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POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES

IN

THAILAND AND TAIWAN

by

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Department of Educational Psychology and Counselling

McGill University, Montreal

July, 1995

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctorate in Educational Psychology.

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POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THAILAND AND TAIWAN

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Charles P. Beaupre

ABSTRACT

Thailand and Taiwan have indigenous minority populations which central authorities have sought to assimilate into the national mainstream. In both countries public education has served as an important tool of assimilation. This study examines the political ideology of the moral education curricula as applied to state primary schools serving indigenous populations in three localities in each country. The direct and indirect implementation of moral education was observed and interviews were carried out with teachers, students, parents and community leaders. The results show that as the indigenous minority children become more familiar with the national culture and its value system, they become more aware of ethnic discrimination against them, which in turn leads to a heightened sense of marginality and engenders antipathy toward members of the dominant ethnic group.

LA SOCIALIZATION POLITIQUE DES MINORITES ETHNIQUES

EN THAILANDE ET TAIWAN

par

Charles P. Beaupré

RESUME

La Thaïlande et Taiwan sont deux pays où habitent des groupes autochtones, les montagnards, et dont les autorités centrales cherchent à assimiler dans l'axe de la société nationale. L'éducation publique est reconnue comme étant l'instrument principal utilisé à cette fin. Cette dissertation examine l'idéologie politique contenue dans les programmes d'études morales tels qu'enseignés aux étudiants montagnards du niveau primaire. Trois écoles primaires montagnardes furent observées dans chaque pays afin de noter l'exécution directe et indirecte des études morales. De plus, plusieurs sujets furent interviewés, y compris des professeurs, des étudiants et leurs parents, et des chefs de village. Les résultats de cette enquête démontrent que les jeunes montagnards acquièrent un meilleur sens des mœurs et de l'idéologie politique provenant de la culture dominante. Paradoxalement, ils deviennent aussi plus conscients de la discrimination ethnique exercée contre eux, ainsi que de leur status en tant que marginaux. Finalement, ils ressentent de l'antipathie pour les membres du groupe ethnique dominant.

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Moral education has long been a feature of secular schooling in both Western and Asian societies. Foremost is the concern by central governments to socialize students as moral beings that accept majority (i.e., national) social, political and ethical values (Cha, Wong, & Meyer, 1988; Giroux & Purpel, 1983; Torney-Purta, 1985). Political socialization within national school systems has long been recognized as an important function of formal education (Clausen, 1968; Easton & Dennis, 1969; Haste & Torney-Purta, 1992; Hess & Torney, 1967; Stevens, 1982). For children who are members of an ethnic minority the political socialization that takes place in moral education classes aims primarily to foster compliance with the central government (Burger, 1987).

In many countries there are indigenous minority groups whose ethnic characteristics and cultural traditions distinguish them from the majority of the people in the nation-state. Typically, their cultural distinctness and their relatively weak position vis-à-vis the dominant society make these peoples vulnerable to discrimination, exploitation and oppression (Beauclerk, Narby, & Townsend, 1988; Burger, 1987). Many central governments of modern nation-states commonly adopt policies toward indigenous minorities that aim to assimilate them into the dominant society. Unfortunately, the exchange of an indigenous identity for a national one often represents a deterioration of the quality of life of these indigenous minorities (Vienne, 1989).

The countries of Thailand and Taiwan have such indigenous populations. Historically, neither country has considered ethnic or cultural diversity as an aspect of national wealth. Rather, the ruling elites in both countries have tended to view ethno-cultural diversity as a *problem* to be rectified through assertive national policies of assimilation. In Thailand, where the indigenous peoples are relatively remote from the national society, such assimilative policies have had a strong impact on traditional indigenous culture (Tapp, 1989). In Taiwan, the indigenous peoples have been virtually assimilated into the Chinese mainstream (Sun, 1991).

The national education programs of Thailand and Taiwan have been used by the central governments as a tool for the assimilation of the indigenous minorities, aiming to promote national values at the expense of indigenous beliefs, customs and sense of identity (Anti-Slavery Society, 1988). The education systems of Thailand and Taiwan are closely linked to distinctive politico-ethical ideologies--Buddhism in Thailand and Confucianism in Taiwan--which place great stress on the legitimacy of the central government. These ideologies form an integral part of the national moral education curriculum of both countries, inculcating in school children socio-political values such as patriotism, nationalism and loyalty (G.B. Lee 1990; Meyer, 1989; National Institute for Educational Research, 1981, 1990). When applied to the ethnic minority children of these countries, the teaching of these values takes on manifestly assimilative objectives (Sun, 1991; Tapp, 1989).

Until recently, the political, social and cultural rights of the indigenous peoples were largely ignored by the central authorities of Thailand and Taiwan. These fundamental rights were delineated in 1984 by the General Assembly of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (Anti-Slavery Society, 1988--see Appendix I). Now an 'indigenous political movement' has emerged in the two countries which is supported by various non-governmental agencies, both domestic and international, which seek to moderate the effects of national policies toward these peoples.

This dissertation investigates moral education in the primary schools of the highlands of Thailand and Taiwan that serve indigenous populations. The focus is on how state education in highland areas actively promotes the children's acquisition of national values and behaviors conducive to conformity with the national ideology, its impact on the children's sense of ethnic identity, and its contribution to assimilating the children into the national mainstream.

In the following chapters, attention will be given to: (1) reviewing each country's moral education curriculum at the primary level; (2) examining the role of moral education vis-à-vis national policies towards indigenous populations; (3) describing the implementation of the moral curricula in public primary schools of selected communities in the highlands of North Thailand and Taiwan; and (4) analyzing the views of key stakeholders within these communities, including school children, parents, community leaders and teachers.

Five communities were studied. The fieldwork in Thailand was conducted between October 1992 and February 1993, whereas the fieldwork in Taiwan took place between March and June 1993. Three study sites were chosen in North Thailand: Saen Charoen (Akha tribe); Tung Phrao (Karen tribe); and Khung Klaang (Hmong tribe). Two additional study sites were selected in Taiwan: Ma-Jia (Paiwan tribe); and Feng-Bin (Amei tribe). The student subjects interviewed at these sites were chosen from the three upper grade levels of primary school. This was done to ensure correspondence in the levels of schooling between the students in each country. (In Taiwan moral education is formally taught only from the fourth grade to the sixth grade). The process of subject selection was based on preliminary interviews to ascertain that the subjects had lived in or near the study sites all their lives, that they belonged to the respective tribes found at those sites, and that they had been attending the target schools from the first grade on.

The objective of this dissertation is to examine the impact of government educational policies on indigenous populations. Although the context in which this objective is investigated is primarily educational, it is important to realize that in Asian countries like Thailand and Taiwan state education is intricately interwoven into the national fibre. Accordingly, another equally important objective is to consider educational policy as it interrelates with the social, political, economic and geographic aspects of each country.

The issues addressed in this dissertation have important cross-cultural implications in terms of educational policy for indigenous ethnic minorities. State-sponsored education, through direct and indirect forms of assimilative political socialization, contributes to the indigenous minority students' loss of identification with their traditional tribal ethos and aggravates the socio-cultural deterioration of native communities. Furthermore, as state schools attempt to socialize indigenous minority children into identifying with the national culture and its value system, the latter actually become more aware of ethnic discrimination against them, which in turn leads to a heightened sense of marginality from the national mainstream. Thus, a strong case is made for the promotion of a policy of multiculturalism in countries like Thailand and Taiwan that allow indigenous minority students to receive the benefits of a modern education without having to deny their ethnic identities.

The contribution of this dissertation is its focus on Thailand and Taiwan, two countries whose indigenous populations have been subjected to assimilation policies for many years. Originality may be claimed in the fact that education, as an integral part of each country's national policy, serves as the locus of analysis in determining the impact such policies are having on future generations of indigenous minority members.

CHAPTER I

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Schooling and Political Socialization

Easton and Dennis (1969) define *political socialization* as the learning process by which the political norms and behaviors acceptable to an established political system are transmitted from generation to generation. Stevens' (1982) broader definition of political socialization stresses the developmental process by which children acquire the behaviors, perceptions, values, and attitudes of a 'collection of people' who see themselves as sharing a common political ideology. Most often, this collection of people usually refers to an *ethnic group*:

> A group of people who conceive of themselves as alike by virtue of their common ancestry, race, religion, or national origin; it includes group patterns of values, social customs, perceptions, behavioral roles, language usage, and rules of social interaction that group members share (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987, p.11).

The ethnic dimension of political socialization is quite important. If a nation-state has a population that is relatively ethnically homogeneous, the political socialization of children usually occurs in a developmentally congruous fashion within the context of a 'national culture', starting within the family, the school, and within the greater society as a whole. On the other hand, if a nation-state has a multi-ethnic population, distinctions between ethnic groups (cultural, religious, social, political,

demographic, or otherwise) often act as the basis for *ethnic categories*:

> A class of people or groups, based on real or presumed cultural characteristics, with the implication that a categorization is a more or less systematic application of some kinds of rules to the variety of known individuals or groups, and that behavior toward members of a category will tend to be similar under some circumstances (Kunstadter, 1979, p. 119).

Typically, these ethnic categories are the basis for a hierarchical frame of reference for the status of a certain ethnic group within a national society. In a national system founded on the categorization of ethnic groups, children--especially those belonging to 'different' ethnic categories--do not usually experience political socialization as a congruous process. For these children the political ideology of the 'dominant' ethnic group is superimposed on earlier belief systems acquired at home.

According to Rotheram & Phinney (1987), the political socialization of children belonging to a subordinate ethnic group by members of the dominant ethnic group is typically framed within one of three models; assimilation, acculturation, or pluralism. Of the three models, *assimilation* as the most inimical to the children's sense of ethnic identity:

> Assimilation describes a situation in which the minority ethnic group gradually loses its distinctiveness and becomes part of the majority group. This can result from either a rejection of the minority group by the dominant group (which in turn forces the minority group to acquire majority norms) or an acceptance by the minority group of the dominant group's norms and a rejection of its own group norms (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987, p. 12).

Rotheram and Phinney (1987) closely examine issues of ethnic identity and assimilation among ethnically 'disadvantaged' groups,

describing an age-related progression in the ability to perceive, process, and interpret racial or ethnic stimuli. They suggest that children's ethnic identity is most susceptible to fundamental change at a young age. This is particularly true at school, where minority children are exposed to learning situations in which their sense of self-identification is overwhelmed by continuous exaltation of the dominant ethnic group at the expense of their own.

Through constant affirmation, the children may learn to become more aware of, and more knowledgeable about the dominant ethnic group than about their own. Gradually they learn to identify more closely with the critical attributes, history, customs, and political orientation of the dominant group until finally they acquire a conception of themselves as belonging more to the dominant ethnic group than their native group (Rotheram & Phinney, 1987).

The School and the State

Research into the development of political orientations indicates these are formed early and usually between the ages of three and thirteen (Easton & Dennis, 1969). It is significant that, for the greater part of these ten formative years, children are exposed to primary level education. Many educational researchers have closely examined elementary school programs and their role in the political socialization of children (e.g., Giroux & Purpel, 1983; Goldstein, 1972; Karabel & Halsey, 1977).

A significant study on the subject was carried out by Hess (1962), who drew attention to the emphasis on law, government, and citizenship in primary schools. Hess and Torney (1967) described the political attitudes acquired by students during elementary school as including strong positive attachments to the country, faith in political authority, positive affect toward national leaders, and the desire to be 'good' citizens. Easton and Dennis (1969) have shown that primary schooling has a central and vital role in political socialization. They described four socializing processes that act as the fundamental means through which political ideology is perpetuated, namely politicization; personalization; institutionalization; and idealization. Massalias (1972, p.5), carried out extensive observations within ethnically heterogeneous North American primary schools. He concluded that:

> The major political function of the elementary school is to foster compliance with governmental rules and authority. The formal curriculum and instructional programs generally over-emphasize compliance with the government and uncritical loyalty toward the system.

Such conclusions about political socialization in elementary schools have been confirmed by others. For example, Jankowski (1992, p. 219) affirms, "the school stands out as the central, salient, and dominant force in the political socialization of the young child". Emler (1992, p. 76) states that, "by the end of their elementary education, children have extensive and well-developed representations of institutional authority, and it is largely the experience of formal education that has provided the context of these developments."

Moral Education and Political Socialization

Much of the North American research on school political socialization has focused on the curriculum in the social science courses designed to promote national political ideology such as geography, history, as well as the teaching of the national language. It seeks to inculcate positive attitudes toward national figures, depicting them as powerful, competent, benign, and infallible. Adjunct 'values' promoted through moral education include compliance to government laws and authorities (Jankowski, 1992).

The hidden curriculum.

Political ideology is formally taught, and it is also informally transmitted through the ways instruction is socially organized and practised. Political ideology is embedded within the hidden curriculum, which can be defined as:

> The nonacademic but educationally significant consequences of schooling that occur systematically but are not made explicit at any level of the public rationales for education ... it refers broadly to the social-control function of schooling (Vallance, 1983, p. 11).

Generally the hidden curriculum can be conceived in three dimensions: (1) teacher-student interaction; (2) classroom structures; and, (3) the social expectations that promote acquisition of political values through participation in school events (Giroux, 1983). In the United States, some examples of the ways public schools politically socialize young children include pledging allegiance to the flag, singing the national anthem, celebrating the birth of historical figures, and observing national

holidays. As well, daily 'rule-keeping' activities imposed by teachers on their students to maintain order in the classroom foster a strong attachment to the idea of respect for authority (Stevens, 1982).

At the primary level, school teachers politically socialize their students through the establishment of power relationships with them (Giroux, 1983). The teachers' ability to convey a sense of power and control is crucial to fostering respect for figures of authority. It is important for children to empathise with their teachers so that they learn to respond to figures of authority with positive affect.

Positive response to figures of authority is especially important for political socialization of ethnic minority children. There is a critical link between teacher-student rapport and the degree to which ethnic minority children feel attracted to the political ideology or social ethos espoused in the school. If the teacher is not successful in establishing a positive rapport with the minority child, then the child may feel alienated and engage in disruptive behavior (Clausen, 1968; Stevens, 1982).

Outside Factors

There are important factors outside the immediate context of the school that affect the political socialization of children. Within the local community, traditional norms, belief systems, and the attitudes of significant community members can all have an ideological impact on school-children. For children in primary

school, two factors seem particularly influential in the transmission of values; the family (especially parents), and the mass media (Jankowski, 1992).

Stevens (1982) believes that parental influence on children's political socialization lies in how parents interpret information and events from the political world. Jankowski (1992) argues that parental impact on children's political consciousness is not usually the result of specific instruction. Rather, children's development of an understanding of the political system ensues from parents' general attitudes toward and involvement in the national culture. For example, parents' comments about a political party can indirectly influence their own children's attitudes towards that party.

In the early elementary grades, the socio-political values emphasized at school tend to overlap with those fostered by parents, such as respect for authority. When these two socializing forces share the same dominant cultural values, they reinforce and extend each other's efforts in making values clear and relevant to children. For example, within the dominant cultural group, the policeman is often viewed as someone who maintains law and order, whereas for some minority group members the policeman is seen as an oppressor of equal rights. Thus, when parents do not belong to the dominant culture the transmission of values may diverge from, and even contradict, those taught at school (Bradley, 1983; Clausen, 1968).

Ethnic minority parents tend to be less involved in school matters than parents that belong to the majority group. Low levels of parental involvement in school affairs may be construed by the child as a lack of parental support for the school, in general. This is particularly true if the child is unhappy or unsuccessful in school. Such children are likely to develop dissenting attitudes towards school authority and rules (Hess & Torney, 1967; Jennings & Niemi, 1974).

The media.

The influence of the media on children's political development is also important. Television, above all other forms of mass media, is an influential factor in political socialization for many children. However, recent findings strongly suggest that the media play less of a direct role in establishing political attitudes in children than they do in reinforcing attitudes that already exist (Jankowski, 1992). For example, the concept of respect for authority is reinforced when children watch a news program that criticizes an instance of civil disobedience, such as an illegal demonstration. As Jankowski (1992) explains, what the media does do is teach children to identify acceptable and unacceptable political attitudes and behaviors. The media provides examples of, and a rationale for, the punishments that the state administers for unacceptable attitudes and behavior. In this manner, the media serves to clarify political parameters governing citizen attitudes and behavior and the values underlying a political system.

The School and Ethnic Minority Groups

According to Borrie (1959), schooling plays an important role in assimilating ethnic minorities in two ways: (1) by requiring minority students to accept the pre-eminence of the majority community; and, (2) by making minority students feel the presence of state authority through the school administration and the teacher. However, Young (1969) observed that the effectiveness of the school as a political socializing agency for minority students depends on several key factors. These include: a) the qualification and attitudes of teachers and administrators; b) the attitudes and behavior of the dominant cultural group members regarding minority students; and, c) the minority students' self-concepts, goals, motivation and general readiness to be assimilated.

The social context of schools for minority groups is important and deserves closer attention. As Clausen (1968) explains, in schools where minority students feel antagonism against them by the dominant ethnic group, they may react by remaining ethnically distinct and rejecting the ideology that aims to assimilate them. Minority students who feel they are excluded from the mainstream often experience a restricted political socialization experience at school--one that will limit the extent to which they adhere to the values espoused by the dominant ethnic group.

The School and Involuntary Minorities

As noted earlier, the major objective of this study is to look at the process of assimilation of indigenous ethnic minority children in Thailand and Taiwan through political socialization in the school. In order to meet this objective, however, it is important to consider several features which mark the typical relationship that exists between indigenous ethnic minorities and the dominant ethnic group. First, the term minority itself connotes a fundamental imbalance in this relationship, as Gibson (1991, p.358) describes:

> The term *minority* refers to a group occupying a subordinate position in a multiethnic society, suffering from the disabilities of prejudice and discrimination, and maintaining a separate group identity. Even though individual members of the group may improve their social status, the group itself remains in a subordinate position in terms of its power to shape the dominant value system of the society or to share fully in its rewards.

Second, indigenous ethnic minority members fall under a distinct category, that of *nonimmigrant minority*. Non immigrant minorities refer to ethnic groups "incorporated into the dominant society *involuntarily* by means of colonization, conquest, or slavery, and assigned a subordinate position within it" (Gibson, 1991, p.358). As Gibson explains, the status of non immigrant minorities differs from *immigrant minorities*, that is, "those who are linguistically culturally and physically distinct for the majority population and who have migrated to the new country voluntarily and in search of economic opportunities" (p.359).

Because of this distinction, Ogbu (1991, 1993) refers to non immigrant and immigrant groups as *involuntary minorities* and *voluntary minorities* respectively. Ogbu further distinguishes between these two types of minorities in terms of their *cultural differences* with the dominant society. He argues that immigrant minorities have *primary cultural differences* with the dominant population: "*Primary cultural (and language) differences* arise from the fact that members of two populations had their own ways of behaving, thinking, and feeling, etc. *before* they came into continuous contact with each other" (Ogbu, 1993, p.488). Non immigrant minorities, on the other hand, are seen to have *secondary cultural differences*:

> The cultural differences and *qualitatively different* and lie in the nature of the relationship between the dominant-group culture and the culture of the minorities. The relationship between the cultures of the minorities and the culture of the dominant group is different for voluntary and involuntary minorities. This difference in the relationship is due to the fact that the differences between the cultures of involuntary minorities and the culture of the dominant group arose *after* the dominant group and the minorities came into the continuous contact that keeps the minorities in a subordinate position. The cultural differences arose as part of the coping mechanisms used by the minorities to deal with the problems they face in their relationship with the dominant-group members and the societal institutions controlled by the latter (Ogbu, 1993, p.488).

This distinction is a crucial one because *the cultural frame of reference* of bearers of secondary cultural difference is dissimilar to bearers of primary cultural difference. A cultural frame of difference refers to "the correct or ideal way of behaving within a culture--attitudes, beliefs, preferences, and practices considered appropriate for members of the culture" (Ogbu, 1993,

p.490). The cultural frame of reference of immigrant minorities predates their emigration so they do not perceive it as oppositional to that of the dominant group of their host society. The cultural frame of reference of non immigrant minorities, however, *is* oppositional to the dominant group because it was developed in the context of conflict and opposition. Moreover, "the oppositional cultural frame of reference includes devices to protect the social or collective identity of the minorities and protect and maintain their sense of self-worth" (p.491).

Most relevant to this present study is the fact that the oppositional cultural frame of reference and identity ascribed to involuntary minorities also manifest themselves in the school. The international and comparative literature on the school as an agent of assimilation of involuntary ethnic minority students confirms the presence of oppositional attitudes among these students toward the dominant group. For example, Kramer (1991, p.301) reports such a phenomenon in American public schools serving children of American Indian tribes. Kramer describes how state schools attempt to "emancipate" American Indian children from their families and tribes in order to "educate" them. Kramer argues that the schools have institutionalized alienation for these indigenous students. The classroom becomes the battleground where American Indian children protect their integrity and identity by opposing the school system. Barrington (1991) describes a similar situation for Maori children in New Zealand, where the typical Maori response to

assimilation educational policies has been one of withdrawal and resistance.

The School and Indigenous Minorities in Thailand and Taiwan

The indigenous populations that serve as the focus of this study can be considered as involuntary minorities. Their ethnic characteristics and cultural traditions clearly distinguish them from the majority society and renders them vulnerable to discrimination, exploitation and oppression (Beauclerk, Narby, & Townsend, 1988). Burger (1987) points out that in Asia, national governments have typically responded to the presence of indigenous peoples imposing assimilative "development" programs on them:

> The most common policies adopted to overcome conflicts of interests between the state and indigenous peoples rely on varying degrees of assimilation or integration into the dominant society and its economy. In practice, different peoples cannot be amalgamated without prejudice to the politically and economically weaker. All too often the exchange of an indigenous identity for a national one represents not "development", but a deterioration on the conditions and quality of life of indigenous peoples (p.7).

As Burger (1987) explains, one of the most important tools of assimilation in Asian countries is state education. Compulsory education for indigenous minorities is often authoritarian and unsympathetic to the local indigenous ethos. The content and mode of delivery of state education is often culturally unacceptable to the native peoples, alienating them from their traditions and undermining existing knowledge transmission practices.

Under such circumstances, it is not surprising to learn that the cultural frame of reference of indigenous communities in Asia

shows unmistakable signs of being oppositional to the dominant national society. A recognition has grown among indigenous peoples that they are part both of an exploited class and an oppressed people. For example, the Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact (1988) has documented increasing accounts of organized indigenous opposition to the policies, including education, forced upon them by central authorities. Indigenous communities are now forming grassroots groups to fight for issues of common interest and formulate united policies. There is little doubt that the indigenous peoples' organizations are growing in both numerical and oppositional strength.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

The style of inquiry adopted for this study is qualitative in nature, following the methodological orientation established within the discipline of naturalistic research (Burgess, 1985; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Wolcott, 1988). As such, the methodology adopted featured the following aspects: holistic field research, observation, purposive sampling, utilization of subject insight, and inductive data analysis (Borg & Gall, 1989; Lecompte & Goetz, 1982).

Preliminary Field Research

I conducted a comprehensive field research in Taiwan and Thailand. This stage involved identifying key organizations, governmental or otherwise, concerned with education for indigenous minority members. Prominent individuals within these organizations were contacted and interviewed. Their views served as useful information in forming a general understanding of the educational conditions in the highlands of Taiwan and Thailand.

In Taiwan, representative organizations included the Center for Indigenous Education, the Department of Anthropology at Taiwan National University, the Early Childhood Education Department at the National Ping-Tung Teachers College, members of Legislative

Yuan, the Ministry of Education, and the Center for Aboriginal Culture in Ping Tung County.

In Thailand, the list included the Tribal Research Center at Chiang Mai University, the Department of Education, the Department of Political Science, and the Asian Studies Center at Chiang Mai University, the Department of Nonformal Education for Chiang Mai Province, the Social Research Institute at Chulalongkorn University, the Inter-Mountain Peoples Education and Culture Association, the Worldview International Foundation and directors for education for several missionary groups. Media personnel knowledgeable about education in the highlands were consulted as well.

Preliminary research also involved examination of the national curricula at the primary level and relevant teaching material. In Taiwan the moral education textbooks were closely scrutinized and analyzed for their political content. In Thailand, where no set moral education textbooks are used, analytical effort focused on teacher manuals that dealt specifically with the teaching of values at the primary level.

Field research further entailed frequent stays in highland villages and visits to their respective schools. Personal interaction with indigenous members and observation of daily life allowed for greater contextualization of the data and a more holistic appreciation of the socio-cultural system existing in the highlands. In addition to the trips made to highland communities, several visits were made to lowland schools. The purpose of these visits was to assess the overall educational environment within the

mainstream which could then serve as a basis of comparison with existing conditions in highland schools. Field notes from these precursory visits provided insight helpful in generating hypotheses about the process of assimilation of indigenous populations into the national culture and to focus observations of instances of political socialization within the school settings.

Selection of Sites and Observations

Based on the preparatory field research five specific observation sites were chosen in Thailand and Taiwan. The three study sites chosen in North Thailand were: Saen Charoen (Akha tribe); Tung Phrao (Karen tribe); and Khung Klaang (Hmong tribe). The two study sites selected in Taiwan were: Ma-Jia (Paiwan tribe); and Feng-Bin (Amei tribe). Fieldwork at the Thailand sites was conducted between October 1992 and February 1993, whereas the fieldwork in Taiwan took place between March and June 1993.

Selection of these study sites was based on two basic criteria. Consideration was first given to the degree of remoteness, physical and cultural, of a site from the dominant cultural milieu. The varying degree of remoteness was important for comparative purposes in terms of the impact of assimilative pressures coming from the national mainstream. This criterion could be more easily determined in Thailand for two reasons: (1) Thailand's highlands are much more expansive than Taiwan's so that to this day certain highland villages are quite isolated from the

Thai lowland society; (2) the process of assimilation of the highland population in North Thailand is less evident than in Taiwan. Thus, in order of decreasing isolation, the study sites in North Thailand were Saen Charoen (Akkha), Tung Phrao (Karen), and Khun Klaang (Hnmong). In Taiwan the study site more geographically isolated was Feng Bin (Amei). As far as cultural remoteness was concerned, both study sites were comparable.

A second criterion pertained to the population size of each tribal group. Numerically, the Karen, Hmong and Akkha are the more numerous of the highland tribes. The same applies for the Amei and the Paiwan in Taiwan. The relatively larger population size of these tribal groups was assumed to influence the degree to which they felt the assimilative pressures stemming from the national mainstream; larger tribal groups are normally less vulnerable to such pressures (Burger, 1987).

Observation at the various school sites was observer participant. The protocols derived from on-site observations converged on two themes, direct political socialization and indirect political socialization. The former arose from moral education lessons as they were being taught. The latter came primarily from daily school experiences and events.

Interviews

Following the recommendation of Pelto and Pelto (1978), the protocols obtained by nonparticipant observation were substantiated using interactive research methods, namely key-informant interviewing. The development of interview items was based on two main sources of information: analysis of pertinent teaching material combined with school site observations. The rules used for conducting these interviews corresponded to those listed by Patton (1980), namely: (1) questions were posed in language that is clear and meaningful to the subject; (2) questions were open-ended; (3) probes were used for getting further elaboration, explanation, clarification, and completion of detail; and (4) a conversational mode was used to conduct the interview.

At each research site semistructured interviews using descriptive questions were conducted with students, teachers, parents, and community leaders. In order to establish rapport and to put the respondents at ease, local assistant researchers who were able communicate in both native and national languages were employed to conduct the interviews. A small tape recorder was used to record the interviews.

The setting for conducting the interviews was casual. For the students, the setting was within the school grounds, usually a shady spot in the play ground or a bench in the school yard. Saturday afternoon after school was chosen as a favorable time because the students' schedules were less constrained. Conducted

on a one-to-one basis, the students were encouraged to express themselves freely.

Similar consideration was given to the settings in which adult subjects were interviewed. Care was taken in finding locations and time frames that were conducive to a relaxed interview, unencumbered by immediate concerns or disturbances. Teachers were interviewed after regular school days, usually in a location reserved for teaching personnel. Parents and community leaders were interviewed in the evening when daily chores and obligations were mostly completed.

Selection of subjects for interviewing was purposive. The student subjects interviewed at the different sites were chosen from the three upper grade levels of primary school. This was done to ensure correspondence in the levels of schooling between the students in each country. (In Taiwan moral education is formally taught only from the fourth grade to the sixth grade). The process of subject selection was based on preliminary interviews to ascertain that the subjects had lived in or near the study sites all their lives, that they belonged to the respective tribes found at those sites, and that they had been attending the target schools from the first grade on.

Selection of parents respondents was largely determined by the previous selection of their children as student subjects. Criteria for the selection of community leaders converged on the time of residence at a village site (the longer the better) and a recognized position of authority/respect within the community leaders

(based on the recommendation of other adults within the community).

The selection of teachers was largely determined by the small population from which they could be drawn. In Taiwan, special effort was made to include indigenous teachers among the teacher respondents. The relatively low proportion of indigenous teachers in Thailand precluded this selection process from being effectively applied at the given research sites.

The interview data obtained from the purposive sample of respondents were transcribed into English. The transcribed information provided by each informants was examined and excerpts were selected for their relevance to the research objectives.

Inferences derived from the observational data collected at each highland site were compared to and corroborated by the interview data. Both these primary sources of data were triangulated with secondary sources, namely renowned experts in the field of indigenous education in Thailand and Taiwan (e.g. the Tribal Research Center at Chiang Mai University, Thailand, the Center for Indigenous Education in Hualien, Taiwan). Most of the inferences derived from the primary data was confirmed by these experts. Finally, the primary data was shared with educational researchers who were themselves members of the indigenous tribal groups investigated in this study.

CHAPTER III

THAILAND

This chapter examines the relationships between the Thai government and highland minority populations. The role of moral education is discussed within this context, particularly as a means for the political socialization of minority children. Schooling in the highlands is an instrument for transmitting the government's political ideology. It aims to assimilate highlander children into mainstream society and alienates them from their traditional tribal ethos.

Historical Overview

Buddhism, the principal religion of the Thai people, played an important role historically in the formation of the Thai monarchy and the nation-state (Payutto, 1984; Seekins, 1987). During the 19th century, King Chulalongkorn was the driving force behind the socio-political transformation of Thailand into a modern nation-state (see map, Appendix II). He is credited with restructuring the bureaucracy of Thailand, abolishing slavery, creating state-controlled Buddhism, and initiating modern Thai nationalism. He established the monarchy as the symbolic embodiment of the Thai nation (Keyes, 1987a). King Chulalongkorn's son and successor, Vajiravudh, reshaped the role of the monarchy by providing a more

direct relationship with the populace. This was important in assuring a place for the monarchy when the style of governance changed from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy in 1932.

Since the reign of King Chulalongkorn, the state has construed the cultural traditions of the diverse pasts of the peoples living within the state as a "single tradition common to a unified nation" (Keyes, 1987a, p. 50). Over the following decades the central government managed to reinforce its position by: systematically exercising greater control over the Buddhist clergy, instituting a state-wide system of mass education; manipulating the mass media, and, creating national holidays that celebrate the nation. Nation, religion and king, the 'three pillars of the Thai nation', represent the ideology of the ruling elite of Thai society. Because these institutions are so crucial for the creation and maintenance of the Thai socio-political status quo, it is useful to consider their individual roles.

The King

In pre-modern times, the king assumed the sanctified position of supreme political and religious leader of the land. As such, he was a godlike being at the center of a Buddhist cosmological system. In 1932, Thai central leadership was redefined as one of shared control between the prime minister, the military and the king. Royal prestige and power waned considerably in the period following the introduction of this new political system.

The monarchy re-emerged as a force in the 1950s with the return of King Bhumiphol, who had been overseas during the Second World War. King Bhumiphol began touring the country to establish a greater role for the monarchy. In regular radio broadcasts he made a conscious attempt to encourage people outside the Central Thai ethnic enclave to feel that they were equally vital to the nation's well-being (Keyes, 1987a). By the late 1960s, King Bhumiphol had succeeded in restoring the monarchy to an independent powerful, legitimate position in the Thai polity (Shinn, 1987).

The Sangha

Buddhism has always been closely associated with the ruling elite in Thailand. King Chulalongkorn instituted Buddhism as the national religion in 1902. This meant that the Sangha, or monastic order, was unified into a national institution, paralleling the provincial administrative hierarchy. By bringing the Sangha under its control, the King and ruling elite were able to further extend their authority over the nation (Kunstadter, 1967). Growing state control of the clergy was reinforced by the Sangha Administration Act of 1963 (Tapp, 1989).

The contemporary Sangha essentially perpetuates an outlook on life that rationalizes differences among humans. The ideology is based on Buddhist tenets suggesting that inequalities are the consequences of particular morally significant actions, that is, as consequences of *karma*, inherited from a previous life, and endowing a future one (Payutto, 1984). The Sangha, as a *de facto* instrument

of the state, now performs its duties as the moral sentinel of the masses. Monks of appropriate rank are regularly and publicly invited to perform rituals at formal state functions and on state holidays.

Monks are also recruited to preach morality throughout the land, especially in security sensitive areas such as in rural northeastern Thailand, and especially among the tribal peoples of the highlands.

The Bureaucracy and the Military

Reforms under King Chulalongkorn extended beyond the monarchy and the clergy to the bureaucracy and the military. Semi-autonomous local political institutions were replaced by uniform state-centered institutions, staffed with officials known as 'servants of the crown'. Essentially, the bureaucracy became the embodiment of the Thai state. A national army was established to ensure control throughout the country. Together, these two groups became the major power-holders in Thailand, particularly after the new constitution in 1932, which effectively changed the nature of monarchial rule. The following section examines the influence of these two power groups on national educational policy.

Education

> The primary objective of the national system of education in Thailand has been, and continues to be, to prepare children throughout the country to enter into a 'Thai' national world, a world structured with reference to the Thai state. Such an objective was enshrined in the first constitution of modern Thailand, the Constitution of 1932. (Keyes, 1991b, p.112)

The history of the Thai education system can be organized into three major periods: up to 1870; between 1870-1960; and from 1970 to the present. Before 1870 there was no formal Western type of schooling, *per se*. Education was in the hands of Buddhist monks who taught (male) students literacy, arithmetic, and Buddhist philosophy. As such, the primary function of education was to inculcate religious rather than secular knowledge.

By the end of the 19th century a small number of Western-style schools were established. In 1895 the first nationwide education program was promulgated by King Chulalongkorn. Buddhist monks were replaced by secular state school teachers. The object of the new educational program was to prepare the Thai population for modernization. The major landmarks of this period up to 1970, include the creation of national universities, enforcement of a mandatory elementary education, and the control of all schooling by the Ministry of Education (Tuchrello, 1987).

National educational objectives were clarified and a Thai educational philosophy was formulated. A compulsory curriculum was developed to ensure that school children learn about the basic elements of Thai national culture--the national language, history,

and the symbols of monarchy, Buddhism, and nation. Four basic types of education formed the core curriculum for elementary and secondary schools; intellectual, practical, physical, and moral education.

In 1977, the National Assembly passed the National Education Act, revamping the core curriculum and creating a 6-3-3 grade/year system. The curriculum at the primary level now is comprised of subjects grouped into four categories: (1) *Learning Skills* for mathematics and language; (2) *Work Education* for handicrafts and basic vocational skills; (3) *Life Experiences* for the sciences and social studies; and, (4) *Character Education* for moral education, arts and physical education (Buripakdi & Mahakhan, 1980).

State primary education remains highly centralized. All schools in Thailand, public or private, are administered and supervised by the powerful Ministry of Education. In fact, authority and responsibility are vested in one man--the Minister of Education, in a hierarchically structured educational system (Gregorio & Gregorio, 1980).

Moral Education

Moral education in Thailand is based on Buddhist moral ideology. Primary school children are taught that morality is attained through three levels of practice; namely, *sila* (eschewing wrongdoing, embracing good deeds), *samathi* (purifying one's mind and spirit), and *punya* (perceiving the ephemeral nature of the

physical world). These three levels of practice embody the Four Holy Truths; *dukkha* (mortal imperfection), *samodaya* (individualistic desire), *nirodha* (cessation of desire), and *magga* (the way pioneered by Buddha to a pure state of being).

In terms of moral thoughts and actions, *magga* is considered most relevant. *Magga* itself is threefold, consisting of morality, meditation, and wisdom. Of these last three concepts, morality is primordial--without an earnest effort to pursue a higher moral state, there is no attainment of wisdom (Payutto, 1984). In everyday application of these principles, students have to refrain from causing injury to living things, from stealing, sexual immorality, prevaricating, and from using substances that tend to 'cloud the mind' such as alcohol and drugs.

Students are also expected to conform to recognized social obligations. Known as the *sigalovada sutta*, these sets of social duties are designed to regulate the hierarchical relations that exist between parents and children, husbands and wives, employers and servants, and teachers and pupils.

Political Ideology and Moral Education

Until the middle of this century, moral education in Thailand was the responsibility of monks in local monasteries. Children learned to read and write and received instruction in the Buddhist way of life (Parrinder, 1983). By the late 1950s, as the Thai royalty became more familiar with Western education, decisions were taken to remove moral education from the monasteries and the monks.

Moral education became incorporated into the primary school curriculum, and was expanded to include instruction in civic responsibilities and proper behaviors toward officialdom.

In the 1960s, moral education was subordinated to academic core courses such as mathematics and science. However, the attempts by the central educational authorities to lessen the importance of moral education did not go uncontested. The Sangha voiced its concern that moral education was becoming superficial, and that children were merely memorizing school-taught moral principles without actually internalizing them.

In the 1970s, the central government responded to this concern and mandated the Ministry of Education to revamp the national moral education curriculum. The result was the National Scheme of Education (see Appendix III). The revised curriculum attempted to integrate moral education into the *entire schooling experience*, rather than merely having it taught as a subject. For primary education, approximately 106 twenty-minute periods (or 2,120 minutes per year) of character education were merged with other subjects (particularly social studies), while a mere 44 periods were allotted to specific moral instruction per year. In order to reinforce the moral training taking place in the school, the Ministry of Education also prescribed a wide variety of extra-curricular activities, including scouting, sports events, games, and numerous clubs (Institute for International Education, 1991).

Materials for Character Education

There are no set textbooks for moral education in the primary public schools of Thailand. Instead, the Ministry of Education distributes manuals to teachers that suggest how different moral themes and concepts are to be taught (see Appendix VI). The manuals are quite comprehensive, covering specific objectives, learning activities, materials and evaluation procedures. Teachers are then left to select and utilize supplementary books as they see fit. Significantly, these manuals remind teachers that the content of moral education is less important than the process of character building (Institute for International Research, 1981; 1991).

Instructional Strategies

In the 1970s, Project RIT (Reduced Instruction Time) was started to determine the best teaching strategies for character education at the primary level. Research indicated that the most effective strategies were story-telling using illustrations, discussions and role modelling. Project RIT also provided useful insight on character-building activities that could be effectively incorporated into other subjects. These include self-learning activities, group-learning activities, and student homework correction. According to RIT, such activities strongly encourage basic moral values including honesty, cooperation, respect for others, empathy, punctuality, and conscientiousness (Institute for International Research, 1991).

In addition to the RIT project, the Ministry of Education also mandated the Department of Religious Affairs to determine general goals for moral education. After much deliberation the Department came out with a list of ten groups of desirable personal characteristics which they considered all Thai people should possess: (1) self-discipline; (2) honesty, truthfulness, and justice; (3) diligence, frugality and right careers; (4) consciousness of duty and responsibility for society and nation; (5) creativity, critical thinking, and rational decision-making; (6) respect for the constitutional monarchy and the system of democracy; (7) maintenance of physical and mental health; (9) pride in Thai culture; and, (10) piety, bravery, cooperation, and love of others (Institute for International Research, 1991).

From the input received from the RIT project and the Department of Religious Affairs, the Ministry of Education was able to publish comprehensive teacher's manual for moral education, focusing on instructional strategies (Ministry of Education, Thailand, 1980).

Implementation of the Moral Curriculum in State Primary Schools

Thailand's moral education program was developed to be applied uniformly throughout the country. However, in the highlands, education in general, and moral education in particular, is part of a larger effort by the central government to assimilate the ethnic minorities. Many bureaucratic resources are used to bring the

ethnically divergent hill tribe population into the fold of dominant Thai society.

Northern Thailand

Northern Thailand, bordered by Burma and Laos, is characterised by forested mountains--the lower extremities of the Himalayan foothills--and fertile river valleys (see map, Appendix V). The region encompasses part of the Golden Triangle, so called because of its illegal production of opium. This was the cradle of Thai civilisation where, for several centuries, small independent kingdoms held sway (Tuchrello, 1987).

It was in northern Thailand that Sukhotai, the first truly independent Thai kingdom was established in 1238. A second kingdom, Lan Na Thai, was founded in 1296 further north of Sukhotai, with Chiang Mai as its capital. Chiang Mai flourished as a major religious, cultural and trading center until 1556 when it became a Burmese vassal state. The Burmese were expelled in 1775 when Lan Na Thai once more became part of northern Thailand. However, the entire area remained largely isolated from central Thailand until the early 1900s.

The Dominant Ethnic Group--the Northern Thai

The population in the North is approximately 11.5 million. The dominant ethnic group are Northern, or Lanna Thai. Tradi-

tionally, the Lanna Thai, in terms of customs and language, are closer to the peoples of Laos than to the Central Thai of the Bangkok area. Although relative newcomers to the northern area, the Central Thai have assumed a certain political, social and cultural dominance over the Lanna Thai, which is still an irritant in relations between these two Thai groups.

To this day, the highly independent Northern Thai retain some of their former characteristics through distinctive customs, handicrafts, culture, and dialect. However, central government pressure for various Thai peoples to forsake regional customs and dialects for 'modern' Central Thai culture, and the greatly improved means of communication, accelerated the trend toward homogenization of dress, language, and forms of entertainment (Tuchrello, 1987).

Non-Thai Minorities--the Hill People

The ethnic minority people living in the northern mountain regions and along the western boundary of Thailand belong to various hill tribes. They include six major tribes (Akha, Karen, Lahu, Lisu, Hmong, and Yao), and several smaller tribes (H'tin, Khamu, Lua, and Mrabri). Altogether, tribal population was thought to be approximately 700,000 in the early 1990s (or about one percent of the total population). They reside essentially in 19 provinces, from Chiang Rai in the north to Pachuabkirikhan toward the south (Cody, 1992).

Owing to the wide publicity given to the opium trade as well as the promotion of tourism, highlander tribes are probably the most well known ethnic groups in Thailand. They originally migrated from southern China hundreds of years ago, the greatest number settling in Burma, Laos, and Vietnam. The reasons why the highland minorities found themselves in northern Thailand are varied. Many are within Thai boundaries as a consequence of historical conflicts between Thailand and its neighbors which shifted borders. Others arrived relatively recently from economically impoverished southern China or from politically turbulent areas in Burma and the Indo-Chinese Peninsula.

Each tribe has its own beliefs, traditions, language, and dress. The tribes have no indigenous written language, therefore, transmission of rituals and customs is mainly oral. Daily life is similar to rural Thai life elsewhere, although more difficult. This is because of lower standards of communication, sanitation, nutrition, health and education.

Because of differences between the highlands and the lowlands, tribal people have tended to feel inferior to the ethnic Thais. Certain misconceptions of the mountain peoples by Thai lowlanders exacerbate the problem. The hill tribes are looked down upon by lowland Thais because of their supposed primitivity, sexually unbridled behaviour, cruelty, and lack of personal hygiene (Alting von Gesau, 1989a).

General Characteristics of Thailand's Hill Tribes

In order to better understand the ethnic differences between highland and lowland society, it is useful to recognise some of the more significant cultural and socio-political features of tribal communities.

Family and genealogy.

Among all tribal people, the family, whether extended or nuclear, is still the most important social unit. The majority of tribal families are mainly monogamous. However polygamy is accepted among all of the tribes, except the Karen. Each tribal group uses specialized kinship terms. When speaking to or about a relative they usually do not use the person's name, but instead the correct kinship term. These terms reflect relative age, the sex of the speaker, the sex or the person addressed or referred to, generational differences, and whether the relationship is through the father's or mother's lineage.

Highland tribal people have traditionally felt very strongly about their genealogical systems and their ancestors. They are keenly aware of who gave them life, knowledge, wisdom, values, and customary law. This reverence is expressed in ancestral services on important occasions to reinforce loyalty to and remembrance of where they came from.

The village as political unit.

Until recently there were no pan-village or pan-tribal organizations. The village is not a stable unit and tribal families do not show strong loyalty to it (Tapp, 1989). If joining

kinsmen elsewhere improves their economic status, they will move, even at the cost of breaking relationships with others in the village.

In most villages, a leader functions as the ceremonial headman or priest. Elders choose for this office a man they consider to have the most knowledge of the mythology and rituals of the tribe and who is conversant with their codes of conduct. Each village must also have a political headman who serves as its representative in relations with the national state.

Moral and legal codes.

Hill tribes have no written laws. Traditional codes of conduct prescribe certain socially binding patterns that function as 'law'. Anyone who breaks these codes may be fined, or in the case of serious misdemeanours, banned from the village. In clear contrast with the individualistic ethic of modern society, hill tribe legal and moral principles are group oriented. Customs of interaction are based on a policy of give and take; kindness, generosity, consideration, affection, honesty, hospitality, compassion and charity are typical virtues found among the hill tribes (Renard et al., 1988).

Proper moral behavior is, traditionally, a great source of ethnic pride among the hill tribes. In fact, tribal peoples often imagine themselves as *morally superior* to the residents of lowland society. They point to lax sexual behavior among the lowland Thai, the pervasive corruption of government officials, and the unscrupulous practices of Thai businessmen.

Traditional education.

The traditional educational system of mountain people is quite sophisticated. It includes instruction in language, etiquette, social relations, history, economics, arithmetic, agriculture, ecology, medicine, nutrition, artisanship, songs, dance, music, and rituals (Alting von Gesau, 1989b). The family assumes a primary role in transmitting knowledge and skills:

> Parents and relatives are the first people to transfer their knowledge to the young ones....The family is the most important institution; whether children grow up to be good or bad depends directly on how they are taught in the family....Family is the most indispensable institution in tribal society. (Mountain People's Culture and Development Education Foundation, 1991, p.6)

Abstract concepts, such as values, are normally taught either by direct instruction or through the telling of stories. Village elders reinforce what the children learn at home by exhorting them to follow the collective principles of tribal society. Storytellers within the community tell or chant various tales during important festivals. At such times 'delicate' topics (e.g., appropriate sexual relations) are also broached. Such matters are not usually discussed within the family.

Orally transmitted abstract concepts are further reinforced through observation and participation. Children observe their elders acting out moral principles. This is particularly so when business transactions are conducted, when social sanctions are being applied, or when ceremonies and rituals are performed (Alting von Gesau, 1989b).

Assimilative Challenges Faced by Thailand's Hill Tribe Peoples

> Mass migrations towards towns and urban centers as cheap labour, uncontrolled development of tourism, traditional activities turned into dance and cultural shows, prostitution, and beggary. Only a small proportion of the highlanders who ever completed high school have become government employees, NGO personnel, monks, or missionaries. Traditional villages have been left behind with a population of illiterate cultivators who can hardly feed their families, drug addicts that are a burden for the group, elderly people and children marred with health problems. Thus either in cities or in villages, the highlanders have become assimilated into the Thai nation, with most of them knowing little of their original cultures--Wongsprasert (1992b, p.3).

The traditional ways of tribal groups are being seriously affected by the process of assimilation into modern Thai society. Some of the more ominous threats to the ethnic survival of the tribal population include the loss of tribal agricultural land, deforestation of hunting grounds, displacement of entire communities, and the collapse of traditional economic systems.

Ethnic Exogamy

Traditionally there was a marked preference among hill tribes for ethnic endogamy in marriage. In recent years, however, there has been an increasing number of cases of ethnic exogamy (Wongsprasert, 1992b). Two key factors are behind this trend.

The first has to do with the division of labor between genders in tribal society. It is widely recognized that hill tribe women work harder than the men. This includes the main burden of parenting. Men sit around, chat, smoke opium, and generally lead a less arduous life (Wongsprasert, 1991). Consequently, an increasing number of young hill tribe women seek to marry out-

siders. With increased contacts between the highlands and the lowlands, this option is becoming more viable and many hill tribe women are choosing ethnic Thai men as husbands (Boyes & Piraban, 1989).

A second contributing factor is the scarcity in hill tribe communities of eligible marriage partners, especially men. Many young tribal people go to the lowlands to find work. As they settle in the lowlands, these young highlanders try to find a local spouse (i.e. ethnic Thai). As a result, some tribal villages have become virtually devoid of anyone between the ages of ten and sixty. This trend is highly problematic for the maintenance of hill tribe communities, as kinship bonds are rapidly being eroded and entire family lineages are on the verge of disappearing (Wongsprasert, personal communication, January 20, 1993).

Rampant Consumerism

Perhaps the most pernicious effect of the spread Thailand's market economy into the highlands is the 'consumerist fever' among the tribal communities (Moohtoo, 1991). Ethnic Thais try to sell all sorts of objects to the villagers; products that they had managed perfectly well without in the past. Tribal villagers quickly learn how to spend the little money they have. Men smoke and drink more; children ask parents to buy them candies; women desire cosmetics rather than basic household commodities. Many villagers are selling away family heirlooms, legal property rights, and even their children to buy modern goods. Once they run out of

money, the villagers are vulnerable to usury from lowland businessmen. Many hill tribe members have resorted to stealing or begging to try to pay off debts (Wongsprasert, 1992a).

The Breakdown of Traditional Morality

A pleasure-seeking mentality associated with unchecked materialism, coupled with greater accessability to the mass media, has seriously upset all aspects of traditional morality. This is evidenced by the increased prevalence of pornography, prostitution, and gambling (Cody, 1992; Moohtoo, 1991; Sanitsuda, 1993).

Amidst these worrisome trends is a widening generation gap between hill tribe youngsters and their elders. More than ever young tribal people are aware of the socio-economic discrepancies between themselves and lowland Thais. The contrast heightens the their sense of inferiority. Youngsters have come to disdain their own villages, regard their peers as uncouth, and aspire only to live the 'city life'.

Today, younger generations care less and less about hill tribe tradition. As a result, they are becoming unfamiliar with long-established tribal values. Many tribal youths seem to think that they know more than their elders in all matters, including what is right or wrong (Mountain People's Culture and Development Education Foundation, Thailand, 1991; Wongsprasert, 1992a).

Citizenship and Land Rights

Of deepest concern to most tribal people is the fact that they are not sure where they stand in relation to the government. As of the early 1990s, more than half of the tribal population did not have citizenship papers.

At the beginning of this century, all lowland residents of Thailand were eligible to obtain Thai citizenship. By the 1950s, when the central government finally extended this policy to hill tribe members, very few of them bothered to register because they could not easily prove that they were eligible for citizenship. Furthermore, because of their relative isolation from the national mainstream, most hill tribe people could not see the advantages of obtaining a Thai citizenship.

Today, the situation is radically different. Citizenship has been made a requisite for land rights. As the property value of the highlands increases and more lowland speculators are buying up huge tracts of land, most hill people find themselves with no legal rights to the land they occupy (Thongtham, 1992).

Moreover, the Royal Forest Acts place severe limits on land ownership in watersheds, forest reserves, and national parks, which are inhabited by the different tribes (Renard et al., 1988). Nevertheless, the government allows exploitation of watershed areas and forest reserves by lumber companies whose practices are no less destructive than those followed by tribal peoples (Keyes, 1979a). Laws such as the Royal Forest Acts are based less on ecological considerations than on the desire of the Thai government to have

tribal peoples live in settled communities where they can be controlled by state institutions (Tapp, 1990).

Tourism

Thousands of tourists, chiefly Westerners, pour into the northern hills on trekking tours each year. These tourists are causing many changes to tribal lifestyles. The more pervasive trends are indiscriminate commercialism, drug use, health risks (especially AIDS), and begging (Boyes & Piraban, 1989; Tapp, 1990).

Tour companies have been quick to exploit the novelty of highlander culture, suggesting that tribal people are far removed from modern Thai society (Cohen, 1983). Here is how the area is described in a recent travel brochure issued by the Tourism Authority of Thailand (1990, p.7):

> The region is most strongly coloured by the various hill tribes who make their homes in the highlands. Comprising seven major tribes...these people maintain independent lifestyles. They are nonetheless hospitable and welcome visitors to their villages where their singular cultures are mostly untouched by the 20th century.

Keyes (1987b, p. 130) believes that this sort of tourism has served to further subordinate the tribal peoples to the Thai: "Thai middlemen present tribal dances, handicrafts, and even whole communities as being primitive in comparison to similar aspects of Thai culture and society".

Three Ethnic Groups--The Akha, the Karen, and the Hmong

There are important differences in the way a tribe responds to assimilating pressures of the Thai state. These differences are tied closely to cultural characteristics associated with the tribe. The following section considers the distinct situations of the three largest hill tribes the Akha, the Karen, and the Hmong.

The Akha

The Akha are ethnically linked to the Lolo tribes of south Yunnan province in China. Their origins are in the Tibetan Highlands. They then migrated south to Yunnan, north Burma, Laos, and north Thailand. The Akha are more geographically contained than other highlander groups, living mostly in the region bordering Burma north of the Mae Kok river. Akha immigrations into Thailand date from the early part of this century. Until the 1950s, the number of Akha in northern Thailand remained in the few thousands. However, this situation dramatically changed in the 1960s as a large number of Akha refugees fled the political turmoil and social chaos in neighboring Burma. In the early 1960s there were under 7,000 Akha in Thailand. By the late 1980s the Akha population had grown to approximately 33,000, and newcomers from Burma are constantly arriving (Tapp, 1989).

The main social unit is the extended family. Patrilineal clans mediate all social interaction concerning kinship ties,

marriage, residential patterns and rights of succession. Autonomous villages are comprised of multi-clan units, varying in size in from 30 to 600 persons. Within the village, autonomous households have equal access to land, swidden fields, and the forest. Formal political authority is based on sex (only males), age, and access to *Akhazan* (the knowledge of rules, ceremonies, and genealogical systems handed down from the ancestors).

Leadership roles are usually divided between the village founder who is responsible for internal village affairs, and a second official who is responsible official relations with Thai authorities. Another man of authority in the Akha village is the *phima*--the spirit-priest, teacher, and healer. His authority is firmly centered on his personal knowledge of numerous and lengthy archaic songs and recitations, which contain most of *Akhazan*. He is the main teacher and adviser in *zan* (Alting von Gesau, 1983).

Ethnic Self-Identification

Ethnic self-identification for the Akha focuses: (1) on lineage thr· · the clan--the Akha believe themselves to be lineal descendants . . single apical ancestor; and (2) through accepting traditional customs. These two points of reference are crucial for cultural maintenance. They allow the Akha to maintain traditional knowledge, wisdom, and customary law.

The traditional value system prescribing the Akha way of life is called *Akhazan*. Some of the more notable features of *Akhazan* include non-violence, egalitarianism and autonomy. *Akhazan*

regulates the whole of Akha life at all levels. It describes agricultural practices, architecture, the management of transactions, marriage, penal and judiciary rules, and child-rearing.

The Karen

The Karen are the largest highland group in Thailand. The Karen population is estimated at 280,000, which accounts for half of the total hill tribe population in the country. Their coming to Thailand is largely attributable to interminable political persecution in Burma starting in the eighteenth century. This continues to the present. Karen communities lie mostly in the provinces that make up the mountainous areas along the Thai-Burmese border.

The Karen in Thailand are divided into two principal groups--the Sgaw and Pwo. The Sgaw are much more numerous than the Pwo and tend to live more to the north. Both subgroups have settled in areas of relatively lower altitude, approximately 500 meters above sea level (Tribal Research Institute, 1989). Living in valleys at much lower and less isolated elevations, the Karen often adopt aspects of the lowland Thai culture, including Thai agricultural methods, house design, and dress.

Kinship is traced through a monogamous maternal line and residence is matrilocal. Unlike other tribes, the household is usually a nuclear family. It is also an independent economic unit, with rights to land ownership, self-sufficient and autonomous. The

effective leader of a Karen village is the village priest, a hereditary office. All important decisions are made by the priest, or the priest in consultation with village elders (Hinton, 1983).

Ethnic Self-Identification

The Karen have lived in Thailand for many generations, and traditionally considered themselves different, more 'sedentary' than other tribal minority groups, such as the Hmong or the Akha (Marlowe 1979). They see their language as distinctive and foremost among their cultural traits. Karen distinctiveness is also found in traditional beliefs in the ancestral spirits of kin groups (Ijima, 1979). Kunstadter (1979, p. 140) describes Karen ethnic identity as a *disposition*: "Proper Karenness, seems to lie in the observance of Karen etiquette, such as the obligation to speak the Karen language, to offer hospitality, as well as common knowledge of traditional Karen folk tales and songs".

Traditional Values

Karen values can be understood by examining their folklore. As a consequence of their unfortunate history in Burma, the Karen harbor attitudes of resentment and distrust of (lowland) ethnic groups. Many stories relate to the Karen missing out on gifts of wealth and knowledge that were handed out to mankind by beneficent spirits, reminding the Karen of their precarious position vis-à-vis lowland peoples (Hinton, 1979). Within Karen folklore there also recurs a self-deprecatory theme of the 'born loser'; emphasizing

that insecurity and deprivation is simply the fate allotted to the Karen people. Thus, it is not unusual for some Karen to express defeatist attitudes towards the many difficulties they face in Thailand today.

Despite such negativism, the Karen possess many affirmations within their value system. For example, the sanctity of the nuclear family is a very important value; children are customarily reared almost entirely by their own parents. The nuclear family is preserved by strong sanctions against divorce and infidelity. A pervading sense of egalitarianism can also be found in the Karen's general attitude towards wealth and political affairs. Other researchers have highlighted certain Karen characteristics such as conservatism (Renard et al., 1988), age deference (Lewis & Lewis, 1984), non-violence (Kunstadter, 1979), and pragmatism (Keyes, 1979a).

The Hmong

The Hmong are one of the most widespread minority groups of Thailand's northern highlands. As an ethnic group, they originated in southern China. For centuries the Hmong cherished their independence and liberty, leading to many conflicts with the Chinese rulers who tried to subjugate them. Due to the southward expansion of the Han Chinese people, the Hmong fled persecution by settling into the northern regions of Vietnam, Laos, and the northern mountains of Thailand. The number living in Thailand is

around 82,000, constituting the second largest tribal group after the Karen, or about 15 percent of the tribal population. The Hmong living in Thailand are divided into two groups--the Blue Hmong and the White Hmong.

The Hmong family structure is patrilineal and extended. Whereas the family is the most important basic unit of social organization, clans serve to unite Hmong communities. Polygamy is practised to some extent, and the selling of women is institutionalized in the form of bride-prices (Cooper, 1983; Geddes, 1976).

Hmong settlements are at high altitudes (1,000 to 1,200 meters). Although subsistence crops are grown, the Hmong are the tribal people who produce the most opium as a cash crop. According to Tapp (1986), the Hmong have borne the brunt of the anti-opium 'campaign' launched by the Thai government. Partly for this reason, some Hmong joined forces with insurgents, most notably the Communist Party of Thailand. Such past affiliations produce a popular image of them today as 'opium-producing communists' (Tapp, 1989).

Hmong beliefs and practices are heavily influenced by Chinese ancestor worship, which is combined with native shamanism and pantheism. According to Chindarsi (1983, p. 187), the shaman, male or female, is the only person who can communicate effectively with supernatural beings. The shaman, therefore, plays a very important role in society: "Every village must have at least one shaman;

otherwise, people will not feel secure, and the village might not continue to exist".

Ethnic Self-Identification

The Hmong sense of tribal integrity is supported by similarities of language, custom, social structure and cultural expressions such as myths, religious beliefs, rituals, folk history, folklore, and art. Despite differences in dialect and other cultural features among the major sub-divisions, the Hmong demonstrate an overall sense of cultural unity (Geddes, 1976).

As there is no traditional form of writing for the Hmong language, oral traditions still play an important role in the transmission of 'Hmongness' from one generation to the next. The absence of writing encouraged other forms of cultural transmission among the Hmong, such as music and handicrafts. Through such cultural activity the Hmong's complex socio-political system survived against a long history of persecution and segregation at the hands of stronger and more dominant populations.

Traditional Values

Traditional Hmong ideals include loyalty, respect for age, courtesy, honesty, hard work, the accumulation of wealth, and peaceable co-existence with their neighbors. Order and authority in the household are maintained by respect for age, tempered by recognition of capacity. Hmong society, however, is not overly autocratic; the basis of Hmong social organization is communal and

egalitarian. The absence of permanent or private ownership accounts for the relative lack of conflict between themselves and neighboring members of other ethic groups (Geddes, 1976; Tapp, 1986).

Official Highland Policy

There are two fundamental notions characterizing the way Thai officials regard ethnic minority people of the northern highlands. One derives from Thai pre-modern society, the other from the Western powers that colonized Southeast Asia.

In many ways the Thai social structure has remained virtually intact since the days of King Chulalongkorn. Unlike its neighboring states that underwent colonial take-overs, Thailand did not experience much disruption to its *hierarchical division of society*. Consequently, Thai society remains divided vertically by class divisions, and horizontally into intimate cellular groups organised around family, neighbors and local community. Older socio-political structures have adapted to Thailand's internationalized economy and technocratic society (McKinnon, 1989). Within the traditional hierarchical structure of Thai society, hill tribe minority people belong to the lowest tier of the social pyramid.

The second influence on Thai government's policies toward its tribal minorities is *colonialism*. Although Thailand managed to avoid becoming a colonial dependency, it was nonetheless constrained to become a modern nation-state to withstand expansionist

pressures by the British and French. Thailand had to define itself with reference to territorial boundaries. It began to see itself as representing a particular 'national' culture, constructed primarily through state promotion of a national language, religion, and history (Keyes, 1987a). Within this modern national culture, the hill tribes found no basis to claim membership. Nor has the Thai polity shown any real interest in the well-being of 'aliens' outside the national society.

Due to factors of social hierarchy and colonial territoriality, Thai authorities have come to view the highlanders as social outcasts or intruders. The official attitude toward the hill tribes is to treat them as 'problems', *and not as a people facing problems (Vienne, 1989)*. The attempt to rid Thailand of these so-called problems is seen as the overriding concern shaping hill tribe policy to this day.

Highland Policy--1800s to the 1950s

Before the Thai government in Bangkok established rule over north Thailand, hill people paid tribute, along with lowland peasantry, to the local Prince of Chiang Mai. The highland tribes were willing to give allegiance to local lowland authorities in recognition of the latter's superior technology and military strength. However, it was expected that in return, the lowlanders would respect the hill tribes' social, cultural and political autonomy.

The lowland leaders, for their part, were quite content with no more than symbolic authority over the hill tribes. Such a lenient policy was not the result of benevolence. It was because the local Thai people, as a lowland-loving folk, consistently avoided the mountains. Local Thai leaders had neither the people nor the will to colonize what they regarded as inhospitable country. Under such circumstances, relationships between Thai lowlanders and the tribal highlanders were relatively harmonious (Wongsprasert, 1992b).

The hill tribes continued to enjoy a high degree of political autonomy until the middle of this century. Although the central government had usurped power in northern Thailand from local princes earlier this century, authorities in Bangkok had little interest in the hill peoples. During this period the central government simply exercised a policy of 'benign neglect' (Keyes, 1987a; Manndroff, 1967).

Highland Policy--Late 1950s, 1960s

By the mid-century, Thailand developed into a modern nation-state. Thai authority was transformed to redefine official relations between the lowlands and highlands. The establishment of a modern Thai bureaucracy and a highly centralized government widened rather than narrowed the gulf between the hill people and the representatives of lowland authority.

By the late 1950s Thai leaders finally started to pay greater attention to the isolated northern regions of Thailand. The government's change of policy from that of benign neglect to one of involvement had mostly to do with the growing 'problems' in the highlands.

A major reason for increased official attention was the perceived threat to national security. Neighboring countries, such as Burma, China and Vietnam were unstable or hostile. The hill tribe region came to be seen as both strategic and vulnerable. Thai authorities became worried because Communists were infiltrating the highlands and training hill tribe members in subversive activities against the state. The hill tribes were now regarded as a security risk to the Thai nation (Lewis & Lewis, 1984).

Ironically, the vast majority of highlanders living in Thailand were not Communist sympathizers. *They were erroneously labelled by central authorities who stereotyped all highland tribal groups according to one tribe--the Hmong* (Kunstadter & Kunstadter, 1992; Tapp, 1990).

Throughout the warring in Indochina, some Hmong living in Thailand retained close relations with politically active kinsmen in their native settlements in North Vietnam and Laos. The Hmong's link to these 'security-sensitive' zones made the Thai military quite nervous about Communist subversion among hill tribe members. This, plus the fact that an unprecedented number of Hmong refugees were streaming into Thai territory, placed them irrevocably at the center of the Thai Royal forces' anti-Communist campaign.

To worsen matters, armed conflict erupted on several occasions between Hmong and government forces, resulting in swift and brutal reprisals against Hmong villages thought to be harboring insurgents. Some of the more heavy-handed measures taken by the military included artillery and air bombardment, massive troop assaults, and forced resettlement (Girling, 1981; Keyes, 1987b).

A strategy of containment was then formulated by the General Praphat Charusathien, the Minister of the Interior, who declared that *all* hill people had to "settle down permanently in big villages and abandon the nomadic life they have been accustomed to in the past" (Tapp, 1990, p. 155). This led, in turn, to the policy of treating the entire highland tribal population as illegal immigrants (Lewis & Lewis, 1984; Renard et al., 1988).

Central authorities established a Hill Tribe Welfare Division (now called the Central Hill Tribe Committee) under the aegis of the Public Welfare Department and gave it the mandate to rectify the highland 'problems'. Four principal objectives were set: (1) to prevent the destruction of public lands by substituting sedentary agriculture for traditional shifting cultivation; (2) to end opium poppy growing; (3) to promote community development (in government-built settlements); and, (4) to instill in the hill tribes a sense of belonging and national loyalty (Tapp, 1989). These four objectives became the underpinning for the government's so-called 'Long Term Tribal Policy' (Bhruksasri, 1989a).

Resettlement Projects

Perhaps the most controversial initiative was the relocation of the hill tribes. Policy makers reasoned that since these people were the source of so many problems in the highlands, the quickest way to rectify the matter was to simply move them out of the hills to the more secure lowlands. The Department of Public Welfare was given the task of creating Self-Help Resettlement Areas, equipped with stores, dispensaries, schools, and supervisors. The settlements were supposed to become the highlanders' surrogate homes. From its inception, this program of 'accelerated integration' was not successful. In the end, the central government had no recourse but to let the projects fail (Bradley, 1983; Renard et al., 1988).

Crop Substitution Projects

A second program was initiated in an attempt to address the highlands' most egregious 'problem'--the cultivation and consumption of opium. Policy makers devised crop substitution programs aimed to encourage hill tribes to abandon the cultivation of opium poppies and to protect highland forests from shifting agriculture.

From the beginning, the implementation of this policy was impeded by inconsistent messages sent by the government (Tapp, 1989). Officially, the production and sale of opium in Thailand was made unlawful in late 1950s. However, the Thai government did not strictly enforce this policy. Local highland authorities turned a blind eye to the opium traders who exploited the hill

tribe producers. Many local Thai bureaucrats were guilty of graft as they exacted heavy taxes from individual poppy cultivators.

The confused state of drug control enforcement forced the central government to establish projects to eradicate opium production through crop substitution. The best known of these projects included the King's Project, the Agricultural and Social Development Project, and the UN/Thai Program for Drug Abuse Control (Kesmanee, 1989).

Even with such a multitude of agencies applying their 'expertise' to the task, crop substitution was not very successful. The primary reason for failure can be traced to the government's misguided assumption that all highlanders grew opium and, thus, should be made subject to government production directives. Also, the government never made any serious attempt to find economically viable substitutes for poppies. It did not create the market conditions to facilitate the sale of other highlander produce. Moreover, central policy makers were primarily concerned with the eradication of opium, not the improvement of the hill tribe people's standard of living. The crop replacement policy failed, and created great economic, social and political problems in the process (Tapp 1989; Tuchrello, 1987).

The Dhammacarik Bhikkhu Project

Buddhism in Thailand has been often used as an instrument of national policy. It was natural that the central government use this sort of 'Thai-centrist Buddhism' in the highlands as a means

of accelerating tribal people's assimilation into the national culture.

The Dhammacarik project was founded in 1965 by the Public Welfare Department in consultation with the Sangha in Bangkok. Lowland Thai monks (bhikkhus), usually from poor rural backgrounds, were sent into the hills to convert the tribal people to the Buddhist way of life. In addition to proselytization, the monks were given other duties. These included promoting hill tribe people's cooperation with various government development projects; providing primary health care; reporting social problems to authorities; and, in villages where government schools had not yet been established, teaching Thai to hill tribe children (Keyes, 1971, 1979b).

As Wongsprasert (1988, p. 127) relates, the project's primary mission was to "strengthen sentimental ties with the mountain people and create loyalty to the nation by encouraging Buddhism". Unfortunately, the number of hill tribe people the *bhikkhus* (monks) were able to convert to Buddhism was not great. The project did little to win the hearts of the people (Keyes 1987b; Renard et al., 1988; Tapp, 1986). Poor results stemmed from the fact that Dhammacarik Buddhism was simply too closely associated with the ideology of the state. The project actually accentuated the distinction between the Buddhist Thai and non-Buddhist tribal peoples.

Royal Projects

Since the mid-1960s, the royal family has been patrons of tribal peoples. Royal family members attempt to convey a sense of concern for improving the lot of the highlanders. There have been many well-publicized royal visits to tribal villages and schools, sponsorship of rice banks and handicraft centers, relief funds for calamities, to name some of their efforts. Thus, Thailand's monarchy has tried to serve as the symbolic tribune for the highland minorities (Tapp, 1989).

The personal style of patronage adopted by the Thai royalty has been surprisingly successful in contrast with most other development programs. Various royal projects have earned the genuine respect and affection of the hill tribes toward the royal family ("A Happy Birthday", 1992; Tapp, 1989). Moreover, the King conveyed to the hill people the clear message that they are equal to lowland Thais. The King is a very popular figure, and a picture may be found in many tribal households of the King talking to a headman as an equal. Keyes (1987b, p. 130) states that "there is little question but that the patronage role played by the royal family has enhanced the image of tribal people in Thai society".

Although the role of the king and his family helped solidify links between themselves and highlander tribes, this positive relationship has not been automatically extended to other representatives of central authority. Highlanders reason that if his Majesty can talk to them on an equal basis, then Thai bureaucrats certainly ought to do the same. That this is not the case is often

a source of resentment. As the Anti-Slavery Society (1986) puts it:

> The personal patronage being forged between members of the ruling elite and select leaders of the ethnic minorities cannot overcome the insuperable constraints built into the Thai commercial and administrative structures against any real participation on the part of the minorities in decision-making processes affecting their own futures. (p. 61)

Highland Policy in the 1970s

Hill tribe policy in the 1970s had the same objectives as in the previous decade; namely to solve the problems relating to destruction of watershed and forests, opium poppy cultivation and to lessen the security threat. Despite the official rhetoric concerning the welfare and development of hill tribe peoples, these objectives were never given top priority (Tapp, 1986).

Two reasons may be offered for this state of affairs. First of all, officials from various government organizations were never keen about working in the hills, and demonstrated little interest in the hill people. Most government officials stayed in the hills for only short periods, waiting for better positions back in the lowlands (Wongsprasert, 1992a).

Secondly, the large number of government agencies involved in highland development projects created much confusion and duplication of responsibilities (Renard et al., 1988). In an attempt to disentangle the bureaucratic disarray, the central government made the Public Welfare Department the primary agency for highland

policy actualization. Notwithstanding such administrative reshuffling, overlapping realms of authority persisted. Lack of coordination among the government agencies and general confusion within each agency ensued. This meant that by the end of the 1970s state intervention in the highlands to develop the hill tribes' living standards and "enhance their sense of belonging to the Thai nation" was practically fruitless (Wongsprasert, 1992b).

Highland Policy in the 1980s

In the 1980s, the government's policy of integration for the highlands remained virtually unchanged. The one important difference between highland policy in the 1980s and in the previous decade was the government's decision to allow greater involvement by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). The Thai-Australia Highland Agricultural and Social Development Project and the Mountain People's Culture and Development Educational Program were prominent among the NGO-assisted development projects. The Thai government started to request more assistance from these external sources to address problems related to hill tribe land use and opium production (Bhruksasri, 1989b).

Although the NGOs believed they were engaging in humanitarian undertakings aimed at improving the overall living conditions of the mountain people, they nonetheless had to fit their activities within the framework of Thai national planning and policy guidelines (Alting von Gesau, 1989a). Consequently, nearly all the

development programs focused on cash crop development and opium eradication.

Along with increased development assistance, the government solicited the financial support of private entrepreneurs, mostly agri-business investors to expand the market economy in North Thailand and better integrate it into the national economy. This often caused great ecological damage to the highlands through the uncontrolled use of chemical pesticides and fertilizers (Keyes, 1987b). Hill tribe villagers were easily exploited for cheap labor. Many ended up becoming indentured servants to commercial farms. The highlanders were forced to shift from a self-sufficient agricultural lifestyle to increased dependence on the market economy dominated by lowlanders.

Present Highland Policy

The present hill tribe policy continues to be framed by the accumulated intentions of preceding policies. Lack of coordination among the many responsible ministries and departments persists. Moreover, the government's intention is still to transform highland society and assimilate the indigenous populations. According to the Anti-Slavery Society (1988, p.61), "discrimination against 'non-Thai' sectors of the population marks perhaps the point of greatest weakness in the Thai state".

Highlanders are still denied citizenship and land rights. Traditional swidden agriculture is discouraged and crop substitu-

tion programs have been expanded without attention to developing alternative markets. Re-settlement programs also continue. Such measures represent a perpetuation of earlier policies toward the highlands. As such, they imply "the failure of the long-term efforts of the Thai government and international agencies to raise the standard of living in the hills" (Tapp, 1990, p. 161).

Chapter IV

Moral Education in Thailand's Primary Schools

A principal mechanism of assimilation of tribal peoples is the establishment of Thai government schools in the highlands (Keyes, 1966, 1987b). The foremost objective of state-run schools is to teach hill tribe children what it means to be Thai (Chankrachang, 1976; Kesmanee, 1989).

The state's ability to systematically promote a monolithic cultural identity within highland primary schools is steadily being consolidated. Government primary schools are serving more hill tribe children within the borders of Thailand. The goal is to educate all hill tribe children in Thailand in 'regular' state primary schools. The most recent five-year National Economic and Social Development Plan (1992-1996) emphasizes that all hill tribe children of primary school age be exposed to the National Primary Education Curriculum as adapted for use in northern Thailand by the Ministry of Education.

To gain greater insight into the political socialization taking place in state-sponsored primary schools, three study sites were chosen within Akha, Karen, and Hmong communities. Daily school life at these school sites was observed, and particular attention was given to moral education classes. In addition to these observations, open-ended interviews were conducted with students, teachers, village leaders, elders and others in the

communities. Prior to the investigations conducted at the three highland sites, observations were carried out at a public primary school in the lowlands serving ethnic Thai children. Presentation of data collected at all four locations begins with the lowland study site.

Ethnic Thai School

Sri Ping Muang

The study site chosen in the lowlands is a primary public school in Sri Ping Muang. Sri Ping Muang lies outside Chiang Mai city. Until recently, this area was at the fringe of urban life. With the rapid sprawl of the 'megalopolis' that Chiang Mai has become, it has been rapidly transformed into an appendix to the city, retaining little of its former rural ambience.

The school.

The state primary school of Sri Ping Muang enrols around 600 students, almost all of them 'ethnic Thai'. The overall atmosphere at the school is one of conformity. The student dress code is strictly enforced: student uniforms are neat and clean; male students' hairstyles closely conform to the prescribed length (i.e., very short), and female students' attire is free of frivolous objects, particularly jewellery such as earrings, necklaces, etc. Only central Thai is heard in this school. The use of the Lanna dialect, the traditional language of the northern Thai, is frowned upon.

Application of the Moral Education Curriculum

As described in an earlier chapter, political socialization within Thailand's moral education program is delivered in two principal ways. First, it is presented through direct instruction during moral education class. Secondly, it occurs indirectly through daily school experiences.

Moral education classes.

Moral education classes that were observed at Sri Ping Muang were conducted in a manner that seemed to closely follow the prescribed national curriculum. The topics of the moral lessons include 'basic values' such as keeping good manners, respecting people at school, developing good self-disciple, and public spiritedness.

A more ideologically oriented lesson was observed which featured 'the duties of the Thai people' (fifth-grade class). The teacher emphasized to the students the need to obey the law. After talking about this subject for a few minutes, the teacher then asked the students to name some of the laws which they considered important. Among the responses given by students were listening to the policeman, reporting crimes, avoiding 'bad places', obeying traffic rules, and returning lost objects.

Another ideologically oriented lesson dealt with the need for Thai citizens to support the nation (fourth-grade class). The teacher talked to her students about the importance of making the country strong and asked them how people should contribute to this effort. Students' responses included doing military service,

paying taxes, listening to the King, and working for the government.

A third example related to public spiritedness (third-grade class). After reading to the class a short newspaper article about the problems of pollution in the big cities, the teacher asked for suggestions as to how to improve the situation. He then proceeded to write the students' answers on the blackboard: "Don't throw garbage on the ground"; "keep your scraps of paper in your school bag until you return home"; "use the public toilets"; and, "pick up other people's litter".

Indirect moral education.

In addition to overt political messages in moral education class, primary students are exposed to indirect political socialization through various school activities and ceremonies. These comprise the daily singing of the national anthem, attending the flag raising and lowering ceremonies, paying respect to images of Buddha and pictures of the royal family, and 'making obeisance' (performing *Wai*) to the teachers and school administrators. Political socialization also takes place when the school is involved in special activities such as parades organized on national holidays. Occasionally, students also attend Buddhist rituals performed at school.

The students are expected to assist school authorities in maintaining the school. They are assigned menial cleaning tasks around the school, such as sweeping the courtyard, straightening the classroom, and weeding the school garden. Disciplinary

measures, particularly corporal punishment, are part of the children's school experience. The students learn to respect and fear the authority of the teacher and other school personnel.

Political socialization is also incorporated into many school subjects, especially social studies. Subtle forms of political socialization are found in such courses as music and art as well. During music class the children learn national songs. In art class they learn to draw the national flag and other national/Buddhist symbols such as the lotus flower, and the royal palace (cf. Keyes, 1991a).

In addition, children participate in extra-curricular activities that emphasize conformity and obedience. For example, many young boys join a local chapter of the 'Thai Youth Corps', an organization somewhat similar to the boy scouts. As for the girls, many of them train in classical Thai dancing, an art which requires much self-discipline and fidelity to Buddhist cultural traditions.

Analysis of Interview Responses--Students

Four primary students were interviewed individually at Sri Ping Muang (see Appendix VI). To ensure confidentiality, the names of these students (as all informants in this study) were changed to fictional ones. The two girls interviewed were Noshala (age 9, fourth grade) and Janta (age 11, fifth grade), and two boys--Sanglit (age 11, fifth grade) and Pranat (age 12, sixth grade). The subjects' parents were professionally employed as a civil servant (Sanglit's father), a shop keeper (Janta's father), a city-

government driver (Pranat), and a construction worker (Noshala's father). Only Pranat mentioned an occupation for his mother, as a hair stylist. All four informants reported that their families were Buddhists.

Schooling, moral education, and future ambitions.

The Thai students interviewed were generally positive about going to school. They liked their teachers, and thought that the teachers served as good examples of moral behavior. The moral value to which the students tended to attach the greatest importance was 'manners'. The answers given by Sanglit are fairly illustrative of this response pattern:

> Interviewer: How do you feel about going to school?
> Sanglit: I feel good, I like to go to school to study.
> Interviewer: Do you like your teachers?
> Sanglit: I do, because the teachers teach well.
> Interviewer: Are your teachers strict?
> Sanglit: No, not really. If you listen to what they say, then they don't scold you.
> Interviewer: Are your teachers fair?
> Sanglit: Yes, they are.
> Interviewer: What sort of moral virtues can you learn at school?
> Sanglit: Manners and correctness in everyday life. You can learn about being on time and trying hard.
> Interviewer: Which do you think is the most important virtue?
> Sanglit: Learning manners is the most important.

Significantly, none of the informants saw a difference in the virtues learned at school and those learned at home. Asked to give examples of good behavior, the informants focused on the following: being diligent, being truthful, showing respect to elders, and performing one's duties. Asked about their choice of future vocations, all the students selected ambitious professions such as

teaching (Sanglit and Janta), nursing (Noshala) and management (Pranat).

Exemplars of bravery, greatness and obedience.

The Thai school children were also requested to name brave and great people. All the students mentioned the King of Thailand. Sanglit's explanation was typical:

> Interviewer: Who do you think is a brave person?
> Sanglit: I think it's the King.
> Interviewer: Why do you think so?
> Sanglit: It's the King that makes the country strong and takes care of the people. Whenever something bad happens to the country, the King is there to correct it.

Pranat chose the Prime Minister as a great person as well, "because when he speaks, a lot of people obey him". Noshala nominated the soldier as a brave person, "because he protects the country".

Stories of courage focused on various topics drawn from Thai folklore and history. Noshala's story was about a magical girl who flies down from the sky and falls in love with a human--the heroine is imprisoned by an evil spirit and is rescued by the brave hero. Sanglit preferred a military storyline, relating to a brave king of bygone days who had a magic bow to defeat his enemies. Pranat's story was about King Mengrai, the founder of Chiang Mai and the state of Lanna Thai, recounting how this particular King protected his kingdom from many enemies.

Stories of obedience also reflected the children's tendency to use themes from Thai folklore as illustrated in Pranat's story:

> There was a prince who had made a vow to accept the request of anyone who asked something from him. One day his father, the king, had to go away and asked the prince to watch over his kingdom. The king's enemies came when he was gone and asked the prince for the king's powerful

> elephant. The prince agreed, but when the king found out he was very angry. The prince and his family had to leave the kingdom to live in the mountains. The prince had two children. One day an old man asked for the children, and so he gave them away. Then another man came to ask for his wife, and he gave her away too. But this man was not a human, he was a good spirit and he rewarded the prince for his obedience by giving him back his family and letting him return to his father's kingdom.

Janta opted for a story about a spirit who transforms itself into a woman in order to help a poor farmer and his children. Sanglit's concerned a young boy who, by obeying his parents and teachers, learns the importance of controlling one's temper. Noshala's story was about a prince who sacrifices his wealth to a healing spirit so that his ailing father can regain his health.

Hill Tribe Schools

Akha Study Site--Saen Charoen Village

The Akha village of Saen Charoen is located in Mae Sruay district, high in the mountains of northern Chiang Rai province. It is a remote village, with a single narrow road linking it to the outside world. Like most Akha villages, it is situated on the crest of a mountain, with an expansive view of the neighboring range. Judging from its appearance, Saen Charoen is not a very wealthy village. The homes are unpretentious, built of local materials, such as split bamboo and thatch grass for the roofs. Because of its relative remoteness, the village still retains some of its traditional ambience. A large number of villagers, particularly the older women, wear the customary ornate headdress

and sarong. Traditional 'village gates' are erected to keep evil spirits out. A ceremonial swing can be seen, where young women are swung to bring good fortune to themselves and their families.

Nearly everyone at Saen Charoen practices agriculture. During the day the adults go out to the fields, leaving the village to the elderly and the very young. As there are not many vehicles coming into this village, trips to the lowlands are infrequent. Whenever village members do go to the lowlands, it is usually to sell produce or handicrafts.

Saen Charoen's inaccessibility also means that there are few Thai lowlanders in the area. Occasionally government workers come to provide health services. Regular contact between the Akha villagers and Thai nationals occurs with the school teachers and some personnel of non-governmental organizations, particularly the Akha Association for Education and Culture. Sometimes one may see *farang* (foreigners) tourists in Saen Charoen. Usually they visit for one or two days when popular Akha festivities are being held.

The school.

The government school that serves Saen Charoen is annexed to the village. It has been serving Saen Charoen and neighboring Akha villages for over seven years. Architecturally it is more impressive and more solidly built than the villagers' homes. Outwardly, it is ornate, with posters, signs and children's artwork affixed to the walls. A national flag flies above the school yard. Near the flagpole some space has been reserved for a statue of a seated Buddha, draped in a yellow robe, the traditional color worn

by Buddhist monks in Thailand. There are a few other buildings within the school compound, such as the headmaster's home and a teacher's residence. The rest of the school grounds are fairly stark, with a few benches placed at the periphery of the wide dirt courtyard.

The school's main classrooms are sombre, due primarily to the extensive use of dark wood as building material and an inadequate lighting system. Classroom equipment is rudimentary; the only brightly colored objects are wall posters with slogans (e.g., "study hard, be a good sportsman, be disciplined and righteous") and paper garlands hung over the doorways.

The students attending this school are considered 'primary' students, though some of them are already in their early teens and beyond. Many students end up repeating grades before they complete their primary education, if at all. Although the school is supposed to follow national guidelines, the requirements of farming sometimes prevent this. On most days between 30 and 40 students attend the school. Some of the children do not live in Saen Charoen, and come from neighboring Akha villages. Normally, there are three teachers serving this school--the headmaster and two 'regular' teachers.

Karen Subjects--Tung Phrao Village

Also located in the northern mountains of Chiang Rai province is the Karen village of Tung Phrao. Tung Phrao is considered a Christian (Baptist) village, with over eighty percent of the

village population belonging to this denomination. Access to Tung Phrao from the lowlands is easier than Saen Charoen. This means that a greater number of Thai officials and government workers can come to the village. Other 'outsiders' also visit this area more frequently, including Western tourists and missionaries.

Though lower in elevation than Saen Charoen, Tung Phrao is nonetheless a Karen 'mountain village'. It has been able to retain more of its ethnic distinctiveness than Karen villages located in lowland valleys. Villagers continue to wear the Karen dress, albeit combined with 'modern' apparel such as jeans, sports shoes and T-shirts. The architecture in this village follows traditional patterns, but local building materials have been supplemented with imported ones such as corrugated tin for roofs.

The Christian character of Tung Phrao is apparent. One of the more prominent structures in the village is a large brick church. A large, blue plastic-sheet canopy has been erected in front of the church, allowing villagers to gather and chat while children play about.

The school.

The other hub of activity in Tung Phrao is the government school, which was established more than ten years ago. There are over one hundred students attending the Tung Phrao state primary school which has four teachers. In appearance, this school is quite similar to the government school in Saen Charoen.

Hmong Subjects--Khun Klaang Village

Located north of Chiang Mai city, Khun Klaang village is rapidly becoming a 'satellite' of the ever-expanding Chiang Mai metropolis. A large part of the village's labor force has already gone down to Chiang Mai to work in construction or in tourist related businesses. Those who remain in the village often go to Chiang Mai either to sell their produce or to buy consumer goods. The proximity of this village to the lowland economic mainstream is manifest. Of all three highland study sites, this Hmong village has the greatest amount of imported manufactured goods. The wearing of traditional attire has been reduced to token caps and leggings. Western-style clothes that replace them are more stylish. It is also here that villagers own the greatest number of vehicles, motorcycles and pickup trucks.

As well, the influence of the lowland culture is evident in the buildings in the village. More homes make use of corrugated metal sheets for their roofing, and concrete is used for some buildings. Calendars with pictures of the royal family, and posters of lowland celebrities adorn the walls of many homes. Although traditional religious practices still exist in the village, Buddhist emblems are also conspicuous. Images of the Buddha and/or important monks are to be found in many houses, and a number of the villagers wear Buddhist paraphernalia such as medallions or prayer beads.

During the tourist season Khun Klaang and its neighboring tribal communities (primarily Karen and Lahu) are frequently

visited by bus loads of foreign tourists who come to 'experience' hill tribe culture. Most of these *farang* visitors have only superficial contact with villagers who try to sell local handicrafts to them. Thus, the inhabitants of this village are relatively used to the presence of outsiders, both Thai and foreigners.

The school.

The government school of Khun Klaang serves a majority of Hmong children and a handful of Northern Thai children. Established in the early 1980's, the school now has approximately 100 students. The comparative wealth of Khun Klaang and the presence of ethnic Thai students has assured that this primary school is better equipped than the other two school sites. Classrooms are relatively neat and clean with long desks and benches, and large blackboards. A collection of children' art and crafts is to be found on the walls and shelves. There is a play area for team sports such as soccer, basketball and volleyball. There are shady trees with benches underneath, and plenty of space in the courtyard.

Moral Education in the Three Highland Schools

Moral education classes.

Because teachers follow the general guidelines found in the teachers' manuals provided by the Ministry of Education, the moral education curriculum at the three highland schools is similar to the lowland school at Sri Ping Muang. Teaching focuses on such

topics as 'the spirit of nation building' (Saen Charoen), 'love of country' (Tung Phrao), and 'a sense of belonging to the national society' (Khun Klaang). Nevertheless, the relatively heavy teaching load at these highland schools meant that the moral education classes tended to be taught in an 'abbreviated' form. That is, teachers would speak on a particular topic and forego the question and answer period so that they could move on to other more important subjects such as the national language (i.e., Thai) or mathematics.

Moral education, rather than being treated as an integral part of the regular teaching curricula, seemed to be treated as an addendum to the curricula. For example, when the topic 'the spirit of nation building' was being taught, the teacher's lecture was reduced to a few minutes' elaboration about the rapid pace with which Thailand was progressing--how within a few decades the country was transformed from a predominantly agrarian society to a modern industrialized nation. The teacher spoke of the benefits of this process of modernization, including increased wealth, greater creature comforts (e.g., cars, televisions, nice clothes etc.), and better transportation (e.g., more highways, air travel, etc.). That done, the teacher then quickly switched to another school subject, mathematics, and instructed the class to split into ability groups to do their exercises.

At Tung Phrao, moral education classes seemed to be taught at a slightly less hurried pace, as there was time allotted to discuss moral issues. Of the several topics that were covered during the

time of observation, 'love of country' was probably the most political topic. The essential message was that students should learn to place the nation's interests before their own personal interests. The teacher referred to King Chulalongkorn, the famous Thai historical figure, as a model for the children to emulate. The King was lauded for his selflessness and enterprising spirit in building Thailand's modern infrastructure. The discussion that ensued focused on naming other individuals who were of comparable merit. Some of the names that came up included, King Bhumiphol (the present King of Thailand), Jesus Christ, Chuan Leek Pai (the Prime Minister of Thailand), King Mengrai (the last king to rule the ancient kingdom of Chiang Mai), and the Royal Princess.

Interestingly, no reference was made to Buddhist figures. This may be partially explained by the fact that a large number of the students at this highland school were Christians. Buddhist images were less in evidence at Tung Phrao than at the two other highland schools. Teachers at Tung Phrao tried to avoid reference to Buddhism, nor did they encourage their students to participate in Buddhist rituals (such as bowing to the image of the Buddha).

At Khun Klaang, moral education classes were conducted much like the other two highlands schools. A typical lesson dealt with 'the sense of belonging to the national society'. The main idea behind this lesson was that young people, if they were to have a true sense of national belonging, should participate in various activities that express national values. Activities recommended by the teacher included attending Buddhist religious festivals,

joining sports teams, and becoming members of lowland youth organizations. The message was that highland students should integrate more into the dominant *Thai* society.

Indirect moral education.

Many of the indirect forms of political socialization described for the lowland primary school of Sri Ping Muang were present at the three highland primary schools as well: flag raising and lowering ceremonies; singing of the national hymn; showing respect to teachers (e.g., through polite greetings and by performing *wai*); and, being deferential in front of pictures of the royal family. The children were also assigned various menial tasks, or 'cleaning duties', which were meant to reinforce the values of hard work, keeping oneself neat and tidy, living in an orderly manner, and, most importantly, complying with directives from figures of authority.

Students

Twelve primary level students, six boys and six girls, were interviewed at the three highland schools, all of them between the fourth and sixth grades (see Appendix VII). The four Akha student informants were Namanee (female, age 11, sixth grade), Neelana (female, age 10, fourth grade), Sanlong (male, age 10, fifth grade, and Ransim (male, age 12, sixth grade). All had started their formal schooling at Saen Charoen, and except for Ransim, grew up in this village. They apparently attend class fairly regularly (except during the planting and harvest season) and have not had to

repeat any grades. The boys mentioned their passion for top-playing and cards as out-of-school activities. Namalee and Neelana reported that, when not in school, most of their time was spent helping their parents at home or in the fields.

The four Karen children interviewed were Atheern (female, age 11, fifth-grade), Sashan (female, age 10, fourth grade), Somja (male, age 13, sixth grade), and Tarang (male, age 9, fourth grade). All of these students are Christian and attend church services and participate in church-organized activities such as Sunday school. Atheern and Sashan mentioned their participation in a children's choir, and Somja is a member of a soccer team.

The Hmong children informants were; Naramnee (female, age 12, fifth grade), Kanthee (female, age 9, fourth grade), Jomang (male, age 14, sixth grade), and Tenjak (male, age 11, fifth grade). Naramnee and Jomang are natives of Khun Klaang, Kanthee moved to this village with her family when she was very young, and Tenjak walks to school from a nearby village. All four students stated they attended school regularly. Jomang, however, mentioned that he accompanied his parents on their frequent trips to town, and that this sometimes interrupted his school attendance. Kanthee also reported going to town frequently, and enjoys collecting audio cassettes of popular Thai bands. The two boys are avid soccer players and Thai kick-boxing enthusiasts.

Attitudes toward schooling and moral education.

Most highland children were positive about going to school. They thought well of their teachers. And they considered the

learning of manners (i.e., proper behavior and rule-keeping) as the most important moral virtue to be acquired at school. In contrast to the lowland Thai students, however, some of the highland children felt that their teachers were sometimes unfair towards them because of their ethnic status. Ransim, the Akha sixth-grade boy, drew attention to his teacher's negative views of the ability of tribal students:

> Interviewer: Do you like your teacher?
> Ransim: Yes, my teacher gives us much knowledge about speaking and writing [Thai], about counting and things like that.
> Interviewer: Is your teacher strict?
> Ransim: The teacher tells us about many rules and gets angry if we don't listen. We have to be quiet and not play around, and not speak Akha in the classroom.
> Interviewer: Is your teacher fair?
> Ransim: Sometimes the teacher looks down on us, that we have less knowledge, less good heads [than lowland Thai children].

When asked about the correspondence between the values taught at school and those learned at home, student responses varied according to their ethnicity. The Akha children most readily differentiated between school- and home-taught values. For example, Neelana explained the difference this way:

> During moral education class we learn how to speak Thai politely, to be neat and clean, and show respect to the outside people who come to our village. When I go home we don't think so much about these things ... my parents teach me how to take care of my brothers, the importance of making offerings to the spirits, and how to make new things like clothes.

The Karen students also perceived a difference in the moral values taught at school compared to those taught at home. Somja, the sixth-grade boy, talked about how borrowing things was treated at home compared to school: "At home, I can take something from

the people next door, and they know I will give it back. At school you aren't supposed to take other people's things". One Karen girl, Atheern, mentioned that her parents did not resort to corporal punishment as the teachers did at school.

The Hmong children were less aware of differences between mainstream and traditional tribal values. References to Hmong-derived mores were conspicuously absent from their answers. Tenjak's response was typical of this group of informants.

> Interviewer: Are the virtues you learn at school different from those you learn at home?
> Tenjak: There's no difference.
> Interviewer: None?
> Tenjak: No, there is nothing that is really different in the things the teacher says I should do and the things my parents say I should do.

Hmong students identified their parents, grandparents, and neighbors as sources of moral learning outside the school, but did not mention the shaman. The Akha children not only mentioned their parents, grandparents, elders, they also included the village priest and ritual leaders. The latter are significant as authorities and transmitters of *Akhazan* (Alting von Gesau, 1991). The Karen children were also able to nominate sources of moral education within their village. These included parents and village elders. However, no Karen informant named the traditional village priest (i.e., a practitioner and teacher of Karen religious beliefs and ethical codes who customarily enjoyed a great deal of prestige). Rather, three of the informants mentioned their local Christian pastor.

Insofar as their concept of good behavior is concerned, most of the students mentioned deference toward figures of authority, decorum (i.e., lowland social conventions), and especially proper speech in the national language:

> Interviewer: What is the best way for you to show that you are a good girl?
> Sashan: I try to be careful in my style of talking.
> Interviewer: Do you mean when you speak in Thai?
> Sashan: Yes, when we speak in Thai, it is important to know the polite manner to show respect to older people, to the teacher, and to strangers [e.g., ethnic Thai government personnel]. This is something the teachers tells us all the time.

Some of the Akha students spoke of heeding interdictions typically associated with *Akhazan* as instances of good behavior. For example, Sanlong, a fifth-grade boy, mentioned avoiding 'forest spirits' when going hunting, and Namalee stressed the need to observe Akha ceremonies announced by the village priest.

Some Hmong students considered scholastic performance as another way to show good behavior. This view was expressed by Naramnee, the fifth-grade girl: "The best way to show you are a good student is to learn intentionally, to listen and to believe the teacher, and ask questions when you don't understand the teacher".

Tenjak, the fifth-grade Hmong boy, referred to a fundamental Buddhist merit-making principle, giving food to monks, as an example good behavior:

> Interviewer: So, Tenjak, what do you think is a good way for you to show that you are a good boy?
> Tenjak: There are many ways, but one way is to give food to the monks in the morning.
> Interviewer: How do you know this is good behavior?

Tenjak: Before, our teachers took us to visit a [Buddhist] temple, the monks there showed us how to bow to the Buddha, now to sit and think [meditate], and told us that we could make good actions by giving food to the monks, like so many people [lowland Thais] do.

Exemplars of bravery, greatness and obedience.

When the highland students nominated brave and great people, the majority chose the King of Thailand, much like the students at Sri Ping Muang. The Akha and Karen students explained their choice by focusing on the King's governing powers and his ability to fight for the nation. Other authority figures selected by the children from all three groups included Chuan Leek Pai, the Prime Minister of Thailand ("because he can administer the country and is able to fight for the nation"--Ransim), and the policeman ("because he does good things, such as arresting the thief--no one is as brave as the policeman"--Tarang). The only notable variations were two Karen girls who selected Christian figures, Jesus Christ and King David.

The Hmong children seemed to relate more to the King's personal interest and patronage of the Hmong than to his political authority or power *per se*.

Interviewer: Who do you think is a great person?
Jomang: Oh, I think that would have to be the King.
Interviewer: And why is that?
Jomang: The King comes to our villages to see for himself how we are. He stops to talk to the people, and is caring. There is a Hmong village not far from here where the King stopped. He actually sat down and talked with the village leader for a long time.

Naramnee, the fifth-grade Hmong girl, talked about the King's personal concern over the hill peoples' welfare, saying, "He [the King] comes to see us and finds out what's wrong". Kanthee proudly stated that a relative of hers had made some artifacts for the

King's palace located near Chiang Mai. The Hmong children seemed to attach great significance to occasions when the King treated Hmong individuals as important members of Thai society.

The accounts of courage offered by the highland children were interesting, especially for what some of the children regarded as courageous behavior. The responses suggested that the students were intimidated by Thai figures of authority. For instance, Sanlong considered acting properly in front of Thai officials as an act of courage:

> Before, we had to learn a Thai song for many days so that we could sing it when the senior persons of our country came to our village. We had to stand in line and look happy to show them welcome. It's difficult to sing the song now, but still I have the memory in my heart.

Neelana was also impressed by a similar occasion: "I dared to sing in front of *Muang Thai* [Thai officials] and received first prize".

Several students chose to retell personal adventures as stories of courage. For instance, Jomang, the Hmong sixth-grader, provided this anecdote:

> Once I borrowed my friend's motorcycle. While I was driving on the way home, the motorcycle broke down and it got damaged a little bit. At first, I didn't dare tell him because I was afraid, but later I made the decision to tell him and my friend didn't blame me.

Ransim recounted the following incident:

> One day my little sister was bitten by a dog and was crying very loudly, so my older brother and I went out and chased the dog out of the village, it was a big dog but we cursed it not to come back.

Other informants presented stories in the form of folk tales. Such was the case for Somja, the sixth-grade Karen boy, whose story was

about a farmer who outwits a tiger through his courage and intelligence:

> Once there was a farmer who was working in the field, when a hungry tiger came up to him. The farmer was not afraid, and he said to the tiger, "You are the king of the animals, but I have something that makes me stronger than you". The angry tiger told him to show him this power, but the farmer refused until the tiger agreed to be tied up. When the tiger was tied to a tree, the farmer killed the tiger with a big stick.

Tarang's, the fourth-grade Karen boy, told a story about the exploits of a young mountain traveller:

> In the past there was a young man who wanted to get good learning from a mentor far away. The young man had to travel through the mountains for many days to get there, but on the way some robbers tried to steal his food. Instead of running away, he killed the robbers and took the loot they had stolen from many villages. When he reached the mentor, he realized that he [the mentor] was too greedy. So before the mentor could cheat him out of his treasure he quickly returned to his village and shared it with the others.

The students' stories about obedience consisted primarily of instances of being dutiful to figures of authority, particularly parents and teachers. For example, Neelana's story related to Mother's Day, and how she did all the house chores for her mother. Other informants like Ransim chose the teacher as a figure of authority deserving their obedience:

> Once there was a boy who heard important things from the teacher, but he did not hear everything. When the boy asked the teacher to tell him some more, the teacher said, "When I finish telling you, will you run away?". The boy promised he wouldn't run away, and so he learned much from the teacher every day.

Interestingly, in these anecdotes, many children focused on showing outward respect to persons of authority by *following lowland Thai customs*, such as performing *wai* (bowing of the head and clasping of

the hands in traditional Thai style), and speaking Central Thai instead of their native languages.

Attitudes toward lowland society and ethnic identity.

Students also varied according to the tribe to which they belonged in how they perceived life in the lowlands. For example, in response to whether they were willing to live in the lowlands, all of the Akha and Karen children answered affirmatively. The reasons given by these students had mostly to do with furthering their education, making money, or having the opportunity to socialize with their lowland counterparts.

The Hmong children, on the other hand, expressed reservations about visiting or living in the lowlands. Jomang drew attention to the chaotic environment found in the lowlands.

> Interviewer: How do you feel about the lowlands?
> Jomang: I don't think I like the lowlands very much because there is so much traffic and noise there. The air is bad and a lot of people are running around. It's easy to get lost. You can see a lot of expensive things in town but the feeling is not very good. Many people look at you in an angry way.

Kanthee related an unfortunate incident concerning a cousin of hers: "I'd rather stay in the mountains, because if you go to the city you can get sick. My cousin came back last month, and she's very sick ... Some people say she has AIDS". A third Hmong informant, Naramnee, responded that since she did not have any family in the city, she was afraid of being very lonely. In fact, Tenjak was the only Hmong informant who was willing to live in the lowlands to continue his education.

The Akha and Karen children's responses divulged a sense of inferiority vis-à-vis lowland people. Both groups of students emphasized their difficulties using the Thai language, disparities between the income levels of their families and those of Thai people, and incidents when they or their family members were treated unfairly by lowlanders:

> Interviewer: Do you think you are equal to lowland people?
> Sanlong: We try to learn the Thai language very hard and to study the many things about the Thais. But it is difficult to learn these things well in the village. When I go to the lowlands I can see the Thais have more of everything, that life is easier. The children have more time to play and to study. That's why they are better at school, they know more, and they have no problem understanding the teacher. It's hard for me to understand everything the teacher says, and when I speak Thai I know it is not as good as the Thai children. Sometimes I feel embarrassed about that.

A Karen boy, Somja, expressed this opinion:

> No, we're not equal, because Thais have a lot of money ... the hill people always allow others [i.e., ethnic Thais] to take advantage of them, they [the Karen] are always cheated ... we do not follow the lowland people's style, and so we stay poor.

The Hmong students, however, had less a sense of inferiority toward lowlanders. Jomang, for instance, said:

> I think I am equal to lowlanders, because we are Thai. We were born in Thailand just like the other Thai people ... it really shouldn't matter if you come from the highlands or the lowlands. I hear Thai people call us *chao khao* [a derogatory Thai term for 'hill tribe']. But it is better not to argue with them because this is not something that changes.... I don't like to feel that I'm under other people because of that.

One Hmong girl, Naramnee, asserted that: "We are equal because the lowland people say it in the law, if the law says this, then I am equal".

The final theme in the interviews with students related to students' perception of their roles within the dominant national society. Here too responses varied according to which tribal group the student belonged. The Akha children attached a greater priority to their tribal affiliation than to a sense of national identity. This could be ascertained from comments such as Ransim's: "I would say first that I am a member of the Akha tribal people, *because we are proud of our birth and our tribes* [italics added]". The Karen students' sense of 'ethnic distinction' was also apparent. Three out of the four students stated that it was more important for them to say what tribal group they belonged to than the country in which they lived.

The Hmong children, on the other hand, often expressed a dual sense of cultural identity. For instance, in informing a stranger of his identity, Tenjak replied without hesitation that he would first identify himself as Thai, then he would disclose his Hmong ethnicity. Other children's replies corresponded with Tenjak's. "If someone asks you what is your nationality", Naramnee remarked, "you should answer which country you are from; if someone asks you which tribe you belong to, then you should tell him which tribe--they're both important".

Given the Akha and Karen students' preference for identifying themselves according to their tribes, it was not surprising that they expressed greater indignation at someone maligning their tribe rather than the nation. Namalee was indignant that *Thai people*

were making disparaging remarks about her tribe to (Western) foreigners:

> I would be angry with the ones who don't behave well in front of the foreigners ... the foreigners can see if the people of the hills are good ... no one should dare to blame the tribal people when they are good.

Paradoxically, although the Hmong children expressed a bi-cultural sense of identity, they nonetheless retained a strong sense of pride in their tribe. All Hmong informants indicated greater displeasure at someone slighting their tribal group compared to the nation. Jomang was the most indignant: "I would say, 'maybe you think our tribe is no good, but what is so good about yours?'".

Parents

Twelve parents, six fathers and six mothers, were interviewed at the three sites (see Appendix VIII). The Akha parents were: Tamanya (Neelana's mother), Banlaee (Sanlong's mother), Yonrun (Ransim's father), and Laeksah (Namalee's father). These parents were agriculturalists, had lived in or near Saen Charoen for many years, and had never gone to school.

The Karen informants were: Namanee (Atheern's mother), Tenea (Sashan's mother), Daneeshan (Tarang's father) and Kangje (Somja's father). Their backgrounds in terms of occupation and residence were quite similar to their Akha counterparts. However, the Karen parents had received some schooling under the tutelage of Christian missionaries.

The Hmong parents interviewed were: Longye (Jomang's father), Janla (Tenjak's mother), Masee (Naramnee's mother), and Faon (Kanthee's father). Although they were all agriculturalists, two, Longye and Faon, specified that they were 'flower gardeners', signifying that their occupations were closely linked to the market economy of the lowlands. The Hmong parents were more financially well-off than their Akha and Karen counterparts. Moreover, this group of parents had all attended primary school to varying levels.

Outlooks on schooling and moral education.

The importance of their children's education was emphasized by all the parents. In addition, they were all concerned about the difficulty their children were having going through school. This concern was particularly acute for the Akha and Karen parents such as Yonrun, who felt a heavy financial burden of getting his children educated: "I do think it's important for my child to get an education, but the problem is, most of the parents cannot support their children because they don't have the money".

Most of the parents had great hopes for their children's future through education. Indeed, many indicated that they would not be satisfied unless their children obtained a university degree. The parents' high academic aspirations for their children were all the more remarkable because of their own relatively low levels of schooling.

Another concern voiced by many parents had to do with the type of education their children were receiving. The Hmong parents were

the most critical of the quality of the highland public education. For instance, Longye commented:

> I want my children to learn more than this. The teachers don't pay much attention to their teaching. What is going to happen when our children try to enter the [lowland] secondary schools; they won't be ready ... it would be better if we had more tribal teachers here.

Other Hmong parents thought that the *content* of the education their children were receiving was not comprehensive enough. According to Masee:

> Masee: It is important for the children to learn more things at school than just Thai or basic mathematics. They need to learn English as well as about other cultures, including the *farang* [i.e., Westerners]. In the future, the children will need English to get good work. It is the *farang* that bring in the most money.
> Interviewer: Do you think the children want to study English and the *farang* cultures?
> Masee: Oh, yes. When *farang* come to a mountain village they pay to see the dance and the music playing, and they buy our handicrafts. Some children can already say some words in English. The children like the *farang*.

The Hmong parents were also critical of the values to which their children were being exposed at school. Some, like Faon, felt that the school did not pay enough attention to the Hmong tribal ethos:

> Our children are getting to know much more about life in the lowlands, they cannot study about the history of Hmong people, the way of the Hmong ... The power of the lowland learning is clearly greater than the mountain learning, and so the children look down on the mountain life.... Now the children see many more reasons to use the 'national language'. They speak Thai among themselves.

These views were shared by many Akha and Karen parents as well. For example, one Akha father, Laeksah, said bluntly: "The values are different, because *in school it is important only to*

know about the correct behavior to advance in town [i.e., lowland society]". Daneeshan, a Karen father, made a similar observation:

> Daneeshan: The children are learning many things [at school], both good and bad.... But the knowledge the children learn at school is much different from the community. Their behavior changes because they learn the new values from the new society ... they are not interested in the traditional values ... the children should learn how to respect the elderly--the headman, parents, senior persons. Nowadays, the children lack this attitude. They don't think we are important. In the past, the children were more polite than this. They listened to what we taught and did not get out of hand like this.

Many parents echoed these complaints: "In the school the children gain information and skills, while in the village the children learn how to become 'full persons' and develop [Karen] life habits"--Kangje, Karen father; "The school children are changing, it is not as important for them to know how why we are so careful to keep order [i.e., *Akhazan*] in the home and in the village"--Yonrun, Akha father. Janla, a Hmong mother, complained that increased contact with mainstream values had made her children demand more consumer goods, saying her children were never satisfied with what they had.

Community leaders

Community leaders from the Akha, Karen, and Hmong villages were interviewed as well (see Appendix IX). In Saen Charoen a prominent village elder named Aklan was interviewed. Aklan is sixty years old and has resided in this village for twenty-eight years. He believes in local spirits, but claims to be a Buddhist. The community leader interviewed at Tung Phrao was Chamsei. His

position within the village is equivalent to 'assistant headman'. Chamsei is thirty-eight years old and was brought up in Tung Phrao. Like many of his fellow villagers, he is a Christian. The community leader interviewed in Hmong village of Khun Klaang was Taeron, the headman. Taeron has lived all his life in this vicinity. Unlike most of the Hmong villagers, though, Taeron claims to have a closer affinity for Christianity than Buddhism.

Outlooks on schooling and moral education.

The three community leaders were quite conscious of the need for the younger generations in their communities to adapt to the outside world, to learn the national language, and to function effectively within the dominant society. At the same time, they were quick to point out that schooling was distancing the children from local knowledge and culture. This general sentiment was well expressed by Aklan:

> Education [i.e., state public education] organizes the community and lets the community members have enough knowledge to get out to the outside world ... Learning the Thai language is important to develop ourselves and to spread more widely in the country ... But in the future this modern education might be the biggest cause of damage. By going to school the children are learning much more about the outside culture than their own.

The leaders were aware that the children's *values* were being transformed through schooling and that this was alienating them form their communities: According to Chamsei, "the school changes their manner of speaking and their behavior, *it makes them different from the uneducated people* [italics added]". Taeron elaborated on this point: "Modern education is making the children more distant from their parents ... Now they play after school

instead of doing much learning from the people in the village. The children rarely join in community activities".

All three leaders seemed to lay part of the blame for the children's behavior on their teachers. Aklan's criticism of the teachers was forthright: "They do not always act as moral models for the children, they are not aware of tribal ways [i.e., *Akhazan*] and some are lazy". A similar criticism was made by Chamsei:

> The teachers don't seem to be able to understand the real moral problems the children have in this village ... like not knowing how to behave according to the Karen way.... Some teachers are not good role models.

The community leaders associated the changing value system of the younger generations with their disinterest in tribal culture. Aklan had this to say concerning how tribal society was changing:

> In the Akha community in the former times, we grew cotton and wove it by ourselves. It was a unique tradition for us. Now, it's rarely done, particularly the hand weaving. We mostly buy clothes from the market ... the senior persons who knew everything do not give their knowledge to the children, the customs are disappearing. In the past, all the tribal people loved their identity, and they would not get married with other tribes. It is different now, the young ones are very independent in choosing their own spouses, never only from their own group.

The community leaders were especially concerned over the fact that so many youths were leaving the highlands. As Aklan put it, "Most of the children I know, they never come back, because there isn't anything to motivate them to come back. Only a few idealistic people think of returning".

Teachers

One teacher at each of the three highland study sites was interviewed (see Appendix X). The teacher chosen at Saen Charoen was Mr. Praesert, thirty-five years of age. Mr. Praesert also acts as headmaster at this school. He has been in Saen Charoen for three years. Mr. Thanit, thirty-one years of age, was interviewed at the Karen study site. Mr. Thanit has been teaching in Tung Phrao for five years. Mr. Saenthong, who is twenty-five years old, has three years experience teaching the Hmong children. All three teachers are ethnic Thai.

Outlooks on schooling and moral education.

The Thai teachers considered moral education as a critical element of their teaching responsibilities. They viewed schooling for highland as a national duty. Mr. Praesert:

> It is the duty of every teacher to realize that it is his or her responsibility to *build the people of the nation* [italics added]. I feel we need to put special emphasis on morality because the environment in the city [i.e. the lowlands] is too different from the mountain areas. Here, life is so smooth, the people are not involved with many things. People who live in town have the chance to learn much more. So we should emphasize this part of education and make it more intense here on the mountain.

For instance, all three teachers thought that hill tribe students were *morally lacking* in certain ways. According to Mr. Thanit, teaching moral education was an onerous task, "because the highland children lack the chance to be exposed to 'normal' moral ideas ... The children are taught by their parents before coming to school, *and they are difficult to change* [italics added]".

The teachers were somewhat ambivalent about the impact of moral education on their students because of conflicts with the community. Mr. Praesert observed that:

> It is not so easy to adapt the Akha people's traditional culture to the school ... In Saen Charoen village, we have some problems, because the village leaders don't pay much attention to the school's activities.... One year the school managed to make use of the Akha 'top playing-ceremony'. If we hadn't done this, the children wouldn't have come to school during this festival. But when the top-playing ceremony was held, there were also a lot of people who were gambling, drinking whisky and taking drugs [i.e., opium].... Usually when such festivities are held, many tourists come to view the beauty and the good things of the Akha people. This last time, however, they were disappointed.

At Khun Klaang, Mr. Saenthong also felt that the moral education program was having a limited effect on his students because of the discrepancies between the practices espoused at school and those valued by the Hmong people. As he explained:

> Some mainstream practices are not important to them, such as Thai ceremonial days. The children rarely join. They are more interested in going out and working for their living.... There are other [lowland Thai] principles which are not harmonious with Hmong ideas. Something as simple as forest conservation; the villagers simply don't listen. Although they don't actually destroy the forest, they don't try to secure it [for future generations] either. For forest conservation, there has to be a sense self-sacrifice and obligation [to everyone who makes use of the forest's resources], but this tribe doesn't have much a sense of sacrifice ... this is because the Hmong only work for themselves.

When asked which moral values they thought were most important to teach the children, the Thai teachers focused on showing respect for authority. According to Mr. Thanit, this particular value was the "base of all moral principles". His chief means of teaching this value to his students was by requiring them to *sawadee* the

teacher (i.e., showing respect performing *wai* before the teacher); and to use polite speech in Thai. Mr. Praesert believed that, "It is especially important to instill the notion of respect in the minds of the highland children, *because there is no fixed principle regarding this value in the mountains* [italics added]". Mr. Praesert also believed teachers could make moral education more effective by setting good examples:

> The teacher has to avoid drinking whisky or becoming addicted to opium. This way the children can then compare between the good and the bad. The teacher should help in reducing gambling and drug addiction ... the villagers have to participate more in school activities and this will reduce the chance that they become addicted to drugs and start gambling ... the teachers have to teach and protect the students, so they do not to follow the ways of the older people.

Discussion

Students

The information derived from the Akha, Karen and Hmong students allow us to make several inferences about the political socialization taking place in highland state primary schools. First, the vast majority the of the highland students were positive about schooling. Second, most expressed fairly positive attitudes toward their teachers. As basic as these two factors may be, they are nonetheless of great importance, for as Easton and Dennis (1969) point out, the formation of positive affect between children and the school, especially the teachers, is a key initial step in the political socialization of primary school children.

Proper conduct was the most important virtue learned at school. Social conventions derived from the national culture that conveyed deference to figures of authority and Thai-centric power structures were strongly emphasized. The highland students had positive attitudes toward the national leadership, namely the King of Thailand, the focal political figure embodying greatness and bravery. Although moral education classes may not have been the exclusive source of political socialization, the students' esteem for the King was enhanced through the state schools.

Within this process of political socialization, however, it is important to note that some of the indigenous students expressed a certain sense of inferiority when they engaged in the cultural practices or espoused the normative attitudes of the dominant

society (e.g., observing proper Thai etiquette, praising the King, or speaking in the national language). Ogbu (1993) refers to similar feelings of inferiority among involuntary minority students in the United States. He identified target areas within the daily school experience that underscore the norms and cultural practices of the dominant society, causing the students "special problems". Of greatest significance is the typical attitudinal response these involuntary minority students had toward such school experiences:

> Their special problem arises from the nature of their own responses to their initial terms of incorporation into a dominating society and subsequent treatment.... More specifically, it appears that the oppositional identity and oppositional cultural frame of reference have produced a cognitive orientation whereby the minorities consciously and unconsciously perceive and interpret learning certain things or acting in certain ways they associate with their "oppressors", their "enemies".... *too often they equate school rules and practices with the norms and cultural practices of their "oppressors" or "enemy"* [italics added]. (pp. 501-502)

Significantly, evidence of such an attitudinal change was evident in the response pattern obtained from the highland students. For instance, the Akha students--the group most remote from the Thai mainstream--were the ones who could most easily distinguish between values taught at school and those at home. It was also the Akha children who could most readily identify sources of moral education within the local community, including ritual leaders. Again it was the Akha children who identified the least with the dominant ethnic group. This response pattern contrasted most clearly with that of the Hmong children, who did not perceive any real differences between home- and school-taught values and could not readily identify sources of moral education outside the

school. The response pattern of the Karen children tended to fall somewhere in between.

With such a response pattern, one would expect a greater propensity for the Hmong students to relate to the ethnic group with whom they share standard attitudes and behaviors, that is, the lowland society. And yet, it was the Hmong who expressed the most antipathy toward lowland society. This would seem to concur with Ogbu's (1993) argument that increased contact between members of an involuntary ethnic minority group and members of the dominant ethnic group leads to the former developing a social identity system that is oppositional to the social identity system of the dominant majority. The findings of other researchers (e.g., Bradley, 1983; Clausen, 1968; Jennings and Niemi, 1974) support Ogbu's argument.

The interview data also reveals the *process* by which indigenous tribal students assume the status of involuntary minorities. Due to the relatively greater remoteness of the Akkha and Karen sites, student respondents at there did not feel the same assimilative pressures as their Hmong counterpart. The attitudes expressed by the Akkha and Karen students toward members of the dominant ethnic group were more suggestive of *primary cultural differences* (i.e, those of voluntary minority members), showing less reluctance to associate with members of the dominant "host" society. The responses made by the Hmong students, on the other hand, reflected viewpoints akin to *secondary cultural differences* usually attributed to involuntary minority members.

Response patterns of this kind lend strength to Ogbu's (1993) belief that involuntary minority students have a greater tendency to perceive acquiescence to the cultural frame of reference of the dominant group, including the school, as a "linear acculturation process, an assimilation process, or a displacement/replacement process" (p.501); this reinforces the students' oppositional cultural frame of reference as contact with the dominant society increases.

Parents and Community Leaders

The parents' responses revealed underlying concerns over the quality of education and the moral training their children were receiving at the schools. Many of the parents' comments indicated that they considered their children's education inferior to lowland standards and reflected a certain distrust for the schools's attempts at socializing their children. Most important, a majority of the parents saw the institutionalized process of assimilation taking place in the schools as inimical to the overall socio-cultural well being of their family within the tribal community. It is interesting to note that comparable scepticism is common among other indigenous involuntary minorities regarding this issue, such as Native Americans (Gibson & Ogbu, 1991; Kramer 1991).

The scepticism expressed by the parents was largely echoed by the community leaders. They too viewed the transformation of the children's thinking and behavior brought on by the school as detrimental to the cultural survival of their communities.

Ogbu (1991, 1993) notes that within the involuntary minority, family and significant community members *do* influence younger members in adopting an oppositional cultural frame of reference toward the dominant society. This opposition is communicated primarily through family and community discussions and gossip. Such being the case, it is not unreasonable to assume that the general dissatisfaction expressed by many adult tribal members contributed to some degree to the children's own oppositional attitudes. The fact that the Hmong adults were the most critical of the three tribal groups lends greater plausibility to this assumption.

Teachers

The comments made by the teachers interviewed indicated that they viewed the transmission of national values to the indigenous students as a process leading to the replacement of the students' ethnic cultures and identities. Gibson (1991) noted similar viewpoints among North American dominant group teachers teaching in schools with involuntary minority students. In essence, the Thai teachers saw their role as disseminators of civilized manners to the uncouth; a conformist socializing process in which the recipient's native ethos had no value.

CHAPTER V

TAIWAN

Historical Overview

The earliest contact between the Chinese and the aborigines of Taiwan occurred in the early part of the 16th century. By then, the island was seen by the Chinese as a haven for those facing economic hardships or political persecution on the mainland (see map, Appendix XI). Immigration began and by the mid-fourteenth century the Chinese started to come to Taiwan by the thousands (Smith, 1991).

The Chinese were not the only foreigners interested in the island of Taiwan or Formosa, as it was called by Westerners. Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch traders began to stake out territorial claims on Taiwan's coast. Economic and military rivalry between these European powers was evidenced in Taiwan, with the Dutch finally assuming predominance.

In the period that Taiwan was being rapidly populated by Chinese migrants, the whole of mainland China was in political turmoil. The earlier Ming dynasty had been replaced by a 'foreign' one from Manchuria--the Ching dynasty. Many members of the Chinese ruling class, still loyal to the deposed Ming leaders, took up arms against the Manchurians. One of them was Koxinga, a rebel general, who decided to use Taiwan as his military base. In 1661 Koxinga

dislodged the Dutch, thereby greatly diminishing the European presence on the island (Smith, 1991).

Taiwan started to gravitate toward the Chinese political sphere. First, it was made a prefecture of Fukien Province. Then, in 1884, it was given the status of a separate province. This status did not last very long, however. After being embroiled in a catastrophic military conflict with Japan, China was forced to cede Taiwan in 1895. Thus, Taiwan was made a Japanese colony and remained so until 1945, when Japan was defeated by the Allied Forces.

Although the Chinese government regained control of the island, Taiwan's political status was to undergo drastic changes once again. By the time it recovered Taiwan, China was a ravaged country. Warfare against the Japanese and an internecine civil war between Nationalist and Communist forces had left the mainland's political infrastructure in shambles. By 1949, the Communists had gained the upper hand, and Chiang Kai-shek, the Nationalist leader, had no recourse but to escape to Taiwan. There he established a government-in-exile in the capital city of Taipei. Several million mainland Chinese followed Chiang to Taiwan.

After many years of political and military stalemate against the Communists, Chiang Kai-shek realized that the battle to regain the mainland would be a protracted one. He then instructed his Nationalist regime to embark upon the task of transforming Taiwan into a 'bastion of democracy', one that would serve as the ideological alternative to the Chinese Communist mainland.

Education

Organized education came to Taiwan first by way of the Dutch, who set up missionary schools. At that time the most important people living in the fertile lowlands were the aborigines. The Dutch found them a likeable people and made efforts to befriend them. The Dutch provided the locals with education and promoted new industries amongst them. Administrative officers were instructed to supervise each tribe in a benign manner.

Under the rule of Koxinga, however, a Chinese administrative system replaced the earlier Dutch model (Smith, 1991). Unlike the Dutch, the Chinese attitude towards the natives was hostile. The aborigines were considered to be marginal barbarians and as such, did not fit into the Chinese social hierarchy. Consequently, the Chinese educational system, put into place in Koxinga's time, precluded any participation by the native peoples.

In 1895, when the island was ceded to Japan, education on Taiwan underwent a fundamental transformation. During the initial stage of Japanese occupation, education was seen as a tool to assimilate the local population, Chinese and aborigines alike, into the Japanese empire (Tsurumi, 1977). Accordingly, colonial education policies placed much emphasis on Japanese language and culture. During this period a small percentage of Chinese (and aboriginal) students were actually allowed to pursue their formal studies beyond the elementary phase. Unfortunately, this more liberal educational policy was short-lived. By the last decade of

Japanese colonial rule, the ethnic tensions brought on by World War II resulted in a more conservative policy for Taiwan, which denied educational opportunities to the indigenous population (Smith, 1991).

When the Nationalist regime established itself on Taiwan, the educational system was again radically changed. The defeat of Japan and the return of Taiwan to China in 1945 had created enormous administrative and logistical problems for the rehabilitation of Taiwan's educational infrastructure. The repatriation of teachers of Japanese ancestry (approximately 51 percent of all teachers) created an island-wide teacher shortage in the schools (Smith, 1991).

Although Taiwan was once more under Chinese control, it is important to remember that the majority of the Chinese who followed Chiang Kai-shek to Taiwan came from the northeastern part of China. These mainlanders did not share the same social, cultural or political background as the 'Taiwanese' population which had emigrated from southern China in the 18th and 19th centuries. Such discrepancies were very apparent in 1949, to the extent that many local Taiwanese fiercely resisted the Nationalists' arrival (Sun 1991).

Faced with a generally hostile population, Nationalist educational authorities shrewdly decided to retain some aspects of Japanese schooling which were useful for their own purposes. They valued the centralized Japanese colonial educational system for fostering subservience to authority (Wilson, 1970). Nationalist

education officials soon set about politically socializing the local population (Tsurumi, 1977). The Nationalist government presented itself as the enlightened conservator of Chinese civilization.

Nationalist educators propagated ultra-nationalistic messages in the schools: patriotism, civic loyalty, and cultural fidelity. However, Nationalist political ideology was linked to traditional Chinese culture. In the schools Confucianism came to be used as the paramount doctrine for the political socialization of students (Lucas, 1982; Meyer, 1989c; Taylor, 1988).

Confucianism and Moral Education

Confucianism is essentially a moral system that fosters a universal 'inner-world morality' (Hall & Ames, 1987; Tan, 1990). At the heart of the Confucianism is the notion of *ren*, or 'love', 'human kindness"', and 'virtue'. The practice of *ren* is considered a supreme moral achievement. *Ren* is in accord with *hsiao* 'filial piety', *li* 'ritual norms', *chung* 'loyalty to one's nature', *shu* 'reciprocity', *yi* 'righteousness', *ai* 'benevolent love', *hsin* 'trustworthiness', *ho* 'harmony', and *ping* 'peace' (Smith & Smith, 1989). Of all these virtues, filial piety has been traditionally regarded as the most outstanding manifestation of *ren* (Mo, 1985). According to *The Great Learning* (a Confucian classic), filial piety serves as the fundamental ethical principle guiding the *five traditional relationships*: that between father and son, elder and

younger siblings, husband and wife, friend and friend, and ruler and subject (Meyer, 1989a).

The primary concern of Confucian morality is to establish an intricate social order through the expansion of an individual's social duty that begins with the family, which is then extended to the community, and finally to the state. Confucian virtues govern all social interactions, with the family acting as the pivotal social unit (Jiang, 1985). Filial piety governs daily life and helps the family maintain harmonious relations with the world. As Confucius declared: "If one can cultivate his person, then he can manage his household. If he can manage his household, then he can bring order to the entire country. Then there will be peace in the whole world" (quoted in Meyer, 1988b, p. 275).

Although Confucian thought profoundly influenced Chinese thinking into modern times, Nationalist political propagandists astutely merged Confucianism with political ideology inspired by the founder of modern China, Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Sun's political philosophy was framed within the *Three Principles of the People*, these principles being nationalism, democracy, and human rights (Sun, 1959). Chiang Kai-shek, as Sun's 'successor' to the leadership of the Nationalist Party, elaborated on his mentor's ideological principles and adapted them to meet Nationalist designs.

In 1953, Chiang Kai-shek published his political views on education. *Supplementary Statements on Education and Recreation and the Principle of Livelihood* became the ideological guide

principles for Nationalist educators. Chiang emphasized that the nation's youth had to understand the fundamental significance of the basic virtues of loyalty, filial piety, and righteousness in order to become citizens "*who love their country more than their own lives* [italics added]" (Chiang, 1959, p.276).

Moral Education

Educational ideology in contemporary Taiwan merges Confucian humanism, Nationalist republicanism, and Western secular scientific thought. The Chinese Constitution states that: "Education and culture shall aim at the development among the citizens of the national spirit, the spirit of self-government, national morality, good physique, scientific knowledge, and the ability to earn a living" (C.J. Lin, 1983, p.112).

The Taiwanese education system is organized on the 6-3-3-4 grade/year pattern, the first nine years being compulsory. Course content and teaching guidelines follow the national curriculum set by the Ministry of Education. At the primary level, courses are given in *Life and Ethics*, *Chinese* (Mandarin), *Mathematics*, *Social Studies*, *Natural Science*, *Music*, *Crafts*, and *Group Activities* (China Yearbook, 1991). Within this comprehensive curriculum, it is understood that the teaching of moral education is supposed to be as important as academic subjects. Moreover, moral education in Taiwan's public primary schools is to be carried out not only through formal instruction but also through participation in

informal character-building activities (Anderton, 1983; Chu, 1973; H.Y. Lin, 1990).

The curricular link between moral education and political ideology was reinforced in 1962 when the elementary curriculum was revised and the *Civic Training* course was replaced by *Civics and Morality*. The latter was again revised in 1968, and was named *Life and Ethics* to emphasize the importance of moral education in the children's daily lives. The course remains so-named to this day.

Life and Ethics

To reiterate, moral education in Taiwan is guided by two key political concerns. One is to foster the values embodied in Confucianism and the *Three Principles of the People*. The other is the need to maintain the legitimacy of the Nationalist regime in Taiwan. As foreigners (i.e., northern mainlanders) ruling an indigenous majority (i.e., the Taiwanese Chinese), the Nationalists have had to create and maintain an image of 'national leadership', one whose political *raison d'être* is the recovery of the Chinese mainland. With these two ideological themes in mind, the political agenda of the *Life and Ethics* course becomes quite apparent.

First, if we examine the teacher manuals that accompany the course, we find particular emphasis placed on certain themes, including: love of the national flag; love of the country; respect for great historical figures; protection of the country's honor; and reconstruction of the country (Office of Compilation and Translation, Republic of China, 1989). The manuals convey to

teachers the importance of promoting behaviors in their students that conform to these themes.

Second, by studying the actual lessons in the *Life and Ethics* textbooks we find many stories containing politically explicit material, featuring military events, patriotic martyrdom, and nationalistic heroism. The *Life and Ethics* textbooks dwell on one political theme; citizens must do their best to strengthen the nation. This pervasive theme is buttressed by Confucian precepts concerning personal responsibilities within the social order.

The political indoctrination in Taiwan's moral education course is "thorough and unremitting" (Meyer, 1988b, p. 278). Students are encouraged to develop positive attitudes towards their political leaders, similar to those they have would for their own family. Benevolent familial traits are imputed to important political figures such as Chiang Kai-shek and Sun Yat-sen. For example, Sun is repeatedly referred to as *guo-fu* or 'father of the country'. The respectful suffix, *gung*, meaning 'grandfather' is invariably attached to Chiang's family name. The personalization of political authority is further strengthened by deification of historical and contemporary leaders. For instance, the *Three Principles of the People* are inextricably meshed with Sun Yat-sen's magnificence. Throughout the moral education texts, students are reminded that these principles form the basis of Sun's personal fulfilment.

Thematic Analysis of the Moral Education Texts

The themes of *Patriotism; Filial Piety; Respect for Law;* and *Diligence* dominate instruction in *Life and Ethics*.

Patriotism.

The moral education textbooks first appeal to students' emotions by linking happy childhood experiences to patriotic altruism. The courageous acts of military figures are retold (such as Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek and his son, Chiang Ching-kuo), suggesting that personal greatness is synonymous with patriotic selflessness. The moral qualities of great men are also ascribed to everyday people. For example, one lesson focuses on a Nationalist soldier, Kao Chih-hang who goes on a suicidal mission for his country. The heroic exploits of young children are also recounted, presumably because they too are capable of making great sacrifices for their country. Jingoistic slogans abound, for example: "one should sacrifice the 'little self' to fulfil the needs of the 'larger self'"; "loyalty and courage are the roots of patriotism"; "serve the public and forget the self"; and so on (Office of Compilation and Translation, 1989).

Filial piety.

Within the *Life and Ethics* curriculum, *Patriotism* gradually replaces *Filial Piety* as the cardinal Confucian virtue. This change reflects a deliberate attempt by the government to use family loyalty as the means to ensure loyalty to the state (Wilson, 1970).

Unlike Communist China, the Nationalist government has never abandoned its view that strong familial ties are supportive of national consciousness (Martin, 1975). However, traditional views on the family have been transformed so that it is no longer treated as an autonomous social unit, but rather as the crucial mediator between the individual and the nation. By subordinating filial piety to patriotism, the government uses traditional Confucian 'familyism' to promote social cohesion and national cohesion.

Within this peculiar political interpretation of the family, many references are made to the Confucian classics concerning the significance of the family within society. For example, family members are compared to the arms and legs of one body--harmonious relations among them are indispensable to ensure the well-being of each member as well as the whole society. Other lessons emphasize the fact that each family member must be ready to admonish other members who commit transgressions.

Significantly, this theme is also applied to political figures. One lesson, for instance, focuses on Sun Yat-sen and his brother, where students are exhorted to emulate Sun's spirit of "unselfishness and fraternal love" (Office of Compilation and Translation, Republic of China, 1989). The father-son relationship of Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Chin-guo (who succeeded his father as president of the Republic of China) is also exploited to epitomize the national significance of filial piety. Chiang Chin-guo's idealized relationship to his father is used to exemplify a famous

maxim found in the Confucian classic, *Canon of Filial Piety*: "loyal statesmen emanate from the gate of filial piety".

Respect for law.

The texts emphatically remind students that the most important reason for observing rules and regulations is to advance national stability and security. The message is that democracy must be founded on obedience. Seeking democracy and freedom without abiding by national laws leads to social chaos and endangers the nation's very existence. The democratic and egalitarian ideals of the *Three Principles of the People* are always qualified with cautionary statements about the limits of freedom. True freedom, the texts emphasize, involves putting the group's welfare before that of the individual.

Diligence.

Much emphasis is placed on self-struggle as the means to success. Students are told to emulate the great scholar Wang Yun-wu, who, despite many early hardships, became educated to the level of a leading scholar, making great contributions to the nation. Academic achievement is also related to hard work. Students learn of Yuan Jung-yian of the Sung Dynasty (960-1279 A.D.), a very poor farmer's son, who lived in an abandoned, partly destroyed temple while receiving an education. Yuan Jung-yian not only becomes a leading imperial scholar, but also emerges as an influential military and political leader. Academic achievement should be principally motivated by consideration for the good of the nation rather than by a desire for individual advancement.

The Dominant Ethnic Group--the Taiwanese and Nationalist Chinese

As briefly discussed earlier, the immigration of ethnic Chinese from coastal China, only 115 miles distant, began in the 16th century with scattered enclaves of pirates and privateers engaged on one side or the other of dynastic wars on the mainland. The ethnic Chinese were chiefly immigrants from the southeast coastal provinces of Fukien and Kwangtung. Hokkien speakers from Fukien Province arrived first and claimed the best lands, particularly those on the fertile western plains. Hakka speakers from Kwangtung Province arrived later and had to satisfy themselves with marginal lands in the foothills and along the coastline, that is, much of the remaining territory of the indigenous tribes. Today these Hokkien and Hakka, representing over 80 percent of the ethnic Chinese population (Smith, 1991), are the dominant ethnic group, and the term 'Taiwanese' is often used to refer to them.

A second major influx of Chinese immigrants occurred in the middle of this century when millions of Chinese Nationalists escaped to Taiwan from the Chinese mainland. Hence, this latter population is commonly referred to as 'mainlanders'.

These two waves of immigration, coupled with the traditional Chinese preference for large families, resulted in a tremendous population growth of ethnic Chinese. Today they comprise over 98

percent of the island's total population, roughly 19 million people (China Yearbook, 1991).

The Non-Chinese Minorities--the Hill Peoples

The aborigines of Taiwan are believed to be of Indonesian or Malayan origin, and are divided into nine major tribes, as recognized by Taiwanese authorities; Saishet, Bunu, Tsou, Rukai, Yamei, Beinan, Paiwan, Amei, and Taiya. Their arrival in Taiwan occurred many centuries ago, and their ties to other aboriginal groups of Southeast Asia are remote. They do not consider any other land their ancestral home. The present aboriginal population is approximately 330,000, that is, slightly less than 1.5 percent of Taiwan's total population (China Yearbook, 1991). The Paiwan, Amei and Taiya are the three largest tribes.

Many more indigenous tribes existed in Taiwan in the past. When Chinese immigrants first arrived in the 16th century, they divided tribal groups into two types of aborigines: sedentary groups that lived in the lowland areas and practised agriculture; and more mobile groups that lived in the mountains and survived by hunting and fishing. At that time, there were reportedly ten sedentary lowland tribes. By the middle of this century the remnants of this sedentary lowland aboriginal population had been *completely assimilated into the Chinese mainstream* (Chaffee et al., 1969). The tribal groups that remained in the highlands were in a stronger position to resist Chinese encroachment, and survived to

become what is known as Taiwan's contemporary indigenous ethnic population. Today most tribal group members reside in remote mountainous areas, especially in the central mountain range that divides Taiwan on a north-south axis (Chaffee et al., 1969). Unlike their counterparts in northern Thailand, the hill tribes of Taiwan are not well-known internationally. Consequently, there has not been a great deal of research done on these peoples.

General Characteristics of Taiwan's Hill Tribes

Historically, Taiwan's indigenous groups could be distinguished by their geographic location, economic activity, linguistic distinctiveness, and political organization. Despite their tribal characteristics, all groups nonetheless share some cultural similarities and customs. It is important to note, however, that much of the indigenous peoples' traditional culture has already disappeared.

Tribal organization.

Tribal organization traditionally consisted of a kinship group and a local unit. The kinship group included the clan, which was subdivided into patrilineal and matrilineal descents. Without exception, Taiwan's indigenous tribes practised monogamy (Chaffee et al., 1969). The value of women's labor was recognized and their position in tribal society was relatively high. Close cooperation between the sexes led to a stable and well-balanced society: "Each able-bodied man brought in his share of meat, and every woman who was physically able cultivated the fields, harvested the crops, and

stored the food" (Hsieh, 1964, p. 134). Disputes over personal or communal property seldom arose.

Religious beliefs.

The native peoples of Taiwan worshipped nature. Their belief system was a kind of polytheism, which made no distinction between gods and spirits. They did not have any shrines and had no concept of a supreme God. They practised a series of rituals before or after every important farming and hunting activity to show their gratitude for nature's bounty.

An important traditional characteristic of highland hill tribes was their belligerence (Chaffee et al., 1969). Inter-tribal relations were often marked by hostility, possibly attributable to the relative lack of space in the highlands. They were well known for head hunting. Heads were taken by young men to gain adult status, prestige, and qualification for marriage. Head hunting diminished as foreign control over aboriginal practices increased, and by the late 1950s the practice had become completely extinct.

Moral and legal codes.

Traditional moral codes kept the social order intact. Behaviors commonly prohibited by all the indigenous groups included: adultery; premarital sex; incest; the stealing of any article of property; and disrespect towards elders. In everyday terms, fidelity to the moral code meant that hill tribe members were quite ready to render each other assistance. They did not like to compete against each other and they rarely resorted to violence.

The social hierarchy of the community was seldom disputed. Sanctions against those who challenged the established order of leadership were strict. Adherence to the status quo was almost entirely self-regulatory. In addition, village communities enjoyed a high degree of political autonomy, even if they belonged to a larger tribal entity (Chaffee et al, 1969).

Traditional education.

Each member had a well-defined role in assuring the family's welfare. The process of bringing up the youngest family members was a task generally shared among grandparents, parents, close relatives and older siblings. As there was no written form of communication, children acquired traditional knowledge orally, mostly from older family members. Transmission of knowledge focused on respect for laws, rules, regulations, and taboos. Children would be told stories about the heroic exploits of past warriors, urging them to become just as brave and fearless.

Learning was mostly participatory. The young boys would learn essential skills (e.g., tool-making, hunting and fishing) through direct observation and participation. The girls, on the other hand, would be oriented toward home skills (e.g., cooking, cloth weaving, embroidery) or agricultural techniques. In either case, the emphasis was on learning by doing.

Contemporary Challenges Faced by Taiwan's Hill Tribes

Recently, one anthropological researcher described the situation of Taiwan's native peoples this way (Copper, 1990):

> The aborigines are less educated, their socioeconomic status is lower, and many find it difficult or undesirable to integrate into the society as a whole ... they remain to a large extent outsiders and are considered underprivileged socially. Most do not want to be assimilated, and social help programs have to a large extent been counterproductive, causing a breakdown of authority that has led to crime and other problems. (p. 37).

Many of the threats to the cultural survival of Taiwan's hill tribes are similar to those in northern Thailand. The difference is that the cultural loss is more extensive in Taiwan.

The depopulation of the highlands.

The rapid outflow of the indigenous labor force to the lowlands is a major source for concern. The population of some tribal groups is already dangerously low. According to official estimates, more than 80,000 people of hill tribe status are now residing in lowland districts--one fourth of the total hill tribe population (Cheng, 1992a).

A factor contributing to the demographic depletion of the highlands is the increasing number of young hill tribe people who are marrying outside their tribal communities. Exacerbating the depopulation problem is the fact that most of these exogamous marriages involve young hill tribe women. According to Chinese tradition, the children of couples from different ethnic backgrounds automatically assume the father's ethnic status. And because there are fewer young people of marrying age within highland villages, hill tribe members seeking a spouse have no choice but to seek lowland Chinese spouses.

Urban marginalization.

With the rapid growth of Taiwan's economy there has been an increase in the number of hill tribe youths coming to the cities to try to make a living. Because of their low level of education, the vast majority of these workers end up as menial laborers working under deplorable conditions. As most of their low-paying jobs last only for a few months, the indigenous workers end up drifting from one work site to another (Cheng, 1992a). The children often do not stay in one school long enough to adjust or to keep up with their school work. Many children, with little prospect of making a decent living, become easy prey to organized crime and sexploitation (J.M. Yang, 1993).

Until now, the central government has done little to ameliorate the problems of the country's indigenous minorities (Hsu, 1993). Various welfare programs to assist hill tribe families have been created such as housing loans, career consultation services, preschool education, and job training programs. However, the hill tribe people are woefully ignorant of the existence of such programs (Cheng, 1992).

The deterioration of the community.

The pressure on hill tribe members to adopt to the national culture is not limited to those that come down to the lowlands. The negative repercussions of national assimilation can be felt throughout the highland communities. Alcoholism is widespread; many tribal people suffer from liver ailments, and sanitary services are often substandard. The average life span of hill

tribe people is also appreciably lower than that of their Chinese counterparts (Liou, 1992).

Along with the physical decline of the hill tribe people is the rapid deterioration of their sense of communal responsibility. Traditional norms and mores have broken down under the stress of extensive transformation of hill tribe culture. Today's highlanders are viewed by a large part of the lowland populace as moral degenerates (E.F. Chen, 1991).

According to Y. L. Chen (1990), the devitalized family unit is the prime reason for the disintegration of the hill tribe community. As parents and older siblings leave home to work in the lowlands, entire villages are left to be attended by the elderly. Hill tribe children often lack a sense of belonging and security.

At school, hill tribe students are compelled to learn Mandarin Chinese from the first grade. The result is that many hill tribe children--third-generation products of the modern school system--can barely speak their mother tongues. Communication has become especially difficult with the elders, many of whom never learned to speak Chinese well (Mao & Bourgeault, 1991). Sun (1991) describes tribal youths 'aliens' within their own communities, for their lack of understanding of, and fidelity to, their cultural patrimony.

Not being properly supervised, many drop out from school and end up running away. Many hill tribe boys are coerced to work as illegal child laborers in local factories or as crew members of ocean-going fishing vessels. As for hill tribe girls, they are

often doomed to an even more ignoble fate as child prostitutes (Liou, 1992).

According to Sun (1991), a prominent indigenous intellectual, 'village improvement projects' sponsored by the central government have not raised the indigenous peoples' standards of living. Just the opposite--they have turned traditional collective living arrangements into shantytowns. The physical degradation of the highlands is so pervasive that contemporary hill tribe villages are almost indistinguishable from lowland city slums.

Two Ethnic Groups--The Amei and the Paiwan

The Amei

The Amei are the indigenous inhabitants of Taiwan's east coast between Hualien and Taitung. Historically, they were viewed as a peaceful tribal group, especially when contrasted to their more truculent neighbors. Census figures for the early 1990s indicate that the Amei comprise the largest of the nine hill tribes of Taiwan, approximately 110,000 members (Wu, 1991).

In the past, the matrilineal clan system was recognized as a characteristic of all Amei. Young people had considerable freedom in the choice of a mate, but approval by the girl's parents was mandatory before marriage could take place. Traditionally, a couple took up residence in the home of the bride's parents. Due to the increased acculturation by the Chinese, today's Amei family

organization is patrilineal and marriage is usually patrilocal (Nu, 1991).

Traditional Amei society was also hierarchical. The Amei were known for their well-developed theogony and associated body of cosmogonic myths. At the top of the pantheon were numerous ancestral gods whose way of life was to be followed. After the ancestral gods were the priestly families, who carried out the will of the gods. Priests specialized in memorizing lengthy origin myths, including long genealogies of ancestral and other deities, which were invoked during religious ceremonies. Today, as Christian missions have succeeded in converting most Amei members, such traditional social and spiritual hierarchical arrangements have largely disappeared.

The Amei population was customarily arranged by age-grades, each dependent on the one above for precepts and instruction in proper behavior. The male children joined the lowest grade when they reached puberty at the age of 14 or 15, and their grades were promoted every five or eight years. Men (and women) of the same age were accorded equal privileges, but the greatest deference always was paid to whoever was oldest.

Amei society had what may be called a dualistic power structure. Secular authority was based on the male age-grade system; the upper-age rank or the older men exercised control over all social and political matters. Women were expressly excluded from political life. The greatest political power was vested in a chiefs' assembly, composed of men chosen from among the mature age-

grades. Those who sought to be chiefs had to be eloquent speakers, skilled in public performance and knowledgeable about tribal history. Other assemblies or councils mitigated to some extent the power of the chief's assembly. But in contrast to secular authority, authority in religious matters was exercised by females (Lebar, 1975).

The Paiwan

In size, the Paiwan are the third largest hill tribe in Taiwan, roughly 56,000 members (Wu, 1991). The Paiwan region comprises the Central Mountain range, extending for some 90 miles into extreme southerly Taiwan, within modern Pingtung County. Villages are located for the most part on the upper drainage areas of rivers. The Paiwan tribe traditionally attached much importance to social hierarchy. Social stratification was based on genealogical closeness to a senior founding line. Age-grades did not exist except in a few villages influenced by other tribes' customs (Chaffee et al., 1969). While the powers and prerogatives of traditional authority structures have long been curtailed, distinctions based on chiefly descent persist (Sun, 1991).

Indigenous settlement patterns have been disrupted by government resettlement schemes, which have impelled the movement of hill tribe villages to more accessible locations nearer the lowlands. Traditionally, swidden agriculture was practised, sweet potatoes and taro being the staple crops (Wu, 1991). Millet was the favored ceremonial food, and harvesting was accompanied by

elaborate ceremonies. Marriages used to be village endogamous and residence was ambilocal. The eldest child (of either sex) was supposed to remain with the parents until he or she finally inherited the house (Chaffee et al., 1969).

Kinship was ambilineal. Children affiliated with a particular lineage, or 'house', assumed the house name. All households in a village claimed varying degrees of genealogical relatedness to a named 'chiefly' household. Although villages within a region were often interrelated by kin and affinal ties and by a common language, they functioned autonomously and did not form political confederations.

Paiwan myths emphasized the origins and genealogies of chiefly families. Ancestral spirits were important and were placated collectively through the chiefly house. There was a well-developed pantheon and the ancestral spirits included a class of culture heroes. Also important were ancestral founders of villages, venerated in ancestral spirit houses.

The most characteristic ceremony of the Paiwan was the Five-Year Festival, so called because it was held by each village on an average of once every five years following the harvest. This was a village-renewal festival, during which the collective ancestral and other spirits were summoned to participate in five days of ceremonial games, ritual, and feasting. With the introduction of Christianity and its widespread acceptance in the Paiwan community, rituals have mostly disappeared.

Official Highland Policy

Highland Policy--1800s

Compared to the hill tribes of North Thailand, interaction between the hill tribes of Taiwan and more powerful ethnic groups was characterized by a great deal of armed conflict. The reasons for this are numerous and complex. The fact that the native peoples of Taiwan had no possibility of moving away from the more powerful invading ethnic groups meant that they had to fight for their ancestral territories. A second point of distinction concerns the historic isolation of the native peoples of Taiwan. The Taiwan tribes were probably less prepared to deal with socio-cultural diversity than the hill tribes of North Thailand, who had traversed many territories and encountered many cultural influences over the centuries.

The indigenous peoples under the Dutch administration had been tractable, and, on the whole, relations between these two ethnic groups were nonviolent. It is important to realize that the Dutch went to great pains to assuage the initial distrust of the Taiwan natives by preserving the social and political infrastructure of these communities (Rutter, 1923).

Unfortunately, the amicable relations the Taiwan natives had enjoyed with the Dutch changed radically when the Chinese forced the latter to leave the island. The indigenous people quickly discovered that Chinese immigrants were not out to cultivate friendly

relations with them, only their land. By the early 1800s, as the flow of Chinese farmers swelled to more than two million, most of the lowland-dwelling indigenous peoples had been driven into the hills (Lebar, 1975). Those that managed to remain in the lowlands were subjugated to Chinese petty officials who continually robbed and cheated them. A pattern of interaction between the indigenous population and the Chinese immigrants emerged, one that was often marked by violence and mutual animosity.

Bitter enmity existed between the natives and the Chinese, and increasing warfare was waged throughout the island. Many barbarous atrocities were committed by the Chinese against the natives (Rutter, 1923). Understandably native attitudes toward foreigners underwent a complete change.

The most common approach taken by the Chinese toward solving their aboriginal 'problem' was to simply *eliminate the aboriginal people*. Rutter (1923, p. 224) describes this policy quite succinctly: "The Chinese officials made no serious attempt to conciliate the native districts or to bring about a cessation of hostilities and a peaceful settlement: their only policy was that of extermination". As a consequence, the natives were driven farther and farther into the hills as the oncoming tide of Chinese settlers dispossessed them of their fertile territory on the plains and lowlands.

Japanese Highland Policy--1895 to 1945

At the beginning of their occupation of Taiwan in 1895, the Japanese colonial government tried to implement a conciliatory and constructive policy towards the indigenous population (Rutter, 1923). For example, tribal communities that nominally accepted Japanese authority were treated relatively well. Within these communities, the Japanese actually encouraged the hill tribe members to retain their traditions and culture. Nor did Japanese authorities try to displace tribal social organizations, indigenous belief systems, or original customs and habits. They also took education for the hill tribes seriously, as could be attested from the fact that over 200 elementary schools were established for tribal children (Chaffee et al., 1969; Rutter, 1923; Sun, 1991).

Despite such efforts, the Japanese forces were unable to bring most of Taiwan's native communities under their control. The tyrannical and barbarous treatment under the Chinese government had rendered the remaining indigenous population irrevocably intractable. Faced with a belligerent tribal population, the Japanese authorities expediently chose to confine the tribal peoples within their boundaries, primarily by means of electrified barbed-wire, leaving the inhabitants to fend for themselves (Chaffee et al., 1969). From time to time the Japanese colonial government embarked upon 'advancement campaigns' into native territory. Such campaigns inevitably brought many casualties, mostly on the Japanese side, along with more Japanese punitive expeditions.

Nationalist Chinese Highland Policy--1950s to 1960s

After retreating to Taiwan in 1949, the Nationalists retained many aspects of the earlier Japanese colonial model of administration for the island. Such was the case for the supervision of tribal regions, which remained essentially sealed off from mainstream lowland society. In addition to the Japanese policy of isolation, the Nationalists instituted a 'Han Chinese model' of controlling the indigenous population. Called *li-fan*, this Chinese administrative model can be understood as "the assimilation of barbarians" (Lee, 1992). Hence, the year 1949 marked the true beginning of the systematic breakdown of hill tribe culture (Ahern, 1981).

Because access to the mountainous areas occupied by the aborigines continued to be restricted, very few people outside the government knew what was taking place there. Ostensibly, the government maintained these restrictions to "preclude the infiltration of undesirable elements and to protect the aborigines from unlawful people who might take advantage of their [the indigenous peoples] general ignorance of national economic and legal systems" (Chaffee et al., 1969, p. 47).

The Nationalists soon established specific policies which aimed to assimilate the indigenous peoples into the national society. The Civil Affairs Department of the Taiwan Provincial Government was put in charge of administering highland areas. Offices at the county level made responsible for civil affairs,

public works, conscription, taxation, and conducting censuses. District offices were then mandated to promote 'cultural and educational enlightenment' among the indigenous communities and to care for sanitation and health promotion. It was only in the 1950s that public primary schools were first established in the highlands. All these government actions were implemented under the guise of 'protection and controlled progress'. The plan was to "improve the living conditions and to prepare as many aborigines as possible for participation in the national society as productive members and sharers in the economic growth" (Chaffee et al., 1969, p. 48).

The government's 'development' policies had major disruptive effects on the indigenous peoples' traditional ways of life. The forced changing of aboriginal names to Han Chinese names in the 1950s is a case in point. This policy not only created a great deal of confusion for the highlanders (who hardly spoke a word of Chinese), it also blurred their sense of genealogy.

The result was that siblings were often given different family names. That threw traditional methods of recording family descendance and kinship into disarray. It also made some tribal people transgress marriage taboos; some young people unwittingly married close members of their own kin, only to discover the error after the fact, causing a great deal of dismay and embarrassment to themselves and their families (Sun, 1991).

Another example of *li-fan*'s deleterious effect on hill tribe culture was the introduction in the early 1950s of a scheme called

shan-di ping-di-hua ("to transform the highlands into the lowlands"). This scheme coerced the hill tribes to abandon their traditional system of administration in favor of the lowland system. As a result, tribal lands were artificially segmented into administrative units by county, village clusters, and individual villages.

By abolishing the traditional tribal leadership system, the government not only reduced the tribal communities' ability to organize, it also devitalized the social force that regulated their daily lives, including the collective upbringing of younger generations. With the absence of traditional channels of social control, hill tribe communities were powerless to mitigate the assimilative impact of the dominant society.

Other directives, commonly referred to as the *Three Great Campaigns*, aimed to 'civilize' the highlanders by changing their livelihood, forcing them to practise non-shifting agriculture, and promoting afforestation. The campaign to improve the people's livelihood, began in the early 1950s, had a most profound and pernicious effect on local culture. There were six main objectives to this particular campaign: (1) to promote the use of Mandarin Chinese; (2) to improve the people's attire; (3) to ameliorate their food and drink; (4) to better their dwellings; (5) to 'correct' their daily lives; and (6) to reform their customs and habits (J.J. Lin, 1993).

Chinese officials prohibited the hill people from wearing their traditional attire, considered by the Chinese to be strange

or queer clothing. The natives could not speak their mother tongues. Their 'superstitious' practices were eradicated (e.g., ancestral figures and totems were publicly destroyed in front of police headquarters). Traditional ceremonies were banned as well. Within a decade of its inception in 1952, local authorities had been able to fully dismantle centuries-old tribal institutions (Sun, 1991).

Nationalist Chinese Highland Policy--1970s to the Present

By the 1970s, as central authorities realized the magnitude of the success of their policy to 'sicinize' the indigenous population, they deemed it permissible to relax somewhat the control of the indigenous peoples. The authorities did this by first allowing indigenous self-government at the village level. Later, hill tribe members were granted the right to vote and to present themselves as candidates for political representation at the county level, which was eventually broadened to include the provincial assembly and finally, the national legislature.

But highland communities continued to retrogress. By the late 1980s, public awareness of the indigenous people's plight, both domestic and international, put pressure on the government to address the situation.

In the early 1990s the central government allocated special funds to the Ministry of the Interior for an extensive plan to coordinate local, provincial and national services directed to

assist the hill tribes. The Ministry elaborated a seven-point strategy that covered the political, social, educational, cultural and economic aspects of hill tribe life--all with the aim of "upholding and protecting the rights and interests of the mountain compatriots" (Tsao, 1992, p. 6). The strategy had the following objectives: (1) to review, discuss, and revise the governmental administration of hill tribe development in order to improve economic undertakings within hill tribe reservations; (2) to increase the administrative capacities of organizations responsible for hill tribes; (3) to safeguard the regulations relating to hill tribe political activity and their rights to vote at every level of jurisdiction to increase political participation of hill tribe constituents; (4) to coordinate inter-agency educational services with the Ministry of Education's five-year plan for the development and improvement of schooling for hill tribes; (5) to establish guidance services for the hill tribe people living in urban centers; (6) to actively promote employment and career training services; and (7) to extol tribal customs and ways and cultivate indigenous talent that can perpetuate autochthonous art.

Nevertheless, critics say that the Nationalist old guard stubbornly holds on to a 'China-centric' political ideology, one that regards Taiwan's hill tribes as among the many minority ethnic groups existing at the periphery of *mainland Chinese territory*. As such, the indigenous peoples of Taiwan are given the same ethnic status as Mongols, Tibetans and Uighurs. The Nationalist leadership has always assumed the self-ordained role of protector of the

minority peoples, that is to say, it ensures that all ethnic minorities within the Chinese realm are unified under its control (Pan, 1992).

Recently some government officials have admitted that Taiwan's present highland policy cannot possibly attempt to redress the deep-rooted biases against indigenous people found among the mainstream Chinese (Y.W. Yang, 1992). According to these officials, it is not enough for the government to provide paternalistic assistance to the highlander population. What is needed is a national campaign that would foster a genuine respect for the ethnicity of indigenous peoples.

Nascent Indigenous Political Movements

Political interest in the cultural survival of indigenous peoples is due primarily to the Taiwan independence movement. Pro-independence activists claim that the Nationalists usurped political power in 1949, and that 'local' (i.e., Taiwanese Chinese) politicians should be the true leaders of Taiwan. Pro-independence politicians, particularly those belonging to the People's Progressive Party (Min-Jin-Tang, or MJT), have solicited support form Taiwan's hill tribe constituencies. Although some tribal members are amenable to such overtures, most tribal political activists remain reluctant to get politically involved with the Taiwanese Chinese (J.J. Lin, 1993; Sun, 1991).

Instead, hill tribe political leaders have started to champion a grass-roots movement among the tribal communities to arouse their ethnic and political consciousness. This newly-found consciousness is being expressed in a desire for self-government such as advocated by the Indigenous People's Party (IPP). A paramount concern for IPP is to assert indigenous rights vis-à-vis the national authorities and to secure the legal ownership of tribal lands (J.J. Lin, 1993). The presence of indigenous candidates independent of major party affiliation in the last national election in 1992 had an impact on indigenous voting patterns. In the past the Nationalist party could count on roughly 90 percent of hill tribe votes. This had now fallen to 60 percent (Hong, 1992).

Heightened indigenous political activism was responsible for demonstrations held in Taipei in the fall of 1993. Under the slogan of "opposing misappropriation, fighting for survival, and reclaiming ancestral lands", a large assembly of hill tribe demonstrators confronted the military police. The protesters were decrying bureaucratic foot-dragging on improving living conditions in the highlands (Peng, 1993). Such demonstrations indicated how much more organized and politically audacious the indigenous minorities had become.

The indigenous people of Taiwan have also started to establish contacts with indigenous groups in other countries. For example, an indigenous rights delegation from Taiwan visited their counterparts in China and in the United States. These visits have not only allowed Taiwan's indigenous people to learn from other

nations' policies toward their indigenous minorities, they have helped them understand the common problems they share with other groups around the world (Chang, 1990; J.H. Lee, 1992).

From their visits with native American Indians the Taiwan peoples' delegation learned the importance of employing legal channels to affirm indigenous land and economic rights as well as to preserve native languages. Hill tribe representatives have been invited to a United Nations conferences on indigenous minority peoples' rights, and to participate in drafting a manifesto for the International Year of Indigenous Peoples. The United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations has also come to Taiwan to examine the conditions under which the hill tribe minority people are living and whether their fundamental rights are being respected (Guo, 1990).

Highland Educational Policy

In spite of signs that the indigenous peoples' socio-political status is being redefined within Taiwan, it will take time before such shifts are reflected in highland schools (Ministry of Education, Republic of China, 1990, 1992). According to Pan (1992), educational policy for the hill tribes has remained virtually unchanged for the last forty years.

Highland education aims to socialize tribal children in two ways: (1) it exposes them to a 'Nationalist' interpretation of society and the political system; and (2) it denies them the

opportunity to learn about their own people, their cultural heritage, and about their homeland. The Nationalist government compels hill tribe children to embrace the idea that Taiwan has never known any 'civilized' ethnic group other than the Han Chinese.

Evidence of this ethnic bias can be found throughout the primary school curriculum. For example, geography and history texts focus on mainland China. So pervasive is this bias that by the time hill tribe students finish their six years of primary education, they know much more about mainland China's physical features, its infrastructure, its historic figures, and even its ethnic minorities, than the geography or history of (pre-Chinese) Taiwan (Sun 1991).

Chapter VI

Moral Education in Taiwan's Primary Schools

Two locations in the Paiwan and Amei communities were chosen to investigate the implementation of the national moral educational curriculum in public primary schools and its implications for the political socialization of hill tribe children. Observation of the schools focused on moral education classes and school activities related to political socialization. As in Thailand, open-ended interviews were carried out with students, parents, teachers, and community leaders. A lowland school located in the suburbs of Taipei was also studied.

Ethnic Chinese School

Yong-Ho Primary School

Yong-Ho is one of the satellite towns of Taipei, the largest city in Taiwan. A by-product of Taipei's rapid industrial growth, Yong-Ho is a factory town with a predominantly blue-collar work force. In recent years, as Taiwan's economy has burgeoned, an increasing number of Yong-Ho residents are commuting to Taipei to work in lower-level white-collar positions. Serving primarily as an industrial park for Taipei, Yong-Ho is congested and heavily polluted.

The school.

Yong-Ho has one of the largest elementary schools in Taiwan, Hsiou-Lang Primary School, with over ten thousand students. The school itself has a reformatory-like appearance, with high walls surrounding the campus and steel gates guarded by security personnel. This initial impression is reinforced by the fact that the students all wear the same neat uniform. Plants and green spaces are sparse. Most of the teachers here--all ethnic Chinese--are graduates from the prestigious National Normal University. Students coming to and leaving from school are ushered by designated 'class leaders'. When a class goes out for physical education, students are required to walk in file. In class, students stand up when speaking to their teachers. They keep an upright posture while seated, and they answer questions promptly.

Application of the Moral Education Curriculum

Direct moral education.

Because of the predominant use of the text books and a relatively inflexible teaching schedule, all the children go through the *Life and Ethics* course at the same pace and learn the same material. At the time of observation the subject being taught was bravery. The particular lessons covered were the exploits of Sun Yat-sen (fourth grade-level), the brave resistance of Nationalist soldiers against Japanese troops (fifth grade-level), and the martyrdom of Nationalist ace pilots (sixth grade-level).

The instructional strategy of the teachers at all three grade-levels consisted of dividing the lesson into two separate study periods. Reading through and discussing the lesson story with the students occurred during the first period, and going over the exercises at the end of the lesson, during the second period. Teacher-student interaction was rather limited, usually taking the form of questions and answers based almost entirely on the texts. Most of these questions assessed comprehension of the lesson story, but some questions required students to make interpretations. For example, the students were asked to explain the meaning of patriotic sayings, such as "to forget oneself in the discharge of official duties", and "loyalty and courage are the foundations of a nation". They were further asked if they 'loved and respected' the armed forces of the Republic of China, and whether they were ready to give their utmost to the task of recovering the Chinese mainland from the Communists.

The students offered slightly more novel answers when they were asked to reflect on the meaning of courage in their lives. Some illustrations offered by the students included defending a classmate from bullies, going to the doctor's for a shot, admitting having committed a mistake, and calling the police when an emergency arises.

Indirect moral education.

Indirect political socialization took place primarily through school activities and ceremonies such as singing the national anthem, attending flag raising and lowering ceremonies, paying

homage to Confucius, and bowing to teachers and school administrators. As in Thailand, the children were also assigned simple duties such as cleaning the classrooms or the cafeteria.

Disciplinary infractions were minimal at Hsiou-Lang at the time of observation. The generally strict manner in which the school is run assures that most students do not get out of line. Usually the teachers handle disciplinary matters themselves, using such pressure tactics as 'demerit notes' (i.e., negative comments inserted in a student's report card), classroom seating order (i.e, getting moved down in the seating arrangement from the 'good' section to the 'bad' one), and threats of 'classroom transfers' (being sent to a corrective classroom for academically poor and incorrigible children, called *fang-niou-ban*, or 'the corral').

Students

The six students interviewed at Hsiou-Lang were: Jongdai (male, age 12, sixth grade); Bijang (female, age 12, sixth grade); Duojen (male, age 12, fifth grade); Jialin (female, age 11, fifth grade); Shihchiou (male, age 10, fourth grade); and Jianming (female, age 10, fourth grade). The occupations of these students' parents varied. Two children (Jongdai and Bijang) reported that their parents were merchants. Duojen stated that his father was an electrical engineer and his mother was an interior designer. Jianming's father worked for the Taiwan Power Company while her mother was an accountant. Shihchiou and Jialin said that their fathers were laborers and that their mothers were at home.

Moral education at home and at school.

The responses given by the Hsiou-Lang students indicated that they were under considerable academic and social pressure at school. According to these students, their teachers were very strict on matters related to student behavior and academic work. For example, Duojen said that while he liked school:

> Duojen: ... Sometimes I feel happy and sometimes I feel annoyed.
> Interviewer: Why is that?
> Duojen: I get to meet many friends and learn new things, but when the lessons get hard, or when we have to prepare for a test I get to feel uneasy.
> Interviewer: Do you like your teacher?
> Duojen: My teacher is so-so, but I respect her.
> Interviewer: Is your teacher strict?
> Duojen: Yes, she's very strict.

Nevertheless, Duojen thought of his teacher an upright person:

> Interviewer: Is she fair?
> Duojen: Yes, she's very fair.
> Interviewer: Do you think your teacher serves as a good model?
> Duojen: Yes, I think so, she lets you know clearly what is right and wrong.

Teachers repcrtedly emphasized observance of rules, public mindedness and patriotism, and, above all, *scholastic diligence*. When asked about what they thought was the best way to show good behavior, most students (four out of six) said following rules and regulations.

The students believed that the values taught at school were essentially those taught at home:

> Interviewer: Are the virtues you learn at school different from those you learn at home?
> Bijang: They're the same. At school you're supposed to love your classmates and be close to them, and to respect and love the teacher. At home you're supposed to love and be close to your family members, and to be filial to

your parents... When I'm not sure if I'm allowed to do son-thing, I go ask either my father or mother.

Exemplars of bravery, greatness and obedience.

Three of the students selected Sun Yat-sen as first among national or historic figures. Such was the case for Jongdai:

Interviewer: Who do you think is a brave person?
Jongdai: I think it's the 'Father of the Republic' [Sun Yat-sen].
Interviewer: Why do you think he is brave?
Jongdai: Because during the [Republican] revolution he saved China and let the people get their freedom.

Interestingly, two students chose foreigners as paragons of bravery. Shihchiou selected George Washington, "because he was not afraid to admit he was wrong". Jialin's choice was Helen Keller, "... because although she was deaf, mute and blind, she did not give up. Instead she got up her courage and got her university degree. She helped a lot of handicapped children and she really deserves everybody's respect". Only one informant chose a family member. Jianming considered her father as a brave person, "because he can climb a smokestack several hundred meters high without being afraid".

When the Chinese children chose figures of greatness, three of them selected Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The reasons given for this choice were very similar to the preceding ones, for example: "because he established the Republic of China for the freedom of the Chinese people"--Bijang; "because he overcame a lot of difficulties for the country"--Duojen; "the 'First President' [Dr. Sun] tried many times before the revolution against the Manchus was successful, he allowed the Republic of China to be born"--Jongdai.

As above, some informants chose either a foreigner or a family member as great persons. Shihchiou nominated Thomas Edison, explaining that "Edison invented many things which have made our lives much easier". Jianming, for her part, chose her mother:

> This is because from the time we were born, Mother has never stopped caring for us, she's always given us the very best. Whenever I'm sick, Mother doesn't go to work, she stays home to take care of us all day. Mother is truly great.

Although Sun Yat-sen was a prominent character for many stories of courage and obedience, there were several stories that featured other lesser known Chinese, such Jongdai's story about Cheng Feng-hsi:

> Cheng Feng-hsi was an outstanding handicapped person, from the time he was very young he had to endure many hardships because of his physical disabilities. Despite his many disadvantages he studied very hard at school and earned the respect of all his classmates. He even got to be the student with the best grades in his entire class.

There were also a few personal anecdotes that were offered as stories of obedience. One was Bijang's:

> Last year my mother had another baby. In the past when that happened my grandmother would come to stay with us to help my mother for the first three months. Last time grandma was sick, and so I tried to help as much as I could; I did the cleaning and I took care of my other young brother. When school finished for summer vacation, I stayed home more often rather than going out to play with my friends.

Paiwan Subjects--Bei-Yueh

The administrative unit of Ma-Jia is located in the southwest of Taiwan within Ping-Tung county (see map, Appendix XII). Ma-Jia is known as a tourist area. It is popular for its nature trails, its orchards, and 'authentic' aboriginal villages where folk dances are performed and handicrafts are sold. Because of the regular presence of lowland visitors, a large part of the indigenous Paiwan population has come to depend on tourism as a source of income.

The primary school for Ma-Jia is located in the village of Bei-Yueh. Comparable to other highland villages, Bei-Yueh has no outstanding physical features to denote that it is inhabited by indigenous people. The houses are in the same 'modern' architectural styles of lowland homes. Grocery stores carry consumer goods identical to their lowland counterparts, and all the signs are in Chinese. It is only when one notices the villagers' physical features or observes an elderly person wearing traditional garments that one realizes that Bei-Yueh is in fact an aboriginal village.

The school.

The primary school located on the village's outskirts is relatively new. With its bright white classrooms, up-to-date equipment (including several computers), a study room, a fairly well furnished library, and a playground, Ma-Jia Elementary School is evidence of the government's effort to allocate a greater proportion of funds to highland schools. As in the village, there

is nothing obvious within the school grounds to suggest that this primary school is serving hill tribe students.

Portraits of Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek and his son Chiang Ching-kuo, wall posters with excerpts from the *Three Principles of the People*, adorn the walls of classrooms. Although a small number of Chinese students attend this primary school, the vast majority of the student body (approximately 350 students) is comprised of children of the Paiwan tribe. Several teachers also belong to the Paiwan tribe.

As in all public primary schools in Taiwan, students are required to wear a uniform, which is invariably of a dark color, most often navy blue. The dress code does not appear to be fully enforced at Ma-Jia, however, and many students wear only part of their uniforms.

Amei Subjects--Feng-Bin

Squeezed between the Pacific Ocean and Taiwan's cordillera, the administrative unit of Feng-Bin runs along the island's east coast, approximately halfway between the cities of Hualien and Taitung (see map, Appendix XIII). The population density on this side of the island is much lower than the western side. There is a railway and a highway that connect Hualien to Taitung. Nevertheless, the whole area is less developed in terms of economic infrastructure and industry (Sun, 1991). Because of its relative geographic isolation, the eastern coastline is still quite scenic and relatively unpolluted, with vast stretches of undisturbed

beaches. Historically, this part of Taiwan's east coast was Amei territory. The Amei people have lost some of their land to Chinese agriculturalists but managed to retain most ancestral tracts of land along the coast.

The Amei people's contact with the Chinese is more circumscribed than in the Ma-Jia administrative unit. There are not as many sightseers. The cities of Hualien and Taitung are distant enough to make travel there relatively infrequent. Most Amei interaction with the Chinese is usually with residents who have lived in the area for some time such as the local police, teachers, administrators and coastal fishermen.

A large number of the Amei people who continue to live in Feng-Bin depend on fishing for their livelihood. The mountainous terrain does not favor much agricultural output. As a result, most of the local produce is consumed locally. Despite the slower pace of life and relative distance from large urban centers, the Amei youths of Feng-Bin have felt the pull of metropolitan life and an increasing number are leaving their native villages to seek employment opportunities in Hualien, Taitung, or even Taipei.

The school.

The small primary school that serves Feng-Bin harbor resembles many of the other older schools throughout the island. It is a greyish concrete building with a coat of peeling white paint covering the classroom and office walls. This school was built at the end of the Japanese occupation of Taiwan. Architecturally the school is designed after traditional Taiwanese rural homes, that

is, it is a one-story building made up of rooms linked together to form three sides and a large courtyard in the middle. The courtyard acts as both play and assembly area. The classrooms are austere, equipped with the bare necessities; chairs, desks, and blackboard. The overall appearance of the school is one of overuse and under-repair.

Despite its more run-down appearance the school's grounds are kept clean. The students take their cleaning duties seriously. There are flowers planted around the courtyard, and palm trees offer some shade. The usual national symbols are also present, including busts of Confucius and Chiang Kai-shek. This small harbor school has only seventy students, of whom ninety percent are Amei. The principal and half of the teaching staff of nine are Amei as well, including two recent women graduates from a teacher's college in Hualien.

Implementation of the Moral Education Curriculum

Moral education classes.

As in the lowland school, several classrooms were observed while *Life and Ethics* was being taught. A great deal of congruence was found in the way moral education was taught in the highland schools as compared to the lowland school.

At the time of observation at Ma-Jia, the moral theme being taught was 'filial piety'. At the fourth-grade level, this lesson focused on 'how to be a filial child'. Unlike most other lessons found in the textbooks, this particular lesson did not have a

story. Rather, the teacher instructed the students to think of some of the ways their own parents took care of them, and how they repaid their parents. In reply, the students mentioned common occurrences such as their parents taking care of them when they were sick, giving them clothes to wear and food to eat, and comforting them. Textbook illustrations accompanying this lesson depicted blissful Chinese families and the harmonious relations between parents and children.

At the fifth and sixth grades, the political content of moral education classes was more conspicuous. The fifth grade lesson consisted of a speech made by the primary school principal exhorting his students to practice filial piety in the home, at school, and within the society. In the sixth grade, the father-son relationship of Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo was used to epitomize filial piety. Significantly, both lessons emphasized that the ultimate form of filial piety is the defense of the nation against its enemies.

At Feng-Bin, the moral theme taught was 'honor'. In the three grade-levels, the lesson stories focused on Chinese historical figures: General Jou-Chou (East Tsin Dynasty), Confucius, Mencius, and Jü-Chien (Epoch of Spring and Autumn). The message was that students should realize that the nation's honor was their own, and that they should do their utmost to defend this honor (i.e., by reclaiming the Chinese mainland).

The instructional strategies used to teach *Life and Ethics* were quite similar to those at Hsiou-Lang. Most teachers relied on

lectures followed by question and answer periods. For the most part, student participation in such classes was unenthusiastic. The few animated classes were conducted by young hill tribe teachers. For example, at Ma-Jia, one hill tribe sixth-grade teacher enlivened his class by having students act out different sketches (e.g., defending a smaller child from bullies or admonishing someone for his laziness).

Indirect moral education.

The informal aspects of moral education were also similar to the lowland school of Hsiou-Lang. Each school's principal addressed the children in the morning. In these presentations he reminded them of the rules and regulations, announced a special event, or gave them an inspirational talk about scholastic diligence. In addition, the home room teachers devoted twenty minutes a day to reviewing student behavior, most often focusing on disciplinary matters such as tardiness and unruliness.

To enforce discipline, teachers resorted primarily to reprimanding the 'transgressors', usually in front of the class. Corporal punishment at Ma-Jia was left to the teacher's discretion. At Feng-Bin, corporal punishment was meted out at the end of the school day. This was done while all the students were assembled in the courtyard. Before they were dismissed, unruly students were called in front of their schoolmates, their transgressions were described to the school body, and then a teacher would rap their knuckles with a bamboo rod--the number of raps depending on the seriousness of the offense.

In terms of extra-curricular activities, the highland children were mostly involved in choir practice, music, and baseball. At Ma-Jia some students participated in art activities such as carving (wood and stone), pottery, and leather craft. These art projects accentuated local themes and motifs. They would include reproducing traditional wooden carvings used to decorate indigenous homes, carving wooden masks and producing large lithographic stone-plates.

Teachers

Teacher outlooks on moral education for highland children varied according to their ethnic status. For example, although all four teachers agreed that moral instruction was an important part of their professional responsibilities, the Chinese teachers tended to view these responsibilities in terms of "improving children's living habits", and "instilling national traditions in the students". The hill tribe teachers, on the other hand, talked more in terms of "adapting the moral values to the local customs and the conditions of the people", and "seeing how tribal customs and values may be introduced into the overall moral education experience of the children".

Furthermore, when the Chinese teachers were asked to prioritize the values their students should learn, they emphasized such things as "obeying the law", and "respecting the family and society". In contrast, the hill tribe teachers expressed concern over the curriculum's lack of relevance to the children's immediate socio-cultural environment. They emphasized the importance of

highland mores. As one hill tribe teacher, Mr. Tian, put it, "the children should become familiar with the normal and accepted ways of social relationships in hill tribe communities". Miss Chen, another hill tribe teacher, identified 'honesty' as the most important virtue for her students to learn. As she explained, "you have to be honest to yourself and to your community". Miss Chen went on to say that a vast repertoire of moral instruction could be derived from traditional highland culture:

> There are many good ideas we can find in the history of the hill tribes, the mythology, the population, the land. These are part of Taiwan's wealth, not just for the hill people, but for the nation as a whole--we should not exterminate the true wealth of the nation.... The present moral curriculum is not suitable to help them [the highland children] adapt. It is not enough to prepare them to take exams. It is more than just a question of school performance. The children need to feel that traditional hill tribe culture is a 'living' thing, that it is usable for those who are 'unsteady', for those who have an unclear future.

According to Mr. Tian, the highland students knew much more about Chinese virtues and etiquette (i.e., Confucianism) than local mores. He talked about his attempts to offset this tendency by reintroducing hill tribe traditions to his students, mainly through art and music: "The hill tribe teachers use class time to introduce traditional art, such as pottery. The school is lucky to have a principal who promotes this sort of activity".

Miss Chen confirmed Mr. Tian's viewpoint, stating that moral education provided at school was too 'Sino-centric':

> The children don't have the opportunity to 'match' the school's values with their cultural heritage. It's a kind of cultural bias in the moral curriculum... I take time in the classes the children enjoy to teach useful values, like choir practice and the arts, I emphasize

> cooperation, responsibility, and friendliness ... to teach mutual respect and self-confidence I try to call the students by their indigenous names ... to teach self-esteem I sometimes use the native language and talk about the 'real' traditions found in Amei society.

The Chinese teachers, however, disagreed. One teacher, Miss Lin, said, "There is a responsibility for the school to make the children feel they are part of the greater nation, and for them to be familiar with the values that make the nation work. That is why there is a national curriculum to guide all public school teachers in meeting this task". Another Chinese teacher, Mr. Chang, was also unsympathetic to the idea of changing the moral curriculum to become more culturally sensitive:

> Valuable [class] time would be used ... this [i.e., a curriculum oriented toward tribal culture] should be taught as an extra-curricular course. As a matter of fact, many hill tribe parents are opposed to the idea of including a local curriculum--they expect the 'fundamentals of [Confucian] moral education' to be taught their children. These special educational needs of hill tribe children, including the teaching of native tribal languages, is supposed to be the parents' job, not the school's.

Such comments on the Chinese teachers' part divulged their interpretation of the ideological purpose of moral education. The Chinese teachers fully endorsed the moral curriculum for its assimilative function and interpreted their role primarily as disseminators of established national values. They saw a need to meet a certain 'deficiency' in the highland students' moral education which was due to their ethnic background.

Students

Twelve student subjects were interviewed at Ma-Jia and Feng-Bin. The students at Ma-Jia were Ruolin (female, age 12, sixth grade), Yawang (female, age 11, fifth grade, Wenyian (female, age 11, fourth grade), Chiouching (male, age 13, sixth grade), Yüchin (male, age 11, fifth grade), and Rongkwan (male, age 9, fourth grade). The six students interviewed at Feng-Bin were: Hanwei (male, age 9, fourth grade), Guorong (male, age 11, fifth grade), Shihyi (male, age, 12, sixth grade), Yüru (female, age 10, fourth grade), Weiya, (female, age 11, fifth grade), and Hsioulan (female, age 12, sixth grade). All twelve students stated that they were Christians.

Attitudes toward schooling.

The vast majority of students expressed a positive attitude about going to school. Their attitudes regarding their teachers was also positive. Only two said that their teachers were too strict. Ruolin's responses were representative of the other students:

> Interviewer: How do you feel about going to school?
> Ruolin: Sometimes I find going to school very difficult, but you learn about all sorts of things. I get to see my friends and we have time to play together.
> Interviewer: Do you like your teacher?
> Ruolin: Yes, I like her very much. She can get angry sometimes when we do something wrong, like coming late to class or giving the wrong answer. But most of the time she is smiling.

Of the twelve respondents, only four named their parents as sources of moral instruction. Just one student, Chiouching was able to identify someone outside his family as a source of moral

education. He selected the local pastor who is an ethnic Chinese. Asked about ways to show good behavior, the highland students answered according to three themes. The first had to do with conformity to school rules and regulations (e.g., turning in homework on time, being punctual). The second focused on academic responsibilities (e.g., performing well on tests, reading books at home); and the third related to moral actions (e.g, helpfulness, and especially filial obedience).

Exemplars of bravery, greatness and obedience.

Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, the founder of the Republic of China, was often mentioned as an example of bravery and greatness. The reasons given by the students for selecting Dr. Sun echoed the nationalistic messages found in the *Life and Ethics* textbooks. A typical explanation for this choice was given by Rongkwan, the fourth-grade Paiwan boy:

> Interviewer: Who do you think is a brave person?
> Rongkwan: *Guo-fu* ['The Father of the Republic'].
> Interviewer: Why do you choose him?
> Rongkwan: Because he [Sun Yat-sen] fought for this country against other countries without caring that his life was in danger.

Only one student, Hanwei named Chiang Kai-shek as a model of bravery, and even then, it was because he was associated with Dr. Sun: "[Chiang Kai-shek is brave] because he once saved the 'Father of the Republic'".

Almost half of the students chose family members as brave persons instead of a political figure. This response was given by Yüru:

Interviewer: Who do you think is a brave person?

> Yüru: My father is very brave. He sometimes gets hurt at work, but he never cries. One time a tree fell against his leg and nearly broke it, but he continued to go to the fields every day. Even now you can see the scar.

For their stories about courage, most children reverted to well-known accounts of Chinese national heroes. Again Sun Yat-sen was the most often cited hero. A typical story was the one told by Hanwei about Sun's exploits when China first became a republic. He described Sun's push from the south to defeat the warlords who had taken control of many parts of China. Yüru's story was also about Dr. Sun: "*Guo-fu* knew that our country was being invaded. But he did not want this to happen, so he did not run away and he went to save the country. It made a lot of people worry about him". Both stories were closely related to those found in the moral education textbooks.

Some chose national/historical figures other than Sun Yat-sen. For example, Chiouching's story was about General Tien Tan:

> Tien Tan was a general in the State of Chi when the invaders, the State of Yen, wanted to take Tien Tan's city. The soldiers of Yen were much greater in number than Tien Tan's soldiers, Tien Tan cleverly used the cows in the city to attack the Yen soldiers by setting fire to the cows' tails and tying long knives to their horns. The Yen soldiers were so scared that Tien Tan's soldiers were able to fight them off.

Another informant, Shihyi chose a writer of the Sung Dynasty named Ssu Ma-kuang: "because he wrote the *tzy-chih-tong-jian* (the title of a voluminous chronicle covering over a 1,000 years of Chinese history), he made a big contribution to the country".

Other stories of courage dealt with family members. Yüchin told about his father who once stood between a charging water

buffalo and himself. Wenyian chose to tell a story about her elder sister who put out a fire in the kitchen while their parents were away. Hsioulan recounted a story about her father taking her younger sister to the hospital in the middle of the night.

Stories about obedience focused either on national folklore or personal anecdotes. Examples of the former include Hsioulan's story of Tan-tze:

> Tan-tze was a filial son who looked after his sick mother. The only cure for his mother's sickness was medicine called 'deer's milk'. Tan-tze went into the forest to extract milk from a doe, but he was nearly killed by a hunter. The hunter was moved by Tan-tze's sense of filial responsibility, and so he gave Tan-tze several deer. With these animals, Tan-tze's mother was able to recuperate from her sickness.

Rongkwan recounted the famous story of 'Old Lai':

> A long time ago there lived an old man who was more than seventy years old, but his parents were still alive. The parents were so old that they could not really do much to amuse themselves. To keep them from being bored, the old man dressed himself up as a baby and played tricks in front of them. The parents found this very amusing. They never got tired of seeing their son play the fool. This old man was none other than Old Lai.

Attitudes toward lowland society and ethnic identity.

Most highland children were reluctant to live in the lowlands. Chiouching, for example, stated that the highlands were better because of better environmental conditions:

> In the lowlands there is too much air pollution. It's very noisy, too. You can't get around because the traffic is always bad, and there is garbage all over the place, it smells bad. Whenever I'm in town I feel nervous, like I want to run away to a quiet place.

Shihyi expressed his concerns this way: "I don't want to go to the lowlands because too many things are different between lowlanders

and highlanders--*it's easy for conflicts to arise* [italics added]". Of the twelve respondents, only three wanted to eventually live in the lowlands.

Many students were hesitant to make friends with lowland children, expressing a sense of inferiority vis-à-vis Chinese people. For example, Rongkwan said that: "The others [i.e., lowlander children] don't think I know much about a lot things". Hanwei felt he was not as smart as other Chinese children: "It is not easy for me to find lowland friends because they are very clever and intelligent". Yawang noted that her facility in Chinese was not good enough: "I would need to speak better Chinese before I felt 'safe' talking to lowland children".

The highland students' ambiguous feelings toward the dominant ethnic group was reflected in their sense of ethnic identity. For example, when asked how he would identify himself to a foreigner, Shihyi replied: "I would say that I am an indigenous person but from the country of Taiwan". Slandering either the tribal group or the country would make them angry. But just four of them said that they would be angrier if they heard someone say something bad about the country.

The interview data gathered from the Paiwan and Amei students confirm a high level of congruity between their priorities in values and those found in the established moral education curriculum. Almost invariably the students chose moral themes which had been taught as distinct lesson units in the *Life and Ethics* course. Furthermore, many of the students' stories of courage and obedience

featured Chinese national/historical figures who closely resembled those presented in the *Life and Ethics* texts. Notably, none of the highland children referred to native figures, such as cultural heroes and ancestral founders of villages. It is also noteworthy that the highland students did not perceive any real difference between the school and the home in terms of values, nor could they readily identify sources of moral instruction outside the school.

Although there was a high degree of correspondence between state-sanctioned values and highland student values, the same cannot be said about the students' sentiments toward members of the dominant national ethnic group. Most of the students were disinclined to go live in the lowlands. Several of the children clearly indicated that they felt inferior to the lowland Chinese.

Parents

All of the parents interviewed expressed their hope that their children would go beyond the high school level. Parents also emphasized the importance of the character-building aspect of schooling, for example:

> Interviewer: What should your child learn at school?
> Chiougwang: Of course it is important for her [i.e., Ruolin] to acquire skills and knowledge, but it is just as important to learn how to conduct oneself. What's the use of learning all kinds of facts and ideas if you can't be an upright person?

Similar views were expressed by other parents: "I hope my child can have both, a successful career and good moral character"--Chiangyi; "my children should become persons with exceptional competence and character within the society"--Shenjeng; "the everyday school

subjects need to be complemented by lessons on discernment and rectitude"--Jungren.

In spite of the high hopes they placed in education, the parents spoke of many undesirable changes they observed in their children's behavior and attitudes since attending school. For instance,

> Interviewer: Has going to school changed your child's thinking or behavior?
> Jungren: Yes, I can see how he [his son, Yüchin] has changed over the last couple of years. He's becoming disrespectful, impolite, ill-behaved and arrogant. I know that he's hanging around with kids who have already left school; they're not a good influence. He's not really interested in much of anything at school.

Only two parents had something positive to say on this subject. Chiangyi felt that her daughter had actually become more serious and obedient. Jinchuan thought that his daughter had become more 'sensible'.

The parents were well aware of the social inequalities that existed between themselves and lowlanders. Jinchuan spoke with anger about the social and economic injustices he felt against himself and his people:

> Even if we are different in some ways, we highlanders are still people after all. Sometimes the lowlanders discriminate against the highlanders. They should not treat us this way ... how are we to believe that we too are Chinese?

Most parents recognized that their children would move to the lowlands. For some, this was a source of concern:

> Interviewer: What are your general feelings about lowland society?
> Chiougwang: Lowland society is prosperous and bustling, and you can learn a lot there. On the other hand, the bad aspects are even greater.

Interviewer: What sort of bad aspects?
Chiougwang: People in the lowlands don't have the same regard for the well-being of others. They do what's necessary to make themselves prosper. You never have the chance to know your neighbor ... everyone is so busy outcompeting everyone else. All you hear about the lowlands today is crime and corruption. We have many problems in our village, but I feel the lowland cities are much more dangerous.

Many, like Jungren, were also concerned over the prospect of their children's loss of their ethnic identity: "I hope my own children won't move to live in the city. But if the time comes that this becomes necessary, it is critical that they don't forget their sense of [Paiwan] consciousness".

Community leaders

The two community leaders interviewed were Senyuan and Lianwang. Senyuan is a prominent elderly member of the Ma-Jia Paiwan community. Aged 67 and Christian, he was born and raised within the village community. Lianwang used to live further north near Hualien, as a young boy. He and his family moved to the administrative unit of Feng-Bin shortly after the Japanese returned Taiwan to China. He has remained here ever since. Lianwang is now 73 years old and has been a Christian for over thirty years. As many older tribal members, both Senyuan Lianwang speak Japanese quite well.

Both community leaders agreed that education was very important for the children. Senyuan felt that the most essential thing for the Paiwan children to learn was "how to read and to know how to speak the national language well". To Lianwang, the primary

purpose of education was "to know how to treat people right and to conduct oneself in life".

Both were concerned about the role of schooling in culturally assimilating hill tribe children. Asked whether schooling had changed the highland children's thinking or behavior, Senyuan replied:

> Schooling has strengthened the children's compatibility with the national culture, but Chinese cultural values are sometimes difficult to digest. The Taiwanese and the Hakka--their roots are founded in Han culture, and their population is great. But the hill tribes have no other place to look for their cultural heritage except the highlands. All they have are the 'life ways' of the mountains. Unfortunately, the Chinese values are sometimes unsuitable to our traditional ways.
> Interviewer: In which ways are they unsuitable?
> Senyuan: Chinese education is teaching the children to love the country, but not the community. There are so many problems afflicting this village, such as the turbulent relations among family members, the drinking problems among the youths, the increased incidence of fighting and stealing within the village. It is important to consider community relations--the reciprocal relations--so that the people in the village can still feel that it is important to respect each other in their everyday interactions. These things need to be highlighted in the children's overall schooling experience.

Lianwang was especially critical of the school's neglect of indigenous values:

> Schooling needs to enhance the personal character training of students. Today's education in the public schools focuses too much on academic concerns. It is for passing exams, not for getting along with people. So it is not surprising to see the children looking only at school texts without understanding what this learning means for their lives. Schooling seems to take place without consideration for the local environment. There is the loss of customary morals in this village community. Students are neglecting their culture, there is no place to use the original learning, the children think it is out of fashion ... even the hill tribe teachers don't know the traditional culture.

The elders stressed the need for schooling to foster harmonious social relations within their communities. According to Senyuan, "probity and congeniality are the things today's children have to appreciate. The Paiwan children have to cultivate themselves and practice the [traditional] moral culture". He suggested that: "The parents can help the teachers identify crucial tribal customs and principles which can be used in the school's formal moral curriculum so it can become more responsive to the children's needs".

The community leaders understood the magnitude of the challenge associated with revitalizing their respective communities. They talked about the rapid depopulation of the highlands, and the difficulties that exist in motivating younger people to stay in their native villages. Senyuan was pessimistic about the long term effects of the social changes the highlanders were experiencing:

> Nowadays everything in our village comes from the lowlands--television, videos, telephones, cars, motorcycles ... we have less and less reason to say that we are Amei and not Chinese. There's really not much that we can do, it's changing so fast. How are we supposed to fight back?

Lianwang, though aware of the challenges faced by his village in dealing with the rapid transformations brought on by the national culture, was somewhat more optimistic:

> In the past there was strong pressure to show loyalty to the Chinese [KMT] ... some tribal members saw this as an opportunity to show their patriotism, especially when they went to do their military service. Sometimes the effect was that they showed greater respect for Chinese culture than their own culture. Today the situation is more difficult [ambiguous]. It is a problem to grasp a

> feeling of nationality. The traditional Chinese values are hard to adopt to today's needs. Maybe with the changes younger tribal members can look up to their own background instead of wanting to forget their past.

The attitudes of the community leaders were quite similar to those of the parents. Both bemoaned the loss of indigenous values and the school's role in culturally assimilating highland youths.

Discussion

Students

By comparing the interview data gathered in Taiwan with those of North Thailand, the response patterns found in the Paiwan and Amei groups of student subjects most closely paralleled those found within the Hmong group. Of greatest significance is the fact that their frame of cultural reference mirrored that of their Hmong counterpart. Given that the process of assimilation is well advanced at these two Taiwan highland study sites, Ogbu's (1991, 1993) postulate concerning the connection between involuntary minority status and opposition the dominant group seemed to be confirmed.

Parents and Community Leaders

As for the response data gathered from the parent and community leaders of the Amei and Paiwan study sites, these generally duplicated the oppositional views expressed by the Hmong adults as well. The most conspicuous point of distinction was the fact that the indigenous parents in Taiwan expressed greater resentment toward the dominant group than their Hmong counterpart. Perhaps this was due to a more bitter context of conflict and opposition between the highlanders of Taiwan and the lowland Chinese.

Teachers

Interviews with the teachers revealed similar ethnocentric attitudes among teachers who were members of the dominant group. As such, the Chinese teachers' general outlook on socializing indigenous children was quite similar to their Thai peers. The benefit of having been able to include teachers who were themselves members of the indigenous tribal groups was evident in the contrasting viewpoints they held of education in general and moral education in particular.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation examined the national policies of Thailand and Taiwan toward their highland minority populations. In both countries, a focal concern of these policies is to assimilate the minorities into the national mainstream. In Thailand, the national policy reflects the ruling elite's fear of its highlander population as a threat to national security and local ecology. To minimize this perceived, threat the Thai central government initiated several 'development' projects. For the past three decades the highlanders have been subjected to forced resettlement, crop substitution, Buddhist proselytism, and ideological inculcation.

In Taiwan, the Nationalist policy toward the indigenous hill tribes is based on the principle of *li-fan*, which regards all ethnic minorities as barbarians who need to be brought under the civilizing influence of Han Chinese culture. As enforced by Nationalist authorities over the past forty years, *li-fan* has all but eliminated the use of highland languages, family names, local religion, native attire, and traditional folkways and knowledge.

In both countries highlanders are increasingly disheartened as their traditional values give way to ideals embodied in the dominant society. The social fibre of highland communities is frail, inter-generational relations are fraught with strife, and the overall moral climate is dissolute. Other social consequences of assimilation include rapid depopulation, ethnic exogamy,

increased financial indebtedness and the commercialization of tribal culture. In short, assimilation has not improved the lot of the highlanders in either country. Their situation is more precarious today than ever.

Moral education is an important tool for the absorbtion of younger generations of highlanders into the national fold. Moral education in the public primary schools of Thailand and Taiwan's highlands follows national guidelines which assure that the children are politically socialized to esteem national figures, to obey rules and regulations, and aspire to identify themselves as members of the national polity with a common history and cultural heritage. As highland students are exposed to the national culture, they perceive less difference between home- and school-taught values. They are less able to identify sources of moral instruction outside the school context, and become less interested in traditional customs and mores.

However, the highland children who were the most exposed to the national culture were also the ones to regard the dominant ethnic group with the least affinity. This was most evident between the Hmong students of North Thailand and the Amei and Paiwan students of Taiwan. Undoubtedly, such feelings towards members of the national culture run directly counter to the political socialization envisioned by the ruling elites of Thailand and Taiwan.

One explanation is that in both countries the assimilative ideological values expounded in the highland public schools are

offset by greater direct and indirect experiences of ethnic antagonism between the indigenous children and members of the dominant ethnic group, leading to feelings of discrimination against the former by the latter. Thus, the highlander children, rather than gaining a sense of belonging to the national culture, feel they are being excluded from the dominant cultural mainstream. They have a heightened sense of marginality, are reluctant to identify with the dominant society, and assume a defiant attitude toward those who have forced assimilation upon them. Such an explanation would concur with Ogbu's (1991, 1993) description of the oppositional cultural frame of reference and identity associated with involuntary minorities.

A major theme of this dissertation has been that the political socialization occurring in the state primary schools serving indigenous tribal children in Thailand and Taiwan is contributing to an involuntary minority orientation toward the dominant national society. As such, the students adopt oppositional attitudes toward members of the dominant group. Moreover, adult members of indigenous tribal communities, perceiving the assimilative preoccupation of public education, are concerned about the cultural survival of their own society and its value system. Thus they too tend to regard members of the dominant group and the schools they control with mistrust.

Findings of this kind have important implications. First of all, it implies the need for the central governments of Thailand and Taiwan to update their educational policies. Crucial to this

process is rethinking the fundamental relationship that exists between dominant and minority groups. As Gibson (1991, p.374) argues:

> An educational policy of assimilation, whether explicit or implicit, coercive or benign, stems in part at least from the assumption that minority students need to change their ways if they wish to be successful in school. Such an assumption is unfounded.

Following Gibson's suggestion, a more viable educational policy is one that sustains and promotes multiculturalism. In terms of political socialization, a strong policy of multiculturalism would communicate to indigenous students that they not change their culture or abandon their sense of tribal identity. Rather they can find strength within their families and communities, "Community forces play an essential role in the school adaptations of minority children, and schools must give greater attention to building strong, collaborative relations with minority communities" (p. 375).

As was determined in the introductory section of this dissertation, the role of the teacher as an agent of socialization is essential for students at the primary level. Accordingly, teachers, particularly those who are members of the dominant group, need to demonstrate to their students that multiculturalism is an *interethnic reciprocal process of learning*. Furthermore, it would be important to increase the number of indigenous teachers serving the highland student populations. Doing so would require important policy changes in teacher education programs and curriculum development of both countries.

The central governments of Thailand and Taiwan have invested considerable resources in trying to absorb highlander minorities. Highlander antipathy toward the national culture has already had consequential political implications in Taiwan. So far, the highlander movement in Thailand has not had the same profound political ramifications as in Taiwan, but it would be wise for the Thai ruling elite to take heed. Only very recently have some political leaders in Thailand and Taiwan come to regard ethnic diversity as a national asset.

The present research points to a need for greater investigation of the development of cultural frames of reference among indigenous involuntary minority students in such countries as Thailand and Taiwan. This study focused on issues of political socialization at the primary level, but research needs to be extended to the higher levels of schooling when students become even more sensitive to issues of ethnic identity, alienation, and the development of an identity system. Moreover, greater cross-cultural educational research of neighboring Asian states that also have involuntary (indigenous) minorities is needed, such as the Philippines, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, Burma, India, and China.

Finally, cross-cultural research conducted within Asia needs to be more closely linked with the research conducted in North America. Important knowledge and experience concerning the issues discussed in this dissertation should be more freely exchanged between educators serving involuntary minorities. Regardless of the national setting, today's educational system must value the

ethnic and cultural background of all students and demonstrate that the school can be responsive to the needs of a multiethnic global society.

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APPENDIX I

Declarations of principles adopted at the fourth General Assembly of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, September 1984:

Principle 1. All indigenous peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of this right they may freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, religious and cultural development.

Principle 2. All States within which an indigenous people lives shall recognize the population, territory and institutions of the indigenous people.

Principle 3. The cultures of the indigenous peoples are part of the cultural heritage of mankind.

Principle 4. The traditions and customs of indigenous peoples must be respected by the States, and recognized as a fundamental source of law.

Principle 5. All indigenous peoples have the right to determine the person or group of persons who are included within its population.

Principle 6. each indigenous people has the right to determine the from, structure and authority of its institutions.

Principle 7. The institutions of indigenous peoples and their decisions, like those of States, must be in conformity with internationally accepted human rights, both collective and individual.

Principle 8. Indigenous peoples and their members are entitled to participate in the political life of the State.

Principle 9. Indigenous people shall have exclusive rights to their traditional land and its resources; where the lands and resources of the indigenous peoples have been taken away without their free and informed consent such lands and resources shall be returned.

Principle 10. The land rights of an indigenous people include surface and subsurface rights, full rights to interior and costal waters and rights to adequate and exclusive coastal economic zones within the limits of international law.

Principle 11. All indigenous peoples may, for their own needs, freely use their natural wealth and resources in accordance with Principles 9 and 10.

Principle 12. No action or course of conduct may be undertaken which, directly or indirectly, may result in the destruction of land, air, water, sea ice, wildlife, habitat or natural resources without the free and informed consent of the indigenous peoples affected.

Principle 13. The original rights to their material culture, including archaeological sites, artifacts, designs, technology and works of art, lie with the indigenous people.

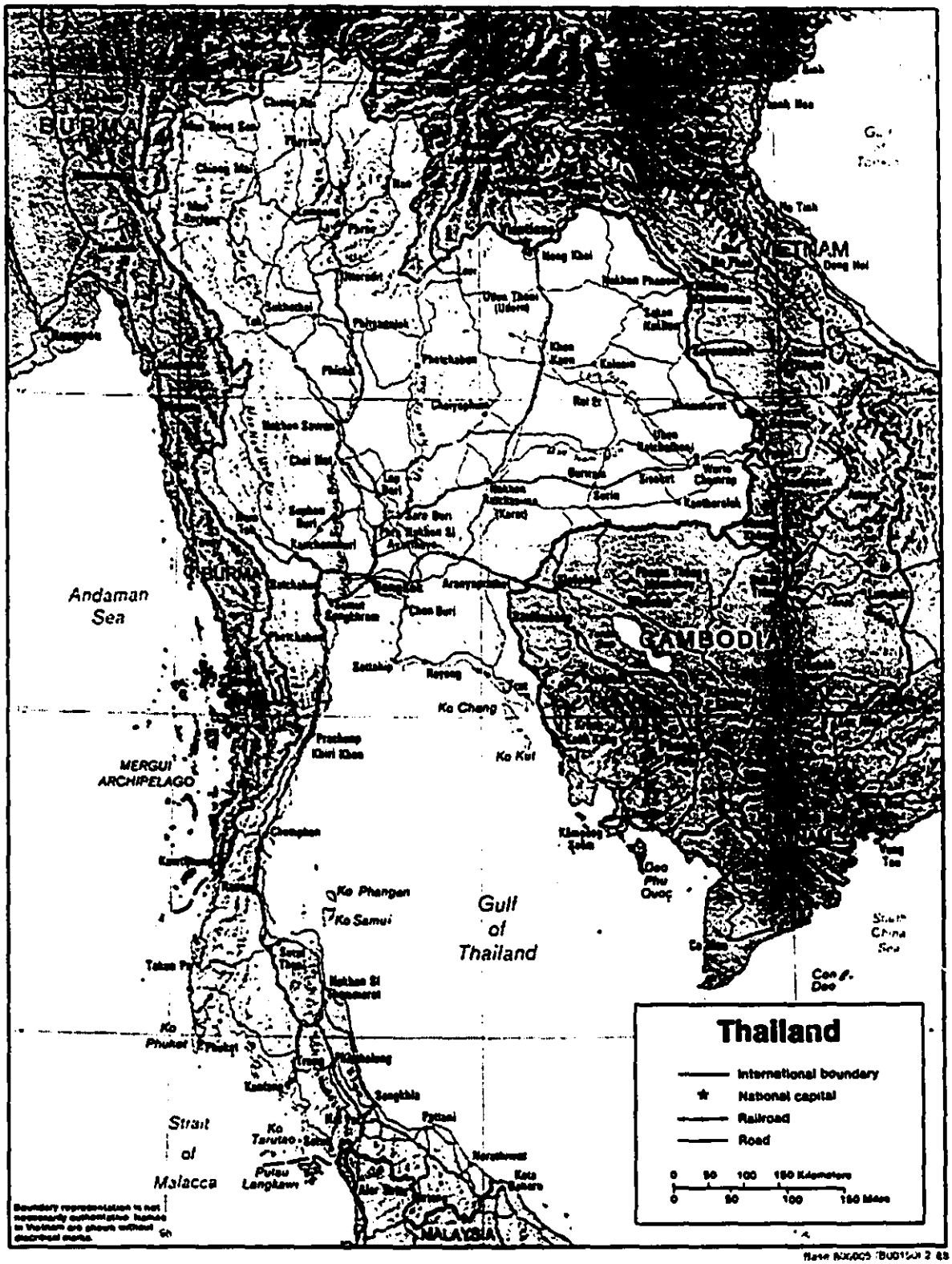
Principle 14. the indigenous peoples have the right to receive education in their own language or to establish their own educational institutions. The languages of the indigenous peoples are to be respected by the States in all dealings between the indigenous people and the State on the basis of equality and non-discrimination.

Principle 15. Indigenous peoples have the right, in accordance with their traditions, to move and conduct traditional activities and maintain friendship relations across international boundaries.

Principle 16. the indigenous peoples and their authorities have the right to be previously consulted and to authorize the realization of all technological and scientific investigations to be conducted within their territories and to have full access to the results of the investigation.

Principle 17. Treaties between indigenous nations or peoples and representatives of States freely entered into, shall be given full effect under national and international law.

APPENDIX II


BURMA
VIETNAM
CAMBODIA
MALAYSIA
Andaman Sea
Gulf of Thailand
MERGUI ARCHIPELAGO
Ko Chang
Ko Kut
Ko Phangan
Ko Samui
Ko Phuket
Ko Tarutao
Pulau Langkawi
Strait of Malacca
Thailand
International boundary
National capital
Railroad
Road
0 50 100 150 Kilometers
0 50 100 150 Miles

APPENDIX III

Thailand

Specific Objectives of Moral Education at the Primary Level

1. The students should be able to control themselves, physically, verbally and emotionally, and show good manners in social interaction. They should act for the benefit of others and society.
2. The students should be responsible for their deeds at all times.

The topics that are identified for moral education are as follows:

1. Do not kill.
2. Express love and compassion to all living things.
3. Do not steal and do not be greedy.
4. Be charitable and generous.
5. Do not infringe on the rights of others.
6. Be satisfied with what you have.
7. Do not lie or speak impolitely.
8. Show your sincerity towards others.
9. Do not take any addictive drugs.
10. Be mindful of others and have a clear conscience.
11. Be reasonable.
12. Be fearful of bad deeds.
13. Be diligent.
14. Be patient.
15. Have moral courage and self-confidence.
16. Be thankful for the favors you received and reciprocate them.
17. Be honest.
18. Keep your mind clear of bad thoughts.
19. Do not be selfish.
20. Be neat and thorough.
21. Be responsible.
22. Be fair and just.
23. Be disciplined and punctual.
24. Be responsive to change.
25. Uphold good manners and good habits.
26. Uphold social etiquette.
27. Live harmoniously with others.
28. Uphold Thai culture and tradition.
29. Be loyal to the nation, religion, and the King.
30. Be willing to correct and improve your moral conduct.

APPENDIX IV

Thailand

General Objectives of Primary Education

a) Acquire the ability to perform selected moral actions such as charity, self-discipline, diligence, honesty, kindliness, rationality, patience, sportsmanship, and cooperation.

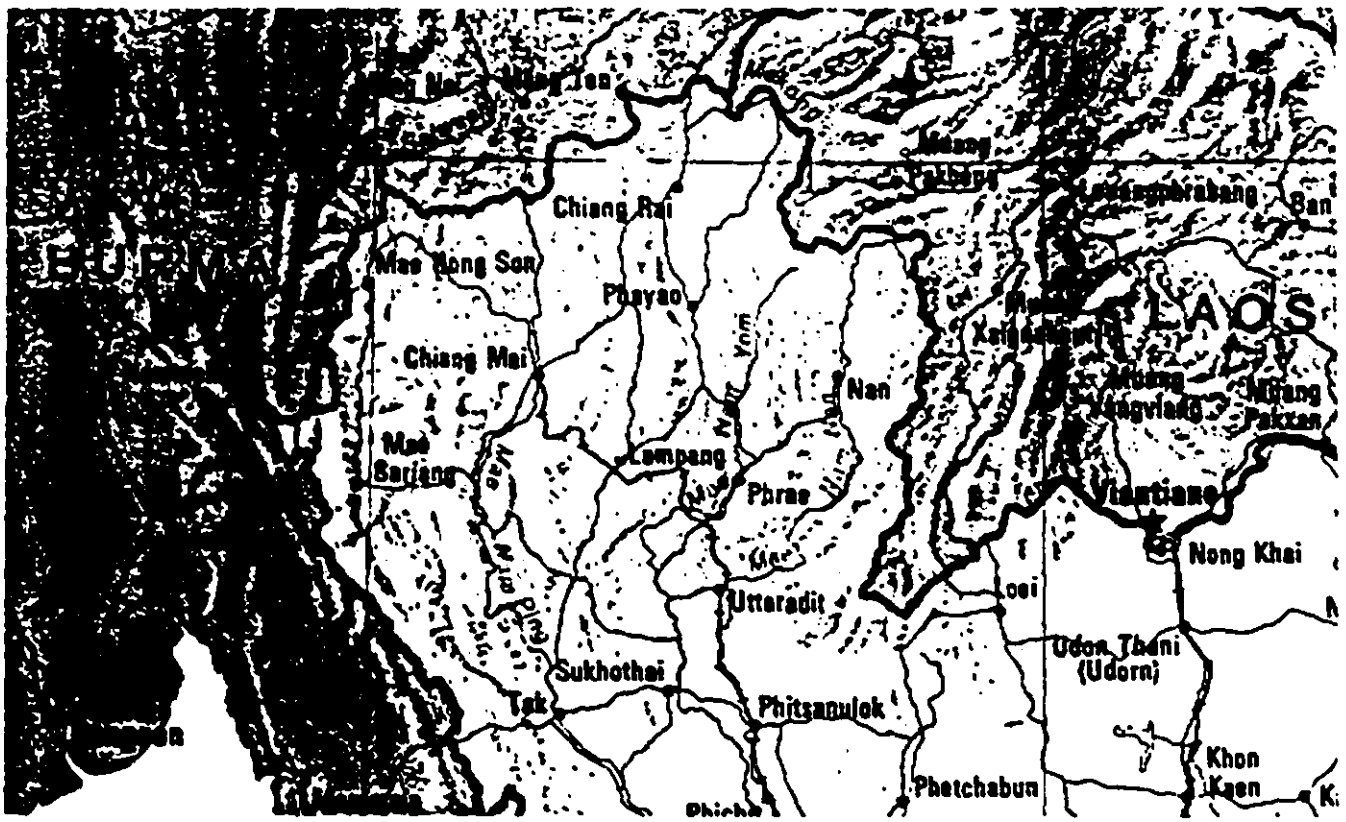
b) Acquire the basic skills necessary for daily life, such as language skills, mathematical skills, scientific skills, economical skills, physical and mental health habits, and basic working skills.

c) Learn to maintain a peaceful life by adapting to social and environmental changes, maintaining faithfulness to one's religion, and nuturing the ability to solve one's problems.

d) Become a good member of the society and nation by fulfilling one's duties, respecting the Thai culture, and being faithful to democracy.

APPENDIX V

Map of North Thailand



Appendix VI

INTERVIEW ITEMS FOR PRIMARY STUDENTS (LOWLAND)

School: _____

Status: Male _____ Female _____ Age _____ Grade Year _____

Parents' Occupation: Father _____ Mother _____

Religion: _____

Interview Items for Primary Students:

1. How do you feel about going to school?
2. Do you like your teacher?
3. Is your teacher strict?
4. Is your teacher fair?
5. What sort of moral virtues can you learn at school? Which do you think are the most important?
6. Do you think your teacher serves as a good example of the moral virtues he/she teaches you?
7. Are the virtues you learn at school different from those you learn at home?
8. Do you think you can learn important moral values from other people in your community?
9. What is the best way for you to show that you are a good boy/girl?
10. What would you like to do in the future?
11. Who do you think is a brave person? Why?
12. Who do you think is a great person? Why?
13. Can you tell me a story about courage?
14. Can you tell me a story about obedience?

Appendix VII

INTERVIEW ITEMS FOR PRIMARY INDIGENOUS STUDENTS

School: _____

Status: Male _____ Female _____ Age _____ Grade Year _____

Parents' Occupation: Father _____ Mother _____

Religion: _____

Interview Items for Primary Students:

1. How do you feel about going to school?
2. Do you like your teacher?
3. Is your teacher strict?
4. Is your teacher fair?
5. Do you think your teacher serves as a good example of the moral virtues he/she teaches you?
6. What sort of moral virtues can you learn at school? Which do you think are the most important?
7. Are the virtues you learn at school different from those you learn at home?
8. Do you think you can learn important moral values from other people in your village?
9. What is the best way for you to show that you are a good boy/girl?
10. Who do you think is a brave person? Why?
11. Who do you think is a great person? Why?
12. Can you tell me a story about courage?
13. Can you tell me a story about obedience?
14. What would you like to do in the future?
15. Would you like to live in the lowlands? Please explain.
16. Do you think you are equal to lowland people? Please explain.
17. Do you want to be friends with lowland children? Please explain.
18. Do you think lowland children want to be friends with you? Please explain.
19. If a foreigner asks you who you are, which do you think is most important to say, the hill tribe to which you belong or the country in which you live?
20. Which do you think would make you angrier, someone saying something bad about your tribe, or someone saying something bad about the country in which you live in? Why?

Appendix VIII

INTERVIEW ITEMS FOR INDIGENOUS PARENTS

Status: Father _____ Mother _____

Occupation _____ Religion _____

Level of Schooling _____

Interview Items for Parents:

1. Do you think it is important for your child to get an education?
2. Are you satisfied with the education your child is receiving now?
3. What is your impression of the teacher(s)?
4. What level of schooling do you want for your child?
5. What sort of future do you want for your child?
6. Do you think your children like going to school?
7. Do you participate in school-related activities?
8. What should your children learn at school?
9. How should children show respect to their teachers?
10. Can the children learn morality from anyone else in the community? If so, who?
11. Is the knowledge the children gain from school different from that of the home and community? In what ways?
12. Has going to school changed your child's thinking or behavior?
13. Do you think your child is interested in local culture and values?
14. What are your general feelings about lowland society?
15. Are you willing to see your child go to the lowlands to further their education?
16. How would you feel if your child went to live in the lowlands?

Appendix IX

INTERVIEW ITEMS FOR COMMUNITY LEADERS

Status: Male _____ Female _____ Age _____ Religion _____

Interview Items for the Community Leader(s):

1. Is it important for the children in this community to get an education?
2. What is the most important thing students should learn from school?
3. What is your opinion about the education these children are receiving?
4. Has schooling changed the children's thinking or behavior?
5. Do you think the schooling experience is strengthening or weakening the children's ties to their families? To the community? To mainstream society?
6. Do you think the children can remain in the highlands once they complete their education?
7. Should the school be an important source of moral learning?
8. Are the moral values taught at school different from the traditional values taught in the community?
9. Is the present teacher(s) acting as a good moral model for the children?
10 What do you think are the most important values that should be taught to the children?
11. Would you make any recommendations regarding the moral education the children are presently receiving?
12. Is the community involved in school matters?
13. Do you think it is possible for the community and the school to share in moral education?
14. Do you think today's highland children are identifying more closely with mainstream moral values than traditional hill tribe values?
15. Do you think today's highland children are interested in traditional culture and values?
16. Do you feel any responsibility in trying to teach traditional moral values to the children? If so, how?
17. Do the children respect the village elders? Do the children listen to them?
18. Are there any other sources of influence that are affecting the children's learning of moral values?
19. What do you think the present moral education program is doing to the children's sense of cultural identity?
20. Should the children have a greater sense of loyalty toward the tribal community or the government?

Appendix X

INTERVIEW ITEMS FOR TEACHERS

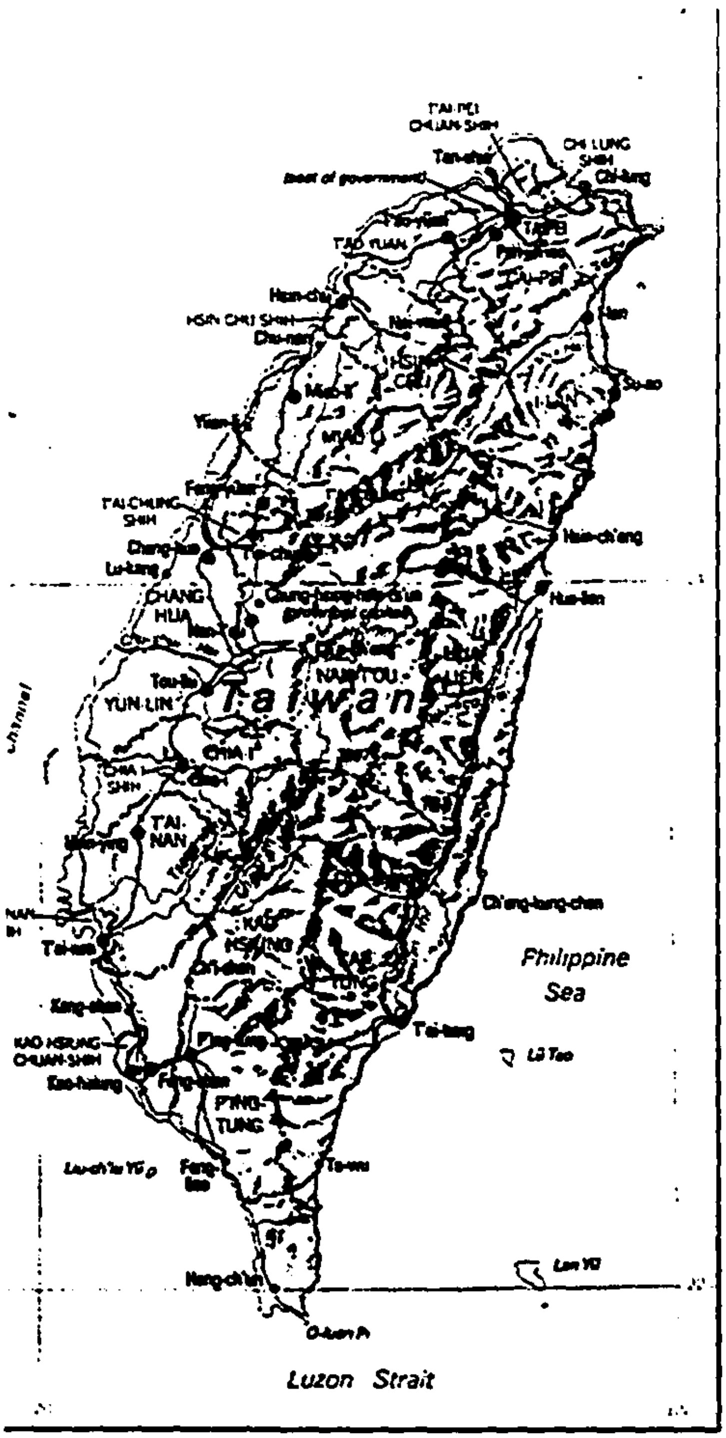
Status: Male _____ Female _____ Age _____ Ethnic Status _____

Grade Level _____ Years at Target School _____

Interview Items for Teachers and Principals:

1. Do you feel that moral education is an important part of a teacher's professional responsibilities?
2. How do you feel about the teaching of moral values to hill tribe children?
3. Are there any particular problems associated with teaching moral education to this group of children?
4. What do you consider to be the most important moral value for these students to learn?
5. Do you think the moral values taught at school differ from the traditional values the children learn at home or in the community?
6. Do you think the moral values taught at school are having an impact on the students?
7. Do you think that such values as patriotism, nationalism, and respect for central authority are being effectively taught to the students?
8. Do you believe that you are having some sort of moral influence on the students' thinking and behavior? If so, in which ways?
9. Do you feel that the moral curriculum is properly preparing the students to become good citizens?
10. Do you think the present moral curriculum is properly preparing the students to adopt to mainstream society?
11. Do you think the school has the most important influence on the students' knowledge about mainstream society? About the government?
12. Are there any other sources of information from mainstream society that is influencing the students perception of mainstream society and the government?
13. Would you like to see any changes made to the present moral curriculum?
14. Do you think that in everyday terms, the students are applying the moral lessons they learned at school? If so, in what ways?
15. What do you think the present moral education program is doing to the students' perception of their own culture and its traditional values?
16. Which is more important for these children to learn, local traditional values or those taught in the school curriculum?

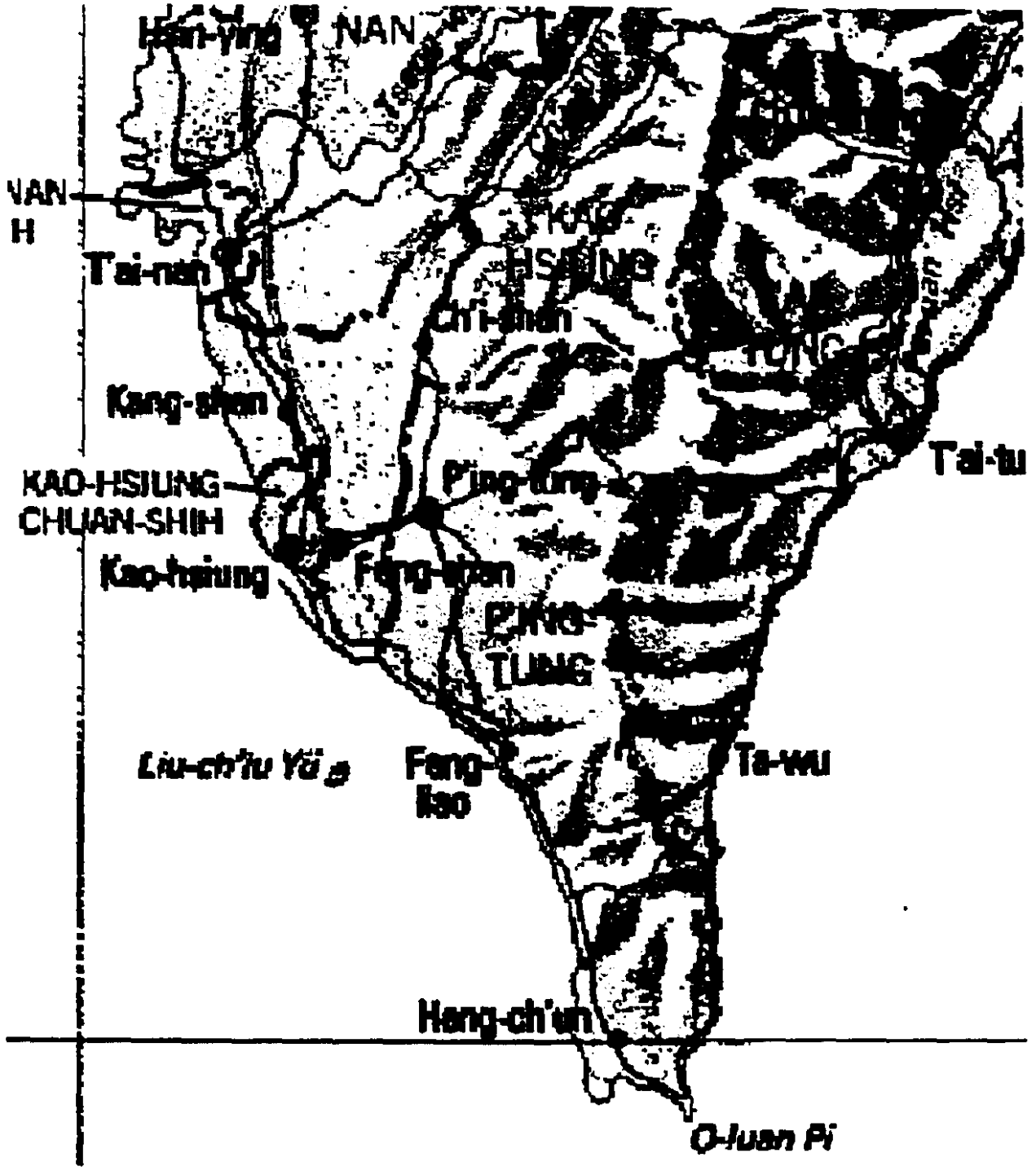
APPENDIX XI



T'AI-PEI CHUAN-SHIH
CHI-LUNG SHIH
T'AO-YUAN
HSIN-CHU SHIH
T'AI-CHUNG SHIH
CHANG HUA
YUN-LIN
NAN-TOU
Taiwan
CHIA-I
T'AI-NAN
KAO-HSIUNG CHUAN-SHIH
PING-TUNG
Hua-lien
Hsin-ch'eng
Philippine Sea
Luzon Strait

APPENDIX XII

Map of Taiwan--Southern Tip



APPENDIX XIII

Map of Taiwan--East Coast