

Migration and Settlement of Tai Kheun Ethnic Groups in Thailand*

การเคลื่อนย้ายและการตั้งถิ่นฐานของกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ไทเขินในประเทศไทย

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Abstract

This report is intended to study the migration and settlement of the Tai Kheun ethnic groups in Thailand. The tools which are used in this study are the observation, In-depth interviews and a group discussion. The main informants are village headmen, monks, teachers, sophists, villagers, village leaders, elderly and / or academic scholars in Wat Nantharam community, Wat Takradas community, Wat Simaram community, Baan Ton Haen Noi community and Wat Chaya Lang Ka community. A data collection is divided into 3 parts which are 1) the documents and related researches 2) field data collection and 3) content inspection which are analyzing data by using a content analysis to separate issues and to split into categories. The study found that there are 5 main Tai Kheun's migration paths which are 1) from Chiang Tung town pass through Chiang Dao town to Chiang Mai town 2) from Chiang Tung town pass through Saad town and Fang town to Chiang Mai town 3) from Sib Song Punna town pass through Chiang Tung town, Saad town, Viang Pha Pao town, Doi Saket district to San Kamphang district 4) from Chiang Tung town pass through Saad town, Chiang Mai town to Sanpatong district 5) from Chiangtung town pass through Tachileik town to Doi Saket district by dividing the migration into 2 times. The first period of immigrating to Chiang Mai town is before B.E. 2348 to look for a trade and new lands. The second period of immigrating is in the Keb Puk Sai Sa Keb Pha Sai Muang era to reconstruct Chiang Mai town. During those 2 migrations, most of the migrants are moving from a city to a rural area because Chiang Mai is a deserted town at that time. According to the migration of Tai Kheun's settlement, the community is located in different areas both in lowlands and nearby water sources to use the

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เพื่อศึกษาการเคลื่อนย้ายของกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ไทเขินในประเทศไทย และเพื่อศึกษาการตั้งถิ่นฐานของกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ไทเขินในประเทศไทย

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water for agriculture. The forms of settlement are in distributed and semi patterns. When there is more flourishing, the agricultural areas are decreasing accordingly. The increasing of dwellings and commercial businesses are affected the migration of Tai Kheun's settlement to be in a cluster settlement.

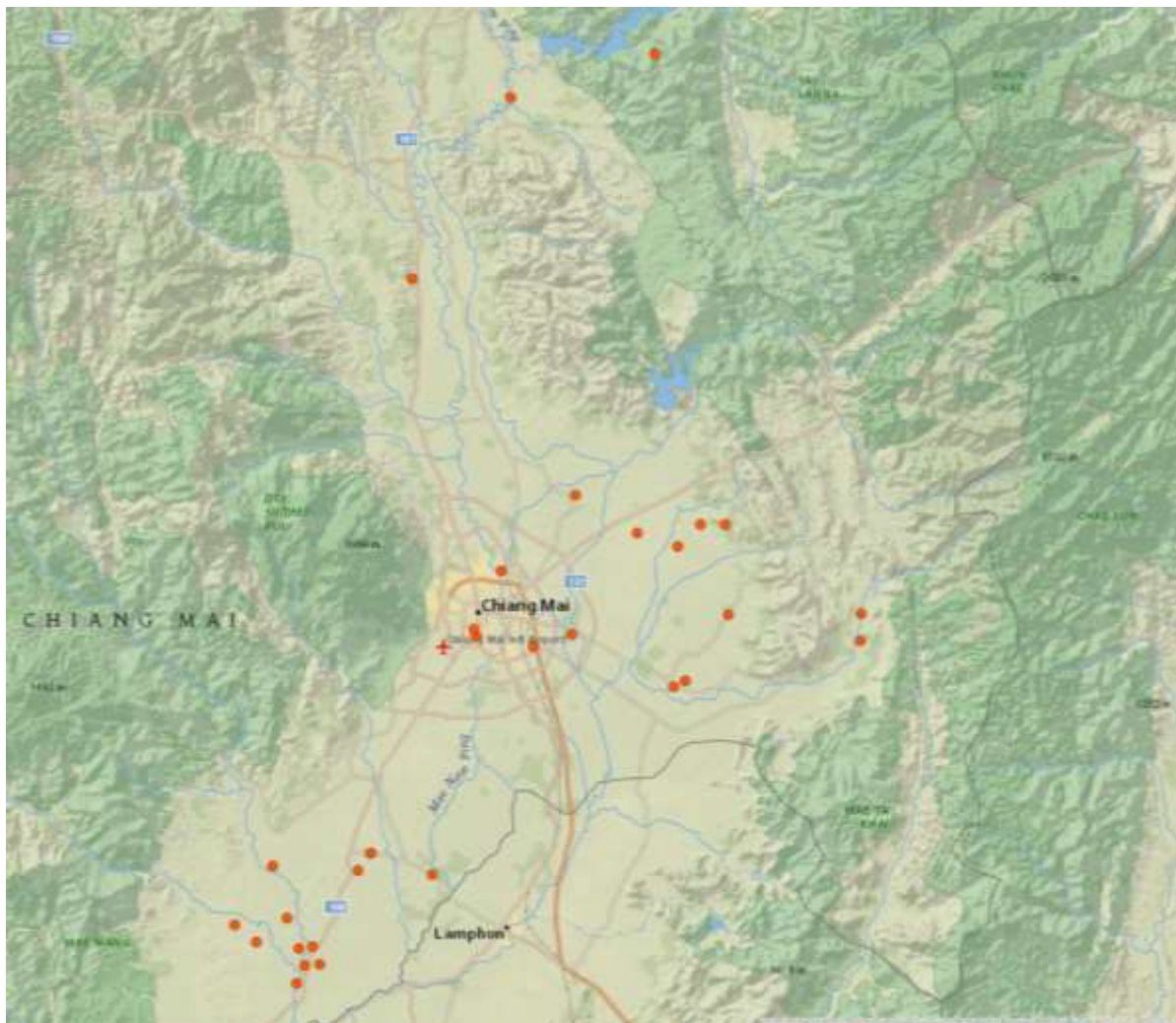
บทคัดย่อ

รายงานนี้มีจุดประสงค์เพื่อศึกษาการเคลื่อนย้ายและการตั้งถิ่นฐานของกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ไทขิ่นในประเทศไทย เครื่องมือที่ใช้ ได้แก่ แบบสังเกต การสัมภาษณ์เชิงลึก และการสนทนากลุ่ม ผู้ให้ข้อมูลหลักประกอบด้วย ผู้ใหญ่บ้าน กำนัน พระสงฆ์ ครู ประชาชนชาวบ้าน ผู้นำกลุ่มในชุมชน ผู้สูงอายุและ/หรือนักวิชาการ ชุมชนที่ศึกษา ได้แก่ ชุมชนวัดนันทาราม ชุมชนวัดท่ากระตาศ ชุมชนวัดสีมาราม ชุมชนบ้านต้นแห่น้อย และชุมชนวัดขยาลังการ การเก็บรวบรวมข้อมูลแบ่งเป็น 3 ระยะ คือ 1) การศึกษาเอกสารและงานวิจัยที่เกี่ยวข้อง 2) การเก็บรวบรวมข้อมูลภาคสนาม และ 3) การตรวจสอบเนื้อหา วิเคราะห์ข้อมูลโดยใช้ Content analysis แยกประเด็นแล้วสรุปเป็นหมวดหมู่ ผลการศึกษาพบว่า ชาวไทขิ่นมีเส้นทางการอพยพเคลื่อนย้าย 5 เส้นทางหลัก คือ 1) จากเมืองเชียงตุง ผ่านเมืองเชียงดาว สู่มืองเชียงใหม่ 2) จากเมืองเชียงตุง ผ่านเมืองสาด ผ่านเมืองฝาง สู่มืองเชียงใหม่ 3) จากเมืองสิบสองปันนา ผ่านเมืองเชียงตุง ผ่านเมืองสาด ผ่านเวียงป่าเป้า ผ่านอำเภอดอยสะเก็ด สู่อำเภอสันกำแพง 4) จากเชียงตุง ผ่านเมืองสาด ผ่านเมืองเชียงใหม่ สู่อำเภอสันป่าตอง 5) จากเมืองเชียงตุง ผ่านเมืองท่าขี้เหล็ก สู่อำเภอดอยสะเก็ด โดยแบ่งการอพยพเป็นสองระลอก ระลอกแรกที่อพยพมาเมืองเชียงใหม่เข้ามาก่อน พ.ศ. 2348 เพื่อการค้าขายและหาที่อยู่ใหม่ ระลอกสอง อพยพมาช่วงยุคเก็บผักใส่ซ้า เก็บข้าวใส่เมืองเพื่อฟื้นฟูบูรณะเมืองเชียงใหม่ การอพยพทั้งสองช่วงนั้นส่วนใหญ่เป็นลักษณะการย้ายถิ่นแบบเมืองสู่ชนบท เนื่องจากเชียงใหม่ในขณะนั้นเป็นเมืองร้าง สำหรับการตั้งถิ่นฐานในช่วงแรกของอพยพ ชาวไทขิ่นได้ตั้งชุมชนในพื้นที่ต่าง ๆ บริเวณที่ราบลุ่ม หรือใกล้แหล่งน้ำ เพื่อใช้น้ำสำหรับการเกษตรกรรม รูปแบบการตั้งถิ่นฐานเป็นแบบกระจายและแบบกึ่งรวมกลุ่ม ภายหลังเมื่อมีความเจริญขึ้น พื้นที่การทำเกษตรกรรมลดลง มีอาคารบ้านเรือนและแหล่งธุรกิจการค้าต่าง ๆ มากขึ้น รูปแบบการตั้งถิ่นฐานของชาวไทขิ่นส่วนใหญ่กลายเป็นแบบรวมกลุ่ม

Background and Signification

Tai Kheun is one of the Tai ethnic which is settled down in the north of the boundaries of Thailand in Chiangtung (Kengtung) region, Burma. The capital city of this region is called Muang Chiang Tung. The word "Chiangtung " comes from the name of a huge pond in the center of the town which is known as Nong Tung. As in the legend, there is a big flooding in Nong Tung in the primitive age and it has been abundantly affected the villagers. They could not live there anymore. There is one anchorite called Tung Kha Reu Si using his supernatural cane by drawing the ground to be river drainage and let it flow back from Nong Tung to the North then slowly flow to the South which has been named as Mae Nam Kheun. The reason why it is called Kheun because every major rivers such as Mae Khong river,

Mae Ping river and Mae Khung river in Southeast Asia always flow to the South while only one river in Chiangtung is flowing backward to the North which is Mae Nam Kheun river. Therefore, the people who live along Mae Nam Kheun River have been called as "Chao Kheun". As in Central Thai accent, it becomes "Chao Khein" (Thavee Sawangpunyangkul, 2527). Currently, Tai Kheun people have been scattering settled down several provinces in the North of Thailand for example Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Lamphun, Phayao, Nan and Mae Hong Sorn. They have immigrated to those areas several times since their ancients especially in the Keb Puk Sai Sa Keb Pha Sai Muang era to herd and evacuate Tai Kheun people to rehabilitate Chiang Mai town.



Source: Google Earth and the analysis of spatial data from the documents and the interviews of several Tai Kheun's communities.

Figure 1 Tai Kheun Ethnic Group in Chiang Mai

Tai Kheun people have their own way of living and a unique culture which are a tradition, a language and etc. Buddhism has been really affected their culture, belief and Tai Kheun's rites (Rector Arnon Artidatthammo 2541). Since Tai Kheun has immigrated to settle down as a community in several areas in Thailand and get through all the period of changing politics, society and economics, these are influenced Tai Kheun ethnic groups changing their way of living to learn how to live with others' ethnics as well. For example, Tai Yuen ethnic group is used to be the landlords, Tai Yhong and Tai Lue ethnic group could live peacefully among these changing periods. Since Thailand has become a part of ASEAN community in B.E. 2558, the study of the migration and settlement of Tai Kheun ethnic group becomes more important to encourage learning more about the history of ethnics' groups in Lanna. These will be the ways to empower Tai ethnic groups to be more encouraged to preserve their culture and their rites along the developing community. Moreover, there will also have books or online advertisements to broadcast their knowledge and tourism.

Scope of Research

The content is focusing on the migration and settlement of Tai Kheun ethnic group in Thailand. The research area is in Chiang Mai province. Since this area has the most numerous number of Tai Kheun ethnic group in Thailand and there are several sub-groups, community or village which has demonstrated the outstanding Tai Kheun's way of life or even be more well-known in the society. The communities which have studied are Wat Nantharam community, Wat Takradas community, Wat Simaram community [Baan Mon], Baan Ton Haen Noi community and Wat Chaya Lang Ka community [Baan Pa Pong].

Theories and Literature Reviews

This research has been studied the content, documents, the concepts of Tai Kheun ethnic group from the documents of Anatol Roger Peltiyer (2531, 2536) Saravadee AngSaKul (2534) The study of the migration concepts from the documents of BoonKhung HanJangSitthi (2540) Harris and Sabot (1982) and Suthinee Dontree (2548) The study of the settlement concepts from the documents of Jordan and Rowntree (1990) Chatchai Pongprayoon (2536) Somsak Srisantisuk (2536) and Suthinee Dontree (2548)

For the related literature reviews, the study of Nontawan Sanphai (2554) has studied the migration, settlement and the changing of Dara Ang lifestyles in Economics issues in Chiang Dao district, Chiang Mai province, the study of Savang Malasam (2538) in the topic of the history of the migration and settlement of Yhong people in Lamphun town (In the year of

2348-2445) and a study of Mongkon Phanommit (2551) in the topic of the maintaining identity of minority communities in the North.

Methods

The key informants are including with the ones who are cultivated and well understand Tai Kheun ethnic group both inside and outside the communities such as community leaders (Village head, village elders, monks or teachers) scholars, academician or students.

The research tools are the observation, in-depth interviews and group discussions.

The data collecting is divided into 3 periods as the following;

The first period: Studying the documents and related researches to understand Tai Kheun's ethnic group migration and the concepts and theories of creating a preliminary research framework

The second period: Collecting field data to study a scope of the research and a framework by doing a clarified meeting, observation, depth-interviews, group discussions, note-takings and monitoring data.

The third period: Monitoring the data by providing the collecting data and the first and second period analysis to the specialists of the migration of Tai Kheun's ethnic group to examine in the seminar.

Data Analysis

1. The data analysis in the first period is a content analysis by dividing into the categories

2. The data analysis in the second period is to analyze all of the field data, divide into the categories, summarize the data and give it to the specialists to examine and get more recommendations onwards.

3. The spatial data is analyzed by setting up a database system to distribute a map in the Geographic Information System: GIS.

Results of the research

The Migration

Tai Kheun is one of Tai tribe in the Tai – Kadai Language Family (Teeraphap Lohidkul, 2538) which is settled down in the north of the boundaries of Thailand in Chiangtung region, Burma. Tai Kheun has been migrated to Chiang Mai in the Keb Puk Sai Sa Keb Pha Sai Muang era to do the trading and look for new lands. Most of the ones who immigrate in the Keb Puk

Sai Sa Keb Pha Sai Muang era have been assisted to reconstruct Chiang Mai town. For both of the emigrations, the migrants are mostly moving from a city to a rural area because Chiang Mai is a deserted town at that time. They are using both by land and waterways migrating to Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai which is currently divided into the main routes as the followings;

Route 1 is from Chiangtung town pass through Chiang Dao town to Chiang Mai town [Wat Nantharam community].

Route 2 is from Chiangtung town pass through Saad town and Fang town to Chiang Mai town in Baan Ta Pu Hreung [Wat Takradas community].

Route 3 is from Sib Song Punna town pass through Chiangtung town, Saad town, Viang Pha Pao town, Doi Saket district to Baan Mon in San Kamphang district [Wat Simaram community].

Route 4 is from Chiangtung town pass through Saad town, Chiang Mai town through Khan River to Ta Vang Phraw in Sanpatong district [BaanTon Haen Noi community].

Route 5 is from Chiangtung town pass through Tachileik town to Baan Pa Phong in Doi Saket district [Wat Chaya LangKa community].



Source: Google Earth and the analysis of spatial data from the documents and the interviews of several Tai Kheun's communities.

Figure 2 Routes of Tai Kheun's Migration

The Settlement

According to the migration of Tai Kheun's settlement, the community is located in different areas both in lowlands and nearby water sources to use the water for agriculture. The forms of settlement are in distributed and semi patterns. When there is more flourishing, the agricultural areas are decreasing accordingly. The increasing of dwellings and commercial businesses are affected the migration of Tai Kheun's settlement to form the settlement pattern as followed;

1. The cluster settlement pattern is to locate the houses next to each other which performed the high the density village plan that located.



Figure 3 Cluster Settlement Pattern

2. The semi- cluster settlement pattern is to establish a small village which lower density, house is separated from the agricultural areas.

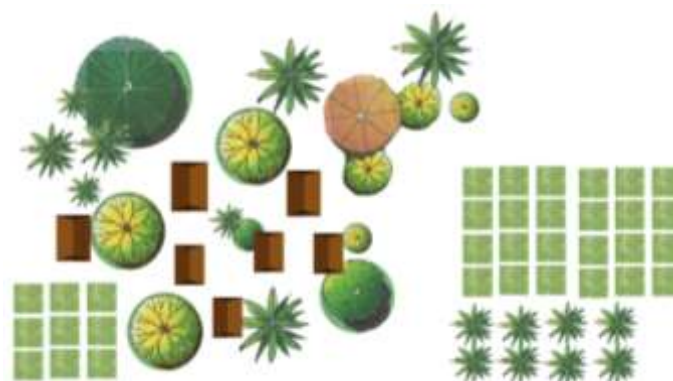


Figure 4 Semi-Cluster Settlement Pattern

3. The scattered settlement pattern is to separately construct the houses in each own agricultural areas so the house is isolated from others.

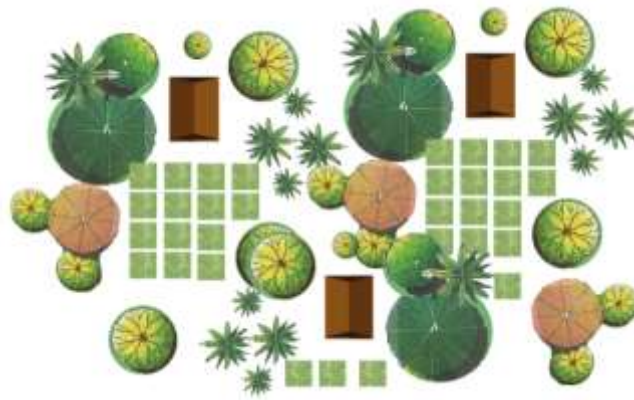


Figure 5 Scattered Settlement Pattern



Source: Google Earth and the analysis of spatial data from the documents and the interviews of several Tai Kheun's communities.

Figure 6 Wat Nantharam Community Areas



Source: Google Earth and the analysis of spatial data from the documents and the interviews of several Tai Kheun's communities.

Figure 7 Wat Takradas Community Areas

Discussions

The study results found that Tai Kheun has been migrated from Chiang Tung town, Burma to Chiang Mai town by immigrating from the war in Burma and has been herded to reconstruct Chiang Mai town and live in a migration condition from a city to a rural area which is conforming to the concepts of Sutinee Dontree (2548) The migration from a city to a rural area is a rarely pattern because the people would like to live naturally. Therefore, this migration is established since the Keb Puk Sai Sa Keb Pha Sai Muang era to herd and evacuate Tai Kheun people to rehabilitate Chiang Mai town and some are fled from the war in Burma. There is not only the migration in the Keb Puk Sai Sa Keb Pha Sai Muang era, but most of them are also looking for new lands to escape from the drought, arable lands, a trade and a better life. These are conformed to the concepts of Harris and Sabot (1982) state that a migration is a decision of doing the geographical move to look for new lands. The reasonable decision to migrant will happen when the migrants think of the benefits of the expected gains more than the expected costs and these are conformed to the concepts of the natural disaster migration.

Additionally, Tai Kheun who have been migrated to Chiang Mai stay in a cluster settlement pattern as a village and their agricultural areas are also located next to their village which is conformed to the concepts of Suthinee Dontree (2548) that most of the settlement is located next to the river as the first priority while the lands are presenting as a second priority

by seeking a fertile lands to grow the suitable crops. The topography is also one of the main influences of the settlement. Moreover, this study found that at the beginning of the settlement, the village is still undeveloped and they have been established their village as a cluster settlement pattern or a semi- cluster settlement pattern. These are conformed to the concepts of Jordan and Rowntree (1990) which is noted that the disordered village's settlement has been linking with their families or religious because most of Tai Kheun people who are immigrating at the same time are sibling or come from the same family.

Suggestions

The Study's Suggestions

1. The field data collecting should be well-organized to get the actual and accurate data especially in the period of time, duration, location, data collectors, informants and liaisons because most of the informants are the elderly who are inaccessible to travel.
2. Some of the elderly informants might have a memory problems, confusion or the actual data which should be examined the data prudently as possible as the extent, resources or the support factors could be such as personnel, time and budget.
3. Some of the analysis data might be widely affected a community or society due to the significantly historic data of each community. These should be carefully considered before presenting to the public.

The Future Study's Suggestions

1. There should have a study of the comparison of another ethnics groups in Thailand such as Tai Lue, Tai Yhong, Tai Yai.
2. There should have a study of the comparison of another ethnics groups abroad

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