an old plastic pack of snacks scattered around the area. We saw them as not being so good looking, so we all enthusiastically got rid of them, swept the floor, threw water onto it and wired it. We took some considerable time to do clean it and then the shrine of the village god looked better and very clean.

I then switched to another group again. This group was doing miisii, which was another kind of all auspicious sweet snack offering for the tomorrow's event. Miisii, which the Thai call thongyoh, was made of sticky rice plus black sesame seeds. First of all, streamed rice was prepared together with black sesame in good proportion. Both were brought to the place for pounding. Here, there were traditional mortars with pestles. I thought that this traditional invention could be a local traditional technology for helping with rice pounding, even though we seem not to see it in today's society, as people now have more grown rice and conveniently bought rice grain from the market. The traditional pounding technology looked like a three-metre-long wooden log put into the central balanced point made by a wooden log which was supported by another wooden element preventing the long wooden log from being off track during its use. The right-hand side of the wooden log was very tightly articulated by a big and heavy wooden pestle, whereas the left-hand side was designed to fit the soles of people's f feet, enabling them to step on and

press down that planned shape of the log to lift the opposite side with a pestle up. The working mechanism is same as that of a children's seesaw. The users must counter balance by stepping and pressing down the opposite side of the heavy pestle. When the users release their pressure, the opposite side of the heavy pestle will fall heavily into the mortar. When put into the mortar, the steamed rice and sesame will be pounded again and again until they both a fine paste. Notably, I found that the black sesame helped to prevent the pounded rice from sticking and staining the mortar.

I have tried to use this device with a few people by helping them step on it, press down and allow the pestle to free fall into the mortar. It was so heavy and took around four people feet to finish each round of pounding. It took around 15 to 20 minutes for each round. On another side of me, there were two people sitting around the mortar putting black sesame in and turning over the pounded rice. These people were to check the quality of the pounded rice and were skilled and experienced in making miisii. There was no doubt as to why these two sitting people looked old and experienced while the rest of the powerful people pressing down the opposite side of the pestle were younger and energetic. It was such a delightful moment to be able to help people to pound rice with a Karen pestle and mortar. Then all the pounded rice and black sesame would be bought to deep fry. The final product of deep fried rice is miisii, a Karen snack dipped into sweetened, condensed milk. This traditional snack has though become a rare treat unless there is a special occasion, although there are a few coffee shops and markets in the district capital where I could go to get some. I did, however, not know what the ideal taste of it was. So far, this snack has been exotic to me and serves as a simple and good snack while spending my free time eating.

I again switched to get back to see the group making miithong. They had finished preparing the raw products already and had brought these to boil in the temple kitchen. Here, I saw another kind of auspicious snack offering called kanomkrataak. This was a snack made mainly from minced krataak creepers. I asked everyone what krataak was, but people did not know what the alternative, official Thai name of it was. Even though I came back to search for its origin, there was no answer at all. I did not conclude that krataak was an endemic plant, but I may know other possible keywords to search to get to know it. I will try much harder later. There was a large labour force of both females and males in the kitchen. The young teen males were strongly mincing krataak creepers. There were many krataak creepers used for tomorrow's event, so the teen mincers in the kitchen numbered at least ten for each round of mincing. There were all mincing krataak keepers on the floor. After being minced, all minced krataak had a yellow-orange colour. The minced krataak was mixed with rice four and palm sugar cakes.

This mixed one was then stuffed and tightly wrapped with some type of big leaves I did not recognise either. I noted that the krataak creeper, in the Karen language was called thiithii according to the abbot.

While the teen males were mincing and preparing the raw krataak and its ingredients, another group of females were responsible for tasting the raw ones, stuffing and wrapping them. This group of females was the same as the people who had prepared the miithong in the morning. However, I noticed that some of the people in the morning had gone home after they had finished preparing the raw miithong. Those who remained included Mue Poe Loe, Mue Eh Sher and Ma Pong Eh. I predicted that these people were the leading group of females tasked with helping the temple's event. I took a glance to see another group of males who had helped to start a fire for cooking and to supervise the chargrilling of all miithong and kanomkrataak. The process was very traditional. They used charcoal and firewood to cook and Chinese braziers and simple big pots. I saw large amounts of miithong and kanomkrataak waiting to be boiled. It would take a day to cook them all. I had good conversations with people in these preparation events until I felt included within the group. I was called and invited to taste everything they cooked. I tasted everything, even though I found that the taste was quite unusual for my palate. But this seemed to be a good first experience of trying new Karen things in my life. If I had not done this fieldwork, I would not have tried and experienced these things for sure. So, I had to thank my fieldwork for this opportunity. I had a few hours to hang out with people in the temple kitchen and then it was time to pick up my two assistants Chitsamroeng and Juisai from the city bus stop. This night, I came back to stay in the village temple to prepare for tomorrow's early morning event.

I got up very early at around 5 am feeling excited, as this day was the day of the actual event. First of all, I and my assistants went to the morning market in the district centre to have breakfast and bought some food offerings for the monks. After returning, Mue Poe Loe brought traditional a Karen dress for me to put on. The dress was a V-rack embroidered with colourful threads although, throughout the dress, the prevailing colour was crimson. I did not hesitate to put on very quickly. I was now a Karen. The praying halls were full of participants. I heard the different, unusual sound of an unfamiliar speaker inviting all people into the praying hall as the ritual was about to be ready to start. The crowd of participants was bustling and noisy. The kids were very joyful, running back and forth between the auspicious and beautiful marquee and the laps of their mothers. The ladies were dressed up nicely in their traditional V-rack Karen dresses and sarongs. They all smiled, showing their overwhelming expressions of joy. Everyone this day looked clean and had put facial makeup on. Some put on thanaka, Myanmar's famous facial powder. The men also dressed up with their V-rack Karen costumes and sarongs although they did not wear any

makeup. They only looked more delightful and happier than they were usually seemed. This day, the men whom I saw commonly working hard on their farms wearing old, muddy shirts and pants, looked very clean and handsome. After they brought their wife and kids to this praying hall, they all sat very calmly with their families and got ready for the start of the event. This scene was very warm and complacent.

The praying hall served as the event's marquee for this day and was divided into four parts. First was the place for the monks to take their seats. This included a big couch prepared for the district's monk dean who was coming as the guest of honour. The second was the nicely set marquee located on the opposite site of the big couch. The marquee was decorated with very beautiful curtains and bouquets surrounded by parties 6 or 9 seats in this stall. These seats were set for the seven elderly couples selected as the important senior dignitaries of the event. These seven couples selected had remained together as a family and had never got divorced or been separated, serving as role models of long-lasting love for the spouses of the next generation. Before the event officially got started, these elderly spouses had to take their seats and be ready to take the auspicious offerings. Third, the long tables were set and organised for the elderly people to take their seats in their preparation to be wrist tiers. The elderly and valuable people in the village were organised to sit here. Fourth, the place for participants – the rest of those attending the event – was the centre part of the praying hall. The crowded participants were split right down the middle by mats. These mats paved the way for to the big couch for the guest of honour to walk to their seat. This pathway was also paved with votive offerings carried by the boys and girls dressed in traditional Karen clothes. Of course, these offerings were carried and placed before the elderly spouses' seating.

The unfamiliar sound of the spokesperson seemed louder as the time grew late. The spokesperson called every participant to take their seats in the temple's praying hall. Similar to the previous events, people were afraid of sitting in the front row. So, the front row seemed to be reserved for event leader and village elites. However, the spokesperson was very expert in leading the event. He fluently presided over the event in the Pwo-Karen language. When the event become more formal, he could do it very professionally, especially dealing with the formal practices before the district's monk dean. Before the hand fastening started, the spokesperson invited everyone to sing the Royal Anthem of Thailand. Then they sang one Karen song, which sounded like the Karen National Anthem, or so I guessed. But later, I found that the song was in actual fact the Karen song expressing their love, unity and harmony for those of Karen ethnicity.

I saw and experienced how expert such a spokesperson was and wondered who he might be. I asked some people at the event and was informed that he was a Pwo-Karen from the Sangkhlaburi district

who had been invited to help organise the event. He has, socially-spaeking, been one of the experts dedicated to conserving the Pwo Karen culture, especially the rebirth of Pwo Karen literacy. His name is Norraphon although people have come to know him by his old name of Tiiwa. I did not have any hesitation in going to introduce myself and tried to get him to stay in touch, as I knew that I had many questions regarding the linguistic features of the Karen language. Tiiwa was quite simple and easy to get along with. He was also kind and willing to help answer my questions. He gave me his number and where I could meet him. I was overwhelmed by his kindness in the moment. Later on, I was to be assisted by Tiiwa greatly. He gave me copies of the Pwo-Myanmar-English dictionary and other writing and reading exercises through which to learn Pwo-Karen. Also, he contributed many of his experiences in working to conserve the Karen traditions and culture. If I have time I will write about this later.

The long parade of pupils made their way out of the praying hall, walking to the event's marquee. There were fourteen pupils, seven of each gender, forming the parade. Actually, these fourteen pupils were brought to the parade because they were believed to be virgins and chaste. These fourteen pupils, however, do not need to be children or teenagers, so long as they are considered virgin. Only these virgins are allowed to form the parade and bring up all their auspicious offerings to the marquee. This day was my first time seeing the head of the village coming to join the village event and make a public speech to the audience. The advantage he possessed was that he could speak both Pwo and S'gaw fluently. However, I knew that some of the people who were able to speak both Pwo and S'gaw fluently had either a father or mother who were S'gaw, like Kong Eh and Ma Pong Eh. Whether the head of the village is such a hybrid was unclear but, to my knowledge so far, such cross-tribal families gave rise to children who could speak both Pwo and S'gaw fluently. On the other hand, Mue Poe Loe used to say to me that she was a purebred Pwo, as both her parents were Pwo. This, she explained, was why she was unable to speak S'gaw, of which she had little understanding.

It was time for the hand fasting event to begin. Every party needed to make the event complete was in position. The auspicious offerings were carried up and placed in their positions within the marquee. The seven elderly couples took their seats within their designated places within the marquee. The fourteen pupils closely followed these seven couples. Tiiwa, the spokesperson handed a microphone to an elderly Karen male who was sitting on a separate chair in the marquee. He was a ritual leader, ready to recite a magic formula or say something in traditional Karen. Once he started doing this, the seven elderly couples used each of the homemade wooden ladles provided to rap all fourteen people together at the same time. They rap by hitting the ladles on the edges of trays of the offerings until the recitations were

finished. This stage took around 5 to 10 minutes. After its completion, all of these offerings were taken out of the marquee and placed on the outside marquee tables provided. On these tables and chairs, the remainder of the tiers were waiting for the practice of hand fastening. Everything, especially, the lengths of white thread were all ready. The act of hand fastening began.

The participants started standing up and walking towards the societal tiers who were considered mature and respectful and had two sides of their wrists bound by them. While binding, the tiers were blessed and wished those whose hands were tied prosperity. Those participants had two chances to be tied by the two preferred tiers. In other words, those participants could choose whom they preferred to do hand fasting with, both their right and left hands. To my knowledge and experience, one of the two hands was preferred to be tied by the abbot, monks or nuns, whilst the other wrist was usually reserved for an elderly ancestor. I listened to their languages of blessing and found that some of the elderly used very long Karen phrases. The main idea of this blessing was to call 37 souls considered to be lost to the Karen to bless and augment their swidden agricultural productivity. Even though the Karen do not practice swidden field cultivation these days, their common practice of hand fasting endures so as to recall lost souls of the Karen.

However, there appear to be two common practices within these soul calling ceremonies. First, the soul calling ceremony during this hand fastening event is commonly performed on every full moon of the ninth lunar month. This event will normally be held during the first half of August, during which there is only one full moon day. This year it fell on the 15th of August. I noted that this village had postponed the event to the 23rd of August at the convenience of most villagers. Second, this soul calling event has independently been practiced whenever each family feels unhappy and feels as though the souls of their sons, daughters, or any family members have been lost. The symptoms that are inferred to imply the loss of souls derive from ostensibly normal illnesses like high fever or shaking as well as other mental illness like isolation, depression and so on. The way they do this is that the elderly grandparents or family heads will verbally call the lost souls which are expected to have departed to the forest or other places where they have become lost and cannot find their way home. The leading persons will use the ladles to hit some meaningful spots in the house like the top of the stairs, the kitchen stoves and the head of the beds. While hitting these spots, the practitioners are busy calling the lost souls and blessing the family members at the same time. Then they all will sleep together in the house. Then, the next morning, these practices of hitting these meaningful spots are repeated before they leave the house in which this ritual takes place.

However, I found that this pattern of soul calling is reminiscent of family ghost worship. The differences seem to be the event offerings and the auspicious and meaningful tools, including the ladles and the spots where the ritual takes place. I also found that the background and rationale of these two rituals were very similar, although the latter pertains to health conditions. It seems as though the Karen are used to having no restraints or support when ill. So, these forms of event helped them to basically cure and treat their mental illness and to somehow protect them from sickness. I also interpret that health conditions, especially in the past when situated far from a modern hospital health care programs, meant that it was really impossible to be effectively treated. This was the reason as to why the forest Karen were quite afraid of uncontrolled diseases such as malaria, dengue fever and the like. Also, some kinds of inheritable morbidity such as diabetes, cancer, heart disease and so on, were not actually diagnosed by modern doctors, and so were dealt with by the rituals of family ghost worship and soul calling. The Karen seemed to be very afraid of punishment by supernatural entities like the god and goddess of things as well as by all forms of ghost, both arboreal and domestic.

To my understanding and experiences, many forms of worship and rituals have basically been practiced based on insecure matters. One of these insecurities was that of uncontrolled health issues. I had an opportunity to talk to a few S'gaw people who are of Christian faith. Their wishes which are made every time they commune with their God concern the alleviation of disease. They have not thought about wealth in the form of accumulating large amounts of money or tangible assets. Being healthy was the upmost wish as they considered good health to be true wealth. Thus, if I am not wrong in perceiving the hidden agenda of such practices, then this experience has been insightful and beyond what it superficially seen. It is very common that the Karen beliefs and rituals have party been influenced and invented within culturally and politically ecological contexts, yet on the other side, we cannot deny that fears within their mentality have played a significant role so as to be part of causes which the Karen people have created for their rituals which are simply designed to ameliorate such fears and increase their sense of mental security while living with and aligning themselves with nature.

In my experience, the reason why the Karen people have been very sensitive and afraid of the allegations of an inappropriate use of nature in forms of woods, drinking water, forest items, and the like is that they fear any form of disrespect for nature which has some supernatural powers to protect itself. This can be seen in the forms of the many gods and goddesses they revere, such as the goddesses of rice grains, water and the like. To make use of those inappropriately would bring them morbidity both physically and mentally. So, some of their beliefs and rituals have humbly been practiced to show their respect for nature and to ask

nature in the forms of its many gods and goddesses for permission to take what they need from its forests, waters, and wildlife. If those gods and goddesses are merciful towards the Karen then such appropriate usage would go smoothly and there would be no any punishment brought to bear on the Karen.

The fear that the Karen people hold above all others is the fear of being punished by nature. Aside from having no future prosperity in one's lifetime as a consequence of disrespecting nature, the punishments in the forms of physical and mental morbidity are especially feared and this preys upon their sensibilities. Thus, all kinds of sickness come to be considered a consequence of dishonour, disrespect or undue aggression towards nature. This is the reason why all beliefs and rituals have been created as tools through which to communicate and connect with nature, its invisible beings and unseen power. For example, this soul calling ceremony constitutes one of the best illustrations of this issue. The soul calling ceremony has though two practical manifestations. The first one is the one that I am illustrating in this annotation, as it is a ceremony traditionally practiced on every full moon day of the ninth lunar month. The second is arbitrarily practiced whenever a Karen family encounters physical or mental morbidity. These health difficulties include high fever, shaking, hypermania, depression, isolation and so forth. These symptoms are deemed to be the result of the loss of souls, abandoned in different places such as their farms, forests, swamplands or any other locale. Of course, it is believed that the root of these manifesting morbidities is dishonouring or disrespecting nature.

This second instantiation of the soul calling ceremonies has been practiced at home by the grandparents or parents of the sick. They start by gathering all members of the family to be ready for the event. The leader of the rituals begins to call the lost souls by communing with nature, its gods, goddesses and other supernatural begins. Such a calling of lost souls together is a begging for forgiveness for any untoward invasions or intrusions. The leader starts by walking to some significant spots in the house, including the top of the staircase, the kitchen stove and the top of the bedstead. The practice of calling out to souls and nature while banging the wooden ladle is but a prelude to resuming the rite early the next morning. This shows that the second aspect of the soul calling ceremony is an insurance measure, just in case the restoration of health does not go well. In this sense, both these soul calling ceremonies symbolise the Karen's intimate connection with nature. Even though some incurable diseases cannot truly be treated by the practices of these soul calling rituals, these rituals are believed to empower the sick and their families to endure hard times together. Some of the sick may actually recover and regain their mental health to fight morbidity. The experiences of such curable cases resulting from the soul calling ceremony have been passed on through the generations ensuring its survival to the present day.

All in all, I personally interpret that the Karen people's feeling of health insecurity has been one of the most important aspects that creates and sustains such rituals. Such ceremonies and insecurities have become tightly intertwined, helping to perpetuate one another. In other words, the rituals endure to protect their mindset from fears of being punished by nature because feelings of health insecurity persist. As long as their feelings of health insecurity remain the rituals will never die, thus forming a dependent cycle. However, I found that, among the present generation, such feelings of health insecurity have been continuously lessened by the advance of modern hospitalised medicine. This possibly causes the current younger generation to turn away from practicing the rituals of soul calling. Even if they join the event it is only through their obligation to follow their common ethnic practice. This is why we tend to see more middle-aged and elders attending such rites.

Let me write reflexively and share some of my opinions in this final section of today's field notes. There seems to be nothing as special as my summation of the ideas of the Karen ethics of living with nature. I found that the Karen have their own ethical foundations and, of course, such foundations have continuously been framed by feelings of where they feel comfortably located surrounded by nature, their fearful experiences of living with nature, and their indigenous ownership regime. Finally, all of these practices have socially been constructed and framed as an ethical responsibility. There are a few further points to note here. First, it is very significant to learn that Karen people comfortably identify and locate themselves as a part of a natural world which includes both visible and invisible forms. This causes them to harmonise themselves with all things around them. There is less of a feeling of hierarchies arising between the Karen and other natural entities. So, their taking advantage of other beings has actually been more ethical, respectful and reciprocal. This is in opposition to claiming ownership over other beings. This helps to create their own belief system of an ownership regime which I will elaborate upon later.

Second, I believe that their fearful experiences play a significant role so as to create their customs, beliefs, practices and culture. Their unreconciled ancestral difficulties in the forests has brought about their symbolic attempts to manage spiritual and supernatural powers as a means of coping with such adversities. Imagine having no modern effective hospitals or systems of communications to support their health conditions. They relied solely on collectable herbs to cure their symptoms to variable effect. In severe cases where there was no cure, their last resort had been to blame invisible bad spirits, supernatural forces, and the power and punishments of the forest gods and goddesses. Their mediators became those persons believed to be able to contact such entities, usually the elders of each family, the Buddhist monks and, of course, the shamans. These rites also included the family witchcraft practitioners.

However, some of the worst cases that were incurable increased the people's sense of fear of nature and its punishments. They may have unwittingly done some really inappropriate things to nature and nature had not forgiven them. This kind of feeling caused them to feel become far more vigilant and considerate of nature. Thereafter, they probably created many such rituals that compromisingly negotiated, communicated and asked for permission to use such things under nature. Finally, all of these have caused their society to become very vigilant and highly sensitive to the taking advantage of others. Moreover, their foundational ethics of living with others derives from such fearful experiences. This is why we potentially see their vigilant and humble characteristics and personalities, and increasingly sense feelings of responsibility to nature more than we do for other groups of indigenous people.

Third, the Karen's harmonisation and connection with nature and their making sustainable use of it through their sense of full ethical responsibility, urges us to think about the politics of farming in nature, either for its own sake or for resources. I believe that there is a difference between seeing things as being either truly natural or as resources stands on divergent philosophical viewpoints. For example, while the Karen see nature as constituting both living and non-living things, including the Karen people themselves. Nature, in this sense, means the universe of all begins that binds, harmonises and interconnects everything. These bindings, harmonisations and connections have resulted in mutual influences and nothing can survive without other things within the same universe. So, in this universe of things, both living and non-living, beings have reciprocal relationships and are hence less of a threat to each other. This sense of reciprocity has given rise to the feeling and the ethical core that no one and nothing can definitely lay claim to be owners the other things. All in all, this is the reason why the Karen have long seen themselves to be a part of this natural universe and have made little attempt to possess or to accumulate the benefits of other resources, living or inanimate. I personally conclude that the aforementioned practices signify that the Karen's ownership regimes stem from their indigenous viewpoint. Again, such a viewpoint resulted from the internalisation of nature for its own sake.

We cannot deny that there is the invention and transformation of nature from being truly natural to taking on more modern tangible forms. This means, to some degree, that such invisible beings as the gods and goddesses have decreased in their importance. At the same time, those visible aspects of nature, both living and non-living, have also gradually decreases in their value. They have been demeaned and degraded to the point where their value is deemed to be less than that of human beings. I believe that seeing nature as nature from the philosophical viewpoint of naturalism has unethically become injured and threatened by the philosophical paradigm of humanism. What I would like to

contribute here most of all, is that it appears that the politics of the two opposing philosophical paradigms of naturalism on one hand and humanism on the other are in conflict. In this sense, the absence of valuing nature as nature has been a consequence of the efforts of human beings to transform nature into more tangible and readily commodifiable forms for ownership and exploitation. Thus, *has humanism created a grounded foundation to legitimise such a transformation?* This has been the reason why we increasingly perceive nature to be a usable set of exploitable resources including energy, electricity, fire, water, woods, land, soils, rice grains, plants, timbers and the like.

However, I will not go in detail of the transformative process of turning nature into usable resources, as I need to look more finely at the discursive level into this transformation. Yet, the account of such processes will, absolutely, form part of the written thesis. These three points have been made as part of my reflexivity to show the insights, viewpoints and opinions that become evident while being an active participant, one who observes the everyday experiences of a people, including such special occasions as a soul calling ceremony. These insights also reveal the possible origins of this ritual, as well as the sense of responsibility and ethics towards nature from their own philosophical viewpoint of naturalism.

Appendix 12 Pwo-Karen Blessing and Wrist Thread Tightening Ceremony (Original Version)

Soul Calling Ceremony.

I had an opportunity to take part in the village traditional practice of "Karen hand fasting" - the Karen practice of tieing the wrist to welcome home coming with the auspicious white thread. The event took place in the morning of Friday 23rd August considered the third Buddhist holy day of this month. However, this was supposed to be held two weeks earlier, but the abbot and the villagers agreed to postpone the event by their most convenience. The auspicious wrist tieing this day was not according to the actual lunar calendar.

This written note today gets me to consider a few points to address. First of all, all experiences I gained along a few days experiencing this special occasion. I joined the village's preparation for the event til the final process. Second of all, I found hidden agendas coming with the event. Of course, it was mainly for the welcoming home of Karens and for the unite and harmony of displaced karen, but it seem Karen rituals like soul calling events have insightfully, been storied from the feeling of health insecurity. Third of all, my reflection reflexivity will be identified in the final point of this note.

I joined the event of Karen hand fasting since their preparation got started. At the moment, I was doing a focus group discussion with Karen ladies in the temple at the same time leading people were discussing with the abbot regarding the organisation of the event. Some of the ladies in my FGD were supposed to be in the event organising group, but they chose to participate in my FGD as they accepted to join my FGD before another group. However, this caused me to feel guilty as some important people were in my FGD. Ideally, they should have been with the abbot. Again, the ladies told me not to feel guilty as they considered that the event organising group could remain well run without them. So I did my FGD continously. Noted, as I felt guilty, so I must defend to myself that I had organised my FGD earlier than the other group did. I gave people plenty of time to consider to join this FGD and let Suradet, my gatekeeper, to help think about who should invite to this FGD. Suradet had almost three week ahead of my set FGD to think and invite participants. I, thus, felt like I planned very early and my planning should not obstruct people's routine event

In the morning of 22nd of August, the day before the Karen auspicious event of handfasting, A large group of people mixed both males and females came enthusiastically to the temple. They seemed to know well what each person needed to do, and what tasks in the temple should be dealt with this day. I also felt enthusiastic and inassertive to observe and participate in their prepartion

565-4227711.

for the handfasting event this day as they all recognised this preparation as "Karn-Pattha" ~Karn-Phat-Tha-Na

or development in English.

The devision of task workers this day ^seemingly ^depended pe: upon physical features ~of participants. Of course,

the machanic work such as ^lawn mowing using a machanic mower had done by males where as the rest

of cleaning tasks by hands ^were mostly run by females. It seemed like the tasks considered harder works

were done by more males than females. For example, ^lawn mowing and all wood works had mostly males

to do. Noted, there was wood works for ceremonial set so as to be a place to put offererings

and auspiciously consecrated white threads and those offerings. The ceremonial set ^was also decorated

by colourful curtains around the set. This looked more sacred, ~and ^auspicious and beautiful at the

same time.

There were three activities I took participant observation. Firstly, I helped them to get sticky rice

stuff in water tubes' leaves by the group of ladies working on the temple's praying hall. There

were only two males helping in the group, See and I. In the group, ladies were active to

do ~this ^this stuffed sticky rice. Some had just done this at the first time so they needed helps from

the elder. I saw there had learning process and experiences transferred in the group. Lek and

Nok, who had no experiences to do this learnt a lot from her experienced older people. Younger

generations than Lek and Nok disappeared from the group. No children joined this group as

they needed to go school. And the 20's generation seemed to leave the village to study

and work in the city. Lek and Nok in their early 30's seemed to be the youngest to help

do this auspicious sticky rice ^stuffed ~staffu for the next day event.

This sticky rice stuffed, in Karen called "Mhi-Thong" ^is ~totts counted one of the ~fine ^10 auspicious things

used in this Karen handfasting event. There are .... (รวมทั้ง 10 อย่าง). This "Mhi-Thong" is made by

black sticky rice. First of all, black sticky rice ^grain ~grains ^was is prepared and put in the water tubes'

leaves. The leaves ^were ~are funneled before black sticky rice put then ~the leaves ^the rest part of the funneled

leaves ^were ~are folded and tied in order to close the the opened part of the funneled leaves. There

^were ~are both male and female "Mhi-Thong" in the similar amounts. The male ones ^were ~are the single

sticky rice stuffed in the funneled leaves, while the females ^looked like ~are more the two males dovetailed

into each other and tied by very tiny bamboo rungs. In actuality, there are differences in ways males &

"Mhi-Thong" were funneled, ~and st ^folded and tied, in ~detal ^details, but I could not really separate and ~learns ^females learn

all details differentiated in only ~~a few~~ this few moments.

This "Mhi-Thong" were ~~made~~ prepared ~~to make~~ until there were enough for everyone in the next day. This was due to the fact that participants must carry all ~~ten~~ auspicious items including "Mhi-Thong" on one hand while being wrist tied. Such auspicious items seems like offerings given to the person who was tieing other people's hands. ~~Eeach~~ Each person could have two chances to be wrists bound. Fist was the one hand side, the second was another hand side. This was the reason why "Mhi-Thong" preparers must make sure that there were enough "Mhi-Thong" for everyone. Before leaving this "Mhi-Thong ~~maker~~" preparers' group, I observed that all raw "Mhi-Thong" were put to soak in water before they all were brought to boil in hot water later.

I switched to ~~an~~ the other group of working ladies who were cleaning the shrine of the village-god at the back of the temple. I used to hear about this shrine before but I have never visited. From the telling from some elderly people, they believed in the village god. They need to offer auspicious things to the village god every May of each year. The event to ~~of~~ offer auspicious items and ~~et~~ celebrate seemed as not big as ~~not big~~ other Buddhist ~~holy~~ holy days ~~&~~ or Karen special occasion. There was only one uncle living close to the temple made and prepared all offerings by himself and seemingly only him to know all well. He was responsible and a representative to do this job by himself in every May of each year.

The area of the shrine had a ~~few~~ people cleaning. One of them was Thong-Thip, the only one female among three village's ~~head~~ head assistants; she was sweeping and take all litters out of the area. In the area, there was very big Bodhi Tree in the centre of the shrine area. Under the tree, the small house for the god was strongly and ~~pre~~ permanently set. In the house, there were many toy dolls devoted to be as retinues of the god. In front of the house, there was a set of altar table having joss ~~&~~ sticks and candle pots on, including a few ~~small~~ handy vases for bouquets put into as well. On the table, there appeared very old bottles ~~of~~ water and ~~the~~ red soda water ~~as~~ put on the table as parts of making a votive offering and redeeming a vow to ~~the~~ god. This could be implied that there were ~~an~~ a number of people coming to vow to the god ~~requa~~ wished all the best and success commonly. Around the base of the Bodhi Tree, ~~three~~ there were a number of plastic scraps like the old plain bottles of red soda water, ~~and~~ candy wrappers and old plastic packs of snack scattered around the area. We saw them not so good looking, so we all enthusiastically got rid of them ~~sweeped~~ ~~and~~ the ~~floor, threw~~ threw water onto the floor and wiped it. We took some long time to do clean it and then the shrine of the village god looked better and very clean then.

I then switched to another group again. This group was doing "Mhi-Si", which was another kind of all auspicious sweet and snack offerings for the tomorrow's event. "Mhi-Si", Thai called "Thong-Yo", was made by sticky rice plus black sesame. First of all, steamed rice was prepared togethe with black sesame in a good proportion. Both of them were brought to the place for pounding. In here, there were a traditional mortar with its pestle. I thought this traditional invention could be a local traditional technology for helping to do rice pounding even though we seem not to see it in today society as people have no more grown rice and conveniently bought rice grain from the market. The traditional pounding technology looked like three-metre-long wooden log put on the middle balanced point made by a wooden log as well. That long wooden log was support-ed by another wooden elements preventing that long wooden log from being off track while using. The most right side of the wooden log was very tightly articulated by a big and heavy wooden pastle whereas the most left side was planed to fit people's soles of feet to step on and press down that planed shape of the log to lift the opposite side having a pestle up. The working mecha-nism is same as a kid seesaw. The users must counterbalance by steping and pressing down the opposite side of the heavy pestle. When the users free their pressing down, the opposite heavy pestle will fall heavily into a mortar Put into the mortar, the steam rice and sesame will be pounded again and again until they both are pounded delicated. Noted, I found that black sesame helped a lot to prevent the pounded rice from being stickily stained at the mortar.

I have tried to use this with a few people as well through helping them step on pressing down and free fall the wooden pastle into the mortar. It was so heavy and took around four people feet to finish each round of pounding. It took around 15-20 minutes for each round. Another side of me, there were two people sitting around the mortar to put black sesame and turn over the pounded rice. These people were to check the quality of the such pounded rice so these sitting people would be good and experienced in doing "Mhi-Si". It was no doubt why these two sitting people looked old and experienced while the rest of the powerful people pressing down the opposite side of the pestle were younger and energentic.

It was such a delightful moment helping people to pound rice with a Karen pestle and mortar. Then all pounde rice and black sesame would be brought to deep fry. The final product of deep fried rice was "Mhi-Si a Karen snack dipped with sweetened condensed milk. This traditional snack, even though, has now been rare to tast unless there is a special occasion, there are a few coffee shops and markets in the district's centre I could go grab it. I, however, did not know what ideal taste of it like. So far, this snack has been exotic to me and been a simple and good snack while spending free time eating.

I again switched to get back to see the group making "Mhai-Thong." They finished preparing the raw ones already and brought these ones to boil at the temple's kitchen. In here, I saw another kind of auspicious offerings called "Kha-Nom-Kra-Tark." This was a snack made mainly by minced Kra-Tark creepers. I asked everyone what was Kra-Tark, people did not know alternative and official Thai name of it. Even though I came back to search for what was it, there was no answer at all. I did not conclude that Kra-Tark was an endemic plant, but I may not know other possible keywords to search to get to know it. I will try much more later.

There was a large labour force both females and males in the kitchen. The young teen males were strongly mincing Kra-Tark creepers. There were a lot of Kra-Tark creepers used for the tomorrow's event, so the teen mincers in the kitchen were many too, around 10 people for each round of mincing. They were all mincing Kra-Tark creepers on the floor. After being minced, all minced Kra-Tark looked yellow-orange. The minced Kra-Tark was mixed by rice-four and palm sugar cakes. This mixed one was then stuffed and tightly wrapped by some kind of big leaves I did not recognise as well. Noted, Kra-Tark creepers in Karen language, called "Thi-Thi" told by the abbot.

While the teen males mincing and prapering the raw Kra-Tark and its ingredients, another group of females were responsible to taste such raw ones and to stuff and wrap them. This group of females were the same people doing "Mhi-Thong" in the morning. But, I noticed that some of the people in the morning were gone home after raw "Mhi-Thong" were finished preparing. The remaining people were such as Kik, Lek, Na, Phen and Nok. I predicted that these people were the leading group of females helping the temple's event commonly.

I took a glance to see another group of males who helped to start a fire for cooking and to supervise all "Mhi-Thong" and "Kha-Nom-Kra-Tark" to get charcoalled. The process of this charcoalling was very traditional. They used charcoals and firewoods to cook. Chinese braziers and simple big pots were used. I saw large amounts of "Mhi-Thong" and "Kha-Nom-Kra-Tark" waiting to get boiled. It would take a day to finish them all.

I had good conversations to people in these preparing events until I felt included as part of the preparers. I was called and invited to taste everything they cooked. I tasted everything too even though I found that the taste was quite unusual for my preferences. But this seemed to be

charcoal

If

good and first experience trying a new Karen things in my life. ^I ~~I~~ had ^had not^ this fieldwork, I would not have tried and ~~expere~~ ^experienced^ these things for sure. So, I had to ~~thank~~ ^thank^ this opportunity caused by the fieldwork. A few hours I hang out with people in the temple's kitchen and it was time to pick up my ~~a~~ ^two^ assistants, "Nack" and "Tha-Nong," in the ^city's^ bus stop. ~~in the Tonight, I came~~ ^This night, I came back^ to stay in the village's temple as for well - preparing for tomorrow's early morning event.

I got up very early around 5 a.m. feeling excited as ~~to~~ ^this^ day was the day for the actual event. First of all, I and my assistants went to the morning market in the dristic centre to have breakfast and bought some food offerings for monks. After coming back, Kik brought traditional Karen dress for me to put on. The dress was V-nack embroided with colourful threads but throughtout the dress was in crimson. I did not hesitate to put on very quickly. I was now a Karen.

^unusal^

The praying hall were full of participants. I heard the different sound ^^ of unfamiliar a ~~spea~~ ^spokeperson^ inviting all people coming ~~to~~ ^up^ to the praying hall as the ritual was about to be ready to start. The crowd of participant was bustling and noisy. Kids were very joyful running back and forth between the auspicious and beautiful marquee and ~~their~~ ^the^ laps of their moms. Females dressed up nicely in their traditional V-nack Karen dresses and sarongs. They all ~~smiles~~ ^smiled^ showing their overwhelming expressions. Everyone this day looked clean and ~~saw~~ ^seen^ facial ~~powr~~ ^powder^ put on. Some put on Tanaka, Myanmar ~~famous~~ ^famous^ facial powder, on their faces very cleacly. Males also dressed up with their V-nack Karen costumes and sarongs as well as females. But it seemed they did not put anything on their faces like the females did. They only looked more delightful and happier than they were usual. This day, the males ^whom^ I saw ~~hard wocking~~ ^commonly work hard,^ In their farms putting on old and muddy ~~she~~ ^shirts^ and pants, looked very clean and good looking. After they brought their ~~wives~~ ^wife^ and kids on this praying hall, they all sat very calm with their family and got ready to the start of the event. This scence was very warm and a full of complacence.

The praying hall as the event's marquee for this day was devided into four parts. First was the place for the monks to take seated. This included a big couch prepared for the district monk dean coming to be as an event's guest of honor. Second was the nicely set marquee located in the opposite site of the ^big^ couch. The marquee was decorated by very beautiful curtains and bouquets, ~~and~~ ^surround^ in ~~14~~ ~~seats~~ ^7^ seats in this stall. These seats were set for the ^elderly couples^ selected ~~to be a very import~~ ^as one important party^ ~~ant part of to people~~ the event. These ^7^ couples ~~chose~~ ^chosen^ must remain ^to^ stay together as a family ^of all involving people for^

never got divorced or separated, and have been very good examples of the long-lasting love of spouses to the next generation. Before the event officially ~~sta~~ started, these elderly spouses getting must take seated and be ready to take the auspicious offerings.

Third, the long tables were set and organised for elderly people to take seated ~~a~~ preparing to be wrist tiers. The elderly ~~wrists tieing giver~~ people and valuable people in the village were organised to sit here. Fourth, ~~The~~ the place for participants or the rest of people who attended the event was central in the praying hall. The ~~crow~~ crowded participants were splited right down the middle by mats. These mats were paved to the big counch for the ~~gu~~ guest of honor to walk to the seat. ~~And this~~ And this pave was carried paved for the parade of offerings ~~kid~~ by boys and girls dressing traditional Karen clothes. Of course, these offerings were carried and put in the place elderly spouses seating.

quite The unfamiliar sound of the spokeperson seemed louder as the time turned ^late. The spokeperson called every participant to take seats on the temple's praying hall. Similarly to the previous events, people were afraid of sitting in the front row. So, the front ~~b~~ row seemed to be reserved for event's leaders and villages' elites. However, the spokeperson was very expert in leading the event. He language. fluently proceeded the event in Pow-Karen^. When the event must turn formal, he could do it very professionally, especially dealing with the formal practices for the district's monk dean. to Before the handfasting started, the spokeperson invited everyone '~~sa~~ sing the Royal Anthem of Thailand. Then, they sang one Karen song, which sounded like the Karen National Anthem, I guessed. But later, I found that the song was the Karen song expressed their love, unity and harmony for the whole Karen ethnicity.

I saw and experienced how expert such spokeperson was and wondered who he was. I asked some people in the event and recieved information that he was Pow Karen from Sang-Khla-Bu-Ri to has the district invited to help^organise the event. He ^socially been one of ^experts in conserving Pwo Karen culture, especially the re-birth of Pwo Karen literacy. His name is Nor-Ra-Phon or Thi-Wa. But, people have been knowing him as Thi-Wa better, his old name. I did not get any hesitation tried to go introducing myself and ~~try~~ to get him in touch as I knew that I got a lot of questions regarding linguistical features of Karen language. Thi-Wa was quite simple and easy. He was also kind and willing to help me answer my questions. He gave me a calling number and where to meet him up. I was very overwhelming his kindness at the moment.

Later on, I have been documentally assisted by Thi-Wa greatly. He gave copies of Pow-Myanmar-English dictionary and other writing and reading excercises to learn Pow Karen. Also, he contributed a lot of his experiences working to conserve Karen tradition and culture. If I have time I will write about this later.

The long parade of pupils set out of the praying hall coming walking to the event's marquee. There were forteen seven pupils, seven in each gender parading. Actually, these forteen pupils were brought to the parade because they were believed to be and deemed chastity. These forteen pupils, however, do not need to be kids, children and teens. As long as, it is considered virgin, these virgin people can be allowed to parade and to bring up all auspicious offerings to the set event's marquee.

This day was my first time seeing the head of the village, Pong, coming to join the village's event and having public speech to audiences. The advantageous thing of Pong was that Pong could fluently speak both Pow and Pga-K'nyau. However, I knew that some of the people who have been able to speak both Pow and Pga-K'nyau fluently have had either dad or mom to be Pga-K'nyau such as Sang-Kom and Na. The fact that Pong has been a hybrid was insure. But, to my knowledge so far, the cross-tribial families give rise to the kids to fluently speak both Pow and Pga-K'nyau. On the other hand, Kik used to say to me that she has been a purebred Pow as both of her dad and mom have been Pow. So, this has been causing her to not be able to speak Pga-K'nyau, she has only been slightly understood Pga-K'nyau. and

It was the time the handfasting event got started. Every party to make the event complete was in the position. The auspicious offerings were carried up and placed in its their positions in the marquee. The 7 elderly couples took seated in the organised place in the marquee. The 14 pupils were closely articulating those 7 couples. The Thi-Wa spokeperson handed a microphone to the an elderly karen male sitting on a seperated chair in such marquee. He was on a ritual leader ready to recite, utter magic formula or say something in the traditional Karen. Once he started doing this, the 7 elderly couples used each of their home-made wooden ladles provided to rap, all 14 people together at the same time. They rap by hitting the ladles on the edges of trays the offerings put on until the finishing of the reciting recite. This stage happened around 5-10 minutes long. After finishing, all these offerings were taken out of the marquee to place on the outside marquee tables provided. These tables and chairs the rest of the On

tiers were waiting for practicing handfasting. Everything, especially, the ~~hanks~~ hanks of white thread ~~was~~ Were all set. The act of handfasting began.

Participants started standing up and walked to the tiers who have been considered mature and respectful and got ~~wrist~~ two sides of ~~wrist~~ wrists bound by those. While binding, the tiers were blessing and wishing those were tied prosperity. ~~those~~ Those participants had two chances to get tied by two preferred tiers. In other words, those participants could choose whom they preferred to do handfasting with, each of the right and the left hand. To veg knowledge and experiences, one of the two hands was preferred the abbot, monks or nuns to be tied to, another ~~hand~~ wrist was for the elderly ancestor.

I audibly observed their languages of ~~B~~ blessing ~~and giving~~ and found that some of the eldery did it in very long karen phrases. The main idea of this blessing was ~~that~~ to call 37 souls considered lost during karens ~~were~~ had been away from home for their swidden ~~fiel~~ agricultural productivity. Even though Karen do not do ~~this~~ these swidden fields ~~to~~ these days, their common practice of handfasting so as to call back karens' lost souls remains to practice as always.

However, there appear two ~~kinds~~ common practices of these soul calling ~~ceremony~~ ceremonies. First of all, the ~~c~~ soul-calling ceremony ~~through~~ through this event of handfasting has been commonly done in every full-moon day of the ninth lunar month. This event will be held ~~d~~ normally during the first half month of August, which there is only one full-moon day during this period of time. This year constituted 15th of August. Noted, this village did postpone the event to be in 23rd of August, where everyone in the village felt the most convenient to help set this event together.

Second of all, this event of the soul calling has been Independently practiced whenever each family feels unhappy and feels like the souls of their kids, sons, daughters, or any family members have lost their souls. The symptoms that have ~~has~~ been implied the lost of souls raged from normal ~~it~~ illness like high fever, shaking and other mental illness like isolation, depression and so on. The way they do is that the elderly granddads or grandmoms or the family heads will verbally call the lost souls which are expected to ~~to~~ be left away in the forest or the other places where those souls find difficultie to get back home. The leading persons will use the ladles hit some meaningful spots in the house like the top of the stairs, the kitchen stoves and the head of the beds. While hitting these spots, the hitters are calling the lost souls and blessing the family members at the same time.

Nature here means both tangible forms like forest, water and ~~the like~~ and invisible forms like gods of things, godesses of rice and water.

They all will sleep together in the house. Then in the next morning, these ~~this~~ practices of hitting those meaningful spots are repeated again before they leave the house in which this ritual takes place. However, I found that this ~~feeling~~ pattern of the soul calling event is very much the same as the event of family ghost worship. The differences seem the event ~~seen~~ offerings and the auspicious and meaningful ~~apps~~ tools like the ladles and the spots where the ritual takes place. I also found that the back ground and the main ~~sea~~ reason why these two rituals are created very much the same. This is regarding health conditions. It seems like Karens used to ~~has no~~ have no restraints and supporters while experiencing sickness. So, these kinds of events helped them to basically cure^and mentally their illness and to protect them from sickness somehow. I also interpret that health conditions ~~con~~, especially ~~especially~~ in the past far from ~~the~~ a modern hospital, health care programs were really impossible to^be effectively treated. This was the reason why Karens in the forest were quite afraid of uncontroled diseases such like Malaria, dengue and the like. ~~Even though~~ Also some kinds of inheriditable morbidity like Diabetes, cancer, heart disease and so on, which the patients have never been diagnosised and identified by modern doctors, were dealt with the rituals of family ghost worship and soul calling. They seemed to^be afraid of ~~give~~ giving punishment by the supernatural things like all god ~~and~~ and goddess of things, and all kinds of ghosts both in houses'~~and~~ to farms and forest.

To my understanding and experiences, many kinds of the worships and rituals have basically practiced based on their insecured matters. ~~which~~ ^have ~~Mostly been~~ has been the uncontrolled health issue^as such. I had^an opportunity to talk to a few Pga-K'nyau peoples who One of such insecurities ~~hold~~ christ-ianity. The wishes made everytime while contacting with their god are regarding the getting rid of diseases. They have not thought about wealth in forms of accumulated large ~~Mon~~ amount of money and tangible ~~asset~~ assets Being healthy was the only ~~topmost~~ important wish that they wanted the most as they thought their^health conditions would be a ~~be~~ ~~to~~ true investment good in their life subsistance.

Thus, it is not wrong if the hidden agenda of those practices has insightfully been more and more than what^has superficially been seen. It is ~~was~~ very common that the karen beliefs and rituals have partly been influenced and invented by culturally and politically ecolocal contexts, but on the other side, we ~~a~~ cannot deny that fears in their mentality have ~~pla~~ played a significant role so as to be part ~~one~~ of causes Karen

people have created their rituals just for reducing those fears and increasing their mental security
while living ^with and connecting themselves with nature. To my experiences, the reason is that Karen people
have been very sensitive and afraid of the allegation of inappropriate use of nature in forms of woods,
drinking water, forest items and the like. They have been ^quite afraid that their inappropriate manners
are deemed being not respectful towards nature which has some supernatural power to protect themselves.
This can be seen in forms of many kinds of the gods and godesses like the godesses of rice grains
and, water and the like. To make use of those inappropriately would bring them morbidity either
physical and mental dimensions. So, some of their believes and rituals have ^humbly been practiced for showing
their feeling respectful and honor to nature and for asking nature in forms of Gods and Godesses a
permission to take advantages from its forest, water, forest items, ^wild animals and so on. If those
gods and godesses are merciful towards the Karen enough, ^such the making use appropriately would go smooth
and ^there would be no any punishment taken on the Karen.

The ^fear Karen people have the most been afraid of is the having ^been punished by nature. Apart ^from of
^no living ^future ones
having ^no ^prosperity in the life time caused by ^being no respect to nature, the punishments in forms of ^physical and ment morbidity
are ^especially two areas of difficulties they are afraid of and sensitive the most. So, all kinds of sickness have
become considered the results of having no honor, respect and ^having aggression towards nature. This is the
reason why all believes and rituals have been created as ^tools to communicate and ^connect with nature
and, invisible beings and power.

For example, this soul calling ceremony constitutes ^one of the best illustration to this issue. The soul
calling ceremony has its two practical discrepacies. ^The First one is the one that I am illustrating
in this note which has ^annually been practiced ^in every full moon day of the nineth lunar month.
The second soul calling practical discrepany is arbitarily practiced whenever each Karen family
encounters physical and mental morbidity. These health difficulties include having a high fever, shaking
being hyper, depressed, ^isolated and the like. These symptoms are deemed as the results of
the loss of their souls left in different places such as in their farms, forests, swamps, and everywhe
these people have passed by. Of course, it is believed that the root of ^these this appearing morbidit ^morbidities
is caused by ^having no honor, such people, respect and having aggression to the nature.

This second discrepacy of the soul calling ceremonies has been practiced at home by the grand
parents or parents of the sick. They start with gathering up everyone in the family to be ready

for the event. The leader of the rituals begins to call the loss souls by speaking out to be known to nature, gods, godesses and supernatural beings. Such voice given out is for calling such lost souls, and together with asking for forgiveness from all beings which have been invaded and intruded. The leader starts walking to some significant spots in the house including the top of the house's stair, the stove in the kitchen and the top of the bed in the bed room. The leader's speaking out to souls' and nature to be known is voicing at the same time such leader is hitting the wooden ladle on the above mentioned spots in the house. After that, these practices have been re-started the same things again in the next early early morning.

This shows that the second discrepancy of the soul calling ceremony is a significant part of reserve or "Plan B" in case that their health does not go well even though nature, gods, godesses and super-natural beings have already been treated appropriately. In this sense, these two discrepancies of the soul calling ceremony have always been supporting Karen's mentality while connecting with nature;

Even though some incurable diseases cannot truely be cured by the practices of the soul calling rituals, the practices of rituals can empower the sick and their family to be more powerful in stepping over such hard time together. Some of The sick may actually get recovery due to the fact that they gain a better mental health to fight the morbidity. The experiences of curable cases through having done the soul calling ceremony have been passed onto the next generations so that the soul calling ceremony has long been practiced until today.

All in all, I personally interpret that the Karen people's feeling of health insecurity has been one of the Most important things that creates and sustains the rituals like those two discrepacies of the soul calling ceremonies until today's generation. Such rituals and feeling health insecurity have been tightly bound helping protect each other from being made absence of those. In other words, the rituals remain to be practiced to protect their mentality of fears of being punished by nature. Whereas, as long as their feeling of health insecurity remains to appear, the rituals will never be gone. This has been a cycle. because the feeling of health insecurity still exists. However, I found that, in the present generation the feeling of health insecurity has been continously decreased by the operation of modern hospitalisation. This possibly causes the current young generation to turn themselves away from practicing the rituals of soul calling. Even if they join the event, it is just because they must follow their ethnic common practice. This is why we tend to see more the middle-aged generation and above in many kinds of rituals than the younger teen generation.

① fearful experiences
② Part of nature as nature
③ Politics of nature and resources as seen.
Karen

NO.
DATE   13.   /   /

Let me write reflexivity and some of my opinions in this final section of today's field note. There seem
nothing as special as my stemming up ideas ~~that connect~~ of ethics of living with nature. I found that Karen people
have their own ethical foundations, and of course, such foundations have continuously been framed by
the feeling of where they comfortably located ~~themselves~~ among nature, their fearful experiences with living with nature,
and their ~~indeg~~ indigenous ownership regime. Finally, all of these have socially been constructed as an
responsibility and ethics for them. There are a few points to note here.

First of all, it is very significant to learn that Karen people ~~identi~~ Comfortably identify and locate themselves as part
of nature which includes visible and invisible forms. This causes them to harmonise themselves with
things around them. There have ^ ~~no~~ higher ^ less ~~fall~~ feelings of or lower ~~levels~~ layers and authorities between Karen people and other beings
out there. So, their taking advantages of other beings has been more ethically, ~~and~~ respectfully and reciprocally
This is rather than the claim to be an owner over other beings. This helps to create their own belive
of ~~ownership~~ ownership regime which I will elaborate then after.

Second of all, I believe that fearful experiences of them plays significant role so as to create their
customs, ~~believes and~~ beliefs, practices and culture. Their ancestral ^ difficult experiences in the forest in the past where had
no ways to deal with and sort out brought about ^ the attempt to manage spiritual and ~~su~~ super natural power ~~to be~~ as part of
the ways out of such life adversities. Imagine, there had no modern effective hospitalisation, communica-
tion and so on to support their health conditions. They then only relied on collectable herbs to cure their
abnormal ~~syptom~~ symptoms which some could be absolutely cured, but some could never be successful. In the severe
cases, when there had no ways to cure, the last thing they could think about appeared to be the
~~to~~ ^ sult of ^ invisible bad v spirits, supernatural forces, the power and punishments of gods and godesses. And, the mediator
became ~~the~~ persons believed to be able to contact such things on behalf of the expert elderly people in
each family, the ~~no~~ buddhist monks and of course the shamans. These ~~are~~ were included the family ~~witch~~ with witchcraft
makers as well. ~~S~~ However, some of the worst case that could not be cured increased the people's feeling
of fear of the nature's punishments. They saw they may unwittingly do some really inappropriate things
to nature and nature did not forgive them. This kind of feeling got them to feel much more vigilant and
considerate ^ towards nature. ~~And~~ Then after, they probably created a lot of rituals that compromisingly negotiated, ~~and~~ communi
cated and asked for a permission ~~to use~~ the taking things under nature. Finally, all of these have turned them
~~to~~ be very vigilant and sensitive ~~to~~ ^ disadvantage others. Moreover, their foundational ethics of living
with ~~there~~ others ~~bee~~ have become stemmed up from such fearful experiences. This is why we potentially see their
~~that~~ vigilant and humble characteristics and personalities, and see more and more ~~resp~~ the feeling of responsibility
to nature more than other groups of people in the modern world these days.

will absolutely be part of the written dissertation.

These three points made as my reflexivity show the insightful viewpoints and opinions I elaborated while having a participant observation on their every experiences including special occasions like the soul calling ceremony. These also show the possible origin of ritual, responsibility and ethics towards nature for their own philosophical viewpoint of naturalism.