

CULTURAL CITIZEN'S CONSCIENCE OF MIGRANTS CHILDREN IN A THAILAND – LAO PDR BORDER SCHOOL

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Abstract: This article aims to analyze the cultural citizen's conscience towards the migrant children who come from diverse cultural backgrounds at a school in Thailand near the Lao PDR border. The researchers conducted a qualitative study by collecting the data as follows: 1) semi-structured interview of 8 students who are the children of migrants; 2) documents, and 3) classroom observation, as well as other activities in the school. The field data was collected at Baan Rimkhong school, Chiang Khong District, Chiang Rai Province from 1st August 2018 – 31st October 2018. This research found that migrants' children in Baan Rimkhong School were discriminated against by the nation-state. They were bullied, disdained and insulted by their classmates. Nevertheless, these students tried to maintain their cultural integrity in various spheres of endeavor. They shared the memberships and common consciences in terms of racial, ethnic group, community fellow members, organization members, and being one of the citizens in the nation-state. These mentioned unisons were used for compromising, claiming, and affirming that they were able to access to the fundamental rights and freedom equally. This article suggested that border school should realize to the importance of equity and respect for all students who have diverse cultural backgrounds and different nationalities as well as should design and implement educational pedagogy and curriculum, which are proper for the context of the cultural citizenship.

Keywords: Cultural citizen, migrants' children, border school, Thailand – Lao PDR border area.

Introduction

Since Greco-Roman times, the concept of “citizen” has been used to classify the rights, roles, and loyalties of persons under the nation-state's sovereignty (Yarwood, 2014, p. 5; Thaweessit, 2011, p. 10). The nation-state uses the

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school as a tool to inculcate in citizens similar cultural values, beliefs and conscience (McLaren, 1998, p. 180).

In Thailand, His Majesty King Chulalongkorn (King Rama 5) introduced the concept of “citizen.” Legal naturalization of Thai citizens occurred in 1911, along with the law of general nationality in 1913 (Saisuntorn, 2005, p. 23, 52). The purpose of these laws was to consolidate citizenship under the authority of the nation-state and to lessen the differentiation of citizens along ethnic lines. However, this led to the crucial issue of stateless people, or people whose loyalty to Thailand was seriously distrusted. They were destined to become “the others,” particularly people in the border area. Subsequently, the nation-state handled their otherness by suppressing their cultural identity and assimilating them to “Thainess” (Preechasilpaku, 2011, p. 21; Winichakul, 2017, p. 120).

The border region is characteristically an “in-between” area. It has challenges absorbing different nationalities, languages, and beliefs, as well as diverse racial-ethnic groups. Many people cross the border daily. They live in overlapping territories, pre-modern areas joined by a common culture since before the nation-state (Buadaeng, 2011, p. 126). Globalization has intensified these cross-border residents: labor, goods, and cultures cross borders swiftly, and the number of different nationalities, races, and diverse ethnic groups steadily rise (Santasombat, 2008, p. 6). The rapid movement of people is especially true in Thailand’s border area provinces, which have high economic and industrial growth, namely Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai, Tak, Mae Hongson, Ranong, Srakeaw, and Nong Kai.

Border schools in the said provinces comprise students with diverse cultural backgrounds and different nationalities. In addition to the traditional ethnic group, school populations frequently include the children of new migrants or refugees, minority children, and transnational students (Nawarat, 2019, p. 40). According to a survey conducted by The Office of the Basic Education Commission (OBEC), Ministry of Education, Thailand’s schools enroll 145,379 students who are not legally Thai citizens. These include 72,173 stateless students, numbers which attest to the cultural diversity of the border regions. These students bring to school their values, beliefs, and cultural way of life (Melendez and Beck, 2013, p. 5).

Baan Rimkhong School (a pseudonym) is a high school (Grade 7-12) located in Thailand’s border area in Chiang Khong district, Chiang Rai province. The school’s locale is adjacent to Huoay Xai sub-district, Bokeo province, Lao People’s Democratic Republic. Students in Baan Rimkhong School represent various nationalities and diverse racial ethnicities. There are 1,020 students in

this school. The number of students who are migrants' children with the citizen status and stateless status is 20 stateless students (hold ID card with an initial number 0) (1.96%). There are four migrant students with no Thai nationality (hold ID card with an initial G) (0.32%). There are five non-native people's children (holding an ID card with an initial number 7) (0.49%). There are 45 students with Thai nationality whose parents are migrants (holding an ID card with an initial number 8) (4.41%). There is much diversity in the student population compared with other border schools. Moreover, future trends suggest that these numbers will gradually increase, largely because the government has decreed this area to be a Special Economic Zone.

This article provides an analysis of how students from diverse cultural backgrounds and different nationalities studying in Baan Rimkhong School think about cultural citizenship, and in particular how they perceive their relationship to the dominant Thai Citizenship.

Objectives

To study and analyze the cultural citizenship of students who are migrants' children with diverse cultural backgrounds and different nationalities in Border school, Thailand – Lao PDR.

The Concept of Cultural Citizenship

In this study, the researcher adapted the concept of Cultural Citizenship which was stated by Renato Rosaldo. He pointed out that *“Cultural citizenship refers to the right different and to belong in a participatory democratic sense. It claims that, democracy, social justice calls for equity among all citizens, even when differences as race, religion, class, gender, or sexual orientation potentially could be used to make certain people less equal or inferior to others. The notion of belonging means full membership in a group and the ability to influence destiny by having a significant voice in basic”*. (Rosaldo, 1994, p. 402) Furthermore, contemplation on the citizenship of students in the border school should not emphasize the relationship between individuals and state by claiming only a legalized nationality from the state. Some students may have it or some may not, but the status of the cultural citizen must be accentuated given the relationship between individuals and state. Other relationships between individuals and other aspects of citizenship should be represented by citizen and community, citizen and school, citizen and hospital, citizen and working place or voluntary organization. Including the sense of belonging, right for selection and having a voice for gaining an identity of individual citizenship are also given prominence (Rosaldo, 1994, p. 57). Accordingly, the researchers used the concept of cultural citizenship to make understanding of citizenship conscience of migrant's children in Baan Rim Khong School.

Research Methodology

The researchers employed a qualitative methodology to analyze minority students' understanding of citizenship. These understandings are frequently embedded in daily life, and the mundane, first-hand experiences of students and their parents (Podhisita, 2016, p. 177). Data collected included: 1) documents: education in border area policies and student care-taking system document, 2) semi-structured interview by choosing 8 key informants with the approach of purposive sampling: 2 stateless students (hold ID card with an initial number 0), 2 non-native students with no status of Thai nationality (hold ID card with an initial G), 2 students who are non-native people's children (hold ID card with an initial number 7), and 2 students with status of Thai nationality who are the migrants' children (hold ID card with an initial number 8), and 3) participant observation: classroom observation, morning assembly at the national flag pole in the school, and other activities. The field data was also collected at Baan Rimkhong school, Chiang Khong District, Chiang Rai Province from 1st August 2018 – 31st October 2018. The field data was collected at Baan Rimkhong school, Chiang Khong District, Chiang Rai Province from 1st August 2018 – 31st October 2018.

The researchers analyzed the qualitative data by organizing data firstly, then coding in term of choosing the same meaning of contexts and putting them into the same code. Next, the data were displayed according to the analyzed topics which were related. Finally, the conclusion and interpretation were conducted (Podhisita, 2016). Nevertheless, the researchers also used the methodological triangulation so as to re-check the validity of data. This journal used pseudonym for the names of place and participants. For the privacy of participants and avoiding negative effects, the pseudonym was used for the benefits of participants.

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Results

On July 5th 2005, the Ministry of Education passed a resolution extending educational opportunity to all individuals who did not have Thai nationality, extending free access to public education to all grades, types of education, and areas (Ministry of Education, 2017). Accordingly, migrants' children in the border areas of Thailand had the opportunity to access the Thai public education. Although these students could now access the Thai education system, they nevertheless had to face many challenges arising from their

cultural background or nationality. In brief, their “otherness” was foregrounded by the solidarity of the state (i.e., Thai) citizenship.

Legal, structural and governmental regulations were significant factors in discriminating against the children of migrants, who were often treated inequitably. For example, they were granted only partial rights and freedom and had limited access to such things as medical care, scholarships, student loans; in some instances, they were even denied the freedom to earn a living in some careers. Khamkaeo is a Grade 11, a non-native student with no Thai nationality. She has been studying at Baan Rim Khong School since grade 7. She speaks to the discrimination she has experienced: “...when I required a scholarship, I needed to have an ID card and a complete set of documents. Unfortunately, I do not have those. My teacher used to tell me to apply for a scholarship, but I am afraid to do so cause I do not have all the exact documents as the scholarship requires...” (Khamkaeo [Pseudonyme], 2018). Likewise, Saengkaeo is a Grade 12 student who started studying at Baan Rimkhong School in grade 10. Her parents are non-native. She says: “...if I want to do any activities outside the district in which I live and study. I am obliged to acquire a registration card for leaving outside the district I live in. If I do not plan well to get it or plan to do it early, I will lose the opportunity to attend activities outside my district. Sometimes, I am disappointed and resentful that I have to prepare all documents whenever I need to participate in academic activities or other activities outside the district I live...” (Saengkaeo [Pseudonyme], 2018).

At the same time, Khamkaeo and Saengkaeo had to confront the severity of different cultural values – namely, those of their classmates and their home culture. They were often bullied, mocked, insulted, and disdained. Frequently, school bullying caused them to be timid, and so withdraw from participating in their own culture, or make them ashamed to proclaim their identities or nationalities. Khamla is a child of migrants from the Lahu (hill tribe). She says: “... I had the feeling like I did not want to be a Lahu because Thai people insulted my identity -- my ethnicity... I did not know why they found pleasure in mocking someone for pleasing their happiness under someone’s miserableness. I did not even know why they were like that. If made a reflection, they would become me...what would they feel? I would take the role that acutely insulted and mocked them like they did and they played the role that I was...” (Khamla [Pseudonym], 2018).

The students mentioned above were objectified and made into “the other.” They attempted to respond as cultural citizenship, and claim their rights and freedom. They are, by law, entitled to equal treatment, and to be afforded the

rights and privileges equal to every other citizen. These may be defined by four significant characteristics as follows:

1. Citizens share their mutual ethnicity

Migrant students initially expressed their ethnic conscience as a pattern of cultural citizenship. Migrants' children were mainly the ethnic group who lived in the Thailand – Lao PDR border area. As noted, many have lived in this area since before the advent of the modern nation-state. By “ethnic conscience,” I mean that students would learn first of all from their own families and communities, with knowledge passed down from one generation to another. Children would gradually and subtly perceive their identity via their culture: namely their language, culture, tradition, food, costume, wisdom, and ritual, as well as traditional storytelling. For many, legalized citizenship was sometimes less important than the way of daily life in their ethnic community. For example, the student named above, Saengkaeo, lived in the Lahu community, Baan Song Pi-Nong, Chiang Khong district, Chiang Rai province. The Lahu community members mostly immigrated from the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Republic of the Union of Myanmar. Many households in the said community did not obtain the legalized nationality from the Kingdom of Thailand. Having Thai nationality was simply not necessary for their way of daily life. As Saengkaeo mentioned *“...in the prior time, I did not recognize should I have an ID card. Many friends of mine either did not have an ID card. Many villagers in my community also did not have a nationality; they are stateless...”* (Saengkaeo [Pseudonym], 2018).

Moreover, cultural citizenship based on ethnicity is not restricted to the state's territory but is rather a trans-national, ethnic network which shares the same history, language, tradition, and culture. They often travel from nation-state to another nation-state between two banks of Khong River, despite the differences between being a citizen or not (Chatthip [Pseudonym], 2018; Wasuphon [Pseudonym], 2018; Khamla [Pseudonym], 2018). To elucidate, take the case of Chatthip, a student from the Tai Lue tribe. Her family immigrated from Lao PDR over 20 years ago. At present, Chatthip, her older brother, and her mother obtained Thai nationality – all except her father. Her maternal and paternal families, grandparents and relatives still live in Lao PDR, and they constantly travel to visit them. Chatthip relates, *“...I have cousins, grandparents and relatives on both sides of my mother and father live in Lao PDR. They are Tai Lue. My parents always go back to Laos every year...my maternal grandfather usually comes to visit me in Thailand because of my ailment. He, therefore, crosses the border to see me. My grandfather*

takes the boat crossing Khong River. Besides, he does not pass the immigration...” (Chatthip [Pseudonym], 2018).

The past five years have born witness to the change in education policies in the border area, highlighting cultural diversity, as well as the participation of civil organizations in educational administration. The school has opened to ethnic costume, food, language, performance, and cultural activities (Saengkaeo [Pseudonym], 2018; Khamkaeo [Pseudonym], 2018; Phailin [Pseudonym], 2018). The researchers had an opportunity to attend the school Open House 2018 at Baan Rimkhong School. The students dressed up in their ethnic costumes displayed their cultural exhibitions, performed their dances, and demonstrated cooking of their ethnic foods (Field note, 2018).

Having no legal nationality, migrants’ children had an ethnic conscience, which was one of the patterns to perform cultural citizenship. They performed the conscience of their ethnic through being the members of their ethnic group who mutually shared experiences, language, culture, tradition, and history. Not all students who were migrants’ children would show their own ethnic identities, but especially students who were migrants’ children did not live in their ethnic community they alternatively could perform their cultural citizenship in other patterns with the sense of bonding.

2. Citizen in the part of the community

Communities comprised of different races, nationalities, religions, and cultures still entail a political commitment. Migrants’ children claimed that they were one of the members in that community. They are the member who own a residence in the community, had family and interact with people in the community through social activities, community development activities and community sports. Community membership was not restricted because of the ethnic’s status or the legal status enacted by the state. Consider for example the case of Wasuphon, a stateless student. He and his family had immigrated from Baan Bolek Neu, Huay Sai city, Bo Keaw sub-district when he was seven years old. Now they live in Baan Wat Luang community, Chiang Khong district, Chiang Rai province. He proudly states that “*...I am the citizen of Wat Luang village because my name and my family members’ names are on the list of this community. When there are activities in my community, we are willing to attend. We are the citizen of Wat Luang community because we help our community and being a good example in our village...*” (Wasuphon [Pseudonym], 2018).

Meanwhile, students who were migrants’ children were also part of the motherland community in the neighboring country where their relatives lived

in the said country was still a place they could go to attend religious activities and traditional activities such as wedding ceremonies, housewarming ceremonies, and funerals. Even though they were residents of Thailand, they still had a sense of belonging to their motherland (Wasuphon [Pseudonym], 2018; Chatthip [Pseudonym], 2018)

The performing of being one of the community, students who the migrants' children (holding ID card with an alphabet G and the initial number 0 and 7) would be supported to access the fundamental rights and freedom such as medical care, scholarship, approval of admitting to the education system, and channel to acquire the nationality legalized by the state (Khamla [Pseudonym], 2018; Chatthip [Pseudonym], 2018; Wasuphon [Pseudonym], 2018). As Saengkaeo iterated: *"...applying for Thai permanent residence or Thai nationality, I have to prepare many documents. Essentially, I need a village headman and two witnesses in my village to approve my status. Up until now, I cannot apply for Thai PR or Thai nationality because the village headman is not available to mind my business -- approve my status. When I ask him, he usually says he is busy. Contrastingly, my brother is familiar with the village headman. He regularly helps almost works as the village headman requires. Until my brother applies for Thai PR, the village headman is willing to help my brother immediately..."* (Saengkaeo [Pseudonym], 2018).

The school organized various kinds of activities in order to enhance students' skill, especially assertiveness and the sense of community membership. For example, Friday's village meeting, running a campaign for an election to select a student to be a small village headman; collaborating with other organizations in the community, cultural dancing performances by students from each community and sports competitions (Field note, 2018). The prime purpose of these activities was to enhance students' skills both physically and mentally, particularly for assertiveness. Moreover, the conscience of the community was crucial. There was no ethnic discrimination, economic status, social stratification, nor religious segregation. Contrastingly, such activities aimed at promoting mutual respect, unison, and equity. However, because some migrant students did not live with their parents (owing to economic or family conditions), they were supported by non-governmental organizations and religious organizations in the border area. This separation from their community was often the reason for their mental separation from their own identity and ethnicity. Still, they had rights and the freedom to move towards citizenship.

3. Citizen as the member organization

Being a member of the organization was how to perform cultural citizenship. Students who were migrants' children were also a member of the organization. They, therefore, had a mutual feeling with public and private organizations in the border area, Thailand – Lao PDR. Those said organizations were foundations, shelter centers, temples, churches and other types of organizations. Students who were migrants' children would present their membership of those said organizations when they needed to negotiate their partial fundamental rights and freedom which were classified into two elements:

3.1 The membership of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and religious organizations in the border area Thailand – Lao PDR such as Child Rights Protection Centre (CRPC) Center for Girls, New Life Love Neighbor of Thailand Foundation, Hmong Developing Quality of Life Foundation and Chiang Khong Catholic Center. Those mentioned organizations provided humanity assistances for students who were migrants' children who confronted adversity -- living in the remote areas and poor economic and social conditions. From the said assistance, students could access the rights and opportunities as equal as other students, namely housing, food, scholarship, and school bus service (Khamla [Pseudonym], 2018; Sudarat [Pseudonym], 2018; Saengkaeo [Pseudonym], 2018). Regard to the case of China, the stateless student who was migrants' child from Lao PDR (hold ID card with an initial number 0), she was under the care of Chiang Khong Catholic Center. She told that *“...After my parents got divorced, my mom, accompanied by me, crossed the border to stay in Thailand when I was 11 years old. My mom subsequently moved to work in Lao. So, she let me stay with a distant relative. At that time, I did not go to school and did not have money. Someday I did not even have money to buy food to eat...I finally found the brother. Then, I asked him could I stay in this center? He permitted. He then sent me to apply for an ID card with an initial alphabet G. After that, I had a great opportune moment to study in the school...”* (Chinda [Pseudonym], 2018).

Likewise, the case of Saengkaeo who was migrants' child (hold ID card with an initial number 7), she was under the care of Child Rights Protection Centre (CRPC), Center for Girls. She narrated that *“...my family economic status was quite poor. In the beginning, I would go to study and work in Bangkok, but at that time Child Rights Protection Centre (CRPC), Center for Girls came to collect data in the village I stayed. They interviewed me and my friends. We told them that we would like to study. So, I decided to write an essay. Then, submit to the said center. I was finally qualified and got accepted. I*

subsequently moved to stay in the center and studied in Baan Rimkhong School...” (Saengkao [Pseudonym], 2018). According to those 2 cases from Chinda and Saengkao, their cases pointed out being the membership of organization was the choice to widely open the opportunities for them to access the rights of education and fundamental public welfares as well as humanity right protection with equity.

3.2 Being the member in Baan Rimkhong School was the channel to perform how to be cultural citizenship as they were the students who were migrants’ children, especially students holding ID card with an initial alphabet G and initial number 0 and 7. They could generate the space for negotiating, claiming for rights and freedom as well as equity. They had the student status in the public school where instilled the Thai identity and mutual consciences such as school uniform, school delegates, school council members, and school sports players (Wasuphon [Pseudonym], 2018; Phailin [Pseudonym], 2018). According to Wasuphon, the stateless student (hold ID card with an initial number 0), said that “...when I was in grade 7 and 8, I was mocked and insulted by my classmates, but I chose to be patient instead of vigorously fighting back. I tried to be much better than I used to be, to be a good role model for my classmates. I am not a Lao person (migrant) as they have set a stereotype. When I went for academic skill test, my skill in the test field was much better than other candidates and my classmates. I was a school delegate to attend a reciting Buddhist rhythmic lyric competition when I studied grade 8. I got fifth ranking for the gold medal. And this year, my teacher will send me to be a school delegate again. I am not a common Lao person. Even though I live in Thailand like a migrant, I make a reputation for my school...” (Wasuphon [Pseudonym], 2018).

Furthermore, being the school member was used as the tool for negotiating with the state’s authority. As students who were migrants’ children, their partial rights and freedom were diminished because of the state laws. To elucidate, the right to travel outside the district they live, medical care, and education. As like Khamkao, the stateless student from Lao PDR (hold ID card with an initial alphabet G), she crossed the border to live in Thailand when she was 7 years old. Her purpose to live in the said country was for her study. When she had school vacation, she would go back to Lao PDR. Now, she lives in Thailand with older sister’s family. She told the researchers about her experiences on claiming for medical care when she used the right of being a student and how she negotiated the medical cost. “...*I went to the hospital for my medical treatment. The hospital charged me 16,000 baht, but my mom gave me 10,000 baht for the medical cost. I finally decided to ask my brother-in-law to call the hospital vice-director and explain the situation and told him*

that I am a student at Baan Rimkhong School. Then, I asked the vice-director to explain to the hospital staff for this issue. Eventually, everything ended up very well. The hospital redeemed 10,000 baht, and I paid 6,000 baht..”, Kamkaeo shared her experience (Kamkaeo [Pseudonym], 2018). As same as Phailin’s case, a student who was a migrant’s niece from the Republic of the Union of Myanmar (hold ID card with an initial number 0), she was now under the care of Child Rights Protection Centre (CRPC), Center for Girls. She told the researchers that “...travelling back to Myanmar, police would ask for the ID card at Mae Chan immigration and Mae Sai immigration. If I wore a uniform, they would not ask for the ID card...when I crossed the border, I did not show any documents. If you are a student and your parents send you at the immigration, you can walk passing by the immigration easily. If your parents would pick you up at the border, just tell the immigration officer that I am going to go back home...” (Phailin [Pseudonym], 2018).

Being a member of any organizations showed how to be a citizen. This was the channel to access the rights and freedom as well as the opportunities they should obtain with equity even though those people did not have the legalized citizen status. To clarify, organization or school would approve a letter of student status for the school’s members who were migrants. School also preceded the application for Thai permanent residence and Thai citizen to the district office (Chatthip [Pseudonym], 2018; Khamla [Pseudonym], 2018; Saengkaeo [Pseudonym], 2018). To sum up, from what described in ‘Citizen as the member organization’ clearly showed how to perform to be cultural citizenship by students who were migrants’ children. They were involved with the relationship between the said organizations. The relationship the all mentioned organizations had assisted them to access the rights and freedom as well as human rights in the state’s territory.

4. Citizen is the part of the nation-state

As students who were migrants’ children, they became the part of the nation-state but did not mean to obtain the legal nationality issued by the state. Being the part of the nation-state means sharing the mutual feeling like one of the people who was born, grew, and lived in Thailand. The said students were likely to present their stories about their motherland or their residence in the kingdom of Thailand even though their ancestors were not born in Thailand. Their ancestors immigrated to live in Thailand for ages. The said students and their ancestors, therefore, were able to listen, speak, read, and write Thai language. They were also loyalty to the nation, religion, and the Thai monarchy. They revered the said three pillars of the state to affirm that they are the state members who had the mutual conscience of the nation-state although they did not have the legalized citizen status (Khamla [Pseudonym],

2018; Sudarat [Pseudonym], 2018). Similar to the case of Chatthip, the student who were migrants' children with Thai nationality (hold ID card with an initial number 8), she said that *"...our family has lived in Thailand for a long time. We work in Thailand, and we strictly abide by the law. Even though my dad is a non-native, he pays tax for this country (Thailand). We are all loyalty to this nation, religion, and the monarchy like the others do. All prime national activities we always attend such as Father's Day activity, Mother's day activity or other community activities..."* (Chatthip [Pseudonym], 2018).

Additionally, the citizenship of the nation-state was not restricted by one nation-state. The nation-state also meant the present residence where people lived and the motherland. According to Phailin's case, she was the stateless student (hold ID card with an initial number 0), and she was migrants' children who immigrated from the Republic of the Union of Myanmar together with Khamlaeo who was the stateless student (hold ID card with an initial alphabet G) and she was a migrants' children who immigrated from Lao PDR. Those said students crossed the border to live with their relatives in Thailand from the time when they studied in primary school. Most of their lives spent in Thailand, but they would go back to the destination country from time to time when they had a school vacation. From going back and forth, Thailand and Lao PDR, the said students' feelings were gradually building the warmest bonds of where they lived in both countries. They also had mutual feelings of being two citizenships. As Khamkaeo narrated *"...I feel like I am Lao because all my evidence were still in the Lao PDR. If I graduate in this country (Thailand) and I do not' get a Thai ID card, I will go to apply for a Lao ID card. My dad did not inform my name to be moved from the housing registration in Lao yet..."* (Khamkaeo [Pseudonym], 2018). Similar to Miss Phailin, she told that *"...I am a Burmese. If I go to live in Myanmar, I will spend my regular life in there. I do not need to be afraid of being arrested. Importantly, my parents and sibling live in Myanmar..."* (Phailin [Pseudonym], 2018).

Although the mentioned cultural citizenship from the previous paragraphs was flexible in performing to be a member and to have mutual consciences between 2 nation-states, under the school system which was operated by the Thai governmental system did not support the status of the cultural citizenship to access the partial fundamental rights and freedom in the school system, namely right for accessing study loan fund, travelling outside the district where they studied and other rights that required students to show their legal identity. Those said, students; nevertheless, they were born in the kingdom of Thailand, they were legally restricted in applying scholarships provided by the public sections and having freedom to travel outside where they lived since

they were obliged to ask for a permission letter at the district registration, as well as facing uncertain future for their higher level of education (Phailin [Pseudonym], 2018; Khamkao [Pseudonym], 2018). To sum up, although all said students were born and raised in the Kingdom of Thailand, they still faced with the partial restrictions that the state legally enacted.

Discussion and Conclusion

Our research found that state system and governmental regulations, as well as cultural violence causing by the cultural differences and nationalities, brought students who were migrants' children in Baan Rimkhong School define their identities and perform their cultural citizenship into many spheres of endeavor so as to access the rights and freedom equally. Rosaldo (1994) and Kymlicka (1995) point out the cultural citizenship means that cultural differences should be respected democratically and equally in order to learn the values and meanings of being the part of cultural community and sharing mutual cultural conscience (Rosaldo, 1994, p. 402; Kymlicka, 1995, p. 89).

Performing the cultural citizenship in any spheres of endeavor depended on the sense of membership and the sense of belonging since those said students had their own identities, their cultural experiences and mutual histories (Fernández, 2015, pp 23-29). According to Ronaldo which shared similar purpose to Fernández, his article was "Cultural Citizenship in San Jose, California" identified the citizenship could be considered the relationship between people and the state as well as relationship between people and other types of citizenship: community citizen, school citizen, hospital citizen, working place citizen or voluntary organization citizen since each citizen in the said organizations could express own sense of belonging, have the right for vote, and each voice was accepted with the reason of being in the status of cultural citizenship (Rosaldo, 1994, p 57).

Performing the ethnic identities was one of the cultural citizenship's forms, which students who were migrants' children learned from their families and their ethnic group. What the said students learned and picked up from their root was not limited under the legal system or any states' territories, but the prime content of knowledge was under the longstanding ethnic's bonding network. Regard to the research conducted by Panas Dokbua (2009); his research indicated that the rising of the modern state caused the relative network scattered so that they needed to find the jobs in different countries and have different nationalities although they were from the same ethnic group. The far distance they were apart, but the closer of their heart was still last. They kept in touch among others, holding firm to mutual benefits and goodwill, in order to gain benefits of commerce, trade, agriculture, and

cooperative works. However, how they performed their ethnic identity was presented only in the restricted area: in their community or the same ethnic group. Owing to the school system, the solidarity of culture was pointed up instead of accepting cultural diversity. Then, the ethnic identities were expelled to the otherness.

With the reasons in the previous paragraph and the restricted factors to present the ethnic identities, the students alternatively chose to present their identities as the community citizen who had own residence, family, and the relationship between them and the border area community. This was because their ethnicity or legal status issued by the state would not be confined, but they could present their identities as the community members. On the research conducted by Songkran Jantakad (2015), indicated that even though diasporas did not have legalized Thai citizen issued by the Thai law, they worked very hard to build social and cultural citizenship through the various activities which profoundly showed the ties of friendship between them and communities they stayed under the conditions of akin bond, morality, and community responsibilities from the sense of belonging.

Additionally, some students who were migrants' children had scarce economic status and domestic issues; they had to be in the care of private development organizations and religious organizations. This was the reason why they did not have chances to interact with their ethnicity and their border area community. As the individual status, they were the subjectification although they had the rights to perform the cultural citizenship in the many spheres of endeavour which they had the sense of belonging or they share mutual conscience with school, foundations, or organizations. According to the research conducted by Worachet Kieochan (2011), the said research pointed out children (Myanmar diaspora) used their status as the member of Thai public school to be a shield and mechanic to negotiate with who had the Thai public authority. Kieochan (2011) stated that a student (Myanmar diaspora) had the status as the school sports delegate and he claimed his said status to the Thai police in order to prevent himself and family from the arrest of illegal migrant accusation. From the said case, being the member organization could be used as a tool to affirm and claim for the equity of rights and freedom regardless of racial ethnicity, gender, age, and social stratification (Fernández, 2015, pp 28-29).

Even though students who were migrants' children performed their cultural citizenship in various spheres of endeavour, nation-state citizenship was the supreme status for them they wish to hold. Those students tried to affirm and perform the being of nation-state's member who had a place of birth, present

residence, Thai language proficiency as well as the loyalty to the nation, religion, and Thai monarchy though they did not have legal citizen. As what mentioned was relevant to the research conducted by Ekhachai Pinkaew (2005) and Sasiprapha Chanthawong (2009) stated that the migrants and minor ethnic groups in the border area would design and give a definition of their citizen to be equivalent with the meaning of citizen that the state constructed or ran the campaigns for, namely the participation of activities organized by the state, being loyal to the nation, religion and monarchy, and not getting involved with drug. Meanwhile, being a citizen did not mean to be a citizen in only one state, but being a citizen truly related to the bonding, the mutual sense of belonging and the birthplace. To clarify the mentioned, whether the said students lived in Thailand and they were loyal to the three pillars of Thai esteem: nation, religion, and monarchy, but they also expressed their sense of bonding towards to their motherland where their ancestors were from.

From the above-mentioned paragraphs, the students who were migrants' children, Baan Rimkhong School in Thai – Lao PDR border area, had the conscience to perform their cultural citizenship in multi-layered cultural citizenship -- different cultural backgrounds and nationalities. Their cultural citizenship performing depended on whom they were interacting with, when and where. The reasons they performed the cultural citizenship in the forms of responding, claiming, and affirming was for presenting their identities as the border area citizen and for their rights and freedom from the state and got accepted by their friends who perceived the core national culture. Besides, performing cultural citizenship was another channel to fight with their dignity and equity for the legal rights, political rights and economic rights (Rosaldo 1994, p 57).

Suggestions

From this article, Cultural Citizen's Conscience of Migrants Children in A Thailand – Lao PDR Border School, had the pivotal suggestions that the citizenship, especially in the border school context should not segregate the nationalities, but the school should pay attention to the cultural citizenship in each student. Meanwhile, school in the border area should promote the diverse cultural learning so that students will understand the history and will share the sympathy with their classmates who are migrants' children because they are suppressed with the purpose of holding minor culture as well as the curriculum should be concerned in the context of cultural citizenship -- free of racial discrimination.

However, the limitation on collecting data in this research focused particularly in school context causing other social perspectives were deficient. For further study, students who are migrants' children should be monitored in their

community context, their shelter context or their destination country. Additional data collection from the said students' parents and community fellow members is also required so that more views and cultural citizenship contexts will be much clearly elucidated.

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