

**A STRUGGLE FOR GETTING FREE FROM SOCIAL  
EXCLUSION OF TRIBE-WAR VOLUNTEERS: A CASE STUDY  
OF BAN KHIANGFA OF SA DOE PHONG SUBDISTRICT IN  
KHAO KHO DISTRICT OF PHETCHABUN PROVINCE**



**Tipparin Panyamee**

**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial  
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy (Social Development Administration)  
School of Social and Environmental Development  
National Institute of Development Administration  
2021**

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**School of Social and Environmental Development**

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..... Major Advisor  
(Assistant Professor Suvicha Pouaree, Ph.D.)

The Examining Committee Approved This Dissertation Submitted in Partial  
Fulfillment of Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Social  
Development Administration).

..... Committee Chairperson  
(Professor Surasit Vajirakachorn, Ph.D.)

..... Committee  
(Assistant Professor Suvicha Pouaree, Ph.D.)

..... Committee  
(Professor Somsak Samukkethum, Ph.D.)

..... Committee  
(Assistant Professor Jaray Singhakowinta, Ph.D.)

..... Committee  
(Associate Professor Seri Wongmonta, Ph.D.)

..... Dean  
(Assistant Professor Awae Masae, Ph.D.)

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## ABSTRACT

<b>Title of Dissertation</b>	A STRUGGLE FOR GETTING FREE FROM SOCIAL EXCLUSION OF TRIBE-WAR VOLUNTEERS: A CASE STUDY OF BAN KHIANGFA OF SA DOE PHONG SUBDISTRICT IN KHAO KHO DISTRICT OF PHETCHABUN PROVINCE
<b>Author</b>	Tipparin Panyamee
<b>Degree</b>	Doctor of Philosophy (Social Development Administration)
<b>Year</b>	2021

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The objectives of this dissertation were 1) to study the process of the struggle for getting free from social exclusion of the hill tribe-war volunteers in Ban Khiangfa, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District of Phetchabun Province; and 2) to study the success factors of the struggle to free from social exclusion of the hill tribe-war volunteers. The dissertation made use of qualitative research methodology by applying documentary research, observation and in-depth interviews as its major methods. The snowball technique was utilized to search for 27 key informants.

This dissertation revealed that the social exclusion existed based on the sense of the social injustice made by the state assistance. The Thai Army, in particular, made a commitment to reward the hill tribe-war volunteers with houses and land after the end of war. But the hill tribe-war volunteers in fact received nothing after the war. Hence, they were struggling for years to get what they deserved for. Their struggling – with the utilization of group unity, social networks, community leaders, negotiation and feeling of being Thais - had finally reached the desired destination. They obtained house registration certificate, and the right possessing certificate for land and houses. Moreover, their residential areas were formally merged with the closely registered community so that they would be able to access to public utility and significant public services.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background and Significance of the Research

At present, the world is constantly being driven under social changes that cause social inequality, resulting in social exclusion, which is considered an important starting point for the emergence of social problems in the present era.

Social exclusion is an academic discourse occurring and originated in Western Europe. Then it has expanded around the world. It is supported by global organizations, including World Health Organization (WHO) and Commission on Social Determinants of Health (CSDH) (Horváth, Milcher, & Ivanov, 2010). SEN (2000, pp. 1-10) also studied the historical foundation regarding the concept of social exclusion, initiated by Foreign Minister of the French government. In the 1960s, social cohesion was interrupted. There were higher termination of employment, economic and social inequality and social exclusion. Such interruptions caused a lot of economic problems.

At the beginning, the concept of social exclusion focused on economic dimension. However, a study by Pierson (2016, pp. 4-9) additionally defined that social exclusion can change according to the social context until it is aware how social exclusion causes social problems. The remarkable definition of the social exclusion concept is the definition provided by European Commission, discussing that social exclusion is the escalation of social inequality. Some citizens are separated from society, and the effective work is a way to overcome social exclusion (European Commission, 2010). However, Pierson (2016, pp. 4-9) stated that social exclusion based on an economic perspective or coping with poverty is a fundamental concept consistent with quality of life. It is also the opposite concept of social relationships, public participation and decision-making power against socially excluded people. He also concluded that the definitions of social exclusion depend on the value of social exclusion in that society (Pierson, 2016, pp. 4-9). Levitas (2005) stated that as for the political discourse, three discourses of social exclusion are related: a redistributionist

discourse (RED), supporting the fair allocation of income and taxes; a social integrationist discourse (SID), focusing on social inclusion and considering social exclusion as social isolation; and a moral underclass discourse (MUD), referring to the rise of the individuals with poverty. The political discourse definitions show how to create fairness in society and reduce social isolation.

From the aforementioned information, it can be seen that the initiative concepts of social exclusion are mainly about economy or poverty that separates people from the majority of society and causes inequality in society, leading to the debate about the participation of people in society in relation to social activities and social citizenship in that society (Burchardt, Le Grand, & Piachaud, 1999). It also highlights the important outcomes of social exclusion: poverty and low income, lack of access to the job market, social isolation and failure of social networks, neighborhood disadvantage and the effects on those living there and exclusion from services. The emergence of such outcomes indicates the degree of social inequality, the reduction of social cohesion and production for society. The inequality affects social and non-social groups that are divided according to economic conditions or poverty (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2010, p. 51). Figure 1.1 presents the interaction of poverty and the shame of the poor, having a significant effect on self-worth, lack of assistance. This shame also causes social exclusion and low social capital. These components are clearly interconnected.

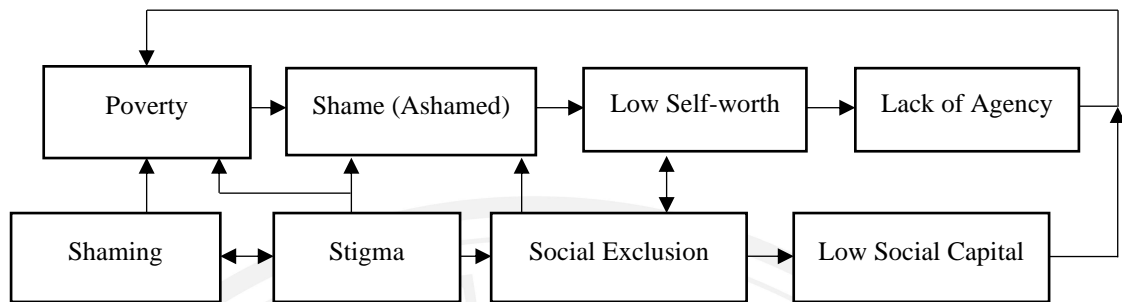


Figure 1.1 Walker's Model of Poverty and Shame

Source: Walker (2008)

It can be seen that social exclusion prevents people from accessing vital and necessary resources, leading to feelings of low self-worth. It also has a wide impact on social inequality on various issues, and may result in social exclusion of people of various ages, such as children, adolescents, the elderly, the disabled, the disadvantaged, the poor, the homeless as well as racism, causing a state of social discrimination in various countries.

The undeniable global social exclusion situation is the situation of Australia in the past. Australia is a country with more than 200 nationalities, 170 different languages and more than 100 religions (Phongphiphat Banchanont, 2013, pp. 1-3). So, it is called "Melting Pot", which is in accordance with the multiculturalism. Also, it is the open immigration policy for foreigners. These diversities reflect the past events in which Aboriginal peoples were invaded by White Settlers. This situation led to the genocide, causing to the death of many Aboriginal peoples. The numbers of Aboriginal peoples also steadily declined (Tonkinson, 1993). Australia also adopted the White Australia Policy in 1901. The policy was framed due to the following issues: 1) gold discovery or Gold Rush in Australia, causing a large number of people to come into the country looking for luck; 2) labor problems caused by the growth of the sugar industry in Queensland in the 1870s, leading to a demand for workers able to work in the tropical environment and causing the arrival of the Kanakas, the indigenous peoples of the Pacific Islands and a job fight among Asians and Chinese and white people; and 3) Australian nationalism that developed Australian social

dimensions, leading to Australianism. This policy resulted in a reduction in the number of Aboriginal peoples. The number of Aboriginal peoples reached 300,000 in 1788. In 1901, there were 66,000 people, and in 1921, only 60,000 people remained (Tonkinson, 1993). However, this policy lasted for a total of 72 years from 1901 to 1973, and in 1975 the government enacted the Racial Discrimination Act 1975, which made racial exclusion illegal (Meaney, 1995; Purnendra Ja-in, 2012). Australia's efforts to address this long-standing problem resulted in increased awareness of social exclusion in other countries.

Although there are attempts to fix this problem in Australia, at the same time, other continents continued to face social exclusion. In 1994 Rwanda also experienced social exclusion caused by conflicts between the two tribes in power that led to genocide of one million people in 3 months. The Hutu's aim was to kill people who thought differently from them, which were the Tutsi. The Hutu did not join any party, and there were the discourses of social exclusion and social discrimination, which aimed to make a group of people in society with different opinions or identities become enemies that must be eliminated. The dehumanization was administered through radio communication, which played a key role in inciting hatred. It was called the "radio of death". The discourse "The Tutsi are cockroaches" was used in order to distinguish the Tutsi as a different group that can be wiped out for the sake of purification of society. The situation in Rwanda has become a lesson learned of social exclusion around the world in preventing and addressing social exclusion (Kamelot Phothikanit, 2012, pp. 121-143).

In terms of the issue of social exclusion in Thailand's key neighboring countries, the ethnic minority conflicts in Burma are considered as a matter of social exclusion inevitably. The conflict in Burma was caused by the British government who ruled over Burma in 1824, trying to unite Burma with other minorities and using the Divide and Rule policy. Two types of government system: Burma Proper and Frontier Areas, were used. The British then retreated from Burma and left trouble between Burma and other minorities, in particular, the feelings of different groups about their differences in race, belief, culture, character and morality, which led to the use of force of Burma Proper, a large group of people, to acquire power to rule the country. The actions of Burma Proper or the majority of the country resulted in

prejudice and discrimination. At the same time, the ethnic minorities tried to fight and build their own forces so that the majority of Burma could not rule the country, resulting in conflicts. This caused Burma under the rule of the military government to use force, violence and eventually a battle ensued (Kwanchewan Buadaeng, 2007, p. 9) . These problems persisted until general elections were held in Burma in 1990. The National League for Democracy (NLD) won the elections with 58.7% of the vote. Aung San Suu Kyi, the pro-democracy leader in Burma, was a key figure. The victory, along with Aung San Suu Kyi's growing popularity, led the Burmese army to order the arrest and detention of Aung San Suu Kyi in her own house. People and monks protested against the actions of the military, causing loss to Burma inevitably. The Global Community tried to make a statement on humanity in Burma. However, Aung San Suu Kyi was released in 2010. Later, Aung San Suu Kyi's NLD party also won the elections in 2015, and vowed to lead the government. The military against Aung San Suu Kyi continued to destabilize the NLD (Lalita Hanwong, 2019, pp. 1-2), and the military in Myanmar took power through a coup d'état in 2021.

It can be seen that social exclusion in Myanmar was a result of the Western rule for a period of time which caused conflicts among people and divided people in in groups as well as cultivating political ideology of building power of their own group. So, Burma was watched by the world society. Laos also has social exclusion. It was the case of Hmong people in Laos having the conflict in political ideology, which led to the division between communist party and democratic party. In 1975, the Cold War forced the United States, the mainstay of the democracy, to battle against the communists. Most of the communists were in Indochina. As a result, this struggle affected the Hmong ethnic group who had to fight for political ideology. Later, the democratic side lost the war in Laos and Vietnam, causing the exile of the Hmong people who were in the democratic side. They were chased by the communist government. This was called the "genocide" against Hmong people of the Lao government. More than 50,000 Hmong people died, and more than 300,000 Lao people migrated to Thailand (Prasit Lee-Preecha, 2011, p. 35; Prasit Lee-Preecha, Santiphong Munpong, Saeng Saengya-arun, & Patchanee Srinuan, 2017, p. 66). For this reason, the Thai government had a plan to deal with ethnic groups as it was the issue of national security.

Such a situation forced the Thai government to focus on the development of people in the border areas such as economic development, modernization and political security (Kanchana Kaewthep, 1992, pp. 6-8). Until the government of General Prem Tinsulanonda, the suppression of communism in the country was successful. The security problems began to decline, and the focus was on the development of the quality of life of the hill tribes such as reducing the birth rate of hill tribes, accelerating the restoration of deteriorated natural resources as well as promoting the quality of life of the hill tribe people in various fields so that they could live a normal life.

For the situation of social exclusion of ethnic groups in Thailand at present, Thailand has the management plan to develop ethnic groups, namely highland settlers, lowland settlers, marine people and forest dwellers, which are accounted for 9.68% of the country (Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, 2015-2018, pp. 1-44), especially the hill tribe people living in the northern region, where in the past, opium was grown as a drug and shifting cultivation that affected the country's development and caused the government to take measures to deal with such problems. Therefore, the government developed various policies, including the Fifth National Economic and Social Development Plan (1982-1986), focusing on humanitarian assistance, solutions for drug abuse, promotion of proper upland agriculture for establishing permanent settlements and saving forests. Then, the emphasis was placed on the educational development regarding the expansion of educational opportunities for hill tribes. This policy was stated in the 7<sup>th</sup> National Economic and Social Development Plan (1992-1996). There was also a survey of individual status. The committee was appointed to take responsibility. The survey of the information of highland communities was conducted. The master plan at the national and provincial levels was prepared. The operation was successful at a certain level. However, in 2002, there was a change in the management structure, so there were no organizations taking these responsibilities. It also caused problems that affected national security, such as the problems of citizenship, migration and drugs according to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007 (Rights Liberties Protection Department Ministry of Justice, 2018, pp. 9-28). The government tried to

find solutions to the problems, and the policy was improved to be more updated and appropriate, but it still did not cover all groups in Thai society.

The problem of social exclusion in Thailand, especially in Thai hill tribes, was not as severe as those in Australia, Rwanda, Burma, and Laos because Thailand was never colonized like those countries. Therefore, the level of violence in the struggle to get free from social exclusion was not genocide, but it was in other forms, especially in the issue of acquisition of citizenship. This problem had been solved by Thai government continuously. Until in 2017, the Ministry of Interior issued the notification on granting non-Thai nationals born in the Kingdom of Thailand by alien parents to acquire Thai nationality in general and granting Thai nationality on a specific basis. As a result, 369 applicants for Thai citizenship with full qualifications were granted with Thai nationality. Moreover, 272 foreigners were naturalized (Ministry of Interior, 2017, pp. 10-14). But at the same time, the problem arising after obtaining citizenship is the matter of the rights that this group deserves because even though these people have been granted Thai citizenship, the acquisition of other rights is still a matter of debate. It is because acquiring rights also reduces social exclusion.

This study focuses on the problem of social exclusion in the Hmong ethnic group who originally lived in the high mountains in China. Later, they were evacuated for many reasons, such as political and administrative reasons that banned the use of the Hmong language and the Hmong dress during the Kuomintang government (Prasit Lee-Preecha et al., 2017, p. 26). The Hmong ethnic group migrated to the Indochina Peninsula and the north of Thailand. They have lived in the borders of Vietnam, Myanmar, Laos, Thailand for more than 150 years. At present, the Hmong people are considered the largest ethnic group in Thailand and are a group of hill tribes that have their own culture for a long time, and their culture is still inherited. They also have unique culture, a spoken language and traditional dress. There is the existence of communities or villages of the Hmong people in each province in the highlands of Thailand. Their ways of life are similar to the original living conditions in China, such as norms, customs, taboos, goodwill and conditions of interaction. Ban Khek Noi, Phetchabun Province is the densely populated community of the Hmong people, which is called the capital of the Hmong people. It is the center of the largest Hmong people in Thailand and an important area in Thailand's political history

(Chonticha Thichachart, 2004, p. 3; Kheknoi Subdistrict Administrative Organization, n.d., p. 7; Sitthidet Wongpratya, 2007, p. 92).

The Hmong ethnic group played an important role when Thailand was at war with communism. In 1970, the government attacked the communist stronghold at Phu Hin Rong Kla. Phetchabun Province was used as the base of support because it was considered as the area with important in strategic political struggle. The government also persuaded the Hmong people to be the “hill tribe-war volunteers” helping the government in the fight against the communist terrorists. The Thai Army made a commitment to reward the hill tribe-war volunteers with houses and arable land after the end of war. But after the war, the hill tribe-war volunteers received nothing. Moreover, the Thai Army provided assistance to the communist terrorists, later called Thai nation development cooperators according to the policy No. 66/2523 (1980) of the government of General Prem Tinsulanonda. For these reasons, they were struggling to get what they deserved for. The hill tribe-war volunteers, the case studies of this study, have lived in “Ban Khiangfa”, which is the name that they created by themselves and is not in the system of the Department of Provincial Administration. So, it causes the problem of social exclusion inevitably. The hill tribe-war volunteers, therefore, have struggled for what they deserve for, such as complaints to government officials, complaints to relevant military units and asking for help in social networks. This has become an important struggle phenomenon. So, the current government helped the hill tribe-war volunteers by taking those living in of Ban Khiangfa to join as part of Ban Saliang Haeng 1, Village No. 3, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District of Phetchabun Province.

The struggle of the hill tribe-war volunteers was a sharp social phenomenon in creating space and redefining the meaning of their group. It can also help create the way to struggle for important claims for other ethnic groups in society in order to unite the society and reduce social exclusion systematically. This study may help the hill tribe-war volunteers to become qualified citizens, a key mechanism, in solving social, economic and national security problems, and to make the hill tribe people feel at one with Thai society or truly be part of Thai society and achieve sustainable development (Kullaches Kaewwee, 1995, pp. 1-18).



## **1.2 Research Questions**

Are there any process, method and success factor in the struggle of the hill tribe-war volunteers, helping the hill tribe-war volunteers to get free from social exclusion, and how?

## **1.3 Research Objectives**

1) To study the struggle process for getting free from social exclusion of the hill tribe-war volunteers at Ban Khiangfa, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province

2) To study the success factors of the struggle for getting free from social exclusion of the hill tribe-war volunteers at Ban Khiangfa, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province

## **1.4 Scope of the Study**

1) Content: In this study, the focus was on the struggle process, the outcomes, the success factors of the hill tribe-war volunteers at Ban Khiangfa, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province in getting free from social exclusion.

2) Area: This study was conducted only in the area of Ban Khiangfa, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province, an area where a large number of the Hmong people who are a minority of society live in. It was also a battleground between the government and the communists in the past. Until the end of the war, Thailand managed the livelihoods of the Hmong people who participated in the battle. The way of life of the hill tribe people is important to the security of Thailand.

3) Population: The population was the hill tribe-war volunteers affected by social exclusion living in Ban Khiangfa, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province.

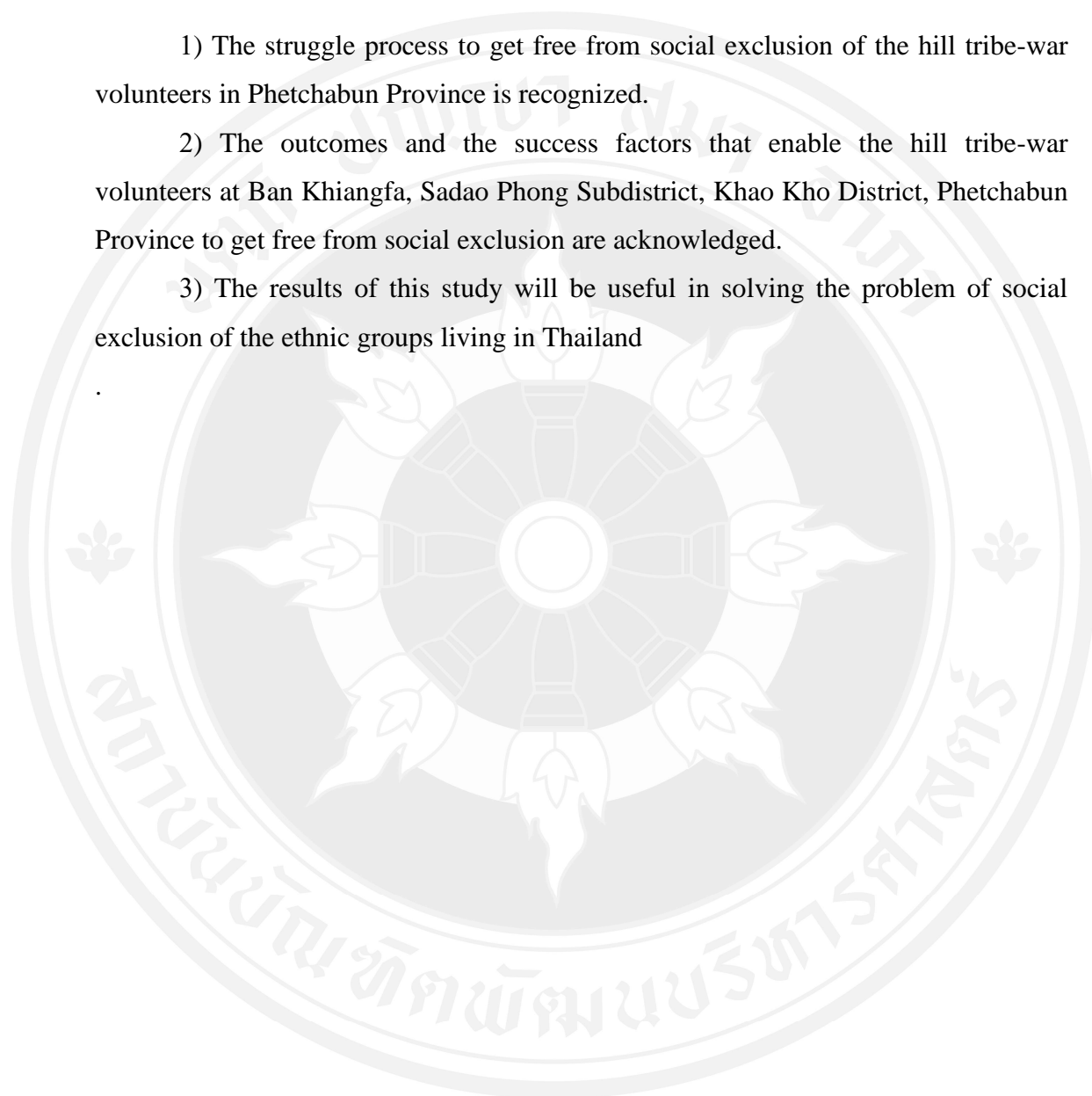
4) Duration: It took 14 months from May 2020 to June 2021 to collect and analyze data and write a research report.

### **1.5 Expected Benefits**

1) The struggle process to get free from social exclusion of the hill tribe-war volunteers in Phetchabun Province is recognized.

2) The outcomes and the success factors that enable the hill tribe-war volunteers at Ban Khiangfa, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province to get free from social exclusion are acknowledged.

3) The results of this study will be useful in solving the problem of social exclusion of the ethnic groups living in Thailand



## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW AND RELATED RESEARCH**

To conduct the study titled “A Struggle for Getting Free from Social Exclusion of Hill Tribe-War Volunteers: A Case Study of Ban Khiangfa of Sa Doe Phong Subdistrict in Khao Kho District of Phetchabun Province”, the researcher studied concepts, theories and related research. The details can be presented as follows.

- 2.1 Concepts and Theories of Social Exclusion
- 2.2 Concepts and Theories of Social Struggles
- 2.3 Concepts and Theories of Human Rights
- 2.4 Concepts and Theories of Human Security
- 2.5 Concepts and Theories of Social Participation
- 2.6 Related Research

#### **2.1 Concepts and Theories of Social Exclusion**

Social exclusion is a chronic issue with many dimensions. It excludes individuals from society (Burchardt, Grand, & Piachaud, 1999, pp. 227-244) and affects family, community health, child development, education, nutrition, parenting, household income, participation in the labor market and poverty.

This concept was initiated in France or in Europe. Initially, it did not spread to the United Kingdom and the United States because these two countries had a lot political and cultural differences and there was neglect of inequality in society. It was also a vague concept of the relationship with poverty. Therefore, the European Union used this justification to allow the government to compromise the idea of social justice in order to reduce inequality and focus on poverty in the context of quality of life. However, it may be necessary to pay more attention to social exclusion in terms

of social relations and participation of people in social affairs and the power to influence decision-making on the effects of social exclusion (Pierson, 2016, pp. 6-7).

In the 1970s, the concept of social exclusion evolved in connection with the rise of neo-liberal ideology and individualism. The popularity of this concept presented a more profound traditional perspective under the diversity of social dimensions so that the causes of poverty can be recognized and new solutions can be created in the form of policy (Mathieson, Popay, Enoch, Escorel, Hernandez, Johnston et al., 2008, pp. 9-10).

Initially, this concept was originated under the economic context, so it is to define the definitions and express the key components of social exclusion for more precise explanation.

### **2.1.1 Definitions of Social Exclusion**

It is possible that social exclusion occurred in 500 BC, which was in the era when the Athenians were performing Ostrakismos. The names of the citizen that were expelled from the city-state of Athens for ten years were written on a clay called Ostraca. This action gave rise to the etymology of the term “ostracism” used in the present (Williams, 2007, pp. 1-12). However, the term “social exclusion” is used in English language. The terms “rejection” and “ostracism” may also be used. William’s study defined social exclusion as being excluded from society, being separated from the group or being left alone. The person being treated may or may not know the causes of exclusion. Rejection is being rejected by a person or a group of people. Ostracism is being ignored, rejected or neglected, and the person being treated do not know the causes of such actions.

If talking about the individual actions mentioned above, it can be said that the functioning of the brain in response to social exclusion is relevant to the psychology of individuals and groups. That is, the person is instructed by the brain to express both physical and mental pain. It also destroys the need to be part of the group, self-worth, self-control, and a meaningful life. It also increases sadness and anger. It is known as examination of brain function in response to social exclusion. This definition is consistent with the term “ostracism” which is associated with psychological

responses. It is an individualized definition of responses to social exclusion (Zadro, Williams, & Richardson, 2004, pp. 560-567).

The definition of social exclusion was firstly given in the 1960s. France debated on this issue. Later in the 1970s, neo-liberal ideology and individualism defined a broader meaning to represent a wide range of social context. Later in the 1980s, during the economic crisis, the concept of social exclusion was emerged again (Silver, 1994, p. 532). As a result, in the 1990s, the concept gained more attention and was put into the EU policy, and a more specific definition was given. But researchers continued to support only social exclusion based on its relationship to poverty (Levitas, 2005).

In 2002, a study by Beall (2002, p. 43) gave three definitions as follows. 1) Social exclusion is a matter of neo-liberal which is like the inevitable misfortune caused by the impacts of the new global economic reorganization, and it is an important condition for world free trade and unification of a single market. 2) Social exclusion is much more evident than stigmatization of poverty or acts of inequality caused by the economy system. 3) The transformationalist of social exclusion must focus on formal and informal social relationships to make use of the social exclusion framework in the analysis of international processes and institutional relations related to social change (Beall, 2002, p. 44).

Most concepts of social exclusion tend to provide negative definitions that affect people's quality of life. This can be seen in the UK that efforts have been made to impose a form of social exclusion by the representatives of the government (Social Exclusion Unit, 2001, p. 74) that social exclusion occurs when people or areas face difficulties related to issues such as layoffs, low skills, low income, uncomfortable housing, high crime environment, deteriorating health and disunity in the family (Edwards & Flatley, 1996; Howarth, 1998; Robinson & Oppenheim, 1998). There is also a framework for the study of social inclusion determined by the National Action Plans in the UK, defining social exclusion by using social indicators or risk factors, such as low income, unskilled labor, deteriorating health, immigration, low level of education, school dropouts, gender inequality, crime and racism, aging, substance abuse, alcohol addiction, housing problems and other factors (European Commission, 2014, p. 10).

A study by Stanley et al. (2011, pp. 197-222) highlighted the negative meaning by using individual risk factors to indicate social exclusion, consisting of 5 dimensions: (1) family income which is earning less than \$500 per week, (2) employment status, including being hired, dropouts from studies or internships and family care, (3) political activities such as participation in various campaigns, social movements or joining other social groups, (4) social support from family, friends and neighbors and (5) social involvement such as hobbies, going to the library and playing sports.

At the same time, a study in Malaysia discussed social exclusion and people with disabilities, which highlighted the negative definitions that limit the rights of people with disabilities and defined social exclusion as a multidimensional phenomenon, including individual, social, economic, institutional, organizational and political dimensions (M Rezaul, 2015). The study also outlined three components of the prevention of social exclusion against people with disabilities as follows. (1) The right of access for people with disabilities which is a fundamental right: This includes education, labor and cultural activities (the right to use various forms of public transport for mobility, the right to use public facilities, the right of access to information). (2) Protection of the right of access to alternative media that improve the quality of life of people with disabilities and social harmony: If the alternative model is inadequate, it may lead to an increase in information gaps and social exclusion and sociocultural isolation of people with disabilities due to the limited access to knowledge and information, causing labor market alienation, an increase in individual and household poverty and life quality deterioration. (3) The development and provision of alternative models to eliminate the gap between people with disabilities and people without disability: This can be done by improving the information of people with disabilities. However, the disabilities that occur are both a process and a product of social exclusion as presented in Figure 2.1 (Laurin-bowie, 2005).

It can be concluded that insufficient alternative format materials cause limited access to knowledge and information as well as the labor market and infringement of fundamental rights, leading to social exclusion. Insufficient alternative format

materials lead to interactions with sociocultural isolation and individual and household poverty.

It can be seen that social exclusion is in the midst of the trend of improving life quality, social quality and economic quality. If any person or area experiences social exclusion, it can affect their way of life.

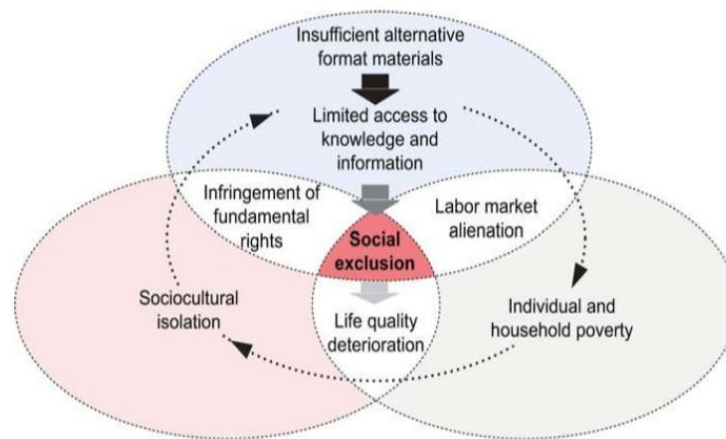


Figure 2.1 Disability in Social Exclusion Process Source

Source: Laurin-bowie, (2005)

Although social exclusion is mostly consistent with the foundation of quality-of-life improvement, the concept of social exclusion still lies within multicultural society. According to an article by the Lek-Prapai Viriyanpant Foundation (2012), this concept is pluralism, which focuses on the diversity of people and cultures such as diversity of classes, ideas, ideals, livelihoods, resulting in plural society that must be subdivided into language, ethnic, religious, racial and community groups, which will lead to multicultural society. These diversities make the study focus on social exclusion, that does not depend only on poverty, but also social exclusion of deserving constitutional rights.

The issue of rights has been an important linking issue that creates gaps in social development regarding crossing over social exclusion. So, the definitions of civil rights are defined. That is to say, social exclusion is a matter of equal rights in society for all groups of people, namely labor market, education, health care, the judicial system, justice and participation in decision-making (Saraceno, 2001, p. 3).

This is positive interpretation of social exclusion that can lead society towards justice and equality. It may require a knowledge network of social exclusion known as the Social Exclusion Knowledge Network (SEKN). In addition, there is a creation of an emerging framework for the SEKN, consisting of inclusion and exclusion in a large framework, such as having resources and social capabilities, economic capabilities and resources, political capabilities and resources and cultural capabilities and resources. It is a component leading to social positions and social stratification at different levels such as ethnic groups (Mathieson et al., 2008, p. 71) as shown in Figure 2.2.



Figure 2.2 An Emerging Framework for The SEKN

Source: Mathieson et al. (2008, p. 71)

It can be said that the concept of social exclusion has a variety of meanings. These meanings have been used and redefined over the course of time and the policy implementation on the groups at risk of exclusion. These groups may have arisen because they were excluded from the state participation. From the perspective of most people, social exclusion is multidimensional that combines society together in politics, culture, economy and participation at all levels of society. It is always dynamic. In addition, social exclusion is relational, which can be viewed in two dimensions. First, it is the relationship fractures between people and society as a



whole. So, people are excluded from social participation, and do not have social protection, social integration and power. Second, social exclusion is viewed as a product of unequal behavior of social relations from different social powers. It is also a matter of inability to participate effectively in society, economy and culture, possibly due to alienation from the mainstream society (Klasen, 1998, pp. 1-24). However, the definitions mentioned above have led to an understanding of the ideological foundations of different concepts and definitions (Beall, 2002; Levitas, 2005; Silver, 1994).

### **2.1.2 Components of Social Exclusion**

In 2001, a report called the National Action Plans for Social Inclusion, or NAPIncl, was produced under the 2000 Lisbon Summit. It aimed to facilitate the participation in employment, the rights of access to resources, goods and services and the prevention of the risk of exclusion. The collaboration to overcome the existing social exclusion was also required. In 2006, the social inclusion indicators were defined as follows. The primary indicators included 1) at risk of poverty rate, 2) at risk of poverty gap, 3) long-term unemployment rate, 4) jobless households, 5) early school leavers, 6) employment gap of immigrants, 7) material deprivation (to be developed), 8) housing (to be developed, 9) needs of income care and 10) well-being. The secondary indicators consisted of 1) at risk of poverty, 2) at risk of household poverty, 3) at risk of poverty by household occupations, 4) at risk of poverty by most common activities, 5) at risk of poverty by residential rental status, 6) dispersion around the at risk of poverty threshold, 7) persons with low educational attainment, 8) at risk of poverty by housing status and 9) low reading literacy performance of pupils (European Commission, 2014). This measure of social exclusion is in an economic perspective that seeks to eliminate poverty from people in society, which is consistent with studies in the UK.

Moreover, a study identifying the components contributing to social exclusion has proposed the Bristol Social Exclusion Matrix (B-SEM), which comprises three main domains and ten sub-domains as follows. First, quality of life includes 1) health and well-being, 2) living environment, 3) reduction of crime, harm and criminalization, 4) social resources. Social resources consist of the following sub-

domains 5) material/economic resources, 6) access to services. Participation consists of the following sub-domains 7) economic participation, 8) social participation, 9) culture, education and skills and 10) political and participation (Gordon, Adelman, Ashworth, Bradshaw, Levitas, Middleton et al., 2001). Such components are related to each other according to the relationship model presented in Figure 2.3.

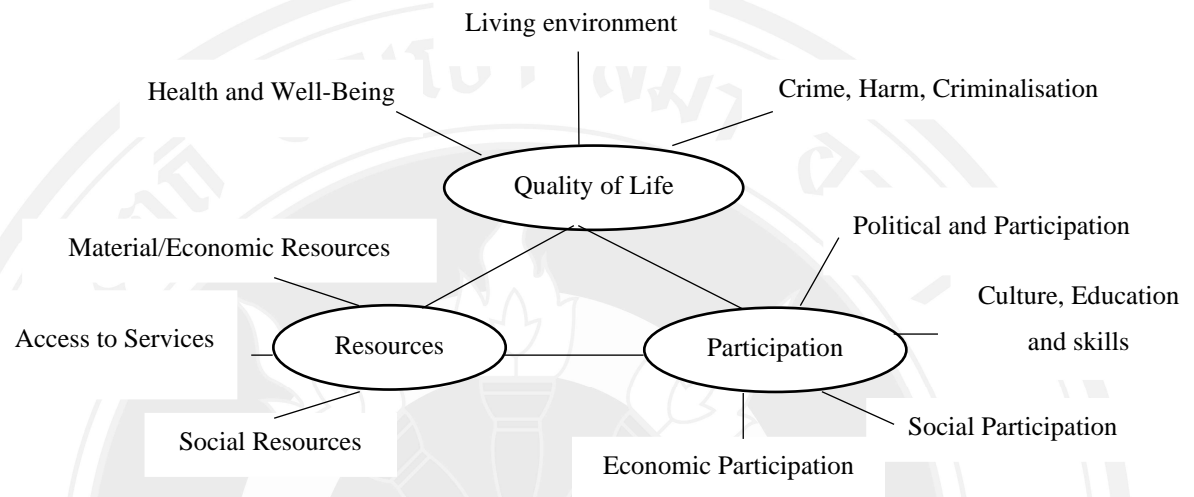


Figure 2.3 The Bristol Social Exclusion Matrix (B-SEM)

Source: Gordon et al. (2001)

In addition, a study by Bailey, Bramley, & Gannon, (2016, p. 78) titled “Poverty and Social Exclusion in the Scotland and the UK” has improved the B-SEM framework, making it relevant to quality of life, resources and participation which are the key components of social exclusion.

All the components related to social exclusion can represent the complexity of the interactions among the components. It is the economic dimension affecting the other main components which are economic participation, education and skills, political participation, health, environment and services. The strength of relationship can be seen from the line thickness presented in Figure 2.4, showing causal relationships between the 10 domains (Levitas, Pantazis, Fahmy, Gordon, Lloyd-Reichling, & Patsios, 2007, pp. 86-105).

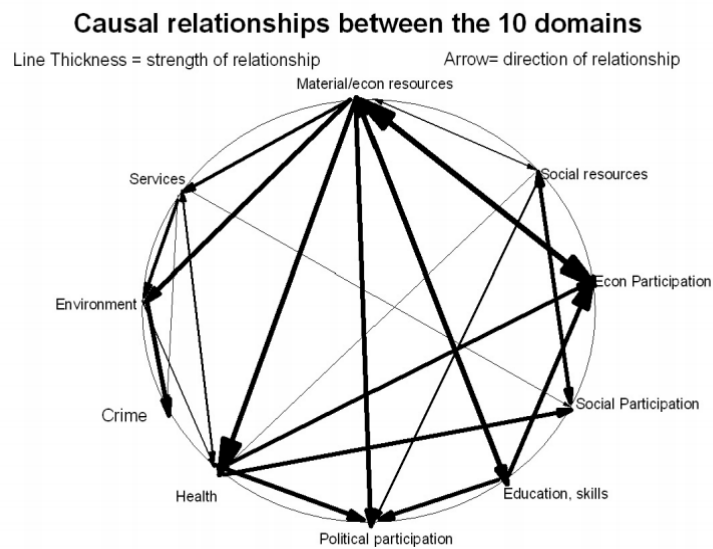


Figure 2.4 Causal Relationships Between the 10 Domains

Source: Levitas et al. (2007)

In terms of behavioral science, a behavioral measure was used in a study by Ornduff, Kelse, & O'leary (1995). The samples were randomly assigned to write an essay about their past experiences with one of four negative emotions. These included past experiences with both positive and negative emotions, namely social anxiety and non-social anxiety, loneliness and non-loneliness, envy and non-envy depression and non-depression. Then assessment of the essays was made based on the samples' experiences, such as acceptance, exclusion, rejection and acceptance of joining the group. An assessment scale of 1 to 7 was used.

However, the guidelines for measuring social exclusion based on the studied components require further investigation and test as there are still many social limitations, including 1) a lack of shared definitions, 2) the use of arbitrary metrics, 3) a lack of clarity on how to apply the social exclusion concept, particularly distinguishing from poverty; 4) a lack of consensus indicators, 5) limitations of social exclusion indicators focusing on the labor market and welfare system and neglecting cultural, political and human rights aspects, 6) prioritization of social exclusion indicators, 7) social exclusion surveys not truly designed for social exclusion, 8) a lack of statistical data of social groups, such as minorities, people with disabilities,

and statistical data on disadvantaged people, such as care centers for inmates and people without nationality and 9) costs and data collection techniques (Mathieson et al., 2008, pp. 47-48). These limitations suggest that the aforementioned data are primarily in a quantitative research form that seeks to optimize the indicators and raises questions about the application of this concept (Levitas, 2005, p. 154). In addition, quantitative measurements will not be able to gain insights into the experiences arising from the social exclusion concept that can cause serious consequences.

The definitions, compositions and indicators of social exclusion mentioned above reflect the major impact of social exclusion. That is, there are marginal people representing social exclusion. Therefore, this study compiled stories about marginal people to illustrate the effects of social exclusion as follows.

### **2.1.3 Marginality**

In the study of marginal people, the concepts of marginalization are used to describe groups of people in various social contexts. The concepts of various schools that have influence in the social sciences include the concept of Chicago School, the concept of the Sociology of Development School in Latin American, the concept of the Marxist School's subaltern group, subcultural studies and the concept of post-modernism. The leading figure of the Chicago School is Robert Ezra Park who studied the perceptions of the identity of the study group through the perspectives of others in society. He also initiated the term "marginality" which can be summarized as an overview of this concept that marginalized population is described as a sub-unit of a large society or a sub-culture study. That is to say, even though this group of people has their own way of life, they are still part of a larger society (Surichai Wankaew, 2007). In the 1960s, the concept of the Sociology of Development School in Latin American introduced the marginalization process to explain the social failure of Brazil. Brazil, at that time, had high economic conditions but resulted in loss of employment and an increase in the poor population, causing crisis of development and leading to marginalization (Surichai Wankaew, 2003). Later, the concept of the Marxist School related to economy recognized marginal people as a group of people in capitalism that was an important component. The leading figures of this school

included Antonio Gramsci, Spivak, Witter & Krauss, studying about the subaltern groups, known as the groups of people who were suppressed and had no role to play in the government and civil society. They were suppressed and controlled by the discourses of otherness created by the nation state. These discourses were created by a group of people at the center of power (Wittayakorn Chaingkul, 1995). Subsequently, the concept of the subculture school was originated from a study of adolescent culture in England during 1976 – 1991. A group of adolescents was formed. This group of adolescents had unique characteristics different from the main groups in society. The emergence of this group of adolescents was a result of the growth of American cultural media and the decline of class culture. Therefore, the emergence of this youth group was like a sub-culture that occurred in society (Surichai Wankaew, 2003). There is also the concept of post modernism, primarily focusing on allowing us to see the movement and flow of world culture in various dimensions. The study of this concept focuses on the target populations whose characteristics change and move with the times to create different groups of people, such as disadvantaged people, people who are economically, politically and socially exploited. The spatial aspect includes the emergence of borders and other objectives such as the political objectives behind the designation of areas and borders. The boundaries that arise here are gender roles, nationality, tastes, lifestyles based on state power mechanisms and political goals (Suriya Samutrakub & Pattana Kittiarasa, 1999).

However, this study studied about the hill tribe-war volunteers in Phetchabun Province. They are marginalized and defined by the social, economic, and cultural center as marginal people according to the Marxist concept. At the same time, these volunteer hill tribes played a role in the central part for only a period of time. Although they do not accept that they are unique according to the concept of the subculture school, they are still hill tribes inevitably. Therefore, this study may have a wide range of concepts, but the focus is on social exclusion.

#### **2.1.4 Definitions of Marginality**

The marginal man theory was initiated by Robert E. Park, who wrote the book entitled “Human Migration and Marginal Man” in 1928 (Park, 2002, pp. 881-893). It was a social ecology or symbolic interactionism study, collecting ethnographic data.

This approach allows for statistical research and interviews to characterize people's life that reflects the social structure. Until the 1960s, marginalization became an important subject in sociological research (Surichai Wankaew, 2000).

Later, in the post-80<sup>th</sup> century, marginal people were defined as the powerless, the subordinate and the have-nots. The research on the so-called oppressive man, including ethnic groups, women, people with disabilities and homosexuals has been conducted. These groups are excluded or marginalized by geographic, economic, social, cultural, political and environmental contexts (Surichai Wankaew, 2007, p. 10). The marginal people tend to settle far from the center of the state, such as in highlands or border areas. They also do not have social status in any state and are viewed as the threat to national security. The marginal people tend to have different cultures, traditions, languages, religions, beliefs than most societies (Chusak Wittayapak, 1998, pp. 2-25).

But in the late 90's, attempts were made to elaborate the deep meaning in a positive way for developing the model of forming marginalized groups to be unified and unique in their own groups. A study by Leung (2003, pp. 95-125) described marginal people as those who were not part of society, living on the fringes of two cultures and feeling marginalized by the identity that emerges. This description points out that marginal people arise from the nation-state building process that has tried to create a national identity.

Then in 1994, the definition of marginality was defined by Chanon Khamthong's study (1994, pp. 174-183). The definition was given by laying the foundation of marginalization's strength through state power. The management of resources was expanded through the state rather than communities. It is also stated that the process of expanding state power to manage and control resources has resulted in the fading of the community system towards resource management. Such government actions have created a process of marginalization of affected communities, which affects the way of community production, resource management system, loss of resource balance and loss of the wisdom system that has been accumulated since the ancestors. This is similar to the study by Yos Santasombat (1996, pp. 22-30), which stated that marginalization is driven by state management. This can be seen from the process by which the government has enacted laws for land

management and other production factors such as the issuance of land title deeds. These actions have made communities, hill tribes, farmers, the poor and other disadvantaged people marginalized, or they may be pushed to be the others. In addition, the study by Attachak Satayanuruk (1999, pp. 69-76) also addressed marginality by emphasizing past studies that marginality was emerged from the expansion of state power for resource management in the community which affected customs, traditions, and culture of the community as well as creating an image of marginalized people through the nation-state building process.

However, in 2006, a study by Anand Ganjanaphan (2006, pp. 3-5) reversed those positive implications of strengthening the marginal people. It also discussed how the nation-state building process created negative implications on marginal people rather than benefits. He stated that the nation-state building process does not only cause marginalization in society, but also the emergence of the process of creating a negative image of marginal people, causing the loss of humanity because they are subject to negative connotations. For example, the hill tribe people have the image of forest destroyers related to ecosystem and environment.

It can be seen that during the 90s, the definition of marginal people reflected the problem of national-state resource management. But in general, according to the Office of the Royal Society, it can be easily summed up that “marginal people are people who are far from society. It also often refers to those who are not cared for. They do not receive the services or protection from the state like others, and they are the ones who have to take care of themselves and have their own culture that may be different from the culture of the people in the city”.

At present, however, the definition of marginal people is more clearly defined. It means driving the underpowered into marginality, and having an indistinguishable relationship with the nation-building building process. It includes the expansion of state power to control land and people. It also shows the emergence of marginality from the expansion of the state power base, national identity formation, regional identity and gender inequality (Chusak Wittayapak, 1998, p. 14; Saowanee Namnuan, 2011, p. 14).

### 2.1.5 State of Marginality

Marginality was defined in a study by Surichai Wankaew (2007, p. 11) as “a group of people who are not completely assimilated as part of a larger group. They are groups of people that have partially abandoned their former culture. Yet, they have not been fully accepted in the new culture which becomes their way of life.” The study of these groups has an important concept of revealing the relationship between marginalized groups and their political, economic and social systems, which means revealing the power structures of groups such as tribal, minority, handicapped and disadvantaged groups. These studies were analyzed from the postmodern social scientists’ viewpoints that the marginal people are in the status of the others and are also in multiple exclusion situations (Surichai Wankaew, 2007, p. 18). This can be seen from a study entitled “Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Functions of Public Welfare” (Betz, Piven, & Cloward, 2006), which found that minority groups excluded from other social groups in terms of social, cultural, physical aspects would live in unequal lives, and they were being treated unequally compared to other people in society, causing a feeling of collective discrimination.

The state of marginality points out that being the others in society, it is needed to fight against centralized power or nation-state structures that seek to establish solidarity and security for the nation, which is called mainstream (Agar & Reisinger, 2001). The marginalization process, excluded from the mainstream, can occur based on the following conditions.

- 1) Control of area: Sack (1983) said that control of area would affect the control of people in a particular area.

- 2) Extension of state power in the management of resources: This has resulted in reduced community dependency. It also reduces the value of the culture and wisdom accumulated for a long time. On the other hand, communities do not have the right to manage their resources on their own.

- 3) Community enclosure: It is to enclose communities by development or mainstream development. Communities are not able to use their own cultural system to manage their resources. This may be done by occupying, annexing and monopolizing land and other production factors (Yos Santasombat, 2008).



The marginalization processes occurring in all of the dimensions mentioned above are the differences of conditions in each social context. For example, McKinnon's study on Hmong people (1991) discussed the differences in the historical level of Hmong people using binary opposition concept in order to allow the Hmong people to classify themselves in terms of their differences, structural conflicts and social relationships between ethnic groups. The results of the study showed that the approach that emerged may cause two types of conflicts: being dominated or being Chinese, also known as Sheng, and refusing to accept China's dominance until causing immigration to create a new set of history different from the Chinese people, known as Shu. These stories are in the Hmong migration legends. But for the phenomenon of the Hmong people today, there are still different choices: acceptance or resistance from being dominated by the capitalism of the Thai state, such as changing or quitting opium cultivation and turning to other cash crops; changing the currency to Thai money as well as adjusting the structure that may require abandoning their own ethnic identity (McKinnon, 1991, pp. 167-179).

Moreover, being the Hmong people is also being the others that is reinforced and stigmatized by the mainstream society. A study by Gary (1981) discussed about being stigmatized of the Hmong people in the drug problems that caused international problems. So, the state had to centrally manage and the hill tribes had no real opportunity to cooperate in solving the problems. These problems caused the Hmong's marginal status to be stigmatized as ethnic people who did not have the power to negotiate their livelihood development, but under the development of the nation-state. It also reflected the imbalanced development of the country that caused various groups of people in society, including women, widows, children, drug addicts, landless people, people with disabilities and underprivileged people to be out of their kinship relationships, the community and the mainstream society of the country.

Being excluded makes people have accumulated the feelings of social pressure. As a result, some groups have tried to fight for themselves or their group to have equal rights as the mainstream people in order to improve their own or their group's life and well-being or to make themselves and their group feel part of society without the sense of social exclusion. Their struggles that have been occurred will be studied in the next section.

## 2.2 Concepts and Theories of Social Struggles

The struggles occurring in modern times are not just physical struggles. Rather, they are struggles for justice in maintaining one's own way of life under the rights that one has. This study has attempted to gather important concepts to explain the phenomena occurring in different aspects, especially the struggles in creating justice in society with diversity, such as the legal struggles under the power of thinking until becoming the struggles for political space and mainstream media space. According to the human rights perspective, it focuses on struggles for respect for individual rights and liberties and acceptance of the dignity of fellow human beings. The principle of struggles depends on how the groups that are struggling define and value it.

### 2.2.1 Definitions of Struggles

Struggle, literally defined by Thai Royal Institute Dictionary (2011), is a verb which means to fight face to face, to battle, to attack. The definition of the term "struggle" defined by the Oxford Learner's Dictionaries (2020) is to try very hard to do something when it is difficult or when there are a lot of problems. This is consistent with the definition provided by the Cambridge Dictionary (2020) which defines the term "struggle" as to experience difficulty and make a very great effort in order to do something. It can be seen that the definitions provided by Thailand and the Western countries are different.

In this study, struggles are related to asking for justice. There was a study of the main struggles in the past that were the struggles between classes in the Marx era. Interestingly, Marx stated that struggles were the production of stratified society with different classes and positions. These included the production classes, such as slaves, laborers and workers, while the other class was the classes that benefited from the production such as slave owners and employers. The emergence of such classes helped mankind advance towards higher forms of production accordingly. The oppression of the production class caused struggles. Each struggle led to the advanced production form for society or a new form of production that could be expanded more widely. For example, the French Revolution in 1780 resulted in the growth of the

bourgeoisie, consisting of farmers which were in the production class. They believed that being under the old regime was under oppression and put them in hardships of living. Later, in Europe, there was a revolution that overthrew the absolute monarchy or feudal system in each country. The revolution became a key strategy for producing capitalism that produced leaders from the growing bourgeoisie. However, the revolution did not only aim at destroying the ruling class and taking its place in power, but it was the revolution for all classes and those who were oppressed or restricted of rights by the ruling class (Kulab Saipradit, 1976, pp. 83-99).

The definition of the “class struggle” defined by Marx was the beginning of the struggle on a wide range of issues related to fairness, equality and social equality. While Marx focused on the struggle for all classes of society to get free from oppression and pervasive growth of capitalism, the military also tried to resist the insurgency. A study found that the insurgency had to focus on politics prior to the military and escalating psychological warfare as well as focusing on separating people from insurgent groups. It also focused on information services. The information was provided to the people in order to win their hearts. These approaches resulted in successful suppression of the unrest in Malaya (Surachat Bumrungsuk, 2011, pp. 244-255). At the same time, Lieutenant Colonel David Galula emphasized a people-centered approach to resolve the insurgency and focused on restoring security and the rule of law. These actions resulted in the success in ending the unrest in Nigeria (Galula, 2006, p. 124).

Based on the viewpoints towards struggles, whether on the rulers or the people who were ruled, they tried to create a social space for the people so that people can see the hidden meaning under their context. Such actions were based on beliefs, faith and the aim of making people go in the direction determined by their class.

### **2.2.2 Struggles to Get Free from Social Exclusion**

From the definitions mentioned above, it can be seen that in the past, the struggles of the producers and the production labor that occurred in each class of society, people attempted to make their concept and beliefs grow in the desired direction although it came at the cost of social damage or casualties from entering the

revolutionary movement on various issues. Yet most of the struggles were primarily related to the livelihoods of the people.

The study of today's major struggles has corresponded to social changes under modernization and created significant growth in national development. It also has caused changes in the way of life and the use of resources in society. According to a study by Narong Phetprasert (2000), it was found that there were various struggles in Thailand in terms of economic, political, social, cultural, and religious dimensions. All dimensions were viewed in a holistic way interconnected with each other, especially in the religious and ritual dimensions which presented the uniqueness of the protests in Thai society. When there was a protest such as the Assembly of the Poor in Bangkok, traditional activities, such as watering for blessings from elders, were held. Also, when the Village of the Poor was established, monks were invited to perform the village's opening ceremony. Rituals were also applied as the tools in struggles, such as cursing by burning dry chili and salt. On the other hand, negotiation was required under the context of being in their own area, and protests were not organized, such as the case of assessing compensation payments for the villagers living at Pak Mun Dam. In this case, the involved parties were the Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand and the villagers. In this struggle, the information was more used. The information can create legitimacy and take away the space of thought and culture from other groups and classes that were not the involved parties. In the information dimension, the key players providing information and knowledge were educational institutions at different levels such as schools, universities, local educational institutions, mass media and social media. These important roles can lead to the contested space for the best interests of each party (Narong Phetprasert, 2000). The struggles of the Assembly of the Poor and the villagers at Pak Mun Dam had a common goal which was to make their opponents to accept the proposal of their own group. Their opponents were the elite of society. The difference in struggle was adapting the struggle tactics to suit their needs.

However, the struggle of the Assembly of the Poor is seen as the struggle in which the discourses were used to incite ideas and ideology, leading to a higher level of negotiation power. for example, "We have only bare feet so we have to get together for a long time so that they will listen to us. Only the assembly is the power of the

poor” (Black Book, the Assembly of the Poor). This statement illustrates the thoughts of the Assembly of the Poor that all they have is the number of people attending the assembly as a key force in negotiating. It also represents the democracy trap based on political math. For example, the MP candidate with the highest score will be the representative of the people. The political party with the most MPs will form a government. Later, protests have taken place at all stages of Thai society and the number of participants has been used as a legitimate power to demand what the protesters want. At present, there has been a growing demand for struggles and it has become an international phenomenon and has clearly expanded quantitatively, such as the Yellow Vest protests in France, protest against the LGBT in Indonesia, the protest of People’s Alliance for Democracy and the protest of the United Front for Democracy. These protests are clearly the struggles based on the cultural dimension of information, relying on various media such as television, radio, social media as a powerful negotiation power for the success of their demands (Narong Phetprasert, 2000).

### **2.2.3 Struggle Space**

Creating struggle space is not only for demonstrations and protests, but also an attempt to create space for contesting new definitions for the people who are socially excluded (Chairat Charoensin-o-larn, 2017) so that the excluded groups have the power and legitimacy to allocate resources (Natedow Yungaubon, 2001). Regarding struggle space building, there has been a wide variety of studies focusing on the process of creating symbols to achieve mutual acceptance of people, groups, communities and societies regarding the diversity of social structures, groups and ethnic groups (Wuttinan Thannil, 2008). Such studies have used symbols as an important tool for mutual recognition. This is consistent with a study by Nattawut Usavagovitwong (2018), focusing on creating symbols. But this study focuses on creating an imaginary space to represent symbolism. When an image arises from an individual’s memory space, there is a process of creating new meanings and mutual understanding. But at the same time, the creation of a social space also involves the power relations of groups in society that have been driven into marginal people until they feel united and try to create a social space for themselves. Creating a social space

for marginalized groups is the study that elevates social space creation (Piyaluk Potiwan, Thongyou Maniemai, & Yaowalak Apichatvullop, 2011, pp. 75-88).

From the aforementioned information, it can be seen that the creation of a social space has the same purpose, which is to make people, groups of people, communities and societies accept and understand and open spaces for creating new meanings for people or a group of people who are different from them. The process of creating space may require a combination of social and physical processes (Sutharin Koonphol, 1998, pp. 167-214). Space can be divided into three streams as follows.

1) The mainstream is the study of political geography, which focuses on states, territories, sovereignty, international politics, war, peace, maps, the emergence of imperialism and the identities of different groups in society.

2) The secondary stream includes the studies that focus on space related to the daily life of people in society such as houses, roads, cities, cemeteries, prisons, monuments and shopping centers. The space in this type of stream refer to the space for studying processes, procedures, details in production and space building. This space is a new identity and social meaning.

3) The third stream is the study that views space as a product of scientific techniques used to convey presentations, writings, and expressions about space in various forms, such as writing about that space or presenting it through photos, news stories and newspapers.

It can be seen that the space of each stream is concentrated accordingly. The space in the secondary stream is important space in creating a uniqueness and new meanings for society. In Thailand, which is a country with a variety of social groups, there has been a study to create space for different groups in society. For example, a study by Sombat Boonkamyung (1997) found that the struggle of the ethnic group (Lahu people) who struggled to contest the definitions of space by presenting the truth and the meaning of space as a symbol in order to express the right to live with human dignity. It was found that there were 2 levels of contesting space. 1) The power struggles over the physical space that used to be arable land belonging to the former Chinese nationalism: the Lahu people used the following struggle strategies: changing land use patterns, plant types, cultivation systems and claiming the right to use their own land and ancestral land to represent the right of possession and expression of

ownership. 2) The power struggles over the social space: Because ethnic groups were defined as the others, threats to security and forest destroyers by the state, the Lahu people created a struggle stage to redefine their social space as forest conservators. It also indicated that the ethnic group (the Lahu people) constructed the truth of space as a protected forest area and defined themselves as the Lahu people who preserved the forest. The contesting for the new definitions occurred because in the development framework and policies of the government on highland development, the Lahu people were defined as forest destroyers or aliens. However, the Lahu people used the forest area as a struggle stage to adjust the power relations between the Lahu people and other power groups in order to raise the power of the Lahu people.

The study of social space creation, especially the secondary space, has been used by different groups as a tool to redefine the meaning of resource contestation (Escobar, 2019). This can be seen from the opening of the space to create a new meaning for the movement of various groups in society for asking for rights and fairness in access to resources. The claims of each group are different. For example, the community forest movement that had been driven for more than three decades. It was the struggle among the capitalists who exploited community forests, causing the detriment of life and property of people in the area. This struggle led to forest protection. The community forest law was pushed. Finally, the community forest networks were expanded throughout the region. The National Assembly passed the Community Forest Act on May 29, 2019. This indicates that it takes a long time for the struggle for local resources. Moreover, the knowledge of the local people is needed. The idea must be spread by providing information to the people in the area until it can create the power to negotiate with the government.

The struggle of the community forestry was for the conservation of national resources. People, both in the area and those outside the area, had the same opinion. Only a group of profit-seeking capitalists disagreed. But at the same time, the struggle in the political dimension cannot convince people to conform with their opinions, such the community forestry that fought until the Community Forest Act was enacted. It was because the political views of individuals were different. It was also a highly abstract concept, clearly different from the community forestry that had clear a physical space and a social space. Having such opinions prevented the political

movements in different eras to bring about social change as they should, and also caused many civil wars and casualties.

Thus, the struggle with a clear and concrete picture of struggle and is related to people's livelihood is essential to the success of the struggle in each issue. A study by Yos Santasombat (1996) summarized the key components of the struggle of the community forestry in Thailand. This is a very relevant issue related to ethnic groups because the ethnic groups are bound to the forest and have their own social context along with tradition and culture of natural resource conservation and management. The key components of the struggle of the community forestry in Thailand are as follows.

- 1) Having awareness of the conservation of natural resources that are the public property from the recognition of the effects of forest degradation
- 2) Having a resource management system that is directly inherited from the locality and the recognition of community rights arising from external stimuli, which is a new system
- 3) Having a strong community organization responsible for resource management

The aforementioned components imply a process of adaptation in the struggle against the blockade of government resource management through the development process of the National Development Plan. It also redefines the definition of resource management by creating a discourse that ethnic groups are conservationists, creating a management system through culture, customs and traditions and building conservation networks.

It can be seen that creating struggle space is an essential tool for the powerless in the struggle to solve the problems they face. When looking at the community forestry, it can be said that forests and claims are the struggle stages for power and legitimacy of ethnic groups to access resources. Trying to redefine the definition of ethnic groups is part of their survival. This is consistent with a study by F. G. Bailey & Scott (2006) entitled "The Weapons of The Weak" which stated that the underpowered or socially excluded people did not aim only for revolution, but it might be for their survival and their lives.



### 2.3.4 Struggle Process

An important struggle process at a global level is the political struggle of Mahatma Gandhi. It is the struggle for freedom (Preecha Chopatumma, 1992) without any bloodshed because demands for independence often lead to the use of force and terrorism, causing the loss of life and property. Mahatma Gandhi used the power of Dharma. 1) Truth: Gandhi believed that truth is truth. Truth is God. The world is based on the foundation of truth. 2) Nonviolence: It is love and mercy. Loving the enemy is the ultimate kindness and the last one is anonymity (De Bary, 2010, p. 272). Civil disobedience: It is non-compliance with the law and non-cooperation with the government, such as taking time off from work, not paying taxes. This is based on one's own suffering and requires a lot of patience, called Satyagraha (Pa-op Jeaungsaengsatidpon, 2018, pp. 173-192). Mahatma Gandhi used nonviolent struggle method to fight evil in order to achieve the ultimate goal which is India's independence (Gandhi, 1909, p. 106). Gandhi hoped for India to help Britain in World War I and for Britain to give India independence. But this was not the case. Dyarchy was introduced in India instead. Insignificant powers such as the powers of education and agriculture were given India, but the powers of military and finance were not (Thawee Thaweewan, 1990, pp. 132-133). Gandhi was assigned to lead the fight against Britain. The struggle was based on Satyagraha. The unfair conditions were used in negotiation. But it was refused by the government. So, Gandhi declared Salt Satyagraha. Salt was an example of the terrible rule of England, especially for the poor, because salt was expensive. Gandhi's ideas of Satyagraha were successful in the Indian independence struggle. So, the Government of India Act (1935) was passed by the British Parliament (Ministry of Health and Family Welfare Government of India, 2005). It gave India the power of autonomy, but may not be complete.

Mahatma Gandhi's struggle is the model for the political struggles that other countries have used for the legitimacy in their struggles. In Thailand, one of the leaders of the People's Alliance for Democracy, also referred to the principle of nonviolence in the 2006 political struggle.

Mahatma Gandhi's political struggle aimed at bringing about a change in the political regime that made India independent. This was the foundation and important starting point for further development of the nation in other areas. However, under the

change of society, on the other side of the world, there were more efforts to develop their own economic system as well as encroaching on the resources of others, especially in tribal groups. As a result, there was an increase in the struggles for control of resources. This can be seen from a study by Stone (2017) that in 1975 the Belo Monte dam was thought to have been built for economic development. It was likely to build up to 40 dams. So, 16 Amazonian tribes joined forces to oppose the construction of the dams. They thought that building dams was more of destruction than protection of the future. Later in 2011, the project was re-studied and it was expected to be operational in 2019. It would be the world's fourth largest dam and able to produce energy that can improve the region. Eventually, the dam was constructed and flooding occurred around the dam. This caused a change in the people's way of life. However, the government invested money to relocate indigenous peoples, but the area lacked community and employment. It can be seen that the struggle process was completely different from the struggle of Mahatma Gandhi and the success of the struggle was different. The struggle of indigenous peoples could not resist the government power. In addition, the government itself had the idea that economic and cultural development can go hand in hand.

In Thailand, there were the struggles for community-based resource preservation. These struggles connected the way of life of Thai people who are bound to their local resources. The villagers played a main role in struggles. They get together to oppose what they disagreed with. In each struggle, there were some different components. However, there were similar components, including the roles of leaders, villagers, monks, teachers, some civil servants, youths and students. These were the main forces in driving the struggle process, taking a long period of time and causing loss of leaders during the struggles.

The struggles that occurred were the struggles of communities and capitalists who tried to use the areas as a source of benefit for their own groups. They also convinced the government to agree with their actions, such as the case of a stone mill in Suwankuha District, Nong Bua Lamphu Province. The villagers protested and formed a group to construct a local mechanism. The important role was at the village leaders and based on the role of monks and legal certainty. The group attended the legal training for 2 days. Mr. Thongbai Thongpao, receiving the Ramon Magsaysay

Award, was the chairman and speaker. Monks, teachers and community leaders participated in reforestation activities and gathered together to establish the Forest Conservation Club of Suwankuha District as a local mechanism for conserving nature and the environment and affirming objections to the stone mill. Subsequently, the Forest Conservation Club joined the Assembly of Small-Scale Farmers of the Northeast to protest at Nong Bua Lamphu City Hall, using constitutional rights. Therefore, 7 groups were formed to oppose the issue of concession certificate until the petition was made. So, the Office of the Royal Secretariat submitted a letter to the Cabinet and Nong Bua Lamphu Province for consideration. However, some people died in this incident. The objection was still proceeded, but the reports from the subdistrict administrative organization, the district administrative organization, the provincial administrative organization and the local authorities confirmed that there was no the people's objection. This was a trick to hide the facts and show that the state mechanism did not care about the opinions of the villagers. Therefore, a complaint was filed to the National Human Rights Commission in 2001 to demand the right of assembly. Later, the villagers were arrested for arson. For this reason, they had to make bail. At the same time, there was a voice from a group of Phu Pha Ya conservationists of Ban Pha Son Chokchai School. They commented on the negative effects of building a stone mill in the area. So, the Human Rights Commission investigated the problem and found that there was an approve on the use of explosives that were not allowed to be used, and 50 rai of forest areas for setting up a mill. Then the group coordinated with the Ministry of Interior to review the approval of the use of explosives. Later, the Minister of Interior visited the area and ordered the suspension of the use of explosives. The villagers filed a lawsuit to Thailand's Administrative Court as another means of struggle. The authorities ordered a halt to mining until the court gave judgment or ordered otherwise. At the same time, the Regional Environment Office 10, on behalf of the government, listened to the opinions of the villagers at the community and made a report to Khon Kaen Administrative Court. Later, it was moved to Nakhon Ratchasima Provincial Court. Finally, the Administrative Court ordered the group of villagers to have the right. The disputant filed an objection but it was judged that it was done incorrectly and was not in accordance with the legal form, procedure, and method (Hannarong Yoawalert,

Patthanajarin Suankaewmanee, Parawee Paiboonying, Thitima Roonchareon, & Penpan Inthapunttee, 2005, pp. 7-35).

From this case, it can be seen that the relationships of individuals, groups, and government agencies in the struggle process were extremely important in planning struggle strategies. The most disadvantaged group was the villagers who had to face hardships during the struggle, such as loss of property and death. They also had to sacrifice their life and time for the struggle, especially the struggle with capitalists and the operation that was favorable to the capitalists of the government agencies.

The phenomena of the struggles in both the Eastern and Western hemispheres are related to the national development process that causes the suppression of community resources. The concept of economic development of capitalism has also been brought to each community or ethnic group. In addition, the group of authority or government has tried to control and regulate all kinds of resources on the planet. As a result, the power of the state is too much to control. At the same time, the state power is increasing over time. People in society are also classified all the time. This increase reflects the need for governments to balance the development between their own power and the management of people along with further developments in other issues, as can be seen from Figure 2.5.

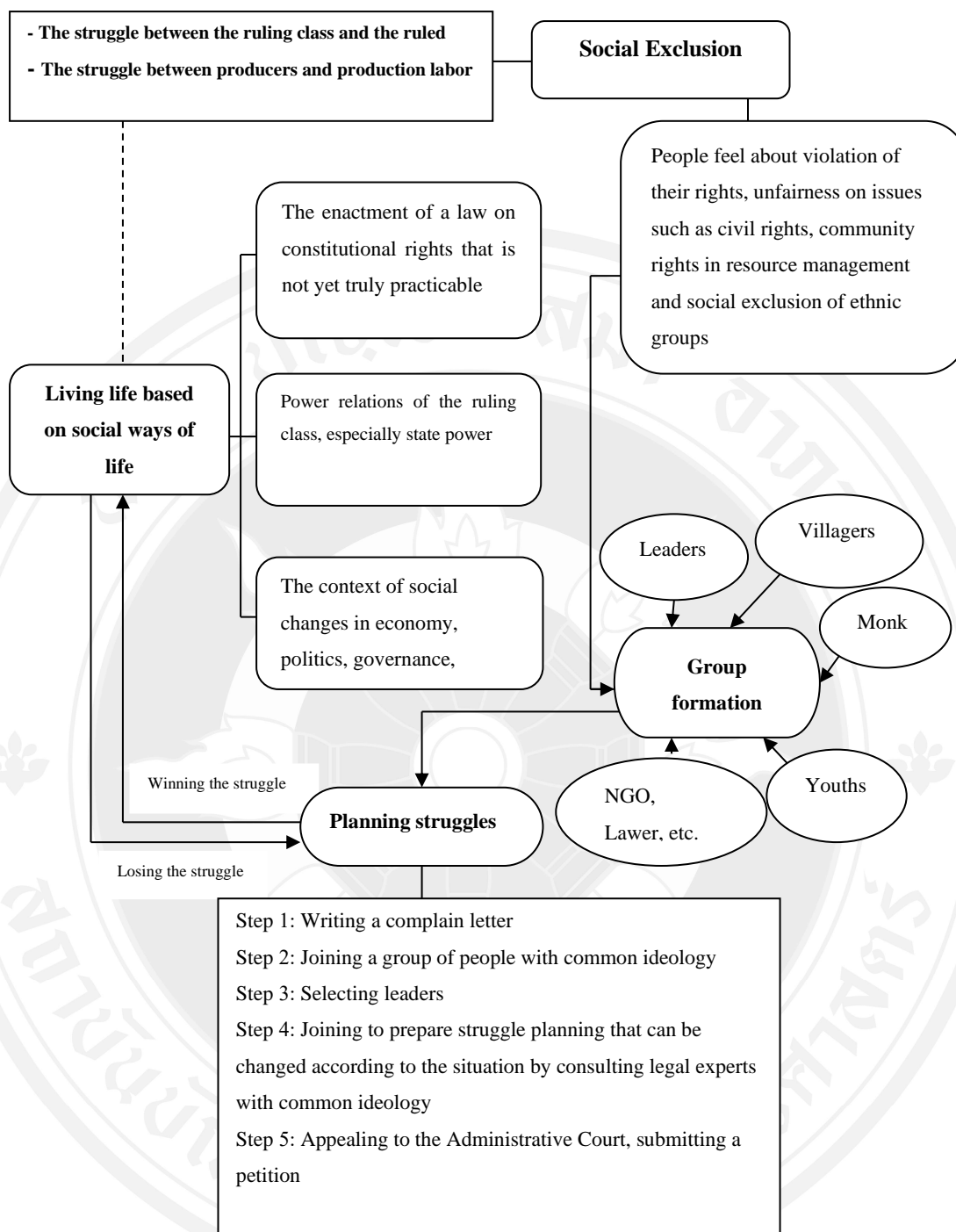


Figure 2.5 The Struggle Concept

Source: Adapted from (Kulab Saipradit, 1976; Narong Phetprasert, 2000; The Office of The National Human Rights Commision of Thailand, 1999; Yos Santasombat, 1996)

## 2.3 Concepts and Theories of Human Rights

Human rights are importantly relevant to the entitlement of the hill tribe-war volunteers because human rights are a matter of human beings that have come to an agreement as human beings. Also, each human being must be respected, cared for, protected, preserved and benefited by living in this world. The United Nations, a world-class organization, has set requirements, agreements and rules for people to have guarantees or standards of good living and access the goodness and benefits that they should receive (Phra Dhammapitaka (Prayudh Payutto), 2013, p. 1). The details are as follows.

### 2.3.1 Definitions of Human Rights

According to the human rights history, human rights are considered the right to life that is obtained from the negotiations of treaties of both international and regional human rights (Copelon, Zampas, Brusie, & DeVore, 2005, p. 120).

In the past, most people and groups were granted various rights through their group membership, whether family, indigenous, religious, community or state groups. For example, most social groups often had rules or practices that were similar to traditions called “Golden Rule”, which is the principle of treating others as one wants to be treated. Human rights were initiated with written documents. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there were documents concerning about individual rights. For example, in 1789, there was the French Declaration on the Rights of Man and Citizen. In 1791, there was the Constitution of the United States. These documents were the precursors of many human rights documents. However, when using the documentary information to formulate a policy, some groups of people were separated from the group, preventing them from receiving certain rights such as women of color, some socio-economic and political groups. At the same time, these documents also provided support for the exercise of the rights of these people (Shiman, 1993, pp. 6-7). However, the term “human rights” was formally formed by the establishment of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on December 10, 1948. This declaration was only an international agreement, but it was not enforced by law (Marenin, Pollis, & Schwab, 2006).

In giving the definitions of human rights, there were arguments from two parties. The first party agreed that the definitions of human rights should not be defined because it could be a limitation in the development of human rights. The second party believed that there should be a clear framework for defining the definition of human rights because it would be helpful in ruling out any acts that violate human rights (Chamnan Chanruang, 2008, pp. 12-13). The United Nation stated that human rights are the rights inherent to all human beings, regardless of race, sex, nationality, ethnicity, language, religion, or any other status. Human rights include the right to life and liberty, freedom of opinion and expression, the right to work and education, and many more. Everyone is entitled to these rights, without discrimination (Beetham, 1999, pp. 30-34).

The definitions of human rights given by the Western world were considered an important starting point for human rights. The history of human rights was analyzed by Phra Dhammapitaka (Prayudh Payutto) who realized that the history of human rights is the history of the West. It is also a history of the struggle to escape religious and political oppression (Surapot Thaweesak, 2020, pp. 1-3). He also discussed from an ideological point of view that human rights are believed to have evolved from the natural law tradition. Human rights and natural rights are one and the same. Hugo-Grotius founded the modern theory of natural law and emphasized the use of rationalism as the main idea in the development of natural rights (Chana Pranom-Sri, 2011, pp. 19-46). Having such foundation made Western society a human rights organizer. There were oppression and persecution in systematic and institutional ways. Based on this view point, there were a lot of warfare in the history of Western countries, such as the conflicts between rulers and people or the ruled in both Europe and England. There was a rule that if the ruler was of any religion or sect, the people would have to practice that religion and be in that sect. If they did not comply with this rule, they would not coexist. After that, there was a violent religious war, causing people to migrate to other countries. In the United States, there was both religious and political persecution, referring to attacking and killing. Thus, the struggles for independence of the Western countries occurred because they wanted to protect their rights and prevent them from being violated by the other according to Social Darwinism, believing in natural selection. Smart and brave animals will be able

to survive while the weak animals with opposite characteristics will die or become extinct (Phra Dhammapitaka (Prayudh Payutto), 2003, pp. 2-5).

The opinions of Phra Dhammapitaka (Prayudh Payutto) were supported by a study by Chana Pranom-Sri (2011, pp. 19-46) which examined the criticism of human rights concepts using the Asian, Thai and Western ways of thinking. He stated that the Asian way of thinking is completely different from that of Western countries. He also explained that cultures in Asia adhere to the past, such as merits, karma, customs, superstitions, angels, and have different religious teachings. It also does not want audience to be thinkers or doubt things. Having such a way of life promotes the politics to function solely. Thus, Asia's struggles for independence have brought new interpretations of human rights through nationalism, authoritarianism and cultural relativism. The cultures can be divided into 4 cultures: 1) Southeast Asian culture: It is characterized by love of comfort, freedom and individuality. People mostly have single families. This culture is mostly found in Thailand, Myanmar, Laos, Cambodia. 2) Far East Asian culture: It is mostly influenced by Chinese. There is a value of giving importance to people, communities and society than individuals. Males are far superior to females. They also have extended families. This culture mostly exists in Chinese, Korean, Japanese society. 3) South Asian culture: A distinctive feature is that males are much superior to females, and people have extended families that everyone lives in the same house. There is very little sacrifice for the community or society. This culture is mostly found in India, Sri Lanka and Nepal. 4) Middle Eastern Asian culture: It is an Islamic district. The center of traditional culture is in Iraq. It gives very important to males, and females have very few social roles. This culture mostly exists in Iraq, Iran and Kuwait. The existence of these cultures in Asia may require a new interpretation of human rights which is the Asian Concept of Human Rights. The discourse that focuses on the rights of the community is created. In Asia, it also emphasizes harmony in the value system and social relationships focusing on gratitude and loyalty which is different from the West, where the rights of individuals are highly focused on, resulting in various social problems.

The above study explained the distinct differences between the West and the East, but at the same time a study by Surapot Thaweesak (2020, pp. 1-3) further debated and contradicted Phra Dhammapitaka (Prayudh Payutto) as Phra



Dhammapitaka viewed human rights as the middle path concept, which points to extremes. He also disagreed with the view that human society does not take into account the rights of each other as a result of violations of life and property, making society inaccessible to civilization. But Phra Dhammapitaka (Prayudh Payutto) said that in any society where human beings are aware of protecting their rights, for example in society, parents and children must be careful of infringing on each other's rights, such a society is approaching the end of civilization. Surapot Thaweesak also supported his idea that the protection of rights is based on affirming the equality of all people. Being able to sue parents is the way to guarantee that there is a law to support children if their rights are violated. He also viewed that human rights principles are broad, such as political rights, civil rights and gender equality. He disagreed with the idea that if humans live life based on the five precepts, human rights are not needed. So, his ideas contradict the ideas of Phra Dhammapitaka (Prayudh Payutto).

Thailand, which is under the Global Community, is still trying to define the definitions of human rights, as presented in the National Human Rights Commission Act, B.E. 2542 (1999) in Section 3 that "human rights" means human dignity, right, liberty and equality of people which are guaranteed or protected under the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand or under Thai laws or under treaties which Thailand has obligations to comply. In this sense, it is a legal term that seeks to protect the rights of those who have been violated. But if the words "rights and human" are separated, it can be defined as the rights to act freely, which are certified by the law (The Office of The National Human Rights Commission of Thailand, 1999, p. 35). The word "human rights" refers to the legitimate power obtained from the fact that human beings can act freely, which is certified by the law (Dictionary of the Royal Institute of Thailand 1999, 1999).

In the view of academics, the definitions of human rights are in the same direction. Human rights are fundamental rights from birth that people are equal in both dignity and rights regardless of differences in race, color, sex, age, language, religion, health, political beliefs and other beliefs from the social background, national origin, status rights, possession of property. They are also the rights to live valuable life, the rights to be protected, to live in a safe and secure manner. Human rights are also non-transferable rights. Therefore, any person, organization or state cannot

infringe this humanity. Such meaning is a concept connected with the normal life of human beings. In other words, it is the legislation that protects rights violations because it is believed that human rights are rights in life. Therefore, violation of human rights and law is a crime in every society. Moreover, there are provisions of human rights in the constitutions of various countries. The constitution aims to protect everyone without discrimination. Also, human rights are inherent attributes of every human being to have rights and human natural liberties for the only reason that the human birth had occurred before the state was formed. These types of human rights include the right to life and body and the right to religious freedom (Banjerd Singkhaneti, 2004, pp. 63-64; Cha-Wachai Phatintu, 2005, p. 29; Kamon Kamontrakul, 2005; Sari Pongpis, n.d.; Suthep Iam-Kong, 2007, p. 117; Udom Ratamarit, Nopphitit Suriya, & Banjerd Singhanetti, 2001, p. 13).

### **2.3.2 Importance of Human Rights**

At present, Human rights are known as an important indicator of a civilized country. As a result, countries around the world have to try to adjust themselves to comply with human rights principles. The practice of human rights may change depending on the context of that country.

Human rights have evolved since the classical period in the Greco-Roman civilization. There were important thinkers such as Plato and Aristotle. Plato realized the domination of the state and racial discrimination, so he came up with ideas about social organization and human equality and proposed the ideal state, consisting of three classes of people. The first class is called the guardians who are responsible for ruling the state according to the needs of the people. The second class is called the auxiliaries who have to take care of strategies, and protect the state in times of war as well as expanding the territory of the area. The third class is called the producers, or is the production class that has to produce various products that are important and necessary for the citizens of the state. Although Plato was Aristotle's teacher, Aristotle's idea was against Plato's class discrimination because he believed discrimination would cause resistance to the rulers. Hence, he turned back to support the participatory governance of everyone under the law. Although ruling based on the

law may not be fair in some cases, solutions can be found by applying the principle of equity (Udomsak Sinthipong, 2010).

Later, in the Middle Ages, there was a considerable influence of Catholicism on human life in Europe. This made the principles of human rights in accordance with the tradition of theology, which was the same period as the study of Phra Dhammapitaka (Prayudh Payutto), whose religious views had the greatest influence on human rights at that time. In the modern era, the individualism concept gave rise to the idea that human beings are more rational than God's law. In that era, a scholar named Thomas Hobbes said that in order for humans to escape from a dire or anarchy situation, humans must waive their rights and freedom to the state and must respect the state. This act brought the state absolute power, and it became an agreement known as the Leviathan. But John Locke disagreed with this idea. He recognized that humans still retain other natural rights. The state, therefore, has limited powers. If the state does not act based on their powers, it is considered violating people's rights. People, thus, have the rights to overthrow the government (Weera Lochaya, 1986, p. 462). Meanwhile, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, a French thinker agreed with Locke and added that human beings have the inherent right to choose and change the government. There was a saying in that era: "liberty, equality, fraternity". Later, during the years 1689-1755, a thinker named Montesquieu developed the idea of separation of powers. The political authority of the state was divided into legislative, executive and judicial powers. These three powers can balance and check each other, which is the principle of democracy used in many countries (Udomsak Sinthipong, 2010).

It can be seen that the concept of human rights in each era aims at making a peaceful society governed by the state or the ruling class. The law is also used as a tool to protect human rights. However, in every action process, human beings are the key creators to make the human rights principles in the right direction. A study by Claude & Weston (1992, pp. 1-14), modern scholars, described the broader essence of human rights principles. They stated the characteristics of human rights as follows.

- 1) Human rights are the demands of individuals or groups of people to form social values or social rules to achieve acceptance and respect. Calling for

acceptance of such values, the established rules must be adopted by the state, which may be enacted as law or custom.

2) Human rights are the acceptance of the rights, which is the fundamental of human beings and the essentials are separated from all the other non-essentials.

3) Human rights are justified acceptance under protection by law. That is, human rights are characterized by legal order and moral order.

4) Human rights are conditional rights, referring to protecting the rights of other people or interests of society at the same time. Therefore, human rights are the rights with scope.

However, at present, the scope of human rights based on the analysis of the data and situations for linking to the direction of the Third National Human Rights Plan (2014-2018) (Strategy Planning Division Ministry of Social Development Human Security, 2016) stated that human rights include the following rights. 1) Civil rights are the right to life and body, liberty, and personal security and the right to equality before the law. It may also include the right to political life, legal equality of all citizens, the right to political participation, the right to religious freedom, the right to freedom of expression, the right to freedom of peaceful assembly, the right to establishment of a political party and the right to vote in elections. 2) Political rights include the right of people to express their opinions. The press has freedom of expression. People have freedom of assembly. They can also determine their political life. They have the right of access to public services. 3) Social rights include the right to education, the right to health insurance and social security freedom. People can choose their own spouse and create their own family. 4) Economic rights include the right to independent employment and reasonable wages. 5) Cultural rights include the freedom to use local language, the freedom to dress according to culture, the freedom of expression of local traditions and religious beliefs as well as cultural recreation and entertainment. However, economic, social and cultural rights may be combined, including the rights related to work, fair compensation, appropriate standard of living, education, public health services and freedom of religion.

Although the scope established by the Human Rights Plan have become the mainstream guidelines for its application in society, studies of other scholars have

tried to separate the issue of human rights, stating that human rights according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights can be divided into 6 themes: 1) the right to safety without crimes such as rape, murder, 2) the right to the judicial process without being infringed or misrepresented by law such as secret prosecution or excessive punishment, 3) the right to freedom of expression of beliefs, opinions, association, assembly, and social movements, 4) political rights which include the protection of freedom of political participation such as gathering for political protests, 5) the right to equality, including the equality in citizenship and legal treatment from government officials and 6) the right to social welfare such as protection from poverty and starvation (Chamnan Chanruang, 2008, p. 13; Duanghathai Buranajaroenkij & Paksiri Aenihon, 2017, pp. 13-22).

It can be concluded that the importance of human rights is relevant to the way of life of both individuals and groups. Its essence is that any act of a person against one or another person is subject to law, and it must not infringe on the rights of others. In addition, the government, which is the ruling class having the power to use the law, must enforce the law accurately and clearly.

### **2.3.3 Human Rights in Thailand**

In the past, Thai society was a rural society based on primary relationship. That is, intimacy made conflicts difficult to arise. Even if there was a conflict, it may not be expressed. In addition, there were traditions of practices between the upper class and the commoner class, adults and children and parents and children. Therefore, talking about human rights in Thailand, various dimensions must be taken into account.

The first dimension that must be considered is the dimension of Buddhism. The predominance of Buddhism in Thai people has resulted in refinement over a long period of time. The refinement has been done through families, temples, schools and communities, allowing Thai people to know about birth, old age, sickness, and death, called the Trinity, consisting of anicca, dukkha, anatta. There is also a belief in sin, merit and karma. Humans can get out of suffering or trouble by being a person with morality, concentration, wisdom, and adhering to the Four Noble Truths, consisting of the truth of suffering, the truth of the cause of suffering, the truth of the end of

suffering and the truth of the path that leads to the end of suffering. Moreover, there are other sermons about life principles. Living life according to Buddhism will bring peace to individuals and society. But in reality, human nature uses reasons until causing transgression and encroachment with each other. The next dimension is that Thai people have the idea that good or evil is based on their minds, habits and traits. In terms of behaviors, being good, bad, right and wrong are used as a measure of a person's value, status and position to determine what a person can do. Often, the law of karma is used to explain causes and effects to a person (Sulak Sivalak, 1995, p. 40).

In the reign of King Rama III, Thailand began to have more relations with Western nations and was influenced by Western nations, causing changes of values in political, economic and social systems. For example, the article written by Tianwan and K.S.R. Kularb presented in a newspaper proposed the abolition of slavery. They also suggested men to stop having multiple wives and the authorities to stop ill-treating the people. This writing landed them 17 years in prison (Chai-Anan Samudavanija, 1979). After Thai society had undergone intense changes in politics and governance, the ideas about the governance for equal happiness and adherence to the same law were proposed by the nobility and the royalty. Until the reign of King Rama VII, there was a call for rights together with democratic government. Also, the absolute monarchy was changed to the democracy on June 24, 1932 by the People's Party. The People's Party also announced that the people must have freedom, independence and equality. Still, only few Thai people recognized and tried to exercise their rights and liberties, such as politicians, bureaucrats, writers, journalists and educated people in Bangkok. Ordinary people did not know much about their rights and liberties. At that time, political crisis and coups in the government often occurred (Chana Pranom-Sri, 2011, pp. 19-24). Therefore, it can be said that in terms of human rights in Thailand, the influence of Western nations' liberties cannot make Thai traditions and customs disappeared. Thai people may need time to adjust themselves to find out a suitable way in building Thai human rights principles.

However, at present, Thailand has joined the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and human rights have been stipulated in Thai law. The term "human dignity" was also defined in the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand (2007) for the first time. Human rights are categorized according to the law in 5 areas: 1) civil rights, 2)

political rights, 3) social rights, 4) economic rights and 5) cultural rights. However, a Human Rights Watch report has suggested revisions to human rights issues in Thailand, including politics, governance, judicial process and migrant workers. In particular, the challenges that should be accelerated include protection of human rights in relation to political rights, freedom of expression and judicial process (Ekachai Junthong, 2018).

According to the statistics on violations of Thai rights during 2010-2015, there were 4,755 complaints of human rights violations, of which 889 cases were about judicial process, followed by 733 cases of property rights. Also, in 2006, there were 800 complaints of human rights violations of which 208 cases were about judicial process followed by 87 cases of civil rights. In 2012, the important issues were judicial process, education, culture, religion and education, career and labor, natural resources and environment (Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, 2019).

The situations of human rights violations in Thailand in 2017 summarized by the National Human Rights Commission were as follows.

1) Freedom of expression, academic freedom and freedom of the press were still restricted, examined, and controlled by law, so opinions cannot fully be expressed.

2) The human rights of children, youths and women sexually abused and exploited, causing abuse, entering the drug cycle and being forced to be labor and beggars, the elderly, the handicapped, groups of trajectory and gender identity, ethnic groups, groups of stateless people and migrant workers were violated due to legal restrictions.

3) Community rights, natural resources and the environment did not adhere to the principle of public participation as it should.

4) Cases in the judicial process and the law focusing on the protection of the rights of the accused and the punishment processes of the people committing illegal acts must be treated fairly and equally. The law may be amended to be in line with the current situation. At the same time, law enforcement must not violate the rights and liberties of the people.

5) In terms of social policy, because Thailand was a country of origin, transit and destination of transnational human trafficking, Thai people were more affected and human rights violations occurred easily (Rights Liberties Protection Department Ministry of Justice, 2018).

Although the Human Rights Commission's summary stated that the right to freedom of expression was still restricted, especially in the media, at the same time, a report from the Rights and Liberties Protection Department, Ministry of Justice regarding the framework on human rights to drive Thailand 4.0 for sustainable development during 2018-2019 was made. It was found that the groups with an increase in human rights violations were children, women, the elderly, people with disabilities, people with HIV/AIDS, laborers, poor people, farmers, the accused, inmates and consumers. But the groups with less violations were patients, ethnic groups, foreign workers, the acquitted and victims in criminal cases. As for human rights issues, it was found that occupation and labor, natural resources and environment were increasingly being violated. The number of violations was reduced in terms of education, culture, religion and education, public health and the freedom of communication and press, judicial process and community rights. The number of complaints decreased in the areas of education, culture, religion and education, career and labor, public health and housing. The complaints of discrimination among government officials increased, especially in the judicial process, public health and government officials under local government organizations (Ekachai Junthong, 2018).

The situations of human rights violations according to the report of the Human Rights Commission and the report of Rights and Liberties Protection Department, Ministry of Justice are not consistent in regard to the restriction of freedom of expression, academic freedom, freedom of the press. However, the human rights violations of individuals and groups, including children, youths and women sexually abused and exploited, the elderly, the handicapped, groups of trajectory and gender identity, ethnic groups, groups of stateless people, migrant workers are among the top violation situations in Thailand, indicating a high level of abuse and complaints.

According to the human rights situations in Thailand, efforts have been made to use laws to protect equal treatment of different groups, such as disadvantaged people, people with disabilities and children, but problems have still arisen, especially



the community problems about natural resources that the government is trying to play a role too much, resulting in the deterioration of the community's natural resource management. As a result, the community rights recognized by the Constitution in the field of local wisdom cannot be fully implemented and could easily be infringed because the state is more powerful than the community (Duanghathai Buranajaroenkij & Paksiri Aenihon, 2017, pp. 13-22).

It can be seen that the global society, especially the United Nations, has expressed concern in the situation in Thailand regarding human rights violations in matters such as migrants, refugees, ethnic minorities, political activists, child abuse arms trafficking and abuse of prisoners (Woranuch Usanakorn, 2000, p. 1). However, Thailand may need to listen and clarify the situations that occur in the context of Thai society to the global society. As can be seen from Figure 2.6, the concept of human rights has been influenced by Western nations that has spread to Thailand.

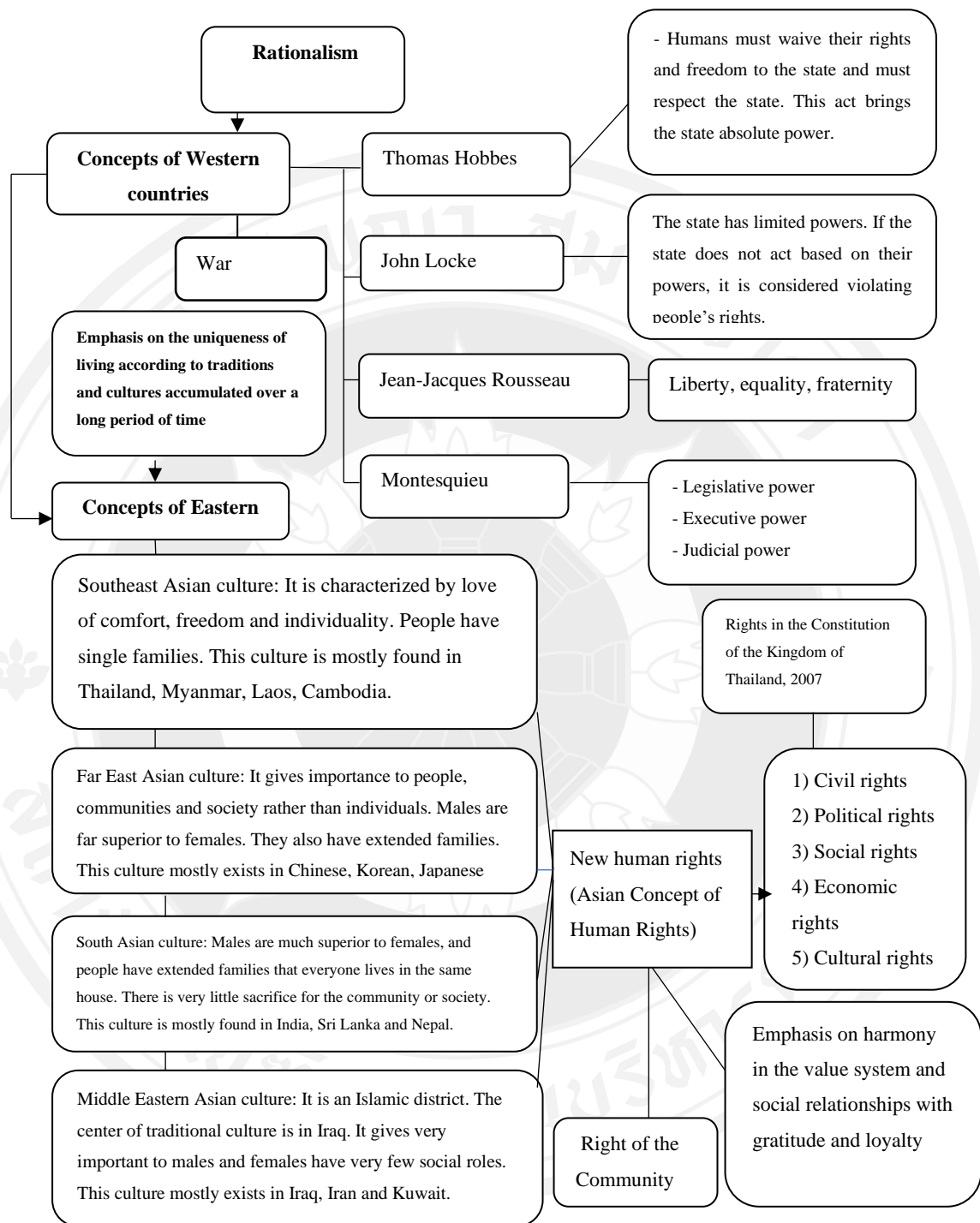


Figure 2.6 Concept of Human Rights

Source: Adapted from (Chamnan Chanruang, 2008; Chana Pranom-Sri, 2011; Duanghathai Buranajaroenkij & Paksiri Aenihon, 2017; Udomsak Sinthipong, 2010)

## 2.4 Concepts and Theories of Human Security

In the past, humans had a survival instinct as the main way of living in order to achieve security in life. Later in the era of a nation-state, humans focused on state security, consisting of having territory, sovereignty and national benefits. The key security mechanisms were military and economy. In the era of technology, there was an increase in social complexity, resulting in increased social conflicts in various fields such as crimes and drug problems. So, human security is subject to social changes all the time (School of Social Environmental Development, n.d., pp. 2-24). Therefore, this study gathered important information in order to be the guidelines for important analysis as follows.

The study of security is a profound issue in international development. In the 1970s, there were problems in the political, economic, and social systems. So, countries around the world faced pressures, affecting individuals. This resulted in the design and development of the security concept in order to allow human beings to live sustainably. This idea was initiated by the Club of Rome Group. In the 1980s, the idea of changes in development and security approaches which addressed the issue of global poverty and hunger was introduced. The inequality between the poor and the rich was also added. Previously, there was only a matter of war. The importance of enabling people to live with dignity, jobs and enough food was aware of (Bajpai, 2000, p. 5). Such ideas led to rapid development of concepts in the 1990s and an increase in the interpretations of meaning.

The concept of human security has become more apparent, giving rise to two classifications of security. 1) Traditional security: It prioritizes the state and its territories. The potential threats are interstate war, nuclear war and revolution. 2) Human security: It values the individual. The potential threats are poverty, sickness, natural disasters and human rights violations (Liotta & Owen, 2006, p. 8).

However, only two classifications of security may not be sufficient for living in society today. Therefore, a study by Janjira Sombatpoonsiri (2019) stated that the emergence of security consisted of 3 aspects of securitization. First, traditional security focuses on state security and the state fears of invasion from other states, making it rely on the army or soldiers in protecting the state against other invaders

(Waltz, 1978, pp. 167-214). Previously, regarding traditional security, the military had to protect the state. But the focus was changed to people for having a better quality of life, surviving and living with dignity. Therefore, the budget that was previously given to the army must be allocated to the people. As a result, people had a good quality of life depending on various social systems such as education and public health. However, it was also viewed that actions through the state security for the sake of the people can also be detrimental to the people, for example, the state may injure people through arbitrary detention (Paris, 2001, pp. 87-102). Second, critical security studies recognize security as a discourse, so the definitions of security related to power in the political context of that society have been created. Most definitions assume that security threats must come from enemies or people who are not included in the group (Balzacq, 2005, pp. 171-201; Booth, 2005; Wæver, 1993, pp. 171-201). In addition, the power of discourse in the critical security studies has differentiated security for many groups. It makes threats clearer for some groups while lessen for others. It also makes the securitization to become a political matter rather than a matter of security until it affects the definitions given and there have been debates for the benefit of society (Janjira Sombatpoonsiri, 2019).

The emergence of critical security studies has made society increasingly aware of the power of discourse affecting the definition and interpretation of security, especially in regards to human security that may cause some groups to be excluded from society through the power of discourse. In other words, human security depends on the definitions given by the authorities, such as the social issues they are interested in, which may affect another group of people.

However, on the global stage, human security is a concept proposed as the global agenda of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). It is a people-centered concept. In 1994, a report on human security was initiated, which was called the Human Development Report. It provided the definitions of national security, namely state and territory and military security as well as human security in terms of Freedom from Fear and Freedom from Want. Later in 1999, the concept of human security was revised through Human Development Report (1999) with an emphasis on insecurity in the ages of globalization, including: 1) financial volatility and economic insecurity, 2) career and income insecurity, 3) health insecurity, 4) cultural

insecurity, 5) personal insecurity, such as facing crime, drug trafficking, human trafficking, 6) environmental insecurity and 7) political and community insecurity (United Nations Development Programme, 2000). In 2000, the Report on Human Rights and Human Development for Freedom and Solidarity attempted to connect the relationships of human rights, human development and human security together. This led to a common vision and purpose, which was building security for freedom, well-being and dignity of all human beings around the world. This resulted in the security of freedom in 7 categories: 1) freedom from exclusion, 2) freedom from want, 3) freedom to develop and manifest one's potential, 4) freedom from fear, 5) freedom from injustice, 6) freedom of thought, 7) freedom to work (United Nations Development Programme, 2016).

#### **2.4.1 Definitions of Human Security**

The beginning of the development of human security began when the resolution of state development was not feasible. As a result, in the post-Cold War era, countries around the world faced serious conflicts that affected people. Therefore, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) tried to plan the development related to human security. The concept of human security was studied through the UNDP's Human Development Report: HRD 1994, defining human security as Freedom from Fear and Freedom from Want. Later, at the 66<sup>th</sup> General Assembly of the United Nations in 2012, Freedom to Live in Dignity (United Nations Development Programme, 2016) was added, as well as the protection of human beings from violence in seven areas: economy, food, health, environment, person, community and politics, and the prevention of international threats on longevity, the problem of population growth, inequality in economic opportunity, immigration, environmental degradation, drug production and smuggling and international terrorism.

While attempts to frame human security have been raised by global organizations, academics have emphasized that security concerns not only the military but also sense of independence, safety and security without a sense of danger or fear. It is to protect oneself from various threats and to seek freedom from threats. It is also a matter of state and society in maintaining identity and acting when there are threats

(Buzan, 1997, pp. 5-28). Thus, it can be said that human security is involved in living at an individual level encompassing a sense of freedom, security and freedom to live in society as well as the presence of the state acting in defense and protection against various forms of threats that may adversely affect the nation and territories.

At the same time, it has been further defined in accordance with the change in social context. Human security is the prevention of human beings from threats to achieve long-term human goals, that is to protect the vital core of every human life from threats by promoting freedom, strength and inspiration to the people. It must rely on the political, social, environmental, economic, cultural and security systems that will help the people to survive. The important human factors that emphasize individual life, human social well-being, reduction of the risk of impact on human freedom and human rights as well as social, political, and psychological factors, including intangible factors such as acceptance and participation in society must be taken into account (Alkire, 2003; Leaning & Arie, 2000, p. 37; Sen, 2000, pp. 1-10).

The emergence of the concept of human security led to major meetings in the 1990s: 1) Stockholm Initiative on Global Security and Governance in 1991 and 2) the conferences and establishments of agencies on human security under the framework of the United Nations as follows. (1) The United Nations Development Program meeting; and the Human Development Report, 1994 (HDR 1994): It stated that human security consists of four key attributes. 1) Human security is a matter of international consideration because all human beings face similar threats. 2) Human security is about interdependence. When humans are exposed to similar threats, they must depend on each other. 3) Human security is easier to prevent than to solve problems. 4) Human security is a human-centered matter. Human beings are free to choose things in life. (2) "The United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security (UNTFHS): The Government of Japan and the United Nations were responsible for funding various human security projects. (3) The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs): Its objective was to eradicate poverty in 2015. (4) The Independent Commission on Human Security (CHS): It was established to promote public understanding of human security and develop the concept of human security as a tool for policy making and implementation. It also presented an action plan, identifying key human security threat to be put into practice. (5) Human Security Unit (HSU): It

was established for UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). (6) It was the minutes of the meeting on “extending freedom through development of human security and human rights for all”. (7) The reports of UN Secretary-General 2010 and 2012 on human security: The reports established the recognition that the development of human rights, peace and security are the three main UN missions (Manassawee Onchunaka, n.d., pp. 1-59).

The emergence of numerous meetings and the establishment of numerous security agencies suggests that the international community is trying to propagate the concept of human security. It also shows the deterioration of international trust that requires the signing of cooperation to ensure human security in all countries with a unified approach. If any country does not act or comply with the established cooperation, they will be vulnerable to various forms of threats. However, it can be seen that the development and definition of human security is based on the social context of the world. If the world faces increasing threats, the concept of human security may need to be more comprehensively defined. It also relies on critical security in analyzing the global risks that may be affected.

#### **2.4.2 Importance of Human Security**

The action to improve human security certified by the United Nations that all states must take to create a key security agency is the establishment of the Human Security Unit (HSU) in 2004. The overall objective of the HSU is to define the key issues for human security and advocate consultations at the UN General Assembly. The practical tools that can be used to solve human security problems need to be developed, especially for the projects under the framework of the United Nations. The cooperation and the extraction of important lessons learned on human security must also be supported. In doing so, it requires cooperation from educational organizations at both national and regional levels as well as various relevant local organizations. Also, in 2014, the Human Security Network (HSN) was established. It was the integration of like-minded countries to promote human security within their country and on the world stage. The current members are Thailand, Chile, Greece, Ireland, Jordan, Mali, Panama, Norway, Austria, Switzerland, Slovenia and Costa Rica, with South Africa participating as an observer. The vision is creating a world where people

can live with security and dignity, or attain a state in which human beings have Freedom from Fear and Freedom from Want, such as the absence of poverty and the danger of serious epidemics such as AIDS. Its operations focus on creating a balance between three pillars: security, development and human rights, consistent with sustainable development for well-being and people-centered, especially vulnerable groups, including children, women, the disabled and the elderly (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2008, pp. 1-3).

The actions required by the United Nations show that the importance of human security has been focused for a long time and continued to the present. It also shows a feeling of fear against the ever-increasing threats of humans, resulting in the 21<sup>st</sup> century world challenging in building a framework for development and strengthening human security. The first attempt was made in 1994 that early warning indicators, which were single index, were constructed. Human rights violations are measured by the incarceration of political prisoners, abuse, disappearances, media control and various forms of human rights violations. Inequality is measured by the differences in the Human Development Index (HDI) between the groups, i.e., average human age, education, per capita income. In 2008, the Human Security Index (HSI) was developed. Additional indicators were added to cover the social environment and social conditions of the people. The Human Security Index consists of the following key components: 1) economic fabric index such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP), equality of income distribution and financial-economic governance, 2) environmental fabric index such as environmental vulnerability and environmental protection policies and 3) social fabric index such as health, education, protection from official or illegal corrupt practices and food security (United Nations Development Programme, 2016).

The implementation of such indicators contributes to the development of the social early warning system. The national and international policies can be prioritized until policy rules and norms in policy can be created. It is the enhancement of the people's well-being to be accepted nationally and internationally. It also helps build a body of knowledge for holistic human security development. However, such indicators are still subjective. Therefore, the interpretation and evaluation of each individual are limited. It may also affect the analysis in each social context. Moreover,



some indicators may not be available in some countries. Therefore, the dissemination and implementation of such indicators in research practice may require clear identification of the scope (Nilubol Pairoh, Manasswee Arjunaka, & Suchittra Ridsakulchai, 2017, pp. 179-197).

The social context, the scope and the limitations of the study must be taken into account when using the indicators because each country does not want to be socially divided by these indicators. Also, there may be doubts in the implementation. In Thailand, being part of the development of human security has also been recognized. Therefore, the comments on the integration of countries on human security were given. It stated that the issue of human security is consistent with the interests of the country in many areas, such as the rule of law, the equality and the security that are connected with human beings. As a result, Thailand became a founding member of the Human Security Network (HSN) or the Human Security Network. Thailand was also a chairman in 2005 and held 12 staff-level conferences with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime: UNODC and Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) to promote cooperation on AIDS, anti-human trafficking, Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention as well as the matter of humanitarian assistance, promotion and protection of human rights in the region and promotion of public health cooperation. In 2013, Thailand played a role in supporting international human security issues related to the management of the UN Trust Fund for Human Security (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2008).

It can be seen that joining the Human Security Network is in the form of attending meetings to make policy recommendations. But Thailand's actions have made the sense of unity in the international community more positive than negative. The power of member countries can also be presented on the world stage.

#### **2.4.3 Situations of Human Security in Thailand**

In Thailand, the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security is an important government agency responsible for human security. Since 2004, it has conducted the study on human security standards and prepared Thailand Human Security Report. The latest report is the 2016 report that contains 12 dimensions and

37 indicators of human security, including: 1) housing, 2) health, 3) food, 4) education, 5) employment and income, 6) family, 7) community and social support, 8) religion and culture, 9) life and property safety, 10) rights and fairness, 11) politics, 12) environment, resources/energy. These indicators are the tools for assessing the situations of human security at the national, regional and provincial levels.

The 2016 report used secondary data from various relevant agencies to calculate the Composite Human Security Index (CHSI) in order to know the status of each province compared to the national average. The Human Security Index at the provincial and regional levels was measured in 5 groups, namely Bangkok and its vicinities; Northern region, Northeastern region, Central region and Southern region. It was found that the human security index at the national level in the dimension of rights and fairness was highest (70.40), followed by housing (70.35), community and social support (70.25), and employment and income (69.70) while family (69.81) had the lowest index which was considered as the index value that was higher than that of the year 2015. As for the human security index at the regional level, it was found that the Northern region had the highest index (69.23), while Bangkok and its vicinities had the lowest index (67.61). From the measurement of the Human Security Index, it was revealed that most of the low index values were found in the provinces with large cities or economic cities. In addition, the dimensions that should be focused on include: employment and income, family, education dimensions, religion and culture (Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, 2018).

It can be seen that Thailand has tried to create an index to measure human security in accordance with the Thai context. This action indicates that Thailand is following the international development framework and making efforts to create social inclusion more clearly. However, the presence of the index shows the inseparable link between human security and human rights. The results of the study found that the dimension of rights and fairness and the Northern region, including 17 provinces, namely Kamphaeng Phet, Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai, Tak, Nakhon Sawan, Nan, Phayao, Phichit, Phitsanulok, Phetchabun, Phrae, Mae Hong Son, Lampang, Lamphun, Sukhothai, Uttaradit and Uthai Thani had the highest index. The main problem of rights and fairness is related to human rights that are inherited from birth, that is, the right to live with dignity, the right to be protected to have secure life. There

is a moral principle that people must accept and respect in treating others without discrimination, whether they are men, women, children, old people, rich, poor, any race, ethnicity, religion, language, skin color and ideology (National Human Rights Commission of Thailand, 2001, pp. 1-13).

Therefore, the data collection clearly shows that Thailand still has a high level of social exclusion, especially in the North where many immigrants with various nationalities migrated to live in Thai territory after the era of wars. At that time, the enactment and enforcement of immigration laws was not clear enough to cover all groups. This problem has persisted until now and is manifested in the form of the reports mentioned above. Furthermore, the immigrants and Thai people have different customs, traditions, so it creates a feeling that they are different from us, resulting in the actions of Thai people having towards immigrants.

Moreover, there was a study in 2016 conducted by the National Human Rights Commission, which addressed the problems of ethnic diversity and indigenous people, clearly consistent with the reports mentioned above. This study summarized and compiled the opinions on the human rights situations. There were 150 participants on the stage, divided into 7 issues. The most prominent issue was individual status, ethnic group and indigenous peoples because the North is an area with ethnic diversity. The problems faced by ethnic groups were nationality verification, the right to education of stateless children, the right to travel to various areas of stateless people, the right to work of persons without registration status, the right to obtain basic services from the government as well as the issue of accepting the existence of different ethnic groups. There was also the issue of civil rights where the struggle between capitalists and villagers affected the villagers' livelihoods, such as threats or litigation issues concerning children's rights and education such as the state of children committing crimes returning to live in society and the sensitivity of stateless children. There were also educational problems such as disparities in the quality of education between rural and urban areas, and economic, social and cultural rights issues, such as having interpreters in a government offices and non-compliance with labor laws of employers. These issues were very important for migrant workers. There were also the problems of community rights, the impact of laws, announcements, orders and development plans of the state affecting the right to arable land as well as

the problem of the construction of dams and reservoirs affecting the environment and way of life of people in the community. Moreover, the issues of the rights of women and LGBT people were also found. They were faced with a lack of social awareness in the subject of gender, sexuality, express, sexual identities. Also, the law did not fully protect these people. Among women, there was a risk of sexual harassment and violence arising from traditions, such as bride kidnapping, also known as marriage by abduction or marriage by capture of the Hmong people. The problems of rights in the judicial process included the labor rights that were not protected by law and the land disputes between the villagers who had been in the area before and the capitalists who had documents showing that the land did not belong to the villagers (Human Rights Commission, 2018, pp. 1-3).

It can be seen that human rights violations are related to human security. We cannot deny the differences that exist between human beings which result in different human expressions, especially in Thai society that is a traditional society with high self-confidence and deep-rooted traditions and culture. Therefore, if other people or other groups join the group, it may take time. Having a Thai way of life may affect the adaptation in dealing with various threats that may arise in the future. However, the concept of human security can be presented in Figure 2.7

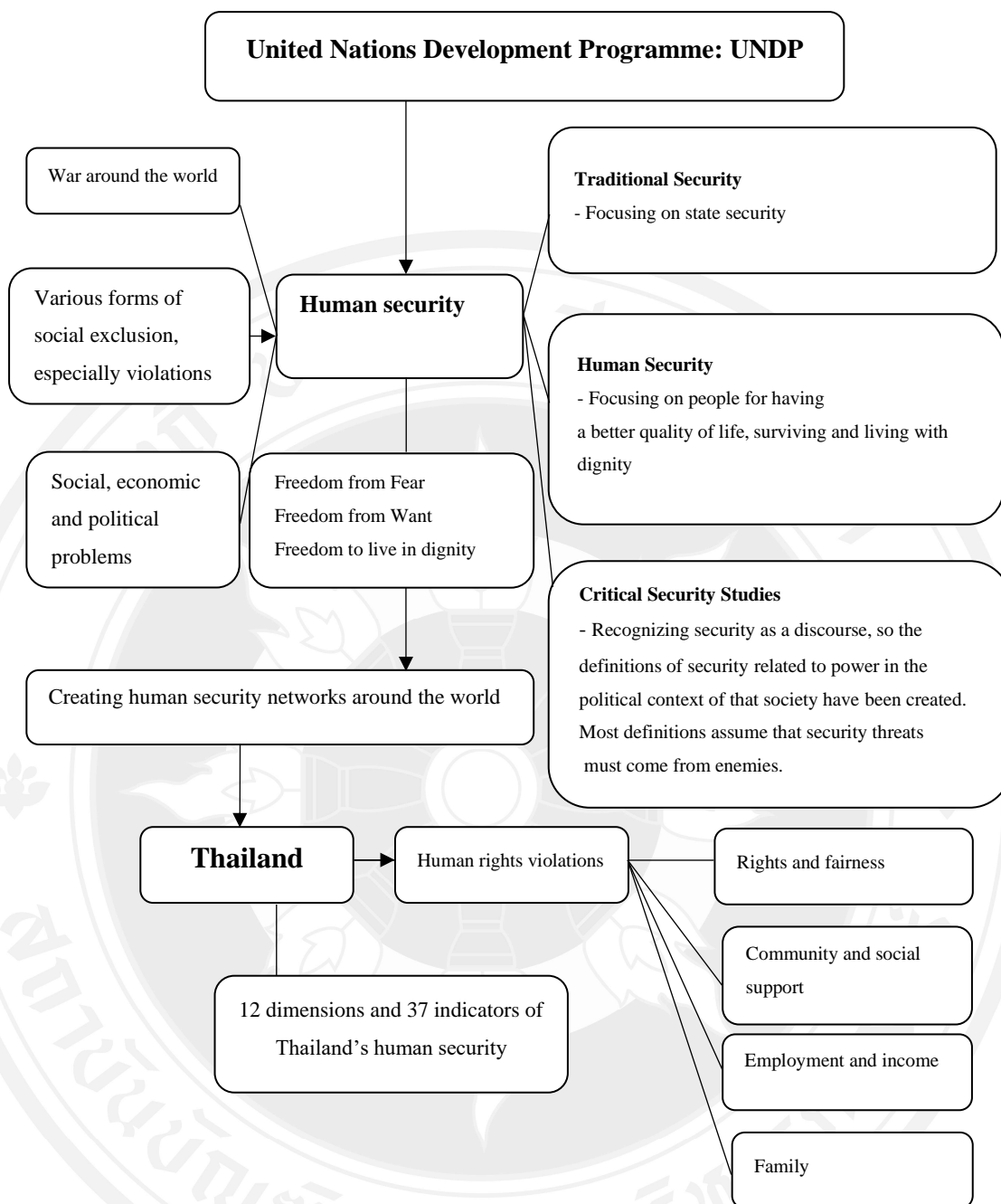


Figure 2.7 Human Security Concept

Source: Adapted from (Janjira Sombatpoonsiri, 2019; Liotta & Owen, 2006; Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, 2018; The Office of The National Human Rights Commission of Thailand, 1999; United Nations Development Programme, 2012)

## **2.5 Concepts and Theories on Social Participation**

Social participation broadens the concept of participation. It is also a concept that affects sustainable development which aims at economic growth, social development and politics that will affect the quality of human life and prevent social discrimination and social exclusion.

### **2.5.1 Definitions of Social Participation**

Participation is a concept that has been around for a long time. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, participation was widely defined. According to the Oxford Dictionary (2020), participation means the act of taking part in an activity or event, which is the opposite of the term “apathy”. In other respects, it can be said that participation is how participants exercise their power and effectively control activities. The leaders have to allow all followers to participate in activities as much as they can, such as participating in thinking, decision making, development and problem solving. In other words, members are required to participate in four dimensions: 1) participation in decision making; 2) participation in implementation, 3) participation in sharing operating benefits and 4) participation in evaluation. In addition, participation also means participating in the activities of people’s power in various fields. People may make decisions to set social goals, allocate resources to achieve the goals, and willingly implement projects or plans (Arnstein, 1969; Cohen & Uphoff, 1980, pp. 213-235).

It can be seen that the definitions of social participation in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were not as specific in applying the concept of participation in the meaning of social development as they should be, but focused on the integration of individuals in carrying out an activity. So, at that time it was opened up for more definitions with more details.

In the 2000s, the definitions of social participation have been further defined with an emphasis on people and community members. These people will play an important role in every activity, namely planning, operating, acknowledging the results, following-up and evaluating as well as jointly receiving benefits gained from operations until achieving the objectives. It is also free, equal and genuine

participation, not superficial. Participants who are the subordinates will use creativity and expertise in solving management problems. This participation is a process of working together using people's forces with various sectors for the benefit of developing or solving community and social problems (Jintana Sutjanan, 2006; Met Metkarunchit, 2010; Narinchai Pattanaphongsa, 2003; Orathai Kokpol, 2009, pp. 17-18; Sanya Kenapoom, 2008; Somyos Naweeakarn, 2002). The more detailed and specific definitions during this period have been linked to sustainable social development by relying on the components of development that focus on people and communities, which are the cornerstones of social development, especially in the context of Thai society.

Even in the early 2000, it tried to focus on the use of people and communities to be part of it, the current definition states that participation has evolved and the focus is on its application to various activities. It can be said that there are leaders in working, and it is the participation of the people, both directly and indirectly. Leaders must be able to implement the participatory process as a key strategy, such as motivation and morale building, in order to make work more efficient. The key details in participation include participation in finding out problems, analyzing the causes of the problem, selecting the best possible solution, problem solving planning, implementing the plan and evaluating the outcomes and the factors that make the work successful. People or participants focus on solving problems or developing to success (Varitsara Somsab, 2014, p. 35). Such a definition has become a growing emphasis on leaders. So, leaders are the key in implementing the participation process accurately and clearly in accordance with the goals set.

Therefore, the definitions of participation have evolved based on the context of that social situation. Leaders with a high level of leadership are also required in the participant process for leading the participatory process in its direction. Having a leader can have both good and bad results in participation. That is, having a leader indicates group's vulnerability in the process of doing something that cannot be dealt with by taking on equal roles, but requires a leadership role to link and solve conflicts occurring within the group.

However, because public participation is indistinguishable from political and social contexts, many scholars have defined public participation as the participation of

the people or community members having common interests and working together. It also affects the power of grouping as a bargaining power from other powers such as political power and economic power (Kiatkajon Watchanasawat, 2007, p. 1). But based on other scholars' views, public participation is strongly tied to politics. That is to say, public participation is the distribution of opportunities for people to participate in the political and administrative dimensions. That is, people are involved in decision-making, giving advice, planning, implementing and managing resources to ensure proper use (Kanungnit Sribua-iem, 2002). Giving the definitions consistent with the political dimension reflects the way of life of the people. That is, public participation is interpreted to be consistent with democracy. A study found that since the change of Thai government during 1946-1976, there was an emergence of political participation such as election protests. Later in 1977-1996, there was still the political participation related to calling for the Prime Minister to resign. In addition, there was the occurrence of Black May calling for political reforms that resulted in public participation in the 1997 Constitution drafting process. During the years 1997-2006, public participation was emerged through the constitution. It was the beginning of the identification of public participation under democracy (Tawilwadee Burikul, 2007, pp. 37-55).

However, public participation under democracy has never stopped and is constantly moving, especially the protests against the work of governments in different eras. Although Thailand has tried to carry out activities through the framework of public participation under the constitution, and rights and liberties of the people are concerned, it does not create the peace of society. The vicious cycle of politics continues to exist.

Public participation, if not in the view of development issues in other areas of rights, must be regarded as the beginning of social innovation on the concept of participation enshrined in the constitution. That is to say, people can exercise their rights in the political process on various matters, such as the right of legislative initiative, the right to political recall, the right to information and complaints in the implementation of projects and activities of government agencies, the right to file complaints and receive prompt notifications, consumer rights and community rights (Tawilwadee Burikul, 2007, pp. 37-55). Each right has different practices.



Giving people the rights under the constitution has made progress in the development of rights and liberties, resulting in reducing human rights violations as well as creating sustainability in human security. In actual practice, the implementation of rights may require consideration of the humanitarian principles, the rule of law, and the legal state, as human beings have different ideas and practices in each social context. If the implementation is unable to find a balance, it may cause social problems.

### **2.5.2 Importance of Participation**

Participation is a concept that has a positive effect on development. So, thinkers and academics have studied various aspects of participation, especially public participation in the political context. The benefit of participation is that people feel closer to the development of the country as they are allowed to participate in the process of creating public policies that truly meet their needs. It also reduces conflicts and increases legitimacy of the implementation of the policies (King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2016, pp. 1-5).

At the same time, public participation is not in the same level. So, the public participation level has been studied. Arnstein (1969, pp. 216-224) studied the ladder of citizen participation. He divided the level of citizen participation into 8 levels, namely 1) manipulation, 2) therapy, 3) informing, 4) consultation, 5) placation, 6) partnership, 7) delegated power and 8) citizen control. Level 1-2 are nonparticipation. Levels 3-5 have no decision-making power. Levels 6-8 are called citizen power. Arnstein's idea indicates that the relationship between the decision-making power of the state is inversely related to the decision-making power of the people. In other words, if the state's decision-making power is reduced, the public participation in decision-making increases. A study by Chutarat Chompun (2012) analyzed the participation concepts of Arnstein (1969), Tawilawadee (2007) and Petts (2009). The process of participation at each level was explained as follows. 1) Informing: It is the lowest level of participation although there are various communication channels. 2) Information provision: The level of participation will be higher when receiving information with both good and bad points. 3) Consultation: It is the level of participation that formal negotiations are used between the people and the state or

policy makers. 4) Involvement: It is the level of participation using two-way communication. It also provides an opportunity for expressing opinions to reduce potential conflicts. But the final power rests with the state. 5) Partnership: It is the collaboration between the state and the people so that policies, projects or plans can be carried out according to the objectives. 6) Delegated power: It is the level that people have the ability to examine, monitor, and evaluate policies or projects whether or not they meet the goals. 7) Citizen control: It is the highest level of participation. People can design policies, projects and plans by themselves, and the state is only the supporter.

An analysis of the participation level mentioned above has shown that the participation process requires many components. The state must provide full support so that people can design and plan the policy on their own. But in practice, it is difficult because most of the policy making is dictated by the state. Although the national strategic plan, the provincial development plan and the local development plan as well as various development projects are related to livelihood, the consistency of each plan must be considered in order to equally allocate the budget. That is to say, the administration of the government based on the top-down approach still has a high influence on the development of the country (Vanchai Vatanasapt, 2003, pp. 65-82).

Although public participation is highly related to the state power, the state is a bureaucratic system that cannot distribute power to the people. The state also views that public participation causes the delay in their work (Somkit Lertpaithoon, 2000, p. 29). Nevertheless, there are other social issues that prevent participation from truly happening, especially the country's unique political culture which affects the way of thinking of the people in that country (Tawilwadee Burikul, 2009, pp. 85-93). This reduces people's knowledge and understanding of their roles in participation. They also think that they do not have a stake in the participation. Mostly, the middle-class people are more neglectful than those in the lower classes because the middle-class people live under a capitalist lifestyle, causing a lack of public consciousness. Meanwhile, the lower classes still lack the knowledge of participation because they have to struggle in their livelihood rather than concerning about the social environment. It is also stated that participation is not systematic and it is too formal. There is also the establishment of groups to seek benefits for their own groups,

especially in politics that people are used as a base to support and move political power (Chanthana Suthichari, 2001, pp. 427-429).

### **2.5.3 Social Participation**

According to the aforementioned information, it can be seen that social participation is an adaptation of traditional participation to the changing times. In the past, a study was conducted on participation in which the key components were faith, beliefs of a person, holy things, respect for respected people, power of the superior because in that era, public participation required social activities. In Thai society, there are customs and traditions under the setting of Buddhism. Moreover, the places where most social activities are organized are temples (Niran Jongwutiwet, 2007). So, the context of Thai society about participation is relevant to community development and physical, economic, social and political components, governance, security, leadership, reward, and personal characteristics such as expectation of benefits from participation, a feeling of consideration, familiarity with government officials, dissatisfaction with the environment and acceptance of state power. In addition, if the community is involved in a project that is related to various developments, additional components may need to be considered, namely the familiarity with the problem, economic benefits, access to utilities or services, social or environmental issues, values, granted power, legal assignment as well as information. These are the important issues that the people consider before participating in that project or activity (James L Creighton, 2005; Jintawee Kasemsuk, 2018, pp. 169-183).

It can be seen that community participation requires a variety of components to achieve the greatest degree of carefulness. Also, it is beneficial to the development that is relevant to the social problems. Therefore, there was a study on community empowerment through participatory processes for urban and rural development. The study found that various important components needed to be applied in order to achieve the expected outcomes. 1) Public Information: Relevant community members, people and agencies must provide information on the impact of the upcoming project or activity. It must be notified before deciding to proceed the project. It is the lowest level of participation. The key point of information is providing facts that enable quality decision-making and opinion expression. 2) Public

consultation: It is the discussion between the leaders and the members or the relevant people. More details are also explained in order to be an alternative decision. 3) Public meeting: A public forum is held to make the parties involved in the project understand the people or the community members. It can be a community meeting or technical meeting. The important point is the participation of people in providing information, facts, feelings, and opinions in order to inform the government for decision-making. 4) Public hearing: It is a meeting that uses an official platform to openly give information. A quorum of the attendees that is acceptable is required. Clear criteria for consideration are also needed. 5) Decision making: The representatives are selected as the committee having decision-making powers. This is the ultimate goal of participation because the representatives are selected by the people or the community members to solve the problems. 6) Legal mechanisms: It is claiming and defending one's rights in order to obtain the benefits that one should receive under the constitution although it is not considered public participation (James L. Creighton, 2005; Paiboon Watthanasiridham, 2008).

Social participation for rural and urban development mentioned above has highlighted the importance of development of resource management in society which tries to make people get involved in every process. Roles and duties in operations are also clearly divided.

Highlighting the important components of the public participation process in urban and rural development has raised the importance of resource utilization because the resources in the community are the foundation of the community way of life. This is consistent with a study by Tawilawadee Burikul (2005) which stated that local resources are tools for solving community problems. Therefore, people must exercise their rights, duties and decision-making power and propose solutions to community problems by using resources in order to successfully solve the problems. While community participation plays a key role in development, scholars have tried to categorize community participation as follows. 1) Marginal participation refers to the participation of people in the community arising from unequal power relations. The others may feel inferior. 2) Partial participation means that people in the community partially participate in activities. The projects or activities initiated by the government policy may not meet the needs of the people in the community. 3) Full participation is

also known as genuine participation which refers to participation in all phases of development from the beginning of the project until it is completed. All parties participate in the evaluation of the project. As a result, the collaborative learning process of the community is carried out effectively. In terms of management, it is called direct participation. It is a matter of the decision of the persons that is directly responsible for the project or activity that will lead to acceptance and full efficiency (Chaliew Buriburipakdee et al., 2002; Jintana Sutjanan, 2006; Met Metkarunchit, 2010; Suchada Chakpisut, 2004, pp. 18-23).

According to the classification of participation mentioned above, it can be said that the first two types of participation are considered no genuine participation. There is no participation at the start of the project. Only some people are required to participate in the project. Or, they are only the supporters promoting the achievement of the goals. Some groups of people feel inferior. This is in relation to power relations. But the third type, which is full participation, is related to project management. This points out that the community participation process is still unique. Community participation that requires self-designed participatory development is still needed and it may need to be adjusted according to the circumstances.

The participatory process to achieve the planned goals in both community development and project management development should be consistent with the following steps. 1) Decision making: It is to set goals, needs and priorities. So, the decision-making process can continuously proceed. The causes and problems that arise have to be found. If it is a community development work, the community must be aware of the problems and understand the root causes of the community problems. If not, it is useless to participate in the operation. 2) Planning: It is to define policies, objectives, methods, operational guidelines and resources. If it is community development, it is a step that helps people in the community know how to think and make decision in using information in planning. 3) Implementation: It is a step of supporting resources such as materials, labor, or seeking external assistance, particularly, the cooperation in the community. This will result in learning how to perform activities well. 4) Benefits: It is the process of receiving benefits together. 5) Evaluation: It is done in order to know whether the objectives are achieved or not and it is important information for decision-making on the next activity of the same type

(Akin Rapeepat, 2004; Apinya Kangsanarak, 2001; Kowit Puangngam, 2002). The aforementioned steps are clearly a combination of progression towards success through the way of thinking of Western and Thai scholars. It also allows for fewer gaps in the implementation of the concept of participation.

Finally, regarding the sustainable community development through the participatory process, the participatory process may be used to address development problems. The participatory process consists of decision making, implementation, evaluation and benefits. The process of evaluation and benefits can be interchanged according to the context of the community in order to effectively solve the problems (Cohen & Uphoff, 1980, pp. 219-222; Orapin Sopchokchai, 2007, p. 1). In addition, the context of applying this concept must be taken into account in order to have truly sustainable development of the community, society and nation. All of the descriptions of social participation can be summarized as shown in Figure 2.8

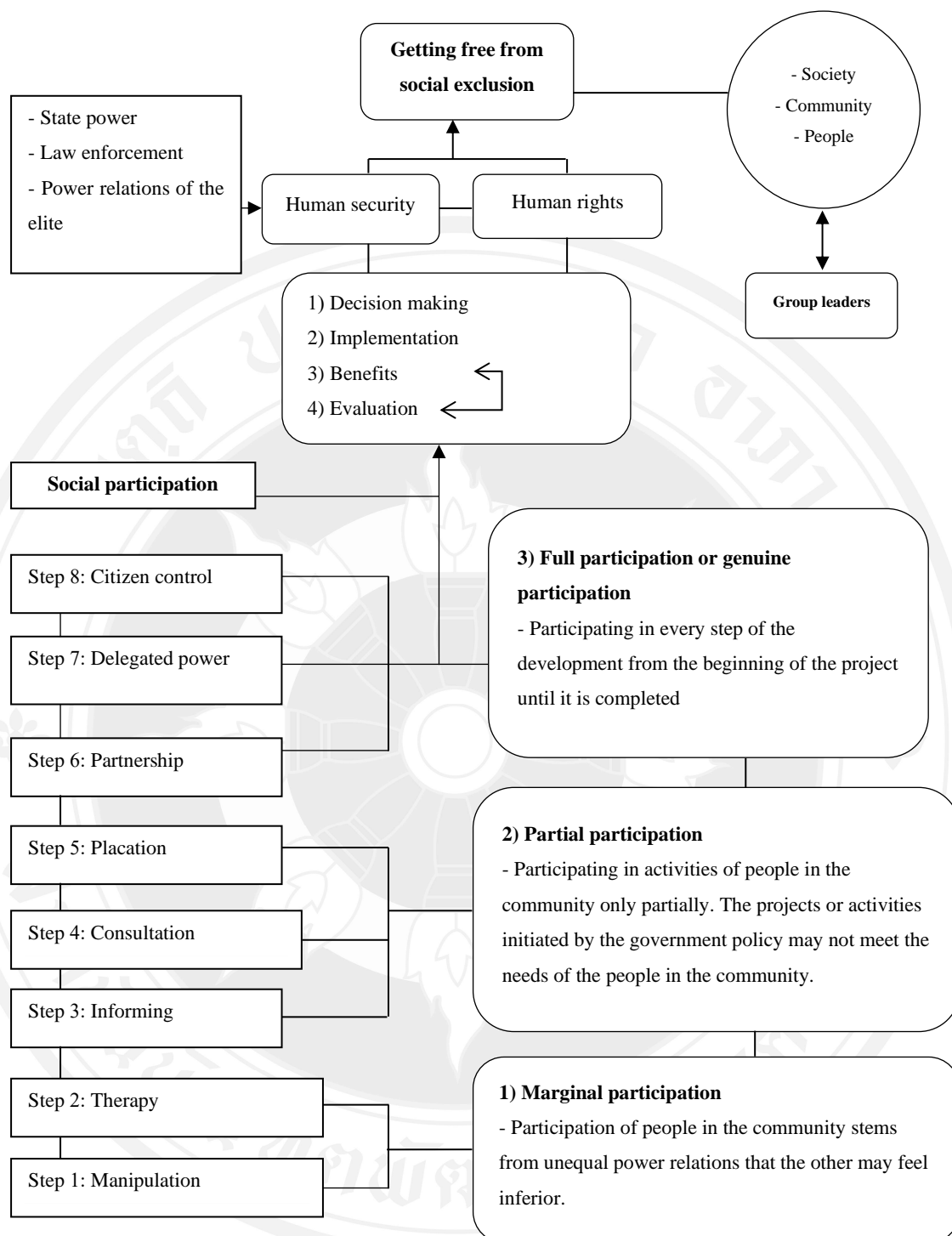


Figure 2.8 Concept of Social Participation

Source: Adapted from (Arnstein, 1969; Chaliew Buriburipakdee et al., 2002; Jintana Sutjanan, 2006; Met Metkarunchit, 2010; Suchada Chakpisut, 2004; Tawilwadee Burikul, 2009)

## 2.6 Related Research

### 2.6.1 Social Exclusion

Social exclusion has been extensively studied in the 2000s. Gordon et al (2001, p. 54) distinguished 4 dimensions of social exclusion, namely exclusion from adequate income or resources, labor market exclusion, service exclusion and exclusion from social relations. Moreover, a study by Poggi (2007, pp. 1-32) entitled “Departament d’Economia Aplicada” asked the question “Does persistence of social exclusion exist in Spain?” It was found that 2 processes can create social exclusion: heterogeneity, such as individuals and characteristics, and true state of dependence, such as experiencing social exclusion in a specific time period, which increases the probability of undergoing social exclusion in subsequent periods. However, it is important to distinguish between heterogeneity and dependency processes because the definitions of policies are different. In 2007, Jehoel-Gijsbers & Vrooman (2007, p. 7) conducted a study entitled “Explaining Social Exclusion; A Theoretical Model Tested in the Netherlands”, which developed the conceptual model for social exclusion and methodology for empirical assessment. Social exclusion is considered a multidimensional concept. It is operationalized as a combination of insufficient access to social rights, a low degree of social participation and a lack of normative integration. From a survey among 860 Dutch households, social exclusion in a single figure was found. The adult population may be regarded as socially excluded. Having bad health is the most important risk factor, followed by low income, limited Dutch language skills and living in a single-parent household.

At the same time, Phillips (2008, pp. 3-6) conducted a study titled “Social Inclusion, Social Exclusion and Social Cohesion: Tensions in a Post-industrial World”. This study involved community issues, and it was found that if communities in that country were at risk of being ignored or discriminated against from the mainstream community, it would easily cause social exclusion. To build a strong community, a goal to make community strong without losing the community’s identity is needed. Stanley et al (2011, pp. 197-222) conducted a study entitled “Social Exclusion and the Value of Mobility”, consistent with community issues, adding that the factors increasing the risk of social exclusion based on logit model



showed that people having connection with the community and being open to new experiences are positively related to a lower risk of social exclusion.

Subsequently, there was a study on the development of knowledge networks on social exclusion, titled “Social Exclusion Meaning, Measurement and Experience and Links to Health Inequalities: A Review of Literature”. This study is considered a framework for the Social Exclusion Knowledge Network (SEKN) which has created an emerging framework for the SEKN, consisting of inclusion and exclusion. Social capabilities & resources, economic capabilities & resources, political capabilities & resources, cultural capabilities & resources are the components leading to social positions and social stratification at different levels, such as ethnic groups, which could lead to health inequalities (Mathieson et al., 2008).

Social exclusion is also linked with human rights. The study on human rights issues is related to various rights violations occurring around the world because there are differences between individuals and groups as well as the context of that society. There was a study conducted in Egypt by Janmyr (2017, p. 717), titled “Human Rights and Nubian Mobilization in Egypt: Towards Recognition of Indigeneity”. It explored the complexities regarding human rights framing through a discussion of recognition of Egypt’s Nubians. The study found that the history and political experience of Egypt’s Nubians bring about diverging opinions and also limitations as to how, and what, human rights frameworks rights claimants are to employ. It was also found that Egyptian nationalism not only affects how Nubian activists mobilize in general, but also helps explain the very limited appeals to a global discourse of human rights. In addition to the issue of human rights framing, there are also minor issues on gender equality and people with disabilities. A study by Copelon et al (2005, p. 120), entitled “Human Rights Begin at Birth: International Law and the Claim of Fetal Rights” reviewed the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. It was found that the unwanted pregnancy subordinates a woman by requiring her to risk her own health. Thus, the long-standing insistence of women upon voluntary motherhood is required. From a human rights perspective, to depart from voluntary motherhood would impose

upon women an extreme form of discrimination. At the same time, in terms of the rights of people with disabilities, who are a group of people in society, there have been efforts to claim their rights as well. Islam (2015, p. 171) conducted a study entitled “Rights of the People with Disabilities and Social Exclusion in Malaysia” focusing on people with disabilities (PWDs) in the connection of social exclusion in Malaysia. It was found that the important things linking to the rights of persons with disabilities that are excluded are the development of policy makers, relevant government and private officials in order to find out the ways to improve the rights of people with disabilities.

Although there is social exclusion, social inclusion is studied, and the occurrence of social exclusion is mentioned. Kay (2011, pp. 12-23) conducted a study entitled “The Development of Social Enterprise from the Point of View of Social Inclusion”. It was found that the factors related to social exclusion were economy, society, geography, social structure as well as the influence on social strategies, including local governance, central government, local people, volunteers in the local area, and public sector. This study pointed out the cycle of social exclusion that occurs in society.

### **2.6.2 Struggle**

The study of struggle at a global level is the study of Mahatma Gandhi’s political struggle methods conducted by Pa-op Jungsaengsathidpohn (2018, pp. 173-192), titled “Mahatma Gandhi: How to Fight”. A bloodless political method which had brought triumph, called “Satyagraha”. The Satyagraha process consists of 3 attributes including truth, nonviolence and civil disobedience. Gandhi first employed this method as an expatriate lawyer in South Africa in the resident Indian community’s struggle for civil rights. After that, National Congress assigned Gandhi a lead against many more laws. Indians describe Mahatma Gandhi as the “Father of the Nation”. Gandhi’s struggle has caused a wave of struggles for fairness across regions of the world. But the application of Gandhi’s approach is still difficult in many societies, as evidenced by the study of the community’s struggle for resource conservation, which is the most intense struggle in Thai society. So, a study on the role of the public sector in maintaining the right to natural resource management was

conducted by the National Human Rights Commission of Thailand (2001, p. 35). It was found that this struggle aimed to save 7 mountains and land. The struggle period was more than 10 years. Most of the people in the community thought that the rock blasting was a problem of the use of mineral resources that caused pollution in watersheds and threatened beliefs, feelings and local identity. So, they made complaints to responsible agencies, especially local government organizations. These organizations used local power to threaten people, made the documents and information that deviated from reality and created the criteria to limit the stakeholders of various projects. For these reasons, people in the community stood up and struggled until some of them died and were arrested for a criminal case. The coordination of the government sector was greatly delayed. They also collected data from the Water and Mineral Resources Rights Subcommittee and conducted interviews with protest leaders, community leaders, villagers, children and youths who struggled with conscience, cherish and love of their locality in the midst of various obstacles such as fear and pressure. Finally, this struggle pushed for government policies to respect the constitutional rights of the community and to enacted laws for community participation in natural resource management. In this regard, the Community Act, B.E. 2542 (1999) was enforced in the 1997 Constitution. The cases of struggles included the case of a stone mill in Suwankuha District, Nong Bua Lam Phu Province; the struggle of Khao Chamao Conservative Group for protecting archaeological sites in Khao Cha-Ang Klang Thung, Rayong Province; a stone mill in Noen Maprang District, Phitsanulok Province; the objection to calcite mining in Lan Sak District, Uthai Thani Province for conservation of a botanical garden; the struggle to protect the Phu Pha Khun Nam in Doi Mae Ok Hu, Wiang Chai District, Chiang Rai Province; the struggle for the right to participation in natural resource management of potash mine in Udon Thani Province; and the objection to the concession of rock blasting at Khao Tham Rad, Trang Province.

The struggle of Gandhi and the struggle of Thailand differ in their methods. The struggle of Thailand for resources caused losses and criminal charges. However, they are the struggles for people in society to have a better life, which must be managed with the participation of the people in the area. Apart from the struggles at global and national levels, the struggle at a household level is also important because

it contributes to the sustainable development of human way of life, leading to self-reliance under the changing process of the world. A study by (Somyos Somviwattanachai, 2007) entitled “The Process of the Debt Elimination: Case Study of Northeastern Villages’ Intellectuals” revealed that to eliminate debt, it requires a revolution of thought, which is the key to success. People have to adjust their way of life, namely shifting from monoculture to cultivation of crops for food security in order to be able to survive in the household successfully. When there is true self-reliance and community self-reliance, there will be sustainable happiness on a sufficiency basis. Moreover, there are also the studies of socially disadvantaged people or people with disabilities who are the minority people in society struggling to live in society. For example, Wichai Chanboon and Maneimai Thongyou (2016, pp. 171-181) studied about the process of disable people fighting towards the social belief. The findings revealed that culture is essential towards a belief in people with disabilities, which is different in each context. Thai society believes that the ability of most disable people is not equal to that of normal people and they are unable to lead normal people. The opportunity given for disable people is set on compassion. In terms of the organization giving the opportunity for disable people, it is not able to make disable people feel involved, but disable people become a symbol of the organization and cannot construct their own meaning under that context.

It can be seen that the struggles are trying to uplift the community, society, and nation towards proper development because the struggle in each social context has to change all the time, especially in terms of processes, methods and strategies that are important guidelines for success.

### **2.6.3 Human Rights and Human Security**

The study on the struggle to get free from social exclusion is involved in the matter of rights violations and the inability to act on the rights that oneself deserves as well as the discrimination from the mainstream people in society. Most of the people whose rights are violated are minorities in society, such as ethnic groups, people with disabilities, children and women. Kanokrat Yossakrai and Jate Jaruphandh (2017, pp. 114-122) conducted a study on the struggle for the protection of Thai citizenship. It was a study about the communication strategies for preserving Thai citizenship rights

of Akha ethnic group in Thailand. It was found that the factors contributing to the success of the Thai citizenship rights movement of the Akha ethnic group in Thailand include the Akha culture in preserving Thai civilization rights that is systematic and highly connected. Each village leader cooperates in various activities and it can be linked at the policy level. There is access to public media and support from outsiders in media production to maintain their civil rights and the use of existing social and cultural capital, such as being recognized as Akha radio hosts, the growing number of youths being educated that has made them more able to express themselves, the perspectives of older or parental generations related to ethnic bias and restrictions on the rights of Thai citizens. Moreover, it is the aspiration of insiders and outsiders driving to claim or maintain the civil rights of the Akha people, such as the government policy on the Akha ethnic group, the unfair use of the law and ethnic bias. There are also other driving roles for the Akha ethnic group at each level, including leadership roles, member roles, youth roles, civil society roles and the roles of the media in the civil rights movement.

The main problems that hinder the movement of civil rights among the Akha ethnic group include the relationship problems among the Akha people, such as the lack of unity and strategic planning. The younger generation, who have been given status since birth, do not appreciate civil rights. There are also economic problems. They lack support for information from the Akha people. They do not have technology skills. In terms of educational problems, some Akha people are illiterate. They also have problems with attitudes that do not open up to listen to different opinions. As for the issues of Akha's relationship with outsiders, the government policy is not conducive to Akha's development and they are less accepted by outside society. Also, the discrepancy of Thai and Akha language also causes communication difficulties. In addition, the different perceptions in providing the meanings of Thai civil rights among the new generation, the older generation and the government officials can also cause problems. The way of thinking of government officials also causes unequal focus on civil rights. For example, government officials consider fundamental rights as the rights of all ethnic groups that are already well covered. Also, the Akha people accept state power. This may be due to a lack of knowledge and understanding of civil rights under the law, making it impossible to maintain their

rights. They also do not call for amendments to the laws that suppress certain Akha rights, such as civil rights that they deserve.

The following communication strategies have been used to maintain Thai citizenship. First, it is people strategy. The kinship culture is used as a tool to connect the Akha people as one in order to create a strong people's culture from the new social movement. Next, it is media strategy. Mixed media is used to make media suitable in understanding the Akha people. In terms of language strategy, it is the message used to reflect rights. For communication strategy, both group communication and two-way communication may be required. Information strategy also requires community and government leaders to provide information on basic civil rights such as elections. There are also other strategies for planning the change, including data simplification strategy, education, knowledge and information provision strategy, persuasive strategy and policy enforcement strategy.

The preservation of the civil rights of the aforementioned ethnic groups is related to rights and liberties. This led to a study by Nisarath Towsom (2012), studying the problems relating to rights and liberties of aliens under the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand, B.E. 2550. It was found that only rights and liberties of Thai people were protected. The rights and liberties of Thai people and the aliens were not distinguished. As Thailand is a member of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948 and a party to International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966, defining or differentiating rights and liberties and civil rights and liberties is very important. Chalermkluck Kepsap (2006) also conducted a study in the same issue, entitled "Minority Groups, Citizenship and Human Rights: A Case Study of the Chaoley Community of Laem Tukkae, Phuket Province". It was found that the relevant agencies gave equal treatment to Chaoley people who were both Thai citizens and non-Thai citizens. But the right to government services cannot be provided to non-Thai citizens. Although, Chaoley people fulfilled their responsibilities as Thai citizens, they did not receive all their rights due to economically, socially and educationally disadvantaged status.

In the struggle to obtain full citizenship, creating the struggle space, such as a social space or a physical space, is also important. As for physical space, it is a community area that is governed by the constitutional community rights. In fact, there

are frequent problems in the issue of space. Natedow Yungaubon (2001) studied about the marginal people and process of arena construction for the struggles over resources. The findings revealed four main contradictions on the struggles over resources, namely water use, swidden and burn cultivation, forest area use and forest fire. These were the contradictions among 4 main interest groups, including the state, the lowlanders, non-government organization (Dhammanad Foundation and the highlanders (Pga-ker-yoeu). The Pga-ker-yoeu was marginalized and lost their power and legitimacy on resource management. The marginalization process consisted of 3 steps: 1) expanding state power to control resources through policies and laws; 2) using mainstream development process that encroached the Pga-ker-yoeu community and 3) constructing ethnocentric making the Pga-ker-yoeu become “the others” in Thai society. As for the struggle arena, each interest group had its own strategy for constructing or defining resource management. The Pga-ker-yoeu did not succumb to the marginalization process, but they tried to cope and respond to this process by using the political ecology strategy. They presented themselves as “conservationists” through the following process: 1) constructing the identity of ethnicity of the Pga-ker-yoeu as conservationists, 2) constructing and adjusting their community organization, 3) adjusting their traditional rituals, 4) creating opposite discourse against the main conservational thought. It can be seen that the process of “conservationist” construction is the adaptation of the Pga-ker-yoeu in coping, responding and creating power to access forest area or resources.

Social space is an abstract study through the process of power in relation to various systems in society, including politics, culture, traditions and customs. This can be seen from a study by Wuttinan Thannil (2008), studying social space construction to escape being displaced marginality of displaced Karen Community in Tambon Bankha, Ratchaburi Province. The research results revealed that the Karen people constructed their social space by showing their ways of life, traditions and culture related to nature. As the owner of the social space, their identity may be changed according to the relationships they have experienced. This is consistent with a study by Saowanee Namnuan (2011, pp. 166-186), entitled “Marginal Hmong Women: Space-making and Empowerment of Gender Power Relations in Translocal Context”. The findings pointed out that the marginal Hmong women are in an

intensive/thick patriarchal space through the cultural forging process of femininity. In terms of the process of constructing their third space, the space of “motherhood” is not a space of domination or overthrowing patriarchal power, but rather a power of human and social transformation. Women can also be the “active agents” who redefine gender being and gender roles outside the space of patriarchal power. In addition, the conversion of religion is the transformation of the space with the highest dominance into a space of bargaining, where women who play a role in religious and ceremonial spaces can clearly position themselves. Economic space is also the third space used to increase gender bargaining power in a new context to accumulate socioeconomic capital. Women can also be responsible for the family economy.

#### **2.6.5 Social Participation**

The study of social participation is primarily about people. A study by Chutarat Chompunth (2012) reviewed the public participation concept in “The Public Participation Handbook: Making Better Decisions through Citizen Involvement” by James L. Creighton in the Thai context. The study of the public participation concept is suitable for improving participatory processes in Thailand. Thailand must have good plan and operation. It also requires the process of public participation in decision making in order to be successful and widely accepted. Creighton concluded that participation requires three steps: decision analysis, process planning and implementation of the plan. The techniques of public participation are as follows. First, it is the information technique. Clear details must be provided to the public for decision making. Second, it is the participation technique. When people receive information and news, a forum for people or members to share their opinions is needed.

However, in terms of the political participation, the participation in budgeting of the public is not real. It is merely an opportunity to apply the participation principle. This can be seen from a study by Ratthasirin Wangkanond (2019, p. 36), titled “Political Engagement in Thailand: Democratization through Participatory Budgeting”. The results revealed that the deliberation in budgetary decision-making process has not conformed to the principles of participatory budgeting. The consultation process in budgeting has a huge impact on the participatory budget



framework. Nonetheless, participatory budgeting is an opportunity to change the principle to democracy through the cooperation of all stakeholders. Also, appropriate legislation must be developed to achieve its goals.

The participatory process that is appropriate to apply in Thai society is the public participation process in community development, which requires open communication. This is in accordance with a study by Sombat Namburi (2019, p. 183), exploring the participation theory in public administration. It was found that participation is a communication process in an open system of individuals, groups of people, communities or organizations with common goals. The participation allows people to be involved in thinking, decision-making, operation and benefit sharing. Doing so creates unity and group responsibility. But at the same time, the definitions of public participation given in each policy, plan, project and activity must be considered. This is consistent with a study by Ratthayanaphit Ratchathawan et al. (2018, pp. 231-238), titled “The Community Participation Process in Well-being Development”. The results revealed that public participation depends on the definition of participation and the participation level. The public participation in well-being development includes the complete physical, mental, intellectual and social state of a person. There are five levels of participation in well-being development, namely planning, implementing activities, utilization, benefit sharing and evaluation. As a result, the quality of life of people in the community can be directly and indirectly developed. The community also gains benefits. Promoting and supporting communities to develop their well-being is an important approach that affects the sustainable development of the health system. The power of leaders in each area is also required to promote the participatory process to its fullest potential. Moreover, Wipawee, Grisanaputi and Kittisak, Plathong (2013, pp. 65-88) conducted a study entitled “Community Participation in Community Management during the Flooding of 2011: Learning from Pakkret Municipal Community, Nonthaburi Province”. The participation in community management during the flooding in 2011 included buildings and places, necessities, health and hygiene, social relationships, communication and information, crime and environmental rehabilitation. The success factors were as follows. The local leaders (Pakkret Mayor, local/community leaders and monks) had democratic leadership, emphasizing community participation,

community's harmony and sacrifice, communication and public relations. Moreover, they received assistance from various organizations.



## **CHAPTER 3**

### **METHODOLOGY**

The study entitled “A Struggle for Getting Free from Social Exclusion of Hill Tribe-War Volunteers: A Case Study of Ban Khiangfa of Sa Doe Phong Subdistrict in Khao Kho District of Phetchabun Province” was conducted based on the qualitative research approach. It was field research conducted in the community which was selected as a case study as it is the community that has been successful in their struggle for getting free from social exclusion. Social exclusion, the struggle process, the outcomes and the success factors were studied. The details of the research methods are presented in the following topics.

- 3.1 Concept of the Study
- 3.2 Research Methodology
- 3.3 Selection of Area
- 3.4 Target Groups and Key Informants
- 3.5 Data Collection
- 3.6 In-depth Interview Guide
- 3.7 Data Analysis

#### **3.1 Concept of the Study**

This study presents the struggle for getting free from social exclusion. Social exclusion is a feeling of unfairness in various social issues, including living, economy, politics and culture, especially in ethnic minority groups of the country.

The neglect of ethnic rights has long been a chronic problem and the government has always tried to fix it. In particular, Thailand is subject to human rights principles, which are the rights that are accepted around the world. It is hoped

that all human beings on this planet have equal rights and liberties regardless of their status, race or ethnicity. In the implementation of human rights principles, the context must be taken into account. It may need to be adjusted or modified to suit each context, especially the uniqueness of culture, traditions and wisdom.

At the same time, the principles of human security are under the global organization concept whose main idea is to protect the world for safe and secure under the changing of world trends in various dimensions. The principles of human security that are applied in each context always have guidelines consistent with mainstream concepts. In Thailand, the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security is a key organization in building a development framework which consists of 12 dimension and 37 indicators, focusing on the quality of life of the people. Even among ethnic groups, the government is trying to integrate them with the majority of the country so that they can have a better life and well-being.

The principles of human rights and human security are the foundation of developing opportunities to create fairness and equality for all groups of people in society, demonstrating the promotion of social participation, which is an important process for strengthening the principles of human rights and human security. For this reason, Thailand has to consider the treatment of ethnic groups more appropriately because they still face problems related to their participation in exercising their rights. Although the granting of rights for ethnic people began to be enforced in the Fifth National Economic and Social Development Plan, in practice, they still faced difficulties than Thai people with inherent rights, especially the ethnic people and the hill tribe-war volunteers.

Even though their military service elevated their ethnic status to a higher level as they helped the nation in which they resided, the hardships of life led them to struggle with great difficulty under stressful and fearful environments. They also had to live in the mountains where there is no clear habitat. They relied on natural resources to live their life. When the resources in the area where they lived began to run out, they had to evacuate to live somewhere else and lived like this until causing the problem of natural resource degradation.

However, with the highland development policies of the government, they started to have a better way of life and more rights of Thai citizenship. The state's

management of immigrant problems was also improved. While the government continued to provide help to ethnic people, the hill tribe-war volunteers did not get help as promised by the Thai Army. Instead, the military provided assistance to the communist terrorists, which later referred to as Thai nation development cooperators. Compensation, houses and arable land were given to Thai nation development cooperators several times. So, the hill tribe-war volunteers felt social exclusion in their group. Therefore, they struggled by planning and defining the roles of the group members appropriately. They also needed to define leadership roles that can lead the group towards its goal of getting free from social exclusion.

The use of social exclusion and social struggle concepts points out how hill tribe people struggled to get free from social exclusion and what process and components they used to get free from social exclusion, which was the outcomes reflecting their past struggles. In addition, the study of this struggle process may create a solution to the problem of social exclusion of the hill tribe-war volunteers in other areas of Thailand as shown in Figure 3.1. Social exclusion is caused by people having common feelings about rights being violated. The lack of fairness on various issues has caused people with similar feelings to struggle. A group of like-minded people in a large number is used as the force in the struggle. In general, the struggle process that takes place in the community usually determines the role of the community members, especially the leaders in the struggle as well as the members who support in the struggle.

Having the common goal of struggle may build on the success factors of the struggle to get free from social exclusion, namely leadership, group unity, negotiation, social networks and feeling of being Thais. These factors may finally cause people to get free from social exclusion.

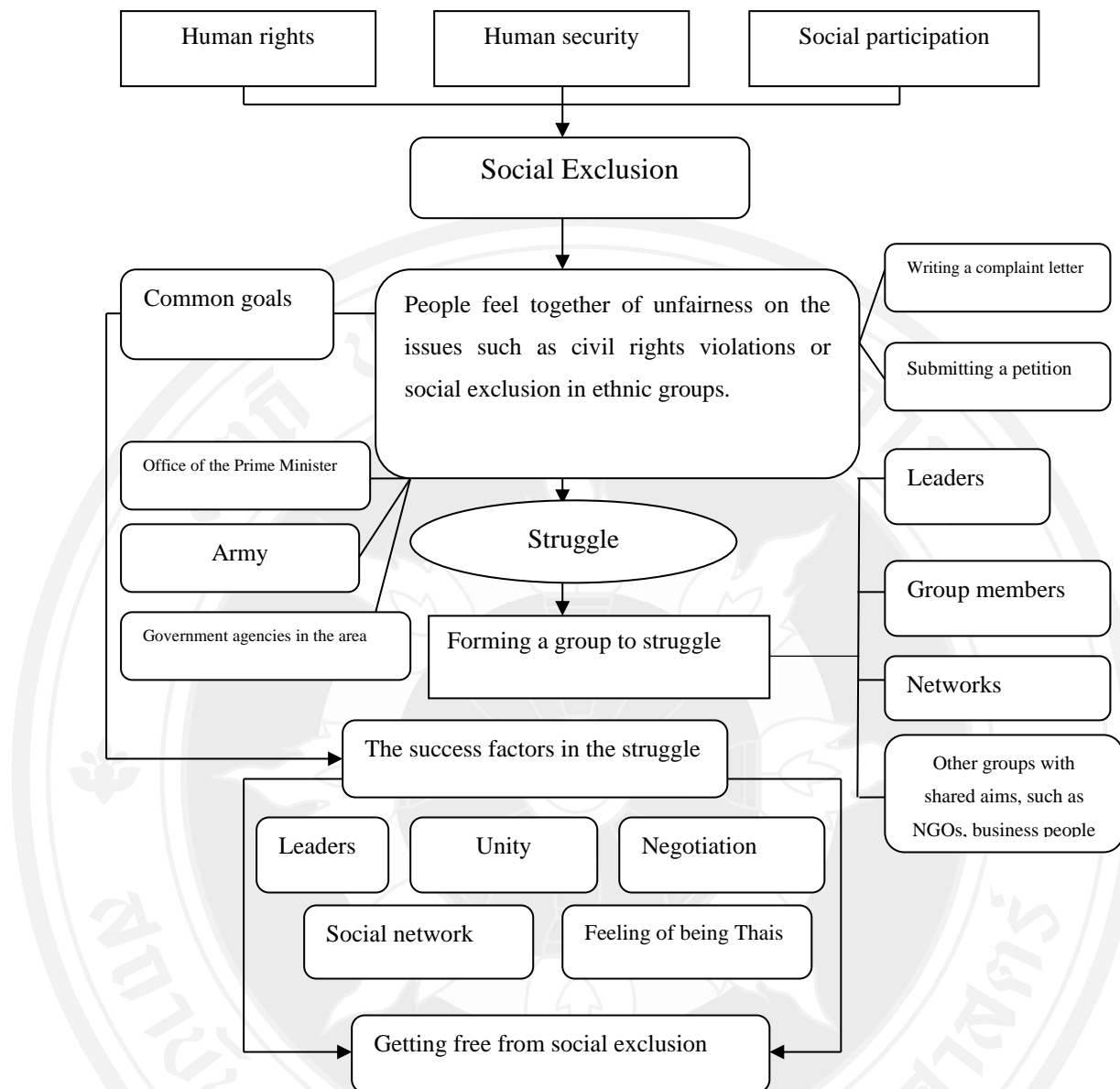


Figure 3.1 Concept of the Study

Source: Developed by the researcher (2020)

### 3.2 Research Methodology

This study was qualitative case study research, emphasizing interpretive phenomenology, which is an approach believing that human perceptions of a phenomenon or experience are different. It is because in reality, humans cannot ignore different knowledge, understandings and opinions under the influence of the context

existing in each individual. Therefore, this study aimed to understand the human status that cannot be separated from the context. Emphasis was placed on understanding phenomena or experiences of a person under the context of that person. Narrative data from the interviews with people who experienced that event or situation were analyzed. In addition, the interpretive phenomenology also gave the researcher the opportunity to study the depth experience of the person by using the experience of each person as a starting point. Then the meanings behind the experience were analyzed (Chai Pothisita, 2019, p. 124).

This study focused on understanding the emic point of view because there is an idea that humans are interpretive animals. Therefore, the interpreted meanings may differ depending on each individual and the context in which he or she lives. The data were collected by in-depth interviews with the key informants, non-participant observations from words, tone of voice, feelings, thoughts and emotions of the interviewees. The data were validated by triangulation technique, which was collecting data from different people, time and places along with the social context. Other research methods were also used to get comprehensive information such as studying the history and the context of Ban Khiangfa in various dimensions in order to understand the struggle to get free from social exclusion of the hill tribe-war volunteers at Ban Khiangfa, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province.

Therefore, using the interpretation phenomenology described above as a guideline in this study would be appropriate and make this study more complete.

### **3.3 Selection of Area**

The purposive selection method was employed for selecting the area of this study. Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province, which is an area with racial diversity and many ethnic minorities, such as Hmong (Mien), Lisu (Lisaw), H'tin, Mien and Lahu (Muser), was selected as shown in Figure 3.2, presenting the ethnic groups in Phetchabun Province

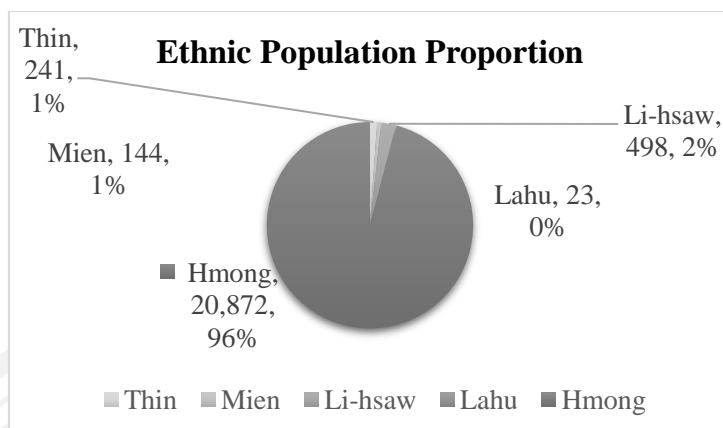


Figure 3.2 Ethnic Groups in Phetchabun Province

Source: Ministry of Social Development and Human Security United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) (2016)

These hill tribes live in Khao Kho Subdistrict, Khaem Son Subdistrict, Khek Noi Subdistrict, Nong Mae Na Subdistrict, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Rim Si Muang Subdistrict and Thung Samo Subdistrict. They were immigrated from Nan Province. They used to be communists but changed their mind and surrendered to the government. Some of them also persuaded their relatives to settle together. In some areas where the hill tribe people live, they receive appropriate government services. This is in line with the government policy on the development of hill tribe people in 1962 which aimed to prevent communist threats. In Thailand, therefore, there are various hill tribe centers such as Hill Tribe Settlement, Hill Tribe Development and Welfare Center and Hill Tribe Research Center (Sitthidet Wongpratya, 2007). In 1969, there was the gathering of many Hmong people. So, it was needed to deal with the increase of Hmong people. Government agencies had to take responsibility for government services (Kheknoi Subdistrict Administrative Organization, n.d.). At the same time, there were other hill tribes that had not been accessed by the government. They were former hill tribe-war volunteers living in Ban Khiangfa, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province, which is an important area of this study.

The preliminary study revealed that the hill tribe-war volunteers living in Ban Khiangfa, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province played



an important role in the communication intermediary between the military and the communists during the 1970s in the Third Army Area. The affected areas included Phetchabun Province, Phitsanulok Province and Loei Province. At the end of the battle, the soldiers granted these hill tribe-war volunteers housing and land rights by relying on the cooperation from government agencies such as the Treasury Department and the Royal Forest Department. However, it still could not be operated successfully as it should. Although the hill tribe-war volunteers had rights to houses and arable land, the infrastructure, such as electricity, water supply and roads was not accessed to the villages. They also had the overlapping right to land that had been owned by the villagers before. As a result, the hill tribe-war volunteers were unable to engage in activities as they should. This caused the struggle to get free from this social exclusion. For the outcomes of this struggle, finally, the group became part of Ban Saliang Haeng 1, Village No. 3 in Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province. These processes and the success factors were important discoveries, so the researcher was interested in studying them as the important guidelines for the struggle of other groups in Thailand.

### **3.4 Target Groups and Key Informants**

This study defined a specific area in order to reflect the details of the issues to be studied. The key Informants were identified by the snowball technique, starting with the relevant significant persons that were most referred to in the most referred community first. The qualifications had been predetermined for accuracy and prevention of bias as follows: 1) those playing an important role in the struggle to get free from social exclusion in the area, 2) those either directly or indirectly involved in the struggle process to get free from social exclusion in the area, and 3) those willing to provide in-depth information on this study. Therefore, 27 key informants were selected, including 1) 9 community leaders and committees who played a key role in the struggle, 2) 9 community members involved in the struggle to get free from social exclusion in the area and 3) 9 representatives of the government agencies (military, Department of Provincial Administration) and the private sector who participated in community development.

### **3.5 Data Collection**

This research was approved by the Ethics Committee in Human Research, National Institute of Development Administration No. ECNIDA 2020/0015, dated March 23, 2020.

The data of this study were collected based on phenomenology. The qualitative data were mainly used. The reliability of the data obtained from the qualitative study process, namely documentary research, observations and in-depth interviews, was validated by a triangulation technique. The data were also collected from a variety of high-quality and most reliable sources. The details are as follows.

#### **3.5.1 Documentary Research**

The information from books, research reports, theses, term papers, articles, electronic databases and related academic reports was studied in order to learn about the concepts and theories related to the subject studied, such as social exclusion, social struggle, human rights, human security and social participation.

#### **3.5.2 Observation**

Non-participatory observation was employed. The researcher participated in the situation but without interaction and reaction to the actions in the situation in order to collect the data on 1) the social context in terms of the way of life in general, the story of social exclusion that happened, and 2) the struggle process in terms of the origin of the struggle, the struggle process through various methods, the factors making the struggle successful. The obtained data were used together with the data obtained by other methods, such as document study and in-depth interviews. The important tool in the study was the researcher who took notes, pictures and recorded audio. The consent of the informants must be obtained for each observation.

#### **3.5.3 In-depth Interview**

The unstructured interview technique was employed. The interview guide was used to guide the key informants and the case studies while interviewing so that the interviews covered all relevant issues, including the context of the area, social

exclusion, social struggle process, and success factors in the struggle. The key informants told or described the knowledge that was their operating experience according to their own feelings. The data in this part were collected by a face-to-face conversation. The permission for audio record was asked from the informants for convenience and confirmation of the accuracy of the obtained data. All actions were clarified to the interviewees. The obtained information would not be published. If there is a need for education, fictitious names will be used. It was ensured that the interviews would not cause any damage to the interviewees or the informants. However, there were additional questions from the main questions under the social context during the data collection period. Open-ended questions were used to get detailed information from the emic point of view.

### **3.6 In-depth Interview Guide**

In-depth interviews require structured questions to control the research's content direction. Therefore, the interview guides were set according to the following 3 groups: 1) the community leaders and committees who played a key role in the struggle, 2) the community members involved in the struggle to get free from social exclusion in the area and 3) the representatives of the government agencies (military, Department of Provincial Administration) and the private sector who participated in community development. In Part 1, it was the basic information of the key informants. The interview guidelines were the same for all 3 groups, asking about gender, age, religion, education level, marital status, occupation, average monthly income and background (e.g., domicile, ancestral background).

The interview guidelines of 1) community leaders and committees who played a key role in social struggles, and 2) the community members involved in the struggle to get free from social exclusion in the area were similar as follows.

#### **Part 1: Social Exclusion**

1) Before living in this area, how did you live your life? Did you live a normal life, or have any problems?

2) Before living in this area, if you had problems in life, how did you solve the problems?

3) Nowadays, do you live your daily life normally and peacefully even if you are in the midst of a Thai community that is not familiar with you, such as greeting, talking, sharing, and how?

4) Does living in this residential and arable land make you feel relaxed and at ease and not in a situation of frustration, and how?

5) Can you conveniently access government services or infrastructure such as health services, education, information, water, electricity, water supply, transportation (basic utilities), and how?

6) Can you get involved in political, economic, and social activities, such as voting, trading, shopping at markets as well as living with people in the community, and do you feel that you are part of the community, and how?

7) Can you access other resources in the area where you live, such as obtaining natural water from forests, using soil for cultivation as required by law, and how?

#### Part 2: Social Struggle

1) In the past, before living in this area, had you ever struggled to get the rights that you or your group deserved, and how?

2) What is the story of the current struggle?

3) To obtain houses and arable land, what were the approaches and the ideas used in the struggle?

4) In the struggle process that occurred at each moment, what an important role did you play in that process? And if there were any problems, what was your solution?

5) Can you live a normal life in this area, access various government services according to your rights and interact with people in the community with goodwill that makes you feel part of the community and society, and how?

6) The struggle process until you have a normal life would be caused by many components. So, can you elaborate it briefly in order to be the information for other hill tribe volunteers in their struggles, and how?

#### Part 3: Success Factors

1) Once you obtained what you had struggle for, which were houses and arable land, how did it happen?

2) What do you think is the most important factor of this success?

3) Do you think what you have received today is sustainable or not, and how?

The interview guidelines of group 3 ) the representatives of the government agencies (military, Department of Provincial Administration) and the private sector can be divided into 3 parts as follows.

#### Part 1: Roles in the Struggle Process

1) In the area where you are responsible for, how do people live? Are there any problems in the area, and how?

2) How are the government/private public utility services provided to the people in the area?

3) How do you solve the problems occurring in the area? Do you go to the area to solve the problems yourself?

4) How do you know the situation and the problems occurring with the hill tribe-war volunteers?

5) Have the former hill tribe-war volunteers complained anything to you, and how?

#### Part 2: Struggle Process

1) What role did you play in the struggle process to get free from the social exclusion of the hill tribe -war volunteers?

2) In the struggle process that occurred at each moment, what important role did you play in that process? And if there were any problems, what was your solution?

#### Part 3: Success Factors

1) What factors do you think make the struggle process successful?

2) How do the success in the problem management of these hill tribe-war volunteers demonstrate the management of your organization?

3) How do you think your organization should plan to manage other groups of hill tribe-war volunteers?

4) What do you think about the problem management of other groups of hill tribe-war volunteers to achieve true sustainability?

### 3.7 Data Analysis

The analysis of the data in this study was based on the analytic induction method. The findings in the actual area were used to draw conclusion, and the qualitative data obtained from various events were used to understand the content. Then the data obtained through interpretation were synthesized to draw conclusion.

The data analysis process in this study was divided into 2 parts: 1) analyzing while collecting data and 2) analyzing after finishing data collection. The researcher studied the obtained data and validated the data by using a triangular technique, which was collecting data from different people, time and places along with the social context (methodological triangulation) in the area for reducing irrelevant data.

When the data collection was complete, the researcher performed the analysis and synthesis again. Then data typology and taxonomy were proceeded according to the objectives, such as social exclusion, social struggle process and success factors in the struggle. After that, the data in the categories were analyzed and compared with the concepts, theories and related research, along with the context to meet the stated objectives.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **RESULTS**

The purpose of this study was to study the struggle process and the success factors in the struggle of Ban Khiangfa, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province, using a qualitative study method. The findings from the study can be divided into 4 parts as follows.

- 4.1 Context of the Area
- 4.2 Basic Information of the Key Informants
- 4.3 The Struggle of the Hill Tribe-War Volunteers
  - 4.3.1 Origins of Social Exclusion
  - 4.3.2 Effects of Social Exclusion
  - 4.3.3 Social Struggle
  - 4.3.4 Outcomes of the Struggle
- 4.4 Success Factors in the Struggle to Get Free From Social Exclusion

#### **4.1 Context of the Area**

Ban Khiangfa is the name that was created by the former hill tribe-war volunteers. They called this residence Khum Ban Khiangfa due to the war between the government and the communist terrorists.

In the past, Hmong people migrated from Chiang Rai Province, Phayao Province and Nan Province to live in the boundary areas of 3 provinces, namely Phetchabun Province, Phitsanulok Province and Loei Province. Thus, in 1945, a lot of Hmong people lived in many villages, all of which were royal property areas, such as Ban Khek Noi, Ban Pa Wai, Ban Huai Sai, Ban Maew Hua Pha and Ban Khao Khad. The main occupation was agriculture. Later, in 1968, the Communist Party of Thailand sent people to incite and overthrow the government in order to change the regime, causing the hill tribe people to be divided into two groups. One group fled into the forest and joined the Communist Party while another group refused to be

under the influence of the Communist Party and migrated to seek help and cooperation with the government. Later, in 1970, the Third Army Area had the idea to establish the hill tribe-war volunteer forces. Finally, 6 Troops (11<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup>, 21<sup>st</sup>, 22<sup>nd</sup>, 31<sup>st</sup>, 32<sup>nd</sup>) were established to fight against the communist terrorists because the hill tribes were skilled in mountainous areas. The Thai Army made a commitment to reward the hill tribe-war volunteers with houses and arable land after the end of war (28<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Battalion, 2015).

The 31<sup>st</sup> Troop was established at Ban Khek Noi, Khek Noi Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province. At first, 64 able-bodied Hmong men were gathered from several villages and nearby areas. They were trained and assigned to join the Third Army Area to fight against the communist terrorists in boundary areas of 3 provinces, including Phetchabun Province Phitsanulok Province and Loei Province. The 31<sup>st</sup> Troop participated in the important battles of the Third Army Area, namely the Battle of Sam Chai in 1972, the Battle of Phu Khwang in 1974, and the Battle of Pha Muang in 1980 and 1985.

The fighting in the communist war continued until the year 1976 when His Majesty King Rama IX traveled to Wang Thong District, Phitsanulok Province and His Majesty had the idea to use a strategic plan to end the conflict by developing both sides of the road for the sake of the people. Therefore, the Third Army Area established a Strategic Development Village. His Majesty King Rama IX gave a certain amount of personal property to fund the first operation, and “The Kek River Basin Development Project Administrative Division” was established. The main work was constructing paved roads along Ban Thung Samo-Khao Kho, organizing military training for the citizen volunteers, allocating arable land for the people and developing water resources for agriculture. This project was called “The Khek River Basin Development Project”. It was an 8-year project. The operation commenced on March 10, 1977 to September 30, 1984. The office was located at Kasikorn Bank Building, Ruen Ruedi Intersection, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province(28<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Battalion, 2015) .

The Khek River Basin Development Project was very important. As a result, the Cabinet of Ministers of that era passed a resolution to designate the project as the Forest Area Number 22, preserved as a national treasure. There was the declaration of



National Reserved Forest, Khao Pang Kor Forest, Wang Chomphu Forest, Khao Pok Klon National Reserved Forest. It was also approved by the Minister of Agriculture and Cooperatives at that time for the Third Army Area and the Internal Security Operations Command Region 3 with the approval of the Royal Forest Department to use or reside in the temporary national forest reserves with a total area of 126,368 rai as follows.

- 1) The area of one kilometer on the both sides of Ban Na Ngua - Ban Nong Mae Na route, approximately 40,000 rai
- 2) The area of one kilometer on the both sides of Khao Kho - Ban Sadao Phong route, approximately 17,500 rai
- 3) The area of one kilometer on the both sides of, Ban Pa Daeng - Ban Nong Mae Na route, approximately 30,000 rai
- 4) The area of one kilometer on the both sides Chong Lom - Ban Bung Nam Tao route, approximately 20,375 rai
- 5) The area of Ban Lao Lue and Ban Petch Dam, approximately 5,625 rai
- 6) The area around Ban Rim Si Muang, approximately 6,600 rai
- 7) The area around Ban Petchchuay - Ban Lao Kee, approximately 4,268 rai.
- 8) The area around Ban Saliang Haeng 3, approximately 1,500 rai

The Third Army Area and the Internal Security Operations Command, Region 3 allocated houses and arable land for people in the Khek River Basin Development Project or the citizen volunteers. The qualifications were specified, such as being the army reserves who used to work in the area, the family of the army reserves who used to work in the area, general army reserves and people in the area and general poor people. The registration certificate for an area of approximately 30,000 rai also gave to these residents. The relevant agencies were collaborated in the development of infrastructure such as roads, water sources for consumption and agriculture, schools, electricity, health and the establishment of agricultural products processing factories. Later, when the Khek River Basin Development Project was nearing its completion, the Ministry of Interior recognized the importance of the area. So, it was established as Khao Kho Minor District on August 20, 1984 by the Ministry of Interior. At the

same time, the Third Army Area prepared to transfer the area to Phetchabun Province, but the province was not yet ready. Therefore, the Third Army Area set up the Kek River Basin Development Project Coordination Center to take care of the area from 1984 – 1992; and be responsible for the citizen volunteers and supervised and requested for the use of the Khek River Basin Development Project of the Third Army Area (28<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Battalion, 2015) . At present, the Khek River Basin Development Project is under the responsibility of the Phetchabun Land Development Station, Land Development Regional Office 8, Department of Land Development. Ban Khiangfa is located in the area of Plot 8, Ban Saliang Haeng 3, approximately 1,500 rai.

Due to the Royal Thai Army's efforts to create the battle strategy in accordance with the Royal Initiative of King Rama IX, along with the government's policy planning, the battle finally began to end by the Order of the Office of the Prime Minister Order No. 66/2523 (1980) on the key policies in the fight against the communist insurgency. The essence of the order was the practices of the officers in treating the communist terrorists or the delinquent surrenderers without retroactive prosecution, except for those committing serious criminal cases as well as helping them to live in the society appropriately (Division of the Prevention and Suppression of Communist Region 3, 1971). At the same time, the hill tribe-war volunteers which were on the government side hoped for being allocated with houses and arable land like the communist terrorists, especially the hill tribe-war volunteers in the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop who were living in the Phetchabun mountain range and under the direct command of the Third Army Area. However, the Third Army Area did not do as promised. As a result, all former hill tribe-war volunteers faced difficulties. They did not have their own houses and arable land, so they had to rent the land to make a living. They did not have security in life and felt unfair. Therefore, 148 former hill tribe-war volunteers living in Ban Khek Noi filed complaints to the relevant agencies to take action to solve the problem. Subsequently, the Internal Security Operations Command Region 3, had a meeting and coordinated with relevant government agencies, namely the War Veterans Organization of Thailand, Phetchabun Forest Coordination Center, Mobile Development Unit 16, Phetchabun Royal Army/Kek River Basin Development Project Coordination Center to consider the area and prepare for the support (28<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Battalion, 2015) .

From a survey of Khao Kho area, it was found that Plot 8 of the Khek Basin Development Project, Ban Saliang Haeng 1, Village No. 3, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province has the area of approximately 1,500 rai. It was an area requested by the Royal Thai Army from the Royal Forest Department to implement a comprehensive and integrated agricultural development project of the Royal Initiative Project in the Khek River Basin. The project was considered together with the representatives from the War Veterans Organization of Thailand. Then it was approved as it was appropriate and feasible for establishing the Veterans Village in the area.

The objective of this project was to solve the problems of housing and arable land for the former hill tribe-war volunteers. The period of operation was from October 2010 to September 2013, and additional actions may be taken if there was insufficient land to allocate to the rest of the war volunteers. In the end, the Third Army Area and ISOC Region 3 conducted the land survey and divided the land into 100 plots. Two Ngan of residential area (800 square meters) and 10 rai of arable land were allocated to each war volunteer. However, some areas were overlapped with those of the citizen volunteers who had owned the land before. Some of the areas were the cliff areas that cannot be used in doing agriculture. Moreover, to live in a residential area, the former hill tribe-war volunteers had to build houses by themselves. Also, other infrastructures such as electricity, water supply, agriculture and transportation were not provided. Consequently, the former hill tribe-war volunteers filed the complaint again. There was also the struggle to obtain the basic necessities of everyday life. Finally, Ban Khiangfa became a part and member of Ban Saliang Haeng 1 so that the government can provide them a systematic and sustainable assistance process.



Figure 4.1 Ban Kiangfa Area

Source: "Ban Kiangfa Area," (2019)

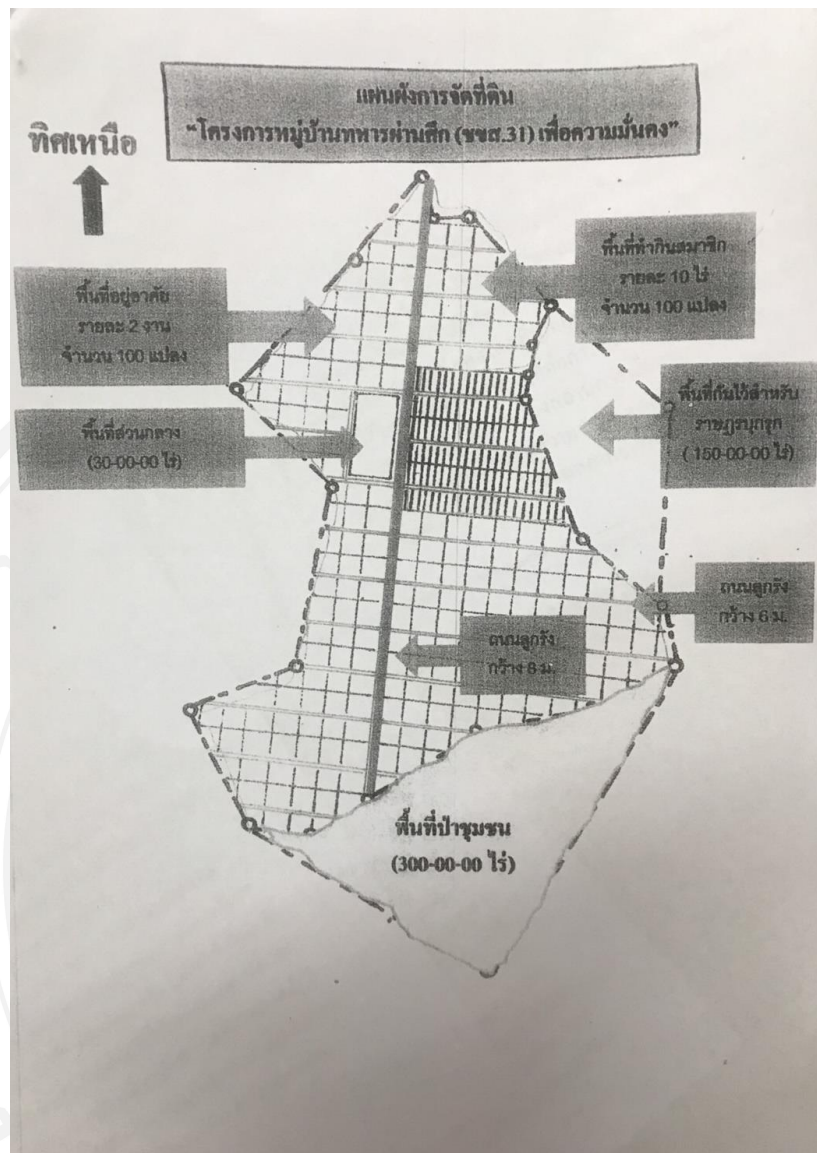


Figure 4.2 Land Allocation Plan of the Veterans Village Project

Source: Internal Security Operations Command Region 3 (2010, p. 7)



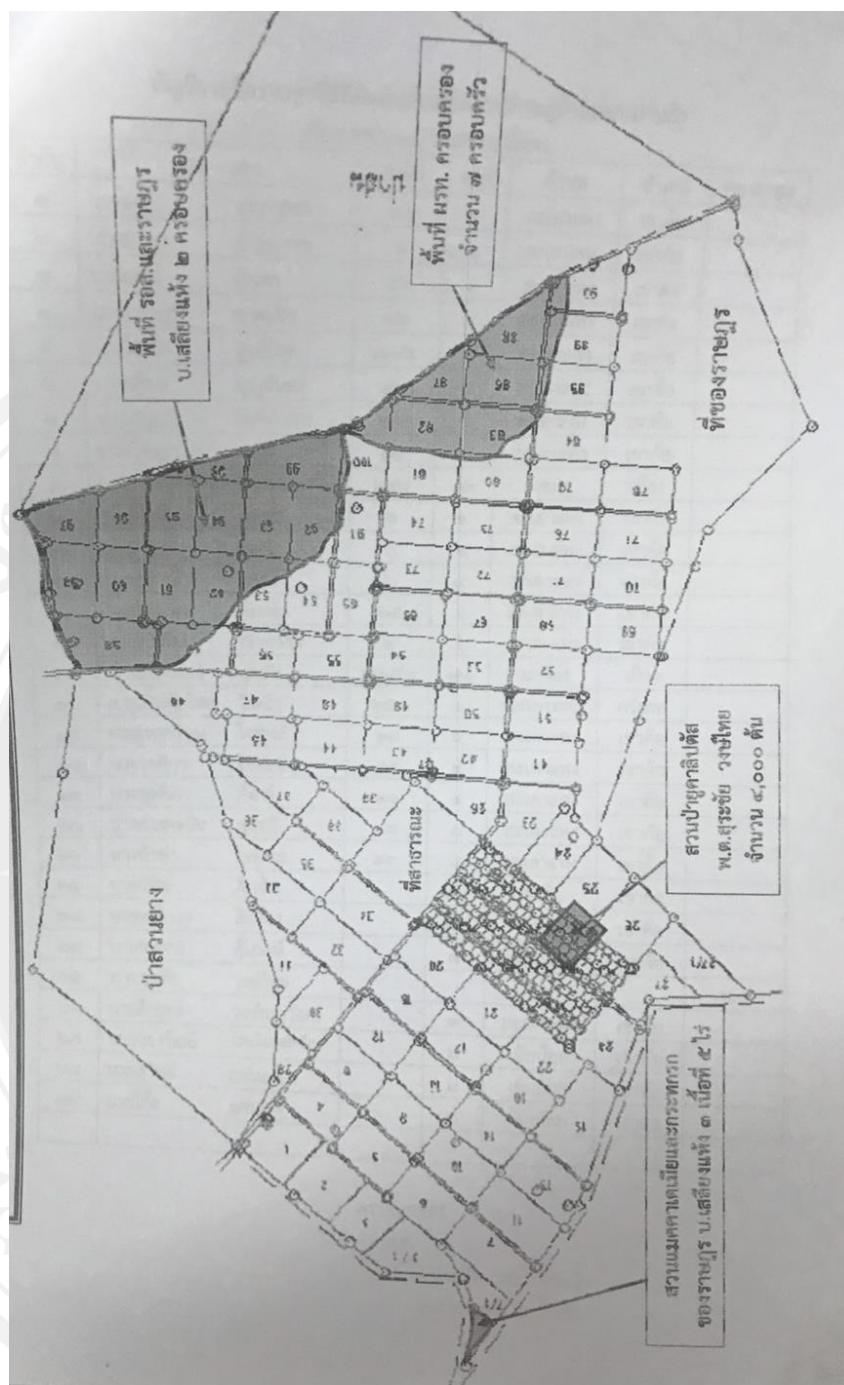


Figure 4.3 Land Allocation Plan of the Veterans Village Project

Source: Internal Security Operations Command Region 3 (2010, p. 7)

## 4.2 Basic Information of the Key Informants

The important basic information in this study were gathered by in-depth interviews with 27 people who were involved in the struggle process for area development, which were the hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop, the government agencies and other sectors, as presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Some General Information of The Key Informants

No.	Fictitious name	Age	Career	Religion	Income/month	Role
1	Paisan Wong	59	Agriculturist	Buddhism	15,000	Coordinator
2	Bancha Chao	59	Agriculturist	Christianity	15,000	Secretary of the Troop
3	Mana San	59	Raising grandchildren	Buddhism	7,000	Member
4	Kano Dee	64	Agriculturist	Buddhism	7,000	Member
5	Chalee Mee	60	Agriculturist	Buddhism	7,000	Member
6	Kato Ko	64	Agriculturist	Buddhism	7,000	Member
7	Smart Tay	56	Agriculturist	Buddhism	15,000	Former leader of the 31 <sup>st</sup> Troop
8	Image Ya	59	Agriculturist	Buddhism	5,000	Member
9	Malee Tee	58	Agriculturist	Christianity	15,000	The latest leader of Ban Khiangfa before being merged with Saliang Haeng
10	Pan Jay	79	No career	Buddhism	4,000	First generation of

No.	Fictitious name	Age	Career	Religion	Income/month	Role
						the 31 <sup>st</sup> Troop
11	Tawee Kay	60	Pensioner, agriculturist	Christianity	38,000	Member
12	Heart Hao	62	Raising grandchildren	Buddhism	5,000	Former leader of Ban Khangfa
13	Sun Banny	46	Agriculturist	Buddhism	20,000	Ban Saliang Haeng's headman
14	Suwin Sin	59	Agriculturist	Christianity	11,220	Deputy Chief Executive of Khao Kho SAO
15	Doctor Sweet	26	Subdistrict public health officers	Buddhism	13,440	Public health officers
16	Beauty Nuan	43	General employee	Buddhism	10,000	Village Fund Committee, Housewives Committee, Village Committee, Treasurer of Poverty Relief Fund
17	Khun Moon	55	Chief Executive of Khao Kho	Buddhism	20,400	Chief Executive of Khao Kho



No.	Fictitious name	Age	Career	Religion	Income/month	Role
			SAO			SAO
18	Mamung Nan	39	Soldier	Buddhism	20,000	Khao Kho Area Coordination Action Team Head of the Public Relations Development Unit
19	Makok Khek	37	Soldier	Buddhism	20,000	Deputy District Chief
20	Makid Por	41	Deputy District Chief	Buddhism	25,000	Donating for building of Ban Khiangfa Road
21	Madun Chala	61	Personal business	Buddhism	25,000	Giving solar panels and water tanks to of Ban Khiangfa, Helping of Ban Khiangfa with water pipes
22	Matoom Pre	59	Academic	Buddhism	30,000	Villager
23	Maprang Ko	44	Personal business	Buddhism	50,000	
24	Mara Shirt	41	Personal business	Buddhism	10,000	

No.	Fictitious name	Age	Career	Religion	Income/month	Role
25	Maroom Shop	50	Personal business	Buddhism	50,000	Villager
26	Manut Ban	59	Personal business	Buddhism	20,000	Villager
27	Mawang Wan	27	Government employee	Buddhism	25,000	Housing unit

### 4.3 The Struggle of the Hill Tribe-War Volunteers (the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop)

#### 4.3.1 Origin of Social Exclusion

##### History of struggle

In 1968, Thailand was influenced by communist ideas, causing a war between the Thai government and the Thai people who were pro-communist. During that time, each party had to fight on the mountains with extremely complex terrain. So, they had to search for mountain travel experts, who were hill tribes. These people migrated to the mountainous areas in Thailand in the past and did not have permanent housing and arable land. Therefore, not having housing and arable land was an important condition that the government, herein, the Third Army Area, which controlled over the area, made a commitment to reward the hill tribe-war volunteers with houses and land after the end of war. As a result, the government could gather the hill tribe-war volunteers. A former hill tribe-war volunteer gave the interview as follows.

As for the military training, we were trained like a soldier. The soldiers gathered people and established special forces. It took a long time for training. (Bancha Chao, personal communication, September 9, 2019)

In 1970, the Thai Army came up with the idea of establishing special forces to fight against the forces of the Communist Party of Thailand. The recruitment of hill tribe-war volunteers was announced. Finally, 6 Troops were established. The 11<sup>th</sup> Troop and the 12<sup>th</sup> Troop were located in Chiang Kham District, Phayao Province. They performed duties in Ban Doi Pha Mon, Ban Doi Yao, Ban Doi Pha Chi and Ban

Pha Chang. The 21<sup>st</sup> Troop and the 22<sup>nd</sup> Troop were located in Thung Chang District and Pua District, Nan Province. They performed duties in Ban Huai Kron, Ban Phu Wae, Ban Bo Kluea Nuea and Ban Bo Kluea Tai. The 31<sup>st</sup> Troop and the 32<sup>nd</sup> Troop were located in Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province. They performed duties in the boundary areas of 3 provinces, namely Phetchabun Province, Phitsanulok Province and Loei Province. The hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop, which was under the Third Army Area and the Internal Security Operations Command Region 3 were the representatives of the other 5 Troops because they were directly living in Khao Kho area. But the other 5 Troops were in the mountainous areas in Thailand.

However, when the communist war was over, the government provided assistance to the communist terrorists, later referred to as Thai nation development cooperators according to the policy No. 66/2523 (1980) of the government at that time (Suchit Bunbongkarn, 2004). In 1982, the government of Gen. Prem Tinsulanonda assisted 403 Thai nation development cooperators by giving a house and 15 rai of land for each person. In 2000, the government of Chuan Leekpai did not provide assistance. So, Thai nation development cooperators in the northeastern region asked the Second Army Region to keep the promise, which was giving 15 rai of land and 5 cows for each of them. In 2005, the government of Thaksin Shinawatra tried to help but there was a budget problem because the Thailand's Anti-Communism Act, B.E. 2495 was repealed. It was expected that the assistance would be in cash due to land acquisition problems. For the appraisal of 5 rai of land, it was equal to 15,000 baht per rai, a total of 75,000 baht. Cash for investment in career (equivalent to 5 cows) was 50,000 baht. So, each of them would get 125,000 baht in total. In 2006, the government of Gen. Surayut Chulanont considered the assistance for Thai nation development cooperators in the government of Thaksin and approved the subsidy. Only Thai nation development cooperators in the northeastern region received the assistance. It was also announced that this would be the last assistance. Next time, it would be the responsibility of the Ministry of the Interior to provide help, and the assistance would give to groups not individuals. Later, in 2009, during the government of Abhisit Vejjajiva, Thai nation development cooperators who called themselves a missing group asked for assistance. Therefore, the government gave the

subsidy with amount of 225,000 baht to Thai nation development cooperators across the country. In 2013, in the government of Yingluck Shinawatra, the Internal Security Operations Command (ISOC), screened 4,430 real Thai nation development cooperators, but assistance was not provided because of the 2014 coup (Komchadluek). As a result, in 2017, the government of General Prayut provided assistance with the amount of 225,000 baht to Thai nation development cooperators. On the other hand, the Third Army Area did not provide assistance to the former hill tribe-war volunteers. Thus, in 2010, the representatives of the hill tribe-war volunteers filed complaints and submitted proposals to the government asking for the same assistance like those of Thai nation development cooperators. However, they did not receive any response. So, the hill tribe-war volunteers got together to plan what to do next.

Meanwhile, the Thai Army was aware of the problems that the hill tribe-war volunteers were facing, but assistance cannot be provided because the budget was allocated by the government of each era. There were also housing and arable land problems. The representative of the Third Army Area in the present era has also been told about this issue, and he thinks that the actions of the Third Army Area on the hill tribe-war volunteers cause unfairness. He gave the interview on this issue as follows.

I also have heard about the promises made by the Third Army Area, I think it is really unfair to them (the hill tribe-war volunteers). It is like using them and then ignoring them. But for another group (Thai nation development cooperators), they got land and money. (Mamung Nan, personal communication, September 9, 2019)

However, the Third Army Area referred to the document Kor Hor 0400/2526 (1983) issued by the Office of the Army Secretary which stated that the Third Army Area had already allocated houses and arable land at Ban Luo Rue and Ban Phet Dam, Khao Kho Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province to the former hill tribe-war volunteers of 32<sup>nd</sup> Troop in 1982. The Third Army Area Commander gave a map of 5,000 rai, which is the area where Ban Luo Rue and Ban Phet Dam are currently located, to the hill tribe-war volunteers of 32<sup>nd</sup> Troop, some citizen volunteers, some Yao hill tribe people and Lisu hill tribe people to live together and share housing and arable land. However, some of the hill tribe-war volunteers still did

not receive any assistance. So, the answer to the document referenced by the Third Army Area was not entirely true because the hill tribe-war volunteers of other five Troops had not yet been assisted (Office of the Army Secretary, 2016).

From 1971 – 1997, the Third Army Area asked for approval from the Royal Forest Department to allocate land to the Hmong people. It was named Khek Noi community with an area of 45,000 rai. Therefore, the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop also lived in Ban Khek Noi. Moreover, at the end of the war, some Thai nation development cooperators also lived in this area. They also established several villages in the community. Until in 1989, Khek Noi community was upgraded to Khek Noi Subdistrict, located in Camp Son Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province (Kheknoi Subdistrict Administrative Organization, n.d., pp. 13-15). During that time, the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop had to live in 12 villages in Khek Noi community. Their house areas were so contiguous that outsiders were unable to clearly distinguish where the territory of each house was. No fences were made. These indicated congestion of living spaces. Their one-story houses were built on the soil that had been pounded tightly, which did not represent permanent stability. As for the income, it was mainly derived from farming, subsistence farming, cultivation of opium, corn and vegetables, which cannot generate a lot of income (Apichart Pattaratuma, 2008, p. 84). This living condition made it difficult for people in the community and the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop. In 1996, Khek Noi Subdistrict was upgraded to Kheknoi Subdistrict Administrative Organization (Kheknoi Subdistrict Administrative Organization, n.d., pp. 13-15). At that time, the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop began to work in government agencies as permanent or temporary employees. Some of them earned a salary of about 7,000 baht and had to take care of five family members. The income was inadequate, so they resigned and changed to be drivers and general workers.

Later, during the years 1998-2007, the government planned for the development of ethnic groups. So, the hill tribes in various areas as well as the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop began to receive more civil rights. Their descendants also started to have more educational opportunities, enabling them to graduate at a higher education level. Also, the ethnic groups were more accepted from

the support, promotion and education provided by the government through policies and education policies about ethnic people of educational institutions. For this reason, the descendants of the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop were able to work and earn a better living than in the past. As a result, the former hill tribe-war volunteers earned more from their children's money and it was a time when they can rely on themselves and earn money to make their living.

In 2010, they began to receive information about the government assistance, including houses, arable land and a certain amount of compensation, given to Thai nation development cooperators. Consequently, the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop got together and discussed about this matter. Finally, they filed the first complaint which asking for compensation from the government in the amount of 800,000 baht due to the recognition that the government helped and provided the compensation to Thai nation development cooperators. The Prime Minister appointed a committee to solve the problems of Thai nation development cooperators based on the criteria set. The committee approved the assistance for healing Thai nation development cooperators. But the hill tribe-war volunteers' qualifications did not meet the criteria. For this reason, the new committee was appointed for considering the assistance given to the hill tribe-war volunteers. The hill tribe-war volunteers agreed with this. But in the end, there was no budget support for carrying out assistance like that of Thai nation development cooperators.

The information of the Secretariat of the Cabinet pointed out that the government assistance given to Thai nation development cooperators had been in the system from 1983 to 2017. It was about the approval of plans and projects, the request for approval of the central budget and the allocation of land to Thai nation development cooperators in various provinces such as Yasothon, Mukdahan, Nakhon Phanom, Nan, as presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Government Assistance Given to Thai Nation Development Cooperators

No.	Title	Government organizations	Date
1	Request for approval of plans and projects of land allocation to Thai nation development cooperators in the form of villages, forests, Dong Bang Yi Forest, Dong Hua Kong Forest, Loeng Nok Tha District, Yasothon Province	-	24/05/1983
2	Request for approval of the central budget for providing assistance to Thai nation development cooperators in Mukdahan Province and Nakhon Phanom Province	Ministry of Interior	2/10/1984
3	Request for approval of the central budget for providing assistance to Thai nation development cooperators in Yasothon Province	Ministry of Interior	9/10/1984
4	Request for approval of assistance for Thai nation development cooperators in Nan Province	Ministry of Interior	21/06/1988
5	Request for approval of the application of the Ministry of Finance regulations to assist Thai nation development cooperators in Yala Province	Ministry of Interior	19/07/1988
6	Request for approval of the implementation of security development projects in the Second Army Area and the Third Army Area	Office of the Prime Minister	17/06/1997
7	Provision of assistance to Thai nation development cooperators	Ministry of Interior	25/08/1998
8	Provision of assistance to affected people as a result of the implementation of the Office of	Ministry of Interior	05/03/2002

No.	Title	Government organizations	Date
	the Prime Minister Order No. 66/2523 (1980)		
9	Solving the problems of Thai nation development cooperators	Office of the Prime Minister	25/02/2003
10	Request for budget support to solve the problems of Thai nation development cooperators	Office of the Prime Minister	28/11/2006
11	Solving the problems of Thai nation development cooperators	Office of the Prime Minister	19/12/2006
12	Request for budget support to solve the problems of Thai nation development cooperators	Office of the Prime Minister	28/12/2010
13	Request for support for expenditure budget of the fiscal year 2017, central budget, list of reserves for emergencies or necessities (subsidy of Thai nation development cooperators)	Office of the Prime Minister	11/04/2017

Source: The Secretariat of the Cabinet (2020)

The criteria for providing assistance to Thai nation development cooperators were as follows. 1) They must be in poverty. 2) They must not own their own arable land, or own arable land of not more than 5 rai. 3) They must be Thai nation development cooperators who had been trained in the Karunyathep Project, whose names were on the list of the military department responsible for Thai nation development cooperators that passed the examination of the provincial committee. 4) They must be domiciled in 11 provinces, namely Kalasin Province, Chachoengsao Province, Buriram Province, Nakhon Phanom Province, Nakhon Ratchasima Province, Maha Sarakham Province, Yasothon Province, Sakon Nakhon Province, Surin Province, Sa Kaeo Province and Ubon Ratchathani Province. The qualifications and the assistance were also systematically identified. The criteria were adjusted each



year in order to avoid duplication of assistance. Those who had not received assistance were also considered. However, the information of assistance given to the hill tribe-war volunteers was not found in the Secretariat of the Cabinet database. This made it clear that the government did not provide equal assistance to the hill tribe-war volunteers.

The Third Army Area treated the former hill tribe-war volunteers differently from Thai nation development cooperators. So, the former hill tribe-war volunteers were very disappointed by the action of the military and the government. They always thought that helping the Thai military was to save the country from the communist threats that were spreading around the world at the time. But the military did not give them any reward as promised before they participated in fighting against the communist threats. The former hill tribe-war volunteers still had to live in Ban Khek Noi, Khao Kho Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province, which was declared as a royal property in 1985. Therefore, they had to rent the land that was saved by them from joining with the Thai Army to fight against the communist terrorists. This situation made the former hill tribe-war volunteers felt considerable discontent in their own destiny. Moreover, the Third Army Area responded to the request by establishing the Veterans Village Project because of the complaint filed by the former hill tribe-war volunteers. However, the implementation of the project still had problems with the budget and regulations of village establishment. So, the project was unable to operate unlike that of Thai nation development cooperators.

The hill tribe-war volunteers' efforts to get help from the government were so disheartening that they began to get together and discuss about this issue again. As a result, the hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop adjusted the strategy by reducing the conditions of assistance. They just asked for help with housing and arable land first because it was the promise made between the Thai Army and the hill tribe-war volunteers. Therefore, in 2010, a complaint was made regarding the request for assistance for housing and arable land. Therefore, the Third Army Area and ISOC Region 3 had to establish the Veterans Village Project by surveying the area of Plot 8 of the Khek River Basin Development Project at Ban Saliang Haeng 1, Village No. 3, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province. It was Plot 8 of the implementation of the integrated agricultural development project of the royal-

initiated project of the Royal Forest Department. Subsequently, the Veterans Village was established in the area by ISOC Region 3. A working group was also set up to investigate and screen for war veterans and determine the eligibility of the veterans to participate in the project. The project implementation period was from October 2010 to September 2013, and the project may continue to allocate housing and arable land to other veterans. However, the Third Army Area was able to allocate only two Ngan (800 square meters) of housing area and 10 rai of arable land for each person. However, there was no basic public utility system provided for the former hill tribe-war volunteers. The representative of the former hill tribe-war volunteers gave the interview as follows.

We submitted a complaint letter asking for assistance of housing and arable land. When attending the meeting together, there was not any problem. But if we did not make a complaint, we might not get anything. (Smart Tay, personal communication, September 9, 2019)

The main reason of asking the Third Army Area to help with houses and arable land is that most of the hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop who were the Hmong people mainly living in Khek Noi village had to rent the royal property area. They did not have their own arable land. They also continuously filed complaints. If the military can resolve this issue, it may lead to other solutions, sustainably solving the former hill tribe-war volunteers' problems.

These situations were consistent with social exclusion regarding quality of life. Although there were efforts to help the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop to get houses and land, social exclusion still persisted. A study by Laurin-bowie (2015) pointed out that social exclusion can lead to deterioration of quality of life, caused by inadequate alternative models, resulting in limited access to information and knowledge. Limitations in knowledge and information can affect individuality and household poverty along with being neglected from the socio-cultural context. The former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop were subject to housing and arable land allocations, set by the Third Army. Anyone who joined the project did not have to pay rent for the royal property area. So, they had no choice. They were, therefore, in a state of surrender to the situation that had occurred. At the

same time, a study by Saraceno (2001) viewed the social exclusion against civil rights as a matter of equal rights in all societies. That is to say, although the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop were granted only houses and arable land, they had the rights to housing and arable land, which was regarded as the starting point in creating equality.

#### **4.3.2 Effects of Social Exclusion**

##### **1) Housing**

Social exclusion in terms of housing was a key issue directly affecting the hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop, as it was their initial hope for volunteering in the communist war. However, they did not have a written contract, stating that if the war was over, the Thai Army would provide them houses and arable land. In addition, they did not make a claim immediately after the war was over because they trusted that the military would provide them assistance. They also felt that they were just the ethnic group migrating to live in Thailand so they repaid by being war volunteers. A former hill tribe-war volunteer of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop gave the interview as follows.

We had never thought of asking for anything. We just let the Thai Army manage it. We thought that they might have some problems, so they cannot make it. (Bancha Chao, personal communication, September 9, 2019)

The Third Army Area helped the hill tribe-war volunteers by asking permission to use the royal property from the Treasury Department to allow the hill tribe-war volunteers to live together at Ban Khek Noi, Khao Kho Subdistrict, Phetchabun Province. But, as it was the royal property area, the former hill tribe-war volunteers had to pay the rent annually. Therefore, it was not in accordance with the commitment given by the Thai Army. A former hill tribe-war volunteer of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop gave the interview as follows.

We want to get help like that of Thai nation development cooperators. If not, we want to have our own land. The military used to say that we did not have to rent the land because we helped them fight in the war. (Image Ya, personal communication, September 9, 2019)

This represents a feeling of great dissatisfaction and disappointment in the military's assistance. Although Ban Khek Noi has become the largest gathering of Hmong culture in Thailand, not owning own house and land remains a knot in the heart of the former hill tribe-war volunteers. Moreover, owning land in Khao Kho is difficult. Most of the land in Khao Kho is owned without ownership rights. But if the hill tribe-war volunteers were able to occupy the land with the rights, they would feel the reward of joining the battle in exchange for the loss of their fellow warriors. This is consistent with a study by Phennapha Chandaeng and Sothee Chhun (2019-2020, pp. 19-43), studying the rights of ownership of ethnic groups in Cambodia. Cambodia focuses on the right to resource management in accordance with the traditions of ethnic groups. Human rights organizations and NGOs are the main supporters. But the actual practice to be in accordance with the law is still an ongoing problem because ethnic groups are often driven away from their own arable land by private companies.

However, the military only brought the hill tribes to live together at Ban Khek Noi and developed them according to the Ethnic Development Plan and the Fifth National Economic and Social Development Plan. Meanwhile, the former hill tribe-war volunteers always questioned when the Thai Army would provide them with houses and arable land as promised so that they did not have to rent the royal property anymore and they would be able to establish their family with stability.

## 2) Income

Their income is limited by their living environment. By the time before joining the Thai Army as the war volunteers, they were an ethnic group in Thailand and did not have any status. This caused problems in generating income. They relied mainly on natural resources in the mountains. Later, when living together in the Khek Noi community, along with the government's slow progress in the development of ethnic groups in Thailand, they had to rely on their prior knowledge and experience to develop their own ethnic group and earn income. Such a livelihood is in line with a study by Prawet Wasi (2000), which studied on cultural-based economy. It is stated that an economy is to concern about human beings, people, history, society, culture, local environment, also known as economy of self-reliance. Therefore, having a culture that is a local or social strength is an economy based on its own security. For

the hill tribe-war volunteers, their basic economy was mainly on agriculture. Most of the time, rice, maize, and ginger were mainly cultivated to feed their families. The rest of the produces would be sold. The important production process was using pesticides to increase their yields. If not, they would get low yields which may affect sales, which was another source of income. Using pesticides helped to reduce pests in agricultural areas. A former hill tribe-war volunteer gave the interview as follows.

I eliminate the grass by cutting it and using a herbicide. Only cutting the root, the grass will not die. The grass will grow again. Once the soil is prepared, corn, rice, ginger or other crops are planted. Every household does this. If not, we will not get products. (Pan Jay, personal communication, September 9, 2019)

They knew that the use of such chemicals was not good for the area. They had been told about this. The former the hill tribe-war volunteers also organized a training on using pesticides in the resorts in Khao Kho. The use of chemicals or herbicides was prohibited. But they cannot avoid it because they wanted to get the most products. The resorts that did not use chemical pesticides had a lot of grass and can be home to reptiles and poisonous animals. Overgrown grass also caused some crops not to grow. Some Thai people also inquired about growing plants and told the hill tribes to stop using chemicals because it was toxic to them and the surrounding environment. But the hill tribes said that if they did not use chemical pesticides, they would not get the products that had been cultivated. Thai people did their own way, which was not using chemicals. Later, the hill tribe-war volunteers looked at the products of Thai people and found that a lot of grass caused the crops not to grow (Pan Jay, personal communication, September 9, 2019).

According to the use of chemicals, the rice sold to the markets such as Phitsanulok market was questioned about the use of chemicals because the officials were not confident in the quality of the rice. Most Thai people were not often asked about this matter. Only the hill tribe-war volunteers were. The officials also called it “Khao Chao Doi” (hill tribe’s rice). According to this situation, Thai officials used the words that clearly show discrimination against the hill tribes. So, the hill tribes felt social exclusion from the use of these words, judging that the quality of the hill tribe’s rice may be lower than the Thai rice. Or, it can be said that the hill tribes were seen as

marginal people. A study by Anand Ganjanaphan (2006) stated that marginalization is related to the nation-state process. The process has created a negative image of marginal people, such as being destroyers. Therefore, the behavior of Thai officials towards the hill tribes may be a result of the Thai national-state process that has created an image of the hill tribes for a long time, until causing social exclusion.

Facing such a question, they had to explain about the undetectable chemical in rice despite the use of chemicals in cultivation. They said that they sprayed chemicals while the grass was growing thickly. After finishing spraying the chemicals, plants were cultivated. If there was grass growing, they would use a hoe, a spade or hands to remove the grass. If the chemicals were used while the grass was growing together with their products, they would definitely contain toxins. All of the former hill tribe-war volunteers knew about this. One of them explained to the officials as follows.

We all know about this. If anyone does not know about it, we will tell them. That is, when the grass is dense, spray the herbicide. Then prepare the soil for planting. If there is grass growing during planting, use a hoe or your hands to remove the grass. In doing this, our rice will not be contaminated with toxins. But if the herbicide is sprayed during our rice planting, we will be exposed to toxins. (Pan Jay, personal communication, September 9, 2019)

However, after explaining the production method, that the chemicals were used in the right amount, which can be consumed. They also confirmed that if the authorities put their product (rice) in scientific examination, it would be safe. This information led to the questioning of the officials of how to do it. Then this former hill tribe-war volunteers explained the production process to the officials. The hill tribes also concluded that they had used this approach since their grandparents' generation. If no chemicals were used, it could not produce enough rice for consumption because there would be only grass growing instead of rice. They, therefore, used suitable methods for both chemical use and the proper harvesting period so that pesticide residues would not be contaminated in the rice.

The agricultural occupation resulted in insufficient main income for a comfortable life. As a result, some of the former hill tribe-war volunteers had to

engage in other occupations, such as general labor. They had to work for the people of nearby communities who needed labor for activities such as construction, garden maintenance or resort care. A former hill tribe-war volunteer gave the interview as follows.

Our children send us some money, around 1,000 - 2,000 baht because we help raise his child. It is not a large amount of money. It is used to buy milk for his child. It is just enough for daily life. (Pan Jay, personal communication, September 9, 2019)

Even hired work can generate income, according to the nature of the hired work, it usually ends from time to time, resulting in unstable income. In addition to the hired work, some former hill tribe-war volunteers had income from their working-age children. This is relatively stable income if their children have stable jobs, such as government employees because they can give some money to their parents in a certain amount. But, if they are general workers or permanent employees, they usually give their parents money based on their financial condition in each month. That is to say, if they get a lot of wages, they will give their parents a lot of money. If not, they will give less money or may not give money to their parents. However, the former hill tribe-war volunteers are entitled to the elderly pension according to government policy. So, they can receive veterans pension, which is fixed income.

It can be seen that the economic condition of the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop was linked to the limitations of their difficult living conditions. Although having certain income from veterans pension and old age pension made them feel unneglected by the government as well as having a main occupation which was doing agriculture and extra hired work and income from their children made them able to take care of themselves and their families, the lack of stable economic status became a major issue linked to social and economic exclusion.

### 3) Rights

The period that the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop lived as immigrants in Thailand until they joined Thai Army as the hill tribe-war volunteers to fight against the threat of communism was from 1968 – 1988 (Bancha

Chao, 2019: Interview). Their life during the war was under the supervision of the Third Army Area.

Having such a way of life for more than 10 years made the former hill tribe-war volunteers familiar with the way of life with hardships in eating and sleeping. Their families also had to face these hardships. Therefore, in a state of war, they chose to join the government rather than the anti-government side because they recognized the benefits that would be gained at the end of the war, namely houses and arable land. They did not think that joining the Thai Army was for legitimacy of building human security. Instead, they thought that their participation in the war was only for saving the land they lived in from the threats of communism. A former hill tribe-war volunteer gave the interview as follows.

We felt that joining the government was like helping the land we were living in, but others who disagreed with us joined the opposition. (Paisan Wong, personal communication, September 9, 2019)

As time passed, the war came to an end due to the government's strategy of solving important problems by implementing the policy No. 66/2523 (1980) as well as the adjustment of the Fifth National Economic and Social Development Plan to provide assistance and development on various hill tribes in Thailand for the security of the Thai state around the border. During that time, the former hill tribe-war volunteers were entitled to various rights under the Office of the Army Secretary (Office of the Army Secretary, 2016), including the right of veterans, the right to state welfare, the right of the elderly, the right to gold-card care and the right to disabled pension. The former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop living in Ban Khiangfa received all these rights. An academic gave the interview as follows.

It must be admitted that they have more rights than Thai people, namely the rights of veterans, the rights of the elderly, the rights of the disabled. They are also able to receive treatment at the hospital. But they demanded more because the government had helped Thai nation development cooperators many times. (Matoom Pre, personal communication, September 9, 2019)



The additional right given to Thai nation development cooperators was the right to compensation, which was not provided to the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop. This made them feel less fortunate in deciding to join the government. They were ignored by the government unlike those deciding to join Thai nation development cooperators. The former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop lacked financial assistance. It can be said that this was only one right among other rights that they are legally entitled to. However, the granting of compensation to the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop was not defined in the law or in the Office of the Prime Minister Order No. 66/2523 (1980). This deprived the government of the power to find ways to help the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop. Therefore, the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop submitted a letter asking for assistance in the era of the Yingluck government. The answer was that there must be an order to appoint a committee to consider assistance, like Thai nation development cooperators, which took time. They were questioned if they could wait for this. Therefore, the former hill tribe-war volunteers met and agreed to accept the terms of time for the appointment of the committee. But in the end, the Yingluck government did not appoint a committee to consider the issue, and there was a coup d'état.

The reason why the government did not assist the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop equally to the former Thai nation development cooperators was possibly because the hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop were on the same side of the government. So, it is believed that being trained during the war in terms of patriotism and cherishing the land would prevent them from causing chaos to the nation. In addition, there was no law or any other power that can be a tool to help the hill tribe-war volunteers. In terms of human rights, the government assistance can achieve equality by acting according to the laws and the powers that the government has. Regarding equitable treatment of human rights, the former hill tribe-war volunteers were suppressed under the nationalism. As a result, they were so knowledgeable, understanding, and nationally valued so that they can endure the hardships of while questioning when the Thai Army would help them as promised. However, being suppressed by this idea is inconsistent with a study of reinforcing and stigmatizing others from the mainstream society conducted by Gary (1981). He

stated that being Hmong people is stigmatized and has no negotiation power in improving their own livelihood. Instead, they must be under the development of the nation state only. This is like what the former hill tribe-war volunteers experienced in their group.

Moreover, being treated by Thai government officials did not make them feel at one with Thai people. The former hill tribe-war volunteers can use a Universal Coverage Card for the treatment of various diseases like Thai people. For example, a hill tribe-war volunteer went to the hospital for treating abdominal pain, which was his congenital disease. The hospital staff asked him, “Are you addicted to drugs?” Your body is so thin. That is why you have a stomachache.” So, he answered, “I have a stomachache. It has been my congenital disease since the days I fought for the government.” When the hospital staff heard his answer, she apologized to this former hill tribe-war volunteer. This incident made it clear that being separated and judged by others on the basis of physical condition made the feeling of social exclusion more clearly. A former hill tribe-war volunteer of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop gave the interview on this issue as follows.

During the war, there was a story at Lao Lue Camp. We were told that food would be delivered 2 times, but it was mixed with poison. We did not know that, so we ate it. But the commanders knew it, so they did not eat it. Later, we were released. But the poison has caused gastritis until today. I have been treated at Phetchabun Hospital. It becomes a congenital disease. I am unable to work. Before eating anything, I have to check carefully because it may cause a painful stomachache. (Pan Jay, personal communication, September 9, 2019)

It can be seen that the discrimination of Thai officials made the feeling of social isolation more clearly, especially among the Hmong people. The issue of occupation was also the problem. According to the law, many hill tribe-war volunteer could not pursue any other occupation than farmers or laborers because their qualifications did not meet with the recruitment. So, they had no choice. They were unable to attend the courses during the war. For this reason, the hill tribe-war volunteers had to accept the reality. The issues of receiving services from the government sector that were different from Thai people were also found. Although the

district health officers said that living with the hill tribe was normal. Thai people did not feel any difference. The services were provided according to the rights the hill tribes were entitled to. However, the hill tribes felt that they were not Thais. But at present this feeling has decreased considerably. Moreover, when hill tribes use the government services, they look different from Thai people. Most of them are humble and considerate. One of the government officials mentioned about this matter as follows.

When the hill tribes use the services, they usually take off their shoes. Some Thai people do not do this. They are considerate. We serve them as usual. I always tell them not to take off their shoes. Most of them are nice. (Doctor Sweet, personal communication, September 9, 2019)

The phenomenon of bearing the mainstream action against the former hill tribe-war volunteers clearly emphasized the phenomenon of social exclusion. The former hill tribe-war volunteers had a sense of real injustice. It also made the elements of social exclusion more apparent. A study by Gordon et al. (2000) presented B-SEM, consisting of main components: 1) quality of life in terms of both the environment and well-being, 2) access to resources and socio-economic services, and 3) social, economic and political participation. The former hill tribe-war volunteers cannot access these key elements. They did not have well-being. They can access government services, but they were treated differently from Thai people. In terms of social and economic participation, they did not have the negotiation power to ask the government to help them.

From the aforementioned information, the situations of the former hill tribe-war volunteers before 2010 can be summarized to look at the beginning of the government assistance given to the former hill tribe-war volunteers and Thai nation development cooperators which caused the struggle process. The summary is presented in Figure 4.4.

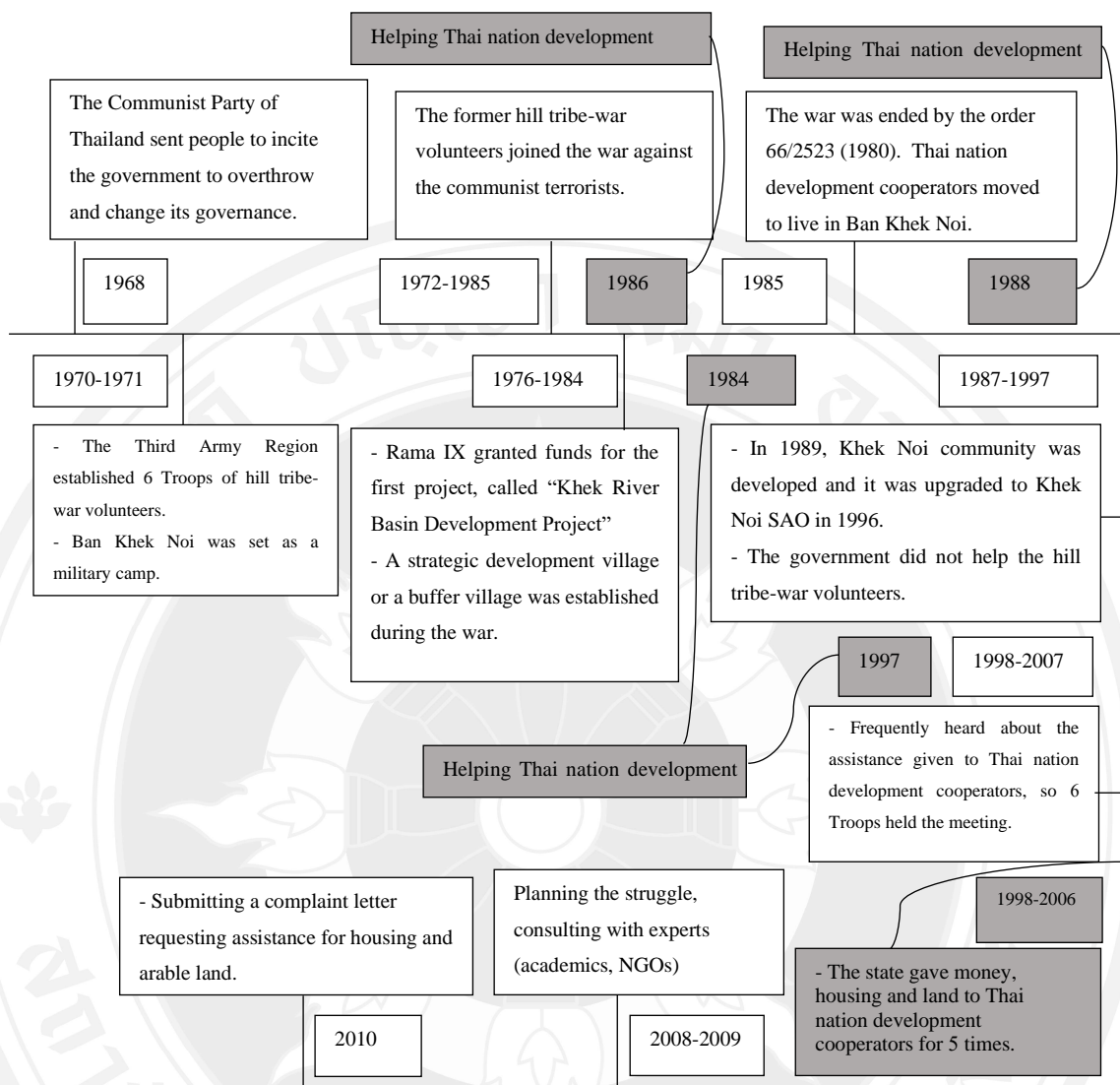
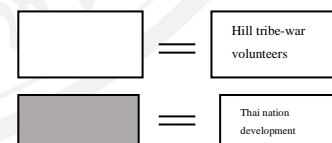


Figure 4.4 Timeline of the Situations of the Hill Tribe-War Volunteers before the Year 2010

Source: Developed by the researcher



#### 4.3.3 Social Struggle

The struggle of the former hill tribe-war volunteers had started since the generation of their parents who immigrated from southern China. The reason for the struggle was that the Kuomintang government banned the use of Hmong language and dress. Therefore, the Hmong people had to travel to the mountainous regions of northern Burma, Laos, Vietnam and Thailand (Prasit Lee-Preecha et al., 2017). The Hmong people migrated to Thailand and lived in the mountains in a cold climate. They lived on the mountains for not more than 3 years due to the deterioration of the resources in the residential area. They also had beliefs about local ghosts. They believed that if 2-3 people in the family died, the shaman must help take the spirits. If not, they had to leave the area to live in another mountainous area. As for those who can hire a shaman, they would be able to stay in the same area. But, most of them tended to move to other hills. They left home, farm, garden and took only the necessary things with them (Sangkhit Chanthanapho, 2000, pp. 120-125). The former hill tribe-war volunteers, who are also the Hmong people, have similar characteristics and prefer to live only in cold mountainous areas.

Living in the cold weather in the mountains and fighting in the war made it very difficult for their group of people to survive. So, they decided to be part of the battle. The former hill tribe-war volunteers chose to be on the same side with the government with the hope of obtaining housing and arable land.

When the war ended, the government frequently assisted Thai nation development cooperators. So, the hill tribe-war volunteers held the meeting at Khek Noi Veterans Association, which was used to be the military camp during the war. Finally, they agreed to submit a complaint letter asking for help from the government. As a result, the Veterans Village Project (the hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop) had been established.

The Veterans Village Project recruited the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop who voluntarily participated in the project under the rules established by the Third Army Area. The rules were set to create order in the group of people living in the same community. At the same time, the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop helped to preliminarily screen the members. After that, the name list was sent to the military for consideration to verify that these people were not the

threats to society, such as being addicted to drugs, having criminal cases, arm trading. Once the name list was obtained, it was sent to the Thai Army, the Ministry of Interior and Khao Kho District Community Development Office for final review. After that, all selected members drew lots for housing and arable land as specified. Any person did not draw lots would be considered a waiver. Of 100 people, 6 of them did not use the right to draw lots. So, 6 plots of land were not occupied.

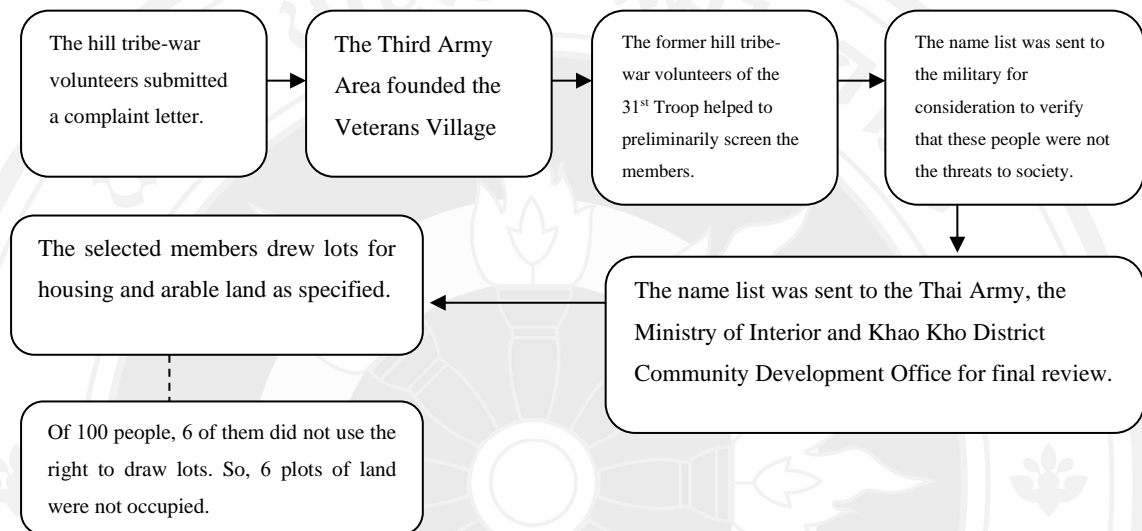


Figure 4.5 The Process Carried Out by the Third Army Area through the Complaint of the Former Hill Tribe-War Volunteers of the 31st Troop

Source: Developed by the researcher

Their struggles were well responded by the government and the military. So, they believed that this project would be successful without any problem. However, the implementation of the project inevitably caused problems. The problems were caused by the budget allocation of the military in the implementation of the project, so the project cannot be completed. There were also conflicts among the hill tribe-war volunteers. When they filed complaints that led the Thai Army to implement the Veterans Village Project, the group came up with two ideas. The first group wanted the Thai Army to establish the village with houses, utilities, and rights certificate like the village of the citizen volunteers in the past. But the second group thought that they had to hurriedly make use in the area so that the Thai Army would recognize that they were in serious trouble. This group had to build houses on the land that they obtained

from drawing lots. They had to build their own bathroom and do farming in the allocated arable land. There were also the problems of arable land that overlapped with that of the citizen volunteers and the arable land that was cliff areas. Although there were many problems, this group still wanted to use the land. However, the struggle had continued. The struggle issues can be divided as follows.

#### 1) Group Formation

Since the end of the war, their group formation had remained informal. In 1970, the Thai Army issued a policy of recruiting the hill tribe-war volunteers to join the military, which was the opponent of the Communist Party. So, 6 Troops (11<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup>, 21<sup>st</sup>, 22<sup>nd</sup>, 31<sup>st</sup>, 32<sup>nd</sup>) were formed to fight against the communist terrorists because the hill tribes were skilled in mountainous areas. The Force Groups were established at Ban Khek Noi, Khek Noi Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province. At first, there were 64 war volunteers. Their missions were as follows: 1) finding news of the communist terrorists in the area, 2) connecting the relationship between the government officials and the hill tribes, 3) protecting the village from the threats of the communist terrorists, 4) performing patrol duties and getting rid of the communist terrorists (Division of the Prevention and Suppression of Communist Region 3, 1971).

Therefore, their group formation was still informal. Most of the 31<sup>st</sup> Group Forces resided mainly at Ban Khek Noi, Khao Kho Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province because in the past, the Third Army Area used the area of Ban Khek Noi as a military camp during the war. At present, it is the location of Khek Noi Veterans Association, and the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop have lived in Ban Khek Noi area. Some may move from Phu Thap Boek and other villages on Khao Kho. Therefore, Khek Noi Veterans Association was an important place for the former hill tribe-war volunteers to meet together to plan the struggle in the beginning.

In the 2010s, their group formation was informal with the aim to survive from their immigration. Later, when there was a recruitment of the hill tribe-war volunteers, a total of 6 Troops were formally formed. After the war ended, the Troops of the hill tribe-war volunteers were officially disbanded (Kheknoi Veterans Association, 2014). However, their sense of being the hill tribe-war volunteers still

remained. They used Khek Noi Veterans Association as a center for organizing meetings and various activities. The 31<sup>st</sup> Troop was like the owner of the area because the other Troops were not in the same area as the Third Army Area. However, the 32<sup>nd</sup> Troop had been partially assisted with houses and land. So, they did not get involved in the struggle process much (Smart Tay, 2019: Interview).

The hill tribe-war volunteers heard about the additional assistance that the government had provided to Thai nation development cooperators from their friends who were Thai nation development cooperators. As a result, they held a meeting of 6 Troops at Ban Khek Noi. They agreed that they needed the assistance like that of Thai nation development cooperators. However, the hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop came to the conclusion that they wanted the government to provide houses and arable land as promised during the war. After that, they filed a complaint to the Abhisit Vejjajiva government. Then the government ordered the Third Army Area to take action to respond to the complaint (Smart Tay, 2019: Interview).

The Third Army Area resolved the issue of housing and arable land under the Veterans Village Project, but it was not completed (Office of the Army Secretary, 2016). The hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop who participated in the project felt that they were abandoned. Consequently, they held another meeting and their opinions were separated into two sides. The first group wanted the Third Army Area to completely manage the Veterans Village Project. This group would live in their old homes built on the royal property areas. Nevertheless, another group moved to live in the project area, built houses and took care of themselves without returning to their old homes. Therefore, the former hill tribe-war volunteers in this group formed a group to proceed the struggle (Image Ya, 2019: Interview).

Some of the former hill tribe-war volunteers attempted to use peaceful strategies in the struggle. An important tool was the leader of the struggle who had courage, sacrifice and patience. He had to submit complaints to various government agencies. The secretary of Khek Noi Veterans Association was the one who wrote the complaint letters. Only the leader, the secretary and one follower travelled to file complaints for convenience. Each time, an independent academic provided help and was responsible for expenses (Matoom Pre, 2019: Interview). At the beginning of the



complaint, there was help from the group members who lived in the area. Later, when complaints were more frequent and there were conflicts from the separation into two groups of the former hill tribe-war volunteers, the complaint process was not smooth. There were also complaints among the members within the group. When complaints were raised in the group, the Third Army Area acted as the negotiator (Paisan Wong, 2019: Interview).

Even though there were complaints within the group, the leader and some group members did not stop filing complaints to the government. They referred to the government assistance given to Thai nation development cooperators which was more than what was given to them. As a result, on August 19, 2020, the military commission considered the rights of non-commissioned military personnel and war veterans related to the assistance given to the former hill tribe-war volunteers because the given assistance was inconsistent with the information provided by the Third Army Area. For example, it was claimed that 1,500 rai of arable land was provided to 100 former hill tribe-war volunteers of 31<sup>st</sup> Troop. In fact, only 600 rai of land can be utilized. For this reason, in September 2020, the military commission had to visit and inspect the area. The military commission's visit was taken care by the Third Army Area (Military commission, 2020).

It can be seen that group formation was the first process to empower this struggle. Although the hill tribes love freedom, when they have to fight for their group's survival, they can unite to build negotiation power because they are labeled as destroyers rather than creators. A study by Prasit Lee-Preecha (2011) found that ethnic groups, especially highland Hmong, were labeled by the Thai state as a threat to national security. Especially during the communist movement (1967 - 1977), the image of the Hmong people was viewed by the Thai government as a group of people that were a threat to national security.

## 2) Complaints and petitions

Filing complaints is a key principle of the struggle process that requires knowledgeable people who are competent in writing official documents and using proper language. The complaint letters of the former hill tribe-war volunteers of 31<sup>st</sup> Troop were written by a group member who used to work at the Subdistrict Administrative Organization and used to draft various official documents.

Consequently, the complaint letters were filled with important, complete and relevant content of the complaints.

I used to work as an employee at the SAO. I know about working with documents. So, I was responsible for dealing with the documents of the group. (Bancha Chao, personal communication, September 9, 2019)

The decision of submitting complaints was made because they had heard about the assistance of Thai nation development cooperators since the promulgation of the policy No. 66/2523 (1980). Until 2010, they received the news about the assistance given to Thai nation development cooperators from their friends who were Thai nation development cooperators again. As a result, they decided to invite the former leaders of 5 Troops to meet together at Khek Noi Veterans Association. Finally, they decided to file a complaint to the Yingluck government claiming that all of the hill tribe-war volunteers of 6 Troops did not receive any assistance from the government, and the Thai military that promised to allocate houses and arable land to all the hill tribe volunteers. They also referred to the Abhisit government that approved budget to help Thai nation development cooperators for 225,000 baht per each person, which cost more than two billion baht in total (Komchadluek). This made the hill tribe-war volunteers felt unfair. They also referred to the assistance of the Third Army Area and ISOC Region 3 in 2010 on an action plan to repatriate Lao Hmong smugglers from the controlled area at Ban Huai Nam Khao, Khek Noi Subdistrict, Phetchabun Province to Laos on December 28, 2009. This indicated that the Third Army Area, ISOC Region 3 and the former hill tribe-war volunteers still had relationship with each other. But, they did not receive continuous assistance. One of them described about this issue briefly as follows.

In terms of the Lao Hmong people from Huai Nam Khao, the military asked us to help communicate to push the Lao Hmong back to Laos because they cannot communicate. We helped the Third Army Area because we were in the area. The military always asked for our help. If we did not help, the Third Army Area's mission may fail. (Bancha Chao, personal communication, September 9, 2019)

The details and essence of the hill tribe-war volunteers' complaints can be presented based on the following periods.

In 2010, Khek Noi Veterans Association made a petition for assistance in housing and agricultural land as well as the amount of required compensation. The head of the veterans problem solving working group also made a memorandum asking permission to add the additional purpose of utilization of Plot 8 of the Khek River Basin Development Project for ISOC Region 3, as approved by the commander of the Third Army Area /the director of ISOC Region 3 on the utilization principles according to the complaints of the veterans problem solving working group. The additional purpose allowing people to use and live in Plot 8 (Ban Saliang Haeng 1) with an area of 1,500 rai was added. The project's details and the announcement of the Royal Forest Department regarding the determination of areas in the National Reserved Forest for the use of government organizations, No. 111/2533 (1990) were also added. Therefore, the Thai Army carried out the Integrated Agricultural Development Project of the Royal Initiative Project in the Khek River Basin area of 1,500 rai from July 25, 1990 to July 24, 2020 (28<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Battalion, 2015) .

However, there were considerations regarding the problem of people invading in the area of 212 rai from the actual area measured by GPS, which was 1,965 rai. Most of the invaders were the citizen volunteers. Therefore, they were asked to leave the area after harvesting. Some were prosecuted by law. However, this did not affect the project implementation because solving the security problems of the former hill tribe-war volunteers at Ban Khek Noi was important. So, the request for permission to use the area together with the timely resolution was proceeded. Therefore, The additional purpose allowing people to use and live in Plot 8 area was proposed for approval (28<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Battalion, 2015) .

A complaint in 2010 led ISOC Region 3 and the Third Army Area to implement the Veterans Village. The Internal Security Operations Command Region 3 was responsible for the fiscal year 2011 (Internal Security Operations Command Region 3, 2019), but the compensation was not provided like that of the Thai nation development cooperators. The project was also unable to complete due to no additional budget approval. As a result, only residential and arable land were surveyed. The land was divided into 100 plots. Two Ngan of housing area (800 square

meters) and 10 rai of arable land were allocated for each war volunteer, but no infrastructure was provided at all. So, they continued filing complaints.

In 2010, a meeting of the committee screening veterans members of the Veterans Village Project was held by Phetchabun Military County and the Kek River Basin Development Project Coordination Center. The lists of the committee consisted of the representatives of ISOC Region 3, the commander of 31<sup>st</sup> Troop, the chairman of Khek Noi Veterans Association and some members of Khek Noi Veterans Association. At the meeting, land survey was conducted to divide the land into residential and arable land plots for providing to the hill tribe-war volunteers. ISOC Region 3 was responsible for fiscal year 2011. The war veterans living at Ban Khek Noi were sorted out according to their status into 4 groups namely: 1) the war veterans who did not have arable land and were poor, 2) the war veterans who had insufficient land and were poor, 3) the war veterans who did not have arable land problem, 4) the war veterans who already died (not having arable land or insufficient arable land and poor). There was also a background check on the war veterans who committed illegal acts, had drug-related history or behaviors detrimental to the national security. However, in that year, ISOC Region 3 also approved a land survey project to divide residential and arable land plots for the war veterans (the hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop). Therefore, the budget for surveying about 400,000 baht was approved. Phetchabun Military County and the Kek River Basin Development Project Coordination Center were responsible for this survey and reported the performance in every 1 month (28<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Battalion, 2015) .

Meanwhile, drawing lots for land allocation was administered by the Third Army Area because it can provide concrete and clear evidence. It also caused no doubts to the military and the former hill tribe-war volunteers. The hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop who voluntarily live in Plot 8 (Ban Saliang Haeng 1) had to sign their name on the consent form. There were 100 residential and arable land plots. Since it was a pilot project, 94 former hill tribe-war volunteers voluntarily joined the project. So, 6 residential plots were vacant. The arable land overlapping with those of the citizen volunteers and the former hill tribe-war volunteers was also surveyed. In addition, a memorandum of agreement of the Veterans Village Project members was also made by the Third Army Area / ISOC Region 3 (28<sup>th</sup> Cavalry

Battalion, 2015). After that, the former hill tribe-war volunteers relocated their residence in hopes of owning the residential and arable land as promised by the Thai Army. However, the operations did not go as expected. So, many more complaints were made.

In 2012, Khek Noi Veterans Association, Khek Noi Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province, submitted two complaint letters to the Yingluck government, requesting consideration in providing assistance to the former hill tribe-war volunteers of 6 Troops. The first letter dated August 15, 2012, ending with the list of the representatives of the hill tribe-war volunteers of 6 Troops. The second letter dated September 13, 2012, ending with the name of the chairman of Kek Noi Veterans Association, asking for compensation in the amount of 800,000 baht per person. It stated that if they did not get help like Thai nation development cooperators, they would continue seeking justice (Kheknoi Veterans Association, 2012, pp. 1-3).

In 2014, Khek Noi Veterans Association submitted a complaint letter to the Head of the National Council for Peace and Order, petitioning for assistance. They referred to two complaint letters submitted in 2012. In addition, the letter asking for giving urgent assistance to the former hill tribe-war volunteers of 6 Troops submitted to the mobile cabinet meeting in Uttaradit Province on January 20, 2013. It stated that there was no progress in providing assistance. The letter ended with the list of the representatives of the hill tribe-war volunteers of 6 Troops. At the same time, a complaint letter was also submitted to Lieutenant General Preecha Chan-ocha, the commander of the Third Army Area at that time. A copy of the complaint letter requesting for assistance submitted to the Head of the National Council for Peace and Order was attached for acknowledging the Third Army Area since all 6 Troops were under the responsibility of the Third Army Area (Kheknoi Veterans Association, 2014).

In 2015, Khek Noi Veterans Association submitted a complaint letter to the Chief of Staff of the Third Army Area, petitioning for assistance. A copy of the complaint letter submitted in 2012, a copy of the complaint submitted to the mobile cabinet meeting, as well as a letter submitted to the Third Army Area and other relevant documents such as the photographs and the list of the former hill tribe-war volunteers were attached with the complaint letter. The details in the letter were

complaints asking for fairness in obtaining assistance like that of the Thai nation development cooperators, and the denial of the committee assisting the Thai nation development cooperators in providing assistance for the former hill tribe-war volunteers. The committee stated that they were not responsible for considering assistance provision for other groups. This made no progress in providing assistance (Kheknoi Veterans Association, 2014).

In 2016, the Third Army Area tried to explain the assistance given to the former hill tribe-war volunteers since 1982 as follows. The commander of the Third Army Area at that time, gave a map of Ban Lao Lue and Ban Petch Dam (present), approximately 5,000 rai. The land in this area was allocated to some of the former hill tribe-war volunteers (32<sup>nd</sup> Troop), some citizen volunteers, some Yao hill tribes and some Lisu hill tribes to live together. So, in June, 2016, Khek Noi Veterans Association explained the facts through an official letter submitted to the Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Thai Army and Office of the Army Secretary (Office of the Army Secretary, 2016).

It was found that only the 32<sup>nd</sup> Troop had already acquired houses and arable land. But other former hill tribe-war volunteers did not have houses and arable land. The Third Army Area claimed that 100 plots of residential and arable land at Ban Saliang Haeng 1, Village No. 3, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province were allocated to the former hill tribe-war volunteers. But the reality was that there was no budget support for the implementation of the Third Army Area and ISOC Region 3 at Plot 8 of the Khek Basin Development Project to assist the hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop, starting from 2010 – 2013, a total of 4 years with the budget of 24 million baht. Moreover, at the end of the project in 2013, there was no follow-up on the project. There were also problems during the project implementation, such as not receiving real budget support from ISOC Region 3, the allocation of 1,500 rai of land was not practical. Only 700 rai of land can be used. There was also the lack of basic utilities for the residents. One of the hill tribe-war volunteers gave the interview as follows.

The army said they would sort it out. But the project returned successfully only in the documents. In reality, there were problems. We knew that the Third Army Area asked for the budget, but there was no response. The project was

terminated. No one else did anything. (Bancha Chao, personal communication, September 9, 2019)

In 2017, Khek Noi Veterans Association submitted a letter requesting the appointment of a committee to consider the provision of assistance to the former hill tribe-war volunteers of 6 Troops to the Advisor to the Secretary-General of the Internal Security Operations Command. They also attached the documents showing that the Thai government asked for support from the former hill tribe-war volunteers in order to ask for fairness in allocating houses and land like that of Thai nation development cooperators. However, they did not receive any response.

On January 13, 2018, they submitted a complaint letter requesting the allocation of housing and arable land to the Office of the Prime Minister (Kheknoi Veterans Association, 2018).

On September 18, 2018, a complaint letter was submitted to the Government Complaint Center when the Prime Minister traveled to perform official duties and had an official cabinet meeting outside the area in Phetchabun Province (Paisan Wong, 2019: Interview).

On October 10, 2018, a complaint letter was submitted to the Office of the Permanent Secretary Prime Minister Office (Office of the Permanent Secretary Prime Minister Office, 2018).

On November 19, 2018, a complaint letter was submitted to the Office of the Permanent Secretary Prime Minister Office (Office of the Permanent Secretary Prime Minister Office, 2018).

In 2019, the former hill-tribe war volunteers submitted a complaint letter asking for assistance for the former hill-tribe war volunteers of all 6 Troops to the Commander of the Third Army Area. A copy of the complaint letters since 2012, the documents detailing various duties in the past, such as photographs, name lists of the former hill-tribe war volunteers and their heirs were attached for asking ISOC Region 3 to set up a committee to consider the provision of assistance like that of Thai nation development cooperators (Kheknoi Veterans Association, 2019).

On April 22, 2019, Paisan Wong submitted a complaint letter requesting the provision of houses and arable land to the Office of the Prime Minister. The

document requesting assistance with the extension of electricity and roads to Ban Khiangfa, Saliang Haeng 1, Village No. 3, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province, the photographs of the project, the regulations of the Veterans Village and a copy of the letter submitted to the District Chief of Khao Kho District and the Chief Executive of Khao Kho Subdistrict Administrative Organization were attached with the complaint letter (Kheknoi Veterans Association, 2019).

The Office of the Permanent Secretary Prime Minister Office wrote a reply letter explaining that they had already coordinated with ISOC Region 3, submitted a letter to the Prime Minister for consideration and reported this issue to the secretary-general of the Prime Minister (Office of the Permanent Secretary Prime Minister Office, 2020).

In each complaint, there was the rotation of the representatives of former hill-tribe war volunteers in submitting a complaint letter. The secretary of the former hill-tribe war volunteers wrote the letter because he used to work as an employee in Khao Kho Subdistrict Administrative Organization, but he resigned because the salary was not enough for his living. Working in Khao Kho Subdistrict Administrative Organization allowed him to learn to write various official letters and documents. So, he was able to use correct Thai language and write various official documents submitted to the government offices such as the Third Army Area, ISOC Region 3 and Office of the Prime Minister.

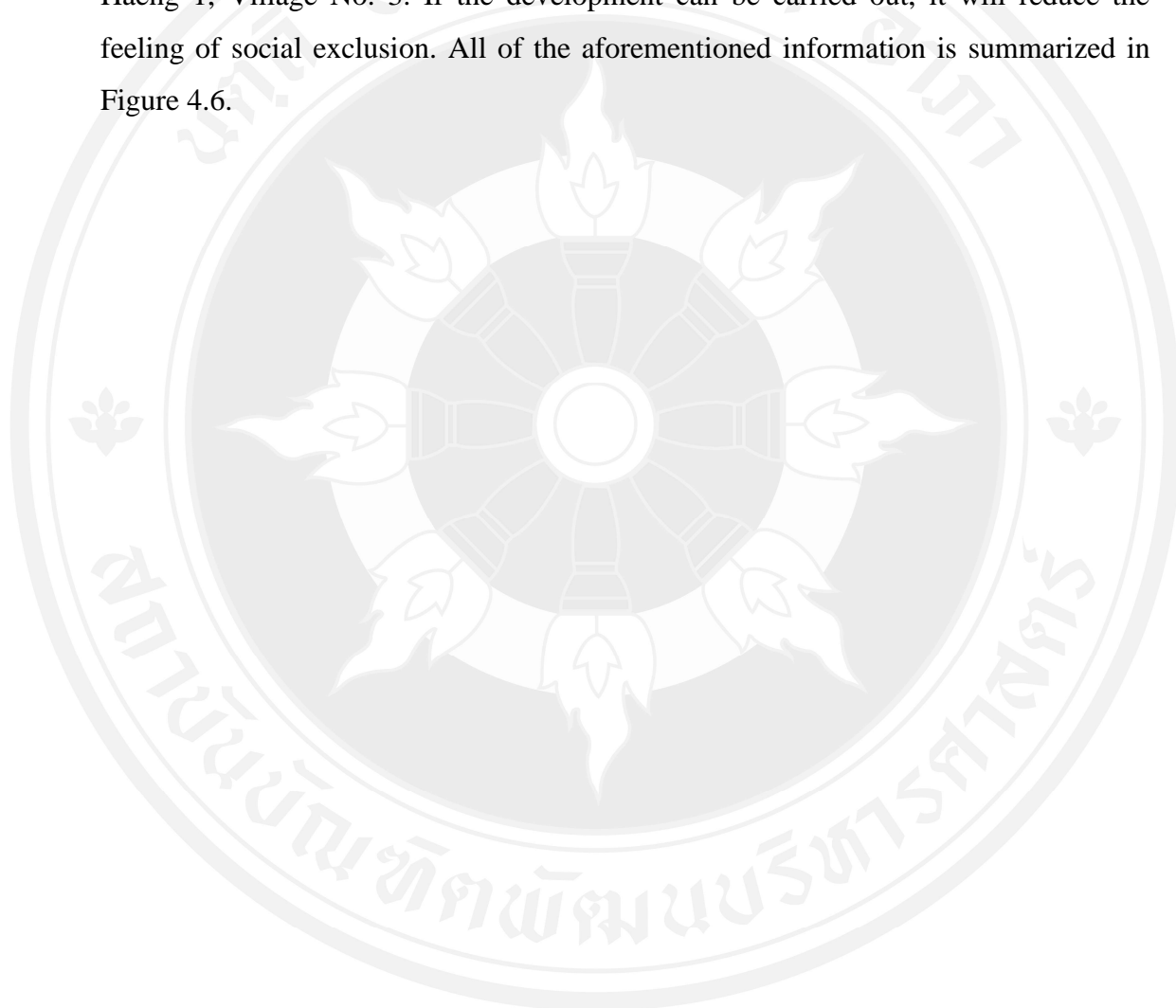
Moreover, the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop appealed the petition to His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej regarding the fairness of land allocation. This happened in 2016 when King Rama IX was ill. The representative who submitted the petition gave the interview as follows.

We submitted a letter to King Rama IX. At that time, he was seriously ill. The government and the government officers did not consider our complaint. (Paisan Wong, personal communication, September 10, 2019)

Even though the petition had been taken, in the end, the problem was solved under the cooperation of the Interior and the Third Army Area. All of the members of Ban Khiangfa were merged to be part of Ban Saliang Haeng 1, Village No. 3, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province. This was



carried out to allow the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop, who were left amid the termination of the Veterans Village Project, to be the members of Ban Saliang Haeng 1, Village No. 3. They were also granted with the right to join the village community. Therefore, they were able to vote in the village development. They can also present the problems in Ban Khiangfa regarding basic utilities such as electricity, water supply and roads to the village community for requesting the development budget used to develop Ban Khiangfa to be equivalent to Ban Saliang Haeng 1, Village No. 3. If the development can be carried out, it will reduce the feeling of social exclusion. All of the aforementioned information is summarized in Figure 4.6.



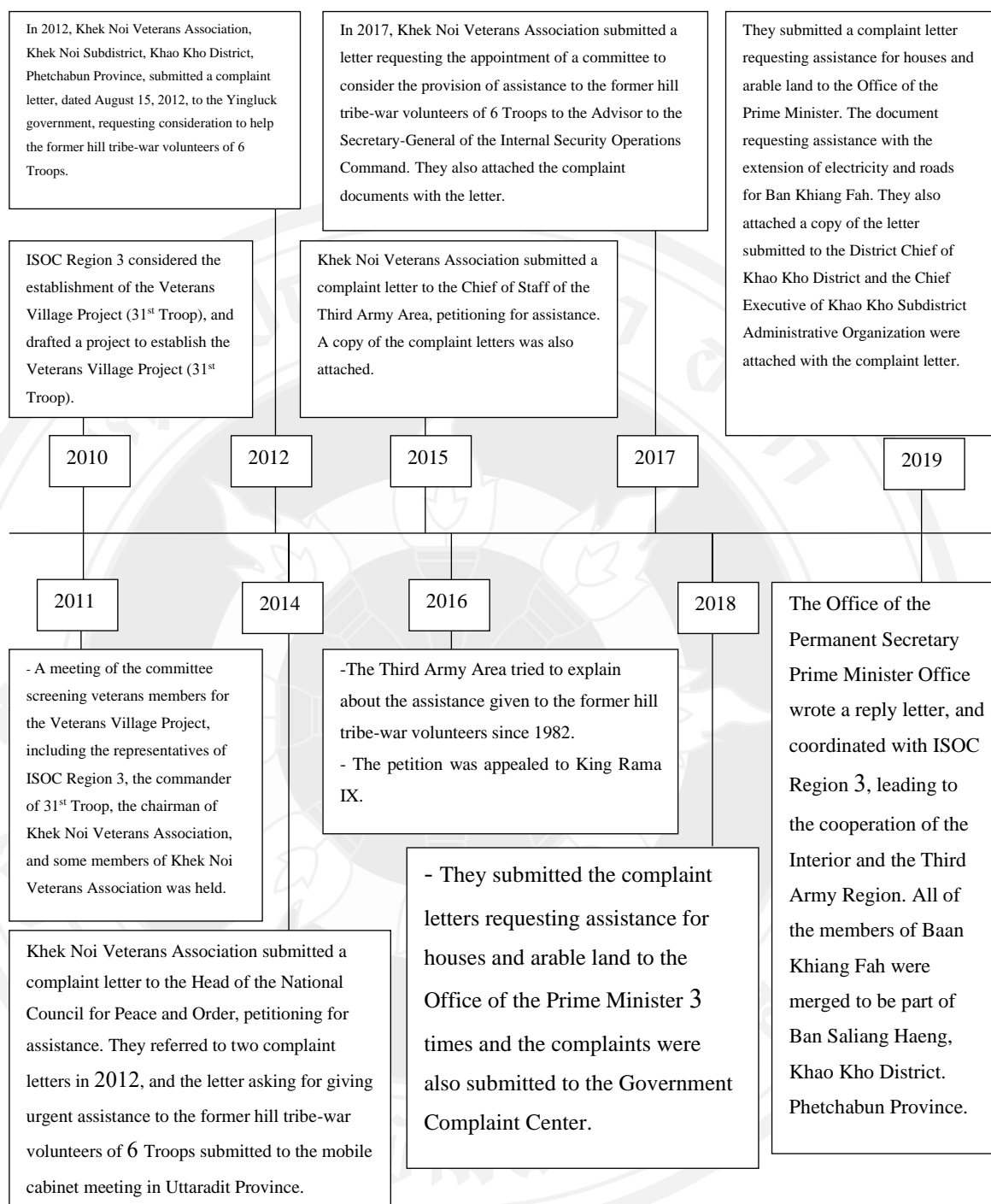


Figure 4.6 Complaints of the Former Hill Tribe-War Volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop

Source: Developed by the researcher

However, only 100 families of Ban Khiangfa applied for the Veterans Village Project to receive assistance with houses and arable land. They moved to Ban Khiangfa by applying to be part of the housing and arable land lottery in the Veterans Village Project. So, there remained another group of the hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop, called Ban Ratanai Group. They were a group of people living in Ban Khek Noi since the end of the war and they still had to rent and live in the royal property area at Ban Khek Noi. The Third Army Area stated that they would observe how the management of Ban Khiangfa was like first. It can be seen that there were many problems that had arisen before it reached this point. Therefore, solving problems related to housing and arable land of other troops as well as Ban Ratanai Group had to wait for further solutions. A former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop, living at Ratanai house, gave the interview as follows.

The people living at Ban Khiangfa and Ban Ratanai used to be the hill tribe-war volunteers. But those living at the Ban Khiangfa were allocated with houses and arable land by drawing lots. So, they have houses and arable land both at that area and at Ban Khek Noi. Another group, which is Ban Ratnai Group, living at Ban Khek Noi also had housing and arable land problems because Khek Noi is a royal property area, so we have to pay rent. We do not want this. (Image Ya, personal communication, September 11, 2019)

Although the Third Army Area was trying to resolve the problems, the management of the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop seemed to have conflict which was typical for mass coexistence. Moreover, as they were the first group of people of Ban Khiangfa, who were allocated with houses and arable land, they must coexist under the rules set by the Third Army Area before the responsibility of Ban Khiangfa was handed over to Ban Saliang Haeng 1. For this reason, each household of the former hill tribe-war volunteers had different ideas, religions and beliefs. They needed to adjust themselves. Especially, they had to live without facilities. The infrastructure was not provided like other communities around. As a result, some people may live their life under the traditional ways of life, such as living mountain life, using water from mountains, using natural light while doing activities at night or relieving the cold by lighting a fire together with using a thick blanket.

However, some group members struggled to find way to comfort themselves, and to other people in their own group. The people in this group lived mainly at Ban Khiangfa and they would return to Ban Kek Noi only for important annual events or meetings at Kek Noi Veterans Association. Therefore, this group mainly played a role in the development of Baan Kiang. This indicated the separation of people in Ban Khiangfa. Even if no other person intervened or caused conflicts, they created social exclusion by themselves.

At the same time, another group who mainly resided at Ban Kek Noi and had the right to live and occupy arable land at Ban Khiangfa, explained about the reasons of not joining with another group. They thought that the military should take responsibility for the development of the area like they did for the citizen volunteers, such as building houses and providing utilities and arable land for making it a buffer village in the communist era. Therefore, this group of people thought that there was no need to do anything on their own. A member of this group gave the interview on this issue as follows.

We think that the government agencies must take care of it. It is not necessary for us to submit the petition to the King. Because if it is a project for us, allowing 100 households to live in, the government agencies have to be responsible for it. We did not need to complain. (Smart Tay, personal communication, September 11, 2019)

Despite the different opinions of the group, in the end, the people who lived in Ban Khiangfa were the ones who truly struggled to survive. On the contrary, those who did not live in Ban Khiangfa, but had the right to live in Ban Khiangfa, became the ones who gained benefits from the struggle.

### 3) Networks

As mentioned earlier, the hill tribe-war volunteers living in the Veterans Village Project area were divided into two groups. The first group required the army to manage and provide complete facility like the that of the citizen volunteers. The second group did not want to wait for the army' s assistance. They tried to help themselves as much as they could. Therefore, the second group came up with the idea of developing their living area.

During 2010-2011, it was the period when they had to live in the area allocated by the military. It was an empty land area. Therefore, all of the hill tribe-war volunteers living in this area had to build their houses by themselves. Most of the houses were made of soil into clay houses. For wooden house, they had to ask for unused wood from the forest and transport it by a pickup truck. Any household having a pickup truck had to help others with the transport of wood. Everyone who asked for help with the transport of wood using had to pay for gas. Cement and bricks were quite expensive. Each house was designed and styled based on the taste and the financial capacity of each household. Most of them were clay houses. In terms of toilets, some houses still used old-fashioned toilets. Some used sanitary toilets. When the stability of the house was checked for making a copy of the house registration, each homeowner must take action to make the house permanently stable and the toilet must be hygienic.

According to their self-help efforts, this group of people asked for help from a variety of sources while simultaneously making complaints. The request for assistance with basic utilities was initiated by one of the hill tribe-war volunteers who used to work at Phu Thap Boek Subdistrict Administrative Organization. So, he had known and been in contact with an independent academic who worked in the Phu Thap Boek area. When this hill tribe-war volunteer moved to live in the project area and various problems occurred, this independent academic always provided advice and assistance as well as basic utilities for Ban Khiangfa.

This independent academic helped with electricity and water supply. He raised funds via Facebook so that anyone who wanted to help the hill tribe-war volunteers can donate money to his account. Ten thousand baht was gained from the donation. It was used to buy solar panels, water tanks and water pipes to transport water from the mountains. He had also posted on the Facebook Page to report about the assistance given to the hill tribes until the equipment was delivered and installed. In conclusion, 16 solar panels and 24 water tanks were donated to 16 households. PVC pipes for transporting water from the mountains were also provided. One of the members of Baan Khiangfa gave the interview as follows.

I have known him when I was working at Phu Thap Boek. At that time, this academic was working on development. He had a lot of friends on social media.

He asked others for donation to help us. (Paisan Wong, personal communication, September 11, 2019)

For the construction of the road to Ban Khiangfa, at the beginning before the project was implemented, this area was in the middle of a forest with no entrance or exit. When the project was implemented, there was a problem with the budget causing no further action. This caused the group to join together to clear the forest and construct the road to the village. Later, when entering the area, they realized that the project area was adjacent to the route that the villagers in that area used for traveling to do farming. Therefore, the hill tribe-war volunteers constructed the road into the village and the old route was closed. This road was constructed by the hill tribe-war volunteers, who lived at Ban Khiangfa and they also asked for assistance from the Provincial Administrative Organization to help with the truck for constructing the road. This request for assistance was done because there was a complaint to the Provincial Administrative Organization (PAO), but the PAO could not allocate the budget to help because of the government regulations. Ban Khiangfa was not in the bureaucratic system, so the Provincial Administrative Organization can just help with the fuel cost. However, the road was still difficult to travel. Only motorcycles, bicycles and pickup trucks can pass through it. During the rainy season or flooding, it was more difficult to travel. Especially, when some members of the hill tribe-war volunteers had a sudden illness, it was very difficult to move the patients, and the ambulance was unable to enter the area.

In addition, request for assistance was also asked from government agencies, such as Khao Kho Subdistrict Administrative Organization, Phetchabun Provincial Administrative Organization. These government agencies can help only on their own behalf or provide only the assistance that did not use official procedures. The expenditure budget cannot be disbursed because the village of the hill tribe-war volunteers was not in the system. So, budget disbursement may violate government regulations. The hill tribe-war volunteers also submitted complaints to the Third Army Area continually. A representative from the government agencies commented on this issue as follows.

They asked for help at the SAO. We had to tell them that we had to follow the government system. Ban Khiangfa was still not in the system, so it was difficult to help. but I gave them my personal assistance. I helped them as much as I can. (Khun Moon, personal communication, September 11, 2019)

The aforementioned self-help efforts through social networks are in accordance with a study by Namthip Wipawin (2015, pp. 119-121), investigating how social networks are connected with individuals or groups. Relationships consist of various forms of social interactions such as friends, relatives, colleagues, advice, trust, communication via email and social media, cooperation, being a co-author and citations of various research findings. The members of the network can be both individuals and non-individuals such as organizations, institutions, journal articles and web pages. Content exchanged in social networks contains both tangible and intangible resources such as goods, money, information and beliefs.

It can be seen that housing, electricity, water and roads, which were the factors of livelihood, were sufficient from self-help through social networks that each person had. The people without social networks used their labor instead. In addition, the hill tribe-war volunteers also received financial assistance from NGOs, businessmen and government officials whom they submitted complaint letters to. Others also helped with funds. The former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop did not do income or expenditure account, but they gave the right to those who asked for help to be the clarifiers and operators in each matter.

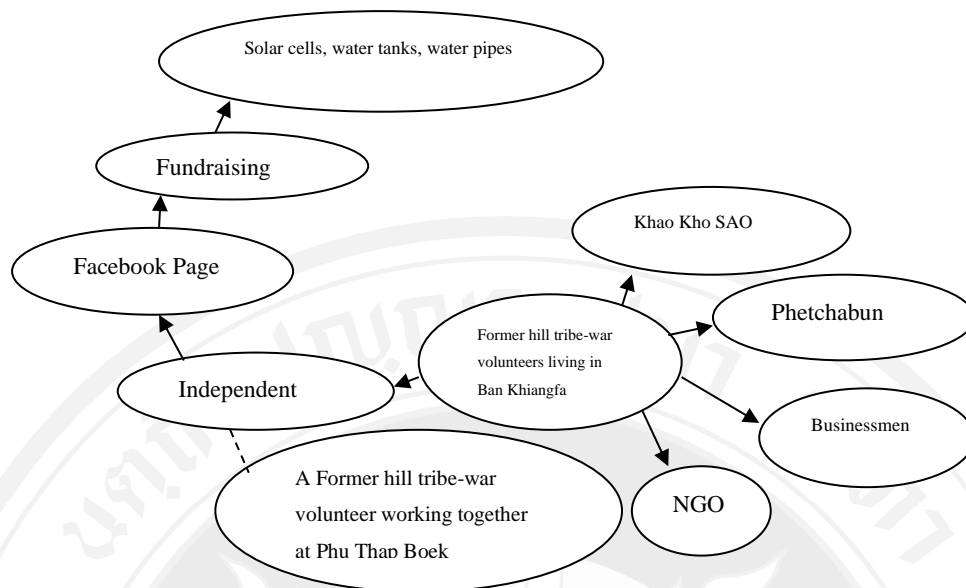


Figure 4.7 The Assistance Network of Ban Khiangfa before the Provision of the Government Assistance

Source: Developed by the researcher (2021)

Furthermore, they received a donation from a businesswoman. Because the hill tribe-war volunteers used to help her father when he was robbed, she wanted to pay back to these former hill tribe-war volunteers. So, when the hill tribe-war volunteers asked for help, she donated money to them for carrying out various operations.

In the case of the project's basic infrastructure problem, ISOC Region 3 stated that they were working to solve the problem. In the early 2010, the budget was approved, but there were some problems. A former hill tribe-war volunteer of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop gave the interview as follows.

There were many problems. For example, when surveying the land, in the document, there was 1,500 rai of land. But after surveying, there was only 700 rai. So, some of us did not get the land as stated. We did not say anything. There was also a survey of the land that was a cliff as well as the land that belonged to the citizen volunteers, so we could not use it. (Paisan Wong, personal communication, September 12, 2019)



However, the assistance from the networks of the self-help group was not provided for every household in Ban Khiangfa because of insufficient donations as well as the satisfaction of the donors. From the independent academic's field visits, it was found that some houses were uninhabited. Therefore, there was no need for basic utilities. The networks expected the hill tribe-war volunteers to have self-reliance in a sustainable way and receive full assistance from the government.

The emergence of Ban Khiangfa development through the assistance of the networks showed that the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop were in a state of surrender to the government assistance because there were no laws or budget allocation procedures to assist them, in particular, the assistance from the Third Army Area that they had been under command during the war. The Third Army Area justified that there was no budget to continue the project, so the operations were ceased in after land survey was completed. Therefore, the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop were left in a state of being abandoned and a distinct feeling of being marginalized. According to a study by Surichai Wankaew (2007), it was found that the marginal people are those who are suppressed and marginalized from the geographical context. The former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop were abandoned by the mainstream society. Even though the project area was only two kilometers away from the village of Ban Saliang Haeng 1, Village No. 3, these two areas were completely different. Ban Khiangfa had no water, electricity and water supply, but Ban Saliang Haeng 1 had all basic utilities.

However, according to the immediate resolution of the infrastructure problem mentioned above, it was found that the actions of the former hill tribe-war volunteers were involved in creating a social space for their group towards the mainstream society. So, their group had the identity and a new definition was defined. This is consistent with a study by Chairat Charoensin-o-larn (2017), which argued that the struggles among socially excluded groups are the struggles that try to create space to define and contest new definitions for their group. In response to social exclusion, the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop enlisted help from social networks, and they received assistance from individuals and groups of people. These groups of people spread information about helping the former hill tribe-war volunteers via the online networks. This made the mainstream society changed the

attitude towards the hill tribe-war volunteers from the Hmong people or hill tribes who deforested, cultivated opium and loved freedom to be the war volunteers helping to fight in the anti-communist war who were neglected unlike Thai nation development cooperators, despite being the communist terrorists, who created chaos in the country at that time, but received the government assistance.

It can be seen that the construction of a social space has the same purpose, which is to make people, groups of people, communities and society accept, understand and open spaces for creating new definitions for people and groups of people who are different from them. The space construction process may require a combination of social process and physical building process.

#### **4.3.4 Outcomes of the Struggle**

The complaints raised by the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop in 2010 led to a resolution meeting of the Third Army Area and ISOC Region 3, resulting in the implementation of Khek River Basin Development Project. Initially, the initiation of the project was considered through the complaints of 148 the hill tribe-war volunteers. They submitted a complaint letter to the Third Army Area and ISOC Region 3, which were directly responsible for this issue. Finally, there was the order for establishing the project. There was also budget support. The rules and regulations were completely set (Army Region 3, 2011). Although the implementation of the project can support only some former hill tribe-war volunteers, which were 100 households of the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop, and another 4 Troops were not supported (the 32<sup>nd</sup> Troop had already received assistance in 1982), the former hill tribe-war volunteers perceived more fairness.

At first, 100 households of the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop were recruited, but only 94 households applied for the project. It was because some of them found difficulties in participating in the project such as living under in the military's regulations, having to build houses on their own and not having basic utilities. The hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop who decided to live in the area had gradually moved into the vacant land plots. There were complex arable land problems with the citizen volunteers who had lived in the area before. They also had to build houses on their own based on their personal resources and physical strength.

So, their houses located in the project may not have much stability and depend on their own resources. They planted a lot of trees around their houses and raised animals for agriculture according to their affordability. In addition, the obtained arable land overlapped with that of the citizen volunteers, making it impossible for the hill tribe-war volunteers to make use of the land (Kheknoi Veterans Association, 2012).

In addition, there were some problems with the basic infrastructure systems within the project. 1) Transportation: Since Plot 8 of the Royal Initiative Project was the area far away from the main road of Khao Kho District, and it was used by the villagers in Sadao Phong Subdistrict when they went to their farming areas, the road conditions depended on the weather. For example, when it rained, there was water stagnation, causing ground collapse. Also, hardening clay soil occurred in the dry season. So, only large vehicles such as pickup trucks, tractors, and small vehicles, such as motorcycles can be used for travelling on the road. This problem caused a huge impact when the patients in the village needed to go to the hospital for urgent treatment, which may result in loss of life. 2) Electricity: In the village, electricity was not provided like other villages because the request for an electric meter was an important process related to having the house registration. However, the former hill tribe-war volunteers did not have the house registration in Ban Khiangfa. They only had the rights designated by the Third Army Area to live together in Ban Khiangfa. Therefore, they had to request for solar cell donations from the networks of the people they knew. 3) Water: The request for water meter was in the same way as the request for an electric meter. So, the former hill tribe-war volunteers at Ban Khiangfa had an idea of connecting water pipes from the water sources in the mountains to the villages (Kheknoi Veterans Association, 2012). The key points of the outcomes can be described as follows.

#### 1) Housing and Land

The social exclusion of the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop was assisted by the Third Army Area through complaints. The focus was on housing and arable land because in the past, these hill tribe-war volunteers who were Hmong people and lived mainly in Ban Khek Noi, had to rent the royal property area. Some people had to rent a house. Additionally, they did not have their own arable

land. For this reason, they all agreed that having own houses and arable land was more sustainable.

When the Veterans Village Project was implemented in 2010, the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop were screened for participating in the project. In the first phase, prior to the Third Army Area's screening process, a preliminary screening of approximately 200 veterans' members was conducted by the Veterans Association's chairman and committee. The chairman compiled a list of people who would apply to participate in the project. After that 100 people were selected because it was a pilot project and there were rules that must be followed. Those who did not voluntarily comply with the regulations did not have to participate in the project. Some people withdrew from the project due to the complicated procedure and duration.

Once the preliminary screening was completed, the name lists were screened by the Third Army Area again for approval. Then the name lists were submitted to the Ministry of Interior and the Khao Kho District Community Development Office. Criminal and drug background and other illegal acts of those participating in the project must be checked. The period of operation was from February to March 2019.

When the number of the members was reached, the meeting of 100 households was held in 2010 and 2011. Finally, 94 former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop participated in the project. The former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop talked about their plans that before living in the project area, houses and utilities must be ready like other projects in Khao Kho (Citizen Volunteers' Strategic Village Establishment Project). In Ban Khiangfa, the Third Army Area divided the land into 100 plots. Two Ngan of residential area (800 square meters) and 10 rai of arable land were allocated to each war volunteer. The soldiers must build houses with bathrooms.

However, the Third Army Area had problems with budgeting, causing the project to halt. As a result, the project area had only the land that was divided into 100 land plots and the sign of the Veterans Village Project. For this reason, the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop had different ideas in their group. The first group thought that the Third Army Area should manage the area successfully, like the

Citizen Volunteer Strategic Village Project. A person who agreed with this idea gave the interview as follows.

But during the year 2012 and December 2011, the meetings of 100 household members were held. We agreed that houses must be built and ready to move in. (Smart Tay, personal communication, September 12, 2019)

The second group thought that they did not need to wait for the Third Army Area and they could enter the area even without any utilities because it was better than renting the royal property area at Ban Khek Noi. After that they may ask for utilities. They also made an official letter explaining about the assistance from the Third Army Area that they had not completely obtained. They said that the project had problems and failed due to the following reasons. 1) There was the lack of budget support from ISOC. 2) The Third Army Area and ISOC Region 3 cannot allocate 1,500 rai of residential and arable land as committed because only 700 rai of land can be used and only 21 members lived in the project area. 3) There was no basic utility system for the members who lived in the project area. (Paisan Wong, personal communication, September 12, 2019).

Meanwhile, the military continued to confirm, according to the letter Kor Hor 0400/2526 (1983), that houses and land were allocated to 100 the hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop at Ban Saliang Haeng, Sadoa Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province. According to the efforts in providing assistance of the Third Army Area, there were only 21 households out of 100 households living in the area. Therefore, it may affect the request for the budget for the implementation of the project. Some of the former hill tribe-war volunteers also considered this issue as well. But some thought that when there was budget support, the project would continue and the members would come to live in the area (Office of the Permanent Secretary Prime Minister Office, 2018).

Having different ideas made the second group of former hill tribe-war volunteers who entered to live permanently in the project area had to help themselves through social networks. At the same time, another group that had houses in both Ban Kek Noi and in the project area did not use social networks to ask for help. They stayed at Ban Kek Noi and waited for the Third Army Area to complete building the

village before moving in. The incident led to controversy because the benefits of the former hill tribe-war volunteers, such as having solar cells from donations would be limited to only those who permanently resided at Ban Khiangfa.

However, the number of the participants was limited to only 100 households because the army thought that the project should be piloted as a model for solving the housing and arable land problems for other groups. In addition, the eligibility to participate in the project also excluded some former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop because some of them had multiple addresses, which may be caused by immigration from many places such as Phu Thap Boek. However, they still needed to participate in the project because they needed more housing and arable land. Such actions can also cause conflicts in the group because some members thought this was the way to take advantages of the group. There was also the issue of solving the problems arising from the establishment of the Veterans Village Project that cannot be solved sustainably in the long term because the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop knew the origin of the land used to implement the project and thought in advance about the problem of arable land in the Khao Kho area that might be managed by the Royal Forest Department, and possibly there may be problems later on (Military commission, 2020).

In addition, there was also the problem of arable land overlapping with those who had lived before, which was a group called citizen volunteers, or a group of people that in 1971 the Third Army Area asked for a voluntary will to live in different areas set as buffer villages in Khao Kho District while the government was fighting against communism. The emergence of these villages made the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop aware of their own problems that they can only live on the royal property land and it was impossible to have housing and arable land like the citizen volunteers. Although the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop wanted to build their own village independent from other villages with the same rights as other villages in Khao Kho, according to the government practice, it was difficult and took time because at the Khao Kho area where the Third Army Area had the right to operate the project, other government agencies such as Royal Forest Department and Internal Security Division 3 were involved in. Moreover, most of the Khao Kho area can only have ownership documents, but it cannot be bought. There were strict

rules for village establishment according to the regulations of the Ministry of Interior (28<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Battalion, 2015; Department of Forestry, 2020). Therefore, the creation of equality in the establishment of the village of the former hill tribe-war volunteers may be difficult. It is not in accordance with the law on the establishment of a village. The village headman gave the interview on this issue as follows.

The separation of the village is related to the Local Administrative Act, B.E. 2457. It cannot be done because the number of population is not enough and it is not far from the old village, which is Ban Saliang Haeng. It is only 2 km away. So, the army had the hill tribe-war volunteers to live in Ban Saliang Haeng 1. They can ask for a house number from the village headman. (Sun Banny, personal communication, September 12, 2019)

However, in the end, the area of the Veterans Village Project became part of Ban Saliang Haeng 1. This was an opportunity to get solutions to the infrastructure problems. Once the members of Ban Saliang Haeng 1 knew that the project area and all members participating in the project would be part of their village, they felt that the government must help these people because the village members recognized that these people were the Hmong people who helped the soldiers fight against the communists and the provision of assistance was not finished. So, this problem must be solved (Phetchabun Provincial Offices of Natural Resources and Environment, 2020). Having the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop to be the members of Ban Saliang Haeng 1 was an action to solve the problem. However, to be the members of Ban Saliang Haeng 1, the former hill tribe-war volunteers cannot participate in the savings group. The village council asked for 1-2 years to observe and consider the behavior of the hill tribe-war volunteers in order to build trust in the group. Subsequently, the savings group and other village members may hold a meeting to discuss on how the hill tribe-war volunteers can become the members of the village savings group. One member of the savings group gave the interview as follows.

Usually, we live independently and do not interfere with each other. There are no problems. But if they want to be part of the village, they must follow our rules. There should not be any problem. But they are not allowed to be the members

of the savings group. We have to observe them for 1-2 years. (Beauty Nuan, personal communication, September 12, 2019)

The government's approach was used as an important tool to solve the problem. It was to merge the project to be part of Ban Saliang Haeng 1, Village No. 3, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province so that it can be operated under Ban Saliang Haeng 3, such as providing house registration for the hill tribe-war volunteers applying to the Veterans Village Project.

The involvement of the government organizations in the Khao Kao area was initiated when a meeting to discuss about the implementation of the Veterans Village Project was held. But the project could not continue and had to end because the budget was not approved. Moreover, the Veterans Village Project cannot be approved to be the village under the Department of Provincial Administration because of the government regulations and laws. Therefore, the military, the administration and the local government held a meeting to discuss and resolve this issue, especially the issue of basic utilities. As a result, in early 2019, the military, the administration and the local government went to the area to make the members of Ban Khiangfa understand about the situation that if they were under the army administration with the status of former hill tribe-war volunteers, it would be difficult to build a special village because the army did not approve the additional budget. The possibility of assistance in infrastructure in the future and the solutions to the problems that were concluded from the meeting of the three parties were also informed to the members of Ban Khiangfa. Then they went to the area again to talk with the members of Ban Khiangfa and monitored the situation. After that, they had waited for 2-3 weeks to see if the members of Ban Khiangfa agreed with the proposal or not. After they had known that the members of Ban Ban Khiangfa agreed with the proposal, the administration issued an order to the village headman and the community health volunteers to allow the members of Ban Khiangfa to be part of Ban Saliang Haeng 1. A representative of the government sector gave the interview as follows.

The government sector, the military and the local government had a meeting to discuss about how to solve the problems that occurred. Then the government officers went to the area to talk and explain to the villagers, and make



them understand about the establishment of a village based on laws and regulations. They also told the villagers that if they wanted assistance with infrastructure, they had to be part of Ban Saliang Haeng. After that, they waited for the villagers' decision. (Makid Por, personal communication, September 12, 2019)

At present, 43 out of 94 households are registered in Ban Khiangfa and 51 more households are going to be registered. However, the situation among the groups participating in the project resulted in disagreements. The group that tried to use social networks to develop Ban Khiangfa did not want the headman to register the house for another group, most of whom mainly lived in Ban Kek Noi because they thought that this group of people only received benefits. The group that did not seek help from outside also commented that they wanted the army or related agencies to act as they did for the village of the citizen volunteers, which was to establish the project area as a village. However, each project participant can register their house according to their rights. The headman of Ban Saliang Haeng 3 was the authority in proceeding house registration. The steps of house registration were as follows.

- (1) The village headman issued a house notification.

- (2) The villagers submitted the document to the Community Health Station for issuing a sanitation certificate. In the issuance of a sanitation certificate, the condition of each house and bathroom at Ban Khiangfa must be inspected by the representatives of the military, the village health volunteers, the subdistrict public health officers, the Deputy District Chief and the village headman. Everyone had a notebook and they would walk around to inspect the house to see if the house is strong, durable, complete, neat, safe and suitable for living, and if the bathroom is properly situated with proper hygiene or not. Any house with inappropriate house conditions and bathroom would not pass the initial qualifying examination. The officers would give advice for the houseowner to fix and improve the house. Then they would check it again until the house can be registered. One of the officials gave the interview as follows.

During the house inspection, we had to walk around the house. The soldiers, the village health volunteers, the subdistrict public health officers, the Deputy District Chief and the village headman, inspected the house one after another.

We walked to check if the toilet was hygienic or not. Some may require further modifications. We allowed them to improve the house without time limitation until it passed the inspection. (Doctor Sweet, personal communication, September 12, 2019)

Having many inspectors can create problems with house and bathroom inspection because some officials let it pass by seeing that homeowners cannot earn money to renovate their homes. So, it must be flexible. The officials also concerned about the villagers' family conditions, financial status and other contexts. But some officials thought that it was unable to be flexible because it could cause problems later on. For example, there might be complaints about why some houses passed the house inspection, but other did not. In addition, they thought that maintaining hygiene is important to control the disease. If it is not implemented according to the rules, it can cause epidemics. One of the officials gave the interview as follows.

When inspecting some houses, the village health volunteers did not want some houses to pass the inspection, but we (subdistrict public health officers) wanted them to pass due to their limitations. However, most of the people who had enough money made everything perfect. If not, it may be because they did have knowledge, such as forgetting to do a ventilation. For me, I concerned about their family, context and financial situation. I would help them with anything that can be flexible. (Doctor Sweet, personal communication, September 12, 2019)

(3) The documents must be submitted to the district office who would give the authority to the village headman in determining the house number.

The struggle on social exclusion rooted from the promises made by the Third Army Area, was based primarily on complaints. So, the image of the Hmong people has been recognized as the people with good hearts and logic. This indicates the potential of Thailand's political and administrative system in the management of ethnic groups living in the mountains of the country. The importance of building a good relationship between hill tribes and the Thai Army in border areas, which are fragile areas in both migration and drug matters has also been recognized. The implementation of the government's policies is consistent with a study by Kwanchewan Buadaeng (2007), stating that the government's policies for the

development of hill tribes in various fields are part of the mechanisms and institutional processes used to promote nation building. Moreover, the government's special policies on highland development, such as providing assistance to hill tribes and educating them along with providing citizenship through education can prevent the hill tribes from refusing to participation in the nation-building mechanism.

## 2) Income

The income of the hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop was related to the use of their house and arable land. That is to say, living in the area was consistent with the arable land overlapping with the land owned by the citizen volunteers since in the past. For this reason, some hill tribe-war volunteers did not dare to use the area because they thought that they came later. So, they notified the Third Army Area, but the Third Army Area clarified that the Army had already talked to the citizen volunteers. The citizen volunteers would move away from the land after they finished harvesting their products. For, the cliff areas, it would be considered for further solutions.

However, the hill tribe-war volunteers had to wait for the citizen volunteers to harvest their products. This made the hill tribe-war volunteers lack the opportunities to do farming. Moreover, the problem of arable land that was a cliff area was not solved. One of the hill tribe-war volunteers gave the interview on this issue as follows.

The problems of land was that it was overlapped with the land used by the citizen volunteers before, so we did not dare to mess with them. When the soldiers talked to them, they said that after harvesting the products, they would move out of the land. I do not know if they will move out or not. Moreover, some of us got the land that was a cliff area too. (Bancha Chao, personal communication, September 9, 2019)

Such outcomes had a profound effect on the income of the community because most of the hill tribe-war volunteers were mainly engaged in agriculture, such as cultivating lettuce, corn, rice and ginger. The case of the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop differed from a study by Kalpalatta Dutta (2008, p. 61) which discussed about the rights of indigenous peoples to possess, develop, control

and use land and public territories. It is stated that the government should consult with the community to define clear and fair rules to resolve the cases where the indigenous land rights are claimed. The rights of indigenous peoples and tribes to participate in the use of natural resources on public lands must be recognized. On the contrary, the use of agricultural land of the former hill tribe-war volunteers had to wait for further problem solutions. But having a house with house registration can reduce the expenditure from having to rent the royal property area. Even if it was a small amount of expenditure, it was their sentimental value of having their own home on the land of Thailand that they had fought to save it with Thai soldiers.

However, the hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop also had other hired occupations. Some of them worked as the gardeners maintaining the resorts' gardens. Some of them used to work in the local government organization and resigned because the income was insufficient. Most of them were agriculturists and hired workers before living in the area.

Other changes may require more time. In particular, living in Ban Saliang Haeng 1 may give the hill tribe-war volunteers more economic opportunities. In other words, being accepted as a member of Ban Saliang Haeng 1 can create a social space for the hill tribe-war volunteers. They would have the opportunity to be trusted by the local people in participating in social activities that may affect the economy.

### 3) Rights

The right entitled to the former hill tribe-war volunteers was based on the housing and arable land issues that they complained to the government. As a result, the Third Army Area and ISOC Region 3 had to set up the Veterans Village Project to accommodate the complainants. They recruited 100 hill tribe-war volunteers to participate in the project and these people must comply with the project's regulations. However, the project was terminated after the allocation of housing and arable land to the former hill tribe-war volunteers. Later, they made further complaints asking for help with the infrastructure such as road, water for consumption and electricity. As a result, the government agencies collaborated with the Third Army Area to resolve the problems for the former hill tribe-war volunteers living at Ban Khiangfa. So, they obtained a copy of their household registration along

with the ownership document of the arable land. Finally, the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop were legally entitled to housing and arable land.

In addition to the rights to housing and arable land, there is the advancement of human rights in the area. That is, the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop who are the Hmong ethnic group have permanent habitation and arable land, that is linked to the creation of human security, which is a fundamental right of human beings. In the past, the hill tribe-war volunteers had to live in the mountains and always moved from place to place. The way of life of the Hmong people or ethnic people can contribute to the destruction of the forest (Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, 2015-2018). Therefore, Thailand, managed by the government, has to improve the development process of the hill tribes in various aspects and implement the country development plan to the community areas. Therefore, all groups of people have been surveyed. Also, efforts have been made to bring diverse groups of people into the system in order to have an accurate and proper development management system. The operation of the government has reduced their rights and freedoms. The ability to rely on nature and beliefs has also been reduced. The government has also tried to educate the Hmong people in order to make them have positive attitudes towards joining the system whether it is the granting of civil rights, political rights, veterans' rights or public health rights as specified by the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand. When they gain knowledge and the rights that they deserve, they want to have comfort of living. Moreover, if they continue to live in the mountains, which are mostly protected areas or forest reserves, they risk breaking the law (National Economic and Social Development Board Office of the Prime Minister, 1982-1986, pp. 312-317). So, they may have to compromise their traditional lifestyle in exchange for benefits that will occur under the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand (Rights Liberties Protection Department Ministry of Justice, 2018, pp. 9-28).

At present, the hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop officially live in Ban Saliang Haeng 1. This is regarded as the coexistence of the Hmong people and Thai people who have to work together to adapt to their lives. It may take time in accepting the differences of both Thai people and the Hmong people.

#### **4.4 Success Factors in the Struggle to Get Free From Social Exclusion**

The success factors in the struggle to get free from social exclusion are as follows.

##### **4.4.1 Unity**

The former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 6 Troops shared a common goal in the struggle to get free from social exclusion, which was “to receive assistance like that of Thai nation development cooperators”. So, their meetings, discussions and consultations went well. However, the feelings of unfairness arose when the assistance received was not as good as that of Thai nation development cooperators. For this reason, the former hill tribe-war volunteers had to discuss with the group members again. It came to a conclusion on the demands for fairness. But the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop thought that if they did not receive compensation, they wanted the government to help with housing and arable land.

The unity of the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop, who had given up on financial assistance and sought help only for houses and land, represented the status of the group leader at that time. The group leader had the idea that acquiring houses and arable land may turn the project area into a village like that of Thai people. Because the hill tribe-war volunteers needed to set up their own village, they did not want to be part of a Thai village. The former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop continued submitting their complaints. As a result, the Veterans Village Project was established. However, after deciding to join the project, the former hill tribe-war volunteers had different opinions, divided into two groups. The first group wanted the Third Army Area to manage houses and land as well as other basic utilities and they would live in their original houses (at Ban Khek Noi). But another group wanted to live in the area and help themselves in their lives.

Living in the midst of a lack of utilities made the former hill tribe-war volunteers interdependent. They had to rely on each other, especially during the time when they needed to take action for the public. For example, when they wanted to connect water pipes from the water sources in the mountains, a group of more than 10 men had to walk up a small mountain near Ban Khiangfa with a distance of about 3

kilometers. Then they gradually helped each other connect pipes to transport water to the water tank. They also worked together to clear the forest to make the entrance to Ban Khiangfa for a distance of more than 5 kilometers when they were allocated housing and arable land in the early days because the area allocated by Third Army Area was at the center of the forest. Later, it was found that there was a path to the villagers' farms through Ban Khiangfa. Therefore, an additional route was made by the assistance of the Chief Executive of the Provincial Administrative Organization because at that time the heavy equipment was being used in Khao Kho area. Therefore, the hill tribe-war volunteers asked for help from the Chief Executive of PAO in clearing the route. The Chief Executive of PAO helped with fuel cost on his own behalf. Actually, this route had been used by the villagers who travelled to their farms. The former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop just only improved it. However, it was still difficult for travelling, especially in the rainy season.

However, complaints against the Third Army Area and local government agencies had continued by relying on the group member who volunteered to lead the struggle. The leader was responsible for telling the story of each complaint to the group members. The secretary of Khek Noi Veterans Association was the one who wrote complaint letters. They were also helped by the independent academic who always gave advice. They had to travel to various places to submit complaints. Each complaint was acknowledged by the group members. Not everyone joined the trave to submit complaints. The fact that the group members were acknowledged of each complaint indicated the transparency in the complaint. Most of the members seemed to agree with the leader. If the group members recognized mutual benefits, they would tend to agree on what the leader had done. Having the same opinion created the power of unity in the group in this struggle. Although those living in the old village (Ban Khek Noi) did not agree with the complaints, they did not act against the struggle and waited for mutual benefits.

However, having unity in the struggle became the starting point for strong negotiating power in this struggle. According to a study by Okama Jakae, Nuttawut Suboopphathum, Cholkanda Naktim, (2018, p. 50) on ethnographic identity in the postmodern concepts based on the context of time, situation, place, the meanings given to ethnic minorities and hill tribes presented the others and the inferiority in

terms of power and culture. There were also efforts to integrate these people to the majority. As a result, the term “ethnic group” was proposed by the scholars. In Mae Hong Son Province, the term “Hmong” is used to refer to the strongest independent people of the mountain. This term indicates that the Hmong people love freedom and do not want to be controlled. Thus, the fact that the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop, which are the Hmong people, decided to be part of Ban Saliang 1, is the new dimension in their own lives that they must follow the rules and regulations like other village members.

#### **4.4.2 Use of Networks**

Even though the Veterans Village Project was implemented, it was unable to continue. So, the former hill tribe-war volunteers participating in the project had to be in the empty land areas. There was also the problem of arable land overlapping with those who had lived in the land before it was allocated to the former hill tribe-war volunteers. Moreover, the infrastructure was not provided. Consequently, the former hill tribe-war volunteers relied on the networks they had known in the past to help with the utilities.

The networks where the former hill tribe-war volunteers asked for help were not formal networks. Rather, they were the persons whom the former hill tribe-war volunteers had known in the past. Some had worked together and kept in touch. So, the assistance and advice on living in the project area which became an unfinished project were asked from these networks. Subsequently, donations were requested to help with solar cells, water tanks and water pipes for transporting water from the mountains. They also went to the local government agencies in the area. The personal assistance from the government agencies such as the Provincial Administrative Organization was given. Receiving such donations helped the former hill tribe-war volunteers to survive. In the past, it was like being in a forest in the middle of the city. That is, every area had electricity and water supply, but in the project area, there was no water and electricity. The road was also unable to use in the rainy season. The former hill tribe-war volunteers also asked for help from the Subdistrict Administrative Organization, private developers and businessmen. One of the former hill tribe-war volunteers gave the opinions on this issue as follows.



For the road development, the Subdistrict Administrative Organization gave us assistance because the heavy machinery was in the area while we were demolishing the road. We got stones, so we asked the Subdistrict Administrative Organization to help take the stones into Ban Khiangfa (Bancha Chao, personal communication, September 9, 2019)

The use of social networks was consistent with a study conducted by Namthip Wipawin (2015, p. 24), which found that the construction of social networks of humans has been around for a long time. The interactions have been done through communication. When social networks are related, social network analysis is done. Currently, the social networks have developed on online service platforms to share information about activities, events, stories, images in order to create social networks between groups of people such as Email, Facebook, Twitter and others. The former hill tribe-war volunteers also made good use of these social networks in asking individuals and groups to help them.

#### **4.4.3 Group Leaders**

The complaints of the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop relied heavily on the leadership of the group leaders of all 6 Troops. Each group leader had the power to plan, make decisions and take action very well. They were also accepted by the group members. Later, when the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop continued to make complaints, the leader at the time was appropriately leading the group and was accepted by all group members. So, the project can be carried out. Later, when the project was stalled, the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop were divided into two groups, which caused conflicts and there were solutions from the Third Army Area at every stage.

The separation of the hill tribe-war volunteers into two groups at Ban Khiangfa, resulting in having informal leaders mainly responsible for complaints about various stories that occurred in Ban Khiangfa. Although the struggle of these informal leaders was not accepted by the other hill tribe-war volunteers of another group, when benefits were given to Ban Khiangfa, another group would also like to share them. For example, when there was the installation of solar panels, another

group also needed to install solar panels for all of their houses. However, the solar panels were installed only in the houses that people lived in. For vacant houses, the installation was not carried out as it was of no real benefit. As for the donors, they also agreed that the installation of solar panels should be carried out only in the houses that were inhabited. The installation of water systems for consumption and the road construction in the beginning also caused conflicts because the (informal) leader refused to allow the people who disagreed with this struggle to use the road. So, there were negotiations and the representatives of the Third Army Area helped them find out a solution until the road can be used normally because it was the right of all project participants living in Ban Khiangfa.

Having the group leader in each complaint and the group secretary writing each complaint letter was an important tool for negotiations and evidence in each complaint. A study by Sman Foosang, (2018) found that the leadership of the leaders was both successful and unsuccessful. But from the analysis of behavior in the situations occurring at Tham Luang-Khun Nam Nang Non, the leadership that should be exemplary include being determined, serious and decisive in working, having discipline, adhering to rules and regulations, being punctual, having the ability to plan and communicate and being a powerful collaborator and giver. They also need to have knowledge of a variety of sciences and transparency in work and courage. These leadership qualities were in the governor of Chiang Rai at that time. When comparing to the struggle of the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop, although the leader did not have formal position and authority in the first official complaint, the implementation of the Veterans Village Project was possible. Later, the hill tribe-war volunteers were separated into groups, so there were informal leaders. Volunteering to be the formal leaders demonstrated that these leaders were brave and sacrificed themselves in doing activities that some members may agree or disagree. Sometimes, they may make erroneous decisions, but the actions taken by the leaders in this struggle yielded viable solutions.

#### **4.4.4 Negotiation**

Negotiation was an important tool used by the hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop to get free from social exclusion. The stakeholders in the negotiations of

this struggle together with the former hill tribe-war volunteers were the Third Army Area and the government agencies in Khao Kho area, Phetchabun Province.

The negotiation had been formalized to resolve the social exclusion of former the hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop living in Ban Khiangfa. Three meetings were held to discuss and negotiate with 3 parties: the representatives of the Third Army Area, the local government agencies and the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop. The representatives of the government agencies talked with other former hill tribe-war volunteers. The solution to the problem was accepted, which was being part of Ban Saliang Haeng 1, Village No. 3, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province.

At first, they needed assistance like that of Thai nation development cooperators, but the response did not meet the complaint. They later asked for only houses and arable land. So, the Third Army Area implemented the Veterans Village Project. But the operation was not completed until the project was dissolved, leaving only the members participating in the project in the area. Finally, they were helped after complaining to the Third Army Area and local government agencies. The Deputy District Chief of Khao Kho negotiated with the former hill tribe-war volunteers by informing them about the benefits of joining Ban Ban Saliang Haeng 1. He also talked to the members of Ban Saliang Haeng 1 so that the villagers of both Ban Khiangfa and Ban Saliang Haeng 1 can understand about the solution to this problem. The government's action on the issue of the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop was consistent with a study by Kiattisak Wattanasak (2010, pp. 74-79), stating that peaceful resolution is a human process. The compromise that is acceptable to both parties should be carried out. The negotiation process for win-win situation should be used in the future when there is a misunderstanding on various issues of village development.

#### **4.4.5 Feeling of Being Thais**

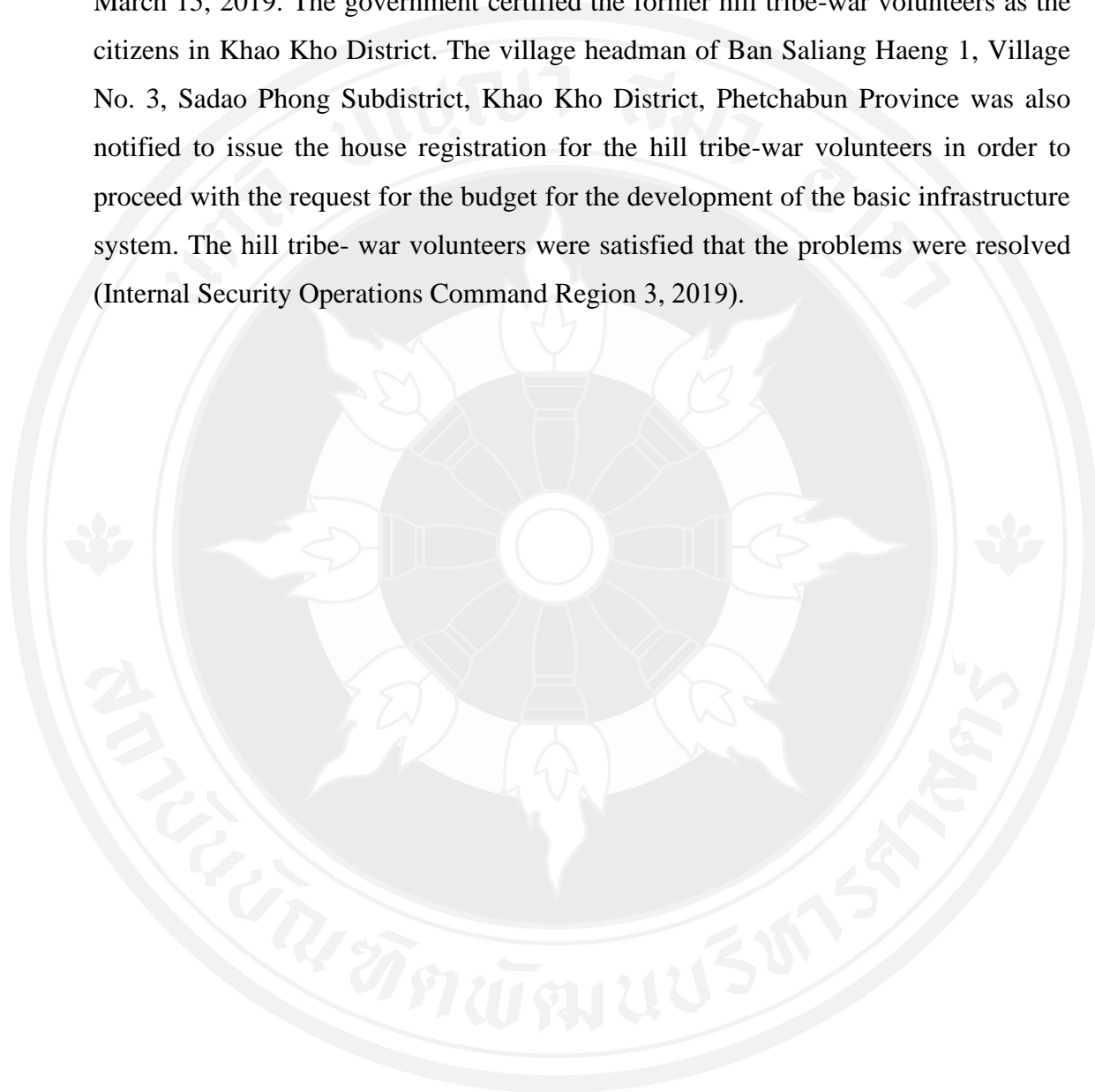
The former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop have felt that they are Thais. They have lived in Thailand for a long time even if they are not on the flat ground. They had the opportunity to help Thailand by being the hill tribe-war volunteers fighting in the communist war in exchange for the hope of having houses

and arable land as promised by the Third Army Area. They also respected for the monarchy like Thai people and called King Rama IX “Phor Luang”, who was highly revered. They claimed that if the King had ordered them to stop complaining about this problem, they would stop immediately because they loved the King and would follow his instruction. While there were many problems, King Rama IX became ill. So, they did not want to make the King feel uncomfortable. In the end, they only submitted a petition to King Rama IX. The feeling of being Thais gave them a sense of why they had to rent land in Thailand, a country where they were involved in helping the Thai government fight against the communists. A representative of the hill tribe-war volunteers gave the interview as follows.

We did not want to protest and cause chaos in the country. We did not want the King to feel uncomfortable. We just wanted to call on the promise made by the army because Thai nation development cooperators were helped many times. But why they did not help u disappointed, isn't it? (Paisan Wong, personal communication, September 9, 2019)

At the same time, every government provided assistance, including land, houses and compensation to Thai nation development cooperators because when the name list was missing, help was always provided. On the contrary, for the hill tribe-war volunteers, only the hill tribe-war volunteers of the 32<sup>nd</sup> Troop received assistance in 1982. They were provided houses and arable land at Ban Lao Lue and Ban Petch Dam. However, the other 5 Troops received no assistance. As a result, they held a meeting and demanded for compensation like that was provided to Thai nation development cooperators. But they did not receive any response because the government did not provide a budget. The review committee was also not assigned like that of Thai nation development cooperators. For this reason, they asked for only the assistance on houses and arable land. So, the Veterans Village Project was established by the Third Army Area and ISOC Region 3 in 2010. However, due to budget problem, the project cannot be proceeded. As a result, in the area, only land survey was administered, and there were no basic utilities. Moreover, there were conflicts among the former hill tribe-war volunteers, resulting in the division into two groups. The first group wanted the army to manage everything like the village of

citizen volunteers whereas the second group wanted to stay in the area and helped themselves while waiting for help from the army. Finally, the Veterans Village Project did not continue. So, the hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop had to pursue multiple complaints. As a result, the infrastructure assistance was revised on March 15, 2019. The government certified the former hill tribe-war volunteers as the citizens in Khao Kho District. The village headman of Ban Saliang Haeng 1, Village No. 3, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province was also notified to issue the house registration for the hill tribe-war volunteers in order to proceed with the request for the budget for the development of the basic infrastructure system. The hill tribe-war volunteers were satisfied that the problems were resolved (Internal Security Operations Command Region 3, 2019).



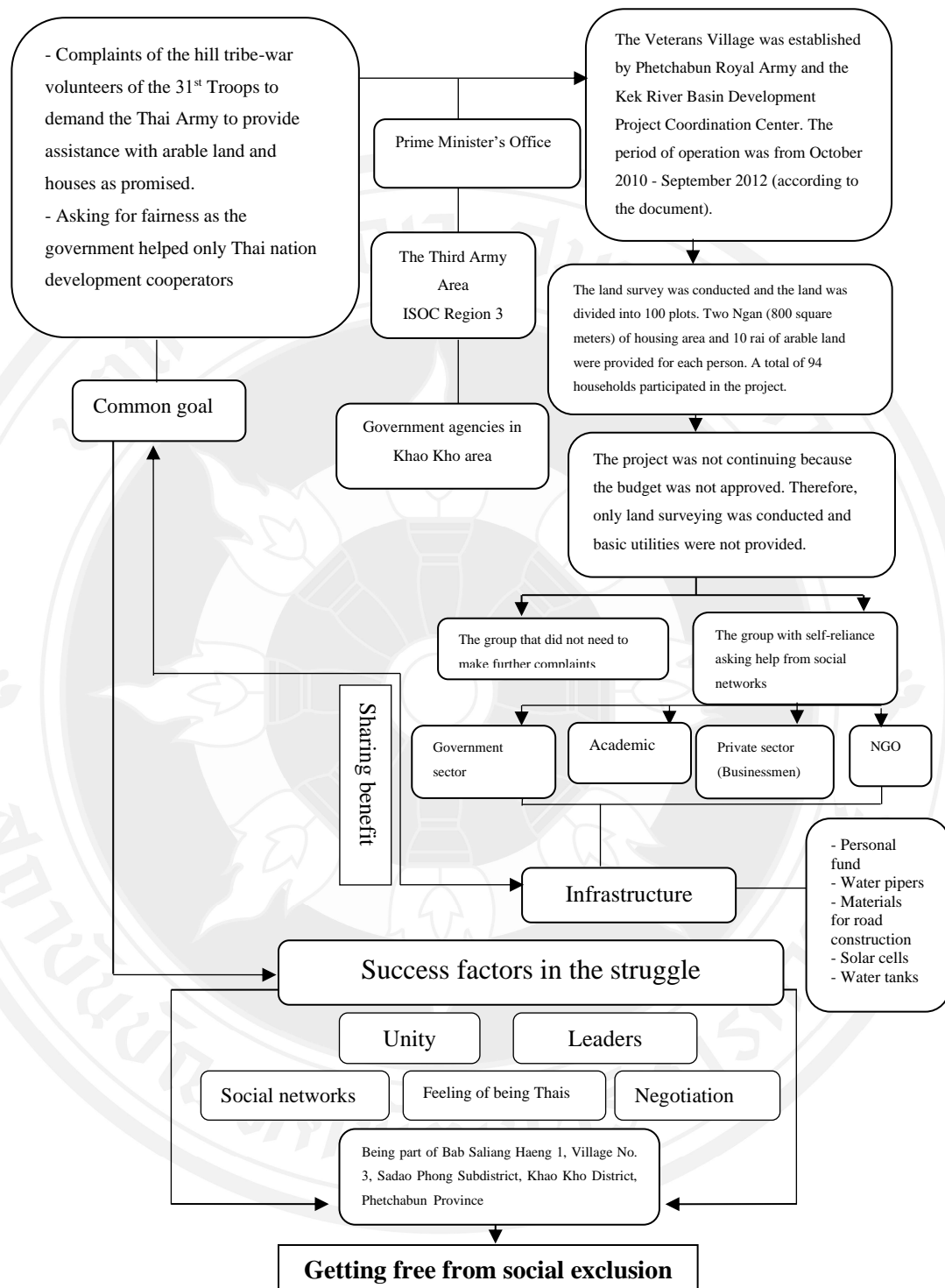


Figure 4.8 The Process of Getting Free from Social Exclusion of the Hill Tribe-War Volunteers of the 31st Troop

Source: Developed by the researcher (2020)

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CONCLUSION, DISCUSSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

The objectives of the study entitled “A Struggle for Getting Free from Social Exclusion of Hill Tribe-War Volunteers: A Case Study of Ban Khiangfa of Sa Doe Phong Subdistrict in Khao Kho District of Phetchabun Province” were 1) to study the struggle process for getting free from social exclusion of the hill tribe-war volunteers at Ban Khiangfa, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province and 2) to study the success factors of the struggle for getting free from social exclusion of the hill tribe-war volunteers at Ban Khiangfa, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province.

The primary data were collected from the in-depth interviews with 27 key informants. The secondary data were collected from academic documents, books, theses, term papers, research studies and information from relevant agencies about the struggle process for getting free from social exclusion. The findings from the study can be divided into 4 parts as follows.

#### **5.1 Conclusion**

#### **5.2 Discussions**

#### **5.3 Recommendations**

#### **5.4 Limitations**

### **5.1 Conclusion**

According to the findings, it can be concluded that the social exclusion caused under the feeling of unfairness towards the government assistance because the former hill tribe-war volunteers heard about the government assistance given to Thai nation development cooperators. The former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 6 Troops then requested compensation like that of Thai nation development cooperators, but they received no response. The government explained that their qualifications did not meet

the criteria set by the committee reviewing the assistance given to Thai nation development cooperators. The government also further clarified that they had already helped the 32<sup>nd</sup> Troop since 1982 to live at Ban Lao Lue and Ban Phet Dam, Khao Kho, Phetchabun Province. However, the assistance was not provided for the remaining 5 Troops. Then the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 6 Troops agreed to demand houses and arable land based on the commitment made by the Thai Army that houses and arable land would be allocated to the hill tribes-war volunteers after the war ended. Therefore, the hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop, living at Khao Kho, Phetchabun, submitted a request for assistance to the Third Army Area. So, the Third Army Area established the Veterans Village Project for solving the problem, but it was not completed. They can only recruit the certain number of the former hill tribe-war volunteers to participate in the project because they had to comply with the rules set by the military. One-hundred households were required to participate in the project. But finally, 94 households participated in the project. In addition, only empty residential areas were allocated. As for the arable land, hilly and cliff areas were allocated. There were also conflicts with the citizens volunteers who had used the land before. As for the former hill tribe-war volunteers' economic issue, it was under the context of being migrant hill tribes, living mainly in the mountains, being poor and not entitled to any rights. When the war was over, the government started surveying the hill tribe population and planned to develop the hill tribes and other marginal people. So, the hill tribes began to access various rights as stipulated by the Constitution. They were able to work, make a living, have income to support the family. But this did not greatly improve the economic status of the hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop. Although at present, the hill tribes can work in the city, their income is not enough. They have to wait for income support from their children. Also, most of them are agriculturists, planting field crops, lettuce, corn, rice and ginger.

In the past, to access rights, the hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop had to live primarily in dependence on nature. They had to immigrate all the time because they had to live closely to the sources of food and water. This affected the growth of natural resources in that area. After being provided with houses and arable land, the hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop had residence, a livelihood factor, affecting



human security and the management of the government system for the country's development. In terms of human rights, they were convinced to have conflicts in their own groups. Some joined the communists, but some joined the government with the only hope for improving their livelihood. But at the same time, Thai people, both Thai people who were at the government side and Thai people who were communists, were those who took advantage from the hill tribes. Although there was a large number of casualties, Thai people still took advantage of the situation. Therefore, the hill tribes did not have any rights and freedoms. When Thailand began to develop a plan for developing the hill tribes, they began to have more freedoms and occupations. They also obtained various rights, including civil rights, political rights, veterans' rights and public health rights.

Their main struggle was making complaints through a large number of documents. Although there were conflicts in their own group, joining together for having houses and arable land was their common goal. Efforts were also made to appropriately allocate individual responsibilities in various actions. The first representative making complains was the group of Khek Noi Veterans Association. After that, a member of Khek Noi Veterans Association volunteered to be the leader of the complaints. He truly lived at Ban Khiangfa. The one who wrote the complaint letters was also a member of Khek Noi Veterans Association, who was the expert in writing official documents because he used to work at Khao Kho Subdistrict Administrative Organization, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province. In addition, while waiting for the military or the government to provide the infrastructure, they also tried to find other social networks whom they had known before living at Ban Khiangfa or those who used to help each other before. They also asked for help to the government agencies in Khao Kho area such as Phetchabun Provincial Administrative Organization and Khao Kho Subdistrict Administrative Organization. As a result, they were provided with solar cells, water for consumption and the road which was not quite good. The self-help of the villagers of Khieng Fah showed the true self-help efforts together with asking for help from the military and the government.

The outcome of this time was that the problems were sustainably solved by merging Ban Khiangfa to be part of Ban Saliang Haeng 1, Village No. 3, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province. The former hill tribe-war

volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop became official members of Ban Saliang Haeng 1 and received a copy of the house registration and the certificate for possession of housing and arable land rights. They also had the right to medical care in the area and the right to vote on village development projects. But they were unable to join the savings group of the village. It may take time to build trust among the village members. The solution to this problem was a starting point for having more infrastructure as well as getting more convenience from the government.

Finally, there were four key factors contributing to get free from social exclusion. 1) Unity: The former hill tribe-war volunteers formed group to carry out the peaceful struggle although there were conflicts within their group during the struggle. 2) Use of social networks: It was to make use of the networks of people, groups of people and organizations for surviving from the lack of infrastructure caused by the termination of the Veterans Village Project. 3) Group leaders: Although they were not formal leaders, they were brave, selfless and extremely powerful who wanted themselves and their group members to have a better quality of life. 4) Negotiation: There was the negotiation of benefits based on the proposed solutions from the government. At first, they requested from assistance like that of Thai nation development cooperators, namely houses, arable land and compensation. Later, they asked only for houses and arable land. Then they tried to ask for the development of Ban Khiangfa to become a village like that of the citizen volunteers. However, it cannot be done due to the conditions, rules and regulations of the government. 5) Feeling of being Thais: They did not want to cause chaos to the country through protests. So, this struggle was peaceful. In the end, it was accomplished by having them join Ban Saliang Haeng 1. Although they might not get benefits as requested, the government's solutions to this problem resulted in the peace of society.

## **5.2 Discussions of the Outcomes of the Struggle for Getting Free from Social Exclusion**

### **5.2.1 Social Exclusion during the War**

While the Hmong people and the former hill tribe-war volunteers were living in Thailand, they used the highland natural resources for their livelihood. The Hmong

people also liked to live in the cold weather in the mountains, so when natural resources were depleted, they changed their habitats. They also relied on shifting cultivation until the soil was destroyed in a wide area. They often grew opium, making them associated with drug dealing at the border. Therefore, the mountainous areas of Thailand where the Hmong people migrated to live were very deteriorated. Selling drugs (opioids) around the border also undermined the security of the Thai state. Their way of life made the image of the hill tribe people become forest destroyers. This was emphasized by a study by Chupinich Kasemmanee (1991, pp. 4-19), stating that the stigma of the Hmong people as forest destroyers from doing shifting cultivation is the myth of the Thai state and people in Thai society. Such stigmatization is only for the sake of justification in dealing with the hill tribes of the state.

During the same period, Thailand was waging war based on the Western influence with an attempt to create a democratic ideology around the world. The world society was also organized in accordance with the guidelines of the global organization related to human rights and human security. A study by Phra Dhammapitaka (Prayuth Paytto, 2003) examined the human rights rooted in Western society. The West tried to organize institutionalization of human rights and place human rights in the form that they had defined. The use of the same meaning as the West caused many wars in the West's history. For example, the rulers and the ruled must have the same religion or sect, which resulted in severe religious wars. This was also true to the creation of political ideology.

Efforts to make Thailand a domino of communism had an impact on Thailand. It resulted in the formation of the anti-communist side, which was the Thai state, and the communist side. The war that was in the midst of complex mountainous terrain forced the army to rely on the hill tribes in navigating them in the complex mountainous areas. The army also promised to provide houses and arable land to the hill tribe-war volunteers who joined the government. The Third Army Area used Khao Kho area, Phetchabun Province for recruiting volunteers to help fight in the war. A total of 6 Troops of the hill tribe-war volunteers were formed. They were trained like Thai soldiers. The war caused many injuries, losses and casualties. All of the hill tribe-war volunteers suffered from facing such dire situations. Inviting the hill tribes to join the

Thai Army was a key strategy of the nation-state process focusing on building security in the nation under the creation of legitimacy to join the war of the hill tribes. The hill tribes as well as the hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop cannot argue with the loss. A study by Young Mottang (2000, p. 54) discussed about the issue of border peace in 1955. The border patrol police were assigned to look after the Hmong people. A school and the Doi Musur Hilltribe Development & Welfare Center at Tak Province were established and expanded to other provinces. The action from the government indicates that education is a mechanism for the unification of Thailand. Moreover, Thai citizenship and patriotism are built by educating the Hmong people. It inevitably reinforces the Hmong people to learn Thai citizenship, even if they are willing or not. But education is difficult to deny (Kwanchewan Buadaeng, 2007).

Finally, the war in Thailand with different political ideologies was gradually ended under the Office of the Prime Minister Order No. 66/2523 (1980) of the government of General Prem Tinsulanonda. The military camp area at Khek Noi, Phetchabun Province became Khek Noi community. Later, a village was established in the community. Finally, it was upgraded to the Khek Noi Subdistrict Administrative Organization. The hill tribes, including Thai nation development cooperators and the hill tribe-war volunteers have lived together in the village. The government also has provided compensation to Thai nation development cooperators from 1982-present. However, the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop, who helped the Thai Army in navigating and communicating with the Hmong people and fighting side by side, did not received any assistance like that of Thai nation development cooperators. They faced social exclusion once again. They also had the feeling of being abandoned by the government. They had marginal state at all times. A study by Surichai Wankaew (2007, p. 11) stated that marginalization means that people are not completely assimilated into a larger group. Social exclusion has occurred repeatedly. The former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop have been subjected to social exclusion at all stages of their lives. Even having houses and arable land is not possible. A study by Prayong Doklamyai et al. (2000, p. 40) found that the Hmong community in Chiang Klang District was pushed away from the area that was declared by the state as a national park area. Previously, it was the community forest area of the people. The people also formed the watershed forest conservation group

and accused the Hmong people of blocking Huai Pue, Huai Ji and Huai Kon, which caused severe water shortages for the lowland people. They also filed complaints to the government officials along with invading and destructing the Hmong's lychee plantation. As a result, the lychee plantation of 116 Hmong families was damaged. This violation of the Hmong people's rights was extremely unfair to them because the lowland residents also used community forests and shared the same benefits with the Hmong people. So, why only the Hmong people were accused of this guilty.

### **5.2.2 Government Assistance after the End of the War**

The government assistance provided to the hill tribes at Ban Khek Noi has made Ban Khek Noi the center of the largest Hmong ethnic group in Thailand. It is a valuable center for Hmong's cultural studies. It also seems to make this ethnic group get free from the social exclusion. But in reality, it does not. Although the residence of Thai nation development cooperators and the hill tribe-war volunteers at Ban Khek Noi is the coexistence of all hill tribes, the difficulties in living still remain. They have to rent royal property area for 20 baht per household per year. They have to live in the crowded housing conditions. Most of them earn income by cultivating rice, corn and ginger. Living in such an environment has shown social exclusion of housing along with economic exclusion that hill tribes tend to earn income through agriculture solely according to the government support policy for hill tribes. The support of the government has had a positive effect on halting the cultivation of opium and shifting cultivation which cause the destruction of forest resources.

Other exclusion of rights is related to the suppression of thought and what they deserve. The Thai Army used the weakness of the Hmong people who migrated to rely on Thailand. Trickery on the provision of houses and arable land was used as an important tool in influencing the Hmong people to join the battle with the Thai state. At the same time, another group of Hmong people joined the Thai communist side and were also influenced by the Thai communist side. It can be seen that the Hmong people were under compulsion to survive and have a better life in Thailand.

This forced circumstance is consistent with the study related to the rights of social citizenship. Citizens must have equal rights in all societies regardless of the labor market, education, health care, the judicial system, justice and participation in

decision-making (Saraceno, 2001, p. 3). However, the Hmong people have no right to make decisions on any matter, whether they are on the government side or on the communist side. This is also consistent with a study entitled “Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Functions of Public Welfare” (Betz, Piven, & Cloward, 2006), which found that minority groups who are whether socially, culturally or physically isolated from other social groups, are treated unequally compared to others in most societies, causing a feeling of collective discrimination. Therefore, during the time when Thai nation development cooperators and the hill tribe-war volunteers lived together, they still had to face hardships in their lives.

Although Thai nation development cooperators faced the hardships in living their life, they received a lot of government assistance, including houses, arable land and compensation. On the contrary, for the former hill tribe-war volunteers, only the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 32<sup>nd</sup> Troop were provided with houses and arable land but they did not receive compensation like Thai nation development cooperators. In addition, all of the former hill tribe-war volunteers thought that they were under the command of the Third Army Area, so they let the army to decide on the assistance given to them without demanding any assistance. A study by Teerayuth Boonmee (2003) discussed about loyalty and reconciliation of the people in the nation. Therefore, the government has to put possible efforts to create unity for the nation. Building of loyalty among the hill tribes is part of the education provided for the upland people in the state that makes the state central, and make the hill tribes feel that they are part of the development and building of the Thai nation. As the government acted in such a manner, the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop felt that they did not deserve to create burdens or problems for the Thai army and the government. But in the end, during the year 2010, they received the news of the government assistance given to Thai nation development cooperators again. For this reason, the former hill tribe-war volunteers stopped waiting for the government assistance. The meeting of 6 Troops was held. In the first meeting, all Troops had similar needs for assistance like that of Thai nation development cooperators, including houses, arable land and compensation.

Asking for the government assistance like that of Thai nation development cooperators, including houses, land and compensation is consistent with a key

component of the so-called Bristol Social Exclusion Matrix (B-SEM) by Gordon et al., (2001), consisting of the key components as follows: quality of life, resources and participation. Quality of life comprises the following sub-components: having well-being, being in a good environment, and being free from crime, harm and criminalization. The fact that the former hill tribe-war volunteers asked for help like that of Thai nation development cooperators indicated that in addition to the need for themselves to feel equal in receiving assistance and not being abandoned by the government, they also took into account the creation of a better quality of life for their own groups. They believed that if they have good houses in suitable environment, which is not crowded and a clear climate and have arable land for doing their main occupation, along with the well-deserved compensation for the battlefield casualties of their families and relatives, their well-being would be improved and the feelings of social exclusion could be reduced. However, the response on the request for the government assistance like that of Thai nation development cooperators did not meet their expectations. So, they had to discuss within their group again. Finally, the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop reduced their level of assistance by demanding only houses and arable land. So, 148 people signed the complaint letter. As a result, the Veterans Village Project for the hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop project was initiated by ISOC Region 3 and the Third Army Area.

### **5.2.3 The Struggle Process Under the Unfairness of the Government**

The emergence of the project was an important step in the struggle process of the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop because the project was halted due to the lack of additional budget. The Third Army Area could only find area to carry out the project and recruit 100 households of the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop who wished to live in harmony under the rules of the Veterans Village. Only residential and arable land survey was administered. The basic utilities were not even provided. The lack of infrastructure underscored the insincereness in providing assistance to the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop, unlike the assistance provided to Thai nation development cooperators, or even the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 32<sup>nd</sup> Troop. However, a study by Suvicha Pouaree (2016, p. 3) on equality indicated that the argument on equality in terms of its

meaning and the possibility of the use of equality in the real world has not yet resolved because it is not certain if building equality in society undermines the rights, freedoms or other interests of other people in society or not. Thus, it cannot guarantee that if the Third Army Area provided assistance to the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop equally to Thai nation development cooperators, they would not make further complaints. In this regard, the calls for further assistance by the Thai nation development cooperators have been repeated without the sign of when it will stop.

However, being neglected by the government caused them to struggle again. At this time, they had different opinions on the struggle. One group disagreed with the struggle because they thought that they should wait for the Third Army Area to settle everything in the project area. On the other hand, the other group thought that they had to struggle because if they did not do anything, they would be neglected. Therefore, in this struggle, this group mainly proceeded the struggle. As a result, there was an informal leader who was not accepted by another group that did not want to struggle. This situation reflected participation of B-SEM, which is another important component of social exclusion. The issue of social participation was related to the struggle of the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop as they divided themselves into two groups, which reduced their struggle power. However, it showed the potential of another group in their struggle for their own survival because this group of people lived mainly in the project area while those who disagreed with the struggle often traveled between their houses at Ban Kek Noi and those in the project area. It was because there was no infrastructure in the project area. Efforts to reduce social participation within the group of the former hill tribe-war volunteers indicated that social exclusion was not caused only by the government and the external environment, but it can also occur within their own group, particularly in the participation requiring joint thinking, joint action, joint planning and benefit sharing. If all of the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop joined together in the struggle and had the same goals, it would take less time to achieve the struggle.

The struggle process of the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop was carried out according to the plan and the advice given by the independent academic, which emphasized the peaceful struggle by submitting complaint letters.



Many complaints had made from 2010-2019. Hannarong Yoawalert (2005, pp. 7-35) conducted a study on the struggle process of the community forest movement in Thailand. The struggle process in the conservation that many complaints had filed to the government officials was studied. The group wrote and submitted complaint letters to the relevant agencies according to the advice from academics and legal experts. The fact that the former hill tribe-war volunteers submitted complaint letters was a complaint process in accordance with the peaceful struggle process. Most importantly, it was carried out in parallel with the struggle to survive in their own group at the project area, which was seeking help for infrastructure, including water for consumption, electricity and road construction. Finally, the infrastructure was obtained from the social networks of the group members.

#### **5.2.4 Self-Reliance During the Struggle**

Self-help efforts to obtain infrastructure is a key component of the Bristol Social Exclusion Matrix (B-SEM) in the resource issue of the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop, which was fulfilled by themselves while waiting for help from the government. It can also be seen that social networks played a big part in their struggle. There was a study on Social Exclusion Knowledge Network (SEKN), which revealed that social exclusion has a main process in economic, political, social and cultural dimensions. There are differences in each dimension at individual, household, group, community, national and regional levels around the world (Mathieson et al., 2008, p. 71). The self-help efforts through social networks of the former hill tribe-war volunteers used knowledge from individuals to link to group-level assistance through communication in social media channels until they gained help from other community groups that were willing to donate money to help them. They also created a culture of helping people online that may allow this assistance to open up a physical space where the unknown is known. In addition, it may also be the way to create a space for creating new meaning in the view of having unfinished assistance from the government, which is not just the view that the hill tribes are destroyers (Chairat Charoensin-o-larn, 2017).

They also made a petition at the end of the reign of King Rama IX before his death, so it was not responded. This petition was considered a way to struggle like the

political struggle of Mahatma Gandhi (Preecha Chopatumma, 1992, p. 10). Mahatma Gandhi used the power of Dharma, namely truth, nonviolence and civil disobedience, called Satyagraha (Pa-op Jeaungsaengsatidpon, 2018, p. 173). The former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop tried to use the truth, which was the promise the Thai Army gave to them. As for violence, the hill tribe-war volunteers all agreed that they would not resort to violence even if they could. They stated that they love Thailand and the King of Thailand and have a sense of being Thais. They also thought that the use of violence, especially protests to cause chaos in society would cause no benefit but only harm. They also thought that they asked to live in the Thai land, so they cannot hurt Thailand. Therefore, their concept of the struggle process emphasized a peaceful approach, not violence because a successful protest may have to start with group unity.

#### **5.2.5 The Struggle Nearing Its End**

Their difficult struggle continued until 2019, when the problems were resolved by three relevant departments, namely Department of Local Administration, the Third Army Area, and the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop living at Ban Khiangfa. The project area (Ban Khiangfa) was merged with Ban Saliang Haeng 1, Village No. 3, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province. The action to solve the problems showed that the participation of the people was considered the marginal participation. It was the participation that made the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop feel inferior to the government because the government did not act as the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop wanted, which was setting up a village like that of the citizen volunteers, which is under the Department of Local Administration and supervised by a local administrative organization. Instead, the government solved the problems by merging people and the project area with Ban Saliang Haeng 1 (Chaliew Buriburipakdee et al., 2002; Jintana Sutjanan, 2006; Met Metkarunchit, 2010; Suchada Chakpisut, 2004, pp. 18-23). This solution did not meet the needs of the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop. However, it was a suitable solution to the problems. This is consistent with the Bristol Social Exclusion Matrix (B-SEM), which places participation as one

of the three key principles, including political participation, cultural participation, social participation and economic participation.

From the government's perspective, this action has led the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop to join the mainstream of society for greater social participation. So, they would not be left out of the mainstream society. They can improve their well-being and quality of life together by using the nation-state process that unites people to make it easier to govern and organize society. This is consistent with a study by Tipparin Panyamee (2012, pp. 18-25) who described the social inclusion of people in society. If people in society are united or there is social inclusion, it will be part of the release from social exclusion. Social inclusion is one of the components of social quality that is a concept from Europe. It consists of the following important components: social and economic security, social reconciliation, social inclusion and social empowerment. If the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop can access social inclusion, it will reflect that getting free from social exclusion begins by enabling people in society to live together happily, resulting in social quality. Surasit Vachirakajorn (2010, p. 7) stated that social quality is the society that is successful in economy, participation and fairness in society.

However, if the government views the former hill tribe-war volunteers and Thai nation development cooperators as the Hmong people, the assistance may not be different because the government has to build solidarity in Thailand by having the power to manage, supervise, regulate and control ethnic groups under the framework set by the government. A study by Chanon Khamthong (1994, pp. 174-183) stated that the strength of marginalization is achieved through the manipulation of the government power. The government expands its management and resource control powers until it causes an impact on the balance of resources. It can be seen that the government is trying to have absolute power over the management of space, resources and people.

#### **5.2.6 Important Success Factors of the Struggle**

The success of the struggle was based on unity, leaders, social networks, negotiation and feeling of being Thais. The issue of negotiating and mediating the problems of the former hill tribe-war volunteers was operated by using the authority

of government agencies through the Deputy District Chief and the representatives of the Third Army Area who negotiated and clarified the benefits that the former hill tribe-war volunteers would receive if they joined Ban Saliang Haeng 1. The benefits included having a legal house registration, obtaining the right to possess housing and arable land and various basic utilities provided by the government.

The former hill tribe-war volunteers expected that they would be able to set up their own village with a village leader, village members and village health volunteers, or a village as defined by the Ministry of Interior that they can disburse the village development budget by themselves. This idea, though, is a vision of the leaders in the struggle to lead a group of former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop towards a sustainable and stable village, in reality, establishing a village according to the Ministry of Interior depends on many conditions, such as the number of population. It was found that the number of the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop was not enough for establishing a village. There was also the problem of members who did not come live in the area. So, establishing a village was difficult. From the policy perspective, it can be seen that the rights of some groups cause others to be excluded from the benefits they deserve. A study also found that since the past, efforts have been made to achieve equality in all groups of society until the human rights have been studied. Moreover, there are many documents on human rights. But when the content in the documents is applied to formulate policies, some groups of people are excluded from receiving certain rights (Shiman, 1993, pp. 6-7).

Another important factor was feeling of being Thais. It was the feeling of all former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop, who were instilled a sense of patriotism and loyalty to the Thai monarchy because they relied on the King of Thailand for living their life. This cultivating consciousness process was under the formation of a modern nation-state with assimilation and integration. Both of these processes are the tools to ensure equal citizenship for multi-ethnic groups. Each nation-state is highly competitive, so building loyalty and national reconciliation among different population groups is important (Teerayuth Boonmee, 2003). The Thai state also seeks to build loyalty among the hill tribes through its educational policy (Kwanchewan Buadaeng, 2007). So, it is not surprising that the former hill

tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop did not proceed the struggle that would cause chaos to the nation, but they used the peaceful struggle instead.

The success factors reflected the struggle efforts of ethnic people who were suppressed by being the hill tribe-war volunteers. They were the Hmong people who were judged by the mainstream society as a group involved in deforestation, building drug networks as well as having war weapons. A study by Anan Ganjanapan (2006, pp. 3-5) stated that the nation-state process leads to a process of creating a negative image of marginal people that results in the loss of humanity because it is subject to negative connotations. For example, the hill tribes have the image of forest destroyers. This has caused Thai society to cultivate and reproduce the idea that the Hmong's way of life is a threat to Thai society. This way of thinking has also been reinforced through mass media presenting various news about ethnic people although there is an increasing emphasis on human rights nowadays. This study also found that the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop were able to rise up and create the struggle process that forced the government to manage and look for suitable solutions. Therefore, it is considered the creation of a new body of knowledge that will be the next step in balancing the development between ethnic groups, national security and other identities of ethnic groups until it leads to the creation of a model for the development of various ethnic groups in Thailand.

### **5.2.7 The End of the Struggle**

The problems occurring in the project area began to be resolved. But it was not considered complete escape from social exclusion because the future of the members of Ban Saliang Haeng 1, Village No. 3, Sadao Phong Subdistrict, Khao Kho District, Phetchabun Province and Ban Khiangfa is still needed to be watched closely. Therefore, this study could be the escape from social deprivation, and the dynamics of deprivation was cut (Spicker, 2013), because the former hill tribe-war volunteers received the documents showing land ownership and the benefits of integrating with Ban Saliang Haeng 1 which are basic utilities. So, the difficulty of living has been reduced. A study by Apichart Pattaratuma (2008, pp. 84-97) discussed the hardships of the original Hmong hill tribe living in the Huang Ho River basin in China for centuries. The Hmong people in each province of China had fought many times and

defeated China, so they had to migrate on foot to find new land for their group to live in.

Another interesting point is the coexistence of the former hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop (Hmong people) and the villagers of Ban Saliang Haeng 1 (Thai people). This may become an initiation in the sense of discrimination arising among Thai people that are a large group of people. Before living together, the villagers of Saliang Haeng 1 only perceived that the former hill tribe-war volunteers were the Hmong people who moved to live in the Veterans Village Project area and had their own way of living and were mainly agriculturists and general labors. Moreover, their daily life was not related to Thai villagers. After the Hmong people became the members of the Thai village, many Thai villagers raised various questions about coexistence in the village as well as various practices established by the village, especially in the issue of village savings. Therefore, a meeting of the representatives of the Hmong people and Thai people was held in order to discuss about how to live together as a member of the village.

The initial conclusion was that the Hmong people must strictly follow the rules of the village. Also, they were not allowed to participate in the village savings and borrow money from the village because the villagers wanted to spend time examining and observing the economic conditions of the Hmong families on their ability to manage their income. It also took time to build trust between people, between groups and between the Hmong people and Thai people. These agreements were accepted by the Hmong people and Thai people. It might be because the Hmong people were influenced by the Thai education, leading to an understanding of building trust between people and groups of people. Thai people can also learn the culture of the Hmong people through network building of Hmong in different areas of Thailand such as university clubs, the Hmong networks in Chiang Mai and at Khek Noi Community, Phetchabun Province.

However, it can be noted from a study by Chana Pranom-Sri (2011, pp. 19-46) on Asian human rights that Thai society is a very primitive society with a high level of trust in their own group and deep-rooted traditions and culture. Therefore, if other people or other groups join their group, it may take a reasonable amount of time to

create trust between each other until the Hmong people and Thai people can live happily together and receive equal rights as fair as possible in the end.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

#### **5.3.1 Policy Recommendations**

1) The development, support and encouragement should be given to the former hill tribe-war volunteers who are the elderly to develop and have appropriate careers in order to create economic security in the community and make the former hill tribe-war volunteers recognize their self-worth on national development.

2) The organizations that specialize in the management of housing and arable land should participate in designing the guidelines for this implementation in order to find possible ways for the former hill tribe-war volunteers to use the vacant land in Thailand properly.

3) The national strategy for ethnic security should be developed and the policy and plans should be designed to help the former hill tribe-war volunteers to equitably and fairly receive help under the legal framework.

#### **5.3.2 Recommendations for Research**

1) This study was conducted only in the case of the struggle of the hill tribe-war volunteers of the 31<sup>st</sup> Troop. Therefore, it is impossible to know about the former hill tribe-war volunteers of other 5 Troops that may live along the Thai border. Although the army claimed to have assisted the 32<sup>nd</sup> Troops, it may require further monitoring and evaluation of other aspects of their livelihood.

2) Further studies should explore the actions of the government and the military in co-operation in solving other security-related issues that will contribute to the development of the strong and modern national security strategy in accordance with the world development.

## 5.4 Limitations

1) This study is relevant to the Thai Army, a key organization in managing national security. So, the documents were limited in access, especially the documents on the war about political ideology that took place in the past as well as the information on assistance given to ethnic groups of Thailand.

2) The use of indigenous language (Hmong language) among the hill tribe-war volunteers also caused limitations in the study, which may affect some in-depth details. Therefore, it was needed to wait for the hill tribe-war volunteers to speak Thai only.

3) This study required time to build trust between the researcher and the Hmong informants because the hill tribe-war volunteers commonly felt that the army (Thai people) treated them unequally.



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## BIOGRAPHY

**Name-Surname**

Tipparin Panyamee

**Academic Background**

M.A.(Social Development Administration)  
National Institute of Development Administration  
B.A.(Social Development Management)  
Khon Kaen University

