Reconsidering Environmentality: Coexistence of Direct and Indirect Power in Conservation by Coffee Production in Chiang Rai, Thailand

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Abstract

This article aims to discuss the politics of environmental conservation with a focus on promoting coffee growing in the border highlands in Thailand. By promoting coffee production in these areas, environmental consciousness is created, and a conservation ideology is instilled in the minds of the people. This paper highlights the coexistence between indirect and direct controlling power in natural resource conservation through coffee production. In turn, the concept of multiple environmentalities can be applied to explain this coexistence between indirect and direct power. In this confluence of multiple environmentalities, direct and indirect power interact alongside Thai royal hegemony which is a crucial actor in conservation through coffee production. This paper also aims to present traditional environmental knowledge (TEK) as "truth environmentality" – a fourth notion of multiple environmentality, which is not static but has been developed and modified in the process of the conservation project.
Keywords: Akha, arabica coffee, conservation, multiple environmentalities, royal hegemony

1. Introduction

This paper aims to discuss the unique way of coexistence between the different forms of power, both direct and indirect, in Thailand's royal development projects through the promotion of coffee production. The politics in conservation projects and the formation of subjectivities of local people as resource users have become one central debate in environmental studies. Some scholars explain that local people in their case studies eventually adopted the conservation ideology and subjectivities regarding the natural environment. In contrast, other scholars argue that in some conservation projects, the subjectivities of local people were not transformed due to the existence of local values, local critical consciousness on conservation, and contradiction between different forms of environmental ideology. However, this paper aims to show that in the case of coffee production in Northern Thailand, environmental awareness and subjectivities are created through the coexistence of different modes of power in conservation programs.

The concept of *environmentality*, developed from Foucault's concept of governmentality, refers to the dominant consciousness among resource users concerning their conservation of such resources. As shown in field data collected during the study, in the promotion of coffee production in highland forests, the control and management of conservation ideology takes many forms. The notion of environmentality, through which the conservation ideology is internalized among local resource users, exists in three primary forms. The first one is *disciplinary ecogovernmentality,* which refers to the control of thoughts and behavior of resource users, wherein the conservation process works to shape resource users into individuals having concern and care for the environment (Agrawal 2005; Fletcher 2010). The second is *neoliberal ecogovernmentality* which considers local resource users as rational economic actors participating in "conservation under the philosophies of a free market, private property, and individual freedom" (Harvey 2005, 2; Youdelis 2013, 161). This analysis of market-oriented conservation has become a core discussion in many studies regarding resource users who are living within the context of conservation in a free market. There are also studies on the ecotourism business in conservation areas (Fletcher 2009; Youdelis 2013; Montes 2019).

The third form is *sovereign governmentality* through fortress conservation, which maintains an active presence by way of enforcement of regulations, such as in the patrolling of protected areas (Fletcher 2010; Montes 2019). This study aims to present the unique coexistence of direct and indirect power through these multiple environmentalities. It is argued that the royal hegemony

in conservation is the main factor that creates the direct and indirect power entanglements in the case study. Specifically, in the case of Pangkhon Village, the traditional environmental knowledge (TEK) has been modified through the promotion of coffee production as a highland conservation project.

This study began in October 2016 in Pangkhon Village, Chiang Rai province, Thailand. Using both quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis, the study covers a survey of 104 households who have responded to questionnaires. The quantitative data collected through the questionnaires, including information on career, income, landholding size, and the amount of coffee plantation and coffee production, were utilized as the statistical basis to provide an overview of households in the community. Moreover, participant observation is being conducted as part of the data collection in order to obtain further information from the peoples' daily activities.

The field work for this study was conducted in Pangkhon Village, Section 7 of Huaichompu Subdistrict, Chiang Rai District, which is home to several ethnic communities including the Akha, Mien, and Lisu. Pangkhon, located 30 kilometers to the southwest from downtown Chiang Rai Province, is the central area of the Huaichompu Subdistrict. This subdistrict has a population of 11,915 and consists of 11 villages. One of these villages is Pangkhon Village with a population of 1,237, a majority of whom are Akha[1] people.

2. Theoretical Background

This section discusses major arguments on the power relation and political process inherent in environmental conservation. In the "neoliberal" context of espousing the free movement of people, capital, and development ideology across national-state boundaries, the state's role in regulating the economy, people and ideology could potentially be on the decline. However, the liberal processes of ideology and discourse continue to work in controlling people's ideas and behaviors.

Various discussions have brought into sharp focus the concept of self-controlling individuals at a time when, in the context of neoliberalism, states and institutions have a reduced role in interventions on the environmental governance processes.

In the social sciences, there has been a widespread attempt to explain the power relationships in conservation processes under Foucault's concept, which describes the power processes of governing the body and mind of individuals. The concept of biopolitics, the power that brings about the control of body and behavior, has been adapted to describe the process of governance over individuals' behavior in environmental conservation. Many scholars (Luke 1995; Rutherford 1999; Lemke 2002; McKee 2009; Hargreaves 2010) explain that individuals internalize the inculcated reservation ideology under the natural resource conservation projects.

Environmentality is the theoretical approach that explains environmental development under environmental discourses such as sustainability. Lemke (2002) explained sustainable development as a discourse in the "new world order" (10). The environmental development discourse led to the self-control of individuals who engage in environmental reservation especially in community-based preservation and development. Agrawal (2005) explained that environmentality, the modification of the concept of governmentality with the combination of ecology, shapes the formation of subjectivities in the natural resource preservation project. Local people in community-based conservation programs become resource users who are concerned about the protection of natural resources.

In his study, Agrawal (2005) expounds on how the Kumaon people set up their "forest council" to monitor the forest use by the local people. He argues that people who govern themselves while monitoring others despite the absence of a direct controlling power are seen as environmental subjects, individuals or subjectivities necessary to achieve an ecological balance. Hence, "the new technologies to govern forests were (and are) linked with the constitution of environmental subjects: people who have come to think and act in new ways in relation to the environment" (Agrawal 2005, 7). In a similar vein but focused on the broader context of rural development in Indonesia, Li (2007) further defined the natural resource development agenda as the government's "will to improve."

There is a wide reach of application among many scholars of Foucault's concept of *governmentality*, which looks to the new technology of power to control the individual's way of behaving and way of thinking. Concurrently, there are also ongoing debates in studies of the politics of environmental resource use, on the self-controlling and self-regulating practice in natural resource conservation. The most popular discussions are the ones on *environmentality* (Luke 1995; Rutherford 1999; Lemke 2002) and *ecogovernmentality* (Agrawal 2006) which emphasize the new technique of governance to control people's ideology on conservation. Interestingly, direct government power is not the key discussion in the debate of intimate government and the technology of power to control the environment.

While the first group of literature explains the process of the formation of subjectivities and environmental awareness among local resource users, another group expounds on the existence of the critical ideology of local people, local values, and local

practices in the conservation programs. Cepek (2012) highlights the maintaining of "a critical consciousness" among local people about the conservation projects in Zábalo, Ecuador. He explained that even though Cofán people participated in the conservation program initiated by a nongovernmental organization (the ECP), the Cofán people still undertook their conservation practices and initiated their own conservation program (Cofán Historical Mapping Project). Segi (2013) explained the existence of traditional values and practices of local people in the conservation process and the formation of environmental subjects under the conservation project. There was everyday resistance, such as not reporting illegal activities in the conservation area, owing to traditional cultural notions among villagers in the conservation project (Segi 2013). Raycraft (2020) also discussed how resource users in the local villages of the Mnazi Bay-Ruvuma Estuary Marine Park (MBREMP) in Southern Tanzania practiced resistance to conservation regulations both in an obvious form, such as by bombing the park office, and in the understated everyday form of claiming their customary rights of resource use. Therefore, the second group of literature argues that the conservation projects in these contexts are not able to create "environmental subjects" due to opposing traditional values and practices regarding resource use and management among the local people.

Fletcher (2010), one among many scholars who have raised several theoretical debates on environmentality, has summarized different types of environmentalities. He made a distinction between disciplinary environmentality and neoliberal environmentality by classifying them as different modes of governmentality (Fletcher 2010). He cites "multiple environmentalities" which include four types of environmentality: disciplinary environmentality, market-based environmentality (neoliberal environmentality), sovereign environmentality in fortress conservation (patrol of protected area), and truth environmentality (Fletcher 2010, 2017). Fletcher and Cortes-Vazquez (2020) explained the community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) initiative intended to create "environmental subjects." However, in some context, one form of environmentality contradicts another form, such as in the case of ecotourism promotion in Northern Thailand (Youdelis 2013).

In presenting several forms of environmentality, Fletcher and other scholars have proposed non-western neoliberal environmentality and the indigenous form of biopower in conservation. Montes (2019) raised the case of ecotourism development in Bhutan to highlight Buddhist biopower as non-western environmental biopower, which formed the subjectivities of local resource users in Bhutan. They give priority to traditional environmental knowledge (TEK) of the local people as "truth environmentality" in conservation.

On the other hand, this paper expounds on the coexistence of direct and indirect power in coffee production in Thailand. Additionally, it argues that traditional environmental knowledge can be transformed and modified through conservation. Thus, in Pangkhon's coffee production, neoliberal environmentality does not necessarily contradict the traditional environmental knowledge. Interestingly, the direct and indirect forms of power in conservation coexist owing to the royal hegemony in conservation. The following section discusses the historical background of the environmental politics of Thailand.

3. Environmental Conservation Policies and Practices in Thailand and Chiang Rai Province

In this section, the historical background of environmental conservation policies in Thailand and Chiang Rai province are examined. The conservation policy in Thailand was initiated after the establishment of the Royal Forestry Department (RFD) in 1896 (Youdelis 2013). In 1938, the first Reservation Forest Act of Thailand BE 2481 was promulgated, which was then later amended in 1953 and 1954. This was the first time that the Thai government defined the reserved and protected areas in the country (Sathirathai 1992).

In 1961, Thailand's central government began setting up development projects to create economic growth and hasten infrastructure development under the first National Economic Development Plan. Through the 1960s, it commenced development projects in its highland areas to replace widespread opium production therein (Hayami 1997; Sathirathai 1992; Youdelis 2013). These projects included support for local people to plant cash crops as a way of increasing their income while at the same time promoting modernization in the highland areas in Northern Thailand (Rerkasem 1998; Gypmantasiri 1999).

The Royal Family of Thailand played an important role in the development of highland mountainous areas in Northern Thailand. The first royal development projects initiated by His Majesty King Bhumibol were undertaken in 1952. The main objective of royal development projects is to create decent jobs and generate income for rural communities. In 1972, the UN/Thai Program for Drug Abuse Control Project granted 20 million baht for supporting the royal development project in Northern Thailand. There are 38 Royal Project Development Centres in nine provinces in Northern Thailand (Office of The Royal Development Projects Board, 2018).

It should be noted that two decades earlier, in Chiang Rai, the forest conservation area had been delineated under the Forestry Act of Thailand BE 2484 (1941) and Amendment BE 2532 (1989), which is the law that embodies the comprehensive official power to govern forest areas, including controlling forest use. Sections 27 to 33 of the Act prohibits the use of restricted forest

areas. Therefore, Pangkhon and nearby communities, which were subject to the law, have been located within the protected forest areas as announced since 1941. In addition to this, on September 25, 1973, there was an amendment to define the area as "Conservation Forest Areas" by Ministerial Regulation No. 581 (1973) Volume 90 Part 119 which made 203,125 *rai* (or 32,500 hectares) subject to control in the forest area on the left bank of Mae Lao River and the right bank of Mae Kok River (Thailand Reserved Forest Act BE 2507 (1964), 2021).

In 2019, the Thai government launched the National Forest Policy, its latest forest policy on a national level, which serves as the policy framework for forest management in Thailand. Since 1985, the Thai state has aimed to conserve 40% of the total land of Thailand as national forest area. The 12th National Economic and Development Plan (2017 – 2021) has also set the proportion of the forest area to be equivalent to 40% of the country's total area. This is then divided into 25% reservation forest area for conservation and 15% economic forest area (Thailand National Forest Policy 2019, 15).

As of 2019, the forest area of Thailand is 102,488,302.19 *rai* (16,398,128.35 hectares), which is 31.68% of the entire area of the country. As mentioned, the Thai government aims to increase this forest area to 40% until the size of the forest area is at 128,272,969.00 *rai* (20,523,675.04 hectares) (Thailand National Forest Policy 2019, 10).[2] In order to achieve this goal, the conservation program and practices were promoted, including the promotion of coffee production.

Coffee production has become one of the effective solutions against forest degradation in Northern Thailand. Coffee sales create cash income for the local villagers. Moreover, coffee production works well not only as a means of reforestation but is highly suitable in forest areas for growing the arabica coffee type. The production of coffee contributes to forest preservation in many ways. Essentially, coffee cultivation would prevent soil erosion in slope areas. Coffee production also reduces forest encroachment and prevents slash-and-burn agriculture since the coffee trees would require shade from large trees. Therefore, coffee can be planted in the forest areas without need for cutting down existing trees.

Moreover, coffee cultivation can create biodiversity in plants, animals, and insects. Therefore, coffee production in the agroforestry system would reforest the production areas (Roiklong 2013). Chiengthong (2017) describes the transformation of management and capital accumulation in the border area of Thailand from the forest concession business and opium cultivation to the new border spaces producing cash crops for export, including coffee cultivation (Chiengthong 2017). Ritprecha (2008) explained the development of coffee production in Doi Chaang Village, one of Thailand's most famous coffee production areas. Doi Chaang is geographically located near Pangkhon Village. The Akha villagers in those areas are relatives, and they are used to travelling to participate in rituals and ceremonies and have inter-community marriages (Mr. Sorn, the Pangkhon Village headman, interview in September 2018).

However, the coffee production in Pangkhon had not been successfully generating income for the local villagers until the 2000s, after the establishment of the royal development project (Mr. Kwan, a large-scale coffee farmer and coffee purchaser, interview in September 2018).

On March 13, 2002, Her Majesty Queen Sirikit visited Pangkhon Village. During that time, the highland areas in Northern Thailand were facing deforestation. To address the situation, The Pangkhon Royal Initiative Center for Highland Agricultural Development (hereinafter "the Pangkhon Royal Development Center"), an agricultural development research center, was established in 2002 based on the Queen's order to the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment. On January 26, 2005, Her Majesty the Queen revisited the development center to check on its progress and performance. The following section discusses the inception of coffee production in the area and the economic outcome among the local villagers in Pangkhon.

4. Coffee Production and the Akha Community

4-1 Inception of Coffee-growing

Coffee cultivation in Thailand began in the 18th century (Klaipakorn 2004). Since 1980, arabica coffee has been introduced to highland hill tribe farmers to suppress opium cultivation. Under programs in collaboration with the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), different varieties of arabica coffee have spread in the highlands north of Thailand, such as through the Mae Fah Luang Foundation and in Doi Chang, Chiang Rai Province. Moreover, the Chiang Rai Highlands Agricultural Research and Development Center was established in 1985 as a collaboration project between Thailand and Germany for agricultural research. The research center promoted coffee production to villagers in Mae Suai district, Chiang Rai (Highland Agricultural Research and Development Center Chiang Rai 2010 in Ladavalya Na Ayuthya 2015).

The three provinces with the highest arabica coffee production are Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai, and Lampang. As seen in Table 1, Chiang Rai province has the highest cultivation area and coffee production in Thailand. In the production year of 2017, Chiang Rai's coffee-growing area was 40,306 rai (6,448.96 hectares). This increased to 40,520 rai (6,483.2 hectares) in 2018, and to 42,215 rai (6,754.4 hectares) in 2019.

The number of coffee cultivation areas per household of Chiang Rai Province is also higher than the other two provinces combined. It can be said that the Akha coffee producers play the most critical role in coffee production in Chiang Rai Province. This can be seen in the fact that the leading prominent coffee production sites in Chaing Rai Province, such as Doi Chaang, Doi Vawee, Doi Mae Salong, Doi Phami and Pangkhon, are all Akha communities. They have launched their own projects and promote their products (Industrial Promotion Center Region 1, Chaing Mai Office, 2020). This justifies the selection of Pangkhon Village, Chiang Rai Province, as a legitimate site with significant coffee production for this study. The following section will discuss the economic and cultural changes of Pangkhon Village after the inception of coffee cultivation.

Table 1. Three Highest Cultivation Area and Arabica Coffee Yield in Thailand

Province	Cultivation Field (*Rai* = 1,600 m^2)			Harvesting Areas (*Rai* = 1,600 m^2)			Production (1,000 kg)		
	2017	2018	2019	2017	2018	2019	2017	2018	2019
1. Chiang Rai	40,306	40,520	42,215	33,551	38,153	38,229	4,227	4,922	3,402
2. Chiang Mai	23,320	22,537	23,125	20,194	20,568	21,141	2,787	2,921	2,283
3. Lampang	5,260	5,356	5,535	4,172	4,750	5,035	534	622	599

Note: Summary data adapted from the Agricultural Information Center, Office of Agricultural Economics of Thailand, 2020

4-2 Coffee Production and Economic Changes in Pangkhon

After the establishment of the Pangkhon Royal Initiative Center for Highland Agricultural Development, most of the villagers in Pangkhon shifted to arabica coffee farming. 67% of villagers became coffee farmers whose produce is solely coffee as a single cash crop. The other 21% are farmers whose products are coffee and other crops. The rest are merchants (almost 3%), such as grocery shop owners and food shop owners in Pangkhon. There are five grocery shops in the village that sell foodstuff and miscellaneous products. Only 8.7% of the people work as wage laborers (see Figure 1).

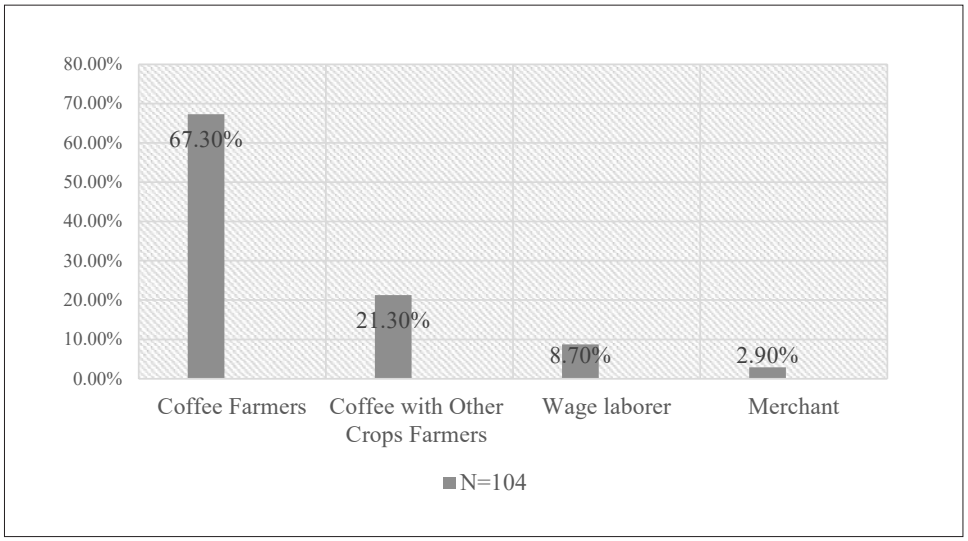

Figure 1. Occupation of Pangkhon Villagers
Note. From author's fieldwork (2016)

Most households in Pangkhon Village earn higher than 150,000 baht (US$4,991) per year. As shown in Figure 2, households with income lower than 100,000 baht (US$3,327) comprise 38.5% of the population, while those with income between 100,000 – 150,000 baht are at 21.2%. More than 17% of households have an income between 300,000 – 400,000 baht (US$9,983 to US$13,311). Considering that the poverty line in Thailand in 2016 is 52,680 baht (US$1,756) per year, it can be said that the coffee production brought substantial cash income for the farmers in the village. According to interviews, coffee farmers cite the increase in their income brought about by coffee farming.

When Pangkhon villagers started coffee production 20 years ago, the price of coffee was meager. The price of dried coffee was only 40 to 45 baht per kilogram. However, the price of coffee nowadays is 100 to 120 baht per kilogram. Every household earns at least 100,000 baht or 200,000 baht per year. (Mr. Kwan, a large-scale coffee farmer and coffee purchaser, September 2018)

Most farmers, up to 62% of all households, earn above 100,000 baht per year (US$3,327). This is a better outlook when compared to the minimum wage rate of laborers at 300 baht (US$9.98) per day, which amounts to only 93,600 baht (US$3,120) per year.

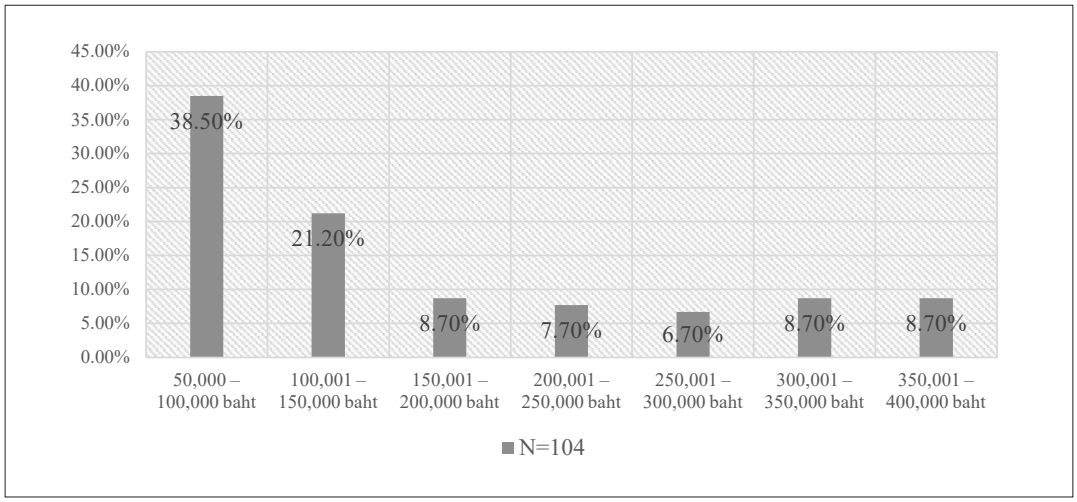

Figure 2. Average Income per Household at Pangkhon Village
Note. Data from field notes (2016)

For this reason, coffee is a high-value cash crop that is effectively being utilized to suppress opium cultivation and stop deforestation caused by high-value vegetable crops that require vast deforested land. Significantly, coffee production as a conservation technique in highland areas has not only created positive economic change for the local farmers, but it also transformed the conservation ideology and subject formation of individuals as resource users. The following section explains a different form of environmentality and the coexistence of different environmentalities in promoting coffee production.

5. Multiple Environmentalities in Conservation by Coffee Cultivation

It is argued in this study that the promotion of coffee cultivation by the royal development center is the factor that enabled the coexistence of multiple forms of environmentalities and indirect and direct power in the context of coffee production. Since 1954, the Thai royal family has played an essential role in promoting conservation projects in the highland area. Additionally, those projects created the "royal hegemony" in Thai politics.

Tejapira (2016) explains the development of the royal hegemony of the Thai royal family by using a "Gramscian sense of consensual leadership and non-coercive compliance" (226). One of the components of the Thai royal hegemony is its "thousands of royal initiative development projects" of the King and royal family members of Thailand. (Tejapira 2016, 226). The royal hegemony in development and conservation helped build the cultural political power of the royal family of Thailand.

Although the Thai royal family has no formal role in the national development initiatives, there are more than four thousand royal development projects in the rural areas of Thailand, including the northern highland area. Royal initiated projects can include the collaborations among government organizations of Thailand (Chitbandit 2010). The following section shows the scope and multiple environmentalities enabled by the coexistence and entanglement of different modes of power working in the actual practices of conservation.

5-1 Internalization of Conservation by the Royal Development Center

"The mission of Pangkhon Royal Development Center is to allow people and forests to coexist together in a balanced and sustainable way."

This is the motto of the royal development center from the royal initiative of Her Majesty Queen Sirikit (The motto at Pangkhon Royal Initiative Center for Highland Agricultural Development 2016).

This section discusses the disciplinary environmentality in coffee production in Pangkhon. To clarify, this disciplinary environmentality does not only emanate from the governmental offices that have control over the coffee production areas. In this regard, the monarchical initiated environmentality and royal hegemony is also examined.

Disciplinary environmentality is conservation governance done by encouraging the internalization of norms and values among individuals (Agrawal 2005; Fletcher 2010). It is the main conservation ideology which leads to the formation of subjectivities. It suggests "the way of behaving" or the internalization of conservation ideology of individuals, enabled by "the conduct of conduct" developed from Foucault's concept of governmentality (Agrawal 2005, 269; Youdelis 2013, 166; Rutherford 2017, 1; Montes 2019, 21). Under disciplinary environmentality, individuals who internalize the conservation ideology may govern or control their own behavior. In the conservation practices, they control themselves in order to conserve the environment.

The Pangkhon Royal Development Center promotes new agricultural practices to the local people for them to better cultivate arabica coffee. In shifting the conservation program of forest resources into coffee growing, there are four techniques mainly used by the royal development center to encourage the local villagers to internalize the desired environmental ideology.

Firstly, the development center sets up boundaries to separate the physical spaces between the community, agricultural lands, and the development center. Roth (2008) explained this territorial control in the establishment of the National Park in Chiang Mai, Northern Thailand, which demonstrates a spatial reorganization program to "fix" the forest (reforestation) (376–377). The separation of reserved forest areas in the development center and surrounding areas from former agricultural areas of residents in Pangkhon is also a spatial reorganization process of protected areas in the inhabited landscapes. The boundary between the development center and community marks the separation of the function of spaces in the areas. Hunting and foraging for forest resources are prohibited. In the area around the royal development center, the function of land use has shifted into a highly protected space by government officers. The local villagers are required to protect forest areas and limit their agricultural activities.

Secondly, the royal development center decided to create demonstration plots of a coffee plantation. Farmers could then learn how to plant and grow coffee, such as methods for proper spacing between coffee trees, fertilizing, weeding, and coffee plant pruning. The learning center called this cultivation as *agroforestry coffee* production (The description in a coffee demonstration plot at Pangkhon Royal Initiative Center for Highland Agricultural Development, 2016). It teaches the "proper way" to reorganize the farmlands of local villagers. Moreover, it embodies the internalization process of forest management and proper use of the forest in the villagers' daily lives. For example, planting large trees in the coffee gardens increased the "green spaces" in the village. The use of firewood from pruned coffee branches is recommended to reduce the use of forest firewood. The limited use of pesticides and herbicides prevents chemical contamination to the Mae Korn River which is essential since the community is located in the watershed forest.

Thirdly, the royal development center encourages farmers to come and learn by allotting a remuneration of 100 baht per day (recently increased to 200 baht per day) to household members. Each household can send one of its members to work and learn for ten days in a month.

> Currently, we have 55 workers in the development center. They comprise two main types of workers: monthly and daily workers. We pay them 100 baht per day. Each household can send their family members to work and study at the center for ten days. Then the job assignment will rotate to other families. Workers may receive a monthly income between 4,000 - 5,000 baht (US$133 to US$166) per month. (Mr. Dusang, head of workers in Pangkhon Development Center, May 2016)

To stimulate interest among people in the community to work and learn agricultural activities, the center provides 200 baht per household per day. From the center's point of view, this money is not a daily wage paid to villagers as workers but rather, it is "remuneration" analogous to a living allowance that the learning center gives to households who take the initiative to learn a new way of subsistence. Even nowadays, the development center plants coffee trees and other fruit varieties to give to local villagers on special occasions such as on birthday anniversaries of the royal family members.

Lastly, to reconfirm the royal hegemony, a Privy Council member, acting as the representative of the royal family, visits Pangkhon Royal Development Center almost every two years to monitor the missions of the development center. During the visit of the Privy Council member, the governor together with other government officials would organize a welcome ceremony. In

Pangkhon and surrounding villages, local villagers dressed in their traditional clothes would set up exhibit booths and put up posters to promote their coffee production. The Privy Council member would hand out souvenir bags from the royal family to all villagers who participate. The bags would usually contain canned foods, medicines, and equipment for daily use. At the end of event, the Privy Council member, government officers, and local villagers would take a group photo in front of a picture of Her Majesty Queen Sirikit, who initiated the project.

Moreover, every household would receive photos of royal family members, which the local people usually set in photo frames to be kept as sacred things in their homes. Additionally, news of such activities would be broadcast on national television as primetime programming on all channels in Thailand. Considering such high regard for the royal family, it is clear that welcoming their representatives can be considered a technique for the internalization of conservation ideology and the affirmation of coffee production as agriculture for environmental protection. Hence, the techniques for internalizing the environmental ideology in the local villages span a wide range from spatial reorganization to mobilization of the authority of the royal family.

As explained by Mr. Awei, a former representative of Pangkhon Village in Huaichomphu Subdistrict Organization, the internalization of conservation ideology is also deeply attached to the people's identity and citizenship. He noted that the local villagers received Thai citizenship during the early 2000s, at about the same period of the establishment of the royal development center.[3] The visit from a representative of the royal family can be viewed as confirmation by the monarchy and the Thai government of the status of local (ethnic) people who are involved in the development initiative program.

Thus, the royal development project created disciplinary environmentality – through royal hegemony – which paved the way for the internalization of conservation ideology among the local villagers. A local coffee farmer in Pangkhon Village is environmentally conscious, aware of conservation, and interacts properly with community resources. Without needing strict regulations to control their behavior and resource use, the local villagers have the instilled behavior pattern to do or not to do something regarding use of forest resources. For example, they have the common ideology of preserving the trees and prohibiting themselves from hunting animals in the community.

Royal hegemony in conservation could encourage the cooperation among governmental organizations in the mission of coffee promotion for highland conservation. These include mobilizing officers from the department of forestry and agricultural development. Some organizations resort to the use of direct power, such as military soldiers, to control the forest. In any case, they also exert soft power which relies on the royal hegemony in conservation projects.

5-2 Conservation Ideology utilizing Economic Incentives

The other type of environmentality in soft power neoliberal conservation is neoliberal environmentality, which is governance using external incentive structures (Fletcher 2010). Coffee cultivation is one example of conservation in which incentives can be generated by monetary means owing to the neoliberal concept that individuals are "rational economic actors" (Youdelis 2013, 177). The possibility of availing monetary incentives has become an effective external factor that encourages local villagers in Pangkhon to actively participate in the conservation program and adopt learnt coffee production techniques and agricultural practices from the royal development center.

Hence, while disciplinary environmentality paves the way for these individuals to internalize the conservation ideology through governance and regulatory practices, it is neoliberal environmentality that pushes them to adopt the conservation ideology as they are enticed by the external incentives.

Many farmers in Pangkhon Village have created their own coffee brands to be more appealing and responsive to the demands of a free market. In the process, they had to accept and comply with agricultural conservation requirements, such as using non-chemical fertilizers or pesticides, as well as take steps to conserve and develop perennial forest areas so as to successfully grow coffee plants in the forest.

> In the past, when I was a child (in the 1980s), there was no future in sight for Pangkhon Village because the villagers planted only rice, cabbages, and fruits. The forest did not grow abundantly. Nowadays, the cleared forest areas continue to grow abundant forest cover. I am trying to use organic fertilizer in my coffee plot in order to produce organic coffee products. (Mr. Sorn, the Pangkhon Village headman, interviewed in September 2017)

In interviews conducted with various coffee farmers and coffee purchasers in Pangkhon (Mr. Sorn, Mr. Kwan, Mr. Saelee and Mr. Wutthichai) in September 2019, they confirmed their approach of setting up coffee plots to grow organic coffee in a more environmentally concerned way by using organic fertilizers, pesticides, and herbicides.

Thus, the promotion of coffee production in Pangkhon is achieved by the soft power of ecogovernmentality. However, such soft power has also been coexisting with direct control power. The local farmers, despite the lure of better economic benefits, are

not able to expand their coffee garden into the forest areas. The coffee gardens and agricultural plots are registered and strictly protected by the direct control power wielded by the department of forestry officers and military soldiers in the area.

Moreover, there are regulations, by way of economic incentive, being imposed through a state enterprise company of Thailand. The San Palang Social Enterprise Co., Ltd. (hereinafter "San Palang") plays a pivotal role in ensuring that large groups of coffee farmers abide by conservation regulations. It is a business unit of the PTT Public Company Limited, a government-owned oil and gas enterprise.[4]

Coffee trading with San Palang has definitely led to new agricultural management techniques among the farmers and their internalization of the need to be environmentally conscious. Coffee farmers have begun taking the conservation of environment into serious account in order to do business with San Palang. For example, they have been encouraged to design their coffee production plots with better regard for the ecosystem of coffee trees coexisting with forest trees, which is a requirement subject to inspection by a representative of San Palang.

In interviews conducted with Mr. Phantamit, Mr. Phu (2019), and with Mr. Wutthichai (2021), they have stressed that despite the many strict requirements enforced by San Palang, it had become clear to the farmers that they could rely on the company to transfer money to them once their coffee product had passed the quality inspection. As an added incentive, coffee trading with San Palang also carried with it the opportunity to widely promote Pangkhon-sourced coffee in the company's ubiquitous coffee shops numbering more than 300 nationwide.

Therefore, indirect control in the form of offering external economic incentives under neoliberal environmentality served as a stimulus for coffee farmers to internalize the conservation project. This complemented the indirect power of disciplinary environmentality and its conservation ideology of self-controlling individuals in forest and resource use. As a further economic incentive, Pangkhon coffee production became associated with the specialty coffee market when coffee farmers in Pangkhon internalized environmental consciousness. They began engaging in organic and environmentally friendly coffee production of shaded, agroforestry coffee. Thus, the preservation project of the Thai government and the royal hegemony is a classic case of conservation "at a distance."

However, the success of promotion of coffee production for forest reservation is not only brought about by soft control or intimate government. The direct power of fortress conservation still plays a role in the conservation program in Pangkhon.

5-3 Direct Power in Conservation in Pangkhon

The Conservation Area Management Office 15, Chiang Rai, has the primary duty to patrol the Huichomphu subdistrict forest areas, including Pangkhon and surrounding villages. Five officers patrol in shifts within the forest area to control the use of the forest by the local people, especially during the dry season between January and April. Local people call the officers from the Conservation Area Office Section 15 as "forestry officers."

When these forestry officers encounter offenders who are suspected of illegally cutting down trees or hunting, they use radio communication to request reinforcements from the forestry department or military personnel who then set up a permanent base within Pangkhon Village near the royal development center. Therefore, the government officers can reach the forest immediately. Local people have described their understanding of the role of forestry officers in controlling the use of resources in the area.

> In case hunters for forest animals are caught, the forestry officers have the authority to take all their hunting equipment such as guns or other weapons. The officers will investigate and register the hunting incident and the name of the hunter in their books. Nevertheless, in the end, the hunter will be released albeit they cannot get back their hunting equipment. However, if anyone caused a forest fire by hunting or collecting wild objects and they get caught, this will be a big issue and they will be arrested and prosecuted because they violated the law. (Mr. Wutthichai, a middle scale coffee farmer, interviewed in March 2021)

Hunting wildlife in royal development centers and coffee growing areas is strictly prohibited. In case local people in the community wish to hunt wild animals, they will have to do it secretly without alerting the forestry officers. The law prohibiting hunting is an agreement that people in the community must accept in exchange for the right to live there and to do agricultural activities in the protected forest.

The Pangkhon Military Operations Unit, with its five personnel, set up camp near the Agricultural Development Center. They patrol the forest area in Pangkhon and nearby villages to prevent illegal logging, secure farms and forest areas from invasion, and prevent drug smuggling in the area.

> Military soldiers have come to set up our base camp here to protect forest areas. We have to monitor and control the area because it is a border area. We have to patrol the area. Sometimes, we have to warn local people because Pangkhon Village is located close to the highland agricultural development center. Sometimes we have to fire gunshots into the forest as warning shots when we hear the sound of hunting rifles coming from the forest area. (Sergeant Sak, Chief of Pangkhon military unit, September 2019)

The "green militarization" owes its legitimacy from the discursive explanation justifying the use of violence to protect against environmental degradation (Lunstrum 2014; Marijnen and Verweijen 2016). Studies cite the pressure of international environmental politics as a cause for militarization in conservation. In many cases, violence is used in response to enemies of conservation. Green militarization also has a discursive technique to normalize and legitimize "the war for biodiversity" (Marijnen and Verweijen 2016, 275).

In the case of Pangkhon, the royal hegemony heavily influences conservation practices. In an interview, the military soldiers and department of forestry officers have explained that their mission is to protect the forest in the royal development center. In front of the royal development center and the military camp, there are large pictures of Her Majesty Queen Sirikit, who initiated the development center and her son, H.M. King Maha Vajiralongkorn. Mr. Ariya, the first head of the royal development center, has mentioned in an interview in May 2016 that his duty is to serve the HM Queen Sirikit.

5-4 The Entanglement of the Different Modes of Power

Case 1: The Formation of Environmental Subjects

As mentioned earlier in the theoretical background, many scholars have argued that local resource users fail to internalize the environmental ideology in any context. This article would like to highlight that, on the contrary, Akha coffee producers in Pangkhon have actually become environmental subjects. The coexistence of multiple forms of environmentalities, disciplinary environmentality from the royal development center, economic incentive of coffee production, as well as fortress conservation by the military soldiers and department of forestry officers effectively shaped the conservation ideology of local villagers in Pangkhon. The coexistence in this case study is founded on the royal hegemony in the conservation projects of Thailand.

The royal hegemony in development and conservation projects – initiated by His Majesty King Bhumibol, Her Majesty Queen Sirikit, and royal family members of Thailand – worked in collaboration with the governmental organizations of Thailand and the business sector.

The following narratives from the interview with Mr. Kwan and Mr. Wutthichai show the formation of environmental subjects, defined as individuals who care about the environment, especially forest conservation.

> The coffee plantations in the forest area promoted by the royal development center have encouraged the community to conserve the forest. So, nowadays, the villagers exert efforts to protect large trees in their coffee gardens and the surrounding forest. Coffee farmers have planted large trees in their coffee plots. They will not cut down the trees. Pangkhon Village and its forest areas look green when compared with other villages in this sub-district. It has the most fertile forest in the area. Prior to the setting up of the royal development center, this area used to be occupied by rice fields, maize production plots, and shifting fruit gardens. After the forestry officers came to set up the royal development center, the area was transformed into coffee gardens. (Mr. Kwan, a large-scale coffee farmer and coffee purchaser, interviewed in September 2017)

Moreover, environmental subjectivities and conservation consciousness have also become apparent through the conservation programs. Local villagers explained that they are not "forest destroyers" (Forsyth and Walker 2008) hence, they conserve the natural resources better than the lowland people.

> Lowland people usually think that we, the hill tribe, destroy the forest areas or cut down trees. Nowadays, it is we, the hill tribe brothers, who refrain from destroying the forest. We produce our coffee in the forest. Nowadays, lowland people cut trees more than highland people do. (Mr. Kwan, a large-scale coffee farmer and coffee purchaser, interviewed in September 2017)

Coffee production has become an agricultural activity for the conservation of highland areas in the perception of local villagers in Pangkhon. Coffee farmers in Pangkhon have become environmental subjects, or individuals who have an awareness of natural resource conservation through a synergistic process of conservation discourse and the direct role of the government in the

village.

The royal hegemony in the internalization of conservation ideology relates not only to the monarchy but also to nationalism. Participating in the conservation projects by coffee production also links the local ethnic famers to the nation and *Thainess*. During the field research interviews, local villagers at Pangkhon expressed their indebtedness to the royal initiated projects.

Mr. Phantamit is one of the village leaders and a local business figure engaged in large-scale coffee trading. He expressed his feeling, quoted below, to a news reporter during an event when a Privy Council member, as a representative for the royal family, visited Pangkhon to monitor the mission of the Pangkhon Royal Development Center on July 30, 2020.

> Mr. Phantamit explained, "My coffee garden is 20 *rai* (3.2 hectares). Last year, the coffee yield was 5,500 kilograms. I earned 280,000 baht (US$ 8,969). All of us feel indebted to Her Majesty Queen Sirikit. Therefore, villagers can now have a stable income. Presently, people live well. People and forests can live together." (Office of the Royal Development Projects Board, 2020)

Therefore, coffee cultivation has been a catalyst for changes in agricultural activities, conservation ideology, and subject formation among the local villagers. The coexistence of direct control power and internalized indirect power have also shaped the conservation ideology of the local people.

Case 2: The Monitoring Group as Agent of Direct Power in the Community Level

Agrawal (2005) discussed a local resource monitoring group (Panchayat) which is a group of local people tasked to monitor resource use in the community. Similarly, Pangkhon also has a community leader team and a local volunteer group who monitor the use of resources and coordinate disaster prevention. These groups are under the supervision of a direct power in the community.

The village has rules to control resources, especially with regard to logging and open forest areas for new agricultural lands. The villagers must follow the regulations, which have precise requirements and penalties. In this practice, the community leaders act as a "mediator" between the institutions and local people.

> We have rules for cutting down trees. When any household wants to use wood, they must first inform and ask permission from the village leaders, then inform the highland agricultural center's staff and the soldiers before cutting down any tree. However, most of the time, we use wood from a tree that naturally fell by itself. We usually do not cut down trees. Nevertheless, regarding even trees that fell in our own yard, we would still need to ask for permission from the authorities to use the wood. This is because in the process of cutting a tree down or moving its wood, the authorities could hear the chainsaw, or they could see us when we move the wood into our house. (Ms. Kate, one of the community leaders, interviewed in September 2019)

After the establishment of a royal development center and a military unit, the community leaders were tasked to follow the new regulations and report the peoples' use of forests to government officials.

Although the coffee farmers in Pangkhon are encouraged to engage in coffee production in highland areas, governmental organizations still closely monitor the area and are ready to use rigorous measures to control the use of the forest. Many methods are used, including regular patrol of the forest areas while bearing guns and the authority to arrest in cases of abuse of forest resources. Under the same objective, the above mentioned two governmental organizations also support local villagers in setting up local forest monitoring and management groups.

The entangled workings of direct and indirect power in conservation practices can be easily observed in present day Pangkhon's regular activities to prevent, suppress, and extinguish wildfire. During the dry season from February to May each year, all the actors in a conservation project at Pangkhon, including the officers of the royal development center, forestry department officers, division of wildfire control offers, military soldiers, civil defense volunteers, and villagers from every household participate in wildfire prevention by constructing firebreak lines in the forest areas. It is worth noting that the villagers, mostly men, who participate have received the requisite prior training in wildfire suppression.

Especially during the dry season when the risk of a wildfire breakout is higher, the agencies with direct control do a robust implementation of regulations and strictly impose punishments for any violations thereof. Their investigation and monitoring of forest areas become more vigilant. In fact, some forest use become prohibited to prevent wildfire, such as hunting and foraging.

> The patrolling by officers and community leaders will be very rigorous. If any offenders are caught in the forest, the penalty imposed will be severe. However, most of the suspects that have been caught were outsiders who came to forage for mushrooms or set fires. People in Pangkhon would never cause a fire. Because we have our coffee plantation here... we do not want wildfires to burn our coffee plantations. Firefighting of forest fires is very risky. It is sweltering during the daytime. Sometimes we have to go out at night to extinguish the fire. It is a hazardous mission. However, the Pangkhon people continue to preserve this forest and our coffee plantations as well. (Mr. Sorn, the Pangkhon Village headman, interviewed in March 2019)

In Mr. Sorn's narrative, the entanglement of direct and indirect power in forest conservation can be seen. In some cases, such as wildfire prevention, direct power is readily observable. On the other hand, the indirect power of disciplinary environmentality and the external incentive from neoliberal environmentality also concurrently influence the minds of local villagers. As a result, they can be considered as environmental subjects who have concern for the conservation of forest areas, with a mindset shaped by an internalized conservation ideology and external incentive for engaging in coffee production.

Case 3: Coffee Entrepreneurs: Multiplicity of actors in indirect power and direct power in coffee production

The promotion of coffee cultivation has resulted in the emergence of entrepreneurs who own their own coffee businesses. Many coffee plantation owners, who have been able to accumulate capital, grew their businesses as coffee entrepreneurs purchasing and processing coffee under their own brands. Among the prominent coffee entrepreneurs of Pangkhon are Mr. Phantamit, Mr. Sorn, Mr. Saelee, Mr. Phu, and Mr. Kwan. Like many other coffee entrepreneurs in Pangkhon, they develop their coffee products for marketing into the niche of specialty coffee and organic coffee.

> Recently, I have been trying to produce specialty coffee and organic coffee. I organized the organic coffee plots in my coffee garden to produce organic coffee. Moreover, I bought organic coffee specifically from my relatives because I am certain of how they have produced their coffee. Did they use fertilizers and chemicals or not? By doing so, I can somehow control the quality of my coffee products. (Mr. Kwan, a large-scale coffee farmer and coffee purchaser, interviewed in September 2019)

Mr. Kwan's interview pointed to further data on the working process of multiple environmentalities that can produce actors who engage in conservation in multiple ways. Disciplinary environmentality, neoliberal environmentality, and direct power of fortress conservation, working together in a complementary way, created people who internalized the conservation ideology. Furthermore, in some context, these people became direct power actors who could control and transfer the conservation ideology to other villagers in the community, such as in Mr. Kwan's case when he oversees organic coffee production in the area. He has said that organic coffee can be sold at a higher price than ordinary coffee beans. Now, the coffee business from produce in the forest areas of Pangkhon has flourished more. Additionally, coffee production backed by environmental awareness represents the conservation ideology among Pangkhon villagers.

To summarize, the three cases presented above illustrate the entanglement of direct and indirect power in the conservation program by coffee production in Pangkhon. They show that direct and indirect power are not necessarily dichotomous types of power which work separately in the Pangkhon coffee production industry. On the contrary, these two types of power coexist in creating the environmental ideology of the local villagers. Finally, of major significance in these Pangkhon cases is the role played by the royal hegemony in conservation as it links both direct and indirect power in the actual practice of conservation. Because of the confluence of these factors, the environmental consciousness and ideology among the local people are evident in the village, and the "(un)making" of environmental subjects (Raycraft 2020, 6), which has been discussed in other literature, cannot easily be found among the people in Pangkhon.

6. The Modification of Traditional Environmental Knowledge

Traditional environmental knowledge (TEK) is the fourth notion of the concept of multiple environmentalities. Fletcher (2020) and his colleagues proposed traditional environmental knowledge to draw attention to the local environmentality in the non-western societies. This section discusses how, in the case of the Akha in Pangkhon, there was no contradiction between the traditional environmental knowledge and conservation by coffee production.

The case study of Youdelis (2013) showed how the traditional culture of the Karen people in Chiang Mai, Thailand contradicted with the advent of neoliberal environmentality in the ecotourism business. It referred to the Karen tradition of subsistence livelihood or the "Karen consensus" (Walker 2001; Youdelis 2013). However, the Akha people of this study, who have

become the leading player in coffee production in Pangkhon, do not have such a tradition. On the contrary, they have long been engaged in the cash crop economy such as opium cultivation, tea, and orchard gardens before the promotion of coffee growing in the area.

After coffee was introduced to the villagers in the 1980s, the royal development center was established in 2002. The purpose of the center was to develop coffee production as a cash crop and at the same time achieve forest conservation. Interestingly, the coffee production introduced in the village did not contradict the traditional culture and traditional environmental knowledge among the Akha people.

The traditional culture of Akha, or "*Akhazang*" in local term, is the Akha's way of life (Kammerer 1996). Akhazang includes the tradition, rituals, religions, and way of doing things by the Akha. Nowadays, the Akhazang in Pangkhon, especially its religious practices, have changed due to community development and the absence of hereditary continuity of its religious leaders. At present, most of the villagers have converted to Christianity and there now stand three churches within the village. Nevertheless, villagers still practice their traditional religion combined with Mahayana Buddhism, which was introduced to the Akha by the Chinese language school in the community. The school is run by a commercial association from Taiwan.

Even nowadays, the practice of their religion finds its way into their coffee production activities. In November, Christians perform the traditional ritual of *Gin Khao Mai,* which is a celebration during the rice harvest season, in their churches. This festival for newly harvested crops is a ceremony to show gratitude to the spirits and local deities for the agricultural products of the Akha.

> In the ceremony, we pray and give thanks to the Lord for the rice and crops we have produced. Even though we haven't started harvesting coffee beans in November, we pray to the Lord for a bountiful harvest of coffee beans and for a higher price of coffee. (Mr. Wutthichai, a middle scale coffee farmer, interviewed in September 2021)

On the other hand, the villagers who practice Mahayana Buddhism combined their traditional beliefs with Mahayana rituals. A shrine of the Mountain Gods was constructed following Chinese architecture and inscribed with Chinese characters. They worship the Mountain Gods twice a year, in April and September (based on the lunar calendar), and offer sacrifices such as pigs, chickens, and food to the deity in the ceremony. They offer their gratitude for natural resources such as the water and forest and pray to the gods of mountains. Moreover, they pray to the deities to protect their coffee gardens and bless their cultivation for a bountiful harvest (Participant observation, September 2018).

Some villagers worship the guardian spirits in their coffee gardens. They constructed shrines in their gardens and worship the spirits before cultivating and before harvesting coffee and other crops from their gardens. Mr. Sorn, a village head, while pointing to a wooden shrine in the garden, narrated how their religious practices from the past and present have intertwined.

> My family still worships the spirits in my garden. In the past, we have this kind of wooden shrine in our gardens. Nowadays, only Buddhist villagers are practicing this. We would offer foods to the spirits every year after we harvest the rice. Before, we brought the best quality agricultural product of each season to the older people. Nowadays, we do not give the first lot of our coffee beans to the elderly (laughs). Nevertheless, we still practice worshipping in the coffee gardens. (Mr. Sorn, interviewed in September 2018)

The cultivation of coffee as a new crop brought with it a new configuration of relationships and beliefs in the host community. At the onset, coffee had no cultural meaning in the Akha tradition. However, with the advent of widespread coffee production, the local farmers have started to try to attach significance to coffee in their culture. As opposed to the case of the Karen people (Youdelis 2013), there was no conflict between the local traditional environmental knowledge of the Akhas and the newly sprung economic incentive environmentality. Under multiple environmentalities, the new possibilities to describe non-Western environmentality are being explored, such as by highlighting traditional environmental knowledge to describe local biopower, or environmentality, especially in the work of Montes (2019) in Bhutan. Nonetheless, in the case of Pangkhon, the modernity in coffee production has brought changes to the traditional culture. As a result, the process of reinterpretation and modification of traditional environmental knowledge has taken place. Coffee, the new crop, has now also been attached to religious practices and rituals of the local villagers.

The Akha's knowledge of coffee cultivation was not inherited from one generation to another but rather was passed on as a new modern technology from the development agencies, the coffee organization, and the internet. Currently, the community's traditional environmental knowledge and culture are being modified through the influence of the development of coffee production. In contrast to the traditional environmental knowledge discussed by Youdelis (2013) as well as the "truth environmentality" of indigenous biopower in conservation discussed by Montes (2019), the Akha coffee farmers in Pangkhon are presently in the

process of modifying “truth environmentality.”

Modern geo-information technology has also been introduced to Pangkhon since 2019. The Forestry Office and the Chiang Rai Provincial Office developed an application for use on mobile phones to capture the land territory and measure the agricultural area’s size. Community leaders were assigned to be in-charge of the land survey. It is the first time that people in the community could measure and record the territory of their land via mobile phones. In the past, the concept of space and territory of the people was based on the community’s physical space. For example, territorialization is done using geographical boundaries such as streams, tree lines, or hillsides. Those areas had social functions. The physical spaces are related to the livelihood of local villagers, such as the separation of agricultural spaces and the preservation of the forest. The physical space has been given meanings and new territories have been defined, such as agriculture and conservation areas.

7. Discussion

This paper presented the unique form of coexistence of indirect power and direct power in conservation in the Pangkhon highland area of Chiang Rai, Thailand. The promotion of coffee production as a program for highland area conservation was initiated in 2002 by Her Majesty Queen Sirikit of Thailand. As a result, forest use among the local villagers has changed, and since then, they have been engaged in conservation practices, specifically through coffee production. The local villagers of Pangkhon have become environmental subjects.

Many scholars have presented significant case studies with divergent results on the formation of environmental subjects, such as in the studies of Cepek (2012), Segi (2013), and Raycraft (2020). In those case studies, the local villagers were not transformed as environmental subjects even though they participated in the conservation program or lived under the regulations of the conservation areas. In the case of Cofán people, they maintained critical consciousness and environmental awareness (Cepek 2012). Local villagers in coastal protected areas in the Philippines did not become environmental subjects due to their local values and cultural notions on livelihood security (Segi 2013). In the case study of coastal conservation in Tanzania, the local villagers reacted to the conservation project through violent confrontation and everyday resistance by claiming customary rights over resource use (Raycraft 2020).

However, in the case of present day Pangkhon, the local villagers have indeed become environmental subjects who show concern for the preservation of the environment and employ resource use patterns that would pose no threat to natural resources. They see no conflict in their everyday life with the conservation projects and the authorities in government or the royal development center for the following reasons.

Firstly, the environmentality, or conservation ideology in the area, comes in multiple forms of indirect and direct control power that complement one another. As a key factor, the royal hegemony in conservation enables the workings of multiple environmentalities and coexistence of direct and indirect power.

Disciplinary environmentality, the process of internalizing conservation awareness and ideology to create environmental subjects, existed through the Pangkhon Royal Initiative Center for Highland Agricultural Development. The inception of agroforestry coffee became the only option for the local villagers to have a livelihood in the protected highland area. To be engaged in this livelihood, the internalization of disciplinary conservation ideology became paramount as it secured the right to use agricultural and residential lands in the protected area of local villages without legal conflicts. Moreover, the internalization of the disciplinary conservation mindset eliminated the negative image attached to people who were formerly viewed as forest destroyers, shifting cultivation farmers and opium producers (Forsyth and Walker 2008). For these reasons, Akha farmers adopted coffee production. Additionally, being environmentally conscious coffee farmers paved the way to becoming “good Thai citizens” in line with the conservation initiatives of the royal projects.

Secondly, neoliberal environmentality offered economic incentives in a free and less regulated market. Against this conservation ideology backdrop, coffee production provided a stimulus for local villagers to behave according to economic rationality and participate in the conservation projects. They internalized the external incentives of conservation by producing environmentally friendly coffee products such as organic, shaded coffee (coffee grown under large trees in forest areas) (West 2012).

Thirdly, sovereign environmentality, or fortress conservation, is the direct control power that complements disciplinary environmentality and neoliberal environmentality, which are the indirect control power in coffee production. Pangkhon Village lies in a border area patrolled intensively by department of forestry officers and military soldiers. The strict restrictions imposed by direct control power over the resources prompts the local people to govern themselves so as not to violate regulations against hunting, cutting down trees without permission, or extending coffee gardens into the forest areas.

Another outcome on account of the convergence of these multiple environmentalities is that the Akha traditional culture now

also appears with their products in the coffee market. Marketing in a niche specialty coffee market was enabled by the process of internalization among the local people of environmental consciousness in their coffee production. Their coffee products bear labels showcasing Akha cultural artifacts and practices, such as logos that represent their Akhaness or use the Akha language; for example, the *Aso Coffee*, *Ma Family Coffee, Akha Noi (Little Akha), Akha Pangkhon Coffee, and Paangkhon Coffee.*

Finally, the coexistence of multiple environmentalities and entanglement of direct and indirect power has emerged due largely to the hegemonic power of the Thai royal family and their royal development projects. These conservation projects are aimed at ensuring a secure livelihood for highland local villagers, strengthening citizenship, and encouraging becoming "Thai" among the local ethnic people.

In this study, traditional environmental knowledge and truth environmentality are updated and modified. Youdelis (2013) explained the contradiction between neoliberal environmentality and traditional environmental knowledge (TEK) in the market-led ecotourism of Karen, an ethnic group in Thailand. The "Karen consensus" (Walker 2001, 148) is subsistence-oriented and resistant to the commercial market. Montes (2019) presented non-Western biopower in conservation in his study in Bhutan. However, in the case of Akha at Pangkhon Village, the traditional environmental knowledge interacts without resistance with neoliberal environmentality, and truth environmentality results in a combination of Akhazang, the Akha traditional culture, and the new technology of knowledge in coffee production for environmental conservation.

Scott (2009) identified Akha as an ethnic group of Zomia, who are stateless people in the inlands of Southeast Asia, China, and India. The Akha used to practice "escape agriculture" (Scott 2009, 23) which meant that they had tried to escape from the sovereign power of any state by cultivating traditional crops which do not require an irrigation system, including opium. After becoming "Thai" citizens and adopting coffee production, the Akha people have become players in conservation by coffee production; thus, playing their part in "the art of being governed."

8. Conclusion

First, based on ethnographic data from fieldwork in Pangkhon, this paper highlights the notion that it is hegemonic power that lays the foundation for the coexistence of direct and indirect power.

The concepts of governmentality and ecogovernmentality explain the process of power and governance through control over people's mentality in the process of conservation. In reality, multiple modes of environmental governance can coexist as observed in the case of the border area conservation management in Northern Thailand discussed in this study.

The cultivation of coffee is an incentive for conservation under neoliberal governmentality. Coffee farmers are economically motivated to become coffee growers who have internalized practices for conserving natural resources. Not only is growing coffee in the highlands viewed as a productive livelihood, but it is also an activity approved and initiated by the Thai royal family who plays a key role in sustainable development and environmental conservation. Its royal development initiative, in using the concept of environmentality among coffee producers, has been able to promote conservation in the area and management of the local peoples' mentality. It has been argued in this paper, however, that along with the promotion of environmental conservation and instilling consciousness about resource protection among individuals, there concurrently exists coercive environmental protection practices from forestry officers and military personnel. Therefore, it is clear that the conservation promotion process is a synergistic process between conservation by creating incentives and direct forest control.

Most of the debate in environmental conservation practices that apply the Foucauldian perspective of governmentality explain the control of forest areas by citing behavior control through the discourse of conservation or environmentalist ideology. Primarily, the discussions by Luke, Lamke, Agrawal and Li on community-based conservation are in point. Many environmental conservation processes focus on building the engagement of the local people and community-based conservation. However, the direct control of power over land use is just as significant.

Moreover, the focus on the interrelationship between direct and indirect control can shed light on certain aspects of subjectivity formation in natural resource conservation. Based on the ethnographic data from Pangkhon Village, the entanglement of the direct and indirect form of power in conservation is the result of the royal hegemony in conservation. The royal development and conservation projects nurture collaboration from Thai governmental organizations and development agencies.

Additionally, the focus on coexistence of direct and indirect power leads to a better understanding of subjectivities formation. At the individual level, disciplinary environmentality and neoliberal environmentality, coexisting through the royal hegemony of conservation, can shape subjectivities among local people who become environmental subjects. In turn, being an individual with environmental consciousness translates to being a good citizen who has loyalty to the royal family and the nation. At the community level, local villagers are transformed as the monitoring group, acting as agents of the direct power authorities, who control resource use. Eventually, some villagers are also transformed into direct power actors who control and transfer the

conservation ideology to other villagers in the community, such as the head of the village group, civil defense volunteers, or the coffee entrepreneurs.

Therefore, the study of the interrelationship between direct and indirect control can create a better understanding of the fluidity of power in actual practice and the subjectivity formation of local villagers in natural resource conservation.

Endnotes

[1] The Akha usually set up their community in high altitude areas with elevations ranging from about 800 meters to 1,800 meters above sea level. They were residents in Yunnan and Southeast Asia's highlands (Kammerer 1988; Goodman 2008). They were one of the six major mountain minority groups in Thailand, with the first Akha settlement in Northern Thailand founded only after the twentieth century. Their ethnic identity used to be based on common clanship and shared customs (Kammerer 1988).

The Akha have three major groups, namely, the Ulo Akha, Lomi Akha, and Pami Akha. The Ulo Akha, the most populous Akha group in Thailand, were the first immigrants (Toyota 1998). The Ulo Akha and Lomi Akha can be differentiated by the headdress they wear. The Akha population in Pangkhon Village is from the Lomi Akha group. The other Akhas perceive the Lomi Akha as being "hardworking" and "good at carrying tradition" (Toyota 1998). In Pangkhon Village, they are identified as a hardworking group of Akha who have accumulated capital for investment. Finally, the Pami Akha is the smallest in number. Pami indicates a single village near Mae Sai, the northernmost part of Chiang Rai, near the Myanmar border. This group moved to Thailand from China at the height of the Kuomingtang movement. Therefore, the Pami Akha have a strong Chinese identity and have better entrepreneurial skills when compared to the other two groups (Toyota 1998).

[2] Thailand has signed 11 agreements on environmental and natural resource conservation. Those conventions and agreements also became the framework for setting up the national forest conservation policy of Thailand (National Forest Policy 2019,18). The international conventions and agreements on environmental protection which the Thai government has signed includes: (1)The Ramsar Convention on Wetlands (Ramsar) 1971; (2)The World Heritage Convention 1972; (3) The Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) 1973; (4) The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) 1992; (5) United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD) 1994; (6) United Nations Forum on Forests 2000; (7) The Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety 2000; (8) International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture (ITPGR) 2001; (9) Nagoya Protocol 2010; (10) United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change 1992, and the Paris Agreement 2016; and (11) The Nagoya – Kuala Lumpur Supplementary Protocol on Liability and Redress to the Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety 2018 (National Forest Policy 2019: 18).

[3] Interview with Mr. Awei in May 2016. The national ID card of Pangkhon villagers bears the number "8" as the first digit, which represents the person who received Thai citizenship after their migration to Thailand by virtue of Cabinet Resolution on 11 May 1999 (Sawanapak 2004; Luangaramsri 2015).

[4] The PTT Company was eventually privatized and became listed on the Thai Stock Exchange in 2001. Significantly, the major shareholder of PTT Public Company is the Ministry of Finance of Thailand. It has the largest market share in the energy business in the country. All of PTT Company's corporate social responsibility (CSR) projects focus on environmental conservation and sustainable development. Along this line, the San Palang Social Enterprise Co., Ltd. was established in 2017 and entered into agreements to purchase coffee beans from Pangkhon. The motto of the company is "(to create) better income and well-being through a fair price system and supporting farmers to grow and produce coffee under a sustainable natural resource conservation system" (San Palang Social Enterprise Co., Ltd. (SPSE), 2021). On September 19, 2017, San Palang signed a purchase contract with two pilot community enterprise groups.

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