

NO LAND'S MAN:
SOVEREIGNTY, LEGAL STATUS, AND THE PRODUCTION OF
STATELESSNESS AMONG HIGHLANDERS IN NORTHERN THAILAND

A Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Cornell University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by

Amanda Leigh Flaim

May 2015

© 2015 Amanda Leigh Flaim

NO LAND'S MAN:
SOVEREIGNTY, LEGAL STATUS, AND THE PRODUCTION OF
STATELESSNESS AMONG HIGHLANDERS IN NORTHERN THAILAND

Amanda Leigh Flaim, Ph. D.

Cornell University 2015

Globally, over 10 million people lack the recognition and rights of citizenship. Statelessness among highland communities in Thailand comprises one of the longest-standing situations of protracted exclusion in the world, with disastrous effects on highlanders' lives and livelihoods. While statelessness is generally associated with acute deprivations, statelessness is neither new nor static in the hills of Thailand. Indeed, researchers and highlanders themselves have argued that highlanders maintained relative autonomy until the mid-20th century by living beyond the reach of lowland states—by being stateless. How, then, has statelessness come to be associated with lack? How is statelessness produced, and how are inequalities in life trajectories formed along the line of citizenship where they once did not exist?

In this study, I examine the ways that the Thai state registers, (mis)understands, incorporates, and excludes highlanders, and the ways that highlanders (mis)understand, seek to access, and negotiate the state. Drawing on multi-scalar ethnography and extensive survey research, I show that statelessness persists among highlanders despite efforts by the government of Thailand to solve it. Second, I argue that statelessness is produced, not despite, but rather *because* of the ostensibly rational regime of evidentiary procedure in which status is adjudicated.

Specifically, I show that the Thai state produces and privileges contingent, incomplete, and flawed evidence as the standard against which individuals must prove their claims to belong. And finally, I argue that state restrictions on movement among non-citizens are contributing directly and indirectly to inequalities in educational attainment and to the impoverishment of highland livelihoods.

Theoretically, findings from this dissertation suggest that citizenship and statelessness are both unstable, yet ultimately transformable status categories that refract historically specific practices of sovereign power and claims to rule upon which they are based. On a political level, findings suggest that efforts to improve human rights will fall short in situations where legal status remains unresolved. Additionally, findings also indicate that the global campaign to resolve statelessness must recognize and monitor state efforts to manage, and ultimately restrict, access to citizenship through identification regimes that are often promoted for the ostensible protection of legal identity.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Amanda Leigh Flaim is the daughter of an agricultural economist and a geography teacher, and she grew up with a fierce desire to see and understand the world. After graduating from Rhodes College in Memphis, Tennessee, she moved to China to work as an English teacher, and then attended Stanford where she earned a Masters Degree in International Comparative Education. From California, she moved on to UNICEF in Italy where she worked in the child trafficking prevention research team, and then to UNESCO in Thailand where she began her long-term research agenda on statelessness and trafficking prevention in the Mekong Subregion. Although she remains focused on statelessness in Southeast Asia, her research has also taken her to Nepal where she led a national survey of statelessness in the country for UNHCR in 2011. After living in big cities, she was skeptical about Ithaca, but she now considers it home. It was in Ithaca that she met her love, had a baby, and worked—and worked and worked—toward the completion of this dissertation.

Today, Amanda, her husband Daniel, and their son, Simon, live in Durham, North Carolina where she teaches about statelessness, humanitarian policy, and qualitative and mixed-methods research methods at Duke University. She loves Durham, but she craves Thai street food and misses the Ithaca Farmer's Market every single day.

To Miju and Daqbir, my most trusted and brave guides.

Geeqlanq heeq ma.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

During a winter holiday, villagers in a small Akha community in northern Thailand leave their homes in the evening, and walk house-to-house in a boisterous and joyful procession with guitars and firecrackers, singing a song of thanks and blessings to each and every household. They visit every single house before retiring to sleep. “Geeqlanq heeq ma day, Geeqlanq heeq ma day, Geeqlanq heeq ma day, a-year, ayoeq, Djosardoeqmiar, Djosardoeqmiar, Geeqlanq heeq ma day, a-year, ayoeq!” *Thank you, thank you, thank you, my brothers and sisters. Be well and take care. Be well and take care. Thank you, my brothers and sisters.* This is the song I feel I owe each and every one of the extraordinary members of my own extraordinarily generous ‘village’ in Ithaca, Thailand, and beyond. For ten long years, you have taught me, encouraged me, pushed me, protected me, supported me, (often) fed me, (sometimes) housed me, and always inspired me. To each of you, thank you. I am so very blessed and so *very* grateful.

In Ithaca:

Lindy Williams, Co-Chair and SGPB

Parfait Eloundou-Enyegue, Co-Chair and GPB,

Magnus Fiskesjo, committee member

Jason Cons, committee member

Marygold Walsh-Dilley (*de facto* committee member)

I also owe special thanks to Kasia Paprocki and Anders Bjornberg, Chuck Geisler, Mary Jo Dudley, Djahane Salehabadi, Megan Gremelspacher Swindal, Marion Dixon, Jum Warritay, Dela Kusi-Appouh, Ian Bailey, Sara Keene, Daniel Lumonye, Roanne Bosch, Tess Pendergrast, Alice Beban and family, Shelley Feldman, Alexandra

Denes, Edmund Oh and Nicole Khi, the Mizrachi family, Erin Lentz, Jessica and Greg Pac, Scott and Jenn Sanders, Kevin Dilley, Fouad Makki, Phil McMichael, David Brown, Wendy Wolford, Robin Blakely, Laurie Johnson, Cindy Twardokus, Emme Edmonds, the graduate students of Cornell SEAP, and Laure Conklin Kamp.

In Thailand:

David A. Feingold, committee member and champagne purveyor

Jeerasak ‘Daqbir’ Jupoh and family

Phi Miju (Chutima Morlaeku) and Phi Ayoe (Professor Wang) and family

I also owe a million ways of gratitude to Heather Peters, Stephanie and Aaron Koning, ‘Ray Rai’ Rachel Dunn and Danai K., the fabulous staff of IMPECT, Taylor, Malavika and Penny Lowe-Reddy, Khun Chanida Puranapun at the Research Center for Sustainable Development at Chiang Mai University, Ajarn Prasit Leepreecha at the Center for Ethnic Studies and Development, Vanessa Achilles, Peerayot Sidonrusmee, Khun ‘Gift’ Puntharee Israngjul na Ayudthaya, Ajarn Noppadon Kannika, and friends at ABAC Poll, and Khun Madee at the Bureau for Social Development and Human Security. To the villagers in Thailand who taught me true selflessness, but whose names I cannot include, *Thank you.*

Beyond:

The debt I owe my family is one that I can only hope to repay for the rest of my life. For your love, encouragement, belief in me, and countless means of support, *thank you.* This would not have been possible without the constant support of my mother, Mary Prosser Flaim, my father, Sam Flaim, my step-mother, Kathryn Roth, and my brother and sister-in-law, Michael and Marie Flaim. To my other set of

marvelous parents, Susan and David Ahlquist, thank you so very much for every moment of unwavering support. To Brooke and Bryant Carlson, Aaron and Elizabeth Ahlquist, Savty and Granddad, and my whole extended family, *thank you*.

And Daniel.

For everything, thank you.

This research was facilitated by The National Research Council of Thailand, and was made possible through generous grants from the Fulbright-Hays Dissertation Fellowship, the Southeast Asian Studies Program at Cornell, and the Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1:	
THE SOCIAL AND THEORETICAL PROBLEM OF STATELESSNESS	
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 The Problem of Statelessness.....	12
1.3 Research Questions.....	22
1.4 The Problem with Statelessness.....	22
1.5 From Identifying ‘the Stateless’ to Recognizing Sovereignty in Status.....	25
1.6 Overview of Dissertation.....	27
CHAPTER 2:	
THE HISTORY OF SOVEREIGNTY AND EXCLUSION IN THE HIGHLANDS	
2.1 Chapter Overview.....	32
2.2 Narratives of Sovereign Rule: Constructing Highlanders as State-Invaders.....	32
2.3 The Colonial Encounter: Constructing the Nation-and-State.....	34
2.4 “Hill Tribes”: Between Boundaries of the State and Borders of the Nation.....	38
2.5 Denial of Legal Identity and the Expansion of Identification.....	46
2.6 Challenging the Boundaries of the Nation, Reinforcing State Sovereignty?.....	47
CHAPTER 3:	
RESEARCH AND REPRESENTATION: DATA, METHODS, AND ETHICS	
3.1 Chapter Overview and Review of Ontological Project.....	51
3.2 Mixed-Methods Research Design.....	52
3.3 Ethnographic Research.....	55
3.4 Survey Research: The 2010 UNESCO Highland Peoples’ Survey II.....	61
3.5 Discussion.....	82
CHAPTER 4:	
MAPPING THE CURRENT STATE OF STATELESSNESS IN THE HIGHLANDS	
4.1 Chapter Overview.....	85
4.2 Does Expanded Identification Ensure Legal Identity?.....	90
4.3 Does Legal Reform Resolve Statelessness?.....	97
4.4 Discussion of Findings.....	131
CHAPTER 5:	
PATHS TO CITIZENSHIP AND STATELESSNESS: BUREAUCRACY, CONTINGENCY, AND PROBLEMS OF EVIDENCE	
5.1 Chapter Overview.....	137
5.2 The Institutional Path to Citizenship.....	140
5.3 The Geographical Path to Citizenship.....	148
5.4 The Inter-Generational Path.....	155
5.5 Discussion.....	166

CHAPTER 6:	
DIVERGING DESTINATIONS AND DESTINIES: MIGRATION, STATELESSNESS AND THE PRODUCTION OF DEPRIVATION IN THE HIGHLANDS	
6.1 Chapter Overview	170
6.2 Dimensions of Access.....	172
6.3 Diverging Destinations among Highlanders?	180
6.4 Impact of Legal Status on Migration as a Livelihood Strategy	188
6.5 Discussion	202
CHAPTER 7:	
CONCLUSIONS, CONTRIBUTIONS, AND DIRECTIONS FORWARD	
7.1 Summary Conclusions and Theoretical Contributions	206
7.2 Gaps in Research.....	212
7.3 Methodological Contributions of Research	214
7.4 Political Implications of the Research and Directions Forward	215
REFERENCES	220
APPENDIX.....	248
The Impact of Citizenship on Educational Attainment.....	248
Handbook for Data Collection of Highland Peoples' Survey II	253
Handbook for In-Village Data Quality Assurance.....	257
Survey Module 1A: Surveyor	260
Survey Module 1B: Village History	261
Survey Module 2A: School History.....	265
Survey Module 2B: School Roster	271
Survey Module 3A: Household History	272
Survey Module 3B: Household Roster	278

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Citizenship Acquisition among Highlanders, UNESCO HPS II.....	21
Figure 2: Schedule of Research Process	54
Figure 3: Map of UNESCO Highland Peoples' Survey II, Total Sample	67
Figure 4: Map Showing Variation in Citizenship by District, 1997	89
Figure 5: Legal Status Categories Represented among Adult Highlanders.....	96
Figure 6: Evidence of Persistent Exclusion despite Eligibility, 2010.....	107
Figure 7: Map of Variation in Citizenship by District	111
Figure 8: Citizenship as Proportion of Total Village Resident Population	112
Figure 9: Variation in Citizenship Outcomes by Ethnic Identity	113
Figure 10: Composition of Households by Legal Status, All Residents.....	114
Figure 11: Citizenship Status by Household (HH) Status	115
Figure 12: Distance between Village and District Office	150
Figure 13: Birth Registration & Place Born by Age Cohort and Legal Status	163
Figure 14: Educational Attainment by Age Group and Citizenship Status	177
Figure 15: Influence of Citizenship on Odds of Crossing Borders.....	204

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: State Rubrics for Identifying and Registering “Hill Tribes”	42
Table 2: Report of Total Survey Instruments Received & Entered	77
Table 3: UNESCO Highland Peoples’ Survey II, Respondent Characteristics	81
Table 4: Official Legal Identity Categories and Associated Statuses	91
Table 5: Questions and Codes for Measuring Legal Status	93
Table 6: Baseline Eligibility Standards for Thai Citizenship	98
Table 7: Questions and Codes for Measuring Citizenship Eligibility	101
Table 8: Non-Eligibility Related Variables	103
Table 9: Bivariate Analyses: Citizenship Eligibility vs. Outcome	108
Table 10: Odds of Citizen ID Possession I: Standard Logistic Model	117
Table 11: Odds of Citizen ID Possession II: Multi-Level Mixed Effects Model	128
Table 12: Characteristics of Sample in Migration Analyses	185
Table 13: Relative Odds of Moving Outside of Boundaries.....	189
Table 14: Cumulative Odds of Moving Outside Boundaries.....	191
Table 15: Odds of Having Ever Worked Outside of District Boundary.....	196
Table 16: Relative Odds of Working Outside of District in Past Year.....	197
Table 17: Relative Odds of Remitting if Outside of Village	199
Table 18: Impact of Parent Citizenship on Entering Elementary School	250
Table 19: Impact of Parent Citizenship on Entering Secondary School.....	251
Table 20: Impact of Parent Citizenship on Entering Upper Secondary.....	252

LIST OF PLATES

Plate 1: Wawee Coffee Corporate Logo	5
Plate 2: The “Hill Tribe” Coin	9
Plate 3: The UNESCO and BSD Leadership and Training Teams	73
Plate 4: Elephant Overtaking Surveyors on Road to Burma Border	75
Plate 5: UNESCO and BSD Field Staff Review Questionnaires in the Field	76
Plate 6: UNESCO HPS II Questionnaires in Secure Storage Room	78
Plate 7: Typical Internal Checkpoint in Northern Thailand.....	179

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACHR	Asian Center for Human Rights
ANCHOR	Academic Network for Community Happiness Observation and Research of Assumption University's ABAC Poll Center
BSD	The Bureau of Social Development and Human Security
HPS I	2006 (UNESCO) Highland Peoples' Survey
HPS II	2010 (UNESCO) Highland Peoples' Survey
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR	The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
RTG	The Royal Thai Government

CHAPTER 1

THE SOCIAL AND THEORETICAL PROBLEM OF STATELESSNESS

1.1 Introduction

In late February of 2009, I found myself sitting on the brown laminate floor of a concrete home in the outskirts of Chiang Mai, the largest city in northern Thailand. I had recently arrived in the country to begin research on statelessness among highland minority people who live in the mountainous northern regions of the country, and I had been introduced to my host, Miqbawr (pronounced Mi-Baw), through a growing network of activists in Bangkok and Chiang Mai. I was told that she and her family lacked recognition of Thai citizenship for decades, but that they received citizenship in 2005 after years of compiling, filing, and re-filing applications. When I called Miqbawr to request an interview, she invited me to come to her home for dinner.

At Miqbawr's insistence, I sat on the floor of her living room while she and two other women busily prepared food in the kitchen nearby. They were speaking a mix of Thai and Akha, the latter being one of scores of languages spoken by peoples residing in villages scattered across the mountainous borderlands of mainland Southeast Asia, from Burma/Myanmar to Vietnam. Although discrimination against villagers in the highlands is not unique to Thailand (see for instance Fiskesjo, 1999, 2006; Safman, 2007; Scott, 2009), only in Thailand were they denied recognition of citizenship despite generations of residence in the country (Chutima, 2006, 2009; Feingold, 1998, 2005, 2007; Mukdawan, 2006, 2009; Safman, 2007). In a 2009 report to UNESCO, Chutima 'Miju' Morlaeku argues that recent shifts in Thai nationality law and policy have indeed enabled thousands of highlanders like Miqbawr to obtain recognition of Thai citizenship. Yet, her report also reveals that the history of socio-political exclusion of highlanders continues to cast a long shadow. In an intensive, comparative analysis of

the registration histories of residents in two Akha villages in Chiang Rai province, she identified hundreds of individuals who were Thai citizens by law, yet who remained unregistered or incorrectly registered as ‘aliens’ (*khon dtangdtao*) or ‘migrants’ (*phuopayop*) as late as 2009. Beyond these two Akha villages, up to half a million eligible highlanders continue to lack the recognition and rights of citizenship in the only country they have ever called home (BSD, 2002; UNHCR, 2014c; US State Department, 2013).

Highlanders who lack citizenship in Thailand cannot vote. They cannot acquire a passport or work legally without acquiring official permissions from both local and national authorities. They cannot travel freely *within* the country, even for medical reasons, without acquiring official permission from local authorities (Chutima, 2006, 2009; Feingold, 2002). To do so is to transgress the law; and as a result, non-citizen highlanders who are caught moving across district lines without acquiring official permission risk arrest, fines, deportation, and extortion by local police (Chutima, 2006, 2009; Feingold, 2002). In 2005, the government of Thailand expanded access to compulsory education for children of non-citizens like highlanders, refugees, migrants, and aliens under the banner of Education for All; and, non-citizen groups are ostensibly provided access to the country’s universal health care system (Harris 2013; IRIN 2012). Despite these concessions of specific rights to education and health care to resident non-citizens in Thailand, initial research on the impact of both of these programs in mitigating the deprivations associated with non-citizenship on the lives, livelihoods and futures of non-citizens and their children remains extremely limited, and mixed at best (Chutima, 2009; Flaim, 2008; Harris, 2013; Kamowan, 2014; Koning, Flaim, and Feingold, 2013; Kunstadter et al., 2011; Mukdawan, 2009).¹

¹ See Flaim (2008) for analysis of the impact of non-citizenship on educational outcomes of highlander youth. See Harris (2013) and Koning (2014) for in-depth analyses of the mixed impacts of Thailand’s universal health care program on health

I arrived at Miqbawr's home that evening in 2009 with the intention of asking her about her own experience with exclusion—to ask her how she had negotiated its associated challenges and how she managed to acquire recognition of citizenship. I came prepared to ask her about deprivation, exclusion, and discrimination. Yet, the material trappings of her middle-class home signaled more connections with modern Thai society than exclusions from it. A few framed photos perched on her TV-stand behind me. The largest photo depicted a young bride in a white, Western wedding dress smiling broadly over her shoulder. In front of the bride stood a photo of children wearing pressed school uniforms, crouching together in front of a super-imposed cartoon panda. In another frame, a serious-faced young man in formal military attire replete with sword stands proudly in empty space. And, taped to the side of the soldier's picture was a black-and-white photobooth strip—likely taken at one of several shopping malls in the city. In it, Miqbawr and her adolescent daughter are frozen in an apparent fit of laughter. On a poster hung high on the opposite wall, the King of Thailand, the country's moral figurehead and beloved sovereign, presided serenely over the room. In this particular poster of the King, which is a common sight in homes and restaurants all over the country, his right arm is outstretched before him, and with hand gently open, he blesses the nation whose very self-definition had long denied Miqbawr and her fellow highlanders the right to belong until only recently (Chayan, 2005; Feingold, 2002; McKinnon, 2005; Jonsson, 2005, 2014; Thongchai, 2000a).

As I discuss in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, official government policy towards highlanders—whether to exclude them entirely, or to include and 'develop them' (Chupinit, 1983; McCaskill and Kampe, 1997; McKinnon, 2005; McKinnon and Vienne, 1989)—is built on the narrative of highlanders and lowland (ethnic) Thais as

care outcomes among migrants and stateless highlanders. See Chutima (2009) for an extensive analysis of the impact of non-citizenship on a range of life and livelihood outcomes in two Akha villages in Chiang Rai province.

distinct, opposing, and internally-coherent groups (Chayan, 2005; Keyes, 1997, 2002; Pinkaew, 2003). But one glance at Miqbawr's photo collection calls to mind a wide-ranging body of historical and anthropological research in the region,² which points to a more fluid relationship between and amongst these groups (Feingold, 2002). Indeed, Miqbawr's photo collection indicated both an embrace of, and active participation in, Thai society. And, with the exception of a single, black-and-white photo in the corner of her living room, her pictures would not seem out of place in any urban Thai home. In the photo, two Akha women wear dark embroidered outfits, beaded sheathes over their shins, and flip-flops. Their serious faces are framed by large hats adorned with silver balls, coins, and numerous strands of tiny beads.

The image of the two women in the photograph was as striking as it was instantly familiar. Images of Akha women in gleaming silver hats compete only with images of Karen women wearing stacks of golden rings around their slender necks for the covers of tourist brochures that promise rare encounters with the exotic "hill tribes" of the north. At least three coffee shop chains in Chiang Mai city feature stylized images or photographs of Akha villagers in traditional attire in their logos and advertising campaigns – just a few of the number of coffee companies in Thailand linking highlander farmers to urban city life and to the booming international coffee market (see Plate 1 below). By 2009, it seems, narratives that had long justified the exclusion of highlanders from Thai citizenship—narratives that painted them as distinctly non-Thai, backwards, wild, and uncivilized (Feingold, 2000, 2002; Kampe and McCaskill, 1997; McKinnon and Vienne, 1989; Mukdawan, 2009; Sturgeon, 2005;

² While I address the key historical moments of socio-political exclusion and inclusion of highlanders by the Thai government in Chapter 2, I do not provide an extensive review of this very complex and deeply rich history, nor do I provide a history of each highland group, as these literatures already exist. For excellent reviews of the histories of the highlands, which remain much debated, see Jonsson (2006, 2014), Bernard and Vienne (1983), Scott (2009).

Thongchai, 2000b)—had been appropriated and repackaged in the name of both national and local economic development.

Plate 1: Wawee Coffee Corporate Logo



As I was studying the black-and-white photo of the two Akha women, Miqbaw entered from the kitchen wearing leggings and a pink t-shirt. She more closely resembled the upwardly-mobile Thai clientele who frequented Wawee Coffee shops in the city than the woman whose face graces its logo.³ Carefully, she set a short, round, woven rattan table down before me. She had taken great care to cover the top with large, waxy banana leaves and a number of small, porcelain bowls. Each bowl was filled precariously to the brim: chicken soup, pickled ferns, steamed baby bamboo stalks, and homemade sauces of spice and peanuts.

“Ni ahaan Akha, na. Mai chai ahaan Thai, na.” “This is Akha food,” she insisted, “not Thai food.”

As she passed me chop sticks and a Chinese soup spoon she informed me that she had collected the ferns and bamboo herself during a recent visit to her home village in the northernmost province of Chiang Rai. *“Khao chaokhao,”* she said, filling a bowl

³ I spent many afternoons in the air-conditioned comfort of Wawee and Doi Tung coffee shops in Chiang Mai city between visits to highland villages. Ironically, I often used these spaces to prepare for visits to the field and to review fieldnotes from some of the same villages where the coffee originates.

of steaming rice and placing it in front of me. “Hill tribe rice.” The rice was a stickier, heavier grain than the typical jasmine variety found throughout Thailand and exported all over the world. Because of widespread discrimination against highlanders, few Thais deign to eat it, but I found *khao chaokhao* to be hearty and delicious.

We were joined on the floor by Miqbawr’s two sisters, her thirteen-year-old daughter, and a young man wearing tight, black hipster jeans and a Korean boy-band t-shirt. His name is Aqcha (pronounced A-Cha), and he is Miqbawr’s cousin. When I met him that night, Aqcha was traveling through the city on his way back from a town near the border with Malaysia, and he was staying with Miqbawr until he could hitch a ride up to his home village in Chiang Rai province. My research assistant and I offered to drive him to his village when we traveled north the following week.

After returning from the kitchen with tea, Miqbawr sat on the floor next to me. She offered a Christian blessing in Akha, turned on the television, and asked me about my research. Over the noise of a Thai soap opera, I attempted to explain my research agenda. I explained that I would be developing a survey with UNESCO to understand whether recent changes to Thai law and adjudication procedures ostensibly aimed to resolve the citizenship problem in the highlands had made a difference in people’s lives. I also explained that I was planning to conduct independent research on the issue, as well, and that I hoped to stay in highland villages near the Burma border for a few years. I asked if she could suggest a place to start.⁴

As I started to stumble through my understanding of Thai nationality law in bookish, practiced Thai, Miqbawr interrupted me with a guttural round of ‘Uh,’ a parsimonious Akha term for “Yes, yes, we understand—we know what you’re talking about.” As she reached across the table, spooning more rice into my bowl, she nodded her head toward Aqcha, my future travel companion. “*Khon ni nah, khao gaw yang mai*

⁴ See Chapter 3 for a review of my methodological approach to studying the issue. The rest of the dissertation comprises findings from this mixed-methods research agenda.

mi sanchaat thai, na. [This one here, *he* still doesn't have Thai citizenship yet.]” I was certain that I misunderstood her. Sensing my confusion, she repeated herself. “It’s true,” she said. “Aqcha doesn’t have a Thai ID card. Everyone in his family has Thai citizenship except for him.”

Aqcha showed me his ID card. Much of the formatting of, and information on, his ID resembles the ID card for citizens (*baht brachamdtua bpracaachon*). Yet, while the citizen ID is light blue, Aqcha’s card is a conspicuous bright pink. A pink card denotes the renewable status of a non-citizen legal resident (Pinkaew, 2014). His unique 13-digit code (*buer sipsaam*) denotes his registration status as a non-citizen as well.⁵

Because he lacks citizenship, and because he did not acquire the requisite permissions to travel, Aqcha had been working illegally outside of his home district in the north. He had not been waiting for just *any* ride to his village. He had been waiting for a *safe* ride—for someone to transport him securely across more than ten police checkpoints located along the main highway and local roads between Chiang Mai city and his home in Mae Fa Luang district, just inside Thailand’s border with Burma.⁶ Unbeknownst to me at the time, the family had been hoping that I would agree to transport him to his village. In my two years of fieldwork, this would not be the only time that highlanders of all legal statuses would utilize my white skin, American

⁵ While I discuss the extreme complexity of, and the many discrepancies in, the ID regime in subsequent chapters of the dissertation, it is worth noting briefly that current policy requires non-citizens residing in Thailand to register with the Ministry of Interior through local district offices. If granted registration, non-citizens living in Thailand are either registered as ‘aliens’ (*khon dtangdtao*) with no known nationality, or as migrant workers. Aliens are issued white ID cards and 13-digit ID codes beginning with the number zero. Migrant workers from Lao PDR, Cambodia and Burma/Myanmar are issued ID cards that are colored according to type of labor performed. Since 2009, migrant workers are also required to possess identification that verifies nationality in a country other than Thailand (International Organization for Migration, 2009).

⁶ I provide an extended review of the risks of traveling-while-undocumented and the impacts of these risks on life and livelihood outcomes in Chapter 6 of the dissertation.

passport, Thai visa, and elite university affiliation, which facilitate access for global elites to all corners of the globe (Ong, 1999, 2005), as a potential shield against surveillance by police and state agents. The strategy proved successful. During dozens of experiences transporting citizens and non-citizens alike across internal borders (e.g., the district), I was never stopped by police at routine checkpoints, and my companions were never asked to show their ID cards.⁷

With Aqcha's permission, I followed his story intermittently over the course of two years of fieldwork. As with other stories of citizenship and statelessness that I encountered during my research, I traced his story across and between generations, interviewing his immediate and extended family. I followed his story across the country, traveling from the house in Chiang Mai where I first met him to his birth village, to his home village where he is registered as an official *non-citizen* resident, to various government offices where he and all non-citizens in Thailand must file their applications for citizenship. In addition, I traveled to his primary school in a distant province to interview his former teachers. Teachers, I learned, are often instrumental in assisting stateless children and their parents in their applications for citizenship. When Aqcha was granted special permission to take a DNA test as evidence of his claim to citizenship through his father, I accompanied them to the central government hospital of northern Thailand to observe the process. I interviewed village headmen, elders, teachers, and others who would attest to his story and to stories like his. I interviewed activists and government officials to understand his case and the cases of thousands like him.

⁷ Over the course of two years of fieldwork, I only observed the state surveillance practices that my informants regularly spoke of and that they regularly navigated in forging their livelihoods by riding alone on local public buses. In these instances, I believe that my fellow passengers and local policy mistook me for a tourist.

Although Aqcha is not alone in his exclusion, his case is certainly perplexing. According to Thai law, his claim to Thai citizenship is straightforward. His grandparents had been formally registered as “hill tribe” people during the first official government registration survey of highlanders in 1969. Having been registered during this survey along with 119,000 other highlanders (Chutima, 2009), Aqcha’s grandparents received a ‘hill tribe coin’ (*rian chaokhao*) and a copy of the survey document on which the enumerator had inscribed their village of residence, a matching ID code from the coin (see Plate 2 below), and transliterated versions of their everyday Akha names in Thai.⁸ In the terms used by many highlanders I interviewed over the course of fieldwork, Aqcha’s grandparents “received Thai citizenship” (*dtay sanchaat thai*) by submitting the survey document as proof of identity and residence in the country. As a result, he says, his parents have always “possessed Thai citizenship” (*mi sanchaat thai dtangdae sameu*).

Plate 2: The “Hill Tribe” Coin



Image adapted from www.pralanna.com.⁹

⁸ This image comprises one of several hundred results produced when entering the Thai phrase เหมี่ชญชวเว (hilltribe coin) into a Google search.

⁹ The front of the coin includes a picture of the young King. On the back, a decontextualized image of Thailand is set behind a province ID, a 6 digit ID number

Aqcha meets the criteria for Thai citizenship according to the current Thai Nationality Law. He was born in the country prior to 1992, and both of his parents and all of his siblings are citizens. Yet, he still lacks recognition of his Thai citizenship. And that, for him, has made all the difference. Aqcha traces the root of the problem to the fact that his parents were unable to formally register his birth with the state. He was born sometime during the rainy season of 1989 or 1990, when his father was working in a factory far from home and his mother was left caring for two young children and a toddler by herself in their remote village home. According to Aqcha, his mother simply did not have the energy or time to take him to the district office to register him after giving birth. Twenty years ago, the unpaved roads through the highlands were notoriously dangerous to traverse in the rainy season (see Chapter 5), and the 15 km journey to and from the district office—whether on foot or by horse—would have taken days.¹⁰ Had his mother traveled alone with him to register his birth, Aqcha doubts that she could have registered him accurately. Like many people of her generation, she never learned to read or write in Thai, and she could not speak it well either. As a result of the particular circumstances of his birth, Aqcha does not possess a birth certificate. His name is listed in the household roster of a 1999 government survey of the highlands, but because he lacks a birth certificate, district officials have informed him time and again that his documents (*eakasaan*, เอกสาร) are simply insufficient to prove who he claims to be.

Documents are not the only barrier to citizenship for Aqcha, however. When his officially-sanctioned DNA test provided incontrovertible proof of his biological relationship to his father, a newly-instated district official nevertheless denied him

and is set underneath the text, “commemorative coin for hill tribes” (*rian raleuk samrap chaokhao*, or เหรียญระลึก สำหรับชาวเขา).

¹⁰ In Chapter 5, I discuss in depth the persistent challenges of travel in and through the highlands for registration.

citizenship, which states that in order to confer citizenship to one's child through the father, the father's name must be on the child's birth certificate. The new district official informed Aqcha that he would need to conduct a DNA test with his mother in order to prove his claim to citizenship. But Aqcha's mother passed away a few years ago. When he attempted to appeal this decision informally,¹¹ a low-level staff member of the district office told him that, without a DNA test from the person who delivered him into the world and onto Thai soil—his mother—no one could possibly be certain that he is *really* Thai. In spite of his robust claim to citizenship by law, and despite the highly routinized and 'scientific' procedures deployed by the government to adjudicate cases like his, Aqcha simply cannot prove that he is who he is.

Five years after I first met Aqcha in Miqbawr's living room in 2009, he has still been unable to acquire recognition of his citizenship. I recently checked in on Aqcha, and he told me that sometimes he contemplated buying someone else's identity,¹² but that he had recently received permission from the district official to conduct a DNA test with one of his siblings in order to prove his story. He says that he will not risk traveling outside of his district for temporary work until he resolves his claim. So, unlike most of his friends, siblings, and cousins who have left home to work in Bangkok, Taiwan or Korea, Aqcha stays in his village. Every morning, he wakes up early and sets out to farm his father's fields, hoping that *this* will be the day when an official will believe his story. Then, he says, he will begin to live his life.¹³

¹¹ Formal appeal procedures are in place, as evidenced by the appeals leveled by the more than 1,000 highlanders who were denationalized without formal trial or hearing in the Mae Ai district of Chiang Mai in 2001 (Mukdawan, 2009; Pinkaew 2014).

However, during two years of extensive fieldwork, I never met any person who had ever appealed a citizenship decision or even knew that a formal appeal process exists.

¹² I discuss the problem and persistence of corruption in more detail in Chapter 5.

¹³ Many young, non-citizen highlanders shared this sentiment about feeling that they could begin living their lives once they obtained citizenship.

1.2 The Problem of Statelessness

Some of the circumstances of Aqcha's story are unique to him and his family. Yet, his experience of exclusion from citizenship in the country of his home and birth, as well as the hopelessness he attributes to his political exclusion, resonate far beyond his household. As this dissertation reveals, exclusion and precarious status are acute problems in households across northern Thailand (UNHCR, 2014c), and affect more than 10 million people around the world (Berkeley 2009; Lynch and Southwick, 2009; Mydans, 2007; UNHCR, 2014a, 2014b). Without the recognition or benefits of citizenship anywhere in the world, Aqcha and millions like him are, in a word, stateless.¹⁴

Although statelessness continues to be debated in policy and scholarly circles, there is general consensus amongst most scholars that statelessness presents serious problems for the lives and futures of people who find themselves in legal limbo (Berkeley, 2009; Bhabha, 2011; Cohen, 2009; Harris, 2013; Flaim, 2008; Blitz and Lynch, 2011; Chutima, 2006, 2009; Mukdawan, 2006, 2009; UNHCR, 2014a; Van Waas, 2008). In addition to framing the issue as a problem for human security, conditions of widespread statelessness are also framed in policy and some scholarly circles as a source of political instability and a challenge for national security (Edwards and Ferstman, 2010; UNHCR, 2014e). On the website of the United Nations High

¹⁴ Some authors distinguish must be made between individuals who have no legal claim to statelessness under the law (*de jure stateless*) and those who are citizens under the law yet cannot claim effective recognition of citizenship (*de facto* statelessness). These distinctions may be useful for juridical analyses or for delineating organizational mandates for protection, but as I explain below, this dissertation is premised on an inclusive expansive definition of statelessness that derives from the extent which people are able to acquire recognition of status, and the extent to which status matters for peoples' lives and futures (e.g., Bhabha 2011).

Commissioner—the UN agency with the mandate for statelessness prevention and reduction—the issue and its associated impacts are described as follows:¹⁵

To be stateless is to be without nationality or citizenship. There is no legal bond of nationality between the state and the individual. Stateless people face numerous difficulties in their daily lives: they can lack access to health care, education, property rights and the ability to move freely. They are also vulnerable to arbitrary treatment and crimes like trafficking. Their marginalization can create tensions in society and lead to instability at an international level, including, in extreme cases, conflict and displacement (UNHCR, 2014e).

Statelessness...has a terrible impact on the lives of individuals. Possession of nationality is essential for full participation in society and a prerequisite for the enjoyment of the full range of human rights (UNHCR, 2014d).

The problem of statelessness is not new. As early as the interwar period of the League of Nations, the issue was identified as a potential problem arising from the arrangement of sovereignty in an international system of nation-states (Arendt, 1994). Yet, it was the Holocaust that rendered clear the horrific conditions to which stateless people could be subject under totalitarian regimes of power. In the words of Arendt (1994: 297-300) to lack citizenship in the global system of sovereign, territorialized

¹⁵ These descriptions are representative of those found on other leading organizations working to reduce statelessness globally. For similar examples visit websites of The Statelessness Program at Tilburg University, Open Society Foundations, Human Rights Watch, and the European Network on Statelessness. For examples of organizational definitions and directives in Thai, see the websites for Stateless Watch (โครงการวิจัยและพัฒนาฝ่ายระวางสภาวะไร้รัฐ) and the Stateless Children Protection Project (โครงการคุ้มครองสิทธิเด็กไร้รัฐไร้สัญชาติ).

nation-states that adjudicate recognition and rights through the legal category of citizenship, is to ultimately lack the “right to have rights.”

Shortly after the end of WWII, the United Nations issued the following two international conventions to address statelessness: the 1954 Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless People, which provides for particular protection needs of stateless populations under the operation of national and international law; and the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness, which calls for state signatories to shore up nationality laws and civil registration policies in order to resolve and prevent incidents of statelessness that occur as a result of international marriage, undocumented migration, and arbitrary revocation of nationality.¹⁶

Sixty years after the issuance of the 1954 Conventions, however, cases of, and expanded possibilities for, legal statelessness persists in the West. Instances are most widespread and acute among the Roma in Europe (Bhabha 2011, forthcoming; UNHCR, 2014b), and among the rapidly growing population of unaccompanied migrant children in the United States who often lack documentation to prove who they are or to whom they belong (Terrio, 2014).¹⁷ Beyond the West, the issue now affects

¹⁶ The 1954 Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless People issues a *de jure* definition of statelessness as the condition affecting an individual “who is not considered as a national by any State under the operation of its law” (Article 1). The Convention includes provisions for protection of access to employment, education, public welfare programs, and travel documents for stateless people as well. The 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness extends the definition of statelessness to include individuals who are *de jure* stateless—who cannot acquire recognition of citizenship in their country of birth. This convention aims to resolve and prevent future incidences of statelessness by calling for state signatories to grant nationality at birth (Articles 1 through 4) and to prevent possible incidences of loss, renunciation, deprivation, or arbitrary revocation of nationality (Articles 5-9). For an extensive analysis of the conventions and ratifications see Van Waas (2008) and the UNHCR website.

¹⁷ These cases reflect insufficiencies in nationality laws as well as in international and human rights frameworks to prevent and reduce statelessness that results from undocumented movement across borders or from undocumented birth and residency. Undocumented migration and undocumented birth are not the only causes of

millions of people in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia (Blitz and Lynch, 2011; Lynch and Southwick, 2009)

Sixty years after the issuance of the 1954 Convention, the problem of statelessness persists across the world, particularly in Asia (UNHCR, 2014a, 2014b). Indeed, Constantine's (2011) photo-documentation of the abject conditions of life in which stateless people across the world reside stands in powerful contrast to an active, international, and growing human rights regime that has worked for over half a century to prevent further incidence of statelessness and to mitigate the impact of legal exclusion on people's lives (Boli and Thomas, 1997, 1999; Keck and Sikkink, 1998; Soysal, 1994; Risse et al., 1999). Sixty years after the 1954 Convention, a problem once relegated to Europe has become global. Projected through the gritty lens of Constantine's black-and-white photo-journal *Nowhere People*, Aqcha's statelessness comprises not only one case of statelessness among millions, but is universalized as *the* case of millions.

Growing awareness of the 'plight of the stateless' at global, national and local scales has catalyzed renewed attention to statelessness in scholarly and activist circles seeking to better understand the problem in order to address it more effectively (Kingston, 2013; Lynch and Southwick, 2009). One thread in scholarship points to gaps in nationality and human rights law (or lack of ratification thereof) in perpetuating both the category and conditions of statelessness amongst highlanders in Thailand and among other groups around the world (for examples, see Kerber, 2007; Phuntip, 2006). In Thailand, attention to legal barriers to citizenship has produced real results for

statelessness in the West, however. In more rare instances, Stock (forthcoming), Stevens (forthcoming, and Lawrence and Stevens (forthcoming) note regular cases in which citizens of the United States have been misidentified as undocumented migrants and deported to countries in which they have no claim to belong; and, Tin Thai (2013) notes that rising trends of international surrogacy are also generating rare cases of, but expanding potential for, statelessness in the United Kingdom.

people like Miqchawr (Chutima, 2009; Mukdawan, 2009; Flaim, 2008). As I describe in more detail in Chapter 2, at the turn of the millennium, a coalition of highlanders fought to reduce legal barriers to citizenship (Chutima, 2006, 2009; McKinnon, 2005), and as findings throughout this dissertation reveal, thousands of highlanders were able to acquire recognition of citizenship in the wake of this movement (see also Figure 1.1 below). While recent analyses by Chutima (2009) and Mukdawan (2009) both show that barriers persist in the conferral of citizenship among Akha people in three villages of Chiang Rai province, both analyses also suggest that the highlander citizenship movement at the turn of the millennium was effective in expanding awareness of the importance of Thai citizenship and improving understanding about how to navigate citizenship procedures among highlanders. And, as Chutima (2005, 2009) also shows, as the movement successfully called for the Ministry of Interior to reduce some of the procedural and legal barriers for citizenship conferral/acquisition, it simultaneously opened the space for NGOs and international organizations to both monitor and assist in citizenship adjudication in some districts (See Feingold, 2002 for one example).¹⁸ Moreover, this movement called for a reframing—albeit in a limited way—of the ‘imagined community’ (Anderson 1991) of Thailand to include the extremely diverse highlander population who had for so long been framed in government discourse as not only non-Thai, but *anti*-Thai (see McKinnon 2005 for review of movement).¹⁹ Illustrative of this legal, procedural and idealistic shift that occurred at the turn of the

¹⁸ I discuss the procedural barriers to citizenship in Chapter 5 of the dissertation. To be clear, while some of these barriers were reduced, evidence from this dissertation confirms findings in Feingold (2002) that the situation in the highlands remains considerably more complex than in other, less diverse districts.

¹⁹ In McKinnon and Vienne’s 1989 volume *Hill Tribes Today*, authors with diverse intentions towards, and various understandings of, highland communities provide ample examples of the history of ‘Othering’ highlanders as distinctly, non-Thai, and sometimes, *anti*-Thai “hill tribes.” A more updated, but similar review of this history, can be found in the 1997 volume, *Development or Domestication?* (McCaskill and Kampe, eds.).

millennium, several local, national, and international NGOs continue to work within the subsequently-revised legal and bureaucratic frameworks to resolve statelessness on a case-by-case basis. Examples of such efforts include running special legal clinics in the highlands and assisting district staff in compiling and filing applications.

In addition to juridical gaps and loopholes, scholars and advocacy organizations cite lack of identification as a cause of problems in legal identity in Thailand and beyond. Scholarship on the topic of identification as a means to prove identity is not unified (see Bhabha 2011 for critiques), as Vandanabeele (2011), Gordon (2015), and Fisher (2015) argue that this campaign may inadvertently *increase* barriers to citizenship, particularly in contexts in which states and individuals lack the capacities and will to provide for, and to access birth registration, respectively. Nevertheless, stories like Aqcha's are regularly quoted in a growing universal birth registration campaign by PLAN International, UNICEF and UNCHR to deploy birth registration as a form of insurance against possible attempts by states to denationalize citizens or to deny recognition of citizenship to eligible persons on the basis of insufficient proof of identity.²⁰

While international organizations are working in many countries to operationalize birth registration at national scales, Thailand has operated a national birth registration program since 1917 (Grabowsky 1996). Citizenship on the basis of birth in the country, or *jus soli*, is recognized only for individuals born in the country prior to February 26, 1992 and their children (1992 Amendment to the Nationality

²⁰ One of the most recent examples of such an action occurred as recently as 2014 in the Dominican Republic when people of Haitian descent who had lived in the country for generations were effectively denied possibility of citizenship after years of being denied birth registrations (Georgetown, 2014; UNHCR, 2014a; see also Bartlett, 2012 for description of literacy discrimination in citizenship tests).

Act).²¹ Yet, studies by PLAN (2005) and UNESCO (2006; data cited in Flaim 2008) indicated that as many as 26 percent of highland minority children under the age of 10 had not been registered at birth according to the law as recently as 2006.²² In other words, Aqcha is unique in his family, but his lack of birth registration is certainly not unique among the broader highland population. In order to address this disjuncture between law and practice, UNESCO and PLAN International have been working to educate both district officials and highlander communities on the importance of, and procedures for, the systematic implementation of universal birth registration.

Approaching the problem of insufficient documentation from a slightly different angle, a group of stateless and refugee youth who live along Thailand's western border with Burma have initiated a program to document every detail of their lives in order to compile a paper trail from which they can build a potential claim to citizenship in Thailand, residency in a refugee camp, and/or asylum in the West (UNESCO Statelessness Working Group, May 20, 2010). While varying significantly with regard to scale, both agendas are reflective of, and are responding to, the globalizing imperative for material proof of identity in order to claim "a right to belong" in Thailand, or indeed anywhere in the world (Feingold 2002; see also Caplan and Torpey, 2001; Torpey, 1998; 2000).

In tandem with these global and local movements to expand and/or improve identification agendas, the Ministry of Interior of Thailand has significantly ramped up several of the state's identification programs. Although the country is not party to either convention on statelessness, in 2005, the Ministry of Interior issued a directive to reduce and resolve statelessness in the country through expanded and improved

²¹ The 1992 Amendment to the Nationality Act, issued on February 25, enforced the date of February 26, 1992 as the official cut-off date for the right to claim citizenship by right of *jus soli*.

²² See also Mukdawan (2006) and Pesses (2006).

issuance of documentation.²³ One subsequent component of this agenda has been to provide DNA testing for individuals who lack sufficient documentation of birth or residence in the country to prove a claim to citizenship by right of *jus soli*, but who could claim citizenship through descent (*jus sanguinis*) (Chappanapong, 2011).²⁴

In addition to rendering the process of citizenship adjudication and identification more ‘scientific,’ the state has also expanded identification programs within the country. Thailand’s controversial cross-border Nationality Verification program, conducted in partnership with neighboring governments of Lao PDR, Cambodia, and Myanmar, requires all undocumented residents in the country to acquire verification of nationality from their home countries in order to acquire an official work permit in Thailand. For resident non-citizens like Aqcha who have no home country but Thailand, this program ostensibly ensures that their cases will be resolved through yearly renewal of registration at the local district office. In more recent years, the government removed its long-standing reservation on Article 7 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN General Assembly, 1989), which refers to the right of children to birth registration, and issued a mandate requiring all children over the age of seven to carry a government ID card, which identifies the legal status of the child.²⁵ Regardless of intent, the government has continued to expand its programs for

²³ This was in partial response to the apparent statelessness of minority groups in Southern Thailand, whose lack of claims to birth or residency in the country became apparent after the tragedy of the 2004 Tsunami. See the Asia Foundation for more information on the case of Moken peoples in particular.

²⁴ PLAN International, Asia Foundation and the Mirror Foundation have operated DNA-testing support programs in Thailand.

²⁵ In addition to providing for the right to birth registration, Article 7 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child protects the right of every child “to have a name, ...to acquire a nationality, and as far as possible, the right to know and be cared for by his or her parents.”

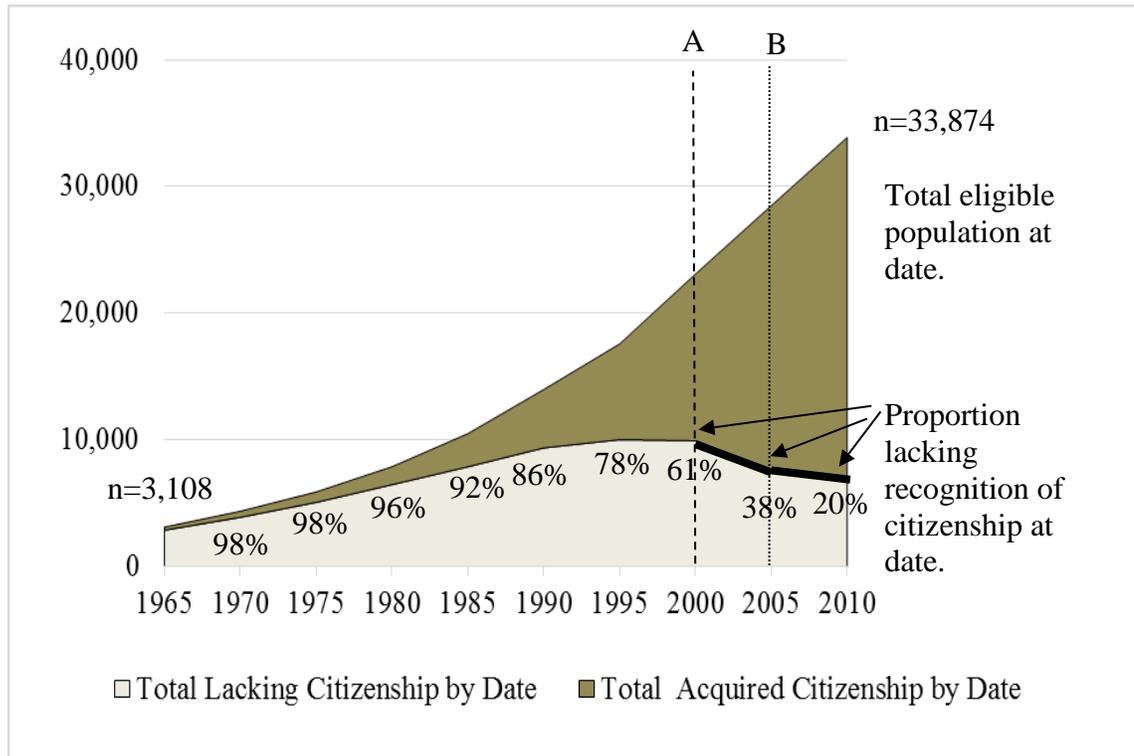
identification of all residents within the country since issuing the directive for statelessness prevention in 2005.²⁶

Although Thailand is not party to either the 1954 or 1961 Statelessness Convention (UNGA, 1954, 1961), my previous analysis reveals that, for the past decade, momentum at local, national and international levels has been building to resolve cases such as Aqcha's through legal, procedural, and programmatic measures. As data from the UNESCO Highland Peoples' Survey II (2010)²⁷ reveal in Figure 1 below, this momentum has produced considerable change: Whereas more than 60 percent of eligible highlanders in the UNESCO HPS II subsample lacked recognition of citizenship in the form of the national ID card (*baht bprachamdtua bprachaachon*) in 2000, this number dropped to 38 percent by 2005 (see difference between lines A to B). At the same time, however, data confirm findings by Chutima (2009) and Mukdawan (2009) that the problem of statelessness persists despite these progressive changes. Although the proportion of highlanders who lack citizenship has continued to drop since 2000, UNESCO HPS II data suggest that resolution to the problem has stalled since 2005.

²⁶ In recent months, the military government, which ousted Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra in May of 2014, has called for *all* foreigners—including Westerners—who reside in Thailand to carry government issued ID cards (Wattanawanitchakorn, 2014).

²⁷ I describe the survey instrument and data in Chapter 3, and I dedicate much of the rest of the dissertation—particularly Chapters 4 and 6—to presenting findings from the survey.

Figure 1: Citizenship Acquisition among Highlanders, UNESCO HPS II



Please note parameters for data analysis below.²⁸

²⁸ I determine eligibility from this broad sample of highland villages located at the northernmost border of Thailand in narrow terms. As I elaborate in detail in Chapter 2, I define eligibility of recognition of citizenship status on the legal standards and procedures delineated in Thai Nationality Law and conferral manuals. While I elaborate on this method in Chapter 2, I note here that this Figure therefore reflects a choice to limit analysis to individuals born in Thailand, and individuals who self-identify as one of nine ‘hill tribe’ ethnicities only. While the UNESCO survey included individuals of other ethnicities who are technically eligible for citizenship, the law is more straightforward in its treatment of ‘hill tribes’—a category that includes Lahu, Karen, Akha, Hmong, Lisu, Khamu, Mien, Mlabri, and Lua people only (see Chapter 2 for more information). To be clear, I do not make this distinction in order to assert or reify an idea of distinction between groups on the basis of an idea that some people are more deserving of citizenship than others. Rather, I limit the analysis to these groups in order to reflect rates of resolution to citizenship in accordance with Thai law and regulations.

1.3 Research Questions

In this dissertation, I interrogate the protracted problem of statelessness among highlanders in Northern Thailand through a lens configured in theoretical understandings of citizenship as a category and practice of sovereignty (Agamben, 1998, 2005; Arendt, 1994; Dunn and Cons, 2014). Following the call by Dunn and Cons (2014) to disentangle the practices and conditions—and I add here, categories—of sovereignty from the claims and narratives on which they are based, my study interrogates three interrelated lines of inquiry:

First, I examine the current terrain of inclusion and exclusion in the highlands to understand what, if any, slippages remain between the eligibility statuses of highlanders and actual legal status outcomes. And, I ask, what factors are currently predictive of status as a citizen or non-citizen?

Second, I examine the procedures and practices of citizenship conferral and denial to understand how inclusion and exclusion are produced. How, is citizenship delimited in this context, by whom, and on what basis?

Third, I interrogate the ways that deprivations are produced along lines of juridical inclusion and exclusion. I ask, how is inclusion and exclusion enforced in this context, and what are the implications for highlanders' lives, livelihoods and futures?

1.4 The Problem with Statelessness

Hannah Arendt, one of the foremost theorists of statelessness, and herself a stateless refugee to the United States during WWII, likely would not be surprised that the problem of statelessness persists in Thailand or that the problem now exists elsewhere around the world. Arendt's (1994: 292) concept of statelessness revealed not just a problem in and for the international system of territorialized nation-states, but the ultimate paradox built within: a system founded on an ideal of inalienable "Rights of Man" simply cannot enforce those same rights without a mediating framework of

nationality, which necessarily excludes at the same time it includes. While Arendt's theory of statelessness derives from her historical analysis of the case of Jews under totalitarian regimes in Europe, the basis of her conception of modern forms of exclusion continues to inspire rich theoretical debates and theories of state power and subjectivity (Agamben, 1995; Dunn and Cons, 2014; Gupta, 2012). Within it lies a framework replete with possibilities for understanding operations of sovereignty and the relationships of these operations and practices with conditions of exclusion *as well as inclusion*. While Arendt's statelessness concept focuses the analytical eye toward ever-shifting and historically-specific relationships to rule, many global campaigns of statelessness prevention focus on "the stateless" alone. These agendas aim to reduce statelessness by eradicating lack—lack of nationality, lack of legal protections or rights, lack of identification, lack of identity. By shifting the historical artifact of power that is Arendt's statelessness to a reified, ahistorical fact of lack to be eradicated through shoring up nationality laws, mitigated with adoption and ratification of human rights law, and prevented with improved identification techniques, global campaigns for statelessness prevention risk deemphasizing the local, national and international contexts in which 'lack' is actively produced. In short, the theoretical frameworks underpinning many agendas of global statelessness prevention often lack the state. They are, in a word, state-less.

I do not intend to suggest here that statelessness is *not* a problem. Like every other non-citizen with whom I spoke in Thailand, Aqcha attributes a number of problems and challenges to his lack of citizenship. However, I do argue that by conflating the constructed legal category of statelessness with technopolitical issues of identification (Mitchell, 2002, see also Ferguson, 1994), we limit our capacities to disrupt and transform the ways that various legal categories, including citizenship, are actively delimited, enforced, and reproduced in highly variable ways and to equally

variable ends (see Chapters 5 and 6). Following Hart (2006), advancing analyses of the ways that power is constituted and reproduced to the exclusion of people like Aqcha may offer crucial information about possibilities for its disruption and transformation.

Beyond limiting our conceptions of the terms and conditions of sovereignty that produce political exclusion, attending to statelessness as an *a priori* condition of lack simultaneously fails to account for the dynamic history of statelessness *and citizenship* among highlanders in Thailand. In Chapter 2, I draw briefly from the extensive body of literature on the topic to trace the historical—and, I argue, *on-going*—negotiations between agents of the state to assert territorialized sovereignty in the hills and various communities of highlanders to contest, negotiate, and increasingly *seek* incorporation into an ever changing state. In short, the history I provide reveals that ‘statelessness’ is not new to highlanders in Thailand, that ‘statelessness’ has never been fully synonymous with deprivation, and that neither the nation-state nor its operations of sovereign power have ever been complete or stable.

In *The Art of Not Being Governed*, Scott (2009: 337) paints a romantic (and controversial) portrait of pre-WWII life in the highlands of mainland Southeast Asia as an anarchic state of “purposeful statelessness [in which highlanders had] adapted to a world of states while remaining outside their firm grasp.” Scott’s provocative argument that highlanders honed and mobilized their respective cultural, political, and agricultural resources as a conscious means to evade state governance is debatable and debated (Fiskesjo, 2010; Jonsson, 2005, 2014). Yet, many anthropologists and historians of the region have argued that as late as the 1960s, possession or lack of formal recognition of citizenship had very little, if any, meaning for the livelihoods and life trajectories of most highlanders in Thailand (Feingold, 2014; Scott, 2009). Today, however, many highland people without citizenship feel that they cannot live a full or

fulfilling life without it. This dissertation is driven by the guiding question: how has this come to be?

1.5 From Identifying ‘the Stateless’ to Recognizing Sovereignty in Status

In this dissertation I examine the issue of unresolved citizenship/protracted statelessness among highlanders in northern Thailand. Like most scholars of statelessness, I too construct much of my analytical lens with the aid of Arendt’s seminal book, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Yet, rather than beginning from her groundbreaking analysis in Chapter 9 of the conditions of statelessness to which European Jews were subject, I approach the case of exclusion among highlanders with Arendt’s broader framework in mind: the particular modes and practices of sovereignty which enforce and produce particular categories of identification and associated conditions of life (and death). What I excavate from Arendt in approaching the question of ‘statelessness’ among highlanders is a framework that reveals essentially arbitrary and changing categories of identification (e.g., citizen, “Hill tribe,” ‘migrant,’ ‘stateless,’ or ‘refugee’) and the conditions and trajectories of highlanders’ lives associated with these categories as reflections of particular operations and practices of sovereignty (Agamben, 1998; 2005; Dunn and Cons, 2014).

In *Homo Sacer* and *State of Exception*, Agamben extends Arendt’s analysis of totalitarianism and the Final Solution of the Jews to argue that exclusion—or, more specifically, the power to exclude—comprises a *sine qua non* of sovereignty. Under Agamben’s framework, exclusion is revealed most clearly in its *condition*: that is, to be fully excluded (yet included under the specter of the ban) is to be reduced from political, meaningful life (*bios*) to that of *zoe*—biological life at its most base, or *bare* form. Exclusion seen as bare life, or life laid bare, is therefore *not* the opposite of inclusion or citizenship (c.f. Kerber, 2007), but rather, the inverse of sovereignty altogether (Kantorowicz, 1998). In advancing Arendt’s analyses, Agamben’s

conception of sovereignty reveals the persistent production of conditions of bare life under various modern political regimes, from authoritarian to liberal democratic, most notably in spaces like concentration camps and detention centers, where the suspension of law under a constant state of exception becomes the rule. While focusing particularly on the operations of power and the conditions of life in these ‘exceptional’ spaces, Agamben’s work draws on Foucault’s theory of biopolitics (1997a, 1997b), to argue that under modern operations of sovereignty, the biological life of all subjects—regardless of status—comprises a key concern of modern power. In short, Agamben’s framework reveals all categories of legal status—whether stateless or citizen—as variously stable or unstable relationships with and within modern arrangements of sovereignty in the nation-state system. In this light, Arendt’s description of Jewish statelessness under totalitarian power may perhaps be better described as *state-fullness*: in such circumstances, agency over one’s individual life becomes so reduced as to be thus fully determined and circumscribed by the operations of state sovereignty.

While powerful as a lens in configuring an understanding of sovereignty and exclusion in liminal spaces of exception in which bare life is produced (e.g., the concentration camp or detention center), such liminal and totalizing conditions of deprivation do not prevail in the highlands.²⁹ Rather than discarding the analytical framework as too limited to the liminal, however, Dunn and Cons (2014) argue that Agamben’s approach continues to be useful for interrogating the ways in which sovereignty outside the camp remains ever-*incomplete* and unstable, and for understanding lives lived in spaces of incomplete, unstable sovereignty as *burdened*, rather than bare. To ‘see’ and map sovereignty outside of the camp, however, they

²⁹ Although, it should and must be noted that in the not-so-recent past, highlanders’ fields had been indiscriminately burned (see Jonsson, 2006), and highlanders suffered extra-judicial killings under Taksin’s War on Drugs in the north during the early 2000s (Dhongchai, Verawongse, Jotiroseranee, Trong-ngam, Sivaraska, Tantiwittayapitipak, and Tang, 2005).

argue that the practices and operations of sovereignty—and, I add here, the categories and conditions of life lived in relation to it—must be first disentangled from the claims to sovereign power upon which they are based.

In sum, approaching the problem of statelessness from the perspective of sovereignty does the much-overlooked work of recognizing the practices and arrangements of state power in delimiting the terms and conditions under which possession of a legal identity has come to *matter* in everyday life. Status—statelessness, citizenship and other subject-positions in-between—do not exist in vacuums of law or deprivation as *a priori* facts. Rather, these statuses and associated conditions of life reflect constantly shifting operations of recognition (and denial thereof) by actors and agents on behalf of sovereign power. Therefore, the questions to ask, are not *only* who is stateless and why, but rather, how do various identities reflect particular operations and arrangements of state sovereignty? How is status adjudicated in this context, on what basis, and by whom? What does it mean to be ‘excluded’ in this context? Why is statelessness so closely associated with deprivation, and how has it come to be this way?

1.6 Overview of Dissertation

In this dissertation, I use a framework of sovereignty and status to examine how legal status categories—from citizenship to statelessness—have been and continue to be enforced, produced, and differentially experienced among highlanders in Northern Thailand. I begin in Chapter 2 with a brief history of the expansion of the state into the highlands, and of various attempts by highlanders to evade, contest, *and participate* in the state as citizens over the past half century. This history reveals that the categories, conditions and operations of exclusion (and *inclusion*) have always been shifting in the highlands, and that the legal categories that exclusion (e.g., “hill tribe,” ‘alien’, and

‘migrant’) have never been entirely congruous with conditions of total deprivation in the highlands.

In Chapter 3, I discuss in detail my particular mixed-methodological and multi-sited approach to interrogating the categories of, and conditions associated with, statuses of inclusion and exclusion among highlanders in Thailand. First I discuss the details of my ethnographic engagement with questions of identification and citizenship conferral from perspectives of highland villagers and government officials at varying levels of authority. Second, I discuss the ways in which my ethnographic engagement in the highlands both informed and enhanced my subsequent construction and eventual implementation of the UNESCO Highland Peoples’ Survey II (2010)—a survey that includes more than 70,000 highlanders in more than 15,000 households in 292 villages located along the international border of Thailand with Burma/Myanmar and Lao PDR. Finally, I discuss the ethics and limits of research and representation, with particular consideration of the long and controversial history of ethnographic and survey research about, with, and amongst “hill tribes,” which has contributed as much to the production of highlanders as “Others Within” (Thongchai, 2000a) as it has to their inclusion in, and active transformation of, Thai society as citizens (McKinnon and Vienne, 1989).

Before undertaking analyses of the ways in which legal exclusion and deprivation are produced and linked (Chapters 5 and 6, respectively), I examine the extent to which juridical and programmatic interventions have resolved and prevented statelessness in the highlands as many statelessness prevention programs optimistically claim. In Chapter 4, “Mapping the Current State of Statelessness in the Highlands,” I draw on extensive and detailed data from the UNESCO Highland Peoples’ Survey II, to build on and extend a growing literature that has long pointed to persistent barriers to inclusion in citizenship, and the effects of exclusion from citizenship among highlanders in Thailand (Chutima, 2005, 2009; Feingold, 2002; Flaim, 2008; Koning,

Flaim and Feingold, 2014; Mukdawan, 2006, 2009; Pinkaew, 2003, 2014; Toyota, 2005; Yindee, 2005). Using these detailed and extensive data, I deploy various statistical modeling procedures to compare eligibility statuses of highlanders, as stipulated in Thai nationality law, with their actual citizenship and identification outcomes. Bridging findings from a recent small-scale survey of citizenship (Chutima, 2009) with intensive ethnographic analyses of barriers to citizenship (Chutima, 2006; Feingold, 2002; Mukdawan, 2005, 2009), findings from my analyses in Chapter 4 reveal inconsistencies in the implementation of the law across individuals, households, ethnic groups, villages and districts; and persistent fissures between the letter of the law and actual legal status outcomes among highlanders. The UNESCO HPS II data reveal that thousands of highlanders have acquired recognition of citizenship over the past 15 years. However, the data also reveal that as many as 60 percent of stateless highlanders meet one or more of the state's specified criteria for citizenship (e.g. descent or birth), meaning that, by the letter of the law, they have legitimate claims to Thai citizenship.³⁰ Although multi-level, mixed-effects modeling of data reveal that claims to citizenship by descent provide the most explanatory power of citizenship outcomes (findings that are in accordance with stipulations in Thai law), models also reveal that variations across village and district of residence also significantly contribute to uneven outcomes in citizenship among highlanders. This finding is significant in both statistical and political terms because it exposes the theoretical notion of nationality/citizenship as a simple "bond between a state and an individual" (UNCHR, 2014e) as considerably more complicated in practice.

³⁰ As I note in analyses of findings in Chapter 3, I do not conduct this analysis to suggest that any one person is more deserving of citizenship than another. As will be clear in Chapter 4, the purpose of these analyses is to reveal how the ostensibly open process continues to produce exclusion regardless of one's claim to citizenship.

In Chapter 5, “Paths to Citizenship and Statelessness: Bureaucracy, Contingency and Problems of Evidence,” I draw on ethnographic and survey data to interrogate findings of persistent unevenness in citizenship outcomes that I present in Chapter 4. My analyses in Chapter 5 extend ethnographic research that has pointed to bureaucratic complexity in the path to citizenship for highlanders, variations in capacity across and between government officials at all stages of the process, and entrenched corruption within the bureaucracy (Chutima, 2009; 2005; Mukdawan, 2009; Feingold, 2002). To this list of problems—complexity, (in)capacity, and corruption—I add the issue of contingency in the multiple pathways to citizenship (Gupta, 2012). Specifically, through grounded ethnographic analysis, I trace three paths to citizenship for highlanders—institutional, geographical, and inter-generational—and I argue that these paths to citizenship are both founded on and reproduce contingency in the application of otherwise progressive nationality law to the *exclusion* of thousands of people like Aqcha as well as the *inclusion* of thousands like his cousin Miqbawr. By tracing these three paths to citizenship, I argue that moments of evidence production and interpretation along the paths to citizenship have been, and continue to be influenced and shaped by arbitrariness, contingency and discrimination on the side of the state (see also Gupta, 2012), and have been inconsistently accessed and understood by highlanders themselves.

Contingencies in moments of evidence production, I further argue, produce inconsistent, flawed, and incomplete documentation of birth, blood, and residence—evidence that nevertheless comprises the standard against which highlanders must prove their claims to belong. Rather than pointing to ways to improve the bureaucratic, legal, or identification infrastructure to ensure the conferral of citizenship to all eligible persons, my analysis reveals that problems persist because of the flawed foundations of evidence upon which claims to citizenship are built. Understandings of differences in

citizenship outcomes among and between highlanders cannot, therefore, be interpreted as simple differences in eligibility for citizenship. Rather, understandings of the problem must accommodate the variations and contingencies in practices of civil registration at the village and district levels that have unequally shaped state access to, and interpretations of, highlanders, as well as highlanders' access to and interpretations of the state.

In Chapter 6, which is entitled, "Diverging Destinations and Destinies: Migration, Statelessness, and the Production of Deprivation in the Highlands," I reveal acute deprivations in migration and education outcomes along legal status lines. Moreover, I draw on ethnographic research to reveal how these inequalities in education and migration in particular are generating and exacerbating deprivations among and across new generations of non-citizens in the highlands. Specifically, findings from this chapter reveal that state restrictions on movement are producing both direct and indirect barriers to achieving Thailand's otherwise progressive goals of universal schooling and health care.

In Chapter 7, "Conclusions, Contributions and Directions Forward," I summarize the key findings and review the limitations of the study with regard to needs for directions for future research on issues of statelessness in Thailand and beyond. I discuss the substantive, methodological, and theoretical contributions of the dissertation to the fields of political sociology, citizenship studies and development; and in conclusion, I consider these scholarly contributions with respect to possibilities for political action at the local, national and global scale. I end the dissertation not with a prescription for action or a new, improved typology of statelessness, but rather with a set of questions for investigating and mapping practices of sovereignty within this inherently exclusive international regime of ostensibly inclusive citizenship.

CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORY OF SOVEREIGNTY AND EXCLUSION IN THE HIGHLANDS

2.1 Chapter Overview

An extensive body of research exists on the histories of highlanders in Thailand (see Safman, 2007 for review), and a body of research on the history of the Thai state *in* the highlands is growing as well (Chayan, 2005; McCaskill and Kampe, 1997; Pinkeaw, 2003, 2014.). Additionally, a long tradition of anthropological research among the many groups who constitute the “highland population” has also generated a rich empirical history of the ways in which highlanders have engaged with the Thai state—from evasion, to active participation, to transgression and transformation (Jonsson 2005, 2014; Scott, 2009).³¹ In this chapter, I draw on these overlapping literatures to trace a brief history of citizenship and statelessness in the highlands. In addition to providing a requisite ‘background’ of statelessness in the hills, this chapter constitutes a review of the practices, modes, and technologies of state sovereignty (Dunn and Cons 2014) in articulating and asserting control in the highlands.

2.2 Narratives of Sovereign Rule: Constructing Highlanders as State-Invaders

In his recent dissertation, Ahlquist (2015) describes a prominently-displayed map in Chiang Mai city’s Tribal Museum, which is a repository of artifacts of “hill tribe” village life, and a rich archive of 20th century state development projects in the

³¹ This body of work is too extensive to cover in in-text citations. This anthropological engagement with and amongst highland groups is not limited to Thailand, and much of the work conducted in Thailand is informed by similar engagements across borders in Burma, China, Lao PDR, and Cambodia. For an extensive review of research conducted prior to and during WWII, see Scott (2009). For two of the more recent ethnographic accounts of the creative ways in which highlanders actively and creatively negotiate, see out, and claim space in the Thai nation-*and*-state, see McKinnon (2005), Mukdawan (2009), Jonsson (2005, 2014).

north. Walking into the museum, visitors are greeted with a disembodied map of Thailand with arrows placed over the border of the country, each one pointing toward the highland region of Thailand in the north.³² Each arrow is a different color, and corresponds to ostensibly known migration patterns and dates of ostensibly different “Hill Tribes”—the Karen, Lisu, Lahu, Akha “Yao” (Mien), and “Meo” (Hmong). This “invasion map,” as Ahlquist calls it, encapsulates in simple iconography the state’s powerful claims to sovereign rule in the north. Specifically, the map projects backward into history a view of a territorially intact nation-state, that simply did not exist at the times in which many highlanders were moving in and around the forests of the north.³³ Second, Ahlquist points out, by omitting information about the migrations of Tai-Khadai speakers, the map projects a fiction of congruity between the ostensibly known territory of Thailand and the ostensibly uniform Thai nation—itsself a construction that belies tremendous ethno-linguistic diversity in its own right (Keyes, 1997). As this chapter will reveal, the view of highlanders as interlopers in Thailand is a long-standing and powerful narrative that was used to justify their perpetual exclusion from citizenship.

For reasons I discuss below, the state has recently conceded flexibility in this narrative to include some highlanders as “original hill tribes” and thus privilege these claims to citizenship (Chutima 2009). Yet embedded in this terminology is the state’s steadfast commitment to the idea of “hill tribes” as interlopers in a natural Thai-nation-and-state—an idea that continues to justify and inform practices of exclusion, dispossession and surveillance in the hills to this day. Indeed, while the category of

³² The map is titled in English, “The Migration of the Tribes,” but Ahlquist notes that the Thai version reads, “The Migration of the Hill Tribes into Thailand.”

³³ Historians, linguistic anthropologists, archaeologists, and now rice-genome sequencers continue to explore the migrations of peoples (including ethnic Thais) in and around mainland Southeast Asia long before the establishment of the nation-state system (Ramanujan, 2014).

“original hill tribes” privileges particular people who can prove their claims to citizenship (to state agents), it simultaneously implies that some “hill tribes” are foreign, and that their foreignness is knowable, certifiable, natural. The ambitious goal of this brief chapter is to reveal the long and complex roots of highlander exclusion and to excavate the reasons why their exclusion from citizenship, as a relatively recent historical phenomenon, has come to be framed and accepted as natural as a Thai nation or citizenship itself.

2.3 The Colonial Encounter: Constructing the Nation-and-State

Discrimination against highlanders is not new or unique to Thailand, but the view of the northern hills as an object of sovereign power is a relatively recent phenomenon, as is the view of highlanders as a distinct, supposedly coherent group of “hill tribes”. Prior to the colonial encounter in Southeast Asia, sovereignty operated as system of overlapping kingdoms in which power was concentrated at the center, in the body of the king, and became increasingly diffuse at the margins (Tambiah, 2013; Wolters, 1982). Principalities were located primarily in the lowlands where paddy-rice agriculture enabled the relatively dense concentration of a relatively stable population, which remained relatively small and mobile for centuries. While different highland groups participated to varying degrees in the tributary system, which often linked smaller principalities into a broader tributary system, some of which even led to Beijing (Tambiah, 2013; Wolters, 1982), highland forests and the people who resided there were generally considered “wild” and “savage” (Thongchai, 2000b). Whether due to choice and savvy of highlanders themselves (Scott 2009), due to a lack state interest in, or capacity to, access and govern mountainous jungles and the peoples who resided there (Hanks, Sharp and Hanks, 1964) or due to some combination thereof (Jonsson, 2014), highland groups long maintained *relative* political and cultural autonomy from lowland states by residing beyond their administrative and military reach.

Although Thailand was never officially colonized, the colonial encounter in the region forced a dramatic shift in these conceptions and arrangements of sovereignty, and with it, the meanings of who highlanders are and what they signified for new claims to rule. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Bangkok-centered monarchy acted under increasing pressure from the British Empire in Burma and from the French in Laos and Cambodia to map its territorial boundaries and incorporate smaller principalities in the north and northwest into administrative control—to develop the practices of a “modern” nation-state (Thongchai, 1994; Vandergeest and Peluso, 1995). Mapping borders, and creating the Thai “geobody” (Thongchai, 1994), signaled a monumental move toward the adoption of a Westphalian conception of state sovereignty, which assumes power to be contained within mutually-exclusive geographical borders, and evenly-operational over each and every square inch of territory, as well as the resources and people therein (Anderson, 1991; Thongchai, 1994). At the moment in which Siam was officially mapped, the hills that had been formerly considered beyond the bounds of civilization, altogether, were conceptually drawn under the administrative purview of the burgeoning nation-state.

Although conceptions and arrangements of sovereignty were shifting in Bangkok and in lowland centers, the translation of these new understandings of rule into regular administrative and military practices was not immediate. In order to achieve the neat order now projected in the Hill Tribe Museum’s “Invasion Map,” the new Siamese government needed to bring lowland principalities and their diverse populations under direct military rule, but also to engender a new subjectivity of belonging to a larger, modern Siamese nation. For instance, the first Nationality Act of Siam (1913) conferred citizenship to all persons born within the territory—a measure that signaled the transformation of lowland peasants into supposedly equal citizens of the new state (Phuntip, 2006). Yet, the practices of formally registering these

individuals as citizens apparently followed earlier practices and conceptions of rule, as officials of the 1904 census were officially forbidden from entering and registering communities in the hills (Grabowsky, 1996).³⁴ While the Nationality Act rendered highlanders born in Siam as *de jure* citizens, the vast majority were never included in state censuses or cadastral surveys, and thus entered the 20th century as *de facto* stateless. In an inverse of the current conditions of statelessness whereby the lives and futures of stateless individuals are heavily circumscribed by the terms and borders of a state that does not recognize them, statelessness in the highlands during the pre-WWII period may be understood as a state of nation-state-lessness, as the state simply did not operate in the hills until much later.

It is tempting to apply the argument that statelessness occurs as a simple result of ‘not being counted’ to the situation in northern Thailand. This understanding of statelessness is a popular view among development agencies that justifies the rapid registrations of “at risk” populations. In the case of Thailand, such an understanding would prove a dramatic oversimplification, however. Indeed, the majority of highlanders (and highland spaces) “didn’t count” in the view of early state administrators, and thus were not counted in early state registrations. While the early state had a more flexible and tolerant view of diversity that often incorporated some Karen (Bawkayaw) and Lua villages near lowland centers (Grabowsky, 1996) the systematic omission of most highland villages from state registrations and censuses through the 1960s must be understood within the broader context of the government’s increasingly ethnocentric and racist policies. That is, highlanders “don’t count” as

³⁴ In an exception that proves the rule, Grabowsky (1996) notes that some Karen and Lua villages were included in this early survey, and were included with distinctions marking them as Karen or Lua, rather than as “hill tribes.” Initially, the Siamese government retained a flexible and more tolerant perspective of diversity among its subjects, particularly among the larger subpopulations of Tai-speakers such as the Northern Thai (khonmuang) (Jonsson, 2014; Keyes, 1997; Renard, 2000; Reynolds, 2002; Scott, 2009; Tambiah, 2013).

citizens today, because they weren't counted before because they have long been viewed as peoples who "didn't count." Like arrangements of territorial sovereignty, the othering of highlanders continues to change, but is deeply rooted in the formation of the modern nation-state.

The origins of a unified national identity concept that excluded highland groups took institutional root after the reign of King Chulalongkorn during the reign of his youngest son, King Vajiravudh in the early 20th century. While the kings of Siam had "prided themselves on being rulers of a diverse population" (Reynolds, 2002), King Vajiravudh (1910-1924) propagated a nationalism on the foundations of a Siamese-centered culture, shared by all Tai peoples (Laungaramsri, 2003; Raendchen, 2004; Reynolds, 2002; Toyota, 2005). The concept of "Thainess" (*kwambpenthai*) that Vajiravudh promoted has three exclusive, yet ambiguous pillars: loyalty to the King, adherence to Buddhism, and participation in the (Thai-speaking) Nation (Raendchen, 2004). While very diverse, most highland groups were excluded from "Thainess" as the majority of highlanders were not Buddhist, did not speak Thai, and were more democratically oriented and egalitarian than the explicitly monarchist notion of "Thainess" required (Renard, 2000).

On June 24, 1939, the seventh anniversary of a coup that established the constitutional monarchy, General Phibun Songkhram officially changed the name of the state from Siam to Thailand, a move that officially fused the "imagined community" of Thais to its geobody (Anderson, 1991; Reynolds, 2002; Thongchai, 1994). This declaration was followed by a series of edicts, or Cultural Mandates, which codified the new Thai national culture, drawing from the Siamese high culture concept established the Central Thai majority (Reynolds, 2002: 4-5). For example, the Fourth Cultural Mandate cast during the reign of King Vajiravudh. These Cultural Mandates, which codified central Siamese/Thai culture as the official national culture, both suppressed

acknowledgements of ethnic diversity among the population and subordinated the interests of non-Central Thai peoples to those of distinctive identities of Malay Muslims of the South, the Lao of the Northeast, the Northern Thai of the North (Lanna) as regional variations of the Central Thai culture, a trend continued today and reflected by the national census, which since the 1930s, has included no indicators for ethnicity, and thereby (re)produces a picture of a homogenous (Thai) population (Keyes, 1997).³⁵

2.4 “Hill Tribes”: *Between Boundaries of the State and Borders of the Nation*

Throughout the early to mid-20th century, highlanders were excluded from the narrow conceptions of “Thainess,” excluded from state registrations while the forests in which they lived were (conceptually) incorporated, and served as a foil against which the early state used to demonstrate modernity to the West (Thongchai, 1994, 2000b). While these issues set the stage for the current situation of protracted statelessness, these exclusions and indignities arguably had little, if any, impact on the lives of most highlanders as the state lacked the capacity to effectively draw highland territories and people within its administrative purview until only recently (Thongchai, 1994; Vandergeest and Peluso, 1995; Scott, 2009). Indeed, by many accounts, highland villages remained exceedingly difficult to access by anything other than foot, horse and elephant until the late 1960s, even when the locations of the villages were known.

³⁵ This particular identity construction is reflected in the explicit assimilation and acculturation of Thailand’s larger ethnic minorities—particularly the Isan (Lao) people of the northeast and the Muslims (Malays) of the south. Thailand’s strict assimilation policies regarding the people of Isan are particularly enlightening in this regard: Having exercised economic and military influence in this distinctively Lao region since the 17th century, the Thai state officially undertook a policy of acculturation after France ceded the region to Thailand in 1904. The name, “Isan” which was given to the region and its people by the Thai state, nominally severs cultural ties with Laos; and because it relates to Sanskrit conceptions of the northeast, geographically links the region to Thailand (Keyes, 1997).

The following account of researchers undertaking the Cornell-Bennington Survey of the Hill Tribes of Chiang Rai Province reflects the precariousness of travel during stages of state expansion in the highlands as recently as the mid-1960s:

Roads by and large have been made for bullock carts and connect lowland villages... [but] beyond the last [lowland] village they end in some bushy field where the hills rise steeply. At this point the main trails take over, serving only man and his pack animals. ...Beyond the main trails lie secondary ones where the grade is too steep or the clearing of jungle too haphazard to risk going even with a sure-footed mule (Hanks, Sharp and Hanks, 1964: 8-9).

Perhaps proving the point all too well, the extensive goals for the Bennington-Cornell survey were not met, as researchers cited difficulties in traveling to, from, and between highland villages.

However, the latter half of the 20th century saw significant changes in the state's interest in, and technical capacities to, extend its administrative reach into the northern uplands. The question of whether and how to include highlanders as citizens of Thailand arose under the particularly hostile and tense circumstances of the Cold War. After WWII, growing concerns amongst government officials over perceived threats of communist insurgency from China, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos, and mounting international pressures to eradicate the country's opium economy (to which some highland groups were suppliers) propelled the state military and development apparatus into the highlands and brought the issue of citizenship for highlanders to the fore. Through the intensely xenophobic lens of the state, highland villagers, whose diverse languages, cultures and livelihoods had been effectively rendered *non-Thai* under the narrow definition of "Thainess" (Keyes, 1997). Moreover, in the particularly hostile milieu of the growing Cold War, their ways of life came to be framed not only as *non-Thai*, but *anti-Thai* (see McKinnon and Vienne, 1989).

As Thai state officials perceived an increasing threat of communism during the rise of the People's Republic of China and the Indochinese wars for independence, highland villagers were identified as potential sources of insurgency (Pinkaw, 2003).³⁶ In the particular case of highland ethnic minorities located along the border territories of Laos and Burma, the relatively mobile agricultural practices and cultural distinctiveness of highlander groups were not only cast as definitively non-Thai, but as “problems” (*banhaa chaokhao*) requiring resolution for the betterment of highlanders themselves and for the security and prosperity of the nation. The following excerpt from a highland development publication illustrates this view:

The hill tribes in Thailand are regarded as minority groups, who differ from Thai lowland peoples in some major aspects such as race, socio-economic [organization], religion and language. They, therefore, have no sense of national belonging and/or national consciousness but rather are cohesive within their own groups. Illiteracy, poor health conditions and insecure socio-economic life are found among them, and these factors may lead to political effects and require extension of effective administration into the hill villages. If the national authorities do not take care of the hill people, they are likely to fall under communist influence...Further, as they are along the Thai-Laos border, these people will be either the doors through which the Pathet Lao move into Thailand or the fortresses which guarantee the safety of the border. This depends on our nation building-policy (cited in Suwanbubpa 1976).

In official use since 1959, the term “hill tribe” (*chaokhao*) constitutes the first non-citizen status to be wholly ascribed to Lua, Karen, Lahu, Hmong, Akha, Khamu,

³⁶ While separatist movements originating during the Cold War in the southern region of Thailand among the Thai Malay Muslim minority population remain active today, this minority population is the only group granted autochthonous status in Thailand (Pinkaw, 2003).

Lisu, and H'tin people residing in the mountains of northern Thailand. As the following rubric deployed by the Ministry of Interior reveals (see Table 1 below), the government has taken great steps to construct ostensibly simple markers to identify “hill tribes.” Specifically, they are understood to reside in 20 northern provinces³⁷ in villages with “...slopes of an average of higher than 35 percent or are located higher than 500 meters above sea level” (quoted in BSD, 2002: 2). Notably, other groups of ‘Others’ were also residing in the hills at the time (e.g., Chinese nationalists who had fled into Thailand after the Communist Revolution, Shan peoples and others) yet were not included in the “hill tribe” designation. That these distinctions were drawn arbitrarily and upheld in official policy reveals the terms to be constructions of the state in a particular historical moment rather than any essential characterization of ‘peoples’ in the mountains.

³⁷ These areas are located in the following 20 provinces: Kanchanaburi, Kampaengphet, Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai, Tak, Nan, Prachuap Khiri Khann, Payao, Phistanulok, Phetburi, Phetchabun, Phrae, Mae Hong Son, Rachaburi, Loei, Lampang, Lamphun, Sukothai, Suphan Buri, and Uthai Thani

Table 1: State Rubrics for Identifying and Registering “Hill Tribes”

<p>Hill Tribe: “Hill Tribes” as defined by the system/order of registration of the Ministry of the Interior (2000)... The Department of Provincial Administration uses the term “Thai people of the mountains,” which has the meaning of traditional minority groups that live and farm in the highlands, or peoples whose ancestors made their livelihoods in the highlands within the national boundaries of Thailand. These are groups who have cultures, customs, beliefs, languages and ways of life that are unique to themselves. These groups are the Karen, Hmong, Mien, Akha, Lahu, Lisu, Lua, H’tin, Khamu and Mlabri.³⁸</p> <p>These comprise groups of minority nationality peoples who live in the highlands and remote, distant areas of the north, west and southwest of Thailand. These groups have languages, values, beliefs, and cultural traditions that are distinct from lowland Thais. The groups may be divided along linguistic lines or settlement lines.</p> <p>Divisions according to settlement characteristics:</p> <p>Groups that live in lower areas or valleys of mountains and practice paddy rice and shifting agriculture. These groups include the Karen, Lua and Khamu hill tribe minorities.</p> <p>Groups that live at high elevations on mountain-sides at altitudes approximately 1,000 meters above sea level. These groups are Hmong, Mien, Lisu, Lahu and Akha (Bureau of Social Development 2002: 5).</p>
<p>Minority Group: Ethnic groups who live in the northern highlands of Thailand who historically were always moving between Thailand and Myanmar, and the Peoples’ Republic of Lao. These groups are the Jin Haw, Thai Yai, Palong (BSD 2002: 5).</p>
<p>Highland Community: These are communities where ethnic hill tribes live and farm. These groups are the Karen, the Hmong, Mien, Lahu, Lisu, Akha, Lua, H’tin, Khamu and Mlabri.³⁹ These areas also include areas where other minority groups (ชนกลุ่มน้อยอื่นๆ) such as the Palong, Tongsu, Jin Haw, Thai Yai, Thai Lue, lowland Thais go mix with the hill tribes for their livelihoods (BSD 2002: 2).</p>

³⁸ This list does not exactly align with the definition of hill tribes in other government documents in that the Mlabri are included. The detailed translation and transliteration of the report is as follows: “...(1) Karen, who also may be called the Bawkenkawya (Sgaw), Pwo, Tongsu (Ba-O), or Ba-Gae (Ba-Wae), (2) Hmong, who are also called the Meo, (3) Mien, who are also called the Yao, or EawMien, (4) Akha, who are also called the Ikaw, (5) Lahu, who are also called the Museu, (6) Lisu, who are also called the Lisaw, (7) Lawa, who are also called the LaWua, Lawaa, H’tin, Man, or Bray (8) Khamu, and (9) Mlabri, who are also called the People of the Yellow Leaves.”

³⁹ The list of ethnic groups does not exactly follow the words used in the BSD report (2002). The report lists the groups as “the Meaw (Hmong), Yao (Mien), Musoe (Lahu), Lisaw (Lisu), Ikaw (Akha), Lawa (Lua), H’tin, Khamu, and the Mlabri” (4).

The new “hill tribe” concept operated not only as a marker of difference. Rather, within the particularly exclusive conception of “Thainess” as a unifying concept of the nation, to be a “hill tribe” was to be officially different, and thus ineligible for citizenship. Indeed, the perceived ‘problems of the hill tribes’—from communist insurgency, to destruction of the forests, to drug trafficking—came to justify their perpetual exclusion from the nation (Pinkaew, 2003). The following quote from one state official reveals that the state’s ambivalent view and treatment of “hill tribes”—as demonstrated in dual programs of forced resettlements of villages and state-sponsored education and Buddhist conversion programs—produced a tautological impasse with regards to the question of citizenship:

“They are not citizens because we cannot be sure of their loyalty, and because they are not citizens we cannot be sure of their loyalty” (quoted in McKinnon and Vienne, 1989).

At the same time that the “problems of the hill tribes” were deployed to justify their exclusion from Thainess and thus from citizenship, the view of “hill tribes” as essentially uncivilized also necessitated the benevolent paternalism of the state (Chayan, 2005). Since the 1960s, different national and international agencies have been engaged in ‘development’ programs that have variably included settling highland villages, broadening educational programs, and orienting agricultural practices to lowland markets with varying effects on highlanders’ livelihoods (Ahlquist, 2015; Chupinit, 1994; Feingold, 1997; McKinnon and Vienne, 1989; Pinkaew, 2003; Sturgeon, 2005). Among the hundreds—if not thousands—of development projects that have operated in the highlands since the 1960s, it is perhaps not an underestimation to suggest that the project with the greatest influence on highland development (and citizenship policy) has been the Royal Project Foundation, which is symbolically led by the King and the royal family. In the following quote, the King elaborates the reasons

for initiating the Foundation in 1969. In this quote, the views of “hill tribes” as inherently different from Thais, as potential threats to the nation, and as in need of development are immediately clear:

One of the reasons underlying the creation of the project was humanitarianism; the desire that these people living in remote areas should become self-supporting and more prosperous. Another reason, which has received support from all sides, was to solve the problem of [drugs]...A further reason which is very important is that, as is well known, the hill tribes are people who use agricultural methods which, if left unchecked, could bring the country to ruin. In other words, they cut down trees and practice ‘slash and burn’ methods which are totally wrong. If we help them it is tantamount to the country in general having a better standard of living and security.

Speech at the Faculty of Agriculture, Chiang Mai University, 1969

(Highland Royal Development Institute, 2015)

In Thailand, the same King sits at the head of the nation, the unquestioned sovereign of an ever-changing constitutional and oft-authoritarian regime. His initiation of the Royal Project for purposes of “saving the nation” while “bringing highlanders into the modern world” therefore both ensured the *inclusion* of highlanders as a special population of interest and their simultaneous *exclusion*, as a special population of interest. To date, the Royal Project Foundation operates extensive projects in the highlands, and employs as day laborers many non-citizen highlanders who the King viewed so long ago, not as mere potential threats to the state, but as potentially prosperous entrepreneurs.

In tandem with the expansion of the development and military apparatuses into the hills, the state initiated the first formal registration of the “hill tribe population” in 1969. As I describe in the introduction to Chapter 1, this process included the distribution of ‘Hill Tribe Coins’ to all persons registered in the survey. As one elderly

Akha woman explained to me, she and her fellow villagers only began to understand the importance of registration *after* the coin had been issued. At the same time, as her quote reveals, highlanders' understandings of the coin and its significance were also highly unstable:

“Before the coin, we traveled where we wanted. But after [we were issued the coin], we couldn't go to the market [in the lowlands] without it. In my village, the headman got a one coin to share with all of us. We shared a coin. When someone would go to the market, they would wear the coin. Then, they would bring it back and give it to the next person who needed the coin. *We didn't understand that each person needed a coin of their own.* But at the time, it didn't matter. We shared the coin together. This started to cause problems later...”

As I will discuss further in Chapters 4 and 5, “hill tribe” registrations not only formalized and operationalized an invented identity category of Otherness into Thai bureaucracy, but also initiated an on-going project of identification that would be used to deny people claims to legal identity. Shortly after the 1969 survey, the government essentially revoked recognition of citizenship on the basis of *jus soli*, and guaranteed recognition of citizenship only to individuals born to parents who possessed proof of Thai nationality (1972 Revolutionary Decree No. 337). As very few, if any “hill tribes,” possessed proof of birth at the time and even fewer had been conferred recognition of citizenship by 1970,⁴⁰ this Decree essentially revoked the *de jure* citizenship that highlanders born in Thailand were promised through the first Nationality Act.

In 1974, the Ministry of Interior issued the Regulation on the Consideration for Granting Thai Nationality to the Hill Tribes, which called for proof of birth in Thailand

⁴⁰ Indeed, data from Figure 1 in Chapter 1 revealed that over 98 percent of highlanders in the UNESCO HPS II sample who would have been eligible for formal recognition of Thai citizenship lacked this recognition until after 1965.

(official birth registration), household and individual registration in the 1969 government surveys, and a statement of loyalty to the Thai nation as prerequisites for acquiring Thai nationality (Suwanbubpa 1976). However, due to continued discrimination against highlanders by civil registration officials and to a general lack of information on the importance of applying for citizenship and for registering infants immediately after birth, few highlanders acquired citizenship through this subsequent amendment (See Figure 1 in Chapter 1, Chutima, 2009; 2005; Mukdawan, 2009).

2.5 Denial of Legal Identity and the Expansion of Identification

After officially revoking claims to citizenship by right of *jus soli*, the government began a process of issuing color-coded identity cards to various groups of people who were believed to be immigrants as a result of cross-border conflicts. This process was inaugurated with the issuance of the Pink Card for political refugees from Burma who could prove they had entered Thailand prior to 1976. Between 1976 and 1999, the Ministry of Interior embarked on an extensive campaign of identification that systematically limited claims to legal identity (Pinkeaw, 2003, 2014; Toyota, 2005). Altogether, the Ministry of Interior has issued seventeen different non-citizen identity cards (IDs), the color-coding of which referenced the cardholders' assumed ethnicity and supposed date of entry into the country. Many of the people fleeing conflict in Lao PDR and Burma belonged to one or more of the ethnic groups classified by the Thai state as official "hill tribes." As Cold War tensions subside, the government issued a "Light Blue Hill Tribe Card" to highland ethnic minorities who had never been registered in any official capacity (Toyota, 2005). And, after a wave of immigration into northern Thailand from Shan State in Burma, the Ministry of Interior conducted another round of this survey, issuing the second "Hill Tribe ID", which is a Green Card with a Red Rim (*bahtkhiewkhapdaeng*). Both of these cards indicate the official "hill tribe" ethnicity of the cardholder and grant the cardholder renewable residency in

Thailand, while simultaneously severely limiting the cardholder's rights to work, own land, confer status to their children, and move freely in the country for any reason (Chutima, 2006, 2009; Mukdawan, 2006; Pinkeaw, 2014; Toyota, 2005).

By the 1990s, highlanders had grown acutely aware of the importance of acquiring state recognition of citizenship. Decades of expanded state military, conservation, and ill-conceived 'development' agendas in the northern highlands had nearly decimated village livelihoods, so thousands of highlanders began migrating to cities in search of work (Feingold, 1997, 2014). But, because highlanders were rendered 'illegal migrants' once they moved outside of their districts, and because they often lacked the advantages of formal education and networks in lowland Thai societies, many worked in dirty, difficult and highly exploitable circumstances (Chutima, 2006; Feingold 1997, 2002, 2014). Moreover, because the state increased restrictions on the movement of non-citizens within the country in the 1990s and early 2000s, highland minority women and girls who lacked documentation of citizenship often relied on smugglers or exploitative employers to transport them to cities, leaving them particularly vulnerable to trafficking (Chutima, 2006, 2009; Feingold, 1997, 2002). In this context, the national identity card (*baht bprachaachon*) became an item of vital importance. In 1999, leaders of a pan-highland movement mobilized thousands of highlanders from all ethnicities to march in Chiang Mai and call for resolution to their claims to Thai citizenship (Chutima, 2009; McKinnon, 2005). As is often the case in social movements that seek to expand rights and recognition of citizenship to oppressed minorities, the leadership of the highland movement and their families were threatened, extorted, and worse (McKinnon 2005; *Phuean rai chaydaen*, 2010).

2.6 Challenging the Boundaries of the Nation, Reinforcing State Sovereignty?

Fifteen years after the protests, the movement has proven successful in several ways: In immediate response to the movement, the government decentralized the

citizenship adjudication process to the district level and characterized citizenship among “original hill tribes” as a key priority for resolution. The Cabinet Resolution of August 29, 2003 acknowledged “the right of ‘hill tribes’ to apply for recognition of citizenship, permanent residency or other legal status categories provided that they produce required documents (such as color-coded ID cards) as legal proof of their identity” (cited in Mukdawan, 2006: 12).⁴¹

The movement has challenged the conceptual boundaries of the Thai nation as well, to varying effect. As per the official rubric of the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security in 2002, which is the ministry mandated to oversee the welfare of minority groups in Thailand, “hill tribes” are now officially considered “Thais of the mountains” (*chao thai phukhaw*). Highlanders who had been formerly registered as “hill tribes” in early surveys are now designated as “original hill tribes” (*khon chaokhao dtangdeum*), and are prioritized for citizenship according to the Ministry of Interior (2543). Members of “ethnic minority” groups are also eligible provided that they meet the basic criteria of birth in the country prior to 1992, a minimum of ten years of sustained, legal residence in the country, and/or proof of descent.

Today, the political and social climate has opened for “hill tribes” and members of other groups of highlanders to be included in the ‘imagined community’ of Thailand (McKinnon, 2005; Phuntip, 2006), yet the conditions of exclusion remain difficult by all accounts. The negative effects of identity enforcement on the livelihoods, life outcomes and even mental health of non-citizens and highland minorities in particular is well documented (Chutima, 2006, 2009; Feingold, 2000, 2002; Flaim, 2008; Harris 2013). Without *proof of recognition of citizenship*, highlanders cannot participate in Thailand’s political life, they cannot access government loans, and they have minimal

⁴¹ Acceptable documents include those received from state surveys and projects, birth registration certificates, delivery certificates, and other official forms that may provide proof of identity.

access to state welfare benefits. I return to a discussion of the current conditions of exclusion in the hills in Chapter 6, but I pause here to note the extent to which lacking a citizen ID can circumscribe the lives, livelihoods and futures of non-citizen highlanders. Chutima (2006) states, “The [persistent lack] of legal status [among highlanders] causes...conflict and confusion among the young population, and some of them even consider suicide” (35). In spite of the image of Thailand as the Land of Smiles, non-citizen minorities and migrants of all ages experience life outside of the village community as one of limited opportunity and authoritarian surveillance.

As this brief foray into history has revealed, claims to sovereign power in Thailand have long rested upon fictions of Thai peoples as unified (Keyes, 1997; Renard, 2000), highlanders as uniformly backwards and fundamentally different from ‘Thais’ (McKinnon and Vienne, 1989; Pinkaew, 2003; Thongchai, 2000a), and the supposed ‘realness’ of borders that had been mapped in the 19th century yet remained largely unmonitored until the late 20th century (Thongchai, 1994). To unravel the state-invader narrative further than noting a discernible difference between “hill tribes” and other minority groups would call for further scrutiny of the foundational fictions upon which claims to sovereignty in Thailand rest. As McKinnon (2005) has argued, highlanders have gained political ground in carving a space for themselves in the ‘imagined community,’ yet by accepting the designation “original hill tribes,” they also risk conceding their alternative histories as well as possibilities for broader citizenship reform. By strategically calling upon the “original” highlander/hill tribe narrative to claim a space to belong in the broader nation, highlanders ultimately risk reinforcing the state’s claim to sovereign power to both adjudicate citizenship, as well as to construct the ultimately arbitrary terms upon which claims to citizenship have always been, and continue to be, determined.

In stark contrast to Scott's (2009) controversial portrait of highlanders as state-evaders prior to World War II, highlanders now actively and creatively seek participation and inclusion in the Thai nation-and-state. Yet, highlanders do not only seek to be included in the nation by way of rhetorical moves and policy reform. Rather, as this next chapter on data and methods reveals, villagers have become greatly attuned to the ways in which 'being counted' in surveys determines to a large degree the extent to which a person and her family will 'count' in a political sense. The UNESCO Highland Peoples' Survey II was not a political registration and this information was disseminated widely in local languages to each village leader and household member (see Appendix, Handbook for Data Collection), the near 100 percent participation in the survey and recorded efforts of local leaders to have their villages included in this extensive study points to the long and highly political legacy of state registrations in (re)producing the borders of the state and the boundaries of the nation.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH AND REPRESENTATION: DATA, METHODS, AND ETHICS

3.1 Chapter Overview and Review of Ontological Project

A brief examination of different epistemological framings of statelessness reveals divergent methodological implications for studying the issue. For example, framing ‘the problem of statelessness’ as a categorical opposite of citizenship calls for an engagement with the field of nationality law to identify gaps, loopholes, and discriminatory clauses (see Kerber, 2007). As another example, frameworks that situate statelessness as an *a priori* condition of lack—lack of identity, lack of rights, lack of sufficient means, etc.—call for excavating statelessness from the conditions of ‘the stateless,’ often without regard to the continually-changing contexts in which particular matters of lack (e.g., lack of a birth registration document) are made to matter in peoples’ lives (for critique, see Hesford and Shuman, 2011). In seeking to excavate statelessness from the law or from the conditions of peoples’ lives, both analytical lenses risk reifying citizenship as a normative ahistorical status, and often fail to account for the extensive literatures revealing the instability of citizenship as a relational status as well (Benhabib, 2005; Cohen, 2009, Joppke, 2007; Ong, 2000; Somers, 2008).

What, then are the methodological implications of approaching statelessness, citizenship, and associated conditions of life in the highlands from the epistemological perspective of sovereignty? What is the ontological ‘field’ of research to be interrogated and represented? Where is the researcher located in this field? And what are the ethical implications of this approach?

In this chapter, I articulate my methodological approach for interrogating the production of legal status with respect to changing modes of, and relationships with, sovereignty. As I describe in Chapter 1, my process of engagement I describe herein is

premised on the epistemological framing of statelessness as a historically specific, yet shifting form of the sovereign ban (Agamben 1998). To be clear, this study does not constitute an examination of statelessness as a “case of ‘bare life’” (see critique by Butler, 2007 in Dunn and Cons, 2014)—indeed, the brief history I provide in Chapter 2, and the findings I present throughout the dissertation reveal that highlanders who lack citizenship continue to live meaningful lives within difficult circumstances, and regularly transform their situations of exclusion to acquire recognition of citizenship. The agency highlanders wield in claiming a space to belong simply cannot be accommodated under the extremely reduced condition of ‘bare life.’

Nevertheless, I argue that the analytical framework of sovereignty and exclusion that Agamben articulates remains useful for ‘seeing’ operations of, and instabilities in, sovereignty in the production of both citizenship and exclusion. I therefore follow Dunn and Cons’ (2014) call to map the shifting terrain of sovereignty through its practices, modes, and technologies of governance, its associated categories of inclusion and exclusion, and the conditions of life that make matters of legal status ‘matter’ in peoples’ lives where it once did not. Before presenting these analyses, however, I present in this chapter a map of my mixed-methodological approach to seeing and representing these dynamics.

3.2 Mixed-Methods Research Design

Lincoln and Guba (1985) and others have argued that quantitative and qualitative methods represent fundamentally different epistemic commitments to knowledge production, and therefore cannot be compatibly combined under a constructivist frame.⁴² With due respect to the contributions of these critiques to shaping and transforming the politics and ethics of knowledge production in the social sciences, I

⁴² The authors’ positions have changed on the matter (see Lincoln, Lynham, and Guba, 2011), yet their position on the initial debate still stands in powerful debates on epistemic position and the production of knowledge.

argue (and aim to demonstrate) that both ethnographic and statistical approaches to data collection and analysis can cohere under a constructivist framework when represented thusly (Bernard, 2009; Goetz and LeCompte 1984; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009). In each subsequent analytical chapter, I mobilize all data—from statistical to the ethnographic—in pursuit of “trac[ing] the interactions of...modes of power, the projects they engender, and the ways that they are eroded and rebuilt” (Dunn and Cons, 2013: 13-14). I aim to show that both ethnographic and statistical data can reveal “a field” of relationships that constitute power, and simultaneously reveal some of its fundamental instabilities (Dunn and Cons, 2014; Gupta, 2012; Hart, 2006).

My analyses of the operations of sovereignty in the production of legal status and associated conditions of life among highlanders in northern Thailand derive from two years of intensive, multi-sited, and multi-scalar ethnographic research in Thailand (2009-2011) as well from an extensive survey of highland villages located along Thailand’s border with Lao PDR and Myanmar (UNESCO HPS II, 2010). In each subsequent analytical chapter, I describe and mobilize these data in pursuit of tracing, illuminating, and ultimately representing operations and experiences of sovereignty; yet, the presentation and *representation* of the data as seemingly distinct and differentially analyzable ‘sets’ of information commits a misrepresentation in and of itself. As I describe below, my dual engagements in ethnographic and survey research were deeply intertwined and mutually-reinforcing processes. To the extent that mixed-methods approaches can generate findings that are greater than either qualitative or quantitative research might independently produce, this has been my goal (Creswell, 2003; Eisenhart and Howe, 1992).

In subsequent sections, I describe in detail the two main methods of data collection ‘in the field’ that I use to represent the co-production of sovereignty, statelessness, and citizenship. Prior to disentangling the processes of data collection, however, I first provide a general schedule of the research process, which I began nearly a decade ago with statistical analysis of data collected from the 2006 UNESCO Highland Peoples’ Survey I.

Figure 2: Schedule of Research Process

	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Literature review									
Analysis of UNESCO HPS I (2006)									
Pre-dissertation fieldwork in Thailand									
Intensive language study									
Ethnographic research									
Ethnographic data analysis									
Preparation of UNESCO HPS II (2010)									
HPS II data collection									
HPS II data entry									
HPS II data cleaning and analysis									
Archival research of news clippings and law									
Write up									

3.3 Ethnographic Research

Design

As I note in the introduction to Chapter 1, I arrived in Chiang Mai city in 2009 to begin dissertation research on the problem of protracted statelessness among highlanders. Specifically, I arrived in Thailand with the intention to understand how and why the problem persists, and how people negotiate exclusion to make a living for themselves and their families. Through a growing network of highlander activists in the city, I had been introduced to Miqbawr. And, I arrived at her home in the outskirts of the city that evening in the hopes of gaining insights, suggestions, introductions, and possible entrée to rural villages in the highlands, where I assumed the ‘problem of statelessness’ to be located. Meeting Aqcha in Miqbawr’s suburban home that evening provided more than a chance encounter with a ‘subject’ of particular interest for my research. Aqcha also represents the first of many encounters I would have with my own simplistic assumptions about ‘what statelessness is’ over the course of two years of ethnographic fieldwork. Such encounters would not only generate substantive ‘data’ about statelessness and the ways people negotiate it daily, but would expose the limits and problems in my assumptions and force me to reconfigure and expand my research directions in new, unforeseen directions. Such is the promise of inductive research as a method of exploring and building theory from the ground up (Bernard, 2009; Creswell, 2003; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009).

On one hand, my preconceived notion in locating the problem of statelessness in rural highland villages was not entirely incorrect. As I discuss in Chapter 2, since the 1980s, the Ministry of Interior has aimed to register highlanders as “hill tribes” or under another non-citizen category. In effect, these registrations forced villages to permanently settle, and for villagers to be formally registered in official households within these village settlements. Whereas citizens of Thailand can apply to move their

names into different household registrations when they move residences (TorRor14), registered non-citizens are not allowed to move outside of their registered homes, nor are they allowed to move their names out of the household in which they were formally registered, regardless of where they actually live (TorRor13). As a result, the ‘population’ of stateless highlanders is meaningfully located, in a bureaucratic sense, in rural highland communities (see Chapter 2 for government description of definition).

On the other hand, Aqcha’s physical presence outside of the legal limits of his registered village and district represented only one of several limitations in studying statelessness within a single, bounded village or district framework. For all highlanders, I would learn, the stories of citizenship or lack thereof, often cross village lines. As will be clear in my presentation of ethnographic and survey data in Chapter 5, most villages have officially settled and registered with the government in recent decades only (although villagers have lived in the region for longer), and older groups of highlanders were born in villages that simply no longer exist, having fractured and/or moved prior to state registrations. Aqcha’s circumstances, like those of Miqbawr’s, are not the circumstances of their births or residence alone. Their stories necessarily involve the birthplaces of their parents and grandparents.

Therefore, after only a few short weeks of research in two Akha villages in Chiang Rai, I started following peoples’ stories of citizenship acquisition, or barriers thereto, through their kinship networks. Following these stories led me through more than 30 villages—mostly Akha and Lahu, but also Karen, Hmong, Lisu, Haw Chinese and every combination thereof. The stories took me to Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai city, lowland towns at the foothills of the mountains, and Bangkok. Via phone and during family gatherings, I connected with relatives in the far South of the country at the border with Malaysia, and with highlanders who had moved to Taiwan, Korea, and Singapore subsequent to receiving citizenship. While I had not envisioned a “multi-

sited ethnography” (Marcus, 1995) at the outset of my research, this process of discovery enabled me to capture the influence of the ‘village’ in shaping citizenship outcomes and experiences thereof among highlanders, while simultaneously seeing its limits in capturing the trajectories and lives of people whose identities cannot be captured in simplistic categories of “villager,” “hill tribe,” or even “highlander” for that matter.

As I describe in my findings in Chapter 5, the process of conducting a multi-sited ethnography by following links and claims to citizenship through kinship networks led me up the bureaucratic pathways to citizenship as well. Following stories and experiences of highlanders like Aqcha, I traced the path to citizenship acquisition up the hierarchical pathway of evidentiary procedure, which organizes all registered life under households, which are under villages, which are under sub-districts, districts, and provinces, and central government offices of the Ministry of Interior in Bangkok. Following stories ‘up the line,’ I conducted observations at different offices, and conducted official interviews with government staff and officials of all stages of authority with the exception of senior officials at the Ministry of Interior. In doing so, not only do I excavate understandings of how the state—as a network of agents and agencies with overlapping and sometimes conflicting mandates (Brown, 2006; Heyman, 1995, 1999, 2004; Sharma and Gupta, 2006)—produces statelessness and citizenship in bureaucratic practice.

In addition to tracing the pathways of citizenship *up* the bureaucratic line, multi-sited ethnography of the state, statelessness, and citizenship also led me out and across bureaucratic spaces to see the ways in which other government agencies are implicated in the production of both citizenship and statelessness. Specifically, individuals’ stories took me to school dormitories in Chiang Rai city where teachers often provided the support and documentation for highland youth to apply for and acquire citizenship.

Stories led to health care centers and district hospitals where increasing numbers of highland women give birth so that their children will receive a document proving birth in the country. And, the story led to the central hospital of the northern region of Thailand (*roongphaayabaan suandok*) in Chiang Mai city where the boundaries of the nation continue to be drawn in blood. It is there, in a dark room in a remote corner of the large hospital complex where non-citizen highlanders and their citizen relatives submit to DNA testing in order to prove their claims to belong.

Data Collection Methods

Throughout the vast majority of my ethnographic engagement in northern Thailand, I relied on open-ended informal interviews with highlanders (as per their preference), and semi-structured interviews with government staff and officials (as per their preference). Prior to conducting interviews—whether formal or informal—I always requested permission from participants, and in accordance with IRB protocols, I informed all participants of my research agenda and of their rights to refuse to participate. I conducted all interviews in Thai, and I conducted the majority of my research with my research assistant Jeerasak “Daqbir” Jupoh, who I trained in IRB protocols. In the few instances when translation was necessary, he would translate questions from Thai to Akha, Lahu, Lisu, Karen, Hmong and Northern Thai. After interviews, Daqbir and I would often cross-check our understandings and impressions, much of which I would record in a voice recorder for later transcription (Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013).

In addition to conducting formal and informal interviews with highlanders and government officials, I also conducted extensive observations at district offices, health care centers school dormitories, and border crossings. I conducted participant observation with highlanders when invited to join them while they filed citizenship applications at district offices, and in submitting to DNA tests in Chiang Mai.

Participant observation provided far more than much-needed context for understanding and triangulating information gained through semi-structured interviews with highlanders and government officials (Bernard, 2006). This distinct method of data collection enabled me to ‘see’ how the daily functioning and layout of district offices, and the presence of rural police checkpoints, for instance, can affect the procedures and outcomes of citizenship applications (Bernard, 2006).

As I note in the subsequent section, the process of ethnographic research simultaneously informed and shaped the way I developed, tested and framed the UNESCO Highland Peoples’ Survey II (see section below). Although I was not an official consultant to UNESCO until 2010, I was invited to participate as a contributing and affiliated researcher in the UNESCO Statelessness Workshop in Bangkok, a bimonthly meeting comprised of relevant national and international agencies working on different aspects of citizenship in Thailand. These opportunities enabled me to conduct participant observation of the ways in which statelessness and citizenship issues were framed, discussed and being addressed in other parts of the country, and indeed, at a global scale.

And finally, as I discuss in the subsequent section, I conducted three rounds of focus groups with government staff and two non-governmental organizations, in part as evaluations of the UNESCO Survey instrument as it was being developed, but also as a means to gather information about the ways in which different agents think about and do or do not intervene in the citizenship process in the highlands. Additionally, two rounds of focus groups with diverse members of IMPECT (The Inter-Mountain Peoples Education and Culture Organization of Thailand), enabled me to cross-check and triangulate findings from the UNESCO HPS I, and preliminary findings from the UNESCO HPS II. These focus groups also served to situate findings from my own

ethnographic research, which was situated most predominantly among Akha and Lahu communities, with respect to the experiences of other highlander groups as well.

Summary of Ethnographic Data

In total, I conducted 53 in-depth interviews over the course of two years of research in Thailand. Twenty-eight of these interviews comprised recorded sessions with highland villagers like Aqcha and Miqbawr, five with district officials and staff, two interviews with village headmen and eight interviews with leaders of local, national and international NGOs and INGOs, and ten interviews with officials at varying levels of authority of the formal and non-formal school system. In total, these interviews accounted for more than 78 hours of recorded time, mostly in Thai, but some in Akha, Karen, Lahu and Hmong with the translation assistance of my research assistant Daqbir.

When unraveling the ethnographic data further in order to count nodes in the broader network of highlander-state relationships quantification becomes problematic. While I classified certain interviews as those with NGO leaders, many of these leaders are of highland descent themselves, and in sharing their visions and experiences in the highland citizenship movement, they often spoke candidly of their own experiences fighting for recognition of citizenship or attending Thai schools in the city, away from their families. More importantly, official interviews conducted with one member of one family were rare. More often than not, when conducting interviews with highlanders, their ‘individual’ stories of citizenship touched upon the highly pertinent histories of their grandparents, parents, siblings and fellow villagers, as these relationships had direct bearing on their own personal path to citizenship or to protracted exclusion. Similarly, individual interviews with government officials provided useful information about the key people and networks they draw upon to adjudicate highlanders’ citizenship applications. In total, these official interviews, innumerable informal

conversations, and months of participant observation, revealed from all directions the key people, institutions, and relationships that I argue comprise the operations of sovereignty and the production of inclusion and exclusion in the highlands of northern Thailand.

Analysis Techniques and Codes

After conducting interviews, I transcribed them directly into English, and immediately changed names and identifying information in the transcription to ensure the anonymity of my informants. For informal interviews, conversations, and general observations, I kept detailed fieldnotes in which I carefully change informants' names and other identifying information according to a coded list of participants, which I kept in a secure file in a remote system.

During the analysis phase, I read through the transcripts and notes, and coded the text according to themes that emerged both throughout the research process in the field and through thematic analysis and coding (Humphreys and Watson. 2009; Saldana, 2009). The sample of codes I developed through the process of inductive coding and analysis are as follows:

- Geographical path to citizenship
- Institutional path to citizenship
- Inter-generational path to citizenship
- Highlanders' understandings of citizenship
- Methods of negotiating exclusion
- Role of schooling in producing citizenship and statelessness.⁴³

3.4 Survey Research: The 2010 UNESCO Highland Peoples' Survey II

Sample Frame: Design and Definitions, Utility and Limitations

⁴³ Excerpts of findings from these codes are presented in Chapter 5.

The UNESCO Highland Peoples' Survey II comprises a non-parametric, purposive sample of highland villages, which were selected by directors of the Royal Thai Government's Ministry of Social Development and Human Security. Below, I discuss the political, logistical, and ethical reasons for implementing the UNESCO HPS II with the government agency tasked with overseeing the welfare of highland minorities and other disadvantaged groups, but I first discuss the parameters deployed for selecting highland villages for inclusion in the survey.⁴⁴

The villages selected for inclusion in the UNESCO HPS II were drawn from a list of 3,881 total "highland villages," (see definition below), generated through a 2002 survey of 20 northern and western highland provinces by the Center for Hill Tribe Development and Welfare⁴⁵ under the Bureau of Social Development and Human Security.⁴⁶ This general survey, which did *not* include individual-level information on citizenship, estimated the highland population in these villages alone at 1,203,149 people in 226,696 households, which are dispersed across 3,881 villages (BSD, 2002: 9).⁴⁷

⁴⁴ In cases where a full population census is not logistically or financially possible, the benefits of conducting a small sample, such as lower costs of travel or training, must be weighed with respect to issues raised in increasing the detail of surveys, such as increased demand of time from participants and increased risk of introducing sampling error (Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013). Similarly, the benefits of surveying a large sample, such as greater sampling accuracy, must be weighed against the concomitant risks of incurring greater non-sampling error due to surveyor fatigue and data input mistakes. These costs and benefits must also be weighed in relation to the various geographical, political, budgetary, and logistical realities of conducting research among a particular population in a particular historical moment.

⁴⁵ This Department is no longer operational under this particular name. After fifty years of operation (founded in 1959) the department's operations were subsumed under the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security. In Thai, the department is known as (ศูนย์พัฒนาและสงเคราะห์ ชาวเขา).

⁴⁶ The first official round of surveys was undertaken in 1988 (2531), followed by rounds in 1995 (2538), 1997 (2540), and again in 2002 (2545) (BSD 2002: 9).

⁴⁷ Among this list of more than 3,000 villages, 1,750 were registered as central villages with the Ministry of Interior, while the remaining villages are known as satellite

Because the UNESCO HPS II villages were selected from a ‘population’ of villages produced in the 2002 survey, the parameters employed in the 2002 government survey are highly pertinent to contextualizing the purposive sampling frame of the UNESCO HPS II. These parameters refer specifically to the strict operational definitions employed by the Bureau of Social Development and Human Security (BSD) and the former Central Office for Hill Tribe Development and Welfare to determine a baseline population of ‘highlanders.’ As I noted in Table 1 of Chapter 2, in order to be classified as an official ‘highland community,’ a village must meet the following criteria:

First, highland villages are comprised of [an unspecified proportion of] villagers who identify as Karen, Hmong, Mien, Lahu, Lisu, Akha, Lua, H’tin, Khamu or Mlabri. These villages may also have members from other official “minority groups” such as the Palong, Tongsu, Jin Haw, Thai Yai, Thai Lue, in addition to lowland Thais.

Second, highland villages are located at least 500 feet above sea level or must be near or on farming slopes of 35 percent gradient or more. Third, by definition, these villages are rural and located in the 20 northern and northwestern provinces only (BSD 2002: 2).⁴⁸

In addition to these selection parameters, the BSD also selected villages on the basis of the following three criteria:

1. Selected villages maintain a positive relationship with the staff of the BSD, especially those where staff had been settled and working for a while. In particular, villages may not be selected if they are located in restricted military

villages. As per orders of the Ministry of Interior, central villages are responsible for registering and representing residents in the surrounding satellite villages.

⁴⁸ These provinces are Kanchanaburi, Kampaengphet, Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai, Tak, Nan, Prachuap Khiri Khann, Payao, Phistanulok, Phetburi, Phetchabun, Phrae, Mae Hong Son, Rachaburi, Loei, Lampang, Lamphun, Sukothai, Suphan Buri, and Uthai Thani.

- Red Zones, or areas known to have problems with illegal drugs, inter-ethnic violence, cross-border violence, or are otherwise hostile to BSD survey staff.
2. Villages must be somewhat accessible, if not entirely accessible by motorcycle, boat, or vehicle. However, a few villages in the survey were only accessible by footpath.
 3. Villages must be located within 20 kilometers from the international border.

Definition of Household

In Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai, and Mae Hong Son Provinces, the survey was administered to every household in every village selected.⁴⁹ The term ‘household’ (*khruaruen*) in Thailand refers narrowly to regular practices of civil registration that the state operates throughout the country as a key component of exerting administrative control (e.g., territorialization. See Vandergeest and Peluso, 1995). As a result of the ubiquitous state practices of registering individuals to households, highlanders of different ethnic identities generally understand the term uniformly as the state’s official roster of persons residing together. For citizens, this household roster is known as the *tabien baan* TOR/ROR 14, and for non-citizens who are registered residents in Thailand, this roster is the *tabien baan* TOR/ROR 13. In order to register a house (in a registered village), or to officially register a move from one household to another household (e.g., in the instance of marriage), individuals must formally move their names from one household registry to another. The basic criteria for establishing a household is as follows:

⁴⁹ In Tak and Kanchanaburi provinces, 25 percent of households were randomly selected for the survey. I do not include these subsamples in the dissertation for the following reasons: First residents along the international borders of Tak and Kanchanaburi have significantly different experiences with border patrols than those in the north, particularly with respect to the involvement of international aid agencies like UNHCR. Second, as my ethnographic research was limited to the communities in northern provinces, I am better able to contextualize and link findings from ethnographic and survey methods without including findings from communities where the experience may differ considerably.

“A household/family consists of a place where more than 2 people, who might be children/relatives, who have a blood relationship together or people who are husband and wife according to legal and practical definition, live together under a single roof” (Jirayut Banajai, Personal Communication, February 15, 2010).

Despite the tremendous cultural diversity of the “highland population,” both ethnographic analysis of the household definition and pilot testing of the survey instrument (see below) revealed that highlanders of all ethnicities and legal statuses had a common, state-based, understanding of what a ‘household’ is. Given this common understanding, and given that household registration status and location (regardless of place of usual residence) directly links to the procedures individuals must follow in order to apply for recognition of citizenship. To reduce confusion, the definition of “household” deployed in the HPS II therefore adhered to that of the household registration system used by the Ministry of Interior (Flaim, fieldnotes).

While the state’s definition of the ‘household’ provided both a commonly-understood, and particularly relevant framework for conducting the survey on citizenship acquisition and problems therein among highlanders, ethnographic research also revealed that one’s legal residence does not always cohere with the place of *usual or legal* residence. Therefore, after generating the foundational roster of ‘officially registered members of the household’ according to the Ministry of Interior’s definition, the UNESCO HPS II roster also included the following people:⁵⁰

1. Every person who has lived in this house for longer than 1 month in the past 5 years (since 2005).
2. Every person listed in the household registration or household survey document regardless of usual place of residence.

⁵⁰ This definition, which is detailed in the household roster survey instrument 3B/3C question H0 in the Appendix.

3. Children of head of household or interviewee who are younger than 18 years of age regardless of usual place of residence.

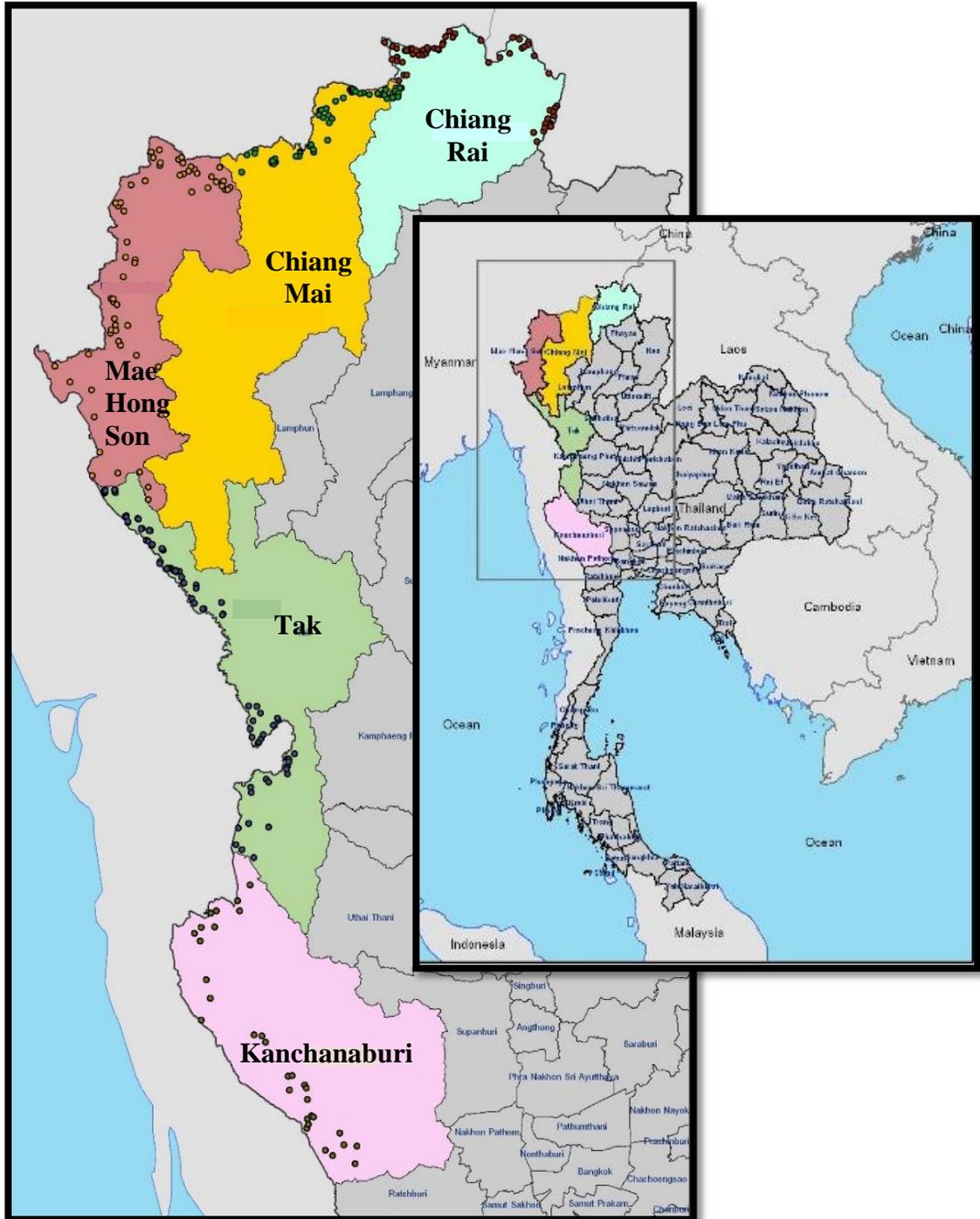
Unlike any previous survey of similar extent, the UNESCO HPS II includes questions on relationships between household members, which allows for a comparison between eligibility status for citizenship and actual citizenship outcomes (see Chapter 4). And, as will be clear in the analysis of migration data in Chapter 6, the UNESCO HPS II instrument included questions about the place of usual residence in order to assess overlap between legal residence and usual residence.

Benefits and Limitations of Sample

To the extent that the UNESCO HPS II is a non-parametric, purposive sample of rural, and narrowly-defined “highland villages,” the survey cannot be generalized to the growing population of highlanders who increasingly reside in urban areas. Nor can sub-samples of different ethnic groups be considered definitively representative of each ethnic subgroup. At the same time, the survey instrument includes unprecedented information on intra-household relationships and a range of other information pertinent to assessing the ‘progress,’ ‘problems,’ and *process* of conferring citizenship to all eligible highlanders. And, because ethnicity is included in the survey in a range of indicators (languages spoken, self-identification etc.), variations in citizenship outcomes and the meaning of these outcomes for different groups can point to previously unaccounted-for effects of possible variation in the Thai government’s relationships with different groups, as a means to complicate the monolithic “hill tribe” category (Note, I discuss this issue in more detail in Chapters 4 and 5).⁵¹

⁵¹ For example, detected differences in citizenship outcomes between Hmong and Karen and Lisu communities (Chapters 4 and 5) will not be framed in terms of the intrinsic differences in eligibility of each group, but will be framed with respect to evidence of variations in the state’s practices in articulating sovereignty in these different communities.

Figure 3: Map of UNESCO Highland Peoples' Survey II, Total Sample



Map adapted from UNESCO (2014). Original produced by Peerayot Sidonrusmee in 2012.

In as much as I seek to understand the modes and practices of sovereignty and the way these modes gain particular meaning in particular groups of peoples' lives, the goal of generalizability is not the primary aim of this analysis. As will be clear in the subsequent analytical chapters, I do not assert that findings from the survey represent or predict experiences of all highlanders in Thailand. Rather, findings from the survey serve to refract the meanings and modes of particular practices of sovereign power in including and excluding highland people. And, as I will discuss in the subsequent section, the changing meanings and operations of sovereign power that the survey captures may be considered highly reliable to the extent that each question was tested over the course of months in a variety of settings and languages, and a series of steps were taken at all stage of the research process to reduce non-sampling error such as translation issues, enumerator fatigue and data entry error.

Although findings from the sample are not intended to be generalized to the "hill tribe" population without context, the findings from the survey on operations and meanings of sovereignty in and for highlanders can be contextualized within a broader understanding of the experiences of highlanders residing in non-sampled communities. Specifically, findings from the survey on citizenship outcomes (Chapter 4) likely reflect higher rates of conferral of citizenship, as the communities sampled in the UNESCO HPS II have a history of positive and trusting relationships with the implementing partner of the survey.⁵² The potential 'over-representation' of rates of recognition of citizenship by state officials among highlanders sampled in the UNESCO HPS II may also be inflated due to the fact that villages that are extremely difficult to access were not included.

And, finally, comparisons of operations of sovereign power in border communities compared to non-border communities cannot be fully asserted without

⁵² The Bureau of Social Development estimates that approximately 700 villages remained inaccessible at the time of the survey (Feingold and Flaim, 2007).

conducting a similar study in non-border villages. My own ethnographic research and observations in many villages near to and far from the border in Chiang Rai and Chiang Mai provinces confirm findings from two studies of border villages (Chutima, 2009; Mukdawan, 2009), which suggest that villagers in border communities are generally more surveilled by state officials than residents in non-border villages. However, the ‘impact’ of increased surveillance cannot be fully determined on this basis alone. On one hand, border villages in Chiang Rai and Chiang Mai in particular maintain regular relationships with a range of government officials and were often easier to access than non-border villages due to their historically strategic position. At the same time, as research by Mukdawan (2009) and Chutima (2009) reveal, residents in border communities are often perceived as “migrants” by district officials due to their proximity to the international border. While I do not attempt to determine with any certainty how these issues play out across all highland districts and villages, I note in chapter discussions the possibilities of under- and over-estimating the extent of findings from the survey with respect to particular questions of concern, from rates of citizenship conferral (Chapter 4) to problems in evidentiary procedure (Chapter 5), to the meaning of exclusion for highlanders’ lives, livelihoods, and futures (Chapter 6).

Measures to Enhance Data Quality, Protect Participants, and Reduce Error

Instrument Development

As the schedule of data collection in Table 3.1 above reveals, I developed, tested, revised, and finalized the UNESCO HPS II survey instrument in Thai and English over the course of 2009. While undertaking multi-sited and multi-scalar ethnographic research, I also simultaneously collected feedback on survey content, phrasing and formatting from experts from policy experts in the Thai government, Thai and international scholars, staff and officials at the United Nations, highland leaders at

local and international NGOs, amongst highlanders themselves, and with academics who have expertise in survey design and implementation.

While informal testing of particular questions was on-going, two official rounds of pilot-testing were undertaken prior to final implementation of the survey. In July of 2009, I supervised the testing of the survey in Karen, Akha, Lahu, Lisu, Northern Thai and Thai by field staff of the Bureau of Social Development in Mae Suay district of Chiang Rai province. The questionnaire was then revised after acquiring feedback from BSD field staff on survey content, questionnaire formatting and on impressions of the survey process from villagers. Another final round of survey tests were undertaken by the Chiang-Mai based NGO Health Project for Tribal People in mid-November of 2009. Field staff who speak Akha, Lahu, Lisu, Karen, Thai and Northern Thai were trained over the course of two meetings, and questionnaires were tested again in five villages.

Selection and Training of Implementing Partner

As I discuss in this dissertation, the issue of citizenship among highlanders remains politically sensitive in Thailand. Although the controversy over whether “original” highlanders should be recognized as citizens has quieted, research by both Mukdawan (2009) and Chutima (2009) revealed that in some instances, villagers are exploited by village and district leaders. The need for gathering data in local languages by trained enumerators who represent a non-partisan agency stood therefore, not only as a standard consideration for ensuring data quality, but also as a measure of protecting the confidentiality of participants from possible exploitation or extortion. Both pilot testing of the survey (see below) and my ethnographic research during the process of implementing the UNESCO HPS II revealed that staff of the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security’s Bureau of Social Development (BSD) were extremely reliable partners in data collection efforts for the following three reasons:

First and foremost, the BSD is the only agency with the capacity in local villages to conduct research in the ethnically and linguistically diverse communities of highlanders. The Central Office for Hill Tribe Development and Welfare under the Bureau of Social Development and Human Security (BSD) have been operating highland development and welfare programs in local villages over 40 years (BSD, 2002: 1). While other ministries have been involved in assisting with, and implementing highland censuses in the past, the BSD has the unique institutional capacity in the field through its established village-fieldstaff networks to access villages quickly, and to access villagers through trusted, established networks. Second, beyond maintaining established, regular connections with local villages, BSD staff often speak one or more highland languages as they often come from local communities themselves.

Third, given the complicated history of relationships between the state and highlander communities with particular regard to exclusion from citizenship, partnering with a government agency to implement a survey on the controversial issue of citizenship may appear as a conflict of interest. Specifically, because surveys have long played a key role in substantiating a claim to citizenship (Chutima; 2009; Mukdawan 2009), non-citizen highlanders might have an incentive to misrepresent their personal histories in interviews with government staff.⁵³ However, my ethnographic research revealed that BSD staff do not participate in any official way in the process of citizenship adjudication, a fact that reduces the incentive for villagers to

⁵³ Given that the government has historically conducted surveys in the highlands in order to register people for citizenship applications, it was absolutely critical that BSD survey teams conduct the survey in villages where they have a history of positive and on-going relationships with villages in order that they may adequately explain the purpose of the UNESCO Surveys to local villagers. The risk that villagers without citizenship might misunderstand the purpose of the survey as another government registration campaign is otherwise quite high. See the the first page of Household Survey (3A) in Appendix for clear explanations of the UNESCO Highland Peoples Survey (2010 only).

lie to BSD staff. Findings from the survey suggest that the BSD was the appropriate agency to carry out a survey of this magnitude and political significance: Indeed, many highlanders answered questions truthfully, even as their answers revealed their *ineligibility* for citizenship (e.g., by noting their place of birth in Burma, for instance).

Finally, my observations of the research process revealed that BSD staff were generally motivated to accurately complete all questions of the survey, even when challenges of translation and other frustrations arose. As staff members of an agency tasked with ensuring that local elderly and disabled villagers receive welfare stipends, they regularly confront issues with assisting villagers who lack sufficient proof of citizenship. They maintain relationships with local villages, but comprise a government agency with relatively little authority to assist non-citizen highlanders in acquiring recognition of citizenship. While fieldstaff varied considerably with regard to the number of languages they could speak and other ‘uncontrollable’ variables, staff and team leaders took extra initiative to collect, review, and check questionnaires both in the field and after submission to district headquarters (see subsequent section).

Protocol for Implementation

In order to reduce non-sampling error that might arise as a result of poor training or enumerator mistakes, UNESCO coordinated trainings for all BSD field teams. The Bureau of Social Development and Human Security arranged all trainings, which occurred over two days in each province prior to initiating the survey. The team traveled to each province where survey leaders from each district convened for training sessions.

Prior to implementation, I developed, tested and revised all training materials and field handbooks in Thai with the assistance of Jeerasak ‘Daqbir’ Jupoh and Peerayot Sidonrusmee. Throughout each training session in each province, Daqbir and I provided a background to the survey (including justifications for a re-survey of

highland villages in Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai and Mae Hong Son provinces), training on ethics and confidentiality issues, and a step-by-step review of each question in each module. In a final session, all field staff were required to be interviewed according to the household roster module (3B/3C) and to conduct a minimum of one full interview of another staff person according to the household roster module as well. Throughout the trainings, staff were encouraged to ask questions and to provide feedback on the survey content, questionnaire formatting and any other concerns or suggestions they had regarding the survey process.⁵⁴



Plate 3: The UNESCO and BSD Leadership and Training Teams

Photo Credit: Peerayot Sidonrusmee

From left to right: Amanda Flaim, Jeerasak ‘Daqbir’ Jupoh, Peerayot Sidonrusmee, Madi Suankeri, and Mae Hong Son Survey leader Thawin Somgan (Phongthawat Barinburana not pictured).

⁵⁴ For standardization purposes and because most highland languages do not have standard writing systems, the surveys were written in Thai. The necessary use of a standard language that is not spoken regularly in remote villages can introduce considerable non-sampling error. To reduce the risk of non-sampling error that might result from the necessary use of simultaneous translation and back-translation of questions and answers in multiple languages, all surveyors who speak local languages were encouraged to use them for interviews, and received a detailed handbook for data collection and checking in the field.

Prior to implementing the survey, questionnaires and the handbooks for data collection in the field were printed and delivered to every district office. In the field, staff explained the details of the survey and the human subjects protocol. This protocol guaranteed the rights of participants to ask questions, and to refuse to participate in the survey or any part thereof. Staff were instructed to follow the IRB protocol and to follow guidelines for implementing each questionnaire. The protocol allowed flexibility for staff to determine the most appropriate course of action in terms of carrying out the survey in each village, with particular considerations toward local cultural practice, potential security concerns, and most importantly, interviewee preference. Villages therefore varied according to the number of visits staff made to complete a village survey. Some village surveys were completed over the course of several days in a single visit, whereas other villages requested that staff make several visits to the village so as to respect the availability of villagers to be interviewed. My observations of the research process indicated that flexibility on behalf of staff in this regard built trust and increased the willingness of villagers to participate in the survey. Moreover, in some villages, villagers preferred to be interviewed in a public space where they could socialize and work while waiting to be interviewed, whereas in other villages staff visited every home privately. Again, this was found over the course of questionnaire tests as the most appropriate way to ensure the quality of data collected and to respect the wishes and privacy of survey participants.

As the survey was fully underway in March and April, I and two other staff members from UNESCO visited three villages in each province to observe the on-going process of data collection. During this time, it became clear that field staff required a guide to checking the quality of the data prior to leaving the field. This document was drafted in Thai and was then rapidly distributed to each survey field team to assist in the data collection process. Furthermore, as data were collected, UNESCO staff made

regular visits to the central data office at the BSD in order to review the quality of data collected. In few instances non-random problems in questionnaires were detected (e.g., systematic neglect to fill out a form), questionnaires were sent back to the respective district office to be corrected in villages. Throughout the process of collecting data, from pre-village visits to delivering the questionnaires to the BSD central offices, checks were included to ensure that the data collected were as thorough, reliable and valid as possible (see Appendix for directions to district officials).



Plate 4: Elephant Overtaking Surveyors on Road to Burma Border

Photo Credit: Peerayot Sidonrusmee

Finally, in order to ensure that *any* data were collected, the survey was conducted from January to June of 2010, prior to the onset of the rainy season, when many villages become extremely difficult or impossible to reach. In Mae Hong Son province in particular, some villages remain easier to access by elephant than by car, as the photo above attests.



Plate 5: UNESCO and BSD Field Staff Review Questionnaires in the Field

Photo Credit: Jeerasak ‘Daqbir’ Jupoh

Data Checking, Data Entry and Data Cleaning

While surveys were being implemented over the course of the spring of 2010, I simultaneously developed data entry frames in SPSS, codebooks in Thai, and guidelines for data checking and data entry in Thai. The extensive process of data checking, entry, and cleaning was undertaken by the Academic Network for Community Happiness Observation and Research of Assumption University’s ABAC Poll Center (ABAC ANCHOR), which is an organization that has extensive and unique capabilities to implement data entry at this scale.

After the BSD staff collected the surveys from the field, the surveys were then delivered to Chiang Mai city, and delivered to the ABAC office in Bangkok. Data entry was undertaken from August 2010 through January 2011. The organization ran a second round of data cleaning from March through December of 2011, and then recoded and integrated the data from July through September 2012. The following measures were taken to ensure data quality and protect anonymity of participants, and

the number of questionnaires entered, checked, cleaned by ABAC ANCHOR are as follows:

Table 2: Report of Total Survey Instruments Received & Entered

Survey Module	Number of valid questionnaires	Number of records
1B: Village Level	296	296
2A: School Level	153	153
2B: School Staff	153	1,506
3A: Household History	15,552	15,552
3B: Household Roster	15,552	71,012
Total	31,715	88,528

As noted in the table, for the village module (1B), the School Module (2A), and the Household History Module (3A), the number of statistical records corresponds directly to the number of valid questionnaires received. For the School Staff Module (2B), and Household Roster Module (3B), the number of records is much larger. As is evident in the attached survey prototype in the appendix, these two modules contained a separate data entry line for each ‘member’ of the school or household, respectively. Therefore, the HPS II collected information on 1,506 teachers in 153 total schools, and information about 71,012 individuals who are members of 15,552 households in five provinces.



Plate 6: UNESCO HPS II Questionnaires in Secure Storage Room

Photo Credit: Peerayot Sidonrusmee

In order to accurately enter and check all data, ABAC Poll generated a unique Data Entry Program from the SPSS frameworks I devised, and simultaneously entered data into Microsoft Access. All of the data entry processes were closely supervised and directed by the head statistician, researcher and full time officers who coached the team throughout the process in coordination with myself and under the overall leadership of David Feingold, Ph.D., at UNESCO, Bangkok. In total, 20 stations were created for

data entry and checking. At each station, trained data entry specialists adhered to a data entry protocol, which included several manual and automatic data entry checks.

Summary of Data from UNESCO Highland Peoples' Survey II, Subsample

Statistical data presented in this dissertation derive from a subsample of the UNESCO HPS II (2010). While the full survey includes 296 villages from the northernmost border region of Chiang Rai to the southernmost border region of Kanchanaburi province, I limit my analyses of the UNESCO HPS II data to Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai and Mae Hong Son alone. I do so for two reasons: First, sampling procedures in Tak and Kanchanaburi differed from those in the northern provinces, and I have not yet conducted a post-test analysis of these data for sampling errors. Second, while each province differs with regard to the political situation within and across borders and the general ethnic distributions of resident populations, the locations of officially designated yet porous refugee camps in Tak and Kanchanaburi present another layer of state identification and surveillance technologies than I was unable to account for in my ethnographic research in Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai, and Mae Hong Son provinces. In total, therefore, I draw on the subsample of highlanders from these provinces alone, which comprise 54,371 members of 11,782 households in 176 villages across nineteen districts.

The following table presents summary statistics about the household respondents, whose knowledge about other household members comprises the basis for statistical findings in the survey. As the table reveals, the majority of respondents were male (62 percent). On average, respondents were 44 years old—the generation within a household who may be best situated to know and represent accurately, the citizenship and work histories of older and younger generations in the household. Nearly half of respondents report that they cannot read or write Thai (48 percent), but given that respondents were not asked to read or fill out their own survey instruments, the low

level of literacy reported is likely to have no or very little influence on the accuracy of the survey findings. More importantly for the accuracy of the HPS II data, over 80 percent of the respondents reported that they could understand at least ‘a little’ Central and/or Northern Thai. From my own observations of the survey, it seemed likely that respondents were underestimating their Thai skills to interviewees in order to appear humble before government officials and foreigners (myself). Most—if not all—of the surveys I witnessed were carried out in a mix of Thai, Northern Thai, and the local language of the village. Translations were often communal efforts, with husbands, wives, children and neighbors explaining questions to the interviewee in necessary instances.

Table 3: UNESCO Highland Peoples' Survey II, Respondent Characteristics

	Total n=11,782	Summary Data	
Sex			
Male	7,250	61.5%	
Female	4,482	38.5%	
Age			
	Total	ave 44.2 yrs	15.4 std
Can Read Thai			
Cannot	5,689	48.3	
A little	3,511	29.8	
Well	1,996	16.9	
Fluent	483	4.1	
Missing data	103	0.9	
Can Write Thai			
Cannot	5,748	48.8	
A little	3,423	29.0	
Well	1,970	16.7	
Fluent	477	4.1	
Missing data	164	1.4	
Can Understand Thai			
Cannot	2,122	18.0	
A little	5,829	49.5	
Well	2,887	24.5	
Fluent	708	6.0	
Missing data	236	2.0	
Education Level			
None	7,979	68.2	
Some primary	1,253	10.7	
Primary completed	1,287	11.0	
Lower secondary complet.	676	5.8	
Upper sec. or low Vocational	363	3.1	
Upper Vocational Completed	150	1.3	
Missing	74	0.7	
Current Residence			
In this house	10,311	87.5	
Another house in this village	72	0.6	
Outside village in subdistrict	37	0.3	
Outside subdistrict in district	31	0.3	
Outside district in province	98	0.8	
Different province	165	1.4	
Different country	19	0.2	
Do not know	3	.03	

3.5 Discussion

In this chapter, I have described my mixed-methods approach to studying statelessness and citizenship as ever-changing relationships with, and reflections of, particular modes and practices of sovereignty. Both my ethnographic and the survey research endeavors depart from modes of research currently undertaken to understand statelessness in Thailand and beyond, which by and large tend to focus on legal frameworks, or on the “plight of the stateless,” alone. In contradistinction to the hegemonic theory of citizenship as simple bond between an individual and a state, (UNHCR 2015), my ethnographic findings derive from intensive, multi-sited ethnography that capture multiple levels of state, across kin networks that span many villages, and across generations as well. And, the construction of the multi-level HPS II survey instrument enables a flexible understanding of the experiences of applying for, acquiring, and/or being excluded from citizenship while simultaneously including internal checks that can measure the ways these experiences shift with nationality laws and policies (see Chapter 4 for findings).⁵⁵

As a final note, although I have presented my ethnographic research and survey research as separate agendas that were independently produced, in truth, these projects were overlapping, mutually-influential processes, and the result of intensely collaborative research. Specifically, findings in my ethnographic research have been enhanced by and co-produced with the collaborative efforts of my partner and fellow researcher, Daniel Ahlquist, our research assistant (guide), Jeerasak “Daqbir” Jupoh, and fellow UNESCO researchers Chutima “Miju” Morlaeku and Stephanie Koning.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ For an elaborate discussion of the survey instrument and each variable, see Flaim 2010. The English version of each module included in the UNESCO Highland Peoples’ Survey II is provided in the Appendix at the end of the dissertation.

⁵⁶ I cite Chutima’s research extensively in this research, as she has been conducting research and raising awareness about the highland citizenship issue for decades, often at her own peril. In 2010, Stephanie Koning conducted interview-based research for UNESCO on changing birth practices and implications of maternal and infant health in highland communities, with particular respect to rising awareness of the need to register

Conducting research collaboratively enabled me to cross-check my understandings of citizenship law and of highlanders' experiences as I encountered them in the field, and to construct a valid and reliable HPS II framework for widespread data collection. Moreover, because my ethnographic research among villagers was largely based in Akha kin networks, conducting research as a flexible team enabled me to check findings with respect to the experiences of members of other ethnic groups.

Just as my collaborative ethnographic engagements enabled me to access and understand issues of citizenship with greater acuity than I would alone, my role in designing, testing, planning and implementing, monitoring, cleaning, and analyzing the UNESCO Highland Peoples' Survey II was greatly improved with the contributions and insights from a vast team of people at the UN and the Bureau of Social Development. As is clear from my description of the survey above, the UNESCO HPS II was an undertaking that required several years of collaboration across three major agencies: UNESCO, Bangkok's former Trafficking and HIV/AIDS Project, under the direction of David Feingold, Ph.D., the Royal Thai Government's Ministry of Human Security and Social Development's Bureau of Social Development (data collection), and Assumption University's ABAC Poll (data entry, cleaning, security).⁵⁷ As such, the 'data points' that comprise the UNESCO HPS II sample reflect not only the responses of 15,000 villagers who spent hours explaining in detail their unique paths to citizenship and those of their family members, but also the efforts of no fewer than 176 survey field staff who worked with teams to collaboratively, methodically, and *ethically* to understand and represent these stories in a systematic way, and of more than 100 data entry staff to systematically check, double-check, and accurately enter these data

children at birth. As her research significantly overlapped with mine, we conducted several interviews together.

⁵⁷ These comprise the three key agencies that were active in undertaking the survey. As noted in the acknowledgments, the survey received critical funding support from other UN agencies and both the British and Canadian governments.

efficiently and reliably.⁵⁸ Before moving to a presentation of findings on citizenship and statelessness that are a result of these efforts, I pause to briefly point out the simply unquantifiable contributions of thousands of people in constructing a ‘valid’ survey, which itself represents an on-going, national debate about the terms and effects of excluding highlanders from the Thai nation.

In the following chapters I mobilize these diverse data in pursuit of accurately representing an ever-shifting terrain of relationships, institutions, practices, technologies and *legal status* identities that reflect the shifting terrain of, and experiences with, sovereign power. As I note in the subsequent chapters, I tailor the particular methods of analysis and representation to answering the specific research questions of each subsequent analytical chapter on the ‘problem’ of statelessness and unresolved citizenship—from the question of its existence (Chapter 4), to its production and reproduction (Chapter 5) to its meaning in peoples’ lives (Chapter 6).

⁵⁸ The list of contributors and their roles to the UNESCO HPS II project is provided in Flaim, 2010.

CHAPTER 4:

MAPPING THE CURRENT STATE OF STATELESSNESS IN THE HIGHLANDS

4.1 Chapter Overview

In Chapter 2, I showed that legal status categories (e.g., citizen or “hill tribe”), and their corollaries in the boundaries of the Thai nation and borders of the state have never been as stable or natural as they now appear in policy and law. Before moving to analyses of the practices and relationships that delineate, enforce, negotiate, and transgress the categories and conditions of legal status (Chapters 5 and 6), I first map the current state of legal status in the highlands. This analysis is guided by the following questions: First, to what extent has statelessness been resolved in the highlands? And second, what legal status categories, as measured by possession and type of identification, are represented among highlanders in northern Thailand?

While seemingly descriptive, analyses in this chapter serve to evaluate a general assumption that statelessness prevention programs, such as improvements in practices of identification, law, and policy, will and do effectively resolve cases of protracted statelessness (UNCHR, 2014b). Specifically, by identifying legal status categories and assessing the degree to which citizenship outcomes among highlanders cohere with basic stipulations for citizenship in Thai Nationality Law (questions 1 and 2), I aim to evaluate the extent to which expansions in law and identification programs have actually prevented and reduced statelessness on the ground.

Pursuant to the broader goal of understanding the ways in which inclusion and exclusion are produced, enforced and reproduced through practices of sovereignty, the following set of analyses of citizenship outcomes do not reflect any intention or attempt on my part to evaluate whether any individuals are more or less deserving of citizenship in Thailand, or indeed, anywhere in the world. Similarly, in the following set of statistical analyses, I do not offer an evaluation of whether the law is ‘good’ or ‘bad.’

Analyzing citizenship and exclusion with an eye toward ever-shifting relationships and practices of sovereignty illuminates all legal status categories and outcomes, the laws on which they are based, and corresponding material practices of identification and surveillance as essentially arbitrary and changing. These analyses, therefore, test prevailing, normative assumptions in global development arenas and legal scholarship that any national “community” can be actualized through identification and law—regardless of whether it is “imagined” in extremely exclusive, narrow terms, or through broadly inclusive, liberal terms (Anderson, 1991). Because these assumptions are prevailing and normative, I issue here again another note of caution that these analyses be read, not within these normative frameworks, but as a point of departure for issuing a critique thereof.

In order to conduct this mapping exercise, I draw on a subsample of the UNESCO Highland Peoples’ Survey II (2010),⁵⁹ which, as I described in Chapter 3, is extensive in its coverage of more than 50,000 highlanders who are members of more than 11,000 households in 192 villages, and who collectively represent more than twenty ethnic groups. Moreover, as I discussed in Chapter 2, and as I show in detail below, the UNESCO HPS II is uniquely designed to capture various dynamics of legal status in the highlands—from juridical delineations in Thai law, to procedures of recognition conferral, to practices and technologies of identity enforcement and regulation. Moreover, as I discussed in Chapter 2, the survey also captures locally relevant livelihood practices, educational attainment histories, and a range of life history outcomes that include interactions with various agencies of the Thai government. Therefore, the survey is suited to the task of meaningfully and accurately capturing the dynamic phenomenon of legal status in Thailand and its shifting

⁵⁹ Please see Chapter 3 for a general description of this survey instrument and the subsample from which I draw upon for all analyses in this dissertation.

relationship with life and livelihood outcomes among the extremely ethno-linguistically diverse highland population.

Analyses and findings in this chapter build on and bridge a diverse and growing body of research on the situation of protracted exclusion in the highlands of Thailand and its effects on highlanders' lives. Specifically, contributions by Chutima (2009, 2005), Mukdawan (2009, 2005), and Feingold (2002) all indicate that problems persist in actualizing progressive citizenship law among highlanders.⁶⁰ These studies remain particularly useful for documenting in detail the persistent denial of recognition of citizenship to people who are Thai citizens by law, and for pointing to the various legal, procedural, geographical, and socio-cultural barriers that highlanders encounter in applying for citizenship. At the same time, however, because findings from these most recent studies of citizenship (Chutima, 2009; Mukdawan, 2009) are limited to three Akha villages in Chiang Rai province, these studies cannot account for the degree to which problems observed in this group and in these villages are also prevalent and similarly experienced elsewhere in the highlands and/or amongst other ethnic groups.

When coupling these intensive studies of the problem with findings from extensive studies of citizenship outcomes among highlanders (e.g., BSD, 2002; Flaim, 2008;⁶¹ Miyazawa, 1997), the situation remains unclear. Each of these extensive studies of the issue reveal that citizenship conferral rates have been highly uneven across ethnic group and district location (see Figure below); Yet, the surveys deployed in these analyses are limited with regard to detail about individual life histories and claims to eligibility through descent. Therefore, although these studies reveal significant

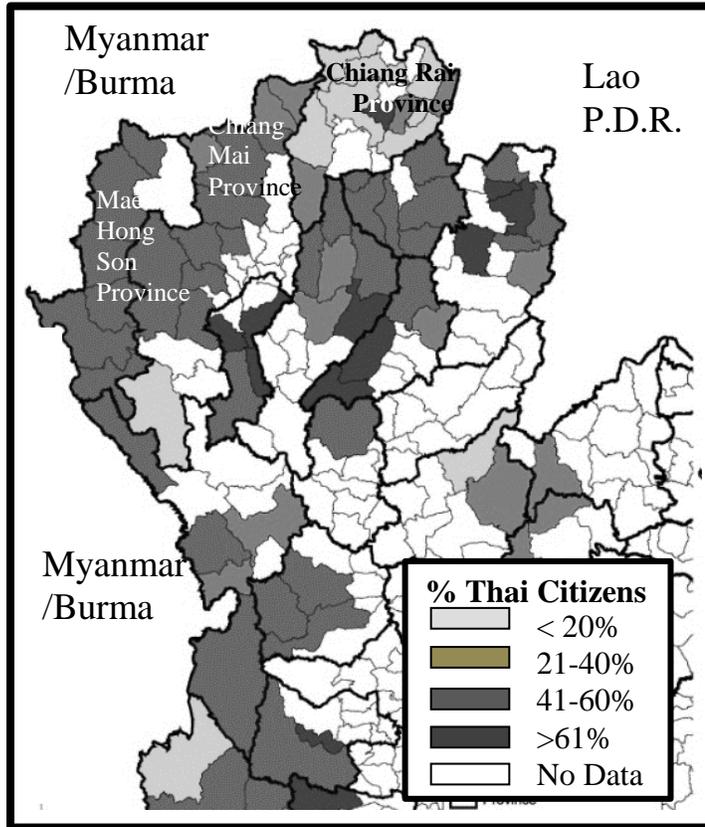
⁶⁰ I return to these studies in Chapter 5 to discuss the contributions of these studies with regard to the reasons why barriers to resolving citizenship in the highlands persist.

⁶¹ Findings in Flaim 2008 assess citizenship and education outcomes among highlanders in 3 provinces using data from the 2006 UNESCO HPS I. The study reveals acute differences between citizens and non-citizens with respect to educational attainment and access outcomes.

unevenness in citizenship acquisition/conferral across ethnic group, district and provincial lines, it cannot be determined whether these uneven outcomes reflect widespread inconsistencies in the implementation of the law or whether these differences simply reflect substantially different degrees of eligibility by members of particular ethnic groups or districts. In short, lighter shaded districts in Figure 4 below (e.g., the northernmost tip of Thailand) may reflect bureaucratic bottlenecks in the implementation of Thai law, a high rate of undocumented migration from neighboring countries, or some combination thereof.

The analyses I present in this chapter bridge intensive anthropological research (e.g., Mukdawan, 2009; Feingold, 2002) and small-scale surveys (e.g., Chutima, 2009) with large-scale surveys of the highlands (e.g., Flaim, 2008) to assess the extent to which the citizenship/statelessness problem has been resolved in the highlands. Additionally, whereas previous statistical studies of the problem were either limited to descriptive analysis (e.g., Chutima, 2009), or limited to household and individual-level analysis alone (e.g., Flaim, 2008), data from the UNESCO HPS II accommodate regression analyses that may identify the levels at which problems in legal status conferral or acquisition most acutely persist—from individual, to household, to village, to the district levels.

Figure 4: Map Showing Variation in Citizenship by District, 1997



Map adapted from UNESCO Social Sentinel Surveillance Project (UNESCO, 2014).

This chapter proceeds as follows: In section 4.2, I map legal status outcomes represented among highlanders in the UNESCO HPS II as reflected in identification cards possessed. In section 4.3, I map and compare these legal status outcomes with citizenship eligibility statuses of highlanders as delineated in Thai nationality law. In section 4.5, I review the findings of each section with respect to the core research questions of the chapter and with respect to the broader pursuit of the dissertation to understand the ways in which sovereignty operates in the highlands of Thailand.

Before proceeding to a presentation of findings, I return briefly to the conceptual lens of statelessness as one of many subject-positions that reflect particular operations of sovereignty. I do so in order to situate the analyses of this chapter within the broader, critical approach that I take to understanding statelessness and operations

of sovereignty in Thailand in this dissertation. As I discuss the findings in this chapter and return to these findings in subsequent chapters, legal status and life outcomes that are drawn from data on highlanders are *not* to be interpreted as essential conditions of statelessness or citizenship (or other legal status categories), or as anything essential about the ‘highland population’ or sub-group thereof. That is to say, for example, that findings showing that Akha and Lahu people have lower rates of citizenship than Hmong and Karen people do not demonstrate that Akha and Lahu groups are intrinsically less eligible for citizenship than the Hmong or Karen. Rather, pursuant to the question of sovereignty as a constantly shifting set of practices that are enforced, negotiated, and transgressed, I argue that the findings in this chapter capture a particular set of moments—both current and past—in a longer, and constantly shifting trajectory of asserting and contesting state sovereignty in the highlands. Therefore, after mapping uneven patterns of legal status outcomes, and revealing that statelessness persists in the highlands despite expansion of law and reduced procedural barriers, I then conduct analyses of the relationships and moments in citizenship adjudication processes that produce and perpetuate exclusion.

4.2 Does Expanded Identification Ensure Legal Identity?

As I discussed in Chapter 2, the Ministry of Interior has operated a complex and constantly changing identification program in the highlands since 1959 since initiating programs aimed to address the “hill tribe problems.” First inscribed in policy, the ascribed “hill tribe” identity then became the first of many official, and *identifiable* non-citizen categories when the government registered and issued the “hill tribe” coin to nearly 120,000 highlanders in 1969. Over the course the following half-century, the identification of, and legal identities associated with, exclusion in the highlands became increasingly complex with more than seventeen different color ID cards issued by the end of the millennium (Pinkaw 2003, 2014; Toyota 2005). In 2007, the government

aimed to reduce the complexity of identification and legal identities, by issuing Pink and White ‘Resident’ and ‘Alien’ IDs to individuals, and using the 13-digit ID code to further indicate the cardholder’s associated rights to stay in Thailand, and potentially belong as a Thai citizen (Pinkaew, 2014). The task therefore, is to examine the extent to which this new identification regime 1) effectively ‘identified’, or registered, everyone in the highlands according to policy by 2010, and 2) to assess the extent to which this streamlined identification regime has been realized among the highland population. In other words: has this expansion of identification and reduction of the complexity therein effectively ensured legal identity for highlanders?

Using the framework of the government’s identification program as a testable hypothesis, I present below a basic typology of the four broadly defined legal statuses in operation at the time of the UNESCO HPS II (2010):

Table 4: Official Legal Identity Categories and Associated Statuses

CATEGORY	DOCUMENT	STATUS, RIGHTS, AND ACCESS
Citizen	National ID	Citizen of Thailand. Listed in Official Household Registry Tor/Ror 14.
Resident	Pink ID*	Semi-Permanent Resident of Thailand (e.g., those formerly registered as hill tribes). Cannot leave district of registration without official permission. Must annually register at district office to maintain residency
‘Alien’	White ID*	Registered in Thailand, with no confirmed nationality elsewhere. Cannot leave district of registration without official permission. Must register annually at district office to maintain residency.
Migrant	Migrant ID	Temporary Resident. Cannot leave district of registration without official permission. Must acquire proof of nationality from other country in order to receive the ID. Must re-register formerly with home country, Thailand, and labor offices for ID card.

**Registered non-citizens issued household registration for non-citizens, Tor/Ror 13.*

Readers who are familiar with the highland context may inquire as to why I do not include birth registration statuses in the typology listed above. While I include birth registration status in predictive modeling of citizenship outcomes (see section 4.3 below), my ethnographic research among highlanders, my analysis of Thai nationality law, and an exploratory analysis of UNESCO HPS II data revealed that birth registration type and possession do not reliably indicate an adult's current legal identity as a citizen, resident, 'alien,' or migrant, even for young children. As will be made clear in the presentation of findings, thousands of highlanders with citizenship possess either a registration certificate of non-citizens only (*baisaet gaangeut*), but many more possess no certificate of birth whatsoever.

Measures of Legal Identification and Legal Status Categories

In order to measure the extent to which the government has registered all highland residents in accordance with their respective claims to status, I designed the UNESCO HPS II questionnaire to capture a range of legal status categories for every person listed in the household roster. Indeed, although the government's current identification program aimed to reduce the number of status categories into the 4 main groups listed above (Thai citizen, (semi)permanent resident, temporary resident/alien, and registered migrant), both ethnographic research and pilot tests of the instrument in five different communities indicated that this streamlining process had not yet been achieved. Specifically, these engagements, which were limited in scope nevertheless revealed that many individuals continued to lack any documentation whatsoever. And, although the government attempted to reduce bureaucratic confusion with the reduction of the types of identification cards in circulation to the four listed above, several individuals continued to possess one *or more* of the former colored ID cards issued between the late 1970s and late 1990s, and had never converted their cards to the new Pink or White card. In order to determine whether these individuals were isolated

cases, or whether this issue is widespread among highlanders, the UNESCO HPS II instrument therefore included the following two *separate* questions on legal status categories for every person listed in the household roster:

C3: Does (NAME) have Thai citizenship? (asked of all persons in household.)

C4: Does (NAME) have a Thai National ID Card? (asked of persons age>14 only.)

The full list of questions and respective codes are provided in Survey Module 3B of the APPENDIX but are presented here for simplicity.

Table 5: Questions and Codes for Measuring Legal Status

ID	Question	Code
C3	Does (NAME) have Thai citizenship?	0=No, Not a Thai Citizen 1=Thai Citizen
C4	Does (NAME) have a National ID card for Thai citizens? <i>Asked of persons age > 14 only.</i> ⁶²	0=Does not have citizen ID 1=Has Thai citizen ID card
<i>CITIZEN ID ONLY: C4=1</i>		
C5	How old was (NAME) when s/he acquired the National ID card?	<i>Entered as number</i>
C6	What ID did (NAME) possess prior to acquiring the National ID card? (3 options)	<i>SEE LIST BELOW</i>
<i>NO CITIZEN ID ONLY: C4=0</i>		
C7	What ID card does (NAME) Possess, if any?	<i>SEE LIST BELOW</i>
C8	Has (NAME) ever applied for citizenship	0=Have not applied 1=Have applied
C9	(If C8=1 Only), what is the current status of (NAME)'s application?	1=Still waiting for resolution 2=Was denied citizenship

⁶² Although children of age seven and above were issued ID cards in 2011, at the time of the UNESCO HPS II, ID cards were issued to individuals of age 15 and above only. Upon the 15th birthday, youth will turn in their ID card for children and acquire the formal ID card for adults.

C10	(If C8=0 Only), Why has (NAME) never applied for citizenship?	1=Process did not exist 2=Did not know it was important 3=Did not understand the procedure 4=Did not know someone who could assist me 5=Could not communicate with officials 6=Did not have “special money” for officials 7=Did not have money to pay application fee 8=Did not have funds to pay for DNA test 9=District center too far 10=Process takes too long 11=Could not travel 12=Someone said I should not/could not apply 13=Officials did not approve application 14=Other (Enter)
------------	---	--

ID Options for Questions C6 and C7

- | | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 0=No documents | 7=Yuan Migrants | 15=Burmese Refugees |
| 1=Blue “Hill Tribe” ID | 8=Former Chinese military | 16=Registered Worker |
| 2=Green “Hill Tribe” ID | 9=Migrant Cin Haw | 17=Burmese Migrant |
| 3= “Hill Tribe” coin | 10=Free Cin Haw | 18= Ethnic Thais from Burma |
| 4=New pink card | 11=Chinese from Malaya | 19= Cambodian Refugees |
| 5=New white card | 12=Thai Lue | 20=Mlabri |
| 6=Alien ID card | 13=Lao Migrants | 21=Other |
| | 14=Nepalese Migrants | |

Methods of Mapping Legal Identity

In order to map legal status categories among highlanders, I undertake a simple descriptive analysis of ID possession (variables C4 and C7) among the UNESCO HPS II subsample of highlanders. This analysis, while extremely basic in methodology, enables an assessment of the extent to which the Ministry of Interior of Thailand had effectively implemented the 2007 identification strategy indicated in Table 4 above at the time of the survey. In other words, if this agenda had been accurately and effectively implemented according to law and procedure, findings from the UNESCO HPS II *should* reveal that 1) all individuals of age 15 and above have been documented, 2) that all individuals are in possession of *either* a National ID card for citizens (C4=1), or one of the following ID cards: Pink ‘Resident’ Card, White ‘Alien’ Card, or

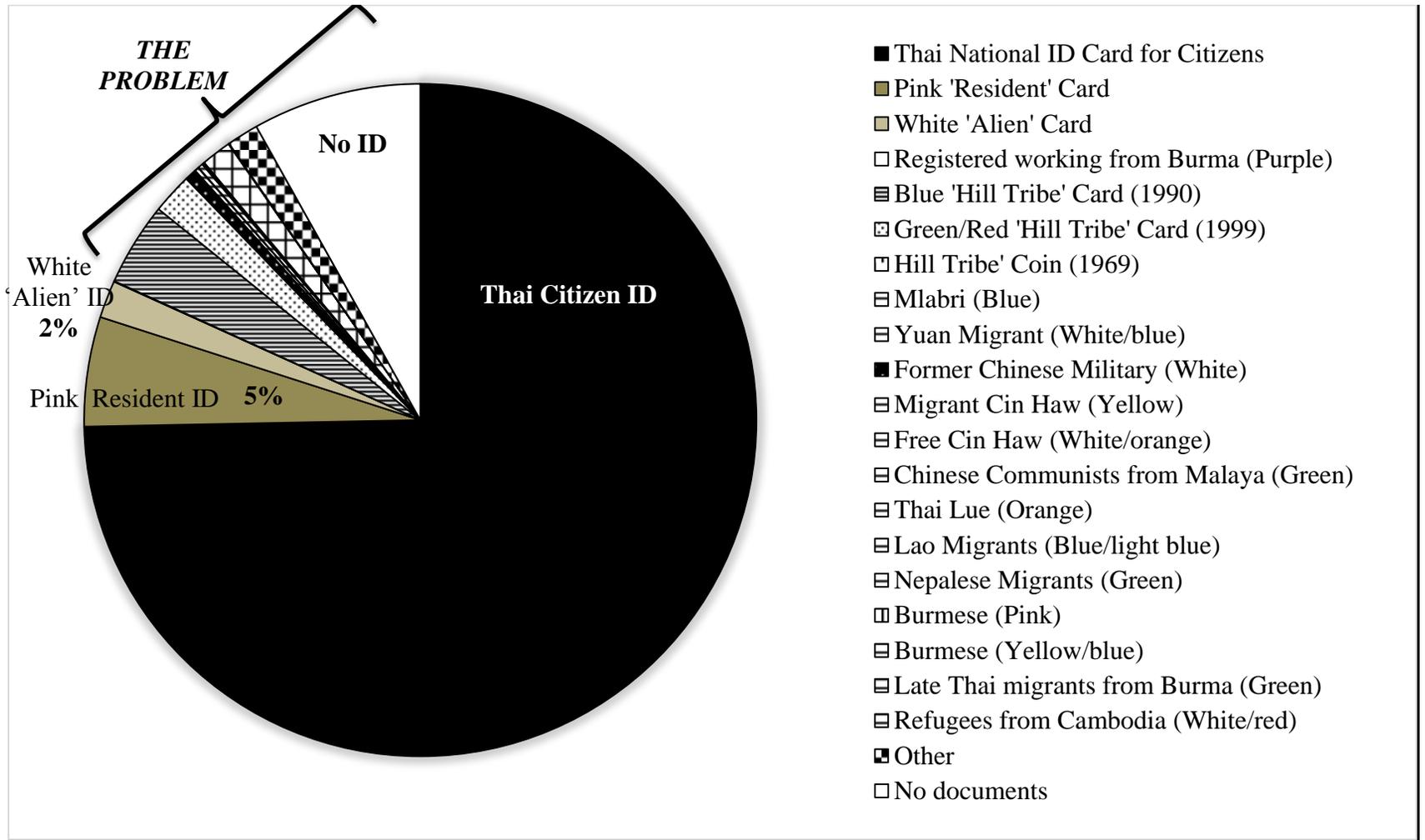
Registered 'Migrant' Card; and 2), all individuals should possess only one form of identification.

Findings on Identification

Figure 5 below clearly reveals that the government's 2007 identification program had not been evenly or effectively realized among highlanders by 2010. Although 75 percent of the 38,335 total individuals included in this analysis reportedly possessed the National ID Card for citizens, only seven of the remaining 25 percent of non-citizens possessed a Pink or White ID card. Less than one percent (n=12) had acquired a migrant ID as per the 2009 Nationality Verification Program. Amongst the remaining nineteen percent of non-citizens, six percent still possessed a blue or green/red "Hill Tribe" Card issued in 1990 and 1999 surveys of the highlands, respectively (see Chapter 2 for discussion). Another eight percent reportedly possessed no identification document, and the rest reportedly possessed one of fourteen formerly-issued forms of identification marking them as neither citizen, nor "hill tribe."

Beyond revealing that large numbers of non-citizen highlanders in Thailand remained either undocumented, or continued to possess forms of identification that were supposed to have been replaced by the White or Pink IDs, further descriptive analyses of these data (not shown) revealed that 161 individuals possessed at least two forms of identification, and 48 possessed three or more forms of identification. While this does not account for a large proportion of the 9,703 non-citizens of age fifteen or above in the UNESCO HPS II sample, findings from this subsample are nevertheless significant from a legal, policy, and human rights perspective. These findings indicate that implementation of the 2007 identification program remains far from complete, or clear.

Figure 5: Legal Status Categories Represented among Adult Highlanders



4.3 Does Legal Reform Resolve Statelessness?

Findings in Section 4.2 reveal that the government had not registered non-citizens according to the revised identification program by 2010; however, these descriptive analyses of identification categories alone cannot reveal whether outcomes in citizenship reflects the accurate and effective implementation of Nationality law or not. In other words, do the 9,703 *non-citizens* of varying legal identities in the HPS II subsample lack citizenship because they lack any claim to citizenship according to Thai Nationality law? Has the government achieved the goal of resolving citizenship in the highlands by conferring recognition to all eligible persons and their children? In the following set of analyses I assess the extent to which expanded nationality laws and reduced procedural barriers in citizenship adjudication processes have resulted in the resolution of citizenship for all persons who are eligible for it, who are, indeed Thai citizens by law (Chutima, 2009; Phuntip, 2006).

Legal Standards of Eligibility

As I will describe further in Chapter 5, there are many paths to acquiring a National ID card as proof of recognition of Thai citizenship, but I deploy in these analyses a conservative baseline of eligibility as delineated through claims by *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli*. Although I reduce the scope of analysis to these two claims to citizenship alone, assessing eligibility in this context remains slightly complicated for two reasons: First, unlike many countries (e.g., the United States), Thailand recognizes the right of individuals to claim citizenship through *jus soli* only for those who were born in Thailand prior to February 26, 1992 (Nationality Act 2, Section 1, 1992). Second, although the government of Thailand recognizes a claim to citizenship by descent (*jus sanguinis*) through both the mother and the father (in a strictly biological sense), the process of conferring citizenship to individuals with only one citizen parent is more or less complicated depending on which parent is the Thai citizen. Specifically,

when a child is born to a citizen mother, the child will be listed in the mothers' official household registry (Tor/Ror 14) as a recognized member of her official household, regardless of whether she is married to or living with the child's father.⁶³ Yet, in instances in which a child is born to a non-citizen mother and a citizen father, the child will only be *automatically* included in the father's official household registration (Tor/Ror 14) as a future citizen of Thailand if the child's father is present and registered on the child's birth certificate. In short, Thailand recognizes claims to citizenship by birth and by descent, but analyses of eligibility on the basis of these claims must accommodate the relative stability (and instability) of particular claims. Therefore, I present here below a brief matrix of eligibility, which is not comprehensive in representing all possible paths to citizenship,⁶⁴ but provides a conservative baseline for assessing the extent to which citizenship issues have been resolved in the highlands:

Table 6: Baseline Eligibility Standards for Thai Citizenship

Degree of Eligibility for Citizenship	Group
Claim to Citizenship Straightforward: Thai Citizen by Law	Persons born in Thailand to at Least One Citizen Parent
Eligible for Thai Citizenship	Persons born outside of Thailand to at Least One Citizen Parent
Eligible for Thai Citizenship	Persons born in Thailand to Non-Citizen Parents <i>prior to February 26, 1992.</i>
Claim to Citizenship Least Stable	Persons born outside of Thailand to Non-Citizen Parents (footnote below)

⁶³ The Tor/Ror 14 is the Ministry of Interior's designation for household registries for Thai citizens. To be eligible for Thai citizenship, individuals must be registered members of registered households in registered vilages in registered districts. I clarify this system and its significance further in Chapter 5.

⁶⁴ People can be eligible for Thai citizenship for a range of reasons including, but not limited to, service to the nation or marriage. Due to the complicated path by which these claims are made, the UNESCO HPS II did not include measures that would reliably 'test' these claims of eligibility.

Measures of Citizenship and Non-Citizenship

In this section of analyses, I use the aforementioned standards of eligibility for Thai citizenship as a set of baseline measures against which actual outcomes in citizenship are compared. Through descriptive analysis, bivariate analysis of association, standard logistic regression analyses and multi-level, mixed-effects modeling of citizenship outcomes, I examine the extent to which citizenship has been ‘resolved’ among the highland population, and aim to detect where and why persistent slippages between law and its actualization persist. In simplest terms, these analyses ‘test’ whether expanded nationality law and reduced procedural barriers in citizenship adjudication have effectively resolved citizenship (and prevented statelessness) in the highlands as of 2010.

As will I elaborate in the subsequent section on methods, this section is concerned with measuring eligibility standards against outcomes in citizenship, as measured by possession or non-possession of the ID card. I therefore collapse all non-citizen categories identified in the previous analysis to generate a binary measure of citizenship that can be certified through possession of the National ID Card:

0= Not a Recognized Citizen of Thailand / Lacks National ID Card

1= Recognized Citizen of Thailand / Possesses National ID Card

To be clear, this binary measure does not assess the extent to which citizens are able to access their rights (e.g., Somers, 2008), or whether they are accommodated fully in the broader “imagined community” of the Thai nation (Anderson 1991). Rather, this binary variable simply captures whether highlanders have or have not acquired official recognition of citizenship as indicated by the lack of, or possession of, the Thai National ID card. In its most basic sense, these analyses examine the assertion that citizenship is a “legal bond between an individual and the state” (UNHCR, 2014e).

Framing citizenship in terms of this binary may appear too simplistic given the complexity of the government's identification program—complexity which I emphasize and substantiate in findings presented in section 4.2 above. However, the binary is appropriate for pursuing the question of whether individuals who lack recognition of Thai citizenship, *regardless of their current non-citizen ID type or lack thereof*, are eligible for Thai citizenship. In other words, reducing citizenship to a binary variable of Not Citizen/ Citizen, enables a very simple analysis of the extent to which the law 'works' to recognize Thai citizens (by law/eligibility) as citizens of Thailand, as demonstrated through possession or lack of the National ID.

Beyond enabling an ethnographically-informed and materially verifiable measure of citizenship through possession of the National ID card, the UNESCO HPS II is highly unique as it includes information about the extent to which individuals are eligible for recognition of citizenship by the standards delineated in nationality law. Unlike any previous survey devised to assess citizenship in the highlands, the UNESCO HPS II captures information on place of birth, citizenship statuses of the biological mother and biological father of each person in the household roster, and previous registration histories of both citizens and non-citizens.⁶⁵ By mobilizing information from these questions alone, the extent to which individuals are eligible for recognition of Thai citizenship can be broadly determined. The questions and associated codes for eligibility are as follows:

⁶⁵ This last point is key, as the UNESCO HPS I (2006) collected information on the identities of non-citizens, the process of acquiring recognition of citizenship among citizens was taken for granted. No information was gathered to understand whether and to what extent Thai citizens in the HPS I had been registered as non-citizens prior to acquiring recognition of citizenship.

Table 7: Questions and Codes for Measuring Citizenship Eligibility

ID	Question	Code
Assessing Eligibility by Birth/ <i>Jus Soli</i>		
H6	In what country was (NAME) born?	1=Thailand 2=Burma/ Myanmar 3=Laos 4=China 5=Cambodia 6=Asia, Other 7=West (including Japan) 8=Middle East 9=Other
Assessing Eligibility by Descent / <i>Jus Sanguinis</i>⁶⁶		
H21	Does/did (NAME)'s biological mother possess a National ID?	0=Does/did not have citizen ID 1=Has/had Thai citizen ID card
H26	Does/did (NAME)'s biological father possess a National ID? ⁶⁷	0=Does/did not have citizen ID 1=Has/had Thai citizen ID card
Factors Enabling Verification of Eligibility⁶⁸		
C6/ C7	Current or former registration status of (NAME) as non-citizen or prior to receiving citizenship.	0=Does/did not have citizen ID 1=Has/had Thai citizen ID card
C1	What birth registration, if any, does (NAME) possess?	0=Does/did not have a birth certificate 1=Official birth certificate (<i>suthibaah</i>) 2=Delivery certificate (<i>baisaetgaangeut</i>) 3=Foreign certificate 4=Other

⁶⁶ This variable was ultimately generated through a composite of two variables which capture 1) residence with the biological mother or father, and 2) the citizenship statuses of the biological mother and father. In instances in which individuals do not reside with their biological mother and/or father, questions H18 and H22 ensured that the status of the non-resident parent was recorded. If individuals resided with the biological mother or father, the ID code associated with the resident parent was recorded in order to ensure that the respective relationship and status was accurately captured.

⁶⁷ Although children of age seven and above were issued ID cards in 2011, at the time of the UNESCO HPS II, ID cards were issued to individuals of age 15 and above only.

⁶⁸ As described in Section 4.2, these forms of registration do not map directly onto one's current citizenship status but are often linked to citizenship outcomes as they may be used to substantiate a claim to citizenship through descent and/or by birth.

Beyond capturing these baseline issues of eligibility and verification thereof, the UNESCO HPS II also captures a range of individual-, household-, village-, and district-level information that can enable the identification of key problems in the broader procedures of identification and recognition of identity. If citizenship outcomes are found to reflect regularized, accurate, implementation of nationality law, findings from the following regression analyses will indicate that variations in citizenship outcomes can be entirely explained by variations across individuals with regard to their (ostensibly) independent and unique claims to citizenship by descent or circumstances of birth. Simultaneously, regularized implementation of nationality law would reflect a lack of statistical significance with regard to household, village, or district of residence. Any significant finding with regard to household, village and/or district of residence would suggest problems in the broader implementation of citizenship procedure, from compiling applications at the household level, to filing applications at the village level, to adjudicating status at the district level. While I attend to these issues in subsequent chapters, I include these variables in the following regressions in order to assess the extent to which these alternative factors are associated with citizenship outcomes in the highlands, and to assess the extent to which eligibility status predicts citizenship outcomes when controlling for these other issues. In addition to village, district, and province of residence, these factors and associated codes are listed as follows:

Table 8: Non-Eligibility Related Variables

ID	Question	Code
Individual-Level Factors		
H2	How old is (NAME)? ⁶⁹	1=11-20 2=21-30 ... 6=61-70 7=70+
H3	Is (NAME) male or female?	1=Male 2=Female
H4	What ethnicity is (NAME)?	1=Thai 6=Lisu 11=Palong 2=Lahu 7=Mien 12=Thai Yai 3=Karen 8=Khamu 13=Chinese 4=Akha 9=Lua 14=Burmese 5=Hmong 10=Thai Lue 15=Other
H10	Is (NAME) currently married?	1=No, never 2=Yes 3=Was married, now divorced 4=Was married, now widowed 5=Other
E4	What is the highest level of education that (NAME) has completed?	0=None 1=Some Primary/Not Completed 2=Completed Primary (B6-M2) 3=Lower Secondary Completed (M3-M5) 4=Upper Secondary or Lower Vocational (M6+) 5=Upper Vocational or Higher (BWC/BWS, BA+)
Household-Level Factors		
NA	Mixed Status Household? ⁷⁰	0=None are citizens 1=Some are citizens, Some non-citizens 2=All are citizens/All possess National ID
NA	Wealth Status of Household ⁷¹	1=Poorest quartile 2=2 nd Quartile 3=3 rd Quartile 4 th =Wealthiest Quartile

⁶⁹ Data were entered as numbers and recoded as categorical variables after exploratory analysis revealed a bimodal trend in citizenship outcomes by age, which likely reflected the ways in which adult children of older citizens are more likely to possess citizenship.

⁷⁰ This variable is constructed by aggregating all household resident information on variable C4 to the household level.

⁷¹ This measure was generated through principle component analysis using over 42 different variables from the household history (Module 3A). For information about what assets are included, see Module 3A in the Appendix, questions 10a through 26e.

Methods of Mapping Citizenship and Detecting Statelessness

Broadly speaking, the following analyses assess the extent to which the state has achieved congruency between delineations of citizenship (and non-citizenship) in law and the actual citizenship statuses of highlanders. In the first set of findings, I conduct bivariate, chi-square analyses of association to assess the extent to which citizenship identity outcomes at the individual level are associated with standards of eligibility and other factors indicated above. These bivariate analyses of association do more ‘work’ than merely assessing the strength of a relationship between one’s relative eligibility for citizenship and the ID card one does or does not possess: Rather, located within these initial bivariate analyses are the keys to unlocking the as-yet-undetermined-question of whether ‘better law’ and ‘better adjudication procedures’ have resolved citizenship for highlanders.

After presenting this first set of simple, yet highly informative findings from bivariate analyses, which indicate unequivocally that citizenship has not been resolved in the highlands (see section below) despite ‘better law’ and ‘better procedure,’ I then proceed to examine citizenship outcomes among highlanders through two sets of logistic regression analyses. Through these regression analyses, I seek not to ‘predict’ who will or will not acquire citizenship, but rather to understand which factors have been influential in driving variation in citizenship conferral and acquisition in the highlands.

In all regression analyses, I examine the relative impact of eligibility-related, and non-eligibility-related characteristics listed above on the likelihood of possessing the National ID versus lacking the ID. As I describe above, this binary, categorical variable of citizenship is coded as: 0=Not Citizen/Does not Possess National ID v. 1=Citizen/ Possess National ID. All regressions described herein are thus binomial

logistic regressions whereby the relative influence of each independent variable is measured with respect to likelihood of being a citizen (1) versus not (0).

As all independent variables included in these logistic regressions are categorical, I indicate the reference group by which I measure the likelihood of being, versus not being, a citizen of Thailand. For example, I determine the relative impact of ethnic identity in explaining citizenship outcomes by comparing each ethnic sub-group to outcomes among ethnic Thais. I compare females to the reference group of males, and individuals who were born outside of Thailand are compared to those who were born in Thailand. For consistency, I use the same coding structure and reference group in each subsequent round of regressions. For clarity in interpretation of findings, I note all reference categories as (Ref) in the table, and I present all findings as odds-ratios.

In the first set of multivariate logistic regression analyses, I assess the relative influence of each individual-level variable in explaining citizenship outcomes among the entire UNESCO HPS II subsample who are of age 18 or above.⁷² I then rerun the first logistic regression analysis across four subgroups of the HPS II, which I divide on the basis of relative eligibility for citizenship. Eligibility subgroups, which I derive through a conservative⁷³ analysis of Thai Nationality Law, are as follows:

- 1) Individuals born in Thailand to at least one Thai citizen parent
- 2) Individuals born outside of Thailand to at least one Thai citizen (*jus sanguinis only*)
- 3) Individuals born in Thailand to non-citizen parents (*jus soli alone*)
- 4) Individuals born outside of Thailand to parents who lack citizenship.

⁷² I limit analysis to this age group in order to control for the recent clause of eligibility by residence before 1992. Individuals of age 18 or above at the time of the 2010 survey would have been born before the cutoff date.

⁷³ As I discuss above, this conservative estimate of eligibility does not include paths to citizenship through marriage, contributions to the country, etc. By *not* including these possibilities, the estimate of the extent to which the ‘citizenship problem’ in the highlands persists provides a conservative estimate of the extent to which statelessness has been resolved at the border.

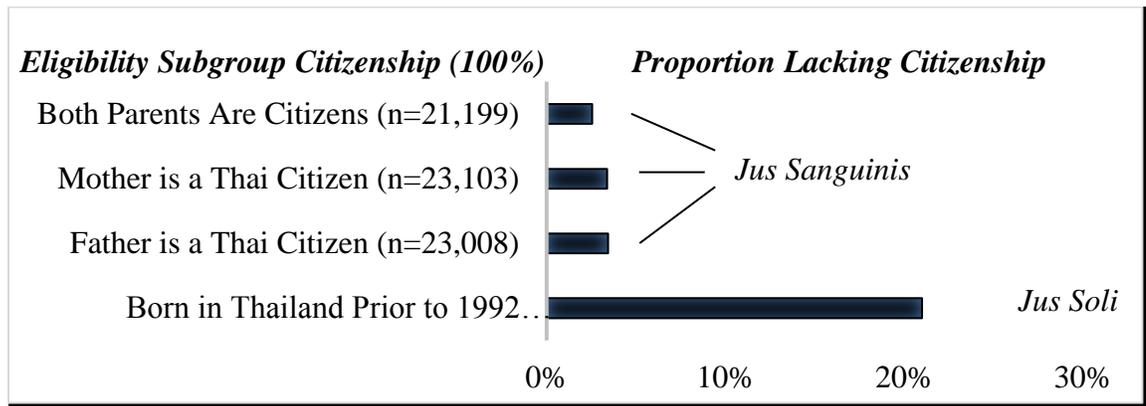
Finally, I integrate variables on household of membership, village location, district of residence multi-level, mixed-effects (MLME) model to assess whether variance in citizenship outcomes at the individual level can be explained by problems at the household, village, or district level, as such issues pertain to, and would necessarily reflect, the citizenship application and adjudication procedures.

Findings

The following table and sets of figures reveal findings from the bivariate analyses of association between citizenship ID possession and a range of both eligibility-related, and non-eligibility-related variables. Because I include and discuss in more detail the same variables in subsequent regression analyses, I pause here to point out only the most critical findings:

First and foremost, Figure 6 presented here below and analyses of eligibility-related variables in Table 9 reveal unequivocally that citizenship has not been resolved in the highlands according to stipulations in Nationality Law. Specifically, 21 percent of all individuals who were born in Thailand prior to 1992 continue to lack recognition of citizenship despite the legal framework which aims to recognize this group of people as citizens of Thailand. Moreover, 1,147 individuals, or three percent of the 38,470 total individuals included in the analysis, have a clear claim to citizenship through one or both parents, yet continue to lack recognition of citizenship. Of this group, 675 non-citizens claim citizenship through *both* of their parents, and 810 have a claim to citizenship through their mothers. Subsequent analyses (not shown) of this particular group of non-citizens who can claim citizenship through at least one parent reveal that they are of all ethnic identities, although Akha and Lahu people comprise 50 percent of this group. Similarly, the problem is not concentrated in one or two villages alone: Rather, these people are members of, and residents in 157 of the 192 villages included in the total HPS II subsample.

Figure 6: Evidence of Persistent Exclusion despite Eligibility, 2010



By summing all rows and discounting overlap, data from the UNESCO Highland Peoples' Survey II demonstrated that 24 percent of *non-citizen* highlanders have a direct claim to citizenship, yet continued to lack recognition thereof as recently as 2010.

Beyond revealing the persistent fissures between delineations in citizenship in law, and the registration of people on the ground, so to speak, the bivariate analyses of association listed in Table 9 below reveal that citizenship varies significantly ($p < 0.000$) with respect to each variable 'tested,' whether directly related to eligibility status or not. For clarity, I present some findings in map and figure form. Map 3 below indicates that differentiated patterns of citizenship acquisition persist across district divides, as was the case in 1997 (See Figure 4 in the introduction of this chapter). Similarly, subsequent figures reveal that citizenship acquisition, *and lack thereof*, varies significantly across the highlands with respect to ethnic identity, village location, and even household of membership.

Table 9: Bivariate Analyses: Citizenship Eligibility vs. Outcome

	Total n=38,470	% No ID n=11,053	% With ID n=28,707	Chi2
<i>ELIGIBILITY BY DESCENT</i>				
Citizenship of Parents				1.7e+04***
Parents not citizens	13,890	63.5	36.5	
Mother citizen only	2,133	10.5	89.6	
Father citizen only	1,248	16.1	83.9	
Both Parents citizens	21,199	2.2	97.8	
<i>ELIGIBILITY BY BIRTH</i>				
Born in Thailand Prior to 1992 (Age ≥18)	n=34,549			8.8e+03***
Yes, Born in Thailand	30,297	17.3	87.2	
No, Born Elsewhere	4,252	41.2	58.8	
<i>ELIGIBILITY BY PROOF OF FORMER REGISTRATION</i>				
Birth Certificate				5.7e+03***
Official birth registration	13,768	4.4	95.6	
Delivery certificate	1,802	10.9	89.1	
Foreign birth certificate	553	14.3	85.2	
No birth registration	20,659	39.5	60.1	
ID Card Possession				1.1e+04*** ⁷⁴
None	23,308	13.5	86.5	
“Hill Tribe” ID (blue)	7,249	20.7	79.3	
“Hill Tribe” ID (green/red)	2,187	34.0	66.0	
“Hill Tribe” Coin (1969)	188	5.9	94.2	
New Pink Card (Resident)	2,455	83.8	16.2	
New White Card (Alien)	246	76.0	24.0	
Old Alien ID Card	545	93.2	6.8	
Yuan Migrants (white/blue)	7	42.9	57.1	
Former Chinese Military	374	50.3	49.7	
Migrant Cin Haw (yellow)	50	42.0	58.0	
Free Cin Haw (white/orng)	117	59.8	40.2	
Chinese Communists	37	18.9	81.1	
Thai Lue (orange)	130	70.8	29.2	
Lao Migrants (blue/blue)	31	54.8	45.2	
Nepalese Migrants (green)	40	75.0	25.0	
Burmese (pink)	683	80.0	20.0	
Burmese Worker (purple)	15	80.0	20.0	
Burmese/other (yellow)	8	50.0	50.0	
Thais from Burma (green)	14	35.7	64.3	
Cambodian Refugees	6	66.7	33.3	
Mlabri	19	26.3	73.7	
Other	761	75.8	24.2	

p<0.000***, p<0.01**, p<0.05

⁷⁴ This column refers to non-citizen ID possessed prior to acquisition of the national ID.

Table continued

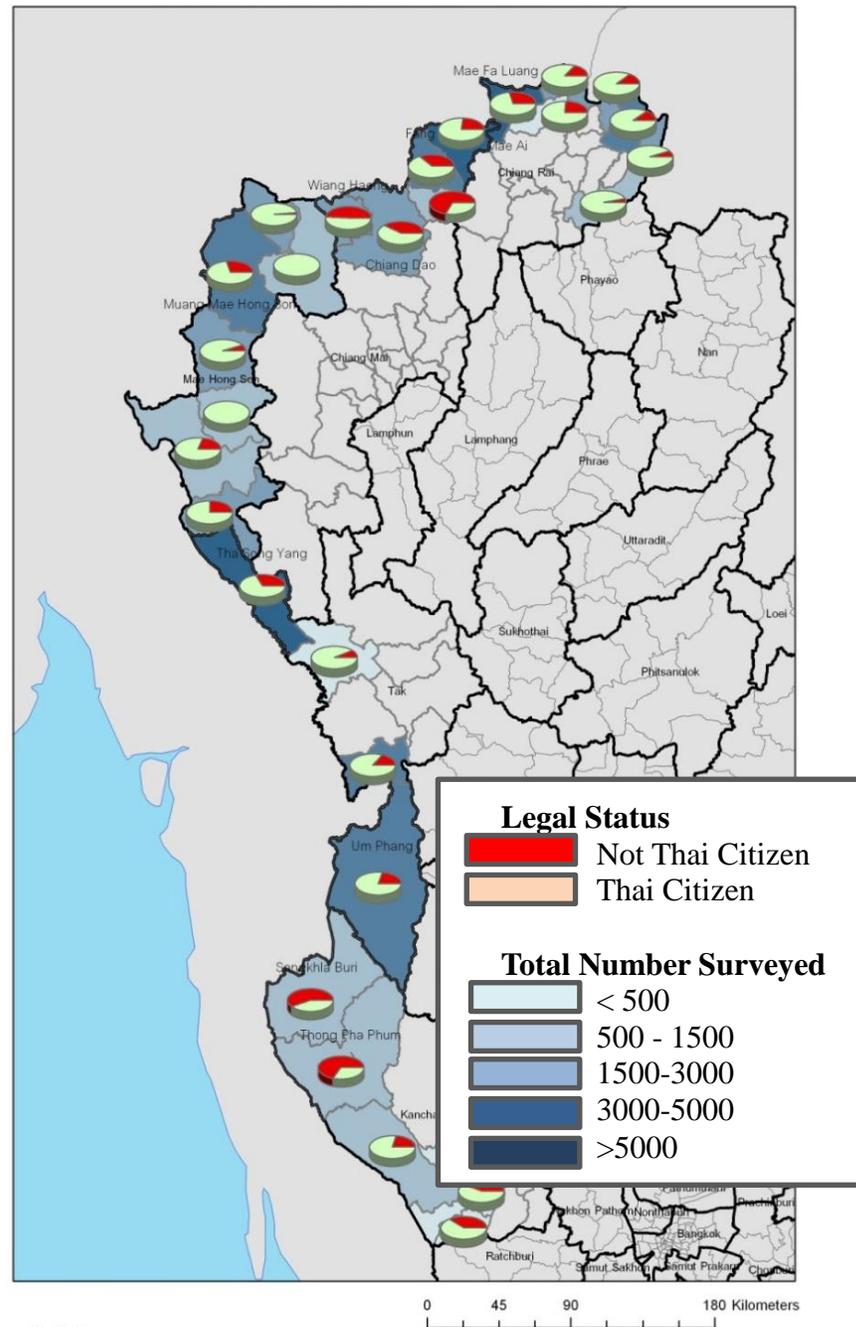
	Total n=38,470	% Non-Citizen n=11,053 100%	% Citizen n=28,707 100%	Chi2
ELIGIBILITY BY ETHNICITY				7.1e***
Thai	3,369	4.1	95.9	
Lahu	9,287	21.0	79.0	
Karen	5,895	11.5	88.5	
Akha	5,512	26.1	74.0	
Hmong	3,067	4.6	95.4	
Lisu	1,469	37.8	62.2	
Mien	431	19.7	80.3	
Khamu	983	10.7	89.3	
Lua	385	43.9	56.1	
Thai Lue	548	61.1	38.9	
Palong	484	82.6	17.4	
Thai Yai/Shan	4,154	54.6	45.4	
Chinese	1,836	51.6	48.4	
Burmese	258	98.5	1.6	
Other	618	35.1	64.9	
OTHER INDIVIDUAL LEVEL VARIABLES				
Sex				10.677***
Male	19,164	24.5	75.5	
Female	19,102	26.0	74.5	
Age				79.070***
11-20	7,015	25.3	74.7	
21-30	10,195	22.6	77.4	
31-40	7,361	27.2	72.8	
41-50	6,366	27.6	72.4	
51-60	4,269	26.0	74.0	
61-70	2,088	24.3	75.7	
71+ (combine)	278	24.6	77.0	
Education Level				2.6e***
None	20,924	35.2	64.8	
Some Primary	3,178	13.9	86.1	
Primary Complete	5,622	15.9	84.1	
Lower Secondary	5,180	14.4	85.6	
Upper Secondary/Vocational	2,169	6.8	93.2	
Upper Voc or College	1,069	2.1	97.1	

Table Continued

HOUSEHOLD- AND FAMILY-LEVEL VARIABLES				
Mixed-Status Household				2.7e+04***
Residents All Non-Citizens	6,782	96.9	3.1	
Residents Mixed Status	7,251	39.1	60.9	
Residents All Citizens	24,437	1.3	98.7	
Household Wealth				1.1e+04***
Poorest Quartile	10,879	36.4	63.6	
2 nd Quartile	6,344	24.1	75.9	
3 rd Quartile	11,992	18.7	81.3	
Wealthiest Quartile	9,141	21.3	78.1	
LOCATION-LEVEL VARIABLES				
Village <i>See Figure 9</i>	38,470			1.23+04***
District <i>See Figure 7</i>	38,470			4.2e+03***
Province				1.3e+03***
Chiang Mai	11,053	37.7	62.3	
Chiang Rai	16,890	21.5	78.5	
Mae Hong Son	10,527	18.3	81.7	

p<0.000***, p<0.01**, p<0.05

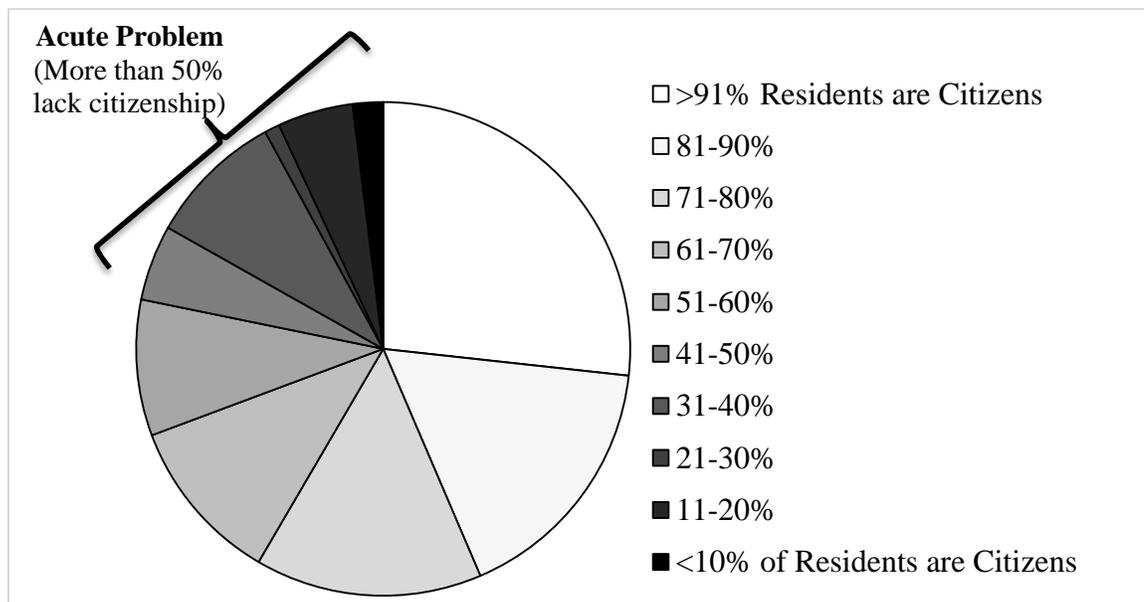
Figure 7: Map of Variation in Citizenship by District



Map adapted with permission from UNESCO (2014).

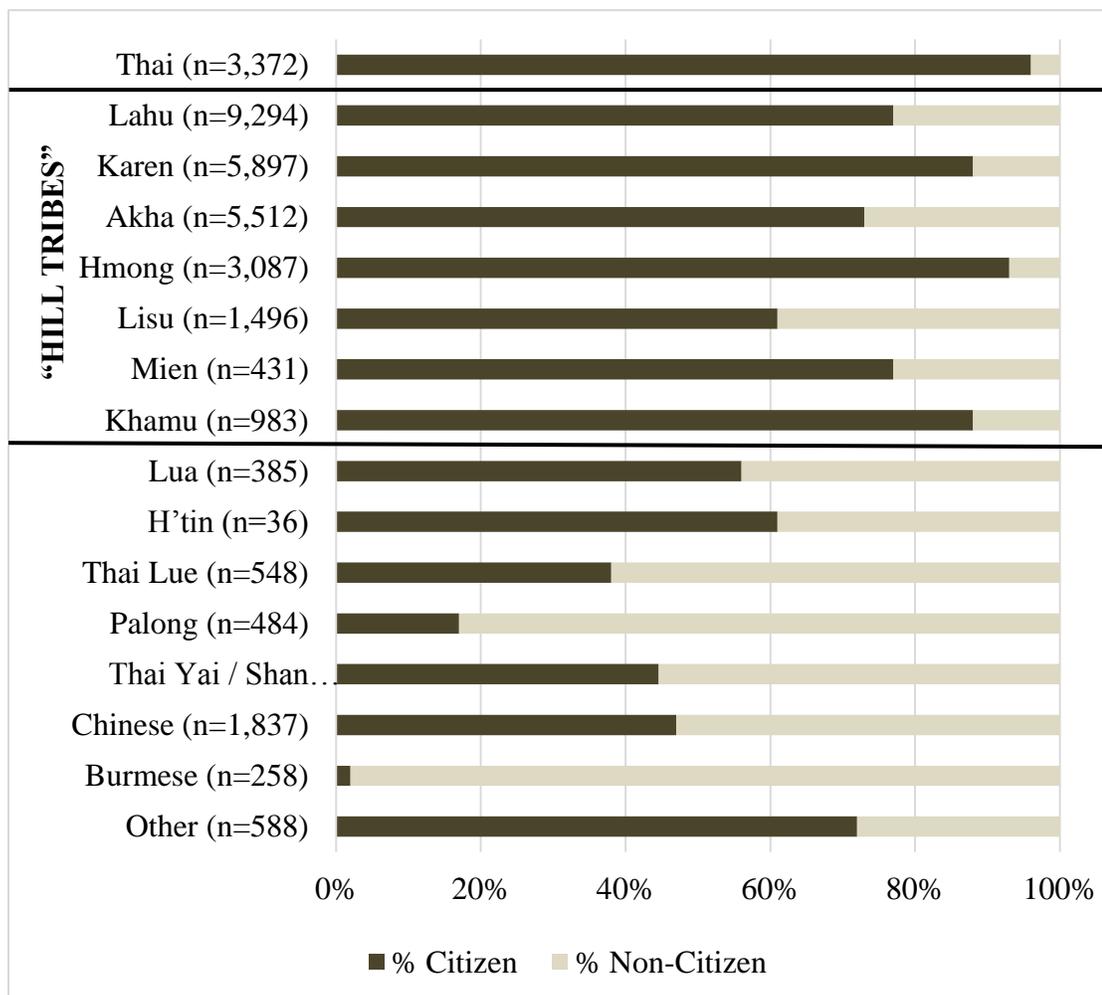
Although the data are not as comprehensive as those collected during the 1997 Miyazawa Survey of the highlands (presented in Figure 4 above), data from the UNESCO HPS II reveal that significant variations in citizenship outcomes by district of residence persist more than twenty years later. Specifically, the above map reveals that in a few districts, citizenship conferral may be nearly complete (mostly light shaded pie charts). However, in most districts along the international border, the proportion of non-citizenship hovers between 15 and 60 percent of the residents (pie charts with dark shading). When broken down further into village-level analysis (see Figure 8 below), acute citizenship problems are shown to be concentrated in less than 25 percent of villages surveyed. At the same time, the majority of villages experience rates of non-citizenship at 20 percent or above.⁷⁵

Figure 8: Citizenship as Proportion of Total Village Resident Population



⁷⁵ The pie chart presented above represents findings from 191 villages included in the HPS II subsample of Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai, and Mae Hong Son provinces. As the figure reveals, rates of citizenship also vary across village of residence. Of these villages, 35 are comprised of residents who are mostly citizens (see black pie slice). But in 21 villages, fewer than 40 percent of residents possess the National ID.

Figure 9: Variation in Citizenship Outcomes by Ethnic Identity

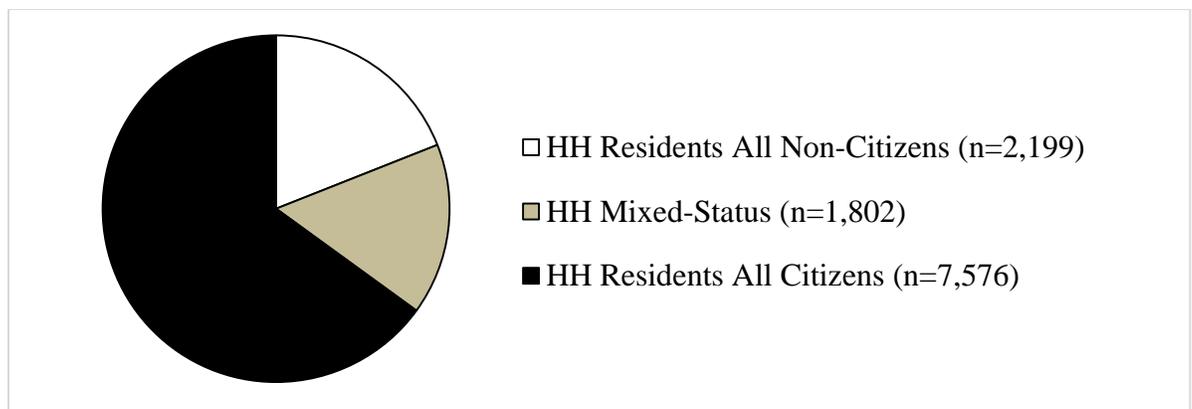


Although the findings according to ethnicity presented in the bar chart above cannot be fully generalized to each subgroup due to the sampling strategy of the UNESCO HPS II (see Chapter 3), the general, observable difference between “hill tribes” and non-“hill tribe” groups likely reflects the state’s prioritization of the former group for citizenship (see Chapter 2 and Chutima, 2009). Although the variation between these groups cannot be easily explained by data in this chart alone (I do address this in Chapter 5), the particular policy (and history of policies) directed at “hill tribes” likely explain the relatively higher rates of citizenship revealed among these

groups as compared to outcomes among the other ethnic groups. Additionally, it is important to note the number of ethnic “Thai” people residing in highland villages as the narrative of Thai/highlander difference would seem to suggest that no Thais live in the uplands. However, as both my ethnographic research revealed, and the UNESCO HPS II data show, many ethnic Thais are married to a local resident, and have moved from lowland villages where land is scarce in order to farm.⁷⁶

Finally, charts below reveal bivariate analyses of citizenship status by household status (all citizens, some citizens, some non-citizens, and all non-citizens). Both figures that follow demonstrate that gaps and unevenness persist in the implementation of Nationality Law among highlanders. Figure 10 reveals these statuses by proportion of the total households surveyed (n=11,577). The pie chart reveals that over 60 percent of households are comprised of citizens alone, 20 percent are comprised entirely of non-citizens, and nearly 20 percent are comprised of both citizens and non-citizens.

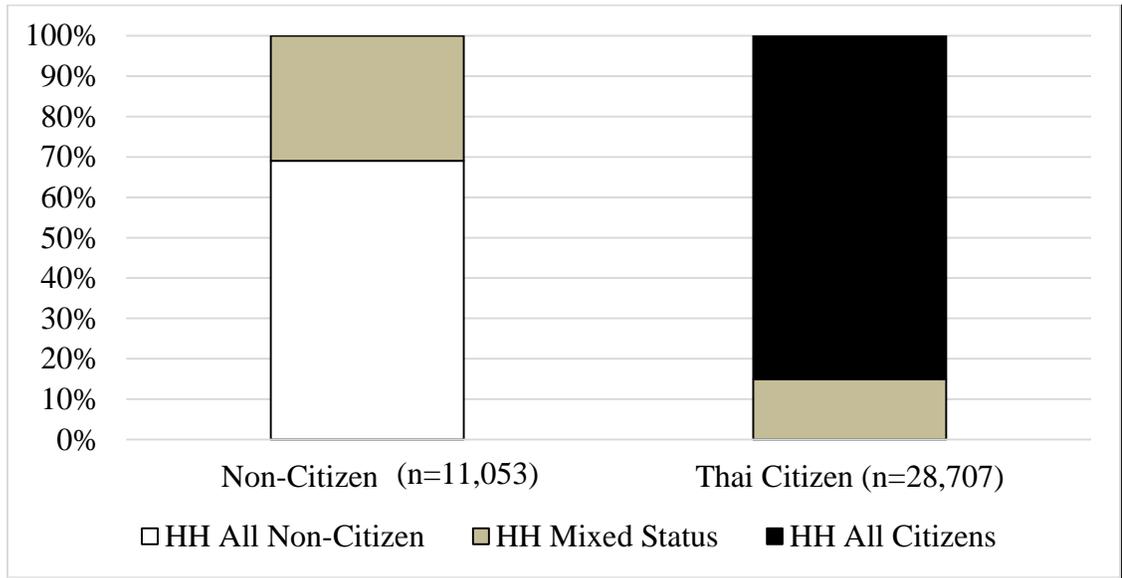
Figure 10: Composition of Households by Legal Status, All Residents



n=11,577 Households

⁷⁶ There are many ethnic Thais residing in or near resorts, military camps, and in the Royal Foundation park spaces. The UNESCO HPS II did not collect data on these communities, but rather captured Thai residents in officially-designated ‘highland villages’ (see Chapters 2 and 3 for definitions).

Figure 11: Citizenship Status by Household (HH) Status



Because the bivariate analyses presented in the previous table and charts point to variation in citizenship outcomes across both eligibility-related factors and factors that are not related to eligibility, I pursue a second, more intensive round of analysis of citizenship through logistic regression modeling. In the following tables, I present results from these logistic regressions, in which I examine the relative significance of each variable in explaining these uneven citizenship outcomes among the HPS II sample.

In Table 10 below, I present results of National ID possession (proof of citizenship) as a function of each of the variables presented and discussed in the bivariate analyses presented above. Specifically, I present, side-by-side, results from regression models applied to five separate subsets of the UNESCO HPS II sample: Model 1 examines the relative impact of each variable on citizenship outcomes across the total UNESCO HPS II sample. This model operates as the baseline of comparison against which I compare findings from the subsequent models, which control for eligibility status on the basis of claims to citizenship by birth (*jus soli*) and by blood (*jus sanguinis*). Model 2 includes the subsample of individuals who have a claim to

citizenship through both *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli*. I refer to this subsample as “Eligible.” In model 3 I apply the same analysis to the group I refer to as “Jus Soli Only”, as this subset of the UNESCO HPS II sample have no claim by descent, yet were born in Thailand prior to 1992. In model 4, I conduct the same analyses for the subset of the HPS II sample who were not born in Thailand, yet possess a claim to citizenship through at least one parent. I refer to this group as “*Jus Sanguinis Only*.” And, finally, in Model 5, I examine the same outcomes for the population who reportedly have no claim to citizenship through either descent or by birth. Although this group cannot claim citizenship through direct claim of birth or blood, I refer to this group as “Eligibility Undetermined” as individuals may possess a claim to citizenship by marriage or sufficient duration of residence in Thailand (ten years).

In conducting these analyses, I apply the same model used in Model 1 (full sample) to each subsample with the following exceptions (as will be made evident in a review of the table): First, I examine the relative significance of parent citizenship status in explaining variations in citizenship outcome amongst groups who are fully “Eligible” (Model 2), and those who possess claims by “*Jus Sanguinis Only*,” as the question applies to these cases. The issue does not apply, by contrast to individuals in groups “*Jus Soli Only*,” or “Undetermined” as all of the parents of individuals in these groups lack Thai citizenship. The same logic applies to analysis of claims by birth (*jus soli*). In Model 1, I examine the relative significance of country of birth in explaining citizenship outcomes, but the issue is not relevant for individuals comprising groups “Eligible,” and “*Jus Sanguinis Only*” as all were reportedly born in Thailand.

Table 10: Odds of Citizen ID Possession I: Standard Logistic Model

	MODEL 1	MODEL 2	MODEL 3	MODEL 4	MODEL 5
	Total	Eligible	Jus Soli Only	Jus Sanguinis Only	Undetermined
	n=36,027	n=23,202	n=8,941	n=476	n=3,848
<i>Odds Ratio & Significance</i>	OR sig	OR sig	OR sig	OR sig	OR sig
<i>FACTORS RELATING TO ELIGIBILITY</i>					
Citizenship of Parents (None, Ref)					
Mother Only	12.01 ***	<i>Mother (Ref)</i>	<i>Not Applicable (Parents not Citizens)</i>	<i>Mother (Ref)</i>	<i>Not Applicable (Parents not Citizens)</i>
Father Only	5.93 ***	0.51 ***		0.24 ***	
Both Citizens	35.44 ***	2.79 ***		1.56	
Country of Birth (Thailand, Ref)					
Burma / Myanmar	0.13 ***	<i>Not Applicable (All born in Thailand)</i>	<i>Not Applicable (All born in Thailand)</i>	<i>Not Applicable (All born outside of Thailand)</i>	<i>Not Applicable (All born outside of Thailand)</i>
Laos / Lao PDR	0.29 ***				
China	0.18 ***				
Asia, Other	0.41 *				
<i>'PROOF of CLAIMS to ELIGIBILITY'</i>					
Birth Certificate (Official BC, R)					
Delivery certificate	0.76 *	0.79	0.65 *	<i>Not Applicable (All born outside of Thailand)</i>	<i>Not Applicable (All born outside of Thailand)</i>
Foreign birth certificate	0.35 ***	0.47 *	0.31 ***		
No birth registration	0.21 ***	0.48 ***	0.15 ***		

<0.000***, p<0.01**, p<0.05*

Table Continued

ID Card Possession (None, Ref)						
“Hill Tribe” ID/Coin (blue)	2.46 ***	1.98 ***	2.93 ***	1.88	3.85 ***	
“Hill Tribe” ID (green/red)	1.51 ***	1.15	1.72 ***	0.86	2.37 ***	
New Pink Card (Resident)	0.14 ***	0.08 ***	0.14 ***	0.19 **	0.33 ***	
New White Card (Alien/Card)	0.13 ***	0.12 ***	0.11 ***		0.36 **	
Chinese ID	0.56 ***	0.31 ***	0.58 **		1.41	
Burmese ID ⁷⁷	0.18 ***	0.11 ***	0.15 ***	0.07 **	0.34	
Other Groups	0.31 ***	0.46 ***	0.24 ***	0.16 *	0.61	
Ethnicity (Thai, Ref)						
Lahu	0.86	0.54 **	0.61 *	1.63	3.21 **	
Karen	0.55 ***	1.11	0.35 ***	1.83	0.09 ***	
Akha	0.73 *	0.46 ***	0.5 **	4.7 *	1.02	
Hmong	1.41 *	0.48	1.55	44.51 **	3.18 *	
Lisu	0.85	0.71	0.48 **	3.73	0.95	
Mien	0.45 ***	0.57	0.21 ***	5.75	1.18	
Khamu	0.75	0.65	0.47 *	6.95 *	4.31 *	
Lua	0.36 ***	0.87	0.22 ***		0.02 **	
Thai Lue	0.33 ***	0.36 *	0.27 ***	1.78	0.15 ***	
Palong	0.95	0.66	1.35		0.09 ***	
Thai Yai/Shan	0.13 ***	0.69	0.05 ***	0.81	0.05 ***	
Chinese	0.44 ***	0.52 *	0.28 ***	14.03 *	0.38 *	
Burmese	0.02 ***		0.01 ***	0.07	0.01 ***	
Other	0.16 ***	0.38	0.07 ***	0.05	0.21 *	

<0.000***, p<0.01**, p<0.05*

⁷⁷ Note that ethnicity and ID cards (e.g., Burmese and Chinese) did not tightly correlate as might be expected. For instance, most Burmese and Chinese surveyed possessed no ID card, a hill tribe card, or a Pink Resident card. This finding (analyses not shown) again points to the important slippage between the goals and capacities of the state to register subjects.

Table Continued

OTHER INDIVIDUAL & HH CHARACTERISTICS					
Sex (Male, Reference)					
Female	0.93	0.95	0.91	0.72	0.98
Age (18-24 yrs, Ref)					
25-34	2.24 ***	1.49 ***	3.27 ***	1.98	1.24
35-44	3.20 ***	1.66 ***	4.69 ***	2.64	1.73
45-54	4.54 ***	2.26 ***	5.91 ***	5.08 **	3.39 **
55-64	5.79 ***	2.79 ***	7.38 ***	8.31 **	4.25 **
65-74	8.78 ***	10.83 ***	10.14 ***	3.21	8.57
75+	6.42 ***	2.18	9.09 ***	na	3.72
HH Wealth (Poorest, Ref)					
3 rd Quartile	2.60 ***	2.32 ***	2.97 ***	5.16 *	1.76 **
2 nd Quartile	2.01 ***	2.21 ***	2.06 ***	1.04	2.18 ***
Wealthiest	3.08 ***	1.97 ***	3.51 ***	3.92 **	3.77 ***
Model LROC	0.95	0.83	0.86	0.86	0.90
Model Log Likelihood	LL=-7883.22	LL=-2627.14	LL=-4135.72	LL=-145.53	LL=-756.16
Model Chi2 & Sig	24471.3 ***	1375.89 ***	4104.33 ***	140.02 ***	1012.29 ***

p<0.000***, p<0.01**, p<0.05*

Eligibility by Descent (Jus Sanguinis)

Across the whole sample, individuals who might claim citizenship through at least one parent are significantly more likely to be citizens than those whose parents are not citizens. Individuals whose fathers lack citizenship but whose mothers are citizens are 12 times as likely as individuals whose parents are not citizens (Reference Group) to be citizens of Thailand. Individuals whose fathers are citizens alone are close to six times as likely as those with non-citizen parents to be citizens. And, those who have two parents with Thai citizenship are 35 times as likely to be Thai citizens compared to those whose parents lack Thai citizenship.

When examining the effect of parent citizenship on outcomes across those who are “Eligible” and those in group “Jus Sanguinis Only”, I change the reference group to those whose mothers are citizens only. These analyses reveal that individuals whose mothers alone are citizens of Thailand are significantly advantaged with respect to the likelihood of citizenship acquisition as compared to those whose fathers alone are citizens. Specifically, in Model 2, which was applied to the total “Eligible” subgroup of the sample, individuals who have a claim through their father alone are 49 percent *less* likely to be citizens than those who have a claim through their mothers. At the same time, however, individuals who are children of two citizens are nearly 3 times more likely to be citizens of Thailand than individuals whose mothers are citizens alone.

Amongst those in group “Jus Sanguinis Only,” the advantage of claiming citizenship through the mother is even greater. Individuals who have a claim through their father alone are 76 percent less likely to be citizens as compared to those who have a claim through their mothers alone. Amongst people who have claims to citizenship through blood alone, those who have two citizen parents are found to be more than twice as likely to be citizens than those with a citizen mother alone. This

finding, when considered in concert with the relative *disadvantage* detected with respect to those who have claims through their fathers alone, suggests that citizenship of the mother is more important than that of the father in legal status adjudication, yet neither are in and of themselves sufficient guarantees of citizenship.

Eligibility by Birth (Jus Soli)

In line with Nationality Law, individuals who were born outside of Thailand are found to be significantly disadvantaged compared to those born in Thailand with respect to rates of citizenship acquisition. As results in Model 1 reveal, individuals who were reportedly born in Myanmar, Lao PDR, and Cambodia are 87 percent, 71 percent, and 82 percent less likely be Thai citizens than those born in Thailand, respectively. While those born in Thailand are more likely than people born in other countries to be Thai citizens, significant variation persists amongst native-born Thais with respect to birth registration status (Models 1, 2, and 3).

As mentioned in previous chapters, individuals can be born in Thailand, but ‘evidence’ of birth is necessary in order to effectively ensure that a claim to citizenship by birth is recognized. For the most part, this evidence is the official birth certificate (*suthibaht*), or a delivery certificate (*baisaetgaangut*). Findings from the full sample reveal that individuals who lack any birth registration documents are 78 percent less likely than those who possess an official birth certificate (*suthibaht*) to be Thai citizens—a degree of disadvantage that is found to be *more* acute amongst the subsample of highlanders who possess a claim of citizenship by birthright alone (Model 3 *Jus Soli*). Perhaps most importantly, is the degree to which this significant disadvantage is also detected amongst the population of highlanders who possess claims to citizenship by both descent and birthright (Model 2: “Eligible”). Essentially, Model 2 reveals that *lack of proof of birth* in the country places individuals at significant disadvantage with respect to acquiring recognition of Thai

citizenship *even when individuals possess clear claims to citizenship by descent and birthplace*. I return to the significance of this finding in the conclusion of this chapter.

Identification Verification

By law in Thailand, *Jus Soli* comprises a less stable claim to citizenship than *Jus Sanguinis*. Findings from the analyses that indicate that those individuals who lack birth registration documents or who possess a certificate of birth in a foreign country are less likely to be recognized as citizens of Thailand than those who possess the country's "Official Birth Certificate." Yet, because the government aims to recognize as citizens all persons born in Thailand prior to February 26, 1992 (and their children), there should be *no* difference detected between individuals who possess the 'official birth certificate' and those who possess the 'delivery certificate' in these samples if the law were implemented accordingly.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, findings from Model 1 and Model 3 reveal that individuals who possess the delivery certificate are significantly less likely to be citizens than those who have the official certificate, independent of age. Although this finding is slightly less statistically significant than other findings in the models ($p < 0.05$), the degree of disadvantage detected between these two groups of individuals, whose births *in Thailand* are all documented, is alarming. As I will discuss further in the conclusion of this chapter, findings reveal that "identification" does not, ensure "legal identity," but rather, suggests that identification may work to deprive people of legal identity when identification practices mark people as 'Others' in any way.

Careful examination of findings on general identification/registration histories across four of the five models further suggests that identification does not necessarily

⁷⁸ As I note in the Methods section, these models include only those highlanders who were of age 18 or above at the time of the UNESCO HPS II to ensure that they were born prior to 1992.

guarantee one's legal 'identity.' Findings on ID card possession across most subgroups of eligibility indicate that individuals who possess one of three "Hill Tribe" IDs (or possessed a "Hill Tribe" ID prior to acquiring citizenship) are more likely to be Thai citizens than individuals who lack any identification. This finding is in line with Thai Nationality Law, policy, and procedure which privileges resolution of citizenship amongst "Hill Tribe" people, and specifically for those who can prove constant residency by virtue of having been registered in a former government survey. That "Hill Tribe" That 'Others' are *more* likely to be recognized as citizens compared to those who are not documented at all, may appear to make a solid case for advocates of identification. On the other side, however, findings also reveal that individuals who are or were formerly registered as members of non-"Hill Tribe" ethnic groups (e.g., Chinese or Burmese) are significantly *less likely* than *undocumented people to be recognized as citizens*, irrespective of overall eligibility status. In short, these findings suggest that it may be better to be undocumented than to be identified as an official, semi- or illegal, "Other."

Non-Eligibility Related Factors

Before moving along to the final, multi-level regression models, I note briefly the relative significance of variables that are not directly related to eligibility in explaining citizenship outcomes among highlanders in the UNESCO HPS II. First, although females were slightly, but significantly *less* likely to be citizens than males in bivariate analyses of association, this significance disappears when controlling for eligibility and other factors. Second, comparisons of age cohorts against the reference group (ages 18-24) reveal that members of older age cohorts are significantly more likely than this youngest cohort to be recognized as citizens, even when controlling for all other factors. The acute degree of disadvantage amongst the youngest group of highlanders holds across all eligibility subgroups, and for those who claim

citizenship through descent (Models 2 and 3), the degree of disadvantage among the youngest sub-group of highlanders in the UNESCO HPS II remains highly significant and grows more acute.

Finally, analyses of ethnicity reveal that ethnicity matters in citizenship determinations, but not equally for each group across all eligibility statuses. With the exception of Hmong people—a case I discuss in more detail in Chapter 5—members of most ethnic groups in the UNESCO HPS II are significantly *less* likely than ethnic Thais (reference group) to possess Thai citizenship. While this is not surprising given the history of discrimination against highlanders in general, both the significance and the degree of disadvantage experienced by members of non-Thai groups shift according to eligibility status (Models 2-5). I will attend to the seemingly anomalous case of the Hmong in Chapter 5, but I seek to draw your eye to three overarching trends in the data:

First, the significance of being a member of a non-Thai ethnic group diminishes amongst those who have a claim to citizenship by birth and blood (Model 2) and amongst those who have a claim by blood alone (Model 4) when controlling for other factors. Second, the degree and significance of disadvantage, with regard to the likelihood of being a citizen of Thailand, grow among non-ethnic Thais when examining claims to citizenship by birth in Thailand alone (*Jus Soli*). And third, among non-ethnic Thais of undetermined eligibility (Model 5), results vary considerably according to group membership. In short, in matters of legal identity, ethnic identity continues to matter.

Final Considerations with Respect to Citizenship Outcomes

Findings from analyses thus far reveal the theoretically individualized ‘bond’ of citizenship to be a rather unstable outcome of relationships with biological family and with territory (c.f., UNHCR, 2014e). These findings, while useful in contributing

a clear understanding of how unstable the bond of citizenship may be, do not yet fully reveal the extent to which these outcomes may be mediated by the institutionally hierarchical and geographically long path of citizenship application and adjudication in the highlands. Specifically, in order to apply for citizenship in Thailand, individuals must be registered as a member of an officially registered household (TorRor 13), but this ‘household’ must first be registered in either an officially registered village, or in a ‘satellite’ village that is officially recognized by the Ministry of the Interior (Chayan, 2005; Mukdawan, 2009; Vandergeest and Peluso, 1995). These villages must meet official criteria as well: All villages are registered under sub-districts, which operate under official districts, where a mix of permanent low-level staff and a rotating cadre of appointed officials adjudicate citizenship claims.

Rather than reviewing this process in detail, I pause only to make the point that citizenship in Thailand may appear at first to reflect the idealized, individualized bond between the nation and citizen. Indeed, one’s proof of citizenship is carried on one’s own body (often in a pocket or a wallet) in the form of identification. However, as I will reveal in detail in Chapter 5, each individualized ID card reflects a much more complex set of relationships, not only with family and circumstances of birth, but also with a range of actors and agencies operating with and at highly varying degrees of capacity and intention (Chutima 2009; Feingold 2002; Mukdawan 2009; Pinkeaw 2014).

So, what do the following regressions have to do with understanding these complex findings that trouble our understandings of, and investments in citizenship as a simple, legal bond? In the next set of regressions, I include variables that control for household of residence, village of residence, and district of residence. Yet, because citizenship, as a legal bond, is nested under, and mediated by, these officially designated levels of governance, it is not sufficient to simply include each variable as

fixed. Rather, by running this model as a multi-level, mixed-effects model, outcomes at the individual level are able to vary within households, which are able to vary within villages, which are able to vary within districts. In this respect, by including the variables as *variable*, a more refined assessment of outcomes in citizenship among highlanders may be attainable, while at the same time, the analyses may also effectively identify the location(s) at which high levels of variation in citizenship are produced.

As is evident in the table below, the following models produce significantly reliable results (Chi Square value of $p < 0.000$). However, the typical measures of ‘fit’ are less reliable for understanding the ‘explanatory value’ of multi-level, mixed-effects models (Larsen, Petersen Budtz-Jorgensen, and Endahl, 2000). For multi-level, mixed-effects models, (hereafter referred to as MLME), ‘measures of fit’ must be constructed first by adding the total degrees of variance captured at each nested level of analysis (Model 1). Then, after adding in all nested variables (Model 2), the degrees of variance accounted for in the subsequent model are subtracted from those accounted for in Model 1. The remaining difference between Model 2 and Model 1 provides a relative assessment of the degree to which the full model can account for variance captured at each hierarchical level.

Therefore, in MLME Model, I exclude all individual level factors and include only those that are nested: the district, village, and household of residence. Province and sub-district levels are excluded as these administrations rarely, if ever, intervene in citizenship cases. Running this model reveals degrees of variance in citizenship accounted for at each level, which combine to a total of 26.61: 3.64 ‘units’ located at the district level, 8.59 at the village level, 11.09 at the household level, and a constant value of 3.29, respectively. Subsequent to running the first MLME, I then include all eligibility and non-eligibility-related factors at individual and household levels in

MLME 2 in order to understand whether these factors continue to explain variation in citizenship outcomes when higher-order issues are accounted for. Findings from these last models on citizenship outcomes are presented below the table.

With respect to the two priorities for this analysis listed above, findings from a comparison of these two models above produce the following key insights: First, when controlling for household, village, and district of residence, most individual-level variables continue to significantly predict variation in citizenship outcomes among highlanders; and, in most instances, this more inclusive model reveals more acute disparities between advantaged and disadvantage people across nearly every variable. Specifically, although the fixed-effects model presented in the previous section indicated that females were no more or less likely than males to be citizens, the second MLME model reveals that females are 26 percent less likely than males to be citizens when controlling for all individual- and household-level variables and nested variables of household of residence, village, and district of residence. The reasons of this remain unclear, as neither my ethnographic, nor other statistical data point to a reason for this. Similarly, although the first broad model indicated that Hmong people, overall, were slightly more likely than ethnic Thais to be citizens, findings in the full MLME model here reveal that the difference between Hmong and Thais is not statistically significant when factors of residence are included.⁷⁹ Meanwhile, the degree of disadvantage experienced among all ethnic minorities relative to ethnic Thais is revealed to be extremely acute: When controlling for places of residence, non-Thai people are between 99 percent less likely to be Thai citizens (in the case of Burmese) and 68 percent less likely (in the case of Lahu people) to be citizens of Thailand as compared with people who are ethnically Thai.

⁷⁹ Additional analyses (not shown) conducted to check the robustness of this finding support this conclusion.

Table 11: Odds of Citizen ID Possession II: Multi-Level Mixed Effects Model

	MODEL 1 Mixed-Effects n=38,470			MODEL 2 Multi-Level ME n=36,214	
<i>Model LL</i>	LL=-12153.38		<i>Model LL</i>	LL=-6577.74	
<i>Wald Chi2</i>	19191.74***		<i>Wald Chi2</i>	2053.29***	
LEVELS	Estimate	<i>Std Error</i>	LEVELS	Estimate	<i>Std Error</i>
District (n=19)	3.64	1.78	District (n=19)	4.36E-16	3.05 E-09
Village (n=176)	8.59	1.16	Village (n=176)	1.86	0.29
Households (n=11,735)	11.09	0.47	Households (n=11,735)	8.39	0.71
<i>OR & Signif.</i>	OR	<i>sig</i>	<i>OR & Signif.</i>	OR	<i>sig</i>
Constant	116.75	***	ELIGIBILITY FACTORS		
Citizenship of Parents (Neither, Ref)					
Mother Only				25.73	***
Father Only				10.91	***
Both Citizens				51.25	***
Birth Certificate (Official BC, Ref)					
Delivery certificate				0.91	
Foreign certificate				0.41	*
No registration				0.13	***
Country of Birth (Thailand, Ref)					
Burma / Myanmar				0.02	***
Laos / Lao PDR				0.06	***
China				0.03	***
Asia, Other				0.13	**
Middle East				0.13	
West				1.11	
ID Card Possession (None, Ref)					
"Hill Tribe" Coin/ID				8.13	***
"Hill Tribe" Gr/Rd				2.34	***
New Pink Card				0.02	***
New White Card				0.01	***
Chinese				0.38	*
Migrants / Various				0.09	***
Burmese				0.06	***

Table Continued

NON-ELIGIBILITY FACTORS		
Sex (Male, Reference)		
Female	0.84	**
Age (15-24 yrs, Ref)		
25-34	2.39	***
35-44	3.71	***
45-54	5.38	***
55-64	7.48	***
65-74	12.13	***
75+	8.41	***
Ethnicity (Thai, Ref)		
Lahu	0.32	***
Karen	0.09	***
Akha	0.22	***
Hmong	0.84	
Lisu	0.81	
Mien	0.15	**
Khamu	0.16	**
Lua	0.08	***
Thai Lue	0.04	***
Palong	0.02	***
Thai Yai/Shan	0.02	***
Chinese	0.21	***
Burmese	0.01	***
Other	0.04	***
HH Wealth Status (Poorest, Ref)		
2 nd Quartile	2.32	***
3 rd Quartile	2.22	***
Wealthiest Quartile	1.97	***
PROVINCE (Chiang Mai, Ref)		
Chiang Rai	1.56	
Mae Hong Son	9.71	***
Constant	8.46	***

p<0.000***, p<0.01**, p<0.05⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Note that the STATA outputs do not provide values for valid subgroup totals. In total, the number of valid cases included in the MLME analysis has declined by only approximately 5 percent (2,000 cases) from the 38,470 total.

As expected, concerns of ‘eligibility’ remain highly significant in this model, and disparities between categorical subgroups are found to be greater when controlling for household, village, and district of residence. In terms of claims by *jus sanguinis*, individuals who have two citizen parents are found to be 51 times as likely as individuals with no citizen parents to be Thai citizens. Individuals with a claim to their mother alone, and individuals with a claim through their father alone close to 26 times, and 11 times as likely as individuals with no citizen parents to be citizens, respectively. Similar growth in the degree of disadvantage is detected across all groups of individuals born outside of Thailand when procedural and residence matters are considered.

With regard to the second priority of integrating nested variables of residence and procedure, comparisons between the two MLME models above reveal the following: First, nearly all of the variance detected at the district level disappears when individual-level variables are integrated; second, most variance was accounted for at the village level (8.59 units in MLME 1 compared to 1.86 units in MLME 2); and third, only three of the 11 units of variance accorded to between-household differences (11.09 units in model 1 compared to 8.39 in 2). What does this mean? At a broad level, these models reveal that the link or bond of citizenship between “an individual and a state” is not as tightly woven as is often theoretically assumed (UNHCR, 2014). While variations in citizenship outcomes might be expected across ethnic identity, given the state’s privileging of Thais, and now “original hill tribes” over “ethnic minorities,” the location of one’s residence within the nation-state container *should not matter*, if the law were implemented accordingly.

While I argue that these findings matter in a broad sense, I also caution against any reading of the models that would cause one to dismiss district level operations as insignificant in shaping citizenship outcomes. While findings from the model suggest

that the influence of district-level variability on citizenship outcomes will disappear when controlling for variability across households and individuals, my ethnographic research—and that of Mukdawan (2009; 2005) and Chutima (2009, 2005) indicates the opposite. In the next chapter, I discuss the practices and operations of sovereignty at the district level which, I argue, both perpetuate and generate statelessness among highlanders, but I simply note here that the very little variance attributable to between-district differences likely results from two issues: First, the UNESCO HPS II covers villages in only 19 districts total, and villages were not sampled from these districts, and the proportions of the village, household and individual populations are skewed such that one district accounts for 22 percent of the full sample alone. Second, as I aim to make clear in the subsequent chapter, between-district differences that ‘make a difference’ in citizenship outcomes are often due to differences in attitudes and capabilities across the ever-rotating cadre of appointed district officials (*Naay Amphoe*). The direct influence of these individuals on citizenship outcomes among locals is very ‘real’ to the extent that one decision (or indecision) may set a course to citizenship (or not) for an applicant and her family. Yet, because the lead district officials rotate frequently, yet inconsistently—some staying in a district for a few months, and others for years—the lasting impact of these district-level decisions on individual outcomes may be misattributed to household-level differences.

4.4 Discussion of Findings

In this chapter, I ‘tested’ two prevailing assumptions underpinning global statelessness prevention agendas: that expanded registration and identification programs will protect claims to legal identity, and that expansions in law will reduce and prevent statelessness. My analyses in this chapter draw primarily from on the UNESCO Highland Peoples’ Survey II (2010), a survey I designed through extended ethnographic engagement in highlander communities with specific aims to capture the

experiences of legal inclusion and exclusion among the extremely ethno-linguistically diverse population of highlanders in northern Thailand. My findings reveal that expanded programs of registration and identification have not resolved claims to legal identity, and *might* rather serve to reinforce the state's claim to exclude individuals registered as non-citizens. Second, I have provided unequivocal evidence of the protracted problem of statelessness among highlanders in Thailand despite expansions in law and identification programs to include them as citizens of the nation. Among the UNESCO HPS II subsample, 24 percent of highlanders who lack recognition of citizenship were found to be eligible for it through *jus sanguinis* and/or *jus soli*.⁸¹

To be clear, findings do indicate that most highlanders in this sample had acquired recognition of citizenship by 2010. Seventy-three percent of all persons of age fifteen and above were found to possess the national ID card, which comprises the mark of sovereign inclusion in the case of Thailand. In addition, regression analyses of the UNESCO HPS II data reveal that outcomes in citizenship conferral are largely in concert with Thai Nationality Law, as claims to citizenship by birth in Thailand (*jus soli*) and descent (*jus sanguinis*) both significantly and greatly increases the likelihood of predicting nationality ID card possession.

While findings indicate that birth and descent are strong positive predictors of citizenship, however, each claim to citizenship is not equally strong. For instance, while all individuals with at least one citizen parent were significantly more likely than those with no citizen parents to be Thai citizens, claims to citizenship vary according to which parent possesses citizenship. Having two parents with citizenship is associated with greatest advantage across most eligibility subgroups, yet, the

⁸¹ It is important to note that those people who do not have a claim to citizenship through descent or by birth *may* yet be eligible for it, but analyses herein do not account for these possibilities, and thus provide a conservative measure of statelessness/non-citizenship.

influence of mother's citizenship is found to be significantly greater than that of the father's. What's more, in comparative analyses, individuals whose fathers alone are citizens are significantly *less* likely to be Thai citizens than those whose mothers are citizens alone. Among the subgroup of highlanders who are eligible for citizenship by *jus sanguinis* alone, having two parents with citizenship provided no significant advantage over those whose mothers are citizens alone.

On a grand scale, findings suggest that the general patterns of citizenship acquisition and conferral among highlanders reflect “progress” in articulating congruency between the bounds of the nation and the borders of the state. Yet, a deeper look reveals persistent and significant gaps and variation in citizenship and identity outcomes across age group, ethnic identity, district and village location, and even household of membership. With regard to the influence of age, members of older age cohorts were found to be significantly more likely to be Thai citizens than members of the youngest cohort. A combination of two possibilities may explain these observed findings: First, because the data are village census data, the findings may actually reflect lower mortality rates among citizens, such that the proportion of citizenship among older populations has been rendered artificially high. Another explanation may relate to the proclivities of district officials toward ‘believing’ or being sympathetic to non-citizen elderly who cannot access state welfare assistance if they lack a national ID card. Two district officials of the three whom I formally interviewed stated their personal intentions to prioritize the needs of local elderly in resolving citizenship claims within their jurisdictions. On one hand, both argued that prioritizing the elderly for resolving citizenship was a moral obligation: that the elderly require state benefits such as health care and welfare assistance more than the young—benefits that they cannot access without an ID. At the same time, they also

both indicated that they perceive gaps in evidence among the young (such as Aqcha's case) as highly suspicious. In the words of one official,

If an elderly person does not have a birth certificate, it is not his or her fault.

This makes sense. Elderly people would not be born at a hospital. Most older highlanders were born at home. So I cannot deny an elderly person citizenship if they lack a document that the state did not issue 60 or 70 years ago. But why would a young person lack a birth certificate? This does not make sense.

Elderly people do not try to take advantage [of my authority] as much as young people do.

Aside from variation in citizenship rates between age cohorts, significant variations in citizenship outcomes were found to persist across ethnic groups as well. Given the government's long-standing emphasis on *Thainess* as a marker of inclusion, the evidence of near-universal citizenship amongst the more than 3,000 Thais included in the UNESCO HPS II is not surprising. Nor is it surprising that nearly all non-Thai ethnic groups were found to be significantly less likely to be citizens than ethnic Thais, particularly among the total sample. Yet, when separating the total sample into eligibility categories, the persistent disadvantage associated with being of Akha, Lahu, and Chinese ethnicity compared to being Thai likely points to persistent discrimination against these groups in particular, or amongst officials in the far north where these groups generally reside (see in particular, Mukdawan, 2009). The degree of 'impact' of official or more generalized discrimination on citizenship outcomes is also seen in the case of the Hmong population in the UNESCO sample. Although findings reveal a significant *advantage* associated with being Hmong relative to being Thai, this advantage arguably results from the ways in which Hmong villagers were

particularly scapegoated by the Thai government for problems of deforestation, opium trafficking, and communist insurgency (McCaskill and Kampe, 1997; McKinnon and Vienne, 1989; Pinkaew, 2003). As I will discuss further in Chapter 5, ‘being’ Hmong constituted a threat to national security, the government therefore targeted Hmong villagers for permanent settlement, development, military training, and even citizenship (Keyes, 1971; Tapp, 1990).

I end this discussion with a return to the tests of key assumptions in prevailing agendas for statelessness prevention: that of expanded law and expanded identification programs. First, findings on birth registration status are mixed. As expected, individuals in possession of an ‘official birth certificate’ (*suthibaat*) are significantly more likely to be Thai citizens than those who lack certification of birth or those who possess a foreign birth certificate. Yet, when controlling for all fixed-effects, data from the UNESCO HPS II revealed that individuals in possession of the basic delivery certificate (*baisaetgaangeut*) are significantly disadvantaged with regard to citizenship status than those with the official certificate. While unsurprising to individuals familiar with the context, the significant statistical difference detected in my analysis indicates that practices of citizenship conferral contravene current Nationality Law, which guarantees that all persons who can prove that they were born in the country prior to February 26, 1992. For children of non-citizens, being registered at birth does not provide sufficient guarantee of nationality for all.

When coupling this finding on instabilities in birth registration with that of general outcomes in civil registration, the possibilities for ‘identification’ as a means to ensure ‘identity’ appears even more dubious. Specifically, analyses presented in this chapter reveal that all groups of people who had been formerly and formally registered in any official *non-“hill tribe”* category were *less likely to be citizens* than those who had no previous documentation at all. Following (Torpey, 2000), these

findings beg the question: to what extent does documentation protect the individual's claim to identity vis-à-vis the state's sovereign claim to legally exclude the individual? To what extent does the ID mediate the legality of the claim to, and practice of, exclusion?

Finally, by integrating and nesting location-level variables in the models, I test a common assertion that citizenship comprises a simple bond between an individual and a state. In this theoretical construction of citizenship, there is no interruption between a person and sovereign power. Implicit in this construction is the notion that all bonds are equal and equidistant between sovereignty and individuals within a given nation-state container. Yet, findings from multi-level mixed-effects regression models suggest that the household, village, and district of residence within the territorial boundary of the *state* have significantly contributed to producing uneven outcomes in citizenship acquisition among highlanders. That place matters with regards to matters of citizenship in the highlands suggests that nationality is not a clear bond linking individual and the state, but rather a series of relational, disruptable links between individuals, their families, their local and district officials, and sovereign power. It is to this complicated distance between individuals and sovereignty, and the punctuated locations there between it that I now turn.

CHAPTER 5

PATHS TO CITIZENSHIP AND STATELESSNESS: BUREAUCRACY, CONTINGENCY, AND PROBLEMS OF EVIDENCE

5.1 Chapter Overview

My analyses of UNESCO HPS II data in Chapter 4 reveal that ‘the citizenship problem’ remains very much unresolved among highlanders of all ethnicities despite expansions in law and state identification programs to include them as citizens. Both building on and confirming findings from small-scale surveys (Chutima, 2009) and extended ethnographic engagements (Chutima, 2006; Feingold, 2002; Mukdawan, 2009) with the protracted problem of exclusion in the highlands, findings in my analyses revealed that 24 percent of non-citizens in the UNESCO HPS II subsample possessed a direct claim to citizenship through descent and/or birth in Thailand yet continue to lack recognition of citizenship (as of 2010). In accordance with the Nationality Law in Thailand, data do reveal that variation in citizenship outcomes across individuals are significantly associated with the relative strength of each person’s claim through descent (*jus sanguinis*) and/or circumstances of birth (*jus soli*). However, my analyses also show that eligibility status alone cannot fully explain the considerable variation in citizenship status outcomes among highlanders across a range of other factors that are unrelated to eligibility. Specifically, findings from multivariate and nested regression analyses demonstrated that variation in individual citizenship outcomes are also significantly associated with differences in ethnic identity, household-, village-, and district-of-registration within the country.⁸²

⁸² Although the variation in outcomes attributable to district of registration appears insignificant upon initial review of the multivariate multi-level, mixed effects logistic regression analyses, I argue in Chapter 4 that the UNESCO HPS II sampling framework underestimates the contribution of inter-district variability overall. Please see the discussion in the previous chapter for further elaboration.

In this chapter, I interrogate key moments and practices in civil registration and evidentiary procedure to understand how and why within-country places of residence and registration generate significant variation in citizenship among highland minority people in Thailand. Analyses in this chapter draw from both UNESCO HPS II data and data collected during participant observation and in-depth interviews with highlanders and government staff of varying levels of authority within the government's system of evidentiary procedure.

Pursuant to the broader goal of understanding how citizenship and statelessness, as two variant relations to sovereignty, are enforced and produced in practice (Dunn and Cons, 2014), I undertake an examination of the following set of questions. First, what is the procedural path to citizenship in Thailand? What are the agencies, who are the agents, and what are the necessary bureaucratic steps that collectively comprise the framework of evidentiary procedure that highlanders must navigate to acquire recognition of citizenship? Second, how do highlanders negotiate this procedure? What problems and pitfalls do they encounter that might explain the significant variation in citizenship outcomes detected in regression analyses in Chapter 4? And, third, on what basis are claims to citizenship adjudicated? Specifically, what 'evidence' is required to substantiate a claim to citizenship, and how is this evidence produced and interpreted?

As I show in Chapter 2, for the past half-century, highland minorities in Thailand have been targeted by, caught up in, and caught between, the state's various and varied attempts to identify those who 'really belong,' and to exclude those who do not—to assert congruency between territory and nation through the identification, monitoring and enforcement of identity among peoples at the margins (Keyes, 2002; Pinkeaw, 2014; Toyota, 2005). But what and who comprise the state in this context?

How is this “work” done? How is the “bond” of nationality between state and individuals conferred or denied in practice?

The analysis proceeds in two directions: First, I map the various people, places, and paper that comprise the bureaucratic system of evidentiary procedure in Thailand (e.g., Sharma and Gupta, 2006). Drawing on evidence from my ethnographic research, I argue that the paths to citizenship for highlanders are institutional, geographical, and intergenerational. By illuminating these pathways to citizenship, I reveal that sovereign acts of recognition are not relegated to a single authority, but are, as Dunn and Cons (2014) argue, overlapping and unstable, and result in variability in citizenship outcomes such as those presented in findings in Chapter 4.

In many ways, findings from this chapter confirm and build upon conclusions of other studies that have pointed to *complexity* in procedure, variations in *capacity* across government staff at both village and district levels, and to problems of persistent and entrenched *corruption* in evidentiary procedure (Chutima, 2009; Feingold, 2002; Mukdawan, 2009; Yindee, 2005). Yet, through ethnographic and statistical analyses of evidentiary procedure, I add contingency to the list of complexity, capacity, and corruption as reasons for the perpetual exclusion of eligible highlanders from citizenship.⁸³ As I elaborate below, my analysis of evidentiary procedure reveals that uneven outcomes in citizenship represent an accrual of highly contingent moments along the geographical, inter-generational, and institutional paths that are replete with space for corruption, discrimination and mistakes to influence citizenship outcomes for individuals and their extended families.

In order to ground my analyses, I begin each subsection with an excerpt drawn from a single open-ended interview with a head official of a district in Chiang Rai

⁸³ Gupta (2012) brings issues of contingency to bear in his analysis of the bureaucratic implementation of otherwise progressive development policy in India.

Province (*Naay Amphoe*) who had been leading operations in the district for over a year. I begin at the office of the Naay Amphoe, because the district official's decision, is, after all, official. Today, possession of a National ID card is possible only with a signature from one's lead district official, unto whom the responsibility and power of adjudicating claims to citizenship ultimately rest. As I argue in this chapter, possession of any type of ID card—that of citizens or that of non-citizen 'aliens'—is an outcome of a series of events along each path to citizenship (or exclusion) that culminates in the adjudication of a case by a district official.⁸⁴

5.2 The Institutional Path to Citizenship

I arrive at a district office, which looks like all others in the north. It is a two story white building, set behind a large parking lot where people mill about—many of whom are in respective ethnic dress—as they wait to register a child's birth, a marriage, apply for citizenship, or conduct a range of other business. Upon entering the district office, my research assistant greets a staff person at a kiosk, and she leads us upstairs to the Naay Amphoe's private office. Behind his desk is a painting of the King and a statue of the Buddha, two of the three pillars of *Thainess* that had for so long denied highlanders a right to be long in the nation. His desk is clear save for a very large pile of neatly stacked, manila folders. These are applications for citizenship, filed by residents—mostly highlanders—in his district, and were compiled by staff into similar forms for his review. As this chapter will reveal, the order and similarity of the application files belies the highly contingent, complex and varied ways in which each file's contents were acquired, compiled and submitted. Each file represents a unique path to this single desk, this particular district official,

⁸⁴ As I will also argue in this chapter, to lack an ID card altogether is often the result of contingencies in the same pathways through which individuals are not able to push their applications all the way to the district official's desk for consideration.

whose singular, subjective decision will make all the difference in the world for each applicant and family they represent.

The district official is very friendly. He offers us a glass of water and Nescafe, and assures us right away that we can ask anything. He insists—without us asking—that he has nothing to hide. The interview, in total, lasts over an hour and a half, and weaves between his personal history working in the highlands and his efforts to interpret the law in the context of the highlands. The following comprises a short excerpt, which points to the complex and often contingent institutional path(s) to citizenship.

Q: What are the procedures for adjudicating citizenship?

A: The law is clear: to be a citizen in Thailand, you must be born in Thailand.

You have to ask where was that person *born*? In actuality, the law in Thailand is quite open. If a birth certificate is available, there is no question. Children of migrants can acquire Thai citizenship if they have a birth certificate proving that they were born in Thailand prior to February 26, 2535 (1992).⁸⁵

...Anyone can prepare an application, but the village headman must sign off on each application. The villagers have the responsibility of checking their documents before they submit them, and it's my responsibility to clear the applications after a final inspection.

Q: Is the work the same in every district?

A: No, not at all. You know in Chiang Rai Province, there are 18 districts, but hill tribes only live in about six of them. And I've worked in two districts like this, so I know I had to really study the situation here. I am someone who studied law, and I think this nationality law is really hard. I have read the procedures 100 times, but I had to start using these procedures in real situations to

⁸⁵ This process is also known as *jettawi* (มาตรา 7 ทวิ).

understand them. This is my responsibility. If the case is accurate according to the law, and it's a case that I can attend to, I will do it...I have so much experience in hill tribe districts, so I want to issue citizenship as much as I can before I retire. The system in hill tribe districts is special and unique. If the next Naay Amphoe who replaces me in this district has no experience with hill tribes, there will be a lot of confusion as you can see there are so many rules, and it can be very confusing [to officials, staff, and villagers]....

Mapping the Institutional Path

As the Naay Amphoe notes, there are institutional paths to citizenship that *can* be relatively straightforward for highlanders. Upon gathering evidence, villagers, who must be officially registered residents of an officially registered household in an officially registered village, will acquire the signature of their village headman and then file their applications at district offices where their applications will be reviewed by staff and, if pre-approved, the district official. Despite theoretical assertions that citizenship or nationality is a bond between the state and an individual, in Thailand, this bond is mediated by relationships (and documents) at multiple levels, from the household, to the village, and district levels as well.

In the most straightforward of circumstances, children born to Thai citizens have a birth certificate (*suthibat*) that is issued at the district office after birth upon parents' requests, and their names are listed in an official household registration (*TorRor14/tabienbaan*). At the age of seven, a child is issued a special national ID card for children at the local district office, and at the age of 15, this card is replaced by the national ID card (*bahtbprachaachon*), the color and digit-coding on which identifies the cardholder as a citizen of Thailand.

According to current Thai nationality law and recent policies on proof of identification, persons born in Thailand prior to February 26, 1992 as well as their children are eligible for Thai citizenship. Non-citizen applicants must submit a combination of the following evidence: a certificate of birth, certification of duration of residence within a registered household in Thailand for a minimum of ten years (TorRor13 and/or proof of registration in a formal government survey), signature of support from the applicant's village headman (*phuyaaybaan*), and/or DNA evidence of a biological claim. When documents are missing, individuals may submit testimony from citizen-residents in their birth villages and copies of documents from early state surveys of highlanders that are retained at the Bureau of Social Development and Human Security in Chiang Rai. Upon collection of documents, individuals submit their applications to staff at the local district office in which they are officially registered. Staff review cases and submit their recommendations to the head district official, the *Naay Amphoe*. These officials, like the District Official quoted above, possess the power to accept, defer, or reject an application. Other forms of evidence, such as school documents, photographic evidence of participation in government surveys, and testimony from local citizens, may also be requested by district staff and officials in order to process legal status applications. Accepted applications are sent to the Ministry of the Interior, which issues a 13-digit code that is printed on all National ID Cards (see Chapters 2 and 4). Rejections may be appealed pending the availability of more evidence.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ As described in previous chapters, individuals who are eligible to apply for citizenship—individuals who can provide evidence of residence, birth and/or descent—are legal residents of Thailand and possess a non-citizen ID card that identifies them as such. All non-citizens are required to carry ID cards that identify them as permanent or temporary residents, migrant laborers or “aliens”—individuals with no known status (*khondtangtao*). See Chapter 2 for a history of the ID cards and Chapter 4 for a more thorough list of each ID card.

Contingencies in the Institutional Path

As the District Official states, although the legal procedures for status determination are relatively straightforward, the process of determining legal status for highland minority people is often extremely complicated in practice. A 168-page reference manual for birth registration and citizenship procedures for highlanders and other minorities is a page-by-page testament to the caveats and complications that officials confront in the process of conducting status determinations, and which applicants must navigate in making a formal claim to citizenship (UNESCO, 2008). Despite these apparent complexities, 42 percent of highlanders who are recognized as Thai citizens in the H.P.S. II acquired recognition of status through formal channels of application. And nearly 60 percent of non-citizens were seeking citizenship through these channels at the time of the survey as well.

Inconsistencies in, and variations across identity card possession noted above and in Chapter 3 are indicative of broader variations in highlanders' experiences of applying for citizenship. Specifically, among the total 4,806 non-citizens in the H.P.S. II who had applied for Thai citizenship, 71 percent were still waiting for resolution to their application, 22 percent had been rejected, and 7 percent did not know what had happened to their application. Among 1,812 household respondents who lacked citizenship, 72 percent had applied more than once, and 15 percent had submitted applications more than 5 times. On average, they had been waiting for resolution to their cases for 4.5 years, but 15 percent of respondents had been waiting far longer than 10 years for resolution. Data from the HPS II also reveal that registration has not been a uniform experience for successful applicants either. Similar to the experiences of non-citizen applicants, more than 74 percent of the 2,723 respondents who acquired citizenship through application reported applying more than twice, with 30 percent applying between 3 and 6 times. Additionally, they

reported waiting an average of 4 years before citizenship was conferred, with 30 percent waiting between 4 and 35 years.⁸⁷

Stories of complexity and confusion associated with registration procedures and experiences provide only a partial picture of the problems associated with uneven inclusion and exclusion in the highlands, however. Contingencies associated with one's village and district of residence and even ethnic identity are found to be highly significantly associated with citizenship registration experiences (regression analysis not provided herein). While the prescribed path to citizenship—from registering residence, to acquiring permissions from village leaders, to submitting papers at the district office—is not contingent, the capabilities, personal proclivities, and priorities of the various headmen, district office staff and district officials who must participate in the application process vary considerably. At the village level, the personal priorities, standards of integrity and leadership capabilities of village headmen and assistant village headmen (*phuchuy*) make a significant difference for the rates and success of villagers' applications. Because the structure of evidentiary procedure elevates the authority of village headman in individual applications for citizenship, the process is replete with opportunity for corruption and extortion, of which there are many examples (Chutima, 2009; Feingold, 2002; Mukdawan, 2009).

During my fieldwork I did not directly encounter the levels of corruption that are well-documented in other studies, although rumors of corruption at village and district levels among villagers were fairly common. While in my research I was unable to substantiate these claims through triangulation of information, I regularly encountered ineffective village leaders, whose impacts on the lives and futures of non-

⁸⁷ Of note, questions regarding waiting times were asked of the key respondent only. This information was not asked of each person in the household, as answers given by proxy would likely be highly unreliable. These questions are found in the Appendix in Module 3A, questions 27 through 29d.

citizens cannot be underestimated. Examples include one headman who regularly disregarded his responsibilities to attend to village business and was rarely in the village at all. In the words of the villagers, “*Khao mai aojisai taorai*”, literally, he does not take to heart the needs of the villagers at all. Another albeit well-intentioned headman unwittingly allowed conmen posing as civil registrars to survey his village at the price of several hundred baht per person (Flaim, fieldnotes, May 2009). When villagers attempted to file copies of their “surveys” at the district office, they were accused of attempting fraud. On the other hand, effective leaders can make an enormous difference in the application process by taking initiative to be well-informed themselves, to inform villagers of their rights to register, to advocate for applicants at the district office, and to assist them throughout the application process by translating documents and conversations, and even driving them to and from the office.

The influence of even the most efficacious village headmen on citizenship applications is ultimately limited, however, by the capabilities and attitudes of staff and officials at the district office. At the district level, the extent to which staff and officials prioritize highlanders, or understand the challenges of the particular highland context varies considerably. Although the Naay Amphoe I quote at the outset may not be entirely truthful in expressing his sentiments of sympathy, duty and diligence in resolving citizenship for highlanders, he reveals his anxieties about confronting gaps in evidence within a narrative of fulfilling duty to the King (Keyes, 1997; Renard, 2002; Reynolds, 2000). Anxieties framed in a narrative of loyalty and diligence vary tremendously with those expressed by the following district official whom I interviewed in a different district:

The situation is very complicated [in the hills]. This is an issue of national security. It is my responsibility to make sure that people do not cheat the

system. The law requires it. Even DNA cannot always be trusted. I can only really trust DNA tests with a person's mother. Why? Because you are born from your mother. We are not born of fathers. When someone submits a DNA test with their father without other proof, how can I know this is not the bastard child of a Burmese prostitute?

February, 2011

The quotes reflect two contrasting perspectives from officials tasked with the same responsibilities of conducting status determinations for highlanders within their jurisdictions. Despite clear differences between the two officials, neither perspective is unique among the number of officials who have rotated through highland districts (see also Chutima, 2006, 2009; Mukdawan, 2009). Officials' attitudes toward highlanders range from extremely discriminatory and distrustful to open and sympathetic; and, various practices initiated by district officials to resolve citizenship in their jurisdictions range from exploitative and corrupt (see Mukdawan, 2009), to those that are closed and opaque to those that are inclusive and relatively open. Some officials, like a third official whom I interviewed in 2010 welcomed and relied on the support of non-governmental organizations as a measure of enhancing productivity and as well as insurance against corruption charges (corroborated in 2010 interview with Mirror Foundation). And, although the Naay Amphoe whom I quote in the introduction does not speak of this in the interview, my ethnographic research in his district revealed that he and his staff initiated programs to collect all necessary paperwork at the village level such that the official could travel to villages and sign several applications at a time, rather asking villagers travel individually to the district office.

Given the notable discrepancies between these two officials with regard to their attitudes toward highland minority peoples, it is not surprising that contingencies

in residence in one village or another, or in one district or another, can significantly affect the experience highlanders have in applying for citizenship and the ultimate outcome of a citizenship application. For instance, although DNA testing has been initiated by the state to resolve questions of parentage for cases in which birth certificates are lacking, district officials who discriminate against highlanders will weigh such evidence differently than officials who are more sympathetic to, or even patronizing of, highland minority peoples. In declaring his intention to resolve as many cases as possible prior to reassignment, the Naay Amphoe quoted at the outset acknowledges that variation in officials' attitudes and practices exist, and that these variations can have tremendous consequences for application outcomes and for the lives of highlanders who are excluded. While his intentions are to include highlanders, however, he does not recognize the variations in capacities and intentions across officials at all levels of authority can facilitate or delay the completion and *submission* of an application before it can even reach his desk, however.

5.3 The Geographical Path to Citizenship

Q: How do highlanders acquire evidence if they do not have any copies or documents in their possession?

A:If someone was born at home and they don't have a birth certificate, then they have to get other evidence. A citizen—generally the village headman or someone from the village council—can testify that the person was born in that village. But, if that person was born in a different district and lives in my district now, they must apply through their birth district. They have to start in their home village, with *that* village headman, and *that* district office. Although this too is hard for them, because hill tribes or resident aliens don't

have citizenship, and they have to acquire permission through my office in order to travel to their birth village...

Mapping the Geographical Path

For a full application to arrive on the desk of the district official, it must travel not only through a series of hands at each level of the bureaucratic hierarchy in evidentiary procedure, but also across variable distances in real, geographical terrain. Several studies have noted the physical, geographical barriers to citizenship outcomes (Chutima, 2006; 2009; Feingold, 2002; Flaim, 2008; Mukdawan, 2009), and much of the prohibitive distances to apply for citizenship map directly onto the institutional pathway as well. For instance, applicants must travel from their village, with the village headman, to the district, where they seek approval from district staff and officials, and if/when approved, their materials are sent to Bangkok so that they are formally registered as citizenship in the Ministry of Interior. And, in the most straightforward of circumstances, the geographical 'path' to citizenship is very short indeed. In instances when individuals are born to Thai citizens in a local district hospital, parents will receive a document from the hospital and take it to the district office (often within walking distance, as I observed in my fieldwork) to request a birth certificate and to add the child's name into the family's household registration. Under less straightforward circumstances from which most highlanders begin their journeys to citizenship, by contrast, the distance between non-citizenship and citizenship grows considerably and often prohibitively longer and more complex, and extends far beyond the narrow institutional pathway from village to district to central leadership, however.

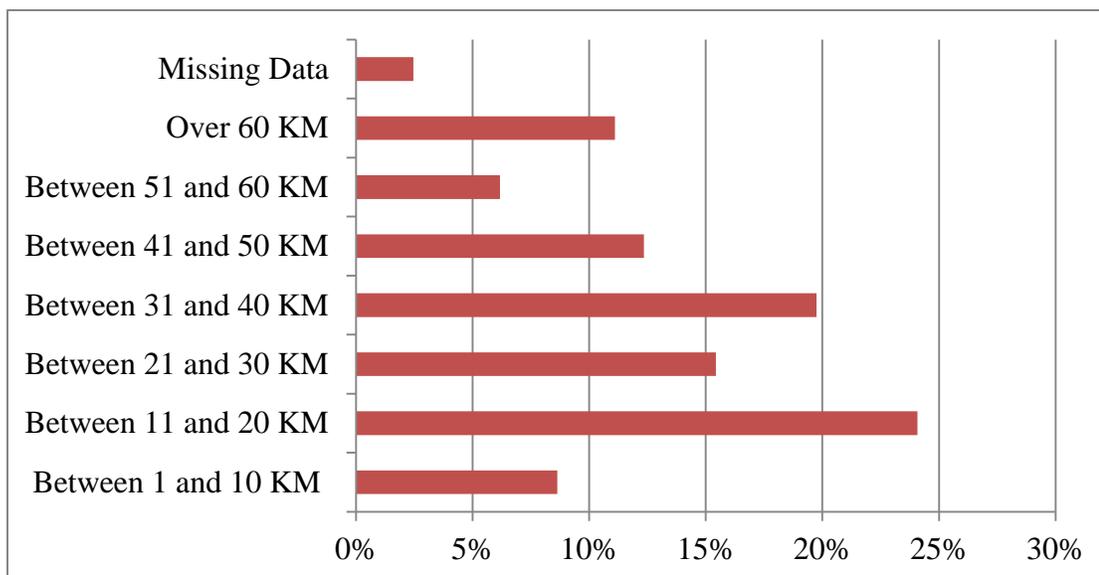
Contingencies in the Geographical Path

For non-citizen highlanders, the simplest geographical path to citizenship is that which links the village, where legal residency is registered and initial application

materials are gathered, to the district center, where applications are filed and ID cards are issued. While distances between these two levels of government along the institutional path are imagined as equidistant regardless of where one resides within the territory, these distances can vary tremendously from village to village in the highlands—variations that can result in tremendous unevenness in citizenship application experiences and outcomes.

Of the 3,241 non-citizens in the UNESCO HPS II dataset who had never applied for citizenship, over nine percent stated that they had not applied because they could not travel in order to apply, or asserted that the travel required for filing applications was prohibitively far. The average distance to the nearest district office for border villages among all surveyed in the HPS II was 35 kilometers, but distances varied considerably around this mean. Figure 12 below reveals the variability in raw distances between villages surveyed and respective district centers for Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai and Mae Hong Son provinces. As shown, only slightly less than 10 percent of villages surveyed were found to be within walking distance (under 10 kilometers).

Figure 12: Distance between Village and District Office



In the highlands, as indeed the case around the world, distance is never solely a calculation of kilometers. In most instances during my ethnographic research, highlanders discussed distances between villages, district centers, and cities in terms of the estimated time and financial costs incurred when travelling. Currently, an extensive network of roads into and throughout the highlands is accessible by car or motorcycle, yet highland villages located off the main roads remain difficult to access, particularly in the rainy season. Among the 173 villages surveyed in the northernmost provinces of Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai and Mae Hong Son in 2010, only 56 percent were accessible by paved roads, and 14 percent of villages reported that their roads are entirely inaccessible during the rainy season. While the HPS II data indicate road conditions in border villages alone, these same issues also pertain to villages located internally to the border as well. Throughout two years of fieldwork, I regularly encountered non-border villages that were extremely close to district centers as the crow flies, yet their residents would have to travel many kilometers and many hours out of the way in order to travel to and from district offices by road. And, given that only 35 percent of households at the border possess a motorcycle and even fewer (11 percent) own a car or a truck, a large proportion of rural villagers are forced to hire a neighbor to take them to town, hitchhike, or pay for local transport—modes of transport that often infrequent, unreliable, and costly in terms of both direct cash payments and in terms of time spent away from fields and family. Even when vehicles are available, more than 100 villages surveyed are further than 1 hour's travel by motorcycle to the local district office, and 30 villages are more than two hours away. Residents in some villages must travel for as many as 6 hours.

In sum, travel along the basic geographic path to citizenship—between the village and the district—can be inconvenient, costly, and extremely variable both

between villages and along seasons in the highlands (see also Chutima, 2006; Pesses, 2005). Yet, what is often lost in discussions of geographical barriers to citizenship for highlanders is the extent to which physical travel is often required of applicants *beyond* that of the path between the village and the district office. In fact, every case I followed throughout two years of ethnography revealed that the geographical path to citizenship led to multiple villages in a family network, to several district centers, and sometimes to schools, hospitals, and other government offices in cities as well.

For thousands of highlanders, complications in the geographical path to citizenship often begin in one's village of residence. While the institutional path to citizenship mandates that individuals require signatures from one's official village headman, one's village headman can live many hours away an entirely different village. This problem arises from the system of registration in the highlands, whereby a village is registered either a central village (*baanlak*) or a satellite village (*baanboriwean*). Satellite villages are officially registered, yet are linked hierarchically and politically to central villages through the Ministry of Interior. Individuals who reside legally in a satellite village must travel to and from their homes to the central village in order to acquire documents and signatures and approvals from local village leadership that are necessary to officially apply for citizenship. In addition to negotiating the distance of travel between these two villages, it is not unusual for villagers to be of different ethnicity—a difference that often requires a minimal negotiation of the language barrier. During my fieldwork, I often stayed in one village that served as a central village for 6 satellite villages. The central village was mainly Akha and Lahu, and on any given day, Karen and Khamu residents from satellite villages would drive for hours on a motorbike to ask the village headman sign a document on their behalf.

Beyond the village, the distance to citizenship can grow more complicated yet.

As the Naay Amphoe quoted above states, in many instances applicants must acquire documents or testimony from a different village, which might be located in a different district. These circumstances arise when an applicant seeks testimony or documentation from her village of birth, which in many cases, is not the birth of official, legal registration and residence. When the destination village is located within the applicant's registered district, the applicant can travel legally to obtain the evidence she seeks. Yet, often, the destination village is located outside of the applicant's district of registration, and in these instances, the geographical path to citizenship grows not only longer, but also more costly and sometimes more dangerous. In instances when individuals must travel outside their districts of registration, they are required to obtain official permissions from the local district official to travel beyond the district boundary for any purpose. Often, as my own ethnographic research revealed, the effort to obtain local permissions can take hours, if not an entire day. Then, upon obtaining this permission, individuals must secure a *secure* form of travel to the destination village, which, as noted above, can be costly and unreliable. But, the arduousness of a path that extends beyond district bounds, as some highlanders revealed to me, is not linked to the time or financial costs of travel. For some, the arduousness of this travel refers to the stress, fear, and humiliation they suffer as a result of confronting local police who man a number of checkpoints along the roads and highways between villages and district centers in the north. At the hands of these police, villagers tell stories of being pulled off buses, questioned extensively about their 'origins,' extortion, detainment, and even suffering forms of sexual abuse.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ During fieldwork, I accompanied villagers to different villages as well as to the BSD office in Mae Chan district where copies of civil registration surveys are kept in order to acquire proof of identity. These files are kept in one district only, and

The various tolls of traveling the contingent geographical path to citizenship can extend even further in exceptional circumstances. For two stateless youth with whom I conducted my research, this path took them to former dormitories and schools in distant districts and a city near Bangkok where they sought copies of school certificates in order to prove residency within Thailand for longer than ten years. Despite the typical costs of driving these distances, these trips proved successful and fairly straightforward, with the exception of one instance. At one particular school outside of Bangkok, the school authorities did not recognize their former student, who was very young when she attended the school, and therefore refused to supply the student with documentation—a moment that proved both extremely disappointing and embarrassing for her and her parents.

Whereas school authorities are not required to distribute documents to former students if those students cannot, in essence, prove who they are, government hospitals do. Specifically, in recent years, Thailand began using DNA tests to enable citizenship applicants to prove a claim to citizenship through a family member. Yet, these DNA tests are only officially conducted at the four regional government hospitals in Thailand. For highlanders in the north, this hospital is *roongphyabaansuandok*, in Chiang Mai city. Adding to the high costs of the test (quotes between 2,000 and 6,000 baht, which are equivalent to 60 and 180 USD, respectively), applicants and their family members must travel to Chiang Mai, a distance and destination that can be extremely costly for most (Chappanapong, 2011). As many rural highlanders have nowhere to stay in the city, and often cannot afford to stay away from the fields they tend, some attempt this expensive journey in one day. One father-and-son pair with whom I spoke left their village in the far, northernmost

therefore villagers residing outside of Mae Chan must endure similar costs and risks to travel to this otherwise welcoming office.

corner of the country at 4 am to catch a local truck that would connect them to another bus in Mae Sai, and then another bus in Chiang Rai city, which would deliver them to Chiang Mai city by midday. After an hour in the city to take the DNA test and eat Khao Soi, they took the same journey home that evening. In an ironic twist that ended their arduous, but ultimately successful path to citizenship, they submitted to a test that aimed to certify the genetic distance between them as negligible. Even the longest geographical path to citizenship ultimately closes the gap between the nation and the state.

5.4 The Inter-Generational Path

Q: When the staff send you these files [pointing to manila folders on the desk], what do you do? Do you just sign them?

A: No, I examine them first. Definitely. I conduct my own review every time. I check [the applicants'] photos from previous surveys. We compare old and recent pictures and compare these pictures to the real person, who must be present when I sign the documents for citizenship. I look at the person's eyebrows, nose, mouth—the whole face structure. Sometimes their pictures do not look very similar. Look at this one here. [Opens a folder to show me two pictures in one application as an example]. In cases like this, I ask the person's village headman, "is *this* person really the same person in *this* photograph?" I *must* believe them. I must.

Q: What do you do in instances when people do not have photographs?

A: If I am really not sure or if the person was never counted in previous surveys, if their ID card starts with the number 0, then we must test their DNA. DNA helps us [at the district office], because otherwise, how will we be sure that the person is telling the truth?

The highly contingent path to citizenship that is perhaps least apparent in the neatly-stacked piles of applications on the desk of the Naay Amphoe is inter-generational and intra-ethnic. In this section, I discuss the requisite evidence (*lakthaan*) of birth, blood, and residence produced during incomplete and flawed registration campaigns and state development programs of the highlands, which I argue continue to affect generations of highlanders born in northern Thailand today.

Mapping the Intergenerational Path

In addition to navigating uneven institutional and geographical channels of evidentiary procedure, citizen applicants must present sufficient and reliable evidence of a link to the territory of Thailand through birth, blood and/or residence. Sufficiency and reliability are highly subjective measures of quantity and quality, however. To some degree, while the contingencies of ethnic identity, village location, and district registration directly affect both the means and experiences of citizenship acquisition, issues relating to quantity and quality of evidence stem from participation in, and interpretations of, earlier registration events. For example, the quantity of evidence refers to the range of documents substantiating circumstances of birth, legal residence, and family relationships. The most important documents include, but are not limited to, a birth certificate and a non-citizen household registration that specifies family relationships therein. The quality of evidence refers to, for instance, the legibility of handwriting on registration forms or clarity of photos taken during household registrations. As the Naay Amphoe indicates, in order to determine the reliability of a claim to citizenship that is not well-substantiated, he often compares old and recent photos of applicants that clearly place the individual in the country, village, and/or within a documented family. Pictures from government surveys or school IDs can be used for this purpose as well (see also, UNESCO, 2008). Yet, as I show in this section, the mere availability or sufficiency of such evidence directly depends on the

experiences and interpretations of earlier registration events on behalf of all parties involved – both highlanders and government staff.

Since the late 1950s, the Thai government has undertaken several waves of registrations of the highlands in order to count and account for the total population, and to attempt to understand, and assert knowledge about, which villagers arrived when. The documents used and produced during various registration campaigns thus provide the baseline of evidence of “being there” against which stateless highlanders must prove their claims to citizenship. The surveys that carry the most weight in status determinations comprise the 1969 Hill Tribe Survey in which 119,591 people were counted over the course of two years, but issued approximately only 65,000 “hill tribe coins as momentos of the survey (Chutima, 2009: 15). Several rounds of subsequent surveys were undertaken by various agencies, yet did not issue any documentation to participants. Over the course of the following two decades, the government conducted various surveys of immigrant and refugee groups, some of whom are of highland ethnicity, and issued identity cards that marked people (and their children) with varying degrees of residency and limited rights (Toyota, 2005). In 1990 and again in 1999, the government attempted censuses of highland minority villages during which people were issued “blue” and “green/red” cards, respectively, and registered as temporary residents in the country (Chutima, 2009; Pinkaew, 2014; Toyota, 20005; Yindee, 2005). For applicants who lack proof of birth prior to Feb 26, 1992 and whose parents are not citizens, documented proof of participation in the 1990 or 1999 Hill Tribe Surveys (or an earlier survey) can provide crucial evidence of residence.

Contingencies in the Intergenerational Path

Prior to undertaking registrations by foot, pack mule, elephant, bicycle, or motorcycle, the state attempted to account for the vast population of highlanders

residing in mountainous, hard-to-reach terrain, by generating aerial photographs of the region. Despite attempts to “see” every village prior to the surveys, scholars and advocates have long noted the incompleteness of highland surveys due to budgetary, time, or capacity constraints of implementing agencies (Mukdawan, 2009). The following quote by a former registration official about his experience of conducting a highland survey points to the disjuncture between assertions of the state to know the highlands in an abstract, totalizing way, and its ability to access the highland population in day-to-day reality:

We had to ride an elephant to the Karen village. The rainy season had started and there were no roads to the hill tribe villages at the time. We packed all of the survey forms in bags and strapped them to the elephant’s back. Each survey team knew where to go based on aerial pictures taken by the Thai military, and we were each assigned several villages to survey. Sometimes we came across villages that were not on the map, though. Then we had to survey those villages too.

Khun Sathorn, Former Civil Registration Officer

As Khun Sathorn’s experience reveals, civil registration campaigns in the highlands were carried out in a context in which the capacity of the state to fully know and access highlanders was limited. While relying on maps that ostensibly documented every village in the highlands, his teams nevertheless encountered villages that they did not know existed. The number of villages that were never found or registered cannot be estimated. The consequence of being missed by an early state survey is clear: excluded villages and resident villagers lack evidence of residence and their claims to citizenship were consequently rendered precarious and ultimately questionable. The risk of being missed or counted was not random, however. As previously noted, proximity to district centers, degrees of integration into lowland

society, and the relative strategic importance of a village or ethnic group could positively or negatively influence the likelihood of being counted, in order for one's 'being' to count.

Gaps in evidence were not only produced through the uneven implementation of civil registration across space, however. Several non-citizen villagers reported that they had missed opportunities to be counted because of the delayed process of data collection over time as well. Indeed, several surveys were implemented over the course of one or several years (see Mukdawan, 2009). The following quote from Buqyeuhr, an older Akha woman who was stateless until 2003 recalls the pivotal moment of her exclusion as follows:

When I got married, I followed Akha custom. I left home and walked for two days across the mountain ridge to live with my new family—with my husband and his parents. A few days after I left, some men arrived in my birth village and surveyed the households there. My parents did not include my name in their household register because I had already moved away to my husband's village. But the survey team had already interviewed my husband's village before I arrived there. His parents didn't include me in their household registration because I was not a "household resident" at the time of that survey. I was born in Thailand, and my villages were registered. But I was never included in the [1969] survey.

Buqyeuhr's exclusion from Thai citizenship resulted from the clear disjunctures between local conceptions of family and those inscribed as 'truth' in rubrics applied to these families by the state. And, her exclusion, which began in 1969 proved to impact all five of her children, the first of whom was born in the mid-1970s. Although Buqyeuhr and her children were eventually able to successfully apply for

citizenship, she cites her exclusion from the survey as a problem that rendered her claims to residence and birth in the country highly suspicious to district officials during years and many rounds of unsuccessful applications. Traveling back and forth to her district office with her children to file documents and provide testimony, Buqyeuhr and many highlanders like her have been granted “naturalized” citizenship rather than the full citizenship to which they are legally entitled.

Buqyeuhr’s story reveals that direct exclusion from state registrations has undermined claims to legal status for highlanders and their children. But inclusion in state registrations did not guarantee citizenship either: Stories abound of various misunderstandings, misrepresentations and mistakes *during* village surveys that consequently generated problematic, inconsistent and flawed information about highlanders and their families. Both highlanders and officials remember the frustration and confusion that permeated interactions between survey teams and villagers, and many recall the contingencies and mistakes that produced flawed, inconsistent, problematic and unreliable documents. The following two quotes are particularly illustrative of these events:

I was working in the fields when a man came to my village to run a survey. He was drunk and he demanded food and whiskey when he would visit the houses. He interviewed my young daughter and my elderly mother-in-law about everyone in the house. When I came home from the field, I saw a piece of paper, but I couldn’t read it and I didn’t know what it was. My mother-in-law and my child did not understand what it was either. Then I let my children play with the paper, but they tore it up.

Miqbahr, Akha villager, stateless

I remember clearly the day I first arrived in a Karen village. None of the villagers could understand us, and we couldn't understand them. We met with the village leaders—the headman, the council—and tried to explain through translators and gestures what we needed to do. It was extremely difficult to communicate. We needed to identify the father, mother, child, grandmother—everyone—in each house, collect accurate information about each person, and fill out a registration form for each household. We had to learn a few words in the local language to ask these questions, and we needed to collect the information fast. One day it was pouring rain, and some of the survey forms were soaked, making the ink run. My team did a great job, though. We dried the surveys by heating them in a frying pan over a fire. A few documents were ruined, but we saved most of them. In the end, my team finished the village survey faster than any other registration team.

Khun Jerun, Former survey staff

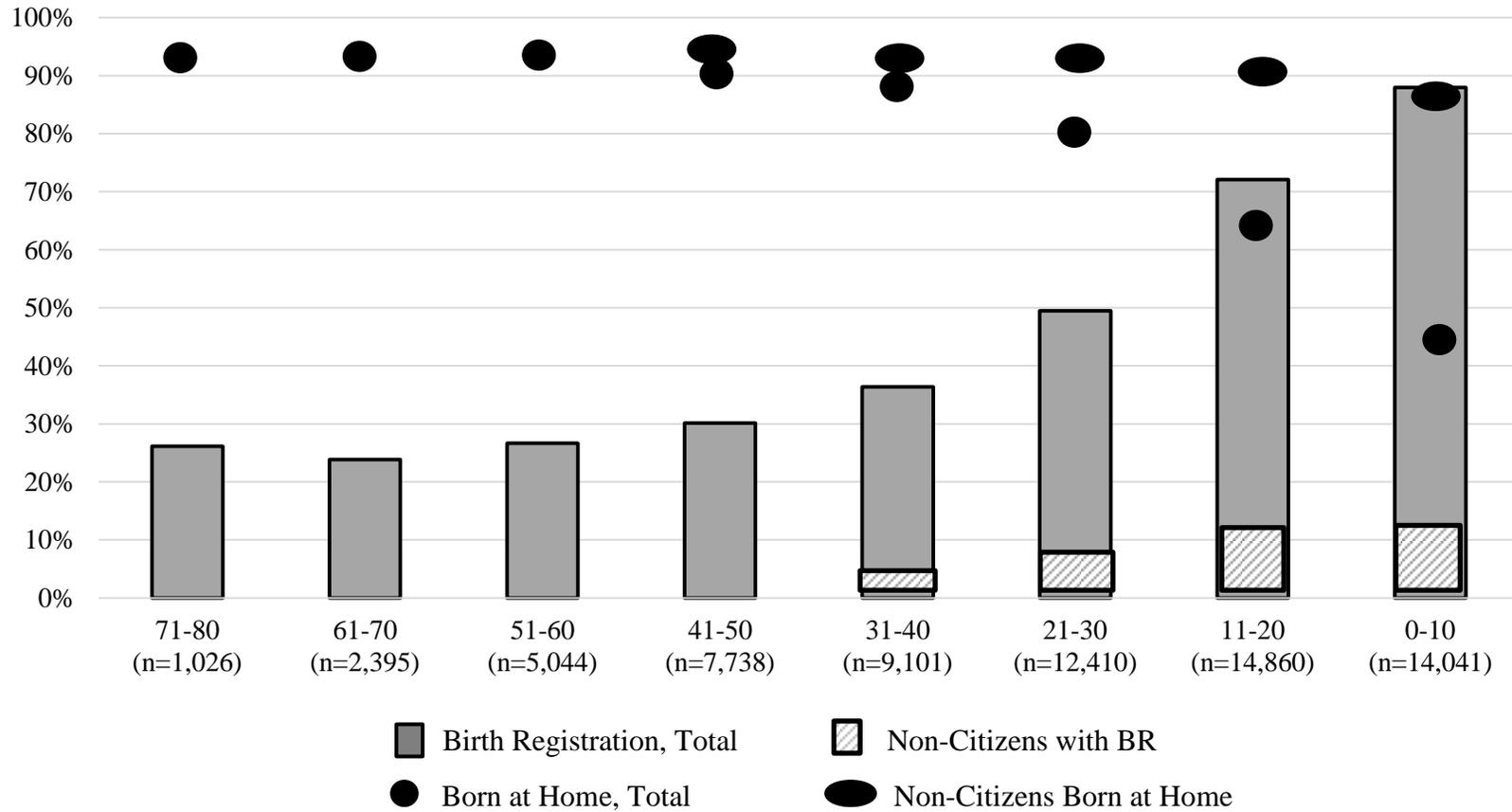
Reading these quotes back-to-back enables an understanding of the difficult, contingent, problematic, and complicated terrain of interaction between villagers and survey staff during 20th century registration campaigns in the hills. In addition to feelings of frustration noted by both villagers and former survey staff, both groups of people frequently discussed feelings of fear and anxiety that permeated the registration procedures as well. Given the backdrop of discrimination, armed conflict and militarization in the hills in which many of these campaigns were implemented, two survey staff in particular discussed their tactics of building protective, personal alliances with villages during registration campaigns as they felt that their safety was often at risk in the field. Reflecting similar fears and distrust of state officials, several

villagers related stories of deliberately refusing to participate in the surveys by hiding in the forest during registrations (see also Scott, 2009).

In lieu of, or in addition to, submitting evidence of sufficient duration of residence in Thailand, applicants may also submit documented proof of birth in the country prior to February 26, 1992. Testimonies may be provided, if (citizen) witnesses are available and able to offer a statement and *if* a district official will accept testimony as proof. The most preferred ‘evidence,’ however, is a birth certificate (*suthibaht*) or a delivery certificate (*baisaetgaangut*), which was the official record of birth issued to non-citizen families prior to 2011. As the District Official states, “If a birth certificate is available, there is no question. The applicant is a citizen.”

According to law, births must be registered at the district office within 15 days post-delivery. The child’s name is then added to the household registry and a birth certificate is issued (UNESCO, 2008). Yet data from Figure 13 below reveal the considerable challenges associated with proving place of birth in Thailand with a birth certificate. Specifically, although the percent of all children born at home is dropping to fewer than 40 percent in the youngest age cohorts, nearly 90 percent of non-citizens were still born at home as recently as 2010. And, while nearly 90 percent of highland children under the age of 11 have birth certificates, only 14 percent of non-citizen youth possess these documents.

Figure 13: Birth Registration & Place Born by Age Cohort and Legal Status



Although every family with whom I spoke understood the importance of acquiring a birth certificate for their children, mothers in particular noted their reticence to travel on a motorcycle over rough roads in the rainy season with a young infant only a few weeks postpartum, even to conduct such important business. When mothers are single or in particularly difficult circumstances, they may not receive the necessary support and assistance required to travel for birth registration. Recall the case of Aqcha (Introduction, Chapter 1), who attributes his statelessness to his lack of birth certificate. Because his father was working away from the village when he was born, no one was available to accompany his mother to register him at the district center. As he is the *only* one of his siblings who lacks a birth certificate, his situation is simply “unbelievable” to the numerous officials who have rotated through his district and examined his case.

As I reveal in Chapter 4, rates of application and application experiences are also significantly associated with ethnic identity. Specifically, regression analyses revealed that Karen, Hmong, and Khamu people had significantly higher rates of citizenship than other ethnic subgroups. Yet, when comparing non-citizen applicants for citizenship, members of these groups reported significantly longer waiting times than Lahu, Lisu and Akha applicants. Detected differences by ethnicity do not suggest that claims to citizenship by Lahu applicants are stronger than those of Hmong or Karen people, however. Rather, these differences reflect divergent historical relationships with Thai state authorities (see also Renard, 2000), differential rates of literacy and education (indices of social capital), and variations in leadership across ethnic groups. Indeed, a few of the most outspoken leaders in the highland citizenship movement are Akha, a group that has close historical, cultural and geographical ties with Lahu and Lisu people (see McKinnon, 2005; Feingold, 2002).

Reported variations in application experiences also reflect significant differences in the profiles of applicants by ethnic group. Whereas 68 percent of Akha, 58 percent of

Lahu and 71 percent Lisu had applied for citizenship at the time of the HPS II, the Karen or Hmong citizenship-applicant is relatively unique among her ethnic group: only 14 percent of Karen and 24 percent of Hmong reported ever applying for citizenship despite reporting the highest rates of citizenship among all minority groups in the HPS II (see findings in Chapter 4). In essence, the issue at hand is the extremely different circumstances in which different ethnic groups have actually acquired Thai citizenship. Specifically, because Karen historically lived closer to lowland Thais, and have been historically more integrated into lowland life, fewer Karen in the northernmost provinces ever *needed* to apply for citizenship compared to ethnic Akha, Lisu or Lahu—groups who were historically more mobile and had relatively fewer historical and cultural ties to lowland society (McKinnon and Wanat, 1983). By extension, Karen applicants for citizenship do not reflect the more general experience of Thailand-born Karen who were registered as citizens in civil registration campaigns, and thus never had to formally apply.

Applying this same logic to understand the high rates of citizenship among the Hmong may seem counterintuitive, as Hmong people historically lived farther from lowland areas. Hmong people in particular have been particularly scapegoated by the state and media for communist activity and drug smuggling, and are generally considered to be among the more recent arrivals in Thailand (Keyes, 1991; Tapp 1990). Yet, because of their perceived extreme “Otherness,” Hmong communities were uniquely targeted by the Thai government for programs that would ensure both legibility and loyalty to the state—programs such as permanent settlement, military training and citizenship conferral (Keyes, 1971; Tapp, 1990). State initiatives to trade citizenship for loyalty and legibility date as far back as the 1930s with the powerful urban Chinese in Bangkok (Skinner 1957), and the 1970s when Chinese nationalists pledged to disarm in exchange for citizenship and settlement in the highlands (Thin Thai, 1986).

The point is not to confuse or belabor the issue of variation and contingency over time, but rather to illuminate the highly divergent histories of state conferral of citizenship to diverse groups who were nonetheless uniformly categorized and regarded as “hill tribes” in nationality law and registration policy. By the same turn, the story of contingent and uneven access to citizenship and the practices of citizenship conferral that have produced this unevenness is indicative of the larger story of contingent and uneven civil registration in the highlands. In the end, 20th century surveys, household registrations, and birth registrations are directly consequential to current adjudication procedures as these events produce the requisite evidence of residence, blood and birth upon which identity cards are issued and status determinations are ultimately made. And, it is on the basis of perceived gaps, inconsistencies and problems in such evidence presented by individuals and families that applications are denied to older highlanders and to their children.

5.5 Discussion

Evidence from the UNESCO Highland Peoples’ Survey II (2010) indicates that approximately two-thirds of highland minority people living in border communities in Thailand are now recognized as citizens. While most citizens acquired recognition through various state registration campaigns, 40 percent acquired citizenship through formal application channels of evidentiary procedure. At the same time, however, one-third are stuck in legal-status limbo, their rights and their futures—and those of their children—rendered precarious. Programmatic approaches to addressing statelessness among highland minority groups and the research that informs these approaches largely focus on the socio-cultural and legal reasons for exclusion in this context. To be sure, widespread discrimination against highland minorities persists, and Thai nationality law was replete with clauses and loopholes that were deployed as justifications to exclude highland minority peoples for years. To date, children born to non-citizen parents in

Thailand are generally ineligible for Thai citizenship. Yet, in response to rising demands among highland minority people to resolve their claims to citizenship at the end of the millennium, the Thai government has made progressive legal and institutional changes in order to facilitate registration of Thai-born highland minority people and their children as citizens. Why, then, do so many people continue to lack the status to which they are legally entitled?

In this chapter, I have attempted to reveal the complex and dynamic reasons why these progressive changes have not resolved citizenship issues in the highlands altogether, and I have demonstrated that expanded bureaucratic capacities to produce and demand evidence are reproducing statelessness among those with faulty or otherwise incomplete documents, at the same time as they have resolved citizenship for others. In order to demonstrate the dual production of exclusion and inclusion under otherwise progressive citizenship law, I have shifted my analytical lens away from legal instruments and focused, rather, on the contingent, unstable, and highly subjective moments of evidentiary procedure in which government agents and highland minority people engage with varying levels of participation and competence in the production and interpretation of evidence of birth, blood and residence in the country. I show that navigating what appears to be a set, clear, and straightforward path to citizenship is, in reality, a network of institutional, geographical, and inter-generational pathways that extend in often complex, convoluted, and overlapping ways. Ethnic identity, village leadership, attitudes among officials and staff at the district level, and proximity to the district center can significantly improve or reduce the likelihood of successfully claiming Thai citizenship. Before navigating this gauntlet, however, sufficient and reliable evidence of birth, blood and residence must be compiled and prepared; yet, I show that the availability and the quality of such evidence is also contingent on the uneven, dynamic and contingent processes of state civil registration campaigns and the

circumstances of one's birth, and that of one's mother, father, and grandparents. Moreover, the contingency, unevenness, opaqueness of these paths and processes to recognition creates ample opportunity for corruption and discrimination to enter the equation – often greatly influencing not only the processes themselves, but the lives of countless individuals and their children.

In Chapter 4, I showed that statelessness persists among highlanders despite expansions of law and identification programs to include them as citizens of Thailand. In this chapter, I have argued that statelessness is produced, not *despite* these expansions in law, but *because* of the ways that the law of territorialized nation-states require enforcement on the ground. In essence, the law projects backward into the past a sovereign claim by the state to 'know' and access highlanders in totalizing, universalizing ways that simply did not exist in the past, and arguably still do not exist, even today. My research reveals the fundamental instability of this claim, and shows that variations in citizenship outcomes among highlanders often do not result from eligibility for citizenship. Rather, my ethnographic and survey research suggest that variations in citizenship outcomes reflect variations and contingencies in civil registration practices at the village and district levels that have unequally shaped both state access to, and interpretations of highlanders, as well as highlanders' access to, and interpretations of the state.

As the Naay Amphoe quoted above laments, the problem of evidence is widespread among the highland minority population. Not only do gaps and inconsistencies in evidence produce anxieties and frustration among highlanders like Aqcha, whose claims to citizenship are undermined and destabilized by a lack of 'proof,' but officials like the Naay Amphoe report tremendous anxiety in attempting to interpret such evidence according to the law. Entrusted with the power and responsibility of adjudicating citizenship, he and others like him often resolve these gaps by requesting

more evidence. Yet, my research reveals that these alternative forms of evidence, such as photos, testimony, and even DNA tests, are both inconsistently available to highlanders and inconsistently requested and interpreted by officials. To be sure, Thailand's current system of decentralized, routinized legal status adjudication under the banner of relatively inclusive nationality law *has* enabled hundreds of thousands of highlanders to overcome lifetimes of exclusion and acquire the recognition of citizenship to which they are legally entitled. However, this chapter also reveals that the same system continues to produce exclusion among the hundreds of thousands of people like Aqcha, whose documents, data, and DNA are deemed insufficient, unreliable, problematic, and ultimately unbelievable. Seen through this light, the district official's statement is particularly revealing: one may study the law 100 times, and one may follow highly rationalized procedures, but when problems in evidence arise, the act of conferring citizenship is ultimately an act of belief.

CHAPTER 6
DIVERGING DESTINATIONS AND DESTINIES:
MIGRATION, STATELESSNESS AND THE PRODUCTION OF DEPRIVATION IN
THE HIGHLANDS

6.1 Chapter Overview

In Chapters 4 and 5, I reveal that statelessness is produced unevenly, contingently, and often unpredictably through the implementation of ostensibly progressive nationality law and evidentiary procedures that have been enacted, paradoxically, to resolve it. Having explored the slippages between, and the production of, citizenship and statelessness, I now seek to understand and reveal the ways in which nationality has come to have meaning in the everyday lives of highlanders.

As I discuss in Chapter 2 and show in Chapter 5, citizenship—or a lack thereof—rarely mattered for highlanders' lives until the late 20th century (Feingold, 2014; Scott, 2009). This picture of the recent past contrasts considerably with claims by Aqcha and with the hundreds of other stateless and formerly stateless highlanders with whom I spoke during fieldwork. They argue—along with millions of others around the world—that today, one cannot live a full, meaningful life without citizenship. Findings by Chutima (2005: 35) indicate that the significance of citizenship for living and imagining one's life is not relegated to the civic sphere alone: Rather, her research indicates that highlander youth who are denied recognition of citizenship often consider suicide as a way to escape a life of limited opportunity. In light of these very corporeal impacts of nationality on the lives of highlanders, the call to research is not only to document the ways that citizenship matters, but also to interrogate the reasons why it has come to matter so very much *now*. These are the issues to which I attend in this final analytical chapter.

The core of the argument that I advance in this chapter is simple: Because political, economic, and cultural life is heavily concentrated in lowland, urban economies, physical mobility comprises an extremely crucial component of social mobility for highlanders. Through analyses of both ethnographic and extensive survey data, I argue that state prohibitions on, and extensive surveillance of, intra-state mobility of non-citizens ultimately limits the abilities of non-citizen individuals and their families to access places and institutions of social transformation.

My analysis proceeds as follows: First, I provide a brief discussion of the scholarship on the ‘impacts’ of citizenship—or lack thereof—on highlanders’ lives, livelihoods and futures. I extend this discussion with contributions from my own ethnographic research and statistical analysis, which reveal significant inequalities along the line of nationality with regard to access to health care, health services and educational attainment. As these measures point to ways in which households maintain and transform their individual and collective resources (Mare, 2011; McLanahan, 2004) argue that these inequalities across current generations of highlanders are contributing to diverging destinies amongst young and future generations as well.

The question remains, however, why do inequalities persist (and perhaps grow) among highlanders with regard to access to health care services and schooling? As I have discussed in Chapter 2, and show in detail here below, the Thai government has recently passed a number of policies aimed at removing both geographical and structural barriers to access for non-citizen highlanders who seek health care and schooling for non-citizens and their children. The answer, I argue, points to the most overlooked aspect of access in sociological research on social mobility: that of physical movement.

In the subsequent section, I therefore aim to illuminate the dimensions of ‘access’ to places of social transformation for rural highlander communities as these pertain to movement in space. Specifically, I trace an expansive network of *internal* checkpoints in

northern Thailand, which I argue punctuate and disrupt non-citizen highlanders' abilities and willingness to 'access' these institutions. In particular, I note the specific surveillance practices enacted at checkpoints that I argue serve to limit the movement of non-citizens, not only outside of the country, but *within* it (Torpey, 2000).

In the final section, I draw on survey data to examine the extent to which non-citizen highlanders abide the state surveillance apparatus by limiting their temporary and permanent mobility, even when doing so serves to limit their current and future social horizons as well as their physical health. Drawing on statistical data from the UNESCO HPS II, I argue that significant differences detected between citizen and non-citizen highlanders with regard to movement (destinations) contributes to the significant inequalities detected between citizens and non-citizens with regard to outcomes in education, health, and livelihoods (destinies). Movement, I argue, is a key component of ensuring social mobility and 'access to rights' in the highlands of Thailand.

6.2 Dimensions of Access

In Chapters 4 and 5, I took cues from the laws and procedures of the state in examining the production of both citizenship and statelessness. In this chapter, the highlanders and NGO workers with whom I conducted ethnographic research are my guides. While their experiences as stateless people varied in many ways, the sentiments of many, as I shall discuss in detail below, is summed up in a statement by Aqsai, who described his experience of being stateless for much of his life thusly:

“Before I received my [Thai National] ID card, I could not go to school. When my father was staying at the provincial hospital, I could not go visit him there.

When my family had no money, I could not go find work. I literally could not go anywhere!”⁸⁹

⁸⁹ *Gawn phom dtai baht [bprachamdtua bprachaachon] phom bai roongrian maidai. Dtwan thi phaw yuu thi rongphayabaan changwat bai yiam khaw thi*

Aqsai's quote resonates within an already-established body of scholarship on the effects of nationality on highlanders' lives and livelihoods. In this work, researchers trace the extensive and acute deprivations associated with statelessness and exclusion with regard to accessing education (Chutima, 2006; Flaim, 2008; Mukdawan 2006, 2009) and health services (Koning 2013; Koning, Flaim, and Feingold 2013; Harris 2013; Korinek and Punpuing, 2012) as well as to legal livelihoods. Broadly, research tends to examine many of the structural barriers non-citizens face in gaining entry to schools, health institutions, and safe employment. Indeed, Aqcha couldn't 'go' to school without an ID because he was simply ineligible for government scholarships without it. Yet, Aqcha also speaks directly of problems of access as it pertains to the actual process of "going": without his ID card, he simply could not get to the door of the school or the hospital without fear of being stopped, detained, or even extorted by local police.

Access to Health Care Services

With regard to both structural and physical barriers to accessing health care services, Thailand operates an extensive network of health clinics at subdistrict levels, public hospitals at the district level, and research and private hospitals at provincial and regional levels. At the same time, however, mobility in the highlands can be slower due to poor road conditions, particularly in the rainy season, and due to a lack of easy transportation for a large proportion of highland families (Chapter 2). In terms of structural barriers to access, Thaksin's populist agenda of expanding public health programs provided guaranteed access to the country's famously progressive universal health care scheme (30 baht) to all residents, regardless of legal status, but findings suggest that citizenship status continues to produce mixed results in terms of both access to, and quality of, care (Harris 2013; Koning, Flaim and Feingold 2014; Wangkiat, 2015).

*nan maidai. Dtawn khrop khrua mai mii gnun, phom bai haa gnaan maidai.
Bai thi nai gaw mai dai leuy!*

While the state has aimed to remove structural and physical barriers to access to health care *in the highlands*, many argue that quality health care is concentrated in the lowlands, especially in cities with larger hospitals. During a visit to a private hospital in Chiang Rai city, I was very surprised to see in the waiting room two women from the village I would often visit during trips into the mountains. One of the women, who had injured her back severely while working construction, told me that she was “fed up” with treatment at the local district hospital [*maiwailaew!*], and she heard that her best hope was in the city with a specialist. Her arrival at the hospital signaled her success in bypassing a number of financial and physical barriers. She had paid another villager 120 baht (one day’s wages) to drive her and wait for her in the city, brought a large portion of her savings of a few thousand baht to pay for treatment as she had not been officially referred, and, because she is not a citizen and she was not authorized to travel, she had saved an extra thousand baht in the event that she would be shaken down at a police checkpoint during her journey.

Education

With regard to ‘access’ to education, research also reveals a mix of findings with regard to schooling outcomes among highlanders of varying statuses. In terms of education, the government has extended basic schooling as well as non-formal education programs throughout the highlands since the mid-20th century as a crucial component of state agendas to settle, develop, and “domesticate” highlanders (McCaskill and Kampe, 1997). Since the state’s Border Police Patrol first brought state schooling into the mountains, village schools have expanded (with varying success), most of which are now operated by the Ministry of Education. In the UNESCO HPS II, 56 percent of border villages in Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai, and Mae Hong Son had a primary school located within the village perimeter. Over 80 percent of villages without a primary school were

within an hour's walk of the nearest primary school, yet the remaining 20 percent (n=15) report a walking time between an hour and 4 hours long.

While proximity to basic schooling has become *less* of a barrier to education for most highlanders over the past several decades, structural barriers to access persist. In addition to unaccounted for school fees that are well documented in the literature on educational access (Pattaravanich, Williams, Lyson, Archavanitkul, 2005; Williams, Archavanitkul and Havanon 1997), individuals needed a birth certificate to access free, formal schooling until 2005. Until 2005, schools would not receive funding from the Ministry of Education to support the education of any child who lacked documented proof of birth in the country—proof, which as I showed in Chapter 5, remain far from universally distributed or accessible among highlanders of all statuses. Analyses of data from the UNESCO HPS I (2006) indicate that this restriction was particularly effective in limiting access to education for all highlanders, but that the restriction was particularly hard on children born to non-citizen parents. My 2008 study of these data indicated that children in homes with non-citizen adults were significantly less likely than those in homes with adult citizens to ever attend school. Moreover, my findings indicated that these significant disadvantages accrued at every major transition through the school system to the effect of rendering non-citizen highlander youth 95 percent less likely than their citizen counterparts graduate from lower secondary school (grade 9/M3) and 98 percent less likely to graduate from upper secondary school (grade 12/M6).

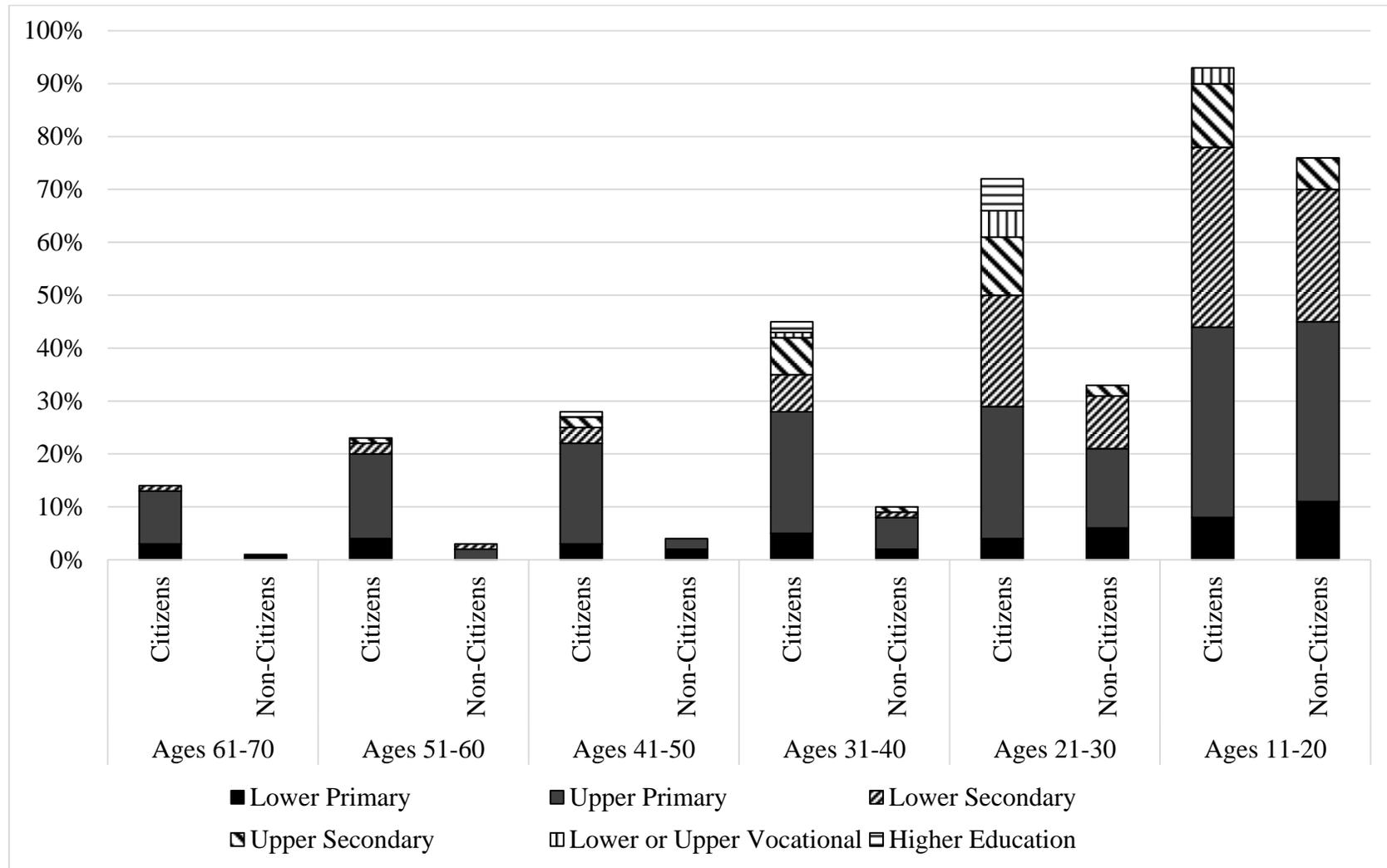
My analyses of the more recent UNESCO HPS II data from 2010 suggest that the 2005 government directive to guarantee universal access to school for all children regardless of legal status has mitigated the degree of disadvantage associated with parental non-citizenship in educational attainment outcomes among highlander youth (findings presented in Appendix). As Figure 14 below reveals, younger generations of all legal statuses are gaining access to, and attainment through, schooling. Nevertheless, as

the figure and findings in the Appendix also reveal, the disadvantage associated with lack of citizenship remains significant, even when controlling for parental education, particularly with respect to transitions into primary school, from primary school into lower secondary school, and from lower secondary school into upper secondary school.⁹⁰ The transition in these moments is significant, not only in a statistical sense. As only half of villages surveyed in the UNESCO HPS II have primary-secondary schools, and fewer than five percent have upper secondary schools, the transitions into upper secondary school require travel outside of the village, and sometimes outside of the district.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Findings also indicate that the relative advantage in educational access and attainment that is associated with being a child of Thai citizens only pertains to children of two citizens. Children with only one citizen parent were found to be similarly disadvantaged with respect to citizenship outcomes as children of two non-citizen parents.

⁹¹ As shown in the Appendix, when accounting for household wealth and parent education levels, the significance of the effect of parent citizenship on educational attainment disappears. The relationship is not spurious, but rather indirect. Adults with citizenship are significantly more educated than those who lack citizenship in the UNESCO HPS II. Having attended some school, and legally able to seek temporary or permanent employment outside of the village, citizen parents can diversify their livelihoods and support their children's schooling.

Figure 14: Educational Attainment by Age Group and Citizenship Status



Note: Chi2 = 2.5e+03***

Expanded Access to Rights for Restrictions on Stateless Highlanders

Even as highlanders have been granted expanded ‘access’ to education and health as stateless highlanders, they simultaneously experience onerous restrictions on their abilities to claim their rights fully. In the context of the highlands, these restrictions are not only socio-structural forces, such as the restrictions on formal employment which subsequently restrict the financial capacities of families to support the educations and health care of their family members. In the highlands, these restrictions exist in the form of a vast network of checkpoints that punctuate the scenery along hundreds of roads in the mountains.

Indeed, operating alongside this expanded network of schools and health care centers where non-citizen residents can claim their guaranteed rights is a vast network of internal checkpoints, which serve as sources of tremendous anxiety and frustration for highlanders of all statuses. As revealed in Chapter 5, residents of more than half of the total villages surveyed in the UNESCO HPS II sample must cross at least one checkpoint in order to travel to their local district office to file an application for citizenship, request a copy of a document, or register a birth or a marriage. Thirty-one villages are separated by three or more checkpoints, with two reporting as many as seven.

The following image reveals the state’s considerable efforts to operate and support checkpoint stations in the highlands. This image, while taken in Mae Fa Luang Province in the country’s northwest, would be familiar to anyone who has traveled in the region, as it is emblematic of a typical internal checkpoint that people pass in traveling along an internal road in in the north. As is immediately evident in the image, a considerable amount of state resources are devoted to constructing, manning and supporting checkpoints, which extend into the road where large cones and signs stop for inspections for drugs and passage of undocumented people or unauthorized residents (e.g., non-citizen highlanders). When police are working a station, they are sometimes found standing at attention in the road, ordering vehicles to stop, but often they are seen gathering in the shade of the patrol station. While the

degree to which stations are manned can vary from checkpoint to checkpoint and from time to time at a single checkpoint, highlanders regularly discussed with me their anxieties about traveling, even when doing so lawfully. Some highlanders with documents (citizenship or authorized travel documents) reported being regularly stopped, detained, and accused of fabricating documents. And several women would point out that checkpoints are often located away from town centers, in the forest, which leaves few possible opportunities to escape or for unbiased witness assistance in the event that they are unlawfully detained or simply harassed. And, although not a daily event, the all too familiar stories of police arrest or extortion haunt highlanders when they travel. Among the 15,317 total households surveyed in the UNESCO HPS II, 323 households reported that at least one family member had been arrested, detained or bribed in an ID card-related incident within the past five years.

Plate 7: Typical Internal Checkpoint in Northern Thailand



6.3 Diverging Destinations among Highlanders?

While evidence abounds that highlanders of all status—but particularly those who lack citizenship—experience surveillance of their livelihoods and movement, a key question remains: Do state restrictions on movement differentially affect migration outcomes among highlanders of differential legal status in significant ways? Specifically, what is the effect of legal status on the propensity of highlanders to migrate or simply move across district boundaries for work? And, what do findings suggest about the differential abilities of stateless and citizen families to utilize migration as a viable livelihood strategy?

Framework for Modeling: Migration as a Livelihood Strategy

To my knowledge, no research has yet empirically examined the impact of legal status on migration outcomes, or on the utility of migration as a household livelihood strategy in any context.⁹² Nevertheless, previous research on micro-level and structural characteristics in explaining migration propensity from rural to urban areas in both internal and international contexts provides a foundation to frame an analysis of the connections between statelessness and migration.

At the micro-level, some researchers have moved away from neoclassical explanations of migration that compare wage differentials between origin locations and destinations as insufficient explanatory tools for understanding rural to urban or international migration, especially in the context of developing states (Hugo, 1998). While these wage-centered economic models fail to adequately explain the dramatic

⁹² Extensive research has been conducted on the propensity to migrate illegally across international boundaries, which *can result* in statelessness or pseudo-statelessness. This body of research includes studies comparing documented migrants to undocumented migrants on issues of vertical social mobility, educational attainment etc. In considering the impact of statelessness or precarious status on migration decisions, by contrast, Massey and Pren (2012) note that increasing surveillance of the US-Mexico border led to a large-scale reduction of temporary migration both in and out of the US. For theoretical discussions of globalization and modernity in producing regimes increasing control of mobility and population control, see Shamir (2005), Nevins (2001), Soysal (1994) and Torpey (2000).

expansion of temporary mobility in particular, this phenomenon “is readily understood from the family perspective” (Hugo, 1998:143; Stark and Bloom, 1985).

New household labor theory orients migration decisions and actions in the context of the household, family, or immediate kin line (Stark and Taylor, 1991). Through this lens, migration may be understood as a household survival strategy employable in times of crisis, and/or as an insurance strategy against possible failure of a core source of family income (Hugo, 1998). Through this lens, migration of individuals in developing countries is largely explained as a result of the allocation of family labor resources over a diverse range of sectors in order to maximize both production and income, and to minimize risk (Hugo, 1998; Portes and Borocz, 1989).⁹³ From the household perspective, migration therefore not only facilitates access to alternative and diverse resources for families and individuals to draw upon, but in so doing, *migration becomes a resource in and of itself*.

Research employing the household labor theory framework to analyze migration propensities departs from individual-centered neoclassical frameworks in that temporary or permanent migration of any individual is understood to comprise a fraction of the total allocation of labor in her respective household (Massey, 1990). Therefore, the migration of particular individuals can be understood as a function of household perceptions of individual human capital and of future human capital gains *between and among members of the household*—particularly between siblings (Massey, 1990). While contexts vary considerably across countries and regions, individual factors such as age, sibling order, gender, and educational attainment are among several examples of highly significant indicators of migration propensity that vary in significance and relationship according to family composition and cultural context.

⁹³ On another theoretical point of divergence from the classical and neoclassical explanation of migration, new household labor economics theory assumes either uncorrelated or negatively correlated earnings potential between origin and destination locations (see Massey, 1990: 10).

While not always the case (see Bilsborrow, McDevitt et al., 1987), migration is most often found to vary inversely with age, as older people are less likely to maximize returns on previous investments in human capital (Brown and Goetz, 1987). The effect is often seen as an inverted U. However, research among the lowland population in Thailand demonstrates that within generations, older siblings may be more likely to migrate than their younger counterparts who are often expected to stay at home and take care of their parents (Chamratrithirong et al., 1995). Further consideration of intra-generational migration patterns reveals a significant interaction with gender concerns. Extensive research among lowland Thais demonstrates that females are more likely to remit than males (Richter and Havanon, 1995), and that female middle children in particular are more likely to remit on average than any other sibling (Curran, 1995, 1996). Additionally, while the remittances from older siblings enable younger siblings to attain higher levels of education (see Curran et al., 2004; Rende-Taylor, 2005), parents may select certain children for schooling and certain children for migration based on gender and considerations of aptitude (Curran 1996; Williams, Archavanitkul and Havanon, 1997; Pattaravanich, Williams, Lyson, and Archavanitkul, 2005).

Analyses of rural-urban migration in the Thai context do not tend to consider culture as a possible predictor of migration outcomes in the context of livelihood strategies. Often, studies consider migration patterns and propensities among a single ethnic group, such as Lao-speaking Thais in the Northeast (*khon isan*) (Curran et al. 2004) or Northern Thais (*khon muang*) (Rende-Taylor, 2005). However, in a context as ethnically diverse as the highlands, it cannot be assumed that all groups are equally likely to employ migration as a livelihood strategy. Agricultural practices as well as different expectations of women, men, children and elderly in different religious and cultural groups would likely play an important role in affecting differential migration outcomes as they are known to do in local livelihoods (McCaskill and Kampe, 1997; McKinnon and Vienne, 1989).

Again, while no studies were found to directly address citizenship status and migration propensity, studies of the Chinese household registration system (*hukou*), which highly restricts the mobility of the rural population, clearly demonstrate the ways in which the structural context can significantly impact individual- and household-level migration outcomes. While these studies do not address the possible interaction between hukou status and gender to explore whether highly restricted mobility differentially affects males or females, or places females at risk of exploitation, these studies do address the interaction between *hukou* status and educational attainment, which, as mentioned above, is often a highly significant indicator for mobility (Wu and Treiman, 2004; Yang, 1993). As in the case of citizenship status and educational attainment in the context of the Thai highlands (Flaim, 2008),⁹⁴ educational attainment in China is significantly influenced by privileged *hukou* status. Specifically, those with urban status were found to be significantly more likely than those with rural status to achieve higher levels of education, which subsequently enables individuals to migrate legally (Wu and Treiman, 2004). Because legal status is shown to shape individual-level factors that are themselves significant in shaping migration outcomes, considerations of both

⁹⁴ Under the Ministry of Education, all publicly funded primary schools in the highlands are required to provide children primary schooling through grade six. The 1999 Education Plan (which is currently being reviewed and revised by the interim government) extended compulsory schooling from primary school to upper secondary school (grades 10-12) (Ministry of Education 1999, cited in Pattaravanich et al. 2005, p. 563); however, due to prohibitive costs of school fees and long distances to the relatively few secondary schools in the highlands, *all* highland children regardless of ethnicity are relatively disadvantaged in benefiting from this recent expansion of access to secondary school. Additionally, the 1999 Education Plan only expanded access to secondary school to registered children, and therefore unregistered highland children who were denied access to education or were not allowed to matriculate to secondary education due to a lack of birth registration could not directly benefit. In recent recognition of the exclusion of children of highland ethnic minorities, refugees and undocumented workers, the Ministry of Education issued a directive guaranteeing free and compulsory primary education to all children regardless of birth registration status in July of 2005 (Bangkok Post, 2005).

indirect and direct impacts of legal status on migration propensities will be examined in the following analyses.

Measures, Data and Methods of Analysis

Dependent Variables: Migration & Livelihoods Questions

The UNESCO HPS II asks a number of questions about migration and livelihoods. At the household level, information is acquired about whether the household received remittances (in money or in kind) and the frequency of remittances received in the past year. Additionally, a profile of the household's overall livelihood activities is generated for the creation of a household livelihoods index (currently being constructed). Finally, the history of the family in the village (duration of residence, etc.) was collected. As I discuss in Chapter 3, the household roster includes information on every person who has resided in the household for longer than one month in the past five years (this can include deceased persons). Therefore, household data will not reflect contributions from migrants who have lived outside of the home for longer than five years, but individual-level data can be used to triangulate information on migrant remittances in instances of recent out-migration.

In addition to collecting basic demographic information on all individuals in the household roster, information was gathered on citizenship status and date of acquisition, educational attainment, migration history, usual residence within the past year, remittance and communication behaviors among migrants (non-village residents only), and mobility patterns among village residents over the past year.

For this analysis of migration outcomes, only persons age 16-50 were considered. Table 12 below provides an overview of the population analyzed in this study of migration.

Table 12: Characteristics of Sample in Migration Analyses

GENERAL	Males		Females	
	n=14,913	50.0%	n=14,860	50.0%
Age Distribution				
16-20	2,911	19.5%	2,911	19.6%
21-25	2,697	18.1%	2,601	17.5%
26-30	2,437	16.3%	2,466	16.6%
31-35	1,941	13.0%	1,890	12.7%
36-40	1,744	11.7%	1,791	12.1%
41-45	1,716	11.5%	1,750	11.8%
46-50	1,467	9.8%	1,451	9.8%
Legal Status				
Thai Citizen	3,467	23.2%	3,686	24.8%
Not Thai Citizen	11,242	75.4%	10,976	73.9%
Average # Years Education	5.13 yrs	Std: 5.44	4.55 yrs	Std: 5.43
Marital Status				
Single	5,079	34.1%	3,807	25.6%
Married	7,765	52.1%	8,979	60.4%
Divorced	538	3.6%	584	3.9%
Widowed	129	0.9%	310	2.1%
Other	168	1.1%	143	1.0%
MIGRATION OUTCOMES				
History of Mobility				
Has Worked Out of District	3,252	22.3%	2,668	18.4%
Never	11,360	77.7%	11,859	81.6%
Migrant Status				
Residing Outside Village	1,939	13.0%	1,789	12.0%
Residing Out. Subdistrict	1,804	12.1%	1,675	11.3%
Residing Outside District	1,684	12.3%	1,553	10.5%
Residing Outside Province	1,216	8.2%	1,106	7.4%
Residing Outside Country	87	0.6%	60	0.4%
Remittance Behaviors*	n=1,684		n=1,553	
Never remit in past year	338	21.8%	274	19.0%
1 or 2 times in past year	687	44.4%	629	43.5%
Regularly remit	523	33.8%	541	37.4%
Communication Behaviors*				
Never communicate past yr	118	7.6%	86	5.9%
1 or 2 times in past year	569	36.6%	441	30.4%
Regularly communicate	869	55.8%	925	63.7%
Mobility Behaviors**	n=10,442		n=10,633	
Never left district past yr	9,390	89.9%	9,791	92.1%
1 or 2 times in past year	734	07.0%	573	05.4%
Regularly leave district	291	02.8%	243	02.3%

* Current migrants, defined as staying outside of district only

** Persons residing in village only

In order to analyze the associations between legal status on migration and remittance outcomes, I conduct nested odds-ratio models through sequential binary, conditional logistic regression. Controlling for sex, marital status, educational attainment, ethnicity age, number of dependents in the household, district location, and province location, I assess the relative odds of the following:

Set I: Current Migration Outcomes

- Odds of living outside of village boundaries versus living in the village.
- Odds of living outside of sub-district versus living in the sub-district.
- Odds of living outside of the district boundary versus living in the district.
- Odds of living outside of the province boundary versus living in the province.
- Odds of living outside of the state (country) versus living in the country.

Set II: Current Migration Outcomes: Cumulative

- Odds of living outside of village boundaries versus living in the village (*all*).
- Odds of living outside of sub-district versus living in the sub-district *if outside of the village*.
- Odds of living outside of the district boundary versus living in the district *if outside of the subdistrict*.
- Odds of living outside of the province boundary versus living in the province *if outside of the district*.
- Odds of living outside of the state (country) boundary versus living in the country *if outside of the province*.

Set III: History of Mobility Outcomes

- Odds of having ever worked outside of the district boundary for longer than one month versus never having worked outside of district boundary (*all*).

Set IV: Mobility Outcomes in Past Year

- Odds of having worked outside of the district boundary in the past year versus never having worked outside of district boundary (*current village residents only*).

Independent Variables

Each individual-level variable is dummy-coded such that intra-group comparisons between reference groups and the respective sub-group(s) can be conducted. For citizenship, those with no legal status are compared to the reference group of Thai citizens. For sex, females are compared to males. For marital status, the category Single (never married) serves as the reference group against which married, divorced, widowed and “others” are compared. For educational status, persons who have at least attended some higher education comprise the reference group, with whom those with no schooling, some primary, completed primary, lower secondary, higher secondary and vocational schooling are compared. Finally, for ethnicity, comparisons are calculated between ethnic Thais and highland minority groups. Additionally, whether an individual has at least one child (dependent) is included as a binary as well. This variable is included because earlier research has indicated that having a child may be an impetus to seek work away from the village in order to receive cash to support schooling (e.g., Rende-Taylor, 2005) or other family livelihood ventures, particularly for females (Eloundou-Enyegue, 2006).

In order to understand and interpret the findings from the logistic regression analysis in cumulative effects models, the following information is critical. Unless otherwise specified, each table presents the impact of a variable on the relative odds of moving outside each progressive border (i) *given residence within border (i-1)*. For example, when examining the likelihood of an individual to migrate out of the village, all persons in the sample are included. To examine the likelihood of an individual to move out of the sub-district, only persons residing outside of the village are included, and so forth. Therefore, in cumulative effects analyses, the population size n decreases in each subsequent analyses. (However, for non-cumulative analysis, the population size n does not change).

6.4 Impact of Legal Status on Migration as a Livelihood Strategy

Tables 13 and 14 below indicate that people without Thai citizenship are significantly less likely to migrate outside of *all* boundaries compared to people with Thai citizenship. Comparisons between Thai citizens and persons without citizenship (Table 13) reveal a highly significant disparity between citizens and non-citizens along the propensity to migrate across all boundaries. Specifically, non-citizens are 16.2% less likely to leave the village than Thai citizen. They are 19.1% less likely to live outside of the sub-district, 24.7% less likely to live outside of the district, 32.7% less likely to live outside of the province, and are 32.7% less likely than citizens to live outside of the country. All comparisons between citizens and non-citizens along migration outcomes at all borders are highly significant; and comparisons beyond the village level are significant at $p < 0.000$.

Table 14, which reveals findings from contingent binary logistic regression in relation to the relative propensity to move outside of political boundaries also reveals highly significant differences between citizens and non-citizens. Among highlanders living outside of the village, non-citizens are 34.1% less likely than citizens to move outside of the sub-district boundary ($p < 0.05$). Among highlanders living outside of the sub-district boundary, non-citizens are 54.1% less likely to move outside of the district boundary ($p < 0.000$). Among highlanders residing outside of the district, non-citizens are 35.5% less likely than citizens to move outside of the province ($p < 0.001$); and, among persons residing outside of the province, highlanders are 76.7% less likely than citizens to move outside of the country ($p < 0.01$).

Table 13: Relative Odds of Moving Outside of Boundaries

Question on place of usual residence in past year

<i>VARIABLE</i>	Model 1: Relative Odds of Staying Outside Village n=29066		Model 2: Relative Odds of Staying Outside Subdistrict n=29066		Model 3: Relative Odds of Staying Outside District n=29066		Model 4: Relative Odds of Staying Outside Province n=29066		Model 5: Relative Odds of Staying Outside Country n=29066	
	S.E.	Exp (B)	S.E.	Exp (B)	S.E.	Exp (B)	S.E.	Exp (B)	S.E.	Exp (B)
<i>Legal Status</i>										
Citizen (Ref)										
Not Citizen	0.056	0.838*	0.058	0.809 ***	0.060	0.763 ***	0.074	0.683 ***	0.074	0.683 ***
<i>Sex</i>										
Male (Ref)										
Female	0.038	1.024	0.039	1.034	0.040	1.026	0.046	1.020	0.046	1.020
<i>Marital Status</i>										
Single (Ref)										
Married	0.067	1.023	0.069	1.017	0.070	1.023	0.079	0.970	0.079	0.970
Divorced	0.074	0.653***	0.076	0.644 ***	0.078	0.662 ***	0.088	0.626 ***	0.088	0.626 ***
Widowed	0.124	0.915	0.127	0.909	0.131	0.905	0.148	0.924	0.148	0.924
<i>Educational Status</i>										
Higher Ed (Ref)										
Vocational	0.116	0.761 ++	0.118	0.779 ++	0.122	0.707 *	0.139	0.739 ++	0.139	0.739 ++
Upper Secondary	0.097	0.557 ***	0.099	0.578 ***	0.101	0.585 ***	0.112	0.768 ++	0.112	0.768 ++
Lower Secondary	0.088	0.476 ***	0.090	0.500 ***	0.092	0.505 ***	0.103	0.660 ***	0.103	0.660 ***
Primary	0.090	0.380 ***	0.092	0.396 ***	0.094	0.410 ***	0.105	0.493 ***	0.105	0.493 ***
Some Primary	0.112	0.216 ***	0.114	0.226 ***	0.117	0.230 ***	0.132	0.305 ***	0.132	0.305 ***
No Education	0.096	0.117 ***	0.098	0.120 ***	0.101	0.121 ***	0.116	0.137 ***	0.116	0.137 ***

***p<0.000, **p<0.001, *p<0.01, ++p<0.05, +p<0.1

Table 13 Continued

VARIABLE	Model 1: Relative Odds of Staying Outside Village n=29066		Model 2: Relative Odds of Staying Outside Subdistrict n=29066		Model 3: Relative Odds of Staying Outside District n=29066		Model 4: Relative Odds of Staying Outside Province n=29066		Model 5: Relative Odds of Staying Outside Country n=29066	
	S.E.	Exp (B)	S.E.	Exp (B)	S.E.	Exp (B)	S.E.	Exp (B)	S.E.	Exp (B)
Ethnicity										
Thai (Ref)										
Lahu	0.084	1.079	0.086	1.063	0.088	1.120	0.099	1.007	0.099	1.007
Karen	0.105	1.331 *	0.107	1.312++	0.111	1.303 ++	0.120	1.258 +	0.120	1.258
Akha	0.083	2.057 ***	0.085	1.976 ***	0.086	2.125 ***	0.097	1.763 ***	0.097	1.763 ***
Hmong	0.103	1.010	0.106	0.940	0.109	0.951	0.121	.966	0.121	0.966
Lisu	0.115	1.939 ***	0.119	1.795 ***	0.122	1.857 ***	0.143	1.570 *	0.143	1.570 *
Mien	0.209	0.839	0.210	0.892	0.210	0.999	0.222	1.139 *	0.222	1.139
Khamu	0.120	2.162 ***	0.120	2.279 ***	0.123	2.253 ***	0.129	2.796 ***	0.129	2.796 ***
Lua	0.179	2.136 ***	0.180	2.150 ***	0.182	2.316 ***	0.195	3.033 ***	0.195	3.033 ***
Highlanders/Others	0.113	1.601 ***	0.115	1.579 ***	0.117	1.638 ***	0.146	1.105	0.146	1.105
Shan/Thai Yai	0.106	1.477 ***	0.109	1.432 *	0.113	1.519 ***	0.130	1.150	0.130	1.150
Chinese	0.112	1.470 *	0.115	1.355 *	0.116	1.489 *	0.128	1.667 ***	0.128	1.667 ***
Burmese	0.520	0.319 +	0.722	0.174 ++	0.722	0.213 ++	0.725	0.317	0.725	0.317
Age	0.003	0.983 ***	0.003	0.985 ***	0.003	0.988 ***	0.004	0.995	0.004	0.995
Dependents	0.012	0.969 ++	0.012	0.974 ++	0.012	0.965 *	0.014	0.978	0.014	0.978
Province	0.003	1.017 ***	0.004	1.019 *	0.004	1.015 ***	0.003	1.008 *	0.003	1.008 *
County/ District	0.007	0.950 ***	0.007	0.942 *	0.007	0.945 ***	0.001	1.000	0.001	1.000
<i>Nagelkerke R2</i>	0.164		0.161		0.150		0.138		0.138	
<i>-2 LL</i>	19377.097		18531.332		17801.490		14245.003		14245.003	

***p<0.000, **p<0.001, *p<0.01, ++p<0.05, +p<0.1

Table 14: Cumulative Odds of Moving Outside Boundaries

Question on place of usual residence in past year

<i>VARIABLE</i>	Model 1: Relative Odds of Staying Outside Village n=29,066		Model 2: Relative Odds of Staying Outside Subdistrict n=3,739		Model 3: Relative Odds of Staying Outside District n=3,487		Model 4: Relative Odds of Staying Outside Province n=3,244		Model 5: Relative Odds of Staying Outside Country n=2,327	
	S.E.	Exp (B)	S.E.	Exp (B)	S.E.	Exp (B)	S.E.	Exp (B)	S.E.	Exp (B)
<i>Legal Status</i>										
Citizen (Ref)										
Not Citizen	0.056	0.838*	0.193	0.659 ++	0.216	0.459 ***	0.135	0.645 **	0.486	0.233 *
<i>Sex</i>										
Male (Ref)										
Female	0.038	1.024	0.136	1.096	0.141	0.888	.089	1.038	0.194	0.701
<i>Marital Status</i>										
Single (Ref)										
Married	0.067	1.023	0.243	0.869	0.242	1.117	0.159	1.076	0.281	0.465
Divorced	0.074	0.653***	0.265	0.809	0.280	1.229	0.174	0.921	0.305	0.902
Widowed	0.124	0.915	0.467	0.882	0.478	0.943	0.302	1.256	1.060	0.178
<i>Educational Status</i>										
Higher Ed (Ref)										
Vocational	0.116	0.761 ++	0.371	1.158	0.331	0.522 +	0.235	1.189	0.735	4.325 ++
Upper Secondary	0.097	0.557 ***	0.317	1.192	0.323	1.018	0.213	2.571	0.645	4.361 ++
Lower Secondary	0.088	0.476 ***	0.286	1.322	0.290	0.931	0.186	2.324	0.633	2.564
Primary	0.090	0.380 ***	0.290	1.040	0.305	1.120	0.190	1.925	0.666	1.246
Some Primary	0.112	0.216 ***	0.397	1.152	0.417	0.884	0.256	2.608	0.695	3.153 ++
No Education	0.096	0.117 ***	0.309	0.863	0.345	0.839	0.206	1.461	0.676	1.372

***p<0.000, **p<0.001, *p<0.01, ++p<0.05, +p<0.1

Table 14 Continued

VARIABLE	Model 1: Relative Odds of Staying Outside Village n=29,066		Model 2: Relative Odds of Staying Outside Subdistrict n=3,739		Model 3: Relative Odds of Staying Outside District n=3,487		Model 4: Relative Odds of Staying Outside Province n=3,244		Model 5: Relative Odds of Staying Outside Country n=2,327	
	S.E.	Exp (B)	S.E.	Exp (B)	S.E.	Exp (B)	S.E.	Exp (B)	S.E.	Exp (B)
<i>Ethnicity</i>										
Thai (Ref)										
Lahu	0.084	1.079	0.343	0.971	0.322	2.018 ++	0.199	0.506 **	0.423	2.012
Karen	0.105	1.331 *	0.392	1.016	0.357	1.467	0.282	0.704	1.288	9.741 +
Akha	0.083	2.057 ***	0.326	0.689	0.356	3.740 ***	0.192	0.502 **	0.392	2.798
Hmong	0.103	1.010	0.370	0.444 ++	0.367	1.339	0.258	0.836	0.513	1.099
Lisu	0.115	1.939 ***	0.399	0.461 +	0.441	1.883	0.273	0.606 +	0.594	1.381
Mien	0.209	0.839	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Khamu	0.120	2.162 ***	--	--	0.423	0.905	0.425	3.074 *	1.065	0.148 +
Lua	0.179	2.136 ***	1.057	1.975	1.052	5.040	0.400	2.191 ++	1.089	1.024
Highlanders/Others	0.113	1.601 ***	0.452	1.045	0.443	2.105 +	0.250	0.352 **	0.807	0.891
Shan/Thai Yai	0.106	1.477 ***	0.398	0.868	0.383	2.429 ++	0.264	0.653	0.947	6.814 ++
Chinese	0.112	1.470 *	0.400	0.396 ++	0.589	5.535 *	0.248	1.471	0.442	14.814 ***
Burmese	0.520	0.319 +	1.101	0.130 +	--	--	--	--	--	--
Age	0.003	0.983 ***	0.012	1.006	0.015	1.074 ***	0.008	1.032 **	0.017	1.036 ++
Dependents	0.012	0.969 ++	0.041	1.047	0.042	0.898 ++	0.027	0.995	0.053	1.199 **
Province	0.003	1.017 ***	0.012	1.016	0.014	0.957 *	0.009	.962 **	0.041	0.853 ***
County/ District	0.007	0.950 ***	0.026	0.891 ***	0.030	1.040	0.016	1.267 **	0.036	1.066
<i>Nagelkerke R2</i>		0.164		0.061		0.120		0.248		0.289
<i>-2 LL</i>		19377.097		1716.481		1570.104		3175.874		825.344

***p<0.000, **p<0.001, *p<0.01, ++p<0.05, +p<0.1

Findings from analyses in Tables 13 and 14 reveal no significant difference between males and females in the relative likelihood of moving across internal political boundaries. Significant differences are detected, however, between divorced highlanders and those who are reported to be single (never married). Divorced highlanders were significantly less likely than singles to move across all boundaries ($p < 0.000$) in the non-cumulative model. In the cumulative model, however, the significant difference is detected at the village level only.

Similar patterns in differences are revealed in comparisons between highly educated highlanders (reference category) and those with less education, as well as between ethnic highlanders and ethnic Thais (reference category). The significant differences between reference groups and subsequent categories detected at all boundary designations in Model 1 (Table 13) are revealed only at the village/sub-district level in Model 2 (Table 13). These patterns, like the case of marital status, suggest that the most significant border crossing for ethnic considerations exists at the village level. Removing village residents from subsequent analyses at the sub-district, district, province, and country levels removes the relative disadvantage seen in the non-cumulative model (Table 13). Legal status comprises the only category in which comparison groups (non-citizens) are consistently and significantly *more* likely than ethnic Thais to have worked across the district boundary for longer than a month. Reasons for these findings are explored in the conclusion.

Table 15 below analyzes the relative odds of *ever* having worked outside of the district boundary, an analysis in which all individuals in the sample were included. Every variable included in this analysis with the exception of district location was found to be highly significant in predicting the likelihood of working outside of the district. Similar to findings in Tables 13 and 14, a significant difference was detected between highlanders with and without citizenship. Specifically, non-citizens were found to be

21.7% less likely than Thai citizens to have ever worked outside the district for longer than one month ($p < 0.000$). While females were not found to be significantly less likely than males to live outside of any boundaries in Tables 13 and 14, females were found to be 15.1% less likely than males to have *ever* worked outside of the district for longer than a month in Table 16 ($p < 0.000$). The effect of educational attainment is revealed at all levels of comparison, as people with no education, some primary, primary, lower secondary, upper secondary, and vocational schooling were all found to be significantly less likely than people with some higher education to have worked outside of the district for longer than a month. Finally, findings indicate significant differences between migration outcomes between ethnic minorities and ethnic Thais in Tables 13, 14, and 15, yet findings often suggest that ethnic minorities are *more* likely than ethnic Thais to move, net of citizenship. In Table 15, all minority groups with the exception of the Burmese are significantly *more* likely than ethnic Thais to have worked across the district boundary for longer than a month. Reasons for these findings are explored in the conclusion.

Table 16 below provides analysis of the likelihood of working outside of the district in the past year among current village residents *only*. Persons reported to be living outside of the village are not included in this analysis. As people included in the analysis are reported to be usual village residents, the analysis does not so much assess migration outcomes as mobility and the ability to move across the district line, specifically for work. Unlike Table 15, which reveals significant differences between all categories of people along the likelihood of *ever* moving across the district line for longer than a month, comparisons in Table 16 are only partially significant. Non-citizen village residents are found to be 37.5% significantly less likely than village residents with Thai citizenship to have worked outside the district in the past year ($p < 0.000$). Females were found to be 21.6% less likely than males to have worked outside the district ($p < 0.000$);

and married residents were found to be 26.4% less likely than single residents to have worked outside the district. Only residents with no education and those who had completed primary school were found to be significantly less likely than residents with higher education to work outside the district (no education: $p < 0.000$; primary school: $p < 0.05$).

Table 15: Odds of Having Ever Worked Outside of District Boundary

<i>VARIABLE</i>	Relative Odds of Having <i>Ever</i> Worked Outside of District n=29,066	
	S.E.	Exp (B)
<i>Legal Status</i>		
Citizen (Ref)		
Not Citizen	0.046	0.783 ***
<i>Sex</i>		
Male (Ref)		
Female	0.032	0.849 ***
<i>Marital Status</i>		
Single (Ref)		
Married	0.061	0.912
Divorced	0.063	0.945
Widowed	0.100	1.208 +
<i>Educational Status</i>		
Higher Ed (Ref)		
Vocational	0.117	0.637 ***
Upper Secondary	0.094	0.730 *
Lower Secondary	0.086	0.703 ***
Primary	0.086	0.593 ***
Some Primary	0.096	0.421 ***
No Education	0.090	0.143 ***
<i>Ethnicity</i>		
Thai (Ref)		
Lahu	0.066	1.227 *
Karen	0.084	1.101 ++
Akha	0.067	2.126 ***
Hmong	0.088	0.702 ***
Lisu	0.096	2.046 ***
Mien	0.143	1.832 ***
Khamu	0.097	3.536 ***
Lua	0.161	1.629 *
Highlanders/Others	0.088	2.131 ***
Shan/Thai Yai	0.086	1.475 ***
Chinese	0.089	1.570 ***
Burmese	0.374	0.453 ++
Age	0.002	0.995 ++
Dependents	0.010	0.899 ***
Province	0.002	0.997 +
County/ District	0.000	1.000
<i>Nagelkerke R2</i>		0.165
<i>-2 LL</i>		25643.497

***p<0.000, **p<0.001, *p<0.01, ++p<0.05, +p<0.1

Table 16: Relative Odds of Working Outside of District in Past Year

<i>VARIABLE</i>	Relative Odds of Having Ever Worked Outside of District n=21,125 (Current village residents only)	
	S.E.	Exp (B)
<i>Legal Status</i>		
Citizen (Ref)		
Not Citizen	0.076	0.625 ***
<i>Sex</i>		
Male (Ref)		
Female	0.051	0.784 ***
<i>Marital Status</i>		
Single (Ref)		
Married	0.115	0.736 *
Divorced	0.115	0.930
Widowed	0.167	0.864
<i>Educational Status</i>		
Higher Ed (Ref)		
Vocational	0.227	0.693
Upper Secondary	0.175	0.825
Lower Secondary	0.161	0.824
Primary	0.161	0.666 ++
Some Primary	0.170	0.761
No Education	0.161	0.455 ***
<i>Ethnicity</i>		
Thai (Ref)		
Lahu	0.107	0.793 ++
Karen	0.130	0.757 ++
Akha	0.114	1.075
Hmong	0.130	1.069
Lisu	0.167	1.110
Mien	0.264	0.915
Khamu	0.143	2.534 ***
Lua	0.463	0.295 *
Highlanders/Others	0.153	1.200
Shan/Thai Yai	0.129	1.216
Chinese	0.178	0.575 *
Burmese	0.474	0.628
Age	0.003	0.994 +
Dependents	0.016	0.945 ***
Province	0.003	1.006 ++
County/ District	0.000	1.000
<i>Nagelkerke R2</i>		0.046
<i>-2 LL</i>		11776.459

***p<0.000, **p<0.001, *p<0.01, ++p<0.05, +p<0.1

Finally, Lahu, Karen, Lua and Chinese residents were found to be significantly less likely than ethnic Thai residents to have worked outside the district, while Khamu village residents were more than twice as likely than Thai residents to have worked outside the district ($p < 0.000$). The reason why members of some groups are more or less likely to leave their district for work than ethnic Thais cannot be easily discerned from the UNESCO data, but research by Ahlquist (2015) indicates that there are land-use arrangements that operate between and across ethnic groups that would impel members of some to stay home throughout the year in order to farm their fields and those of others, whereas members of other groups might arrange for field labor to be done in their absence while they earn money in cities, particularly during the dry season. These labor arrangements cannot be determined, unfortunately by examining these data, but further research is certainly required to understand these distinct differences across groups.

Finally, Table 17 reveals findings on the relative likelihood of remitting home among individuals residing *outside of the village only*. Findings from Table 18 indicate few highly significant differences in remitting behaviors between reference and comparison groups. Migrants who lack citizenship were found to be neither more nor less likely than Thai citizen migrants to remit home—a finding which suggests that when non-citizen migrants do leave the district, they are as likely as citizens to use migration as an opportunity to remit home to the same extent as citizens do. Yet, as other tables revealed in full, non-citizens are significantly less likely to migrate—and thus significantly less likely to be able to use migration as a livelihood strategy—than their citizen counterparts.

Table 17: Relative Odds of Remitting if Outside of Village

<i>VARIABLE</i>	Model 1: Odds of Remitting if Outside Village n=3,351		Model 2: Odds of Remitting if Outside Subdistrict n=3,164		Model 3: Odds of Remitting if Outside District n=2,997		Model 4: Odds of Remitting if Outside Province n=2,175	
	S.E.	Exp (B)	S.E.	Exp (B)	S.E.	Exp (B)	S.E.	Exp (B)
<i>Legal Status</i>								
Citizen (Ref)								
Not Citizen	0.142	1.060	0.147	1.001	0.156	1.018	0.206	1.064
<i>Sex</i>								
Male (Ref)								
Female	0.088	1.205 ++	0.092	1.209	0.096	1.203 +	0.120	1.298 ++
<i>Marital Status</i>								
Single (Ref)								
Married	0.162	0.817	0.165	0.914	0.175	0.874	0.224	0.752
Divorced	0.177	0.724 +	0.181	0.842	0.192	0.827	0.245	0.714
Widowed	0.323	1.023	0.332	1.151	0.353	1.219	0.435	0.963
<i>Educational Status</i>								
Higher Ed (Ref)								
Vocational	0.223	0.741	0.230	0.705	0.246	0.773	0.307	0.803
Upper Secondary	0.198	1.351	0.205	1.318	0.215	1.432 +	0.263	1.376
Lower Secondary	0.180	1.516 ++	0.187	1.594 ++	0.195	1.646 ++	0.244	1.635 ++
Primary	0.185	1.508 ++	0.192	1.508 ++	0.199	1.492 ++	0.248	1.290
Some Primary	0.268	1.983 ++	0.281	2.096 *	0.292	2.149 *	0.364	1.943 +
No Education	0.203	1.019	0.213	1.037	0.222	1.095	0.277	0.785

***p<0.000, **p<0.001, *p<0.01, ++p<0.05, +p<0.1

Table Continued

VARIABLE	Model 1: Odds of Remitting if Outside Village n=3,351		Model 2: Odds of Remitting if Outside Subdistrict n=3,164		Model 3: Odds of Remitting if Outside District n=2,997		Model 4: Odds of Remitting if Outside Province n=2,175	
	S.E.	Exp (B)	S.E.	Exp (B)	S.E.	Exp (B)	S.E.	Exp (B)
<i>Ethnicity</i>								
Thai (Ref)								
Lahu	0.204	1.165	0.213	1.165	0.225	1.210	0.297	1.605
Karen	0.244	1.005	0.252	0.989	0.267	1.074	0.344	0.707
Akha	0.199	1.107	0.207	1.083	0.217	1.112	0.273	1.187
Hmong	0.241	.661 +	0.253	0.655 +	0.265	.613 +	0.310	0.400 *
Lisu	0.311	1.748 +	0.322	1.632	0.328	1.477	0.415	1.273
Mien	1.039	6.838 +	1.040	6.240 +	1.042	6.098 +	1.052	3.923
Khamu	0.372	2.641 ***	0.375	2.372 ++	0.394	2.409 ++	0.432	2.275 +
Lua	0.391	0.659	0.395	0.641	0.401	0.588	0.459	0.426 +
Highlanders/Others	0.266	0.844	0.271	0.759	0.279	0.715	0.415	0.971
Shan/Thai Yai	0.253	1.321	0.262	1.329	0.276	1.236	0.365	0.704
Chinese	0.263	0.975	0.272	0.923	0.280	0.854	0.369	0.796
Burmese	---	---	---	---	---	---		
Age	0.009	1.058	0.213	1.056 ***	0.009	1.052 ***	0.012	1.046 ***
Dependents	0.026	0.905	0.009	0.913 **	0.029	0.924 **	0.035	0.972
Province	0.008	0.969	0.027	0.964 ***	0.009	0.969 ***	0.012	0.990
County/ District	0.009	1.058	0.009	1.035 ***	0.019	1.023	0.028	0.985
<i>Nagelkerke R2</i>	<i>0.104</i>		<i>0.104</i>		<i>0.089</i>		<i>0.105</i>	
<i>-2 LL</i>	<i>3276.824</i>		<i>3044.476</i>		<i>2808.242</i>		<i>1872.523</i>	

***p<0.000, **p<0.001, *p<0.01, ++p<0.05, +p<0.1

In general, findings on remittance behaviors align with findings in previous research. While comparisons in remittance behaviors were not found to be significant across legal status lines, female migrants were found to be significantly *more* likely than their male counterparts to remit home across all boundaries with the exception of the sub-district line, which aligns with other research in Thailand on the reliance of households on women for financial security (Curran, 1995; Rende-Taylor, 2005; Williams et al., 1997). Divorced migrants residing outside of the village were found to be significantly less likely than single migrants to remit home, as were individuals with dependents. This finding contradicts hypotheses, and calls for further analysis. Specifically, it will be useful to determine more clearly in future research whether dependents also reside in the household, or whether they list outside of the district with migrant parents. All significant differences detected between migrants with higher education and those with less education indicate that migrants with less education are *more* likely to remit home across village, sub-district, district, and province boundaries than their highly educated counterparts.

Comparisons across ethnic groups on remittance behaviors reveal few significant differences between minorities and Thais. However, Hmong and Mien were found to be significantly less likely than ethnic Thai migrants to remit across most boundaries ($p < 0.1$), while Khamu migrants were found to be more than twice as likely as Thai migrants to remit across all boundaries (village line: $p < 0.000$; sub-district and district lines: $p < 0.05$); province line: $p < 0.1$). Coupling the finding in Table 16 whereby ethnic Khamu were found to be more likely to migrate temporarily across the district boundary for work, the finding suggests that Khamu are increasingly relying on migration as a household livelihood strategy as well.

6.5 Discussion

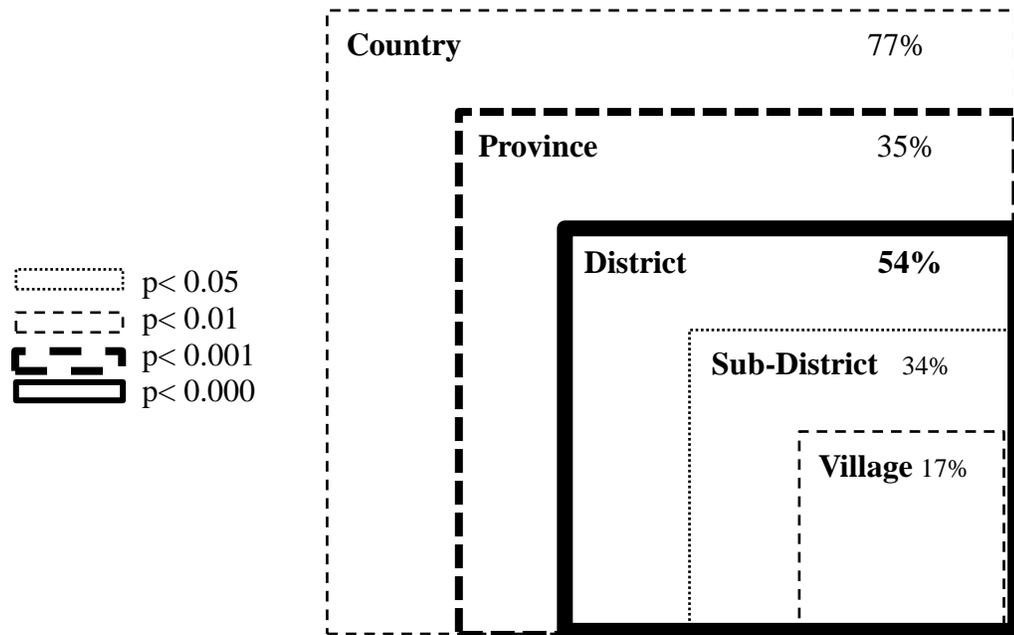
In the growing literature on statelessness, the problem is almost universally associated with acute deprivations: Stateless children cannot access the educational services to which they are legally guaranteed (Flaim 2008, Georgetown 2014; Korinek and Punpuing 2012; Greenman and Hall, 2013). Statelessness compromises physical health outcomes, as non-citizens experience restricted access to health care services and health care coverage (Harris, 2013; Koning, 2014). They often cannot own land or secure legal, safe employment. Statelessness can render individuals more vulnerable to exploitation and human trafficking (Feingold 2002). And, statelessness can prevent individuals from acquiring the very registration documents they need in order to prove who they actually are (Chapter 5). In research and in advocacy, focusing on “the plight of the stateless” brings much-needed attention to the issue, yet this approach risks obscuring the ways in which increasingly well-documented “plights” are actually produced *in context* (Hesford and Shuman, 2011).

As I showed in Chapter 5, and as many scholars before me have also argued (e.g., Arendt, 1994; Hayden, 2008; Jones, 2009; Somers, 2008) statelessness is a status that is produced, conferred, and enforced through practices of sovereignty. Therefore, the acute deprivations that are associated with statelessness in different contexts around the world (e.g., Constantine, 2011) cannot, therefore ‘merely exist’ as an *a priori* condition, just as citizenship is not universally experienced as success, merit, and inclusion. Indeed, as the brief history of the highlands in Thailand revealed in Chapter 2, highlanders had been effectively stateless for centuries and did not begin to experience acute deprivations as a result thereof until the latter part of the twentieth century. In this chapter, I have therefore attempted to demonstrate how the burdened conditions of life among non-citizens in the highlands of Thailand have been

produced, and how particular deprivations persist despite the state's implementation of ostensibly progressive policies aimed to alleviate them.

Building on research contributions of other scholars in the region, and drawing from my own both ethnographic and statistical analyses, findings presented in this chapter have demonstrated that inequities in access to schooling and health care persist despite the state's recent political attempts to remove barriers to access for non-citizens. Second, the chapter reveals two ways in which deprivations in 'access' continue to be produced and undermine policies of universal education and universal health care. Specifically, ethnographic results reveal that, in addition to expanding educational and health programs throughout the country, the Thai government also operates an expansive network of police checkpoints throughout the highlands—a network that disrupts highlanders' abilities to physically 'access' otherwise guaranteed services and rights (see also Chutima, 2009; Mukdawan, 2009). Third, I show that these state practices of surveilling and restricting the movement in highlands has contributed to significant differences in migration patterns of highlanders along the lines of legal status. As Figure 15 below reveals, non-citizen highlanders were found to be significantly less likely than their citizen counterparts to migrate across every single internal political boundary for work, and that citizenship status comprises the *only* variable in regression models that is shown to affect movement at each and every scale. Specifically, non-citizens were found to be 17 percent less likely to move out of their village, 34 percent less likely to leave their subdistrict, 54 percent less likely to leave their district, 35 percent less likely to leave their province, and 77 percent less likely to leave the country compared to citizens of similar ethnicity, sex, age, education, and other relevant factors as well.

Figure 15: Influence of Citizenship on Odds of Crossing Borders



Finally, I present statistical findings that reveal the restrictions on migration simultaneously limit the abilities of non-citizens to contribute to their household's livelihoods. To be clear, non-citizen migrants were not less likely to remit homes than citizen migrants. Indeed, the statistics suggest that non-citizens who do leave their villages will remit to the same extent that citizen migrants will. And, as research on the topic has shown elsewhere, these remittances can fund health bills for parents and schooling costs for children (Eloundou-Enyegue, 2006.). Taken in context of all migration analyses, however, non-citizens simply *cannot* contribute to their households to the same extent as citizens because they simply cannot and do not leave their villages or seek legal employment without official authorization to do so. To this extent, state restrictions on livelihoods *in all highland villages* (see Chapter 2; Ahlquist, 2015) and simultaneous restrictions on physical movement of non-citizens *outside of the village* restrictions on secure livelihoods overall. As a result, all of these restrictions combine to undermine the extent to which non-citizens will access their guaranteed rights to public health and education.

In sum, findings from this chapter destabilize prevailing assumptions that statelessness comprises an *a priori* condition of deprivation that, in and of itself, limits access to other rights and privileges of belonging in a modern nation-state. Rather, my analyses reveal that deprivations associated with statelessness in this context are actively produced through operations of sovereignty which actively limit various aspects of “access” of non-citizens. Ultimately these restrictions on access (to move freely, to secure employment, etc.,) limit the abilities of non-citizens to ‘access’ health care centers and schools, where individual and household resources are maintained and transformed (McClanahan, 2004) The implications of these findings, I argue, are to reveal a fundamental instability in suppositions that human rights frameworks will mitigate the impact of statelessness on people and their children. My analysis suggests, by contrast, that non-citizen adults and their children cannot equitably access a single guaranteed service of, or right to, education, health care, or even birth registration when freedom of movement—freedom of *access as movement*—is restricted.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS, CONTRIBUTIONS, AND DIRECTIONS FORWARD

7.1 Summary Conclusions and Theoretical Contributions

Only five months ago, at the end of 2014, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees embarked on an ambitious agenda to eradicate statelessness worldwide within a decade. While advocacy networks have been generating interest in, and awareness of, statelessness over the last few decades (Kingston, 2013) the United Nations and global non-governmental organizations like PLAN International are now mobilizing considerable resources to address an issue that is increasingly seen as a root cause of poverty, health and educational inequalities, and political marginalization. Following Arendt (1958; 1994) these organizations recognize that failures to secure citizenship for individuals and communities undermine broader human rights and development agendas, as citizenship constitutes the foundational “right to have rights” in the current geopolitical system of territorialized nation-states.

In this dissertation, I have drawn on both extensive survey research and intensive, multi-sited ethnography to examine the particular case of protracted statelessness in the highlands of northern Thailand. In particular, I pursue three overlapping questions: To what extent have legal and procedural reforms contributed to the resolution of statelessness for highlanders in Thailand? Why does statelessness persist despite these reforms? And, how has statelessness come to matter so much for highlanders’ lives when, for so much of history it seems, it simply did not matter at all? Given the recent shift in focus toward understanding and addressing statelessness worldwide, this study constitutes a critical and timely assessment of citizenship reform in northern Thailand. Given that legal and procedural resolutions to

statelessness were enacted fifteen years ago in Thailand, the case of protracted statelessness in northern Thailand provides fertile ground in which to test the prevailing theories of citizenship and statelessness that are embedded in many statelessness prevention agendas, including the UN's global statelessness eradication campaign.

Analyses of the UNESCO Highland Peoples Survey II (2010)—a survey of more than 70,000 highlanders residing in communities along the country's international border with Lao PDR and Burma/Myanmar—reveal key information about both progress toward, and persistent barriers to, statelessness resolution in the highlands. As revealed in Figure 1 of Chapter 1, more than 90 percent of highlanders lacked recognition of citizenship in the country of their birth and residence as recently as 1985. But, by the end of the millennium, this number had declined to 61 percent. Moreover, due to persistent and creative political engagement by highlander leadership (see Chutima, 2009) and to a liberal shift in policy and law in the 1990s, the government of Thailand since broadened nationality laws and removed some procedural barriers to citizenship applications and conferrals—a process that produced an even more rapid decline in statelessness: Between 2000 and 2005, the number of stateless highlanders dropped again to 38 percent, and by 2010, the number of non-citizen “hill tribes” who lacked citizenship in their country of birth and residence dropped to 20 percent.⁹⁵

In short, findings presented in Chapter 1 and 4 of this dissertation reveal that the situation of protracted statelessness appears to be both dramatically improved, yet far from resolved. Ten years after highlanders mobilized in the streets of Chiang Mai city to call for the government to resolve their claims (Chutima, 2009), a full quarter

⁹⁵ As described in Chapter 1, the data presented in Figure 1 pertain only to individuals who are members of groups that are officially designated as “hill tribes.” When all groups are included in the analysis, the percent of non-citizens grows to 26 percent.

of non-citizens in the UNESCO survey lack the recognition of citizenship (the ID card), yet possess a straightforward, legal claim to citizenship by birth in the country (*jus soli*) and/or by virtue of descent (*jus sanguinis*).⁹⁶ By most accounts, the situation of highlanders in northern Thailand thus comprises one of *de facto* statelessness, whereby individuals are citizens by law, but cannot acquire recognition of their legal status by state authorities.

In addition to revealing the slippage between the boundary of belonging as it is detailed in the law and the boundary as it is adjudicated in actuality, findings from survey research also point to the location of barriers along the adjudication process. As is consistent with Thailand's Nationality Law, the majority of variation in citizenship outcomes among highlanders can be explained by factors of eligibility—specifically, the citizenship of one's parents, place of one's birth, and one's previous registration history. At the same time, however, statistical findings presented in Chapter 4 indicate that variations in citizenship outcomes were also attributable to ethnic identity and to place of residence, even when controlling for factors that pertain directly to the eligibility statuses of individuals. In other words, if citizenship were adjudicated according to the law, one's village or district of residence *should not matter*. Similarly, if citizenship were adjudicated according to the law, one's ethnicity *should not matter*. Yet, my statistical analysis of the most extensive data on citizenship and non-citizenship to date reveal that, indeed, these factors significantly influence legal status outcomes for highlanders.

Following the theoretical guide of Dunn and Cons (2014) who argue for disentangling the practices of sovereignty from the claims upon which they are based as a means to identify and transform fundamental instabilities in power, I draw on my

⁹⁶ For a description of the methods deployed to measure claims to citizenship, see Chapter 4.

extensive, multi-sited ethnographic research as well as survey data to trace the ways in which highlanders seek, acquire, or fail to acquire, recognition of Thai citizenship. This research, which I present in Chapter 5, reveals three distinct and ultimately fraught paths to citizenship: 1) the institutional path, which takes applicants from the village to the district level of government as per requirements in state evidentiary procedure; 2) the geographical path, which can take applicants all over the country to different agencies of the state in search of documents to prove their claims to belong; and, 3) the intergenerational path, which began decades ago with initial “hill tribe” registrations—the legacies of which continue to affect citizenship outcomes among younger generations of highlanders today. In illuminating these three overlapping pathways to citizenship, I argue that contingencies along each path have contributed to the production of flawed and inconsistent evidence that is nevertheless elevated in citizenship adjudication proceedings as the standard of truth against which highlanders must prove their claims to citizenship. In sum, the chapter reveals that statelessness continues to be produced, not despite, but rather *because of* the implementation of ostensibly progressive nationality law and evidentiary procedures that have been operationalized, paradoxically, to resolve statelessness in the hills. Contrary to many understandings of statelessness, these findings suggest that the problem of statelessness does not constitute an anomalous, technical problem in an otherwise rational bureaucracy. This study suggests that statelessness—like citizen, migrant, resident alien, and other legal statuses that are regularly construed and conferred—comprise artifacts of the current system in which belonging and rights are adjudicated by diverse groups of individuals on the basis of ultimately subjective interpretations of flawed and inconsistent ‘evidence’ on behalf of states in everyday practice (Lawrence and Stevens, forthcoming).

These findings on the production and persistence of statelessness in the highlands also contribute to a rich body of political theory on citizenship in general (for general reviews, see Isin and Turner, 2007; Joppke, 2007; Turner, 1997) and a growing body of theory on citizenship in Thailand, specifically (Mukdawan, 2009; Pinkaew 2014). Along with other works that destabilize and denaturalize concepts of citizenship, findings in Chapters 4 and 5 in this dissertation reveal citizenship to be one of several possible outcomes of status at the end of long, convoluted, and place-based journeys to recognition by relatively low-level authorities on behalf of sovereign *Thai* power. In actuality, highlanders themselves are acutely aware of the unnatural, instability of citizenship, as they regularly seek to exploit these instabilities in claiming citizenship. In a review of all of my fieldnotes over the course of two years of ethnography, I can find only *one* quote in which an interviewee spoke of *being a Thai citizen*. All other highlanders speak of citizenship as something to be received (*dtaay sanchaat*) [from the state], to be transferred (*oan sanchaat*) [by the state], and to be proven (*pisut sanchaat*) [to the state]. Even more tellingly, highlanders would regularly use the terms citizenship (*sanchaat*) and ID card (*baht*) interchangeably. For highlanders, the right to belong is not intrinsic to their being as members of a polity. For them, it is worn in their jeans pockets or carried in their satchels. It is regularly scrutinized, potentially revocable, and ultimately unstable (see also Pinkeaw, 2014).

For the one highlander who spoke of citizenship as an inalienable right, the exception proves the rule. Chutima “Miju” Morlaeku, a researcher and longtime advocate of highlanders’ rights in the citizenship movement, tries often to teach her fellow highlanders that citizenship is theirs for claiming and taking. As a result, she argues, no one who is a citizen should ever pay state fees to process their ‘applications for citizenship’ for something that is theirs (*Phuanraichaaydaen*, 2010). In a place in

which citizenship is regularly bought and sold (Mukdawan, 2009), she has been targeted by the state in the past, for her rhetoric stands to undermine extensive networks that have long profited and benefited from the common belief among highlanders that Thai citizenship is something to be acquired—as something that exists outside of themselves (*Phuanraichaaydaen*, 2010). Seen in this light, the importance of bringing the practices of sovereignty to bear on the issue of statelessness in Thailand and elsewhere grows more apparent: The problem at hand in examining citizenship is not to determine ‘who is stateless and how they suffer as a result,’ but rather to examine the ways in which recognition of citizenship is conferred, deferred, or denied, by whom, on what basis, in what moments, and with what authority.

Finally, in Chapter 6, I build on research contributions on migration and livelihoods (Eloundou-Enyegue, 2006; Mare, 2011, Massey and Pren, 2006) to show that the various acute deprivations that are commonly associated with statelessness are produced through a combination of structural and physical limitations on ‘access’ to rights via restrictions on migration/movement and secure, legal livelihoods. While Thailand guarantees all children ‘access’ to free schooling through compulsory levels and guarantees residents of all legal statuses access to very low-cost health care, research in this chapter reveals that significant inequalities in ‘access’ to these two rights continue to persist along legal status lines. Drawing on ethnographic and survey research on migration and remittance histories, I argue that state restrictions on movement in the highlands have ultimately contributed to restricted ‘access’ to schooling and health services in direct and indirect ways. In direct terms, I show that the state operates an extensive network of internal police checkpoints along most roads in the highlands, which serve to surveil and ultimately curtail the travel of non-citizens. I then buttress this argument by presenting findings from a range of analyses

of UNESCO survey data, which reveal the significant differences between non-citizen and citizen highlanders with regards to the likelihood of migrating even short distances for employment. The effective enforcement of restrictions on movement, I argue, constitutes a substantial barrier to ‘access’ to otherwise guaranteed rights and services that is often overlooked in political research on rights: When individuals cannot migrate freely without fear or without cumbersome restrictions, they cannot directly access the spaces (schools and health care centers) where rights are actually guaranteed and where individual and household capital may be improved and transformed. Moreover, when individuals cannot access safe, legal employment outside of a village as effectively as citizens, they simply cannot support their households in the village, whether for purposes of subsidizing income, of financing a child’s schooling, or for covering expensive health care costs for a family member. In the end, the study suggests that state restrictions on movement, which so often accompany state restrictions on citizenship (Caplan and Torpey, 2001; Torpey, 1998, 2000), ultimately undermine even the most progressive policies to guarantee ‘access’ to individual human rights and state services, like education. Ultimately, findings from this chapter suggest that both physical and structural limitations on movement and livelihoods may even undermine the abilities of non-citizens to acquire the very identification documents that they need in order to prove their claims to citizenship (see Figure 13 in Chapter 5 on birth registration).

7.2 Gaps in Research

Mandy Sadan (2013) recently argued that Edmund Leach’s seminal study of highland communities, *Political Systems of Highland Burma*, may reveal more about the projects of declining empire than anything essential about the cultural flexibility of the Kachin and Shan people he studied. From this view, it is worth considering the extent to which my study on the production of categories and conditions of

statelessness (and citizenship) reflects and reproduces normative beliefs in citizenship as the legitimate framework of belonging to which all groups *should* aspire. While I have aimed to destabilize both citizenship and statelessness as relationships to sovereignty, in my attentions to the production of exclusion and associated deprivations I also risk foreclosing an extensive and important discussion of the ways that highlanders of all legal statuses (*including citizens*) continue to suffer discrimination and structural violence that dispossesses them of their livelihoods (Ahlquist 2015; Feingold 1997; Sturgeon 2005) and renders them disproportionately vulnerable to exploitation, trafficking (Feingold 2002, 2003; Yindee 2005) and even HIV/AIDS (Apidechkul 2012, 2013; Beyrer 2001; Beyrer, Celentano et al. 2005; Guadamuz, Kunawararak et al. 2010; Gray 2015; Koning, Flaim, and Feingold 2014; Wiewel et al. 2005). These problems are not limited to non-citizens alone, but rather reflect a history of systematically degraded conditions of lives and livelihoods in communities over sustained periods of time. Relatedly, comparisons along the line of citizenship from data collected among highland villages alone cannot enable a view of the extent to which highlanders of all legal statuses remain significantly disadvantaged when compared with lowland ethnic Thais.

In a related vein, it is important to note that I have not attended to the crucial questions of what is lost when citizenship ascends as the legitimate framework for recognition of belonging in a polity. On one level, the story I trace of the ascendance of citizenship as an organizing principle of belonging and access in Thailand and the northern highlands is, in itself, a story of dispossession of alternative ways to form and maintain community. While I have aimed to make clear the instabilities in operations of sovereignty by revealing the ultimately unstable means by which citizenship and statelessness are conferred and enforced, I aim to reveal the possibilities for transformation and action in these spaces and places of instability.

Although it seems that highlanders have acceded to some of the laws on restricted mobility, they remain extremely aware of these spaces of instability and opportunity, and indeed exploit them for the purposes of building and sustaining their lives and livelihoods within and beyond the borders and boundaries of the state that has and continues to limit them (see also Dunn and Cons, 2014).

7.3 Methodological Contributions of Research

Outside of legal analyses of citizenship or political theory, the majority of sociological and anthropological research on citizenship or statelessness draws on findings produced through either statistical or ethnographic analysis. In this dissertation, I have articulated an alternative method of approaching the problem of statelessness and citizenship, which combines extensive, multi-modular, and hierarchically nested survey research with multi-sited ethnography that traces various pathways from exclusion to inclusion throughout the nation in place. Findings drawn from multiple sources of data do more than ensure the reliability and validity of claims and measures, however. Rather, approaching the problem from different angles, with a different set of optics, ultimately enables an accounting of the ways in which categories of status and their associated conditions of life have been dynamically produced and reproduced over time through changing operations of sovereignty on behalf of the state, and through changing interpretations of and engagements with nation-state sovereignty on behalf of highlanders. While the statistics presented in this dissertation ‘speak’ directly to policy on citizenship and nationality, I argue that they cannot and *should not* be taken as an ontological claim of what exclusion *is* and who the excluded *are*, but of the ways in which belonging and exclusion are delimited, enforced, experienced, negotiated and transformed in an ongoing coproduction of states and (non)citizens.

7.4 Political Implications of the Research and Directions Forward

In the recent Global Action Plan to End Statelessness, the UNHCR (2014b) issues 10 key steps for preventing and eliminating statelessness worldwide within a decade. Among the various aims elucidated are three goals to which findings in this dissertation speak directly. These are Actions 7, 8 and 10: “Ensure birth registration..., issue nationality documentation to those with entitlement to it..., [and] improve quantitative and qualitative data on stateless populations, respectively.”⁹⁷

With regards to calls for increased documentation as a means to prevent statelessness (Actions 7 and 8), findings from this research actually indicate that various efforts by the Thai government to document non-citizen highlanders have, in many ways, contributed to the justification of their exclusion and the (re)production of their statelessness (see also Gaibazzi, 2014 for similar findings in the Gambia). As I have shown in Chapters 4 and 5, inconsistent and fraught state registrations in the highlands under hostile circumstances and without clear assurances of citizenship have resulted in the production of flawed, problematic “evidence” that nevertheless comprises the standard of truth against which highlanders applying for Thai citizenship are judged (by a highly diverse and rotating cohort of authorities). As a result, thousands of people continue to languish in legal status limbo. With these findings in mind, any attempt to link civil and birth registrations to nationality must acknowledge and accommodate the ways in which documents are actually produced,

⁹⁷ The ten actions elucidated in the Plan are as follows: (1) Resolve existing major situations of statelessness; (2) Ensure that no child is born stateless; (3) Remove gender discrimination from nationality laws; (4) Prevent denial, loss, or deprivation of nationality on discriminatory grounds; (5) Prevent statelessness in cases of State succession; (6) Grant protection status to stateless migrants and facilitate their naturalization; (7) Ensure birth registration for the prevention of statelessness; (8) Issue nationality documentation to those with entitlement to it; (9) Accede to the UN Statelessness Conventions; [and] (10) Improve quantitative and qualitative data on stateless populations.

understood, and interpreted by both locals and agents of the state. Moreover, findings from this dissertation clearly suggest that if ‘ending statelessness’ is to be achieved,⁹⁸ international efforts to end statelessness should not privilege the expansion and enhancement of state registration (and surveillance) capacities without first enshrining rights to citizenship via both *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli*.⁹⁹

With regards to considerations of context, findings from Thailand point to problems of deploying identification as a means to ensure legal identity in other parts of the world as well. Even the most progressive efforts to expand ‘access’ to birth registration and individual documentation cannot be realized or utilized as a statelessness prevention strategy when large swaths of the population cannot, or even *choose not* to register their children at birth (see also Fisher, 2015, Gordon, 2015). While rates of birth registration among highlanders in Thailand are growing due to the link between registration and citizenship, large numbers of people chose not to register their babies at birth for a variety of reasons, only one of which entailed considerations of the inconvenience of travel from the village to the district center. Findings in Jordan (Fisher 2015), Nepal (Vandanabeele 2011), and in China (Gordon 2015) indicate that the social context in which birth registrations are actually processed can make a huge difference for parents when choosing to register (or not to register) their babies at birth. From Jordan, Fisher (2015) argues that women who have children out of wedlock will choose not to register their babies at birth for fear of severe social stigmatization. Drawing on her research in China, Gordon (2015)

⁹⁸ Critiques issued by Hayden (2008), Jones (2009), and Jefferis (2012), several of which build on those of Arendt (1958; 1994), warn clearly that statelessness is built into the fabric of the international order and is highly unlikely to disappear any time soon without a fundamental restructuring of sovereign claims and practices.

⁹⁹ Yet, Geschiere (2009) reminds us that even ostensibly secure rights to citizenship can be compromised to justify the exclusion of particular groups, as has been the case in Cameroon.

argues that parents who violate the country's (in)famous One Child Policy, will not register their second or third babies due to the large fines that are incurred for doing so (approximately 30,000 USD). In short, birth registration and other state registrations can be experienced by locals as onerous and oppressive, and may not only undermine the goal of statelessness prevention, but under particular circumstances, these processes may actually comprise violations of human rights in their own right. This is not to say that birth registration or state documents are in and of themselves nefarious, but rather, to suggest that *no* actions be taken to expand birth registration or individual documentation until legal frameworks have been made inclusive and thorough (see Action steps 2, 3, and 4), and until the context in which civil registration documents are produced is experienced by members of minorities and marginalized groups as reliable, fair, and inclusive.

In addition to revealing how ostensibly innocuous civil registration efforts may inadvertently contribute to, rather than resolve, statelessness, findings from this research also indicate that studies of “the stateless,” as called for in Action 10, can actually exacerbate rather than reduce, the marginalization that non-citizens often experience as a result of their exclusion (El-Sharaawi The history of the production of statelessness in the hills of Thailand, after all, is replete with studies of “hill tribes,” the findings of which have been used by the Thai state to mark internal Others, justify their exclusion from Thai citizenship, and expand paternalistic development agendas in the hills as well (e.g., Foucault, 1997a, 1997b). It is not that studying stateless people constitutes a problem in and of itself. But to call for “[i]mprov[ing] quantitative and qualitative data on stateless populations” as the *sole* means of understanding and thus preventing statelessness is to risk obscuring the complex political, legal, and social contexts that produce statelessness and its associated deprivations (Hesford and Shuman, 2011). As ethnographic and statistical analyses in

this study of one, relatively small place in the world have shown, focusing on “the stateless” alone (whether with qualitative or quantitative approaches) would simply produce an incomplete, static, and ultimately inaccurate picture of the problem and its causes. As with prevailing norms in global development research, which often focuses on “the poor” and “the vulnerable” rather than the complex circuits of global capitalism and inter-state inequalities (e.g., Castles, 2005; Ong, 2000) that reproduce poverty, vulnerability, and disease (Ferguson, 1994), a singular focus on “the stateless” risks producing yet another object of development to be pathologized and acted upon, whilst potentially obscuring critical possibilities for transformative action and truly durable solutions.

To conclude, I offer not a new prescription for action, but a set of questions that may serve as guides for capturing an ever-changing landscape of belonging and exclusion at local and international scales.

What procedures, laws, practices, and systems produce citizenship and statelessness? How do these laws, practices and systems differ between local, national and international scales? Who has been made stateless, citizen, or any category in between, by virtue of these processes? How, where, and by what means? Who delimits inclusion and exclusion, and on what authority? Are deprivations associated with exclusion? If so, how are these deprivations produced? And, how do individuals and families of precarious or excluded statuses negotiate their exclusion? What do their strategies for acquiring or bypassing state recognition reveal about the instabilities of sovereignty in any given place? How might these instabilities be exploited and transformed more broadly for humanitarian purposes?

By attending to these and other questions, a holistic, and perhaps more accurate, understanding of statelessness as a dynamic, constructed, and ultimately

transformable phenomenon may be captured. And, by attending to the gaps and instabilities in the on-going production of inclusion and exclusion, human rights advocates at all scales may be better positioned to see and transform particular practices of sovereignty that undermine the “right to have rights” for millions of people around the world.

REFERENCES

- Agamben, G. 1998. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. D. Heller-Roazan, Trans. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.
- . 2005. *State of Exception*. K. Attell, Trans. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Aguettant, J. L. 1996. "Impact of Population Registration on Hilltribe Development in Thailand." *Asia Pacific Population Journal* 11 (4): 47-72.
- Ahlquist, D. B. 2015. *Losing Place in the Corn Mountains: Forest Conservation, In Situ Displacement, and Agrarian Transformation in Upland Northern Thailand*. Dissertation. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Anderson, B. 1991 [1983]. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Second Edition. London: Verso.
- Apidechkul, T. 2012. TB and HIV Among the Hill Tribe Marginalized Vulnerable Population, Thailand. *Retrovirology*. 9(Suppl1 p 88).
- . 2013. "A 20-Years Retrospective Cohort Study of HIV/AIDS Situation among Hill Tribe Vulnerable Population, Thailand." *International Journal of Infectious Diseases* 16, Supplement 1 (0): 179-180.
- Arendt, H. 1994 [1958]. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.
- . 1958. *The Human Condition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- ACHR (Asian Center for Human Rights). 2005. "Thailand: Not so Smiling to its Indigenous Tribes." Available at <http://www.achrweb.org/Review/2005/81-05.html>. Accessed April 4, 2013.
- Bangkok Post (no author). 2005. "Citizenship Call for all Born on Thai Soil."
- . 2012. "Reaching Out to the People Languishing in Nowhere Land." October 6, 2012.
- . 2012. "Stigmatized Over a Card." July 7, 2012.
- . 2012. "Tuenjai Urges Cooperation to Solve Stateless People's Plight." March 21, 2012.
- Banajai, J. 2010. Personal Communication, February 15, 2010.
- Bartlett, Lesley. 2012. "South-South Migration and Education: The Case of People of Haitian Descent Born in the Dominican Republic." *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 42 (3): 393.
- Baud, M and W. Van Schendel. 1997. "Toward a Comparative History of Borderlands." *Journal of World History* 8 (2): 211-242.
- Benhabib, S. 2004. *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents, and Citizens*. Cambridge, Mass: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2005. "Borders, Boundaries, and Citizenship: Democratic Citizenship and the Crisis of Territoriality." *PS: Political Science and Politics*. 38 (4): 673-677.
- Berkeley, B. 2009. "Stateless People, Violent States." *World Policy Journal* 26 (1): 3-15.

- Bernard, H.R., 2006. *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (Fourth Ed.). New York: AltaMira Press.
- Beyrer, C., D. Celentano, S. Suprasert, W. Sittitrai, K. E. Nelson, and B. Kongsub. 2005. "Widely Varying HIV Prevalence and Risk Behaviors among the Ethnic Minority Peoples of Northern Thailand." *AIDS Care* 9 (4): 427.
- Beyrer, C. 2001. "Shan Women and Girls and the Sex Industry in Southeast Asia; Political Causes and Human Rights Implications." *Social Science & Medicine* 53 (4): 543-550.
- Bhabha, J. 2011. "From Citizen to Migrant: The Scope of Child Statelessness in the Twenty-First Century." Chapter 1 in *Children without a State: A Global Human Rights Challenge*. Bhabha, ed. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press. 1-42.
- Bhabha, J. Forthcoming. "The Politics of Evidence: Roma Citizenship Deficits in Europe." Chapter 7 in *Citizenship-in-Question: Evidentiary Encounters with Blood, Birthright, and Bureaucracy*. In B. Lawrence and J. Stevens, eds. Under final review.
- Bilsborrow, R. E., T. M. McDevitt, S. Kossoudji, and R. Fuller. 1987. "The Impact of Origin Community Characteristics on Rural-Urban Out-Migration in a Developing Country." *Demography*. 23(2): 191-192-210.
- Blitz, B. K. and M. Lynch. 2011. *Statelessness and Citizenship: A Comparative Study on the Benefits of Nationality*. Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing.

- Boli, J. and G. Thomas. 1997. *Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations Since 1875*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.
- Brown, L. A. and A. R. Goetz. 1987. "Development-Related Contextual Effects and Individual Attributes in Third World Migration Processes: A Venezuelan Example." *Demography* 24 (4): 497-498-516.
- Brown, W. 2006. "Finding the Man in the State." Chapter 8 in *Anthropology of the State: A Reader*. A. Sharma and A. Gupta, eds. Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishing.
- (BSD) Bureau of Social Development and Human Security. 2002. *Report from Miyazawa Survey of Hill Tribe Population*. Bangkok. The Royal Thai Government Ministry of Social Welfare.
- Butler, Judith. 2007. "I Merely Belong to them: The Jewish Writings by Hannah Arendt, Edited by Jerome Kohn and Ron Feldman." *London Review of Books*. 29 (9): 26-28.
- Caplan, J. and J. Torpey. 2001. *Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practices in the Modern World*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Case, Victoria. 1942. "Why You Need a Birth Certificate." *Good Housekeeping*, September, 32.
- Castles, S. 2005. "Hierarchical Citizenship in an Uneven World of Nation-States." *PS: Science and Politics*. 38 (4): 689-692.

- Chamrathirong, A., K. Archavanitkul, P. Richter, P. Guest, V. Thongthai, W. Bononchalaksi, and N. Piriyanthamwong. 1995. *National Migration Survey of Thailand*. Nakhonpathom, Thailand: Institute for Population and Social Research.
- Chappanapong, A. 2011. "How DNA is Helping Young "Stateless" Thais Get Citizenship." *Thompson Reuters Foundation*. Published online, Tuesday 23, August 2011. Accessed March 24, 2014 at <http://www.trust.org/item/?map=how-dna-is-helping-young-stateless-thais-get-citizenship/>.
- Chayan Vaddhanaphuti. 2005. "The Thai State and Ethnic Minorities: From Assimilation to Selective Integration." in *Ethnic Conflicts in Southeast Asia*. K. Sritwongse and W. S. Thompson, eds. Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies.
- Chupinit Kesmanee. 1994. "Dubious Concepts in the Thai Highlands: The Cha Khao in Transition." *Law and Society Review* 28 (3): 673-686.
- Chutima 'Miju' Morlaeku. 2006. *Problems Concerning the Laxity of Legal Status within the Thai Highland Population*. Bangkok: UNESCO.
- . 2010. *Addressing the Remaining Legal Status Question*. Bangkok: UNESCO.
- Cohen, E. 2009. *Semi-Citizenship in Democratic Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Cons, J. 2012. "Histories of Belonging(s): Narrating Territory, Possession, and Dispossession at the India-Bangladesh Border." *Modern Asian Studies* 46 (3): 527-558.
- Constantine, Greg. 2011. "Photo Essay: Nowhere People." *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* (2): 305-314.
- Cramb, R. A., C. J. P. Colfer, W. Dressler, P. Laungaramsri, Q. T. Le, E. Mulyoutami, N. L. Peluso, and R. L. Wadley. 2009. "Swidden Transformations and Rural Livelihoods in Southeast Asia." *Human Ecology*. 37(3): 323-346.
- Creswell, J. W., 2003. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Approaches*. Second Edition. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Curran, S. 1995. *Gender Roles and Migration: 'Good Sons' Vs. Daughters in Rural Thailand*. Seattle: Center for Studies in Demography and Ecology, University of Washington.
- . 1996. *Intra-Household Exchange Relations: Explanations for Gender Differentials in Education and Migration Outcomes in Thailand*. New Orleans: Population Association of America.
- Curran, S., C. Chung, W. Cadge, and A. Varangrat. 2004. "Boys' and Girls' Educational Opportunities in Thailand; the Effects of Siblings, Migrations, School Proximity, and Village Remoteness." *Research in Sociology of Education* 14 (59): 60-102.
- ‘Daqbir’ Jeerasak Jupoh. 2010. Personal Communication. March 23, 2010.

- Dhongchai, P., B. Verawongse, B. Jotiroseranee, S. Trong-ngam, S. Sivaraska, W. Tantiwittayapitipak, and P. Tang. 2005. "Response to the Initial Report of Thailand: CCPR/C/THA/2004/1, Submission to the 83rd Session of the United Nations Human Rights Committee, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights." Report Published March 14, 2005. Accessed March 14, 2014 at <http://hrp.law.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/Thai-Shadow-Report-Final.pdf>.
- Dunn, E. and J. Cons. 2014. "Aleatory Sovereignty and the Rule of Sensitive Spaces." *Antipode* 46: 92-109. doi: 10.1111/anti.12028
- Edwards, A., and C. Ferstman, eds. 2010. *Human Security and Non-Citizens: Law, Policy and International Affairs*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Eisenhart, M. and K. Howe. 1992. "Validity in Educational Research." In M. LeCompte, W. Millroy, and J. Preissle, eds. *The Handbook of Qualitative Research in Education*. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Eloundou-Enyegue, P. 2006. "Till Marriage Do Us Part: Education and Remittances from Married Women in Africa." *Comparative Education Review*. 50(1).
- Eloundou-Enyegue, P. and L. B. Williams. 2006. "Family Size and Schooling in Sub-Saharan African Settings: A Reexamination." *Demography*. 43(1): 25-52.
- Feingold, David A. 1998. "Sex, Drugs and the IMF: Some Implications of Structural Readjustment for the Trade in Heroin, Girls and Women in the Upper Mekong Region." *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees* 17 (5).

- . 2000. "The Hell of Good Intentions: Some Preliminary Thoughts on Opium in the Political Ecology of the Trade in Girls and Women." In *Where China Meets Southeast Asia; Social and Cultural Change in the Border Regions*, edited by G. Evans, C. Hutton and K. P. Yeng. New York: St. Martins Press.
- . 2002. *A Right to Belong*. Philadelphia: Ophidian Films.
- . 2003. *Trading Women*. Philadelphia: Ophidian Films.
- . 2009. "Human Trafficking." *Foreign Policy*. (October 20) 26-32.
- . 2014. "Virgin Territory Re-Explored: Ethnographic Insight, Public Policy and the Trade in Minority Women in Southeast Asia." Chapter 7 in Yea, S. (ed.), *Human Trafficking in Asia: Forcing Issues* (Routledge Contemporary Asia Series). New York: Routledge: 81-100.
- Feingold, David and Amanda L. Flaim. 2007. "Citizenship and Education in Thailand." Presentation at the Open Society Institute. New York City.
- Ferguson, J. 1994. *The Anti-Politics Machine: Development, Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Fisher, B. 2015. "Why Non-Marital Children in the MENA Region Face a Risk of Statelessness." *Harvard Human Rights Journal*. (Jan 6, 2015) Accessed March 1, 2015 at <http://harvardhrj.com/2015/01/why-non-marital-children-in-the-mena-region-face-a-risk-of-statelessness/>.

- Fiskesjo, M. 1999. "On the 'Raw' and the 'Cooked' Barbarians of Imperial China." *Inner Asia* (1)2: 139-168.
- . 2006. "Rescuing the Empire: Chinese Nation-building in the Twentieth Century." *European Journal of East Asian Studies*. 5(1): 15-44.
- . 2010. "Mining, History, and the Anti-State Wa: The Politics of Autonomy Between Burma and China." *Journal of Global History*. 5: 241.
- Flaim, A. (forthcoming). "Left Out and Left Behind: The Impact of Statelessness on Educational Attainment among Highlanders in Thailand." *Comparative Education Review*.
- Flaim, A. L. 2008. "Left Out and Left Behind: The Impact of Legal Status on Educational Attainment among Highland Ethnic Minorities in Northern Thailand." Masters Thesis. Ithaca: Cornell University.
- . 2010. Summary Report on the UNESCO Highland Peoples' Surveys I and II. Internal Report. Bangkok: UNESCO Regional Bureau for Asia and the Pacific.
- Foucault, M. 1997a. 'Security, Territory, and Population', in: *Michel Foucault, Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*. P. Rabinow, ed., New York: The New Press 1997, pp. 67-71.
- . 1997b. 'The Birth of Biopolitics', in: *Michel Foucault, Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*. P. Rabinow, ed., New York: The New Press 1997, pp. 73-79.
- Friends Without Borders. (*Pheuan rai chaaydaen*). 2010. "The ID Card Issue." *Friends Without Borders*. In Thai, Translations in English.

- Gaibazzi, P. 2014. "Visa Problem: Certification, Kinship, and the Production of "Ineligibility" in the Gambia." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 20: 38-55.
- Gayler, G. 2012. *The Invisible Children of Chiang Rai*. Plan International. Accessed April 3, 2013 at <https://plan-international.org/about-plan/resources/blogs/the-invisible-children-of-chiang-rai/>.
- Georgetown Law Human Rights Institute. 2014. *Left Behind: How Statelessness in the Dominican Republic Limits Access to Education*. Report. Accessed April 23, 2015 at http://www.law.georgetown.edu/academics/centers-institutes/human-rights-institute/fact-finding/upload/Left-Behind_HRI_Report-2014_English_Final.pdf.
- Geschiere, P. 2009. *The Perils of Belonging: Autochthony, Citizenship, and Exclusion in Africa and Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Goetz, J.P, and M. D. LeCompte. 1984. *Ethnography and Qualitative Design in Educational Research*. Academic Press.
- Gordon, S. 2015. "China's Hidden Children: The Country's One-Child Policy has Created an Astonishing Number of Unregistered Children." *The Diplomat*. March 12, 2015.
- Grabowsky, V. 1996. "The Thai Census of 1904: Translation and Analysis." *Journal of the Siam Society* 84 (1): 49-49-85.
- Gray, R. 2000. "The Role of Population Census for Providing Statistics on Disadvantaged Groups in Thailand." Montreaux.

- Gray, J. 1995. "Operating Needle Exchange Programmes in the Hills of Thailand." *AIDS Care* 7 (4): 489-500.
- Greenman, E. and M. Hall. 2013. "Legal Status and Educational Transitions for Mexican and Central American Immigrant Youth." *Social Forces*. 91(4):1445-1498.
- Guadamuz, T. E., P. Kunawararak, C. Beyrer, J.t Pumpaisanchai, C.Wei, and D. Celentano. 2010. "HIV Prevalence, Sexual and Behavioral Correlates among Shan, Hill Tribe and Thai Male Sex Workers in Northern Thailand." *AIDS Care* 22 (5): 597-605.
- Guest, G. S., E. Namey, and M. Mitchell. 2013. *Collecting Qualitative Data: A Field Manual for Applied Research*. Washington DC: Sage Publications.
- Gupta, A. 2012. *Red Tape: Bureaucracy, Structural Violence and Poverty in India*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Hanks, L. 1962. "Merit and Power in the Thai Social Order." *American Anthropologist*. 64: 1257.
- Hanks, L. and J. Hanks. 1964. "Siamese Thai." In *Ethnic Groups of Mainland Southeast Asia*, edited by Frank Lebar, Gerald Hickey and John Musgrave, 203. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press.
- Hanks, L., L. Sharp, and J. Hanks. 1964. *A Report on Tribal Peoples in Chiengrai Province North of the Mae Kok River. Bennington-Cornell Anthropological Survey of Hill Tribes in Thailand*. Data Paper Number 1. Bangkok: The Siam Society.

- Harris, J. 2013. "Uneven Inclusion, Consequences of Universal Health Care in Thailand." *Citizenship Studies* 17 (1): 11.
- Hart, G. 2006. "Denaturalizing Dispossession: Critical Ethnography in the Age of Resurgent Imperialism." *Antipode* 38 (5): 977-1004.
- Hayden, P. 2008. "From Exclusion to Containment: Arendt, Sovereign Power, and Statelessness." *Societies without Borders* 3: 248-269.
- Hesford, W. S. and A. Shuman. 2011. "Emergent Human Rights Contexts: Greg Constantine's "Nowhere People." *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development*. 2 (2): 315-326.
- Heyman, J. 1995. "Putting Power in the Anthropology of Bureaucracy: The Immigration and Naturalization Service at the Mexico-United States Border." *Current Anthropology* 36 (2): 261.
- . 1999. "Surveillance over Mexican Lives at the Border, Snapshots of an Emerging Regime." *Human Organization* 58 (4).
- . 2004. "Anthropology of Power-Wielding Bureaucracies." *Human Organization* 63 (4): 487.
- Highland Royal Development Institute. 2015. Website. Accessed April 5 2015 at http://www.hrdi.or.th/en/who_we_are/page/Thailand-Royal-Project.
- Hugo, G. J. 1998. "Migration as a Survival Strategy: The Family Dimension of Migration." In *Population Distribution and Migration*. New York: United Nations.

- Humphreys, M. and T. Watson. 2009. "Ethnographic Practices: From 'Writing-Up Ethnographic Research' to 'Writing Ethnography'." In *Organizational Ethnography: Studying the Complexities of Everyday Life*, edited by S. Ybema, D. Yanow, H. Wels and F. Kamsteeg, Chapter 2. London: Sage.
- IOM (International Organization for Migration). 2009. "Migrant Information Note: Procedures for Nationality Verification of Myanmar/ Burma Nationals in Thailand." Distributed at meeting at UNESCAP, 2009.
- IRIN Asia: UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. 2012. *Asia: Indigenous Groups--Stateless and Sick*.
- Isin, E. and B. Turner. 2007. "Investigating Citizenship: An Agenda for Citizenship Studies." *Citizenship Studies* 11 (1): 5.
- Jefferis, D. C. 2012. "Institutionalizing Statelessness: The Revocation of Residency Rights of Palestinians in East Jerusalem." *International Journal of Refugee Law* 24 (2): 202.
- Jones, R. 2009. "Sovereignty and Statelessness in the Border Enclaves of India and Bangladesh." *Political Geography* 28(6): 373-381.
- Jonsson, H. 2005. *Mien Relations: Mountain People and State Control in Thailand*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- . 2010. "Mimetic Minorities: National Identity and Desire on Thailand's Fringe." *Identities* 17 (2-3): 2-3.
- . 2014. *Slow Anthropology: Negotiating Difference with the Iu Mien*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

- Joppke, Christian. 2007. "Transformation of Citizenship: Status, Rights, Identity." *Citizenship Studies* 11 (1): 37-48.
- Kamowan Petchot. 2014. "The Right to Education for Migrant Children in Thailand: Liminal Legality and the Educational Experience of Migrant Children in Samut Sakhon." In *Gender and Social Justice: Perspectives on Human Insecurity*, edited by T. D. Truong and et al, 307: Hexagon Series on Human Environmental Security and Peace.
- Kampe, K. 1997. "Introduction: Indigenous Peoples of Southeast Asia." In *Development or Domestication? Indigenous Peoples of Southeast Asia*. D. McCaskill and K. Kampe, eds. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.
- Kantorowicz, E. H. 1998 [1957]. *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Keck, M.E. and K. Sikkink. 1998. *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Keenapan, Nattha. 2009. "The Stateless Classroom." *Bangkok Post*.
- Kerber, L. K. 2007. "Stateless as the Citizen's Other: A View from the United States." *The American Historical Review* 112 (1).

- Keyes, C. F. 1971. "Buddhism and National Integration in Thailand." *The Journal of Asian Studies*. 30: 551-568.
- . 1997. "Cultural Diversity and National Identity in Thailand." In *Government Policies and Ethnic Relations in Asia and the Pacific*, edited by M. E. Brown and S. Ganguly, 197-232: Cambridge: Center for Science and International Affairs.
- . 2002. "Presidential Address: "The Peoples of Asia": Science and Politics in the Classification of Ethnic Groups in Thailand, China, and Vietnam." *The Journal of Asian Studies*. 61 (04): 1163-1203.
- Kingston, L. N. 2013. "A Forgotten Human Rights Crisis: Statelessness and Issue (Non)Emergence." *Human Rights Reveiw* 14 (2): 73-87.
- Kofman, Eleonore. 1995. "Citizenship for Some but Not for Others: Spaces of Citizenship in Contemporary Europe." *Political Geography* 14 (2): 121-137.
- Koning, S., A. Flaim, and D. Feingold. 2013. "Structuring Vulnerability: Citizenship, Statelessness and HIV among Highland Peoples in Northern Thailand." Presentation at the Society for the Study of Social Problems and Poster Presentation at the American Sociological Associations: New York City.
- Korinek, K. and S. Punpuing. 2012. "The Effect of Household and Community on School Attrition: An Analysis of Thai Youth." *Comparative Education Review* 56 (3).

- Kunstadter, P., L. Cha'taw Thawasirichuchai, and W. Yangyernkun. 2011. "Access to Effective use of HIV and Other Health Services for International Migrants and Ethnic Minorities in Northern Thailand." *Tropical Medicine and International Health* 16 (4): 368.
- Lawrence, B. and J. Stevens. "Introduction." Chapter 1 in *Citizenship-in-Question: Evidentiary Encounters with Blood, Birthright, and Bureaucracy*. In B. Lawrence and J. Stevens, eds. Under final review.
- Larsen, Klaus, Jorgen Petersen Budtz-Jorgensen, and Lars Endahl. 2000. "Interpreting Parameters in the Logistic Regression Model with Random Effects." *Biometrics* 56 (3): 909.
- Lincoln, Y.S., and E.G. Guba. 1985. *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Newberry Park: Sage Publications.
- Lincoln, Y.S., S.A. Lynham, and E.G. Guba. 2011. "Paradigmatic Contraversies, Contradictions, and Emerging Confluences Revisited." Chapter 6 in *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Washington, D.C.: Sage Publications.
- Leach, Edmund. 1964. *Political Systems of Highland Burma: A Study of Kachin Social Structure*. London: Athlone Press.
- Lynch, M. and K. Southwick. 2009. *Nationality Rights for all: A Progress Report and Global Survey on Statelessness*. Washington, D.C.: Refugees International.
- Lynde, R. 2006. "Statelessness and Roma Communities in the Czech Republic: Competing Theories of State Compliance." *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*. 13: 341.

- Manly, M. and L. Van Waas. 2010. "The Value of the Human Security Framework in Addressing Statelessness." In *Human Security and Non-Citizens: Law, Policy and International Affairs*, edited by A. Edwards and C. Ferstman, 49-81. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mare, R. D. 2011. "A Multigenerational View of Inequality." *Demography*. 48(1): 1-23.
- Marcus, G. 1995. "Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24: 95-96-117.
- Massey, D. S. 1990. "Social Structure, Household Strategies, and the Cumulative Causation of Migration." *Population Index* 56 (1): 3-4-26.
- Massey, D.S, and K. A. Pren. 2012. "Unintended Consequences of US Immigration Policy: Explaining the Post-1965 Survey from Latin America." *Population and Development Review*. 38(1): 1-29.
- McCaskill, D. and K. Kampe, eds. 1997. *Development or Domestication? Indigenous Peoples of Southeast Asia*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.
- McKinnon, J., and B. Vienne, eds. 1989. *Hill Tribes Today: Problems in Change*. Bangkok: White Lotus-ORSTOM.
- McKinnon, J. 1989. "Structural Assimilation and the Consensus: Clearing Grounds on which to Rearrange our Thoughts." in *Hill Tribes Today: Problems in Change*. McKinnon and Vienne, eds. 303-359.
- McKinnon, J., and Wanat Bhruksasri. 1983. *Highlanders of Thailand*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- McKinnon, K. 2005. "(Im)Mobilization and Hegemony: 'Hill Tribe' Subjects and the 'Thai' State." *Social and Cultural Geography* 6 (1): 31-32-46.
- McClanahan, S. 2004. "Diverging Destinies: How Children are Faring under the Second Demographic Transition." *Demography*. 41(4):607-627.
- Mitchell, Timothy. 2002. *The Rule of Experts: Egypt, Technopolitics, Modernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Mukdawan Sakboon. 2006. *Report on Focus Group Discussions about Birth Registration in Chiang Rai*. Bangkok: UNESCO.
- . 2009. "Citizenship and Education as the Basis for National Integration of Ethnic Minorities in North Thailand." PhD dissertation, Macquarie University.
- Mydans, S. 2007. "Stateless, with Borders all Around". *New York Times*, 4.
- Ong, A. 1999. *Flexible Citizenship*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- . 2000. "Graduated Sovereignty in South-East Asia." *Theory, Culture, and Society*. 17(4): 55-75.
- . 2005. "(Re)Articulations of Citizenship." *Political Science and Politics* 38 (4): 697-699.
- Paisanpanichkul, D., Unkeao, P., and Wattanabhoon K.. 2010. *2009 Annual Report: A Situation of Personality [sic] Status and the Rights of Stateless Persons / Persons without Nationality*. Bangkok: Stateless Watch for Research and Development Institute of Thailand - SWIT.

- Pattaravanich, U., L. B. Williams, T. A. Lyson, and K. Archavanitkul. 2005. "Inequality and Educational Investment in Thai Children." *Rural Sociology* 70 (4): 561.
- Pesses, A. 2006. Birth Registration: Findings from Focus Groups with Karen Villagers. Internal Report. Bangkok: UNESCO Regional Bureau for Asia and the Pacific.
- Phuntip K. Saisoonthorn. 2006. "Development of Concepts of Nationality and Efforts to Reduce Statelessness in Thailand." *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 25 (3): 40-41-53.
- Pinkaew Laungaramsri. 2003. "Ethnicity and the Politics of Ethnic Classification in Thailand." In *Ethnicity in Asia, Chapter 9*, edited by C. Mackerras, 157-158-173. London: Routledge Curzon.
- . 2014. "Contested Citizenship: Cards, Colors, and the Culture of Identification." Chapter 6 in *Ethnicity, Borders, and the Grassroots Interface with the State, Studies on Southeast Asia in Honor of Charles F. Keyes*. Marston, J. A., ed. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.
- PLAN International. 2005. Universal Birth Registration – A Universal Responsibility. Report on Birth Registration among Hill Tribes in Chiang Rai Province. Internal Report. Bangkok.
- Portes, A. and J. Borocz. 1989. "Contemporary Immigration: Theoretical Perspectives on its Determinants and Modes of Incorporation." *International Migration Review* 23: 249-250-293.

- Prevent Genocide International. 2014. *Global Survey of Group Classification on ID Cards*.
- Ramanujan, K. 2014. "Study to Focus on Rice Genes, Yield and Climate." *Cornell Chronicle*. April 29, 2015. <http://news.cornell.edu/stories/2014/04/study-focus-rice-genes-yield-and-climate>
- Renard, R.D. 2000. "The Differential Integration of Hill People into the Thai State." Chapter 3." In *Civility and Savagery: Social Identity in Tai States*. edited by A. Turton. Richmond: Curzon Press.
- Rende-Taylor, L. 2005. "Dangerous Trade-Offs: The Behavioral Ecology of Child Labor and Prostitution in Rural Northern Thailand." *Current Anthropology* 46 (3): 411-412-431.
- Reynolds, C. J. 2002. *National Identity and Its Defenders*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.
- Richter, K. and N. Havanon. 1995. *Women's Economic Contribution to Households in Thailand: Implications for Theory and Policy*. Bangkok: Gender Press.
- Risse, S., C. Ropp, and K. Sikkink, eds. 1999. *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rutstein, S. and K. Johnson. 2004. *The DHS Wealth Index: DHS Comparative Reports no. 6*. Calverton, Maryland: ORC Macro.

- Sadan, M. 2013. *Being and Becoming Kachin: Histories Beyond the State in the Borderworlds of Burma*. British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship Monographs.)New York: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy.
- Safman, R. M. 2007. "Minorities and State-Building in Mainland Southeast Asia, Chapter 2." In *Myanmar: State, Society, and Ethnicity*, edited by N. Ganesan and K. Y. Hlaing, 4-31. Hiroshima: Hiroshima Peace Institute.
- Saldana, J. 2009. *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Samore, W. 1951. "Statelessness as a Consequence of the Conflict of Nationality Laws." *The American Journal of International Law* 45 (3): 476.
- Scott, J. C. 1998. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- . 2009. *The Art of Not being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Sharma, A. and A. Gupta, eds. 2006. *Anthropology of the State: A Reader*. Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishing.
- Skinner, G. W. 1957. *Chinese Society in Thailand: An Analytical History*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Somers, M. R. 2008. *Genealogies of Citizenship: Markets, Statelessness, and the Right to have Rights*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Soysal, Y. N. 1994. *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Members in Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Srirak, N., K. Wiboonatakul, T. Sripaipan, V. Suriyanon, D. David, and S. Kawaichai. 2005. "HIV Infection among Female Drug Users in Northern Thailand." *Drug and Alcohol Dependence* 78 (2): 141.
- Stark, O. and D. E. Bloom. 1985. "The New Economics of Labor Migration." *The American Economic Review* 75 (2): 173-174-178.
- Stark, O. and E. J. Taylor. 1991. "Migration Incentives, Migration Types: The Role of Relative Deprivation." *The Economic Journal* 101: 1163-1164-1178.
- Stevens, J. Forthcoming. "The Citizen Who is an Alien." Chapter 12 in *Citizenship-in-Question: Evidentiary Encounters with Blood, Birthright, and Bureaucracy*. In B. Lawrence and J. Stevens, eds. Under final review.
- Sturgeon, J. 2005. *Border Landscapes: The Politics of Akha Land Use in China and Thailand*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Stock, M. D., Forthcoming. American Birthright Citizenship Rules and the Exclusion of 'Outsiders' From the Political Community. Chapter 9 in *Citizenship-in-Question: Evidentiary Encounters with Blood, Birthright, and Bureaucracy*. In B. Lawrence and J. Stevens, eds. Under final review
- Suwanbubpa, A. 1976. *Hill Tribe Development and Welfare Programmes in Northern Thailand*. Singapore: Regional Institute of Higher Education and Development.

- Tambiah, S. 2013. "The Galactic Polity in Southeast Asia." *Journal of Ethnographic Theory*. 3(3).
- Tapp, N. 1990. "Squatters or Refugees: Development and the Hmong." Chapter x in *Ethnic Groups Across National Boundaries in Mainland Southeast Asia*. G. Wijeyewardene, Ed. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Teddlie, C. and A. Tashakkori. 2009. *Foundations of Mixed Methods Research: Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches in the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Washington DC: Sage Publications.
- Terrio, S. 2014. "Life Ended There: Rare Interviews with Children of America's Border Disaster." *Politico Magazine*. July 10, 2014. Accessed March 2, 2015 at <http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2014/07/children-border-detention-108788.html#.VUD1FyHBzGc>.
- Thin Thai. 1986. *Order Given to Survey KMT Troops, Carry Out Final Registration*.
- Thongchai Winichakul. 1994. *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* University of Hawaii Press.
- . 2000a. "The Others Within: Travel and Ethno-Spatial Differentiation of Siamese Subjects: 1885-1910." In *Civility and Savagery: Social Identity in Tai States*, edited by A. Turton, 38-39-62. Surry: Curzon Press.
- . 2000b. "The Quest for "Siwilai" a Geographical Discourse of Civilizational Thinking in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Siam." *The Journal of Asian Studies*. 59 (3): 528-549.

- Tooker, D. 2012. *Space and the Production of Cultural Difference among the Akha Prior to Globalization: Channeling the Flow of Life (AUP - ICAS Publications)* Amsterdam University Press.
- Torpey, J. 1998. "Coming and Going: On the State Monopolization of the Legitimate "Means of Movement"." *Sociological Theory* 16 (3): 239.
- . 2000. *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship, and the State*. Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Toyota, Mika. 2005. "Subjects of the Nation without Citizenship: The Case of 'Hill Tribes' in Thailand'." In *Multiculturalism in Asia*, edited by W. Kymlicka and B. He, 110. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Turk, Volker. 2014. "Introductory Remarks by the Director of International Protection, UNHCR. Ashgabat, Turkmenistan.
- Turner, B. S. 1997. "Citizenship Studies: A General Theory." *Citizenship Studies: A General Theory* 1 (1): 5.
- Turton, Andrew. 2000. *Civility and Savagery: Social Identity in Tai States*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon.
- United Nations Educational, Cultural, and Scientific Organization, (UNESCO). 2008. *Citizenship and Birth Registration Manual. Thai and English Translations*. Bangkok: UNESCO Regional Bureau for Asia and the Pacific.
- . 2014. UNESCO Highland Citizenship and Birth Registration Project. Map Collection. Acquired and adapted with permission from <http://www.unescobkk.org/culture/cultural-diversity/trafficking-and-hivaid->

project/projects/gis-linked-social-sentinel-surveillance-project/unesco-gis-map-collection-new/thailand/.

———. 2006. *UNESCO Highland Peoples' Survey I*. Bangkok: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

———. 2010. *UNESCO Highland Peoples' Survey II*. Bangkok: United National Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). 2014a. Ending Statelessness within Ten Years: A Special Report. Accessed February 14, 2015 at <http://www.unhcr.org/546217229.html>.

———. 2014b. Global Action Plan to End Statelessness: 2014-2024. Accessed February 14, 2015 at <http://www.unhcr.org/54621bf49.html>.

———. 2014c. Thailand Factsheet, 2014. Accessed March 24, 2015 at <http://www.unhcr.org/50001e019.pdf>.

———. 2014d. Searching for Citizneship. Accessed July 27, 2014 at <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c155.html>.

———. 2014e. What is Statelessness? Accessed July 27, 2014 at <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c158.html>.

UN General Assembly (UNGA). 1954. *Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons*, 28 September 1954, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 360, p. 117, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b3840.html> [accessed 29 April 2015]

- . 1961. *Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness*, 30 August 1961, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 989, p. 175, available at:
<http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b39620.html> [accessed 29 April 2015]
- . 1989. *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, 20 November 1989, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 1577, p. 3, available at:
<http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b38f0.html> [accessed 29 April 2015]
- . 2012. *Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Covering the Period 1 January 2011 – 30 June 2012*. New York: United Nations.
- US State Department (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor). 2013. Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2013: Thailand. Accessed March 24, 2014. Available online at
<http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/humanrightsreport/index.htm#wrapper>.
- Van Waas, L. 2008. *Nationality Matters: Statelessness Under International Law*. Antwerp: Intersentia.
- Vandanabeele, C. 2011. "To Register or Not to Register: Legal Identity, Birth Registration and Inclusive Development." Chapter in *Children without a State: A Global Human Rights Challenge*. Bhabha, ed. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Vandergeest, P. 1993. "Constructing Thailand: Regulation, Everyday Resistance, and Citizenship." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35 (1): 133-158.

- Vanderveest, P. and N. L. Peluso. 1995. "Territorialization and State Power in Thailand." *Theory and Society* 24 (3): 385-426.
- von Geusau, L. A. 2000. "Akha Internal History: Marginalization and the Ethnic Alliance System." In *Civility and Savagery*, edited by Andrew Turton. London: Curzon.
- Vonk, Oliver. 2011. "C. Sawyer; b.k. Blitz, Eds., *Statelessness in the European Union: Displaced, Undocumented, Unwanted*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wangkiat, P. 2015. "200,000 Stateless People Lack Healthcare: Gov't Urged to Add Thousands to Scheme." *Bangkok Post*. Published 24 March, 2015.
- Wattanawanitchakorn, P. 2014. "Passports: Better Safe than Sorry." *The Bangkok Post*. Published 10 June 2014, in *Asia Focus*.
- White, M. and P. Muesser. 1988. "The Implications of Boundary Choice for the Measurement of Residential Mobility." *Demography* 25 (3): 433-434-459.
- Wiewel, E. W., D. Celentano, V. F. Go, S. Kawaichai, and C. Beyrer. 2005. "Injection Prevalence and Risks among Male Ethnic Minority Drug Users in Northern Thailand." *AIDS Care* 17 (1): 102.
- Williams, L. B., K. Archavanitkul, and N. Havanon. 1997. "Which Children Will Go to Secondary School? Factors Affecting Parents' Decisions in Rural Thailand." *Rural Sociology* 62 (2): 231-232-262.
- Wolters, O. 1982. *History, Culture and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*. Ithaca: Southeast Asia Studies Press.

Wu, X. and D. J. Treiman. 2004. "The Household Registration System and Social Stratification in China: 1955-1996." *Demography* 41 (2): 363-364-384.

Yang, X. 1993. *International Migration Review*. "Household Registration, Economic Reform and Migration." 27 (796): 797-798-818.

Yindee Lertcharoenchok. 2005. *Searching for Identity*. UN Inter-Agency Project Newsletter. Bangkok: UNESCO Office of Asia and the Pacific.

APPENDIX

The Impact of Citizenship on Educational Attainment

The following tables report odds ratios for educational attainment outcomes among highland youth based on parents' citizenship and other factors. Three statistical models are tested: parents' citizenship and individual factors; parent education levels only; and a third model that includes household wealth and school location as explanatory variables. The three models are tested for significance for three key transitional outcomes in educational attainment: entering elementary school; entering lower secondary school, and entering upper secondary school.

Overall, the findings indicate that the recent (2005) expansion of 'access' to educational attainment for all youth regardless of legal status, has not been realized. Despite attempts to remove the direct barrier to schooling by ensuring a place in the classroom for all children—even if they lack birth registration or citizenship—models here reveal that parental citizenship status continues to affect educational outcomes at key transitions through the schooling system. Specifically, five years after the issuance of this progressive policy, children of one or two citizens are found to be significantly more likely than children of non-citizens to enter elementary school. When controlling for parental education levels, the difference between children of one citizen and children of no citizens becomes statistically insignificant, and all inter-group differences are found to be insignificant when controlling for household wealth and location of primary school. In short, however, citizenship continues to matter when politically it should not.

Similar trends of difference are observed for the transition from elementary school to secondary school, and from lower secondary school to upper secondary school. Yet, for these two groups of youth, there are no discernible differences between children of non-citizens and children of one citizen alone. For this transition,

only children of two citizens are found to be significantly more likely to advance to lower secondary school from primary school. Notably, the significance of parental citizenship is rendered insignificant for those transitioning from elementary school to lower secondary school when controlling for parental education. Yet, the notable advantage attributed to children of *two* citizens persists in the transition from lower to upper secondary school when controlling for parental education, household wealth and school location. Despite the promise of ‘access’ to education for all, children of two citizens are nearly twice as likely to enroll in high school than children of non-citizens in the highlands of Thailand.

Table 18: Impact of Parent Citizenship on Entering Elementary School

	MODEL 1 Parent Citizenship & Individual Factors	MODEL 2 + Parent Education Levels	MODEL 3 + HH Wealth & School Location
<i>Note: Ages 8-10 only</i>	n=3,328	n=3,293	n=3,265
<i>Odds Ratio & Signif.</i>	OR sig	OR sig	OR sig
Parent Citizenship (<i>Neither, R</i>)			
1 Parent only	1.39 *	1.28	1.27
Both Citizens	1.58 ***	1.32 *	1.19
Sex (<i>Male, Ref.</i>)			
Female	1.25 **	1.27 **	1.28 **
Ethnicity (<i>Thai, Ref</i>)			
Lahu	0.17 ***	0.26 ***	0.35 **
Karen	0.44 *	0.58	0.63
Akha	0.39 **	0.60	0.73
Hmong	0.67	0.95	1.08
Lisu	0.16 ***	0.26 ***	0.32 **
Mien	0.41	0.59	0.71
Khamu	0.60	0.71	0.83
Lua	1.44	1.93	2.67
Thai Lue	1.80	2.26	2.48
Palong	0.20 ***	0.29 **	0.31 *
Thai Yai/Shan	0.68	1.00	1.02
Chinese	0.34 **	0.48	0.51
Burmese	0.74	1.14	1.06
Other	0.75	0.86	0.9
Mother Ed (<i>None, R</i>)	--		
Some Primary		1.62 *	1.61 *
Some Secondary		1.72 **	1.69 **
Upper Sec+		2.15	2.03
Father Ed (<i>None, R</i>)	--		
Some Primary		1.27	1.25
Some Secondary		1.48 *	1.41 *
Upper Sec+		1.49	1.37
HH Wealth (<i>Least, R</i>)	--	--	
2 nd Quartile			1.66 ***
3 rd Quartile			1.88 ***
Wealthiest Quartile			1.41 *
Primary or Secondary School in Village			
No (Reference)	--		
Yes			1.19
<i>Constant</i>	8.48 ***	5.47 ***	3.37 ***
<i>Model LROC</i>	0.68	0.69	0.70
<i>Log Likelihood</i>	-1513.52	-1486.05	LL=-1462.55
<i>Model Chi2 & Sig</i>	196.70 ***	225.31 ***	254.71 ***

Table 19: Impact of Parent Citizenship on Entering Secondary School

	MODEL 1 Parent Citizenship & Individual Factors	MODEL 2 + Parent Education Levels	MODEL 3 + HH Wealth & School Location
<i>Note: Ages 14-16 only</i>	n=3,010	n=2,978	n=2,941
<i>Odds Ratio & Signif.</i>	OR sig	OR sig	OR sig
Parent Citizenship (<i>Neither, R</i>)			
1 Parent only	1.32	1.22	1.21
Both Citizens	1.34 **	1.17	1.05
Sex (<i>Male, Ref.</i>)			
Female	1.31 ***	1.32 ***	1.35 ***
Ethnicity (<i>Thai, Ref</i>)			
Lahu	0.16 ***	0.27 ***	0.36 ***
Karen	0.38 ***	0.57 *	0.69
Akha	0.57 *	0.94	1.19
Hmong	0.39 ***	0.66	0.87
Lisu	0.15 ***	0.25 ***	0.35 ***
Mien	0.25 ***	0.38 **	0.41
Khamu	1.30	1.68	2.15
Lua	1.29	1.95	1.98
Thai Lue	0.54	0.71	0.62
Palong	0.08 ***	0.13 ***	0.14 ***
Thai Yai/Shan	0.63	0.98	--
Chinese	0.31 ***	0.47 **	0.45 **
Burmese	0.23 *	0.37	0.37
Other	1.16	1.83	1.94
Mother Ed (<i>None, R</i>)			
Some Primary		1.12	1.05
Some Secondary		1.62 *	1.57 *
Upper Sec+		8.99 *	9.67 *
Father Ed (<i>None, R</i>)			
Some Primary		1.61 **	1.64 *
Some Secondary		1.42 *	1.42 *
Upper Sec+		1.99	1.68
HH Wealth (<i>Least, R</i>)			
2 nd Quartile			1.25
3 rd Quartile			1.75 ***
Wealthiest Quartile			1.88 ***
Primary or Secondary School in Village			
No (Reference)			
Yes			1.56 ***
<i>Constant</i>	4.33 ***	2.68 ***	1.52
Model LROC	0.68	0.69	0.71
<i>Log Likelihood</i>	LL=-1750.04	LL=-1711.29	LL=-1662.87
<i>Model Chi2 & Sig</i>	273.37 ***	308.10 ***	358.31 ***

Table 20: Impact of Parent Citizenship on Entering Upper Secondary

	MODEL 1 Parent Citizenship & Individual Factors	MODEL 2 + Parent Education Levels	MODEL 3 + HH Wealth & School Location
<i>Note: Ages 17-19 only</i>	n=2,085	n=2,060	n=2,894
<i>Odds Ratio & Signif.</i>	OR sig	OR sig	OR sig
Parent Citizenship (Neither, R)			
1 Parent only	1.30	1.24	1.25
Both Citizens	2.18 ***	2.00 ***	1.95 ***
Sex (Male, Ref.)			
Female	1.32 **	1.29 **	1.28 **
Ethnicity (Thai, Ref)			
Lahu	0.18 ***	0.21 ***	0.24 ***
Karen	0.47 ***	0.50 **	0.56 *
Akha	0.31 ***	0.35 ***	0.39 ***
Hmong	0.25 ***	0.26 ***	0.30 ***
Lisu	0.11 ***	0.13 ***	0.15 ***
Mien	0.47 *	0.52	0.57
Khamu	0.29 ***	0.29 ***	0.33 ***
Lua	0.03 ***	0.04 **	0.05 **
Thai Lue	0.63	0.78	0.70
Palong	0.33	0.36	0.35
Thai Yai/Shan	0.59 *	0.65	0.67
Chinese	0.42 **	0.46 **	0.43 **
Burmese	0.73	0.81	0.86
Other	0.65	0.59	0.65
Mother Ed (None, R)	--		
Some Primary		1.17	1.18
Some Secondary		0.94	0.94
Upper Sec+		1.14	1.10
Father Ed (None, R)	--		
Some Primary		1.05	1.04
Some Secondary		1.53 *	1.51 *
Upper Sec+		2.43 **	2.17 *
HH Wealth (Least, R)	--	--	
2 nd Quartile			1.45 *
3 rd Quartile			1.20
Wealthiest Quartile			1.64 ***
Primary or Secondary School in Village			
No (Reference)	--	--	
Yes			1.18
<i>Constant</i>	1.14	1.04	1.72
<i>Model LROC</i>	0.66	0.67	0.68
<i>Log Likelihood</i>	LL=-1341.42	LL=-1317.57	LL=-1294.26
<i>Model Chi2 & Sig</i>	184.95 ***	197.52 ***	207.87 ***

Handbook for Data Collection of Highland Peoples' Survey II

This Survey instrument has 3 main Modules:

- 1) Village Questionnaire: (2 Modules)
 - 1A. Surveyor Questionnaire
 - 1B. Village history and profile
- 2) School Questionnaire (2 Modules)
 - 2A. School history & current operations
 - 2B. Teacher and school staff profiles
- 3) The Household Module (3 Modules)
 - 3A. Household history & profile
 - 3B. Household roster for members 1 – 12
 - 3C. Household roster for members 13 – 24 (use only if household has more than 12 members). _____

Must read and understand the questionnaires and the handbook for data collection before conducting interviews with villagers.

I: Preparation Phase

Check to ensure that you have the following before going to villages for interviews:

- a) At least 1 village questionnaires (1A & 1B) per village.
- b) At least 3 school questionnaires (2A & 2B) per village.
- c) Sufficient number of household questionnaires (3A & 3B) as estimated by the reported number of households per village plus an additional 20% .
- d) Sufficient number of extra household rosters (3C) as estimated as 20% of the number of household questionnaires (20% of 3A) to be used per village.
- e) Budget to give the village headperson.
- f) At least 10 blue pens (no pencils).
- g) At least 1 stamp ink for fingerprint/signature of villagers.
- h) Plastic storage containers or bags for the questionnaires to ensure that the data from each village:
 - Does not get wet.
 - Is not lost.

II: Interview Phase

Do the following every time a village leader, school leader or household member is interviewed:

- 1) Please learn and observe the rights of interviewees (provided in household modules 3A).
- 2) Use the local language to conduct the survey whenever possible.
- 3) Use the most simple language possible every time you ask a question to ensure that data is accurate and appropriate to the question asked.
- 4) In cases when you and the interviewee are not able to communicate:
 1. Ask another BSD staff person who can communicate to conduct the interview instead.
 2. If no BSD staff person who can communicate is available, have someone translate according to the following:
 - Have the interviewee select someone to translate every time.
 - Write the name of the translator in the survey.
- 5) No matter how well you think you know a family or a community, ask EVERY question. Please do not answer any questions for the interviewee or impose any of your opinions during the survey.
- 6) In cases where the interviewee answers “don’t know, not sure,” enter 99 in space provided for the answer.
- 7) In cases where specification of the date or year is requested, please probe to acquire the most accurate answer. Exact dates are difficult to remember for interviewees. Interviewers can help interviewees remember by asking the dates in relation to important dates such as the birth of a child, the year of or age at a marriage, year left for school, or date when acquired citizenship etc.

IIa: Village Interview (1B)

- 1) Please request to have the following people present when you conduct the village module:
 - a. Current village headman
 - b. Village council
 - c. Past village headman
 - d. Village elders who know the village history (male & female)
 - e. Village health volunteers
- 2) List names and positions of all persons present for interview in question C of questionnaire 1B.
- 3) Must enter the village ID code on bottom right-hand of every page of the questionnaire.

Iib: School Interviews (2A, 2B)

- 1) Characteristics of schools to be included in data collection:
 - a. Collect data for schools in villages that teach levels of grade 1 (□.1) and/or higher in accordance with Ministry of Education requirements.
 - b. If the school is only a child development center or a preschool, data collection is not necessary.
 - c. If it is a special school, such as an English language, Chinese, or Japanese language school, data collection is not necessary.
- 2) Please have the following persons present during school interviews:
 - a) Registered teachers and staff
 - b) Head teacher / Principal
 - c) No fewer than 2 normal teachers
 - d) No fewer than 2 parents of students if possible
- 3) Must enter the village ID code and school ID code in the space provided at the bottom right-hand of every page of the questionnaire. Enter the village ID code, and then enter 1 or 2 for every school in the village according to the total number of schools in the village.

Iic: Household Interviews (3A, 3B, 3C)

- 1) *Before beginning the interview, have the villagers prepare their household registrations, their survey cards, and other household documents.*
- 2) The household interviewee should be someone who knows information about the household related to the education, livelihoods, health, and other activities of all of the household members. (Most often, the person most capable of answering these questions is the head woman of the household).
- 3) Conduct the household questionnaire 3A first, then proceed to the household roster questionnaire 3B.
- 4) In the household questionnaire (3A), answer questions X, Y, & Z after conducting the interview.

Directions for Household Roster 3B/3C

- 5) If the household has more than 12 members, add household questionnaire 3C and enter the household ID at the bottom right-hand of every page of forms 3B and 3C.
- 6) Enter the name of every member in H1 in each line according to the directions given and then proceed to H2, H3, etc.
- 7) From question H4 on, complete data entry in the first line on the first page for the first person listed in H1 before proceeding to the second person and so on. Complete all data entry on the first page line by line before moving to the second page and continue accordingly.
- 8) Note the directions and titles of all questions in 3B & 3C before answering. Questions that are grey and state “All Answer”, are questions that must be answered for every person in the household. Do not skip these questions. But

if the question is white, these are questions that are answered in cases only appropriate to the directions provided. Follow directions carefully.

- 9) In all questions, the words “(NAME)” are written. Do not use the words “NAME” or “he” or “she” in order to prevent confusion. Use the real name of the household member to whom you are referring (as listed in H1) only.
- 10) In cases where the question is skipped, enter ‘X’ in the answer box provided.
- 11) In cases where the interviewee answers, “don’t know” or “not sure”, enter 99 in the answer box provided.
- 12) In cases of households with more than 12 members and questionnaire 3C is necessary, staple these documents together.
- 13) Enter important information regarding the atmosphere or situation occurring during data collection in question Z of questionnaire 3A after household data collection is complete.
- 14) Ensure that the household ID number is included on the bottom right-hand space provided of every page of the household questionnaire.

IId: Surveyor Interview (1A)

- 1) Fill in 1 surveyor questionnaire for each village interviewed after data collection in each village is completed.
- 2) Have staff fill in the questionnaire only for those villages for which they were present during or for which they were responsible for data collection.

III: Data Storage and Data Checking

- 1) Ensure that all ID codes are entered accurately on all pages of every questionnaire completed, particularly in the village questionnaire (1B) and in school questionnaire (2A & 2B).
- 2) Sure that the household ID codes are entered accurately on all pages of every household questionnaire completed (3A,3B,3C).
- 3) Ensure that data is stored according to village.
- 4) Store questionnaires in a secure space to protect both the data and to protect the interviewees who have provided confidential information from any negative consequences.

Handbook for In-Village Data Quality Assurance

Procedure 1: Ensuring data quality during data collection.

When conducting the survey in the village, use this procedure in order to ensure that the process of collection is appropriate and that the data collected are complete and accurate.

First: Please have data collection staff and villagers who assist in the survey practice the following before they are allowed to collect data:

1. Have them read the handbook for data collection.
2. Have them observe the survey being conducted no fewer than 2 times.
3. Observe and assist them in collecting data/conducting the survey no fewer than 2 times.

Survey Form 1A: Village Data Collection

- If the survey team enters a single village *more than 1 time* in the process of collecting data in a given village, please fill out form 1A *each and every time* the team returns to the village in order to record the problems encountered, resolutions for fixing these problems, and successes realized in each data collection visit.
- Ensure that each BSD survey staff person has an ID code, and enter this ID code for every staff person in form 1A for every person who attends a village data collection round.

Survey Form 1B: Village History

- Try to collect data from the village headperson and no less than 1 other person in the village in order to verify and complete the village history.
- Only enter 1 answer into each given answer block for each question, with the exception of those questions specifying that more than 1 answer may be given. And, please ensure that the code to the answer is appropriate. Please do not enter any markings whatsoever in boxes that are not answered or related to the given answer.

Survey Form 2A: School History

- Try to collect data from the school principal, and at least 1 additional person such as a teacher who can verify the school history information and ensure data accuracy.
- Only enter 1 answer into each given answer block for each question, with the exception of those questions specifying that more than 1 answer may be given. And, please ensure that the code to the answer is appropriate. Please do not enter any markings whatsoever in boxes that are not answered or related to the given answer.

Survey Form 3A: Household

- Only enter 1 answer into each given answer block for each question, with the exception of those questions specifying that more than 1 answer may be given. And, please ensure that the code to the answer is appropriate. Please do not enter any markings whatsoever in boxes that are not answered or related to the given answer.

Survey Form 3B/3C: Household Roster

- Follow directions in H1 to ensure that the roster of household members is complete (include persons who lived in the house but passed away within the last 5 years).
- Circle the name of the interviewee / person who provides information for the given household.
- When asking each and every question, use the actual name of the household member in question as given in H1 for the words “Name of Member”.
- For question H2 (age), if the age given does not match the age in the household registration (if used), use the age that the household member provides.
- For questions H11, H16, C5 and M2, verify the age in H2 and see whether the answer provided is plausible / compatible. If the answer given is not plausible, ask the interviewee to explain or answer again.
- Ensure that all questions have been asked and answered for questions that are listed in the uppermost line as “ask all”.
- For questions H12, H13, H17-H19, and H22-H24, please strictly follow directions and ensure answers provided are appropriate.
- For questions C5-C10, please read directions closely. If a member is listed as having citizenship in C3, answer C5-C6. If the member is listed as NOT having citizenship, answer C7-C10.
- For questions E10, E13, M3 and M5, enter the province code if appropriate.

Procedure 2: Ensuring data quality after data collection.

After data collection in the village has been completed, please conduct the following steps to ensure that data is accurate and complete prior to leaving the village.

Survey Form 1A: Village Data Collection

- Ensure all questions are answered. Have the data collection team verify and complete 1A together.

Survey Form 1B: Village History

- Ensure that the names and positions of each interviewee are entered.
- Verify that the answers are complete and appropriate (check to make sure the sheet is filled out appropriately particularly in instances where questions can be skipped).

Survey Form 2A: School History

- Verify that the answers are complete (check to make sure the sheet is filled out appropriately particularly in instances where questions can be skipped).
- Ensure that all interviewees and their respective positions are entered.

Form 2B: Roster of Teachers and School Administrators

- Ensure that information is given for all teachers and school staff listed in the school.

Form 3A: Household

- Enter the name of the person who is interviewed.
- Verify that the answers are complete and appropriate (check to make sure the sheet is filled out appropriately particularly in instances where questions can be skipped).

Check that the following questions have been answered appropriately:

- For questions listed as “All answer” check that information is listed for each person listed as a household member.
- Question number 8

Form 3B/3C: Household Roster

Check that the following questions have been answered appropriately:

- H1: Circle the name of the interviewee.
- H12-H13: Ensure answers are correct and appropriate.
- H16: Check against age given in H2.
- H17-H19: Check against H5 to ensure information is correct.
- H22-H24: Check against H5 to ensure information is correct.

Survey Module 1A: Surveyor

Form 1A



HIGHLAND PEOPLES' SURVEY



Survey Staff Questionnaire

Directions: Complete 1 form per village after the data collection process has been completed in the village.

1a. Name/Last Name _____ 1b. Staff ID Code(s) _____

2. Occupation _____

3. Age _____

4. Sex: Male Female

5. What ethnicity(s) are you? Enter code(s): _____

6. What language(s) can you speak? Enter code(s): _____

7. What language(s) can you understand? Enter code(s): _____

	1 = Karen	6 = Lisu	11 = Palong	16 = Thai
	2 = Hmong	7 = Lua	12 = Tongsu	17 = Thai Yai/Shan
	3 = Mien	8 = H'tin	13 = Chinese	18 = Northern Thai
	4 = Akha	9 = Khamu	14 = Burmese	19 = Other
	5 = Lahu	10 = Mlabri	15 = Thai Lue	

Codes for questions 5,6,7

8. Phone number to contact: _____

9. Email: _____

10. Name of village where data collected: _____

11a. Day entered village: _____ 11b. Day left village: _____

12. How did you collect data in this village? (Explain) _____

13. What language(s) did you use to collect data in this village? (Explain) _____

14a. Did anyone assist in translating during data collection? Yes No

14b. If yes, how did you select someone to translate?

Staff selected a translator

Villagers provided translator (s)

15. Who assisted in data collection in this village?

Check all appropriate boxes:

a. No one assisted us/me. BSD collected this data alone.

b. Village headperson

c. Village council (Specify number of persons) _____

d. Village health volunteers (Specify number of persons) _____

e. Other villagers: (Specify number of persons) _____

→ Please explain who was selected and reasons for selecting these persons. _____

16. Before having others assist in data collection, which trainings did you provide?

Check all appropriate boxes:

a. They observed no less than 3 family interviews prior to collecting data themselves.

b. They read and understood the handbook prior to collecting data.

c. During their first two interviews, BSD staff observed, helped and explained the survey

d. When they conducted their first 3 household interviews, staff verified that they followed the steps of data collection correctly.

17. Which way did household data collection proceed?

Check all appropriate boxes:

a. Went to each household to collect data.

b. Villagers came to a central location to be interviewed (specify where) _____

c. Other (explain) _____

18. Explain & summarize the various problems & obstacles encountered during data collection in this village: _____

19. Explain & summarize positive aspects of data collection that made data collection successful: _____

20. I certify that the information provided in this form is true and accurate:

Name / Last Name: _____

Date: _____

Survey Module 1B: Village History

Form 1B



HIGHLAND PEOPLES' SURVEY
General Village Questionnaire



- A. Date of survey (day/month/year): _____
- B. Staff ID code: _____
- C. Name/position of interviewee(s): _____
 (list all who provide information) _____
- D. Total number of years that village headman/leader has held this position: _____ yrs

Basic Village Information

1. Village Name / Cluster Name: _____
2. Village name as given in Ministry of Interior registry (Official name): _____
3. Has the village acquired official MOI registration yet? Yes (specify year) _____
 No
- 4a. Moo Thi: _____ 4b. Sub-district: _____
- 4c. District: _____ 4d. Province: _____

5. Number of households (หลังคาเรือน) in this village/cluster: _____
6. Total population of this village/cluster (Only those who are registered in TR 14): _____
7. In the past year, how many people *usually* lived/stayed in this village? _____

- 8a. In the past 5 years, have any new families moved into this village? Yes No (skip to 9a)
- 8b. Number of families: _____
- 9a. In the past 5 years have any families or members moved out of the village? Yes No (skip to 10)
- 9b. Number of families: _____

10. Number of villagers with Thai citizenship: _____ people
11. Number of villagers without Thai citizenship: _____ people
12. In the past year how many villagers in total acquired Thai citizenship? _____ people
13. In the past year how many villagers did you assist in applying for legal status / Thai citizenship? _____ people

14a. Number of years that village/cluster has been settled here: _____ yrs

14b. Year of village/cluster settlement: _____ date

15a. Has this village / cluster ever been forcibly resettled from a previous settlement?

Yes Never (skip to 16)

15b. Year of resettlement: _____

15c. Reason for resettlement of village / cluster: _____

15d. Place of settlement prior to resettlement: _____

16. Which ethnic groups reside in this village?

				<i>Enter 1 code per box for each ethnic group residing in the village</i>
<i>Codes</i>				
1 = Karen	6 = Lisu	11= Palong	16= Thai	<input type="checkbox"/>
2 = Hmong	7 = Lua	12= Tongsu	17= Thai Yai / Shan	<input type="checkbox"/>
3 = Mien	8 = H'tin	13= Chinese	18= Other	<input type="checkbox"/>
4 = Akha	9 = Khamu	14= Burmese		<input type="checkbox"/>
5 = Lahu	10= Mlabri	15= Thai Lue		<input type="checkbox"/>

17. If more than 5 ethnic groups are present, check box:

18. What religion(s) do villagers ascribe to?

		Enter codes:
Codes:	1 = Ancestor / Traditional Religion	<input type="checkbox"/>
	2 = Christian	<input type="checkbox"/>
	3 = Buddhist	<input type="checkbox"/>
	4 = Islam	
	5 = Other	

19. Distance in kilometers from village to District Office: _____ km

20. How long does it take to get to the District Office? (answer for each as appropriate)

a. Walking	_____ hr/min	c. Truck	_____ hr/min
b. Motorcycle	_____ hr/min	d. Other (specify)	_____ hr/min

21. How many checkpoints must villagers pass in order to get to District Office? _____

22a. Distance walking from village to international border: _____ km

22b. _____ hr/min

23a. Distance by road from village to international border: _____ km

23b. _____ hr/min

	Yes	√	No
24. Village located in Royal Project area?	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
25. Village located in National Park?	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
26. Village located in wildlife sanctuary?	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
27. Village located in national protected forest?	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
28. Village located in an official government restricted area or public land?	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>

29. Land title type used by villagers where they live: Enter code(s):

Codes: 0 = Do not have land rights (jap jong)
 1 = Chanot (landowner)
 2 = Saw Baw Gaw:
 3 = Right to farm title: ที่ดินจัดสรรให้ทำกิน
 4 = Other (explain) _____
 5 = Do not know

30. Land title type used by villagers where they farm: Enter code(s):

Codes: 0 = Do not have land rights (jap jong)
 1 = Chanot (landowner)
 2 = Saw Baw Gaw:
 3 = Right to farm title: ที่ดินจัดสรรให้ทำกิน
 4 = Other (explain) _____
 5 = Do not know

31. During the rainy season is the road entering the village accessible / usable? Yes No

	Yes	No
32. Is the entire road entering the village paved or concrete? -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
33. Does the village have a bus / truck service nearby? -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
34. Does the village have community radio? -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
35. Does the village have a news announcement speaker? -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
36. Does the village have a rice bank? -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
37. Does the village have at least one general store? -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
38. Does the village have electricity? -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
39. Does the village have a water tank? -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
40. Does the village contribute to the million baht fund? -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
41. Does the village have an animal bank? -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
42. Does the village have a early childhood development center? -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
43. Does the village have a community learning center? -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

44. Is a primary school located in the village? ----- Yes No
(If there is a primary school in the village, fill out form 2A/2B)

45. If there is no primary school in the village, how long does it take to travel to the nearest primary school by:

a. walking _____ min c. truck _____ min
 b. motorcycle _____ min d. other (specify) _____ min

46. If there a secundar school located in the village? ----- Yes No
(If there is a secondary school in the village, fill out form 2A/2B)

47. If there is no secondary school in the village, how long does it take to travel to the nearest secondary school by:

a. walking _____ min c. truck _____ min
 b. motorcycle _____ min d. other (specify) _____ min

48a. Does the village have a health center? ----- Yes No skip to 49)

b. If yes, how many years total? _____ yrs

If yes, does the health center provide these following services?

	Yes	No
c. Vaccines -----	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Pre and post-natal care -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Family planning (birth control) -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. Birth delivery -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. Treatment for diarrhea -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h. Basic emergency care -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i. Distribution of medicine -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j. HIV/AIDS information -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

49. If the village does not have a health center, how long does it take to travel to the nearest health center by:

a. walking _____ min	c. truck _____ min
b. motorcycle _____ min	d. other (specify) _____ min

50. How long does it take to travel to the nearest pharmacy by:

a. walking _____ min	c. truck _____ min
b. motorcycle _____ min	d. other (specify) _____ min

51a. Does this village have village health volunteers (AwSawMaw)? ----- Yes No (If no, do not continue).

If yes, do the volunteers provide the following services?

	Yes	No
b. Vaccines -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Pre and post-natal care -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Family planning (birth control) -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. Birth delivery -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. Treatment for diarrhea -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h. Basic emergency care -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i. Distribution of medicine -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j. HIV/AIDS information -----	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Survey Module 2A: School History

Form 2A



Highland Peoples' Survey



General School Questionnaire

A. Date of Survey (dd/mm/yyyy): _____

B. Surveyor ID: _____

C. Name/Position of interviewee(s): _____
 (List all people who participate) _____

Basic Village Information

1. Village Name / Cluster Name: _____

2. Village name as given in Ministry of Interior registry (Official name): _____

4a. Moo Thi: _____ 4b. Sub-district: _____

4c. District: _____ 4d. Province: _____

Basic School Information

5. School Name _____

6a. Year school founded: _____

6b. Approximately how long has the school been open? _____ yrs

7. Is the school a government or private school? Gov Private

8a. Founded by? Enter Code

Codes: 1= Border Police Patrol

2= Department of Non-Formal Education

3= Department of Primary Education

4= Private Organization (Name) _____

5= Religious Organization (Name) _____

6= Other? (Name) _____

8b. What organization currently administers / manages the school? Enter Code

Codes: 1= Border Police Patrol

2= Department of Non-Formal Education

3= Department of Primary Education

4= Private Organization (Name) _____

5= Religious Organization (Name) _____

6= Other? (Name) _____

9a. Has the school ever closed for longer than one month (for a reason other than holiday etc.)? →

Yes No (Skip to 10)

9b. How many times has the school closed for longer than 1 month (for non-normal reasons)? _____

9c. How long was the school closed (for non-normal reasons)? _____

9d. Why did the school close for non-normal reasons? Enter Code

Codes: 1= No students / families were interested

2= No teacher(s) available

3= Not enough funding to pay teacher(s)

4= No funding (other reason)

5= Teacher(s) were unreliable / came or taught irregularly

6= Other? (Specify) _____

10. Educational programs / curricula available:

Check all that apply
 a. Preschool
 b. Primary (B1-B6)
 c. Lower Secondary (M1-M3) Since what yr? _____
 d. Upper Secondary (M4-M6) Since what yr? _____
 e. Adult Education
 f. Non-Formal Education (GawSawNaw)
 g. Vocational Education (specify type) _____

11a. What is the primary material used to construct the classroom walls?

Codes: 1= Bamboo
 2= Wood
 3= Cement Blocks
 4= Other (specify)

Enter Code

11b. What is the primary material used to construct the roof of the classrooms?

Codes: 1= Palm/Thatch
 2= Corrugated Metal
 3= Tile
 4= Other (specify)

Enter Code

12a. How many classrooms does the school have (other than computer rooms or meeting rooms)?

Enter number of rooms

12b. Are there enough desks for each/every student?

 Yes No

13a. How many bathrooms are available for student use?

Enter number of rooms

13b. Are there separate facilities for teachers and students?

13c. Are there separate toilet facilities for male and female students?

13d. Is soap provided regularly for student use?

Yes No
 Yes No
 Yes No

14. Where does the students' drinking water come from?

Codes: 1 = river
 2 = rain
 3 = well
 4 = mountain water pipe system
 5 = buy from store/market
 6 = other

Enter all that apply

15. What do you do to make the water safer to drink, if anything?

Codes: 1 = nothing
 2 = boil
 3 = Stone filter system
 4 = Alum filtration system
 5 = other

Enter Code

16. Does the school have the following: Check all that apply

<input type="checkbox"/> a. Electricity in school?	<input type="checkbox"/> g. Programs to help blind children / vision impairment?
<input type="checkbox"/> b. A library?	<input type="checkbox"/> h. Programs to help deaf children / hearing impairment?
<input type="checkbox"/> c. A field for playing sports?	<input type="checkbox"/> i. Language instruction other than Thai?
<input type="checkbox"/> d. At least 1 computer for student use?	
<input type="checkbox"/> e. Internet connection for student use?	
<input type="checkbox"/> f. Fans in all classrooms	

10. Educational programs / curricula available:

Check all that apply

a. Preschool

b. Primary (B1-B6)

c. Lower Secondary (M1-M3) Since what yr? _____

d. Upper Secondary (M4-M6) Since what yr? _____

e. Adult Education

f. Non-Formal Education (GawSawNaw)

g. Vocational Education (specify type) _____

11a. What is the primary material used to construct the classroom walls?

Codes: 1= Bamboo
2= Wood
3= Cement Blocks
4= Other (specify)

Enter Code

11b. What is the primary material used to construct the roof of the classrooms?

Codes: 1= Palm/Thatch
2= Corrugated Metal
3= Tile
4= Other (specify)

Enter Code

12a. How many classrooms does the school have (other than computer rooms or meeting rooms)?

Enter number of rooms

12b. Are there enough desks for each/every student?

Yes No

13a. How many bathrooms are available for student use?

Enter number of rooms

13b. Are there separate facilities for teachers and students?

Yes No

13c. Are there separate toilet facilities for male and female students?

13d. Is soap provided regularly for student use?

14. Where does the students' drinking water come from?

Codes: 1 = river
2 = rain
3 = well
4 = mountain water pipe system
5 = buy from store/market
6 = other

Enter all that apply

15. What do you do to make the water safer to drink, if anything?

Codes: 1 = nothing
2 = boil
3 = Stone filter system
4 = Alum filtration system
5 = other

Enter Code

16. Does the school have the following: Check all that apply

a. Electricity in school?

b. A library?

c. A field for playing sports?

d. At least 1 computer for student use?

e. Internet connection for student use?

f. Fans in all classrooms

g. Programs to help blind children / vision impairment?

h. Programs to help deaf children / hearing impairment?

i. Language instruction other than Thai?

School Budget

17. What source contributes to most of the school's budget? Enter all that apply

1= Border Police Patrol

2= Department of Non-Formal Education

3= Department of Primary Education

Codes: 4= Private Organization (Specify) _____

5= Religious Organization (Specify) _____

6= Other (Name) _____

18a. Does the school have a budget for purchasing new books every year? Yes No (skip to 19) →

18b. Is this budget sufficient to provide textbooks to every student? Yes No

19. What proportion of students have their own textbooks? Enter Code

0= None of the students have their own books

1= Fewer than half of the students have their own books

Codes: 2= About half of the students have their own books

3= More than half of the students have their own books

4= All of the students have their own books

99= Don't Know

20. Has the school received in-kind support (non-monetary donations) from: What kind of donations?

✓ check all that apply

a. Border Police Patrol? _____

b. Department of Non-Formal Education? _____

c. Department of Primary Education? _____

d. Private Organization (Specify) _____

e. Religious Organization (Specify) _____

f. Other? (Specify) _____

21. In this school are free lunches provided to all students every day? Yes No

22. Is free milk provided to all students every day? Yes No

23. Is there a school bus/truck for the students here? Yes No

24. Is a vaccine service provided to students here? Yes No

25. Do the parents contribute to the construction of the school or give necessary supplies to the school?

Yes

No

26a. Are scholarships available to the students (for assistance with schooling/led only)? Yes No (Skip to 27) →

27. What ethnicity (ethnicities) are the students?

- Codes:
- | | |
|-----------|---------------------|
| 1 = Karen | 10= Mlabri |
| 2 = Hmong | 11= Palong |
| 3 = Mien | 12= Tongsu |
| 4 = Akha | 13= Chinese |
| 5 = Lahu | 14= Burmese |
| 6 = Lisu | 15= Thai Lue |
| 7 = Lua | 16= Thai |
| 8 = H'tin | 17= Thai Yai / Shan |
| 9 = Khamu | 18= Other |

Enter codes of the largest ethnic group at the top and proceed to the smallest ethnic group at the bottom.

Enter code(s)

28. What language(s) do the teachers use to teach & explain in order to help students understand instructions?

- | | | | |
|-----------|------------|--------------|---------------------|
| 1 = Karen | 6 = Lisu | 11= Palong | 16= Thai |
| 2 = Hmong | 7 = Lua | 12= Tongsu | 17= Thai Yai / Shan |
| 3 = Mien | 8 = H'tin | 13= Chinese | 18= Northern Thai |
| 4 = Akha | 9 = Khamu | 14= Burmese | 19= Other |
| 5 = Lahu | 10= Mlabri | 15= Thai Lue | |

Enter code(s)

29. What proportion of the students in this school have Thai citizenship?

- Codes:
- 0= None of the students have Thai citizenship.
 - 1= Fewer than half of the students have Thai citizenship.
 - 2= Half of the students have Thai citizenship.
 - 3= Most of the students have Thai citizenship.
 - 4= All of the students have Thai citizenship.
 - 99= Don't Know

Enter code

--

30a. Does this village have students from other villages?

- Yes No (Skip to 31)

30b. If yes, what villages do they come from? (List village name, subdistrict, district, province, country)

30b1 _____

30b2 _____

30b3 _____

30b4 _____

30b5 _____

30c. How do students from other villages come to school?

- c1. Walk Farthest distance _____ Min/Hr
- c2. Motorcycle Farthest distance _____ Min/Hr
- c3. Truck Farthest distance _____ Min/Hr
- c4. School bus/truck Farthest distance _____ Min/Hr

30d. In order to study here, do students from other villages come stay/board in a dorm?

- Yes No

School enrollment and attendance

31. School enrollment for 2551-2552 school year (last year)

	Boys	Girls	Total
Preschool			
B1			
B2			
B3			
B4			
B5			
B6			
M1			
M2			
M3			
M4			
M5			
M6			
Tech 1			
Tech 2			
Tech 3			

32. School enrollment for 2552-2553 school year (this year)

	Boys	Girls	Total
Preschool			
B1			
B2			
B3			
B4			
B5			
B6			
M1			
M2			
M3			
M4			
M5			
M6			
Tech 1			
Tech 2			
Tech 3			

33a. Are there school-age children or youth in this school's jurisdiction who do NOT go to school?

Yes No

33b. Why do they not come to school? _____

Survey Module 2B: School Roster

Household Questionnaire 2: Members of Household

Form 3B

Females ONLY			These questions address information about each member's biological mother					These questions address information about each member's biological father					
H0	H14	H15	H16	H17 All Answer	H18	H19	H20 All Answer	H21 All Answer	H22 All Answer	H23	H24	H25 All Answer	H26 All Answer
Questions	How many children has (NAME) ever given birth to?	How many of these children are still alive?	How old was (NAME) the first time she gave birth?	Is (NAME)'s biological mother listed in this household (in H1)?	<i>If her name is listed in household</i> 1. Identify the name in question (H1) 2. Enter the respective member ID number as listed in (H0). 3. Skip to H20.	Why is (NAME)'s biological mother NOT listed as a member in this household?	What is the highest level of school that (NAME)'s biological mother attended?	Does/Did (NAME)'s biological mother have citizenship?	Is (NAME)'s biological father listed in this household (in H1)?	<i>If his name is listed in household</i> 1. Identify the name in question (H1) 2. Enter the respective member ID number as listed in (H0). 3. Skip to H25.	Why is (NAME)'s biological father NOT listed as a member in this household?	What is the highest level of school that (NAME)'s biological father attended?	Does/Did (NAME)'s biological mother have citizenship?
	Females ONLY			<i>If yes, answer and proceed to H18</i> <i>If no, answer and skip to H19</i>		1: Deceased 2: Is a member of other household 3: Other, specify	<i>Write level of school.</i> <i>If never studied, enter 0</i>	<i>circle</i>	<i>If yes, answer and proceed to H23</i> <i>If no, answer and skip to H24</i>		1: Deceased 2: Is a member of other household 3: Other, specify	<i>Write level of school.</i> <i>If never studied, enter 0</i>	<i>circle</i>
Directions & Codes	Enter Number	Enter Number	Enter Age	Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99	Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99
1				Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99	Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99
2				Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99	Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99
3				Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99	Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99
4				Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99	Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99
5				Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99	Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99
6				Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99	Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99
7				Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99	Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99
8				Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99	Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99
9				Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99	Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99
10				Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99	Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99
11				Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99	Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99
12				Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99	Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99

Enter 'X' in each box for every question skipped. Enter 99 for "Don't Know"

page 2 of 7

Household # _____

Survey Module 3A: Household History

Form 3A



HIGHLAND PEOPLES' SURVEY



Household Questionnaire 1: Household History

A. Date of survey (day/month/year): _____

B. Data Collector:

a. Staff / Enter Code: _____

b. Village headperson

c. Village committee member

d. Village health volunteer (AwSawMaw)

e. Villager (other)

BASIC VILLAGE INFORMATION

Roof # _____ (Enter at bottom right on each page of the survey)

1. Village name / Cluster name: _____

2. Village name as given in Ministry of Interior registry (Official name): _____

4a. Moo Thi: _____ 4b. Sub-district: _____

4c. District: _____ 4d. Province: _____

Introduction

Hello. My name is _____. I work with the the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, and together with UNESCO, we are here collecting information that we need know about problems of legal status and problems related to birth registration. We are interested in how things have changed. In collecting information this time, we did not come to collect data for legal status applications or to add names in the household registration. Moreover, we are not interested in whether anyone has obeyed or broken laws.

The data we are collecting now will enable us to identify problems and to improve policies and laws to solve legal status and birth registration problems. The questionnaire will take approximately 20 to 40 minutes. Every question and every answer is confidential. We will not reveal this information to the public.

We hope that you will participate in this survey. Sharing your experiences and discussing situations in your community will enable us to problems. The questionnaire will take approximately 20 to 40 minutes. Every question and every answer is confidential. We will not reveal this information to the public.

We hope that you will participate in this survey. Sharing your experiences and discussing situations in your community will enable us to achieve success with this survey.

At this time, do you have any questions for me about the survey?
May I begin the interview now?

Signature (fingerprint) of interviewee: _____

Signature of interviewer: _____

Day/ Month/ Year: _____

X. Languages used to interview:

1 = Karen	6 = Lisu	11= Palong	Enter Code <input type="text"/>	
2 = Hmong	7 = Lua	12= Tongsu		
3 = Mien	8 = H'tin	13=Chinese		16=Thai
4 = Akha	9 = Khamu	14=Burmese		17=Shan/Thai Yai
5 = Lahu	10= Mlabri	15=Thai Lue		18=Other (Specify)

Y. Result of Survey

1= Completed	Enter Code <input type="text"/>
2= No household member at home at time of survey	
3 = This household had moved to another village	
4= Refused	
5= Other, specify: _____	

Z. Important issues that arose during interview: _____

5. Positions held or duties carried out in this village:

- a. Village head
- b. Village council
- c. Village Representative to the Subdistrict
- d. Religious leader

√ Check all that apply

- e. Trained health volunteer
- f. Teacher at anubaan
- g. Teacher at Bratom or Matyom
- h. School staff
- i. Other (specify)

5j. Are you a member of any groups in this village / other memberships?

6a. What language(s) do you speak at home with your family?

- | | | | | | | |
|--------|-----------|-------------|---------------|----------------------|--|--------------------|
| Codes: | 1 = Karen | 6 = Lisu | 11 = Palong | Enter all that apply | | |
| | 2 = Hmong | 7 = Lua | 12 = Tongsu | | | |
| | 3 = Mien | 8 = H'tin | 13 = Chinese | | | 16 = Thai |
| | 4 = Akha | 9 = Khamu | 14 = Burmese | | | 17 = Shan/Thai Yai |
| | 5 = Lahu | 10 = Mlabri | 15 = Thai Lue | | | 18 = Other |

6b. Can read Thai?

6c. Can write Thai?

6d. Can understand Central or Northern Thai during interview?

Cannot	A Little	Well	Fluent
-----	-----	-----	-----
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	-----	-----	-----
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. What religion do most of your family members ascribe to?

- | | | | |
|--------|-----------------|-----------|------------|
| Codes: | 1 = Traditional | 4 = Islam | Enter Code |
| | 2 = Christian | 5 = Other | |
| | 3 = Buddhist | | |
-

8. How long has your family lived in this village? _____ yrs

9. Where did your family live prior to moving to this village?

- | | | |
|--------|---|------------|
| Codes: | 0 = Been here since birth | Enter Code |
| | 1 = Different village in this district | |
| | 2 = Different district in this province | |
| | 3 = Different province Enter province code: _____ | |
- 4 = Different Country: (Specify) _____
-

Province Code

- | | | | |
|--|---|---|--|
| <p>North</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1: Chiang Mai 2: Chiang Rai 3: Mae Hong Son 4: Lamphun 5: Lamphun 6: Nan 7: Phayao 8: Phrae 9: Uttaradit | <p>Central</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 15: Ang Thong 16: Ayutthaya 17: Bangkok 18: Chai Nat 19: Kamphaeng Phet 20: Lop Buri 21: Nakhon Nayok 22: Nakhon Pathom 23: Nakhon Sawan 24: Nonthaburi 25: Pathum Thani 26: Phetchabun 27: Phichit 28: Phitsanulok 29: Samut Prakan 30: Samut Sakhon 31: Samut Songkhram 32: Saraburi 33: Sing Buri 34: Sukhothai 35: Suphan Buri 36: Uthai Thani | <p>East</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 37: Chachoengsao 38: Chanthaburi 39: Chon Buri 40: Prachin Buri 41: Rayong 42: Sa Kaeo 43: Trat <p>South</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 44: Chumphon 45: Krabi 46: Nakhon Si Thammarat 47: Narathiwat 48: Pattani 49: Phang Nga 50: Phatthalung 51: Phuket 52: Ranong 53: Satun 54: Songkhla 55: Surat Thani 56: Trang 57: Yala | <p>Northeast/ Isan</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 58: Amnat Charoen 59: Buri Ram 60: Chaiyaphum 61: Kalasin 62: Khon Kaen 63: Loei 64: Maha Sarakham 65: Mukdahan 66: Nakhon Phanom 67: Nakhon Ratchasima 68: Nong Bua Lamphu 69: Nong Khai 70: Roi Et 71: Sakon Nakhon 72: Si Sa Ket 73: Surin 74: Ubon Ratchathani 75: Udon Thani 76: Yasothon |
|--|---|---|--|

10a. House material (primary material for construction) Enter Code

Codes: 1= Bamboo
2= Wood
3= Cement blocks
4= Other

10b. Roof material Enter Code

Codes: 1= Palm/thatch
2= Corrugated Metal
3= Tile
4= Other

11. Type of toilet Enter Code

Codes: 1 = don't have one
2 = pit with boards 2= ส้วมหลุม
3 = hand-flush 3= ส้วมชักน้ำ
4 = pump-flush 4= ส้วมชักน้ำเครื่อง
5 = other (explain) 5= อื่นๆระบุ

12. In the house do you have the following electronic items: ?

√ Check all that apply

- a. electricity
- b. radio
- c. telephone/ cell phone
- d. tv
- e. satellite
- f. refridgerator
- g. airconditioner
- h. computer

13. Do any of the people who live in this house have the following?

How many?

- a. Bicycle
- b. Motorcycle
- c. Truck

14a. Where does your drinking water come from? Enter all that apply

Codes: 1 = river / stream
2 = rain
3 = well
4 = mountain water pipe system
5 = buy from store/market
6 = other

14b. What do you do to make your drinking water clean and safe? Enter code

Codes: 1 = nothing
2 = boil
3 = stone filter system (น้ำกรองหิน)
4 = tank filtration system (น้ำกรองตะกอน)
5 = other

In the next section, we'll talk about your land use and your family's livelihoods.

15. Where does your family's income come from?

√ Check all that apply

- a. Sell agricultural products
- b. Raise and sell animals
- c. Sell handicrafts/artwork
- d. Day labor / wage labor
- e. Vendor
- f. Other (explain) _____

16. In the past year, has any member of your family who lives outside this village sent money home to the family?

√ never once/twice regularly

17. Where does the rice that your family eats during the year come from?

Codes: 1= Plants all of it. Enter code
 2= Plants some and buys some from the market.
 3= Buys all of it from the market.
 4= Other (specify) _____

18. In the past 5 years has your family done the following in order to have enough rice to eat during the year?

Check all that apply ✓

<input type="checkbox"/> a. Borrowed from neighbor/friend <input type="checkbox"/> b. Borrowed money to buy food/rice <input type="checkbox"/> c. Borrowed from food/rice bank	<input type="checkbox"/> d. Received from donations <input type="checkbox"/> e. Sold land to buy rice/food <input type="checkbox"/> f. Other _____
--	--

19. In the past year, approximately how much of your land did your family use for planting?

Codes: 0= We do not have any land Enter code
 1= Use less than half of our land
 2= Use about half of our land
 3= Use most of our land
 4= Use all of our land

20a. If your family plants rice, in one year how many times per year do you plant it? _____ # times

20b. How many rai in total does your family use per time/each time you plant rice? _____ # rai

21. Other than rice, what other kinds of agricultural crops does your family plant?

List the 3 crops planted most.

Name of Crop	How many times did you plant this crop last year?	How many rai did you use at a single time to plant this crop?
21.a1. Crop 1 _____	a2. _____	a3. _____
21.b1. Crop 2 _____	b2. _____	b3. _____
21.c1. Crop 3 _____	c2. _____	c3. _____

22. While farming in the past year, has your family:

	Yes	No	Don't know
22a. Used chemical fertilizer?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22b. Used pesticides?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22c. Used weed killers?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22d. Had to purchase seeds?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22e. Had to hire people to help farm?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

23. How many of the following animals does your family raise/own?

	How many?
a. Cows _____	e. Goats _____
b. Water buffalo _____	f. Chickens _____
c. Pigs _____	g. Ducks _____
d. Horses _____	h. Other _____

24a. What type of documents or evidence does your family hold regarding land ownership?

Codes: 0 = None (JapJong) Enter Code
 1 = Chanot (Landowner)
 2 = Saw Baw Gaw (S.B.G)
 3 = Right to Farm (ที่ดินจัดสรรเพื่อทำกิน)
 4 = Other (Please specify) _____

24b. If you have chanot or Saw Baw Gaw how long have you had these documents? _____ Enter year acquired _____

25. In the past 5 years has your family encountered the following problems:

✓ Can select both

a. Has a person in your family been arrested, detained, or bribed in the case of farming land?

b. Has someone in your family been arrested, detained or bribed for not having a Thai citizen card or for not having permission documents to leave an area?

26a. Does your family have debt? Yes No (If no, skip to 27)

26b. How long has your family had debt? _____ yrs

26c. Approximately how much debt does your family have?

- Codes:
- 0 = Less than 10,000 baht
 - 1 = Between 10,000 and 25,000 baht
 - 2 = Between 25,001 and 50,000 baht
 - 3 = Between 50,001 and 75,000 baht
 - 4 = Between 75,001 and 100,000 baht
 - 5 = More than 100,000 baht
 - 99 = Other (explain) _____

Enter Code

26d. Who did you borrow from?

- Check all that apply.
- a. Neighbor / friend.
 - b. Family member
 - c. Village fund
 - d. Bank
 - e. Agricultural company
 - f. Other (specify) _____

26e. Why did you borrow money?

- Check all that apply
- a. Education
 - b. Health
 - c. Need to invest in farming
 - d. Purchase land
 - e. Purchase home or auto
 - f. Other (explain) _____

The next section is about your legal status (nationality).

27. Do you have Thai citizenship? _____

Yes No (skip to 29)

28. Only for people who have Thai citizenship

28a. Before you acquired citizenship, did you ever apply for it? Yes Never

28b. Have you ever taken a DNA test for a family member or relative? Yes Never

28c. How many times did you apply for legal status before you acquired citizenship/ Thai ID? _____ # times

28d. How long did you wait until you acquired Thai citizenship? Calculate from the first time you applied for applied for citizenship / legal status. _____ yrs

29. Only for people without Thai citizenship.

29a. Have you ever applied for legal status? Yes Never

29b. Have you ever taken a DNA test? Yes Never

29c. How many times have you applied for legal status? _____ # times

29d. How long have you waited for legal status? Please calculate from the first time you ever applied. _____ yrs

In the next section, we will talk about about education.

- 30a. In the past year, did any of your children attend school? (elementary, secondary or early vocational (ประถมศึกษา, มัธยมศึกษา หรือ วิชา ปวช.)) Yes No (Skip to 31)
- 30b. Did your child(ren) who studied live outside the village?
- 30c. In the past year, if you had children who studied outside the village did you ever visit them at school? Yes Never
- 30d. If you have children who study outside the village, how many times per year do they (he/she) come visit home? (those who study farthest away) _____ # times

In the next section we will talk about health.

31. In the last year, when your family members were sick, where did they go for treatment? ←
check all that apply
- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> a. Traditional doctor ✓
<input type="checkbox"/> b. Health clinic
<input type="checkbox"/> c. District hospital
<input type="checkbox"/> d. Provincial hospital | <input type="checkbox"/> e. Private clinic
<input type="checkbox"/> f. Private hospital
<input type="checkbox"/> g. Other (specify) _____ |
|--|---|

32. What are you most concerned/worried about when seeking medical treatment? Enter Code
- 1 = Don't have health insurance (baht thong)
 2 = Worried about high payment costs or time
 3 = Worried cannot communicate with staff
 4 = Worried that will be arrested, detained or bribed when traveling to the hospital
 5 = Worried that medical staff will discriminate / look down on tribal people
 6 = Other (specify)
-

In the next section, we will discuss HIV/AIDS (do not explain or answer for the interviewee)

33. Have you ever heard about HIV/AIDS? Yes No DK
34. Can you contract HIV/AIDS in the following ways? :
- | | Yes | No | DK |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. Share a needle with someone who has HIV/AIDS | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Mosquito / Insect bite | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. From mother's womb to child | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Eat with someone who has HIV/AIDS | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. Have sex with someone who has HIV/AIDS without using a condom | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f. Kiss a person who has HIV/AIDS | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
35. If you use a condom every time you have sex, can you protect yourself from contracting HIV/AIDS?
- 36a. Do you know a place where people can be tested for HIV? Yes DK b. (Where) _____
- 37a. Do you know a place that sells or distributes condoms? Yes DK b. (Where) _____
38. Is there a cure for HIV/AIDS? Yes No DK
39. If you know that a person who has HIV/AIDS, would you buy and eat food from that person? Yes No DK
40. If someone in your family contracted HIV/AIDS would you keep it a secret? Yes No DK
41. If someone in your family contracted HIV/AIDS would you allow them to stay with you and help to care for their health? Yes No DK
42. If your child were between 12 and 14 years old, would you like them to study about the use of condoms to protect themselves from HIV/AIDS? Yes No DK

Survey Module 3B: Household Roster

Household Questionnaire 2: Members of Household

Form 3B

Questions on this page address basic information about household members and relationships between household members

HO	Questions						Ever Married ONLY			
	H4 All Answer	H5 All Answer	H6 All Answer	H7 All Answer	H8 All Answer	H9 All Answer	H10 All Answer	H11	H12	H13
Directions & Codes	What ethnicity is (NAME)? 1: Karen 10: Mlabri 2: Hmong 11: Palong 3: Mien 12: Tongsu 4: Akha 13: Chinese 5: Lahu 14: Burmese 6: Lisu 15: Thai Lue 7: Lua 16: Thai 8: H'tin 17: Thai Yai/Shan 9: Khamu 18: Other (list)	What is (NAME)'s relationship to the head of the household? 1: Head of household 2: Spouse/wife/husband 3: Biological Child 4: Daughter/Son-in-law 5: Grandchild 6: Father or Mother 7: Father/Mother-in-law 8: Sibling 9: Niece or Nephew 10: Relative (other) 11: Non-biological child 12: Friend 13: Non-biological parent	Which country was (NAME) born in? 1: Thai 2: Burma 3: Lao 4: China 5: Cambodia 6: Other (list) 99: D't Know	Where was (NAME) born? 1: House 2: Hospital 3: Clinic 4: Other (list) 99: D't Know	What does (NAME) do for a living? 0: Too young/Too old 1: Student 2: Ag/Raise animals 3: Fishery/Forestry 4: Construction 5: Factory Worker 6: Beautician 7: Traditional Massage 8: Masseuse 9: Maid 10: Restaurant / Hotel worker 11: Pub / Bar 12: Karaoke / Go-Go Bar 13: Security Guard 14: Other service work 15: Vendor 16: Manager 17: Administrator/ Clerk 18: Other business 19: Teacher/Instructor 20: Foundation / Religious org 21: Government officer 22: Academic/Expert 23: Wage Labor 24: Other (Specify) 99: Don't Know	What is (NAME)'s position in his/her job? 0: Student 1: Farm/Land Owner 2: Farm Worker 3: Farm Wage Labor 4: Business Owner 5: Manager 6: Staff 7: Wage Labor 8: Other 99: Don't Know	What is (NAME)'s marital status? 0: Never Married 1: Married 2: Divorced 3: Widowed 4: Other	How old was (NAME) when he/she first got married? Enter Age	Is (NAME)'s spouse listed in this household (in H1)? If Yes, answer and proceed to H13 If No, answer and skip to H14 Yes No 1 2	If name is listed in household 1. Identify the name in question (H1) 2. Enter the respective member ID number as listed in (H0).
1									Yes No 1 2	
2									Yes No 1 2	
3									Yes No 1 2	
4									Yes No 1 2	
5									Yes No 1 2	
6									Yes No 1 2	
7									Yes No 1 2	
8									Yes No 1 2	
9									Yes No 1 2	
10									Yes No 1 2	
11									Yes No 1 2	
12									Yes No 1 2	

Enter 'X' in each box for every question skipped. Enter 99 for "Don't Know"

page 1 of 7

Household #

Household Questionnaire 2: Members of Household

Form 3B

Females ONLY			These questions address information about each member's biological mother					These questions address information about each member's biological father					
H0	H14	H15	H16	H17 All Answer	H18	H19	H20 All Answer	H21 All Answer	H22 All Answer	H23	H24	H25 All Answer	H26 All Answer
Questions	How many children has (NAME) ever given birth to?	How many of these children are still alive?	How old was (NAME) the first time she gave birth?	Is (NAME)'s biological mother listed in this household (in H1)?	<i>If her name is listed in household</i> 1. Identify the name in question (H1) 2. Enter the respective member ID number as listed in (H0). 3. Skip to H20.	Why is (NAME)'s biological mother NOT listed as a member in this household?	What is the highest level of school that (NAME)'s biological mother attended?	Does/Did (NAME)'s biological mother have citizenship?	Is (NAME)'s biological father listed in this household (in H1)?	<i>If his name is listed in household</i> 1. Identify the name in question (H1) 2. Enter the respective member ID number as listed in (H0). 3. Skip to H25.	Why is (NAME)'s biological father NOT listed as a member in this household?	What is the highest level of school that (NAME)'s biological father attended?	Does/Did (NAME)'s biological mother have citizenship?
	Directions & Codes			<i>Females ONLY</i> <i>If yes, answer and proceed to H18</i> <i>If no, answer and skip to H19</i>			<i>Write level of school.</i> <i>If never studied, enter 0</i>	<i>circle</i>	<i>If yes, answer and proceed to H23</i> <i>If no, answer and skip to H24</i>	<i>Write level of school.</i> <i>If never studied, enter 0</i>	<i>circle</i>		
	Enter Number	Enter Number	Enter Age	Yes No 1 2		1: Deceased 2: Is a member of other household 3: Other, specify		Yes No DK 1 2 99	Yes No 1 2		1: Deceased 2: Is a member of other household 3: Other, specify		Yes No DK 1 2 99
1				Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99	Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99
2				Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99	Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99
3				Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99	Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99
4				Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99	Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99
5				Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99	Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99
6				Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99	Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99
7				Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99	Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99
8				Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99	Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99
9				Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99	Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99
10				Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99	Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99
11				Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99	Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99
12				Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99	Yes No 1 2				Yes No DK 1 2 99

Enter 'X' in each box for every question skipped. Enter 99 for "Don't Know"

Household # _____

Household Questionnaire 2: Members of Household

Form 3B

Questions on this page address information about legal status

H0	Questions				Thai citizens ONLY		People WITHOUT Thai Citizenship ONLY			C10	Codes for C2 & C10
	C1 All Answer	C2	C3 All Answer	C4 All Answer	C5	C6	C7	C8	C9		
	What kind of birth registration document does (NAME) have?	Why does (NAME) not have an official Thai birth certificate?	What is (NAME)'s legal status?	Does (NAME) have a Thai citizen ID card?	How old was (NAME) when s/he acquired Thai citizenship?	If (NAME) has a Thai citizen ID card, what kind of card(s) did s/he have prior?	If (NAME) does not have Thai citizenship, what ID card(s) does s/he have?	If (NAME) does not have Thai citizenship, has s/he ever applied for legal status?	If (NAME) has applied for legal status, what was the outcome?	Why has (NAME) never applied for legal status?	1: Process did not exist 2: Did not know it was important 3: Did not understand the procedure 4: Did not know anyone who could assist 5: Could not communicate with officials 6: Did not have "special money" to give officials 7: Did not have money to pay the application fees for citizenship / birth registration 8: Did not have funds to pay for the DNA test 9: The district center is far from the village 10: Have to spend a long time to process documents 11: Could not travel 12: Someone said I should not or could not apply 13: Officials did not approve the application 14: Other (Please specify) 99: Don't Know
	0: No birth document 1: Official Thai birth certificate <i>If has TBC skip to C3</i> 2: Delivery Certificate 3: Foreign birth certificate 99: Don't know	<i>Enter code from the menu at the right (can enter more than one code as applicable).</i>	0: Not Thai citizen 1: Thai citizenship 99: Don't know	Yes No DK 1 2 99	<i>Enter age. If has been citizen since birth enter 0.</i>	<i>Enter code from menu at the right (can enter more than one code as applicable). If has been citizen since birth, skip to E1.</i>	<i>Enter code from menu at the right. Enter codes for every type of card ever previously and/or currently possessed.</i>	<i>If yes, or don't know, answer and proceed to C9.</i> <i>If no, answer and skip to C10.</i>	1: Still waiting for approval / decision about citizenship. 2: Was refused citizenship. 3: Other (list) 99: Don't know	<i>Enter code from menu at the right. (Can enter more than one code as applicable).</i>	Codes for C6 & C7 0: No documents 1: Highland ID card..... (Blue) 2: Highland ID card..... (Green/ red rim) 3: Hill tribe coin 4: New pink card (2550) 5: New white card (2550) 6: Alien ID card 7: Yuan Migrants..... (White/ blue rim) 8: Chinese military (from past)..... (White) 9: Migrant Cin Haw..... (Yellow) 10: Free Cin Haw..... (White/ orange rim) 11: Chinese Communists from Malaya..... (Green) 12: Thai Lue..... (Orange) 13: Lao Migrants..... (Blue/ light blue rim) 14: Nepalese Migrants..... (Green) 15: Burmese..... (Pink) 16: Registered working from Burma..... (Purple) 17: Burmese..... (Yellow/ light blue) 18: Late Thai migrants from unrens..... (Green) 19: Refugees from Cambodia..... (White/ red rim) 20: Mabri..... (Blue) 21: Other (please specify) 99: Don't Know
1				Yes No DK 1 2 99				Yes No DK 1 2 99			
2				Yes No DK 1 2 99				Yes No DK 1 2 99			
3				Yes No DK 1 2 99				Yes No DK 1 2 99			
4				Yes No DK 1 2 99				Yes No DK 1 2 99			
5				Yes No DK 1 2 99				Yes No DK 1 2 99			
6				Yes No DK 1 2 99				Yes No DK 1 2 99			
7				Yes No DK 1 2 99				Yes No DK 1 2 99			
8				Yes No DK 1 2 99				Yes No DK 1 2 99			
9				Yes No DK 1 2 99				Yes No DK 1 2 99			
10				Yes No DK 1 2 99				Yes No DK 1 2 99			
11				Yes No DK 1 2 99				Yes No DK 1 2 99			
12				Yes No DK 1 2 99				Yes No DK 1 2 99			

Enter 'X' in each box for every question skipped. Enter 99 for "Don't Know"

Household Questionnaire 2: Members of Household

Form 3B

HO		E1 All Answer		E2		E3	E4		E5	E6		E7		E8		
Questions		Has (NAME) ever attended school?		If (NAME) has never attended school, what is the reason for never studying? NEVER attended school ONLY		If (NAME) has studied, what is the highest level of schooling has s/he attended?	Did (NAME) complete this level of school?		Is (NAME) currently attending school?	Where did the funding for (NAME)'s schooling come from?		Will (NAME) continue schooling in the future?		Why did (NAME) stop studying or will not study further?		
Directions & Codes		If yes, answer and skip to E3 If no, answer and proceed to E2		1: Too young 2: Didn't want to study further 3: Poor 4: Didn't know where to study next/ No school 5: School is far 6: No citizenship 7: No birth registration 8: Ill or could not go to school (disabled)		Enter level of school attended	circle Yes No		circle Yes No		Enter code (May enter more than 1) 1: household/family 2: scholarship 3: borrowed money 4: religious organization 5: his/her own money 6: other (specify) 99 Don't Know		If yes, answer and skip to E9. If no, answer and proceed to E8. Yes No		1: Too young 2: Didn't want to study further 3: Poor 4: Didn't know where to study next/ No school 5: School is far 6: No citizenship 7: No birth registration 8: Ill or could not go to school (disabled)	
1	Yes No 1 2						Yes No 1 2	Yes No 1 2			Yes No 1 2					
2	Yes No 1 2						Yes No 1 2	Yes No 1 2			Yes No 1 2					
3	Yes No 1 2						Yes No 1 2	Yes No 1 2			Yes No 1 2					
4	Yes No 1 2						Yes No 1 2	Yes No 1 2			Yes No 1 2					
5	Yes No 1 2						Yes No 1 2	Yes No 1 2			Yes No 1 2					
6	Yes No 1 2						Yes No 1 2	Yes No 1 2			Yes No 1 2					
7	Yes No 1 2						Yes No 1 2	Yes No 1 2			Yes No 1 2					
8	Yes No 1 2						Yes No 1 2	Yes No 1 2			Yes No 1 2					
9	Yes No 1 2						Yes No 1 2	Yes No 1 2			Yes No 1 2					
10	Yes No 1 2						Yes No 1 2	Yes No 1 2			Yes No 1 2					
11	Yes No 1 2						Yes No 1 2	Yes No 1 2			Yes No 1 2					
12	Yes No 1 2						Yes No 1 2	Yes No 1 2			Yes No 1 2					

Enter 'X' in each box for every question skipped. Enter 99 for "Don't Know"

Household # _____

Household Questionnaire 2: Members of Household

Form 3B

People who have attended school ONLY						
HO	E9	E10	E11	E12	E13	E14
Questions	Where did (NAME) live while attending primary school?	Where was (NAME)'s primary school?	What type of school was (NAME)'s primary school?	Where did (NAME) live while attending secondary school?	Where was (NAME)'s secondary school?	What type of school was (NAME)'s secondary school?
Directions & Codes	1: With family/ in the village 2: With family/ outside of the village 3: Welfare center 4: Private dormitory 5: Other (specify) 99: Don't Know	1: In the village 2: Outside the village/ in the district 3: Outside the district/in the province 4: Other province (Enter province code) 5: Other country (specify) 99: Don't Know	1: Government 2: Private 3: Nonformal / (GawSawNaw) 4: Religious 5: Other (specify) 99: Don't Know	1: With family/ in the village 2: With family/ outside of the village 3: Welfare center 4: Private dormitory 5: Other (specify) 99: Don't Know	1: In the village 2: Outside the village/ in the district 3: Outside the district/in the province 4: Other province (Enter province code) 5: Other country (specify) 99: Don't Know	1: Government 2: Private 3: Nonformal / (GawSawNaw) 4: Religious 5: Other (specify) 99: Don't Know
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11						
12						

- North**
- 1: Chiang Mai
 - 2: Chiang Rai
 - 3: Mae Hong Son
 - 4: Lampang
 - 5: Lamphun
 - 6: Nan
 - 7: Phayao
 - 8: Phrae
 - 9: Uttaradit
- East**
- 37: Chachoengsao
 - 38: Chanthaburi
 - 39: Chon Buri
 - 40: Prachin Buri
 - 41: Rayong
 - 42: Sa Kaeo
 - 43: Trat
- South**
- 44: Chumphon
 - 45: Krabi
 - 46: Nakhon Si Thammarat
 - 47: Narathiwat
 - 48: Pattani
 - 49: Phang Nga
 - 50: Phatthalung
 - 51: Phuket
 - 52: Ranong
 - 53: Satun
 - 54: Songkhla
 - 55: Surat Thani
 - 56: Trang
 - 57: Yala
- West**
- 10: Kanchanaburi
 - 11: Phetchaburi
 - 12: Prachuap Khiri Khan
 - 13: Ratchaburi
 - 14: Tak
- Central**
- 15: Ang Thong
 - 16: Ayutthaya
 - 17: Bangkok
 - 18: Chai Nat
 - 19: Kamphaeng Phet
 - 20: Lop Buri
 - 21: Nakhon Nayok
 - 22: Nakhon Pathom
 - 23: Nakhon Sawan
 - 24: Nonthaburi
 - 25: Pathum Thani
 - 26: Phetchabun
 - 27: Phichit
 - 28: Phitsanulok
 - 29: Samut Prakan
 - 30: Samut Sakhon
 - 31: Samut Songkhram
 - 32: Saraburi
 - 33: Sing Buri
 - 34: Sukhothai
 - 35: Suphan Buri
 - 36: Uthai Thani
- Northeast Isan**
- 58: Amnat Charoen
 - 59: Buri Ram
 - 60: Chaiyaphum
 - 61: Kalasin
 - 62: Khon Kaen
 - 63: Loei
 - 64: Maha Sarakham
 - 65: Mukdahan
 - 66: Nakhon Phanom
 - 67: Nakhon Ratchasima
 - 68: Nong Bua Lamphu
 - 69: Nong Khai
 - 70: Roi Et
 - 71: Sakon Nakhon
 - 72: Si Sa Ket
 - 73: Surin
 - 74: Ubon Ratchathani
 - 75: Udon Thani
 - 76: Yasothorn

Enter 'X' in each box for every question skipped. Enter 99 for "Don't Know"

page 5 of 7

Household # _____

Household Questionnaire 2: Members of Household

Form 3B

These questions address information about migration and work

HO	M1 All Answer				M5 All Answer			Stays outside the village ONLY		Stay IN village ONLY
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7	M8		
Questions	Has (NAME) ever worked outside this district for longer than 1 month?	How old was (NAME) the first time s/he worked outside this district?	The first time that (NAME) went to work outside this district where did s/he go?	The first time that (NAME) went to work outside this district, how did s/he know where to go work?	In the last year, where did (NAME) usually stay / live?	If (NAME) usually stays outside this village, has s/he ever sent money to this house?	If (NAME) usually stays outside this village, how often have you communicated in the last month?	If (NAME) usually stays in this village, how many times has s/he left the district in the past year to work?		
	People who have left the district to work ONLY					Stays outside the village ONLY				
Directions & Codes	If yes, answer and proceed to M2.				1: In this house 2: In another house in this village (if usually stayed in this village, enter 1 or 2 and skip to M8)					
	If no, answer and skip to M5.		1: Different district in this province 2: Different province (enter code) 3: Different country (specify) 99: Don't Know		1: Friend 2: Household member 3: Radio or TV 4: Government agency 5: Private agency 6: Newspaper/ Mag 7: Flier 8: Other (specify) 99: Don't Know		0: Never 1: Once or Twice 2: Regularly		0: Never 1: Once or Twice 2: Regularly	
	Yes No 1 2	Enter age								
1										
2										
3										
4										
5										
6										
7										
8										
9										
10										
11										
12										

- North**
- 1: Chiang Mai
 - 2: Chiang Rai
 - 3: Mae Hong Son
 - 4: Lampang
 - 5: Lamphun
 - 6: Nan
 - 7: Phayao
 - 8: Phrae
 - 9: Uttaradit
- East**
- 37: Chachoengsao
 - 38: Chanthaburi
 - 39: Chon Buri
 - 40: Prachin Buri
 - 41: Rayong
 - 42: Sa Kaeo
 - 43: Trat
- South**
- 44: Chumphon
 - 45: Krabi
 - 46: Nakhon Si Thammarat
 - 47: Narathiwat
 - 48: Pattani
 - 49: Phang Nga
 - 50: Phatthalung
 - 51: Phuket
 - 52: Ranong
 - 53: Satun
 - 54: Songkhla
 - 55: Surat Thani
 - 56: Trang
 - 57: Yala
- West**
- 10: Kanchanaburi
 - 11: Phetchaburi
 - 12: Prachuap Khiri Khan
 - 13: Ratchaburi
 - 14: Tak
- Central**
- 15: Ang Thong
 - 16: Ayutthaya
 - 17: Bangkok
 - 18: Chai Nat
 - 19: Kamphaeng Phet
 - 20: Lop Buri
 - 21: Nakhon Nayok
 - 22: Nakhon Pathom
 - 23: Nakhon Sawan
 - 24: Nonthaburi
 - 25: Pathum Thani
 - 26: Phetchabun
 - 27: Phichit
 - 28: Phitsanulok
 - 29: Samut Prakan
 - 30: Samut Sakhon
 - 31: Samut Songkhram
 - 32: Saraburi
 - 33: Sing Buri
 - 34: Sukhothai
 - 35: Suphan Buri
 - 36: Uthai Thani
- Northeast Isan**
- 58: Amnat Charoen
 - 59: Buri Ram
 - 60: Chaiyaphum
 - 61: Kaiasin
 - 62: Khon Kaen
 - 63: Loei
 - 64: Maha Sarakham
 - 65: Mukdahan
 - 66: Nakhon Phanom
 - 67: Nakhon Ratchasima
 - 68: Nong Bua Lamphu
 - 69: Nong Khai
 - 70: Roi Et
 - 71: Sakon Nakhon
 - 72: Si Sa Ket
 - 73: Surin
 - 74: Ubon Ratchathani
 - 75: Udon Thani
 - 76: Yasothon

Enter 'X' in each box for every question skipped. Enter 99 for "Don't Know"

page 6 of 7

Household # _____

Household Questionnaire 2: Members of Household

Form 3B

Enter names of **all** household members first, then proceed to H2, H3, H4 etc. These questions address information about the health of household members

H0	H1	H2 All Answer		H3 All Answer		S1 All Answer		S2 All Answer		S3 All Answer		S4 All Answer		S5 All Answer		S6 All Answer		S7 All Answer	
		Names of members of this household	How old is (NAME)?	Is (NAME) male or female?	Has (NAME) ever been vaccinated?	Does (NAME) have a health care card (bant tong)?	Does (NAME) have problems seeing, even when wearing eye glasses?	Does (NAME) have problems hearing, even when using a hearing aid?	Does (NAME) have any physical problems when working? (examples: climbing stairs or working in the fields)	Does (NAME) have any problems taking care of her/himself? (examples: bathing, dressing, using the toilet)	Does (NAME) have any health problem that prevents her/him from going to school or work or from otherwise participating in the community?								
Questions	1) Please tell me the names of every person who has lived in this house for longer than 1 month in the past 5 years (2005) (enter names)																		
	2) Are there other people in your household registration or household survey document who you have not yet mentioned? (if so, enter names)																		
Directions & Codes	3) Do you or the head of the household have any children who are younger than 18 yrs old who you have not yet mentioned? (if so, enter names)								1: No problem	1: No problem	1: No problem	1: No problem							
	4) Has anyone passed away, but who had lived in this house for longer than 1 month in the past 5 years who you have not yet mentioned? (if so, enter names, the year of death and enter information for H2-H6 ONLY)								2: A little bit.	2: A little bit.	2: A little bit.	2: A little bit.							
	5) Circle the name of the interviewee.								3: Has a problem and often needs assistance	3: Has a problem and often needs assistance	3: Has a problem and often needs assistance	3: Has a problem and often needs assistance							
		Enter age	Circle Male Female	Circle Yes No	Circle Yes No	Circle Yes No	Circle Yes No	Circle Yes No	Circle Yes No	Circle Yes No	Circle Yes No	Circle Yes No	Circle Yes No	Circle Yes No	Circle Yes No	Circle Yes No	Circle Yes No	Circle Yes No	Circle Yes No
1			M 1 F 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2										Yes 1 No 2	
2			M 1 F 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2										Yes 1 No 2	
3			M 1 F 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2										Yes 1 No 2	
4			M 1 F 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2										Yes 1 No 2	
5			M 1 F 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2										Yes 1 No 2	
6			M 1 F 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2										Yes 1 No 2	
7			M 1 F 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2										Yes 1 No 2	
8			M 1 F 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2										Yes 1 No 2	
9			M 1 F 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2										Yes 1 No 2	
10			M 1 F 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2										Yes 1 No 2	
11			M 1 F 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2										Yes 1 No 2	
12			M 1 F 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2	Yes 1 No 2										Yes 1 No 2	

Enter 'X' in each box for every question skipped. Enter 99 for "Don't Know"

page 7 of 7

Household # _____