

Dynamic of Boon Kam Fa tradition of Phuan Ethnic Group in the Thailand tourism context

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Abstract

The purpose of this research is to study the characteristics of the original Boon Kam Fa tradition conducted by the Phuan Ethnic Group in Thailand. It also aims to study the origin, existence, and change of the tradition in the context of the tourism industry in Thailand. The data in this qualitative research was gained through document study, observation, and interviews in several areas, namely Hat Siao village, Tam Bon Hat Siao, Amphoe Si Satchanalai, Sukhothai Province; Amphoe Phrom Buri, Sing Buri Province; and Tam Bon Ban Phue, Amphoe Ban Phue, Udon Thani Province. Such data collection was carried out through the perspectives of identity, tradition invention, and ethnic and cultural tourism.

The results of this study indicate that a great deal of the history of struggle and migration of the Phuan Ethnic Group is found in Lao PDR's myth and chronicles. In fact, the latest migration of the Phuan Ethnic Group to Thailand was in the reign of King Rama V. Phuan Ethnic Groups distributed themselves to different provinces, such as Sukhothai, Lop Buri, Sing Buri, and Udon Thani. As a matter of fact, they still adhere to Boon Kam Fa as one of their ethnic group traditions, which is used as a tourism activity nowadays.

For Hat Siao village, Tam Bon Hat Siao, Amphoe Si Satchanalai, Sukhothai Province, the Boon Kam Fa tradition has been in the process of development to a tourism activity. The meaning of the tradition is a holiday for Phuan women to have time out from looming. The activities in the tradition include making Khao Khong dessert, Lam Phuan and Nang Kwak entertaining activities.



For Amphoe Phrom Buri, Sing Buri Province, Boon Kam Fa has been deployed to a greater extent as a tourism activity. The tradition means paying respect to the sky, is a holiday and a new year's eve of the Phuan Ethnic Group, and a fertility forecast. Making Khao Lam, playing the Mhak Bia game, and the Ram Kam Fa dance are some of the activities in the tradition.

However, Boon Kam Fa is not made a tourism activity in Tam Bon Ban Phue, Amphoe Ban Phue, Udon Thani Province. Only some of the Phuan people still consider it a tradition with the meaning of Phuan's Head Sib Song Kong Sib See (the twelve month tradition and the fourteen ways of life). Fertilizer or seeds are used in activities such as courting and the Tai Phuan dance.

The data gained from the areas suggested that the Boon Kam Fa phenomenon has different perspectives of the dynamic, namely management, economic, social and ecosystem, and the meaning of the tradition.

This research will shed light on the new knowledge about ethnic and cultural tourism, which will therefore lead to planning of tourism through cultures and ethnic groups. Ultimately, such planning is hoped to bring about the sustainability of society and culture in the future.

Keywords: dynamic, Boon Kam Fa tradition, Phuan Ethnic Group, tourism, identity.

1 Introduction

For one segment of Thailand's tourism industry today, culture is an important resource. We have found that culture in the context of tourism has come to be seen simply as a mirror reflecting either the "people" as cultural owners, or "people" as users of the culture strictly for the purposes of tourism. "People" as cultural owners is interesting in relation to the various dimensions of tourism; such dimensions can be explained through ethnicity, which is imbued with distinct cultural characteristics and the potential to "portray the picturesque" or "revive exotic traditions" [1], attracting tourists of various localities. Consequently, tourism, culture, and ethnicity cannot be strictly separated. They are interlinked through the use of various cultural symbols, whereby an image of ethnic tourism emerges, whether it be through traditions of entertainment, dress, food, etc.

After examining ethnic groups in Thailand, the Phuan—who were forcibly resettled outside of Lao PDR three times (not counting voluntary cases of migration such as the search for food, fleeing outbreaks of disease, etc.) between 1779-1835 [2] until they settled down, scattered in Thailand's northern, central, and northeastern regions—are without much doubt a Tai-Lao ethnic group that lives among other ethnic groups in Thailand and has a culture that distinctly displays its ethnicity.

One cultural phenomenon that the Phuan in Thailand still believes in is 'Head Sib Song Kong Sib See' ('Twelve Month Tradition and the Fourteen Ways of Life') as evidenced by the Boon Kam Fa festival. Boon Kam Fa is practiced in the third month of the Phuan calendar (February). While it is but only one of the local traditions believed in and practiced by the Phuan, Boon Kam Fa has been

promoted by the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) as one of Thailand's tourism activities.

The fact that the Boon Kam Fa tradition has been elevated in status to become an annual event on the official tourism calendar was found to be a result of its appearance as a tourism event in various provinces in Thailand's lower northern and central regions where dense Phuan populations live together, whether in Phi Chit, Loburi, Singburi, and Supanburi provinces, totalling approximately 45,518 people in 1995 [2]. Meanwhile, some provinces with similar numbers of Phuan populations are increasingly trying to push for Boon Kam Fa festivities to become an annual tourism tradition in their provinces. Those provinces include Phrae, Sukhothai, Nakhon Sawan and Sara Buri, for example.

Such a phenomenon indicates how tourism has become a way of explaining the wealth of the Phuan through their winning a cultural space for the arrangement of the Boon Kum Fa festival. In a sense, the arrangement of the Boon Kum Fha festival implies each province's attempts to explain Boon Kum Fha as an annual Phuan tradition, but at the same time counting it as the province's own. For this reason, Phuan tourism has been subject to each province's ability to win the cultural space to host Boon Kum Fha festivities.

This article is an attempt to explain the way the Boon Kam Fa tradition is used for tourism in Hat Siao village, Tam Bon Hat Siao, Amphoe Si Satchanalai, Sukothai Province; Amphoe Phrom Buri, Sing Buri Province; and Tam Bon Ban Phue, Amphoe Ban Phue, Udon Thani Province. The traditions origins, existence and changes in the context of Thailand's tourism industry will be explained, revealing the Phuan's sense of solidarity and adaptation. Qualitative research methods are used to analyze data taken from documents, observations, and field interviews, together with an analysis through concepts of identity, tradition invention, and ethnic and cultural tourism.

2 The Phuan in Thailand

The Phuan are an ethnic group organized in the Tai-Kradai language family in the Be-Tai language group. The Southwestern Tai languages, which are a branch of the Austro-Tai language family, are used for communication by ethnic groups in regions of Southeast Asia, including Lao PDR, the People's Republic of China (in Yunnan, Guizhou, and Hainan), Union of Myanmar (north and south of the Tenasserim Range), the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (in the Black and Red River basin areas), the Republic of India (in the states of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh) and Thailand.

Linguists have categorized the Phuan language into the Chiang Saeng language group, a sub-group of the Southwestern Tai languages, which comprise ethnic Tai groups that have very similar languages to the Phuan in other countries, namely the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Example languages include: Tai Dum, Tai Hang Tong, Tai Daeng, Tay Tuc, Thu Lao. In parts of Thailand and Laos, similar languages include Lanna or Tai Yuan, Tai Song, Thai, and Phuan. In this sense, aspects of the Phuan language share a close



similarity with the languages of other ethnic Tai groups, indicating the ethnic, social, and cultural relationship with other ethnic Tai groups [3].

Historical accounts of the Phuan appear in the Phongsavadan Muang Phuan, or Phuan Chronicle. It describes the Phuan State (or Xiangkhoang Province in Lao PDR today) when it was still an independent principality in the Lan Xan Kingdom before the 11th century, sharing alliances and waging war with other independent principalities within the Kingdom, including the cities of Vien Tiane and Luang Prabang (Vien Tiane Province and the city of Luang Prabang in Lao PDR today), until Xiangkhoang became a colony of Vien Tiane in 1751 [4].

In 1773 King Ong Bun (1767-1778) of Xiangkhoang gave his allegiance to King Taksin (1734-1782) of Siam by assembling a group of levies to help Siam seize Vien Tiane. As a result of that war, Siam resettled the Lao, including the Phuan, within its borders and this is considered to be the first Phuan migration into Thailand.

In 1792, which coincided with the reign of King Rama 1 (1736-1809) of Siam, Xiangkhoang attempted to separate itself from Siam's control. This resulted in the Siamese government raising an army to suppress the attempt with the help of King Nanthasen (1781-1850) of Vien Tiane, which at the time was still a colony of Siam. The ensuing war resulted in the second resettlement of a very large number of Lao, especially the Phuan, in Bangkok.

In 1827, King Anouvong (1805-1828) [5] of Vien Tiane, which had an alliance with Vietnam, announced their freedom from Siam. Consequently, King Rama III (1787-1850) had to send a force of soldiers to suppress the movement. During that time, Prince Noi, the governor of Xiangkhoang which at the time was still a colony of Siam, transmitted intelligence to the Siamese army. King Anouvong was eventually captured by Siam and executed in Bangkok. King Anouvong's ally Vietnam reacted by raising an army, seizing Xiangkhoang, capturing and executing Prince Noi, and holding the Xiangkhoang dynasty hostage in Vietnam. King Rama III then sent an army to successfully re-seize Xiangkhoang with a policy to resettle the Phuan in the cities of Samut Prakan, Phanat-nikhom (a district in Chon Buri Province today), and Cha Choeng Sao. The resettlement policy remained in effect up to the reign of King Rama IV (1804-1868) until the Phuan were increasingly scattered in different provinces including Supan Buri, Lop Buri, Sukhothai, Udon Thani, Petchaburi, and Nakhonayok for example.

In 1885, the Haw (or Chinese hill farmers), who lived in the southern area of the People's Republic of China as well as on the Thai-Laos border, assembled a force of soldiers and were able to seize Xiangkhong. King Rama V (1853-1910) had to send an army yet again to suppress the Haw and was able to re-seize Xiangkhong. The victory resulted in King Rama V resettling a large number of Phuan in Siam in what is considered to be the most important resettlement.

One main reason for the Phuan resettlements in Siam over the entire period documented above was the attempt to occupy land owing to the problems and disputed issues arising from French Colonialism. This is evidenced by King Rama V's setting-up of Monthon (or Mandala State of) Lao Phuan in 1893, which had an administrative form characteristic of a county in the United

Kingdom. The Monthon was set-up to bring together the territories of Xiangkhong and Khammouan (two cities in Laos PDR today), Udon Thani, Sakhon Nakhon, and Muk Dahan under official Siamese control. Although in the end France was able to take full possession of the Lan Xan Kingdom (including Xiangkhong), Phuan resettlements in Siam, or in Thailand thereafter, are considered in part owing to the success of the possession of the population itself.

Data from 1995 [2] shows that Thailand's Phuan population totalled 190, 430 people scattered throughout the country in various provinces including Nan, Phrae, Sukothai, Phi Chit, Lop Buri, Nakhon Sawan, Sing Buri, Supan Buri, Sara Buri, Petchaburi, Udon Thani, Nakonnayok and Ubon Ratchathani.

3 Origins of the Boon Kam Fa festival in Thailand

The Boon Kam Fa Festival of the Phuan in Thailand is treated as one of traditions of the 'Head Sib Song Kong Sib See' that must be practiced in the third month of Thailand's version of the lunar Buddhist calendar (February in the Gregorian calendar). The words *Kam Fa* are of the Tai-Phuan language. *Kam* means *belief* or *observe/hold*, and is similar to the word *Khalam*, meaning *taboo*: it is taboo to work during the Boon Kam Fa Festival. *Fa* means *Than-God*, or deity, who is able to bestow benefits or punish. *Fa* also refers to the ancestral spirits of whom their descendants believe God created as the first Phuan people. The principle beliefs related to the Phuan's Boon Kam Fa Festival are as follows.

Beliefs about Gods and Spirits: The Phuan believe that they must worship the gods that look after their rice fields and their cities. They must also worship their ancestral spirits so that they and their families are protected and are able to live comfortably. Thus the gods, ancestral spirits, and Mae Pho Sop (the Goddess of Rice) must all be worshipped, with homage also being paid to the Goddess of Rice during Boon Kam Fa.

Beliefs about the period when 'Frogs are without mouths and Nagas without orifices: The Phuan believe that the period when Boon Kam Fa is practiced, frogs are without mouths; this is taken to mean that they do not eat because they are full. Nagas are without orifices, meaning that they do not eat and thus do not excrete. All of this is taken to mean that it is a most prosperous period of time and thus considered a favourable time for the Phuan to practice the Boon Kam Fa tradition.

Beliefs about the first sounds of thunder: The Phuan place importance on the first sounds of thunder in order to predict their future living and work conditions; they are also able to predict daily rainfall volume for agricultural purposes for the entire year ahead.

The common rituals currently practiced by the Phuan during Boon Kam Fa do vary in different regions. Most regions devote three days to Boon Kam Fa as follows.

3.1 The first day

The first day is fixed for the second waxing evening of the third month of the lunar calendar. When the sun has set, the Phuan must start festivities by stopping



work until the sun has set on the third waxing evening of the third month every year. They are then able to recommence working. On the first day, the Than-God, ancestors, and Mae Pho Sop, the Goddess of Rice, are worshipped, with homage also being paid to the Goddess of Rice.

3.2 The second day

Mainly on the ninth waxing evening of the third lunar month, the Phuan stop work until the morning of the tenth waxing evening every year. In the hour before midday, the Phuan dress beautifully and carry 'Pha Khaow' or 'Sa Hae', which are trays used to carry food that is offered to the monks at the temple. In the evening, games are played such as mai-heum, long-kuang, chuang-rum, morn-sorn-pa, or da-mark-bia, which is also known as Saba (a pitch-and-toss game played with St. Thomas beans).

3.3 The third day

The third day is fixed for the fourteenth waxing evening of the third lunar month. Once the sun has set, the Phuan stop work until the morning of the fifteenth waxing evening every year. In the morning, the Phuan offer food to the monks at the temple as is done on the second day. It is on this day that the Phuan wait to hear the first sounds of thunder in order to predict their future livelihoods.

4 Boon Kam Fa festival: its survival and change

The festival traditionally lasted three days but several factors have recently pushed it towards some changes. For instance, a three-day commitment to this festival proved to be quite demanding for those who had to take three full days off from their regular work. Coupled with this, the idea of incorporating local cultures and traditions into tourism became widespread in the 1970s. These factors resulted in the adaptation of the festival to accommodate tourism purposes.

Changes, therefore, are evident in Boon Kam Fa currently held in different localities. These changes include the reduction of festival days and activities to fit tourists' travel schedules, more involvement by local politicians seeking political benefits, and addition of new activities, such as dinner fetes called Ra Tree Kam Fa Pa Laeng (Kam Fa-styled dinner) [6], musical performances, and Phuan traditional dance shows. A closer look at the festivals held in three locations, namely, Hat Siao village, Sukhothai Province; Prom Buri District, Sing Buri Province; and Tambon Ban Phue, Udon Thani Province, shows the following changes.

4.1 Boon Kam Fa in Hat Siao village, Tambon Hat Siao, Si Satchanalai district, Sukhothai province

Here the festival is jointly organized by two main groups: the local public and the government (both local and central government agencies). The intention



between both groups regarding the festival hosting has led to disputes, negotiation, and competition. Observed changes in the festival are as follows.

4.1.1 Description of the origins of the festival and its underlying beliefs

Phuan villagers in Hat Siao village recount that the festival was reintroduced in the 1970s after the Thai Phuan Club of Thailand was founded. This resulted in a movement whose goal was to form a society of Phuan people scattered across the country. This festival was considered to be a manifestation of the Phuan identity, [7] as opposed to a festival held merely to foretell agricultural prosperity (although some locals still hold this belief).

4.1.2 Characteristics of the festival

Changes in the festival in Hat Siao village are as follows.

4.1.2.1 Duration The festival remains celebrated in a series of three time periods in the third month of the lunar calendar with a change on the dates on which they were originally held. The first period currently is fixed on the second and the third waxing evenings. The second period lasts between the eighth and the tenth waxing evenings, and the third period between the fourteenth and fifteenth waxing evenings. This date configuration is set up to accommodate the time frame in which Phuan women are able to take a break from their looming of fabrics to be sold at the Phra Taen Sila At Festival in Uttaradit Province, approximately 30 kilometres away from the village.

4.1.2.2 Events The festival in Hat Siao village offers unique events and cuisine which the villagers described as unique to Hat Siao. They include a rice dessert, shows and performances such as Phuan dance, and Nang Kwak (a goddess of good fortune) dance shows. Especially, the Phuan dance has been recently added to the list of festival events based on the villagers' decision to add a tourism-oriented selling point to the village as well as to indirectly preserve the Phuan culture [8].

Phuan villagers here also expressly contrast their Boon Kam Fa festival to those held in other Phuan communities including the one in Prae Province. They describe the festival in Prae as having more diverse events and drawing a larger number of tourists [9].

4.2 Boon Kam Fa festival in Phrom Buri District, Sing Buri Province

Of all the festivals under study, the festival here in Phrom Buri is the only one which is held strictly to serve the purposes of tourism. The area used to host the festival extends over several villages, namely, Bang Nam Chiao village, Pang, Phokawiat village, with Kudi Thong Monastery as the centre of the event area. The monastery, however, is not the only host of this event; central and local governments as well as politicians are involved as co-hosts. This has led to disputes, negotiation, and competition, all of which are either for the sake of popularity or favourable voting results. The observed changes are described below.



4.2.1 Description of the origins of the festival and its underlying beliefs

Like Phuan villagers in Hat Siao, villagers in Phrom Buri state that the festival came to existence after the foundation of the Thai Phuan Club of Thailand in the 1970s. They also have added a historical dimension to the festival by introducing episodes from Phongsawadan Muan Phuan (The Phuan Chronicle). According to the Chronicle, the Phuan ethnic people in Xiangkhong, Laos were threatened by both Vientiane and Siam and thus were pressured to settle in the location where modern Phrom Buri is now located [10]. The festival is therefore a representation of the Phuan identity through historical accounts associated with it. In addition, not only do Phuan villagers in Phrom Buri regard the festival as a predictor of prosperity, they also maintain that the festival marks a New Year for Phuan people [11]. This latter belief is unique to the locals here.

4.2.2 Characteristics of the festival

Observed changes in the events are as follows.

4.2.2.1 Duration Field data showed that the annual festival here in Phrom Buri lasts only two consecutive days: the second and third waxing evening of the third month of the lunar calendar. This is a schedule change to accommodate event organizers and tourists.

4.2.2.2 Events As an indispensable highlight, the festival offers demonstration of Phuan cooking methods and how to cook sweet rice-stuffed bamboo sticks. New additions to the festival include the Mhak Bia Game, the Kam Fa Dance, the Kam Fa Beauty Contest, and the Kam Fa Dinner Fete, all of which are not at all related to the spirit of the original festival. Yet the villager endorse them as a tool to attract tourists' attention to learn more about the Phuan people as well as a tool to indirectly preserve the Phuan culture [12].

4.3 Boon Kam Fa festival in Tambon Ban Phue, Ban Phue district, Udon Thani province

Although Ban Phue has a dense Phuan population, the festival held here only serves as a reflection of Phuan elders' memory of the old days because other forms of entertainment such as Mor Lam Sing (a modernized version of traditional Lao songs) prevail. Coupled with the fact that younger generations, most of who work in other towns, are not able to leave work to join the festival, the festival here is short on its festive attributes. Therefore, this event is only individually observed by some people in older generations [13]. Some of them still fertilize rice paddies and sow rice seeds as a ceremonial token during the festival [14].

Based on the accounts told by the local elderly, the dominant belief is that the festival is a practice according to the Head Sib Song Kong Sib See (the twelve-month tradition and the fourteen ways of life) set of beliefs, which must be observed in the third lunar month. This shows that Phuan elders are still the key participants in the festival. With respect to the idea of promoting the festival or adjusting it for tourism purposes, the locals are divided in their opinions. Some



agree with the idea, for they think it might help to preserve the Phuan culture while others believe that any change to the festival for tourism purposes would result in the loss of the festival's original spirit [15].

5 Dynamics of Boon Kam Fa festival in the tourism context

Observed changes with respect to the dynamics of the festival in the tourism context are as follows.

5.1 Dynamics of the event management

The Thai Phuan Club plays a role in reawakening the Phuan history and culture by promoting the concept of Phuan identity while creating a sense of otherness. In doing so, they characterize Phuan people as distinct from other groups of people in terms of ethnicity and culture. The group, as a representative of the Phuan locals, developed relationships with other institutions which help organize the festivals. Its relationship with the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) is not characterized as inter-organizational, however. Moreover, at the time of the study, TAT withheld its collaboration with the Thai Phuan Club for some political reasons. The club also relies on the club president's personal contact with heads of the central government agencies at the provincial and district levels to co-host the festival. Consequently, whenever any of these relationships goes wrong, the club does not get support in hosting the festival. Its relationship as a representative of the Phuan locals with the local government agencies is characterized as adversarial because of their political conflicts and rivalry involving the festival hosting opportunity. However, the club enjoys a constant support from temples, schools, and government-run cultural promotion agencies. Different Phuan communities are related to one another as competing bidders of social and cultural space. They also form a relationship with surrounding provinces when it comes to the economic profit of the event gained from out-of-town or non-Phuan festival goers.

It could be said that the festivals held in different locations understudy are only a symbolic aspect of the conceptual attempt to create an *imagined community* which supposedly accepts the Phuan unity [16]. It also has shaped the Phuan political identity by emphasizing shared ethnicity, history, philosophy of life, all of which are expected to ultimately create a shared culture [17].

5.2 Economic dynamics

The dynamics of change in the festival show that the festival's *economic value*, as can be seen in the financial profit, income distribution, and employment is underrepresented while *cultural worthiness* are dominant; this is demonstrated by the locals' expression of their Phuan pride, the creation of the sense of solidarity among the Phuan locals [18], and the locals' participation in the preservation of their tradition.



5.3 Social- and ecosystem-based dynamics

Among the Phuan people, social order is controlled by the use of a history-based explanation of their survival, claiming that as long as they continue to be innocent, they will remain unharmed. There also exist beliefs about the relationship between agriculture and natural resources, such as the practice of predicting droughts by listening to the sound of thunder, fertilizing rice paddies, and sowing seeds during the festival.

The dynamics of the festival also reflects solidarity among the Phuan. That is, the festival has given rise to a new function of the Phuan as a social institution. However, this new function, in a way has also created a sense of otherness through the discourse of identity creation in which the Phuan claim their sole ownership of the festival. Even among the different Phuan groups, the sense of otherness results from their competition to make their Boon Kan Fa festivities more outstanding than others. This shows that under the superficial solidarity, the Phuan covertly race for a social and cultural space—the opportunity to portray their local groups as typical Phuan.

5.4 Dynamics of change in the significance of the festival

The festivals, as they are now, reflect the various associations ranging from prosperity and recreation to the Phuan tradition and identity. In this regard, Boon Kam Fa is viewed as an attempt to describe the ideal Phuan community characterized by equality and the minimized gap between the rich and the poor. The festival is also related to the process of utilizing history to serve the modern society, not only that of the Phuan alone but also of other non-Phuan groups regardless of whether or not they are tourists. This adds a new meaning to the festival: the festival as a holiday and a work-free day mandate, which is now regarded as part of the Phuan identity.

6 Conclusion

The research field notes show that although it is commonly understood that the Thai society well tolerates racial and ethnic diversity, there is also an undeniable fact is that a sense of otherness deeply permeates the society. A self-representation as *others* may be positive or negative. In case of Boon Kam Fa, such representation is motivated by the Phuan's willingness to share with outsiders accounts of their solidarity. A well-planned tourism program must therefore thoroughly understand cultural details of ethnic groups in question and must encourage them to proudly present themselves as who they really are, not in a manner inferior to others.

The research also shows that issues regarding ethnic and cultural tourism are the invention or adaptation of an existing tradition to the point where the tradition becomes a pseudo-event and characterized as *picturesque*. According to the findings of this research, the inventive element can be seen in the differing historical accounts of the festival's origin as well as the addition of tourism-



promoting events, such as performances, fetes, beauty contests, and so on. Some additions alter the significance and cultural value of the original festival. For this reason, it should be noted that good tourism planning should not change or depreciate the cultural merit and the ethnic groups in question.

In addition, the research found that politics plays a role in tourism management. The conflict and negotiation between the local public and government agencies (most of which were local political groups, namely municipality administrations) was evident in such statements as “The municipality administration does not offer help because it is not the Phuan,” or “... got help because they are political constituents.” In fact, local governments should be bound to assist their people without a self-serving aspiration.

Also evident in this research is the sense of “being Puan”, which was strong and well-structured. Any government intervention to promote tourism should not be done in a top-down fashion. Rather, it would be wise to employ the sense of solidarity to engage the group in a bottom-up fashion in planning tourism which adds value to the Phuan’s cultural journey.

Although the Phuan Club of Thailand has firmly adhered to the Phuan culture, it must realize that to successfully promote Phuan tourism, it must not encourages identical events or traditions in various localities even when those traditions are claimed to be genuine. Instead the Club should promote diversity in tourism events, such as events based on other Phuan’s monthly tradition according to the Head Sib Song Khong Sib See set of beliefs.

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