

Construction of a behavioral rating scale for children of the hunter-gatherer Mlabri: A quantitative re-examination of behavioral characteristic records in Bernatzik, H. A.'s ethnography of hill tribes in Indochina

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Abstract

Conventional ethnographies are often written by a single researcher, based on records, experiences, *etc.* collected in a research area, with the subjective opinions of the individual researcher. Hugo Adolf Bernatzik's ethnography of the hill tribes of Indochina (1938) on the Mlabri (Bernatzik, H. A., 1897-1953), hunter-gatherers in the mountains of northern Thailand, which is the subject of this study, is one such work. This work is not necessarily objective because it is often based on the author's subjective views and Western perspectives.

Therefore, this study proposed a research methodology to objectively and quantitatively capture the behavioral characteristics of Mlabri (children) behavior in order to evaluate it more objectively. The rating scale was developed in consultation with Mlabri researchers and Thai and Hmong people (including teachers and others) who are familiar with the behavioral characteristics of Mlabri children through daily contact with them. The selection of items for the evaluation scale was based on Bernatzik, H. A.'s (1958) ethnography of hill tribes in Indochina. An inventory of individual behavioral characteristics was also added based on observations of the Mlabri children and their own experiences.

Bernatzik, Hugo Adolf (1938) *Die Geister der gelben Blätter: Forschungsreisen in Hinterindien*, Munich, F. Bruckmann Verlag, 240p.

Bernatzik, Hugo Adolf (1958) *The spirit of the yellow leaves*, London, Robert Hale Limited, 222p. (English translation by Dickes, Ernest Walter.)

1. Significance of the study and the problem of the ethnographic observation record

The purpose of this study is to construct a rating scale to evaluate the behavioral characteristics (basic principles of behavior and personality) of the Mlabri *¹ (children) who lived as nomads in the deep forests and as hunter-gatherers in the mountains of northern Thailand until the end of the 20th century.

Traditionally, records of hunter-gatherer behavior from an ethnological perspective have consisted of written accounts of things and experiences observed by researchers, with photographs and other records as supplementary materials. In addition, most of the observers and recorders were the researchers themselves.

Note *1 Bernatzik, H. A. (1897-1953) called Mlabri "Yumburi". The title of Bernatzik, H. A.'s ethnography, "*Die Geister der gelben Blätter*," is also a derogatory term. The title of Bernatzik, H. A.'s ethnography the name "Yumburi" is also used in "*The Hunting Peoples*" by Coon, C. S. (1971). However, according to the author's research, neither the Mlabri themselves nor their neighbors have ever heard this name. Perhaps the researcher misheard. Such a mishearing or misunderstanding is an example of an obstacle to further research. Coon, Carleton Stevens (1971) *The Hunting Peoples*, Boston, Atlantic Monthly Press, 464p.

Therefore, when a researcher writes an ethnography, it tends to reflect his or her personal experiences, perspectives, and subjectivity, and tends to lack objectivity from a scientific perspective. In addition, the research methods used by ethnologists to date have had their limitations. Interviews, observations, records, and photographs have been the primary means of research, with anthropological measurements and psychological tests rarely used. Sample sizes of informants for interviews were generally small, and sampling procedures were highly arbitrary. Collaborators, including informants, were likely to be the leaders of the study area or specific collaborators who had a favorable impression of the researcher. Ethnography in the first half of the twentieth century paid little attention to the scientific procedures of collecting and recording data, and little attention was paid to the scientific requirements of objectivity and reproducibility of data. It is fair to say that ethnography in the first half of the 20th century paid little attention to the scientific requirements of objectivity and reproducibility of data when collecting and recording data.

The aim of this study is to propose an objective method for evaluating the behavioral characteristics (dispositions, impulses, *etc.*) underlying the behavior of Mlabri children. To this end, we will first study the behavioral characteristics of Mlabri children, using as a guide the only coherent description in the ethnography of Bernatzik, Hugo Adolf (1897-1953) [1]. Through these procedures we will be able to scientifically describe the behavior of hunter-gatherers.

2. The ethnography of the hill tribes of Indochina by Bernatzik, H. A.

Bernatzik, H. A., who made important contributions to Mlabri research, encountered the Mlabri in the forests of northern Thailand in the 1930s after much hard work. He and other members of his research team spent a short time living in the forest with a Mlabri family. There he observed and photographed Mlabri behavior and left an excellent ethnography (1938) [1]. His records and photographs have not lost their value as a first-class resource for Mlabri research.

The anthropologist Keiji Iwata (1971) [2] enthusiastically describes the Mlabri as a "*phantom people*" in his literature. The description is largely based on information from the ethnography of hill tribes in Indochina by Bernatzik, H. A. [1][3]. In this literature, Iwata himself wrote that in 1962 he tried to conduct research in Thailand's Nan province, but wherever he went, "*I could not get any definite information... and had to return*" (Iwata, K., 1971, p.66).

If Bernatzik, H. A. had recorded in his ethnography [1] the exact location (north latitude, east longitude) of his nomadic movements through the forest with Mlabri in chronological order, accompanied by a map, he would have left no doubt or suspicion about his ethnography to subsequent researchers. Bernatzik, H. A. had a scientific background, why did he not record such elementary information? This is a mystery. Many researchers tried to learn about the ecology of these phantom people with the romantic motive of exploring and studying them. However, only a few researchers were able to actually contact them later and conduct research according to Bernatzik, H. A.'s records. In other words, it was difficult to admit the reproducibility of the survey results.

It was not until the last years of the 20th century that Mlabri research finally began to move forward.

In addition to ethnography, pharmacology, dentistry, linguistics, genetics, including the work of Trier, J. (1981, 2008) [4][5], Pookajorn, S. (1992) [6], Chazee, L. (2001) [7], and others in the fields of pharmacology, dentistry, linguistics, genetics, ethnoarchaeology, and so on. More recently, authors have also reported on studies of diet, children's play, and growth and development (Ohsawa, 2014, 2018a, 2018b, 2021, 2022) [8][9][10][11][12]. The reason for this is that the Mlabri are no longer nomadic in the forest and have settled down, making it easier for researchers to conduct research.

Bernatzik, H. A.'s ethnography of the hill tribes of Indochina [1] was the first systematic record of the Mlabri, who were considered "*phantom people*". Their observations were astute, and they apparently prepared psychological tests that were just beginning to be used

at the time. Although the lack of data does not allow for in-depth analysis, he clearly wrote the following conclusion about the Mlabri.

According to Bernatzik, H. A. (in the English translation by Dickes, 1958) [3]:

"this most primitive of all peoples living today" (p.153)

"they are by far the most primitive people" (p.166)

"At barely seven years of age all further development of any importance seems to cease." (p.151)

"They were unable to talk about things of the past or the future." (p.125)

"This is largely because they have no capacity of thinking ahead." (p.140)

"Craftsmanship is at a very low level." (p.141)

These descriptions are derived from a brief record of observation by a local Lao or other interpreter. It is not clear how accurately the interpreters conveyed the information, and no evidence or corroboration is provided for these descriptions. However, this record still stands as a scholarly record of fact and is authoritative for understanding Mlabri.

Bernatzik, H. A. had a companion, Mrs. Emmy (1904-1977), but it is not at all clear how much objectivity and validity can be gained from this. Subsequent researchers have attempted to understand Mlabri by assuming that Bernatzik, H. A.'s record is factual. As in the case of the authors, the literature of Bernatzik, H. A. has been an important springboard for the study of Mlabri.

Because of this scarcity of literature on Mlabri, the impact of his ethnography on later researchers has been extremely significant. The social responsibility of ethnography is therefore great.

At present, researchers cannot see the behavior of Mlabri's children in the 1930s, nor can they recreate the site of Bernatzik, H. A.'s observations. Under these circumstances, his recorded descriptions are the only clues. Therefore, it has been difficult to refute his records. In general, authoritative descriptions preclude further discussion.

Thus, if bias or error is recorded, the record itself becomes an obstacle to further exploration of human behavior by future generations. If no one re-examines Bernatzik, H. A.'s ethnographic description, the Mlabri

may continue to be portrayed as a people of low intelligence, clumsy and apathetic. This could be an obstacle for Mlabri children in the future when they are educated as Thai citizens and eventually live as members of society. Researchers should consider the bias effects of improperly recorded ethnography.

3. The problem of behavioral assessment of Mlabri children

In evaluating the behavioral characteristics of Mlabri children, the evaluator's ability and grounding should be considered. For example, the following situations may arise.

Example A: a researcher asks several Mlabri children to climb a tree and gives bamboo worms (*dren*) as food to the one who climbs the tree the fastest. However, the children do not follow the researcher's instructions and do not want to compete. In Mlabri society, winning a competition against others is of little importance. The *"prize"* of the bamboo worm is not a motivation for behavior to win the competition.

We researchers tend to think that human nature has a competitive impulse that is the source of behavior. However, the competitive drive in Mlabri's children is very weak. It is very unlikely that the children will follow the researcher's instructions and initiate the behavior.

Therefore, it is possible that the researcher observing this scene may mistakenly record that Mlabri does not follow the instructions of others, has poor comprehension, lacks aggressiveness, is apathetic, and is rebellious.

Another scene is as follows:

Example B: suppose a researcher gives a child two hands full of bamboo worms. Would he immediately, without telling anyone about the situation, quietly leave the place to be alone and eat the bamboo worm? Or would he immediately give both hands full of bamboo worms to his friends, keeping the portion for the children who were not there and giving it to them later? How would an observer-researcher interpret this scene? They might interpret it in several ways: that the child is trying to be liked by his friends in the group, that he wants to feel superior by sharing the bamboo

worm with his friends, that he wants to be liked by the opposite sex who likes him, or that the child did not like the bamboo worm very much. But these are all misunderstandings.

This behavior is not particularly unusual in Mlabri society; it is a common behavior (see photo 1). If the children who received the bamboo worm kept it to themselves, this would be more unnatural behavior in Mlabri society.

In examples A and B, outsiders might wonder about this behavior and find it strange.

This is because from a modern perspective, the urge to win the competition and put oneself first always dominates a person's behavior, and the modern person is convinced that this is human nature.

It takes time for a third person with a different value system to understand and appreciate the different behavior of Mlabri children. If observers with little understanding of Mlabri record their impressions as they feel them, the resulting description of Mlabri will be distorted and far from reality. In order for observers to properly understand the meaning of the behavior of Mlabri children, they must have the opportunity to understand their behavior in the context of the life and customs of their society.

Needless to say, Bernatzik, H. A. and his wife, as well as the Laotian and Hmong guides and interpreters, would have had little understanding of the Mlabri, as they rarely encountered them. For this reason, a behavioral evaluation scale for Mlabri children should be presented by someone who has had sufficient time



Photo 1. Men of Mlabri distributing equally the meat presented to them. (Photo by Pradit, N., Jan. 2019)

and experience with the Mlabri and who is as unbiased as possible toward the Mlabri.

4. Research Methodology

4.1. Research approach

The purpose of this study is to correctly identify the behavioral characteristics of the Mlabri hunter-gatherer children who have long been derogatorily referred to as *phi tong luang* (yellow leaf spirits in Thai).

First, the ethnography "*Die Geister der gelben Blätter*" (English translation by Dickes, 1958) [3] was used as a reference to extract descriptions related to the behavioral characteristics of Mlabri children. Next, based on the experience of five Mlabri researchers who have observed Mlabri children, an inventory of behavioral characteristic evaluators was enumerated to reinforce Bernatzik, H. A.'s description. In addition, the inventory was vetted by local Hmong people (including teachers and others) who were familiar with the Mlabri and refined the inventories. These procedures resulted in an inventory of behavioral characteristic evaluators of Mlabri children using Thai as the common language.

4.2. Literature Related to Behavioral Characteristics of Mlabri Children

The Mlabri used to depend on hunting and gathering activities in the deep forests, and at the end of the 20th century, they gradually settled in camps in the mountainous areas of Nan and Phrae Provinces in accordance with the Thai government's policy. At present, more than 300 people are settled in four camps. Their livelihood has now been replaced by agricultural work managed by the Hmong, and the wages they earn help them to maintain their livelihood.

As a result, their nomadic activities in the forest have gradually decreased. Housing has changed from the shelter of bananas, palm trees, and other leaves to a simple hut with a dirt floor, roof, and bedroom. Dietary habits changed from a variety of yams, edible wild plants, mushrooms and animals to rice as a staple food. Clothing was also introduced. However, their language, customs, and relationships have remained unchanged, and they still retain much of the lifestyle they had as forest dwellers. Several studies have already reported

on their lifestyle, and the author has also reported on it as described in the following literature, so I will defer to them for commentary [6][10].

From the end of the 20th century, when they began to settle, to the present, Trier, J. (1981, 2008) [4][5], Surin, P. (1992) [6], Chazee, L. (2001) [7], Rischel, J. (1995) [13] and others have produced excellent research results, but children's behavior are limited to a few papers, such as the reports on play by Ohsawa *et al.* (2018a, 2018b, 2021) [9][10][11]. In these studies, Ohsawa *et al.* found the prototype of human play in the play of Mlabri children. However, the only coherent study of Mlabri behavioral characteristics was recorded by Bernatzik, H. A. (1938) [1]. Probably the reason for this is that they were difficult to approach. Keiji Iwata (1982) [2] provides a clear description of these circumstances.

Thus, there is little research accumulated on the behavioral characteristics of Mlabri, and there is no systematic, direct description of their behavioral characteristics. Therefore, the report on the behavior of *Phi Tong Luang* that was included in the first edition of *"Die Geister der gelben Blätter"* by Bernatzik, H. A. [1] and the 21st century literature by Ohsawa *et al.* [9][10][11] are the few clues we have.

4.2.1. The report of Bernatzik, H. A., who recorded the behavioral characteristics of Mlabri children

Bernatzik, H. A. (1938) described the Mlabri as *"this most primitive of all peoples living today"* (Bernatzik, H. A., 1958, p.153) he wrote. He wrote that Bernatzik, H. A. met the Mlabri in the 1930s with the help of a carefully prepared guide. He and the Mlabri family, accompanied by Mrs. Emmy, made excursions and observations in the deep forests of the Thai mountains. They energetically conducted anthropological measurements and interviews, and left behind some stunning photographs taken with their favorite Leica camera. He wrote that it was very difficult to interview Mlabri through a Lao interpreter [3].

As security concerns in northern Thailand were resolved and research became possible in the areas of Nan and Phrae provinces in the latter half of the 20th century, subsequent researchers continued to use Bernatzik, H. A.'s [3] records as an important source of

information on which to base their investigations. Researchers have consistently cited his ethnography and used it as a starting point (Boeles, J. J. [14], Pookajorn, S. [6], Trier, j. [4][5], Ohsawa, S. [8][9][10][11][12], Itoh, Y. [15]). The ethnography is also an important clue for the study of Mlabri children, as it is realized that the 90-year difference is not significant for the study of Mlabri children's behavior (Ohsawa, 2021).

In this study, the behavioral characteristics of the children are extracted from the ethnography of Bernatzik, H. A. [3], which provides valuable clues. In addition, the authors combined their experience from their observations in the field to construct an inventory to assess the behavioral characteristics of Mlabri children, which will be used to understand the behavioral characteristics of Mlabri children.

4.3. Behavioral characteristics inventory

Based on Bernatzik, H. A.'s ethnography [3], we selected an inventory to assess the behavioral characteristics of Mlabri children. In selecting the inventory, we considered the ease with which evaluators could score it. (*i.e.*, it should be easy to observe as a specific behavioral assessment) *2

4.3.1. Procedure for the Behavioral Characteristic Inventory

The following procedure was used to select the inventory

- 1) Descriptions of children's behavioral characteristics were taken from Bernatzik, H. A. *"The spirit of the yellow leaves"* [3].
- 2) The behavioral characteristics of Mlabri's children were selected from Bernatzik, H. A.'s descriptions and discussed whether they are appropriate for an inventory of behavioral characteristics of Mlabri's children.
- 3) Next, items other than those described in Bernatzik, H. A. that are considered important as behavioral characteristics of Mlabri children are listed and added to the inventory.
- 4) From the "3" inventory, the items were reviewed among the collaborating researchers to see if they

Note *2 The following are some examples of *"intense emotions"*, *"what they fear"*, and *"crying when they are hurt"*.

could be answered by the evaluators and refined to 38 items.

- 5) This 38-item inventory was prepared in Thai, and the actual interview method was examined.
- 6) In scoring, Hmong children were given a score of 2 or 1 if they were more positive and 4 or 5 if they were more negative, assuming that Hmong children were given a score of 3.

4.3.2. Behavioral Characteristics Extracted from the Descriptions of Bernatzik, H. A.

Bernatzik, H. A. (1938) recorded numerous observations of the behavioral and personality characteristics of Mlabri. The following is a list of behavioral characteristics that are characteristic of this group. He does not distinguish between adults and children. He roughly categorized them from "a" to "n" as follows.

- a: low intelligence (p.151); learning ability present but extremely low (p.126); inability to think abstractly (p.125), inability to talk about the past or the future (p.125), no willpower (p.126); development does not reach European early school age even in adults, mental development stops at age 7 (p.152); no questioning (p.152); and no conception of cause and effect (p.127)
- b: lack of endurance or concentration (p.124, p.125, p.152)
- c: docile, amenable, obedient, no arrogance, no rebellion (p.152)
- d: cares for animals (play with dogs) (p.149); and thoughtful care for the elderly, ailing, and those who are away from home (p.123)
- e: silent (p.124); not angry, apathetic, lethargic (p.151); and not excitable, unemotional (p.123)
- f: reserved (p.122); shy (p.150); "excessive nervousness and timidity."(p.129); and easygoing (p.129)
- g: "A promise is always kept." (p.129); "We found no trace of untruthfulness or lack of candour." (p.123)
- h: "they never occupy themselves creatively," (p.149) "The sight of any object unfamiliar to them arouses neither curiosity nor even interest," (p.150) "With a limited, childish imagination,"(p.130)

"Their children, who do not think out any games," (p.152); and "they have no capacity of thinking ahead."(p.140)

- i: "The children know no technical games, and never draw in the sand or on the ground.", "They know no fairy tales, songs, or dances." (p.149)
- j: "Craftsmanship is at a very low level."(p.141)
- k: "The children have a certain self-reliance at an early age, and in general the freedom of the individual is respected within wide limits." (p.148)
- l: no group of children (p.150), and "They know no games with rules." (p.149)
- m: "The children only play with the material they collect, whether earth, sand, wood, plants, or flowers"(p.149); no competence about nature (p.126); and females are more active than males (p.128)
- n: "the Phi Tong Luang seem to suffer little from illness" (p.132)

He also noted that research cannot be done in the same way as with other peoples (p. 150), and that the Mlabri are certain to perish sooner rather than later (p. 133).

Bernatzik, H. A.'s account as a whole point to the infantile, regressive, undeveloped nature of the Mlabri. Based on these descriptions, the co-researchers discussed their observations and impressions of Mlabri's children with the author and his colleagues, and added new items to form an inventory consisting of 38 behavioral trait inventories covering a wide range of behavioral characteristics of Mlabri's children. The characteristics defined here are not those that are the focus of attention in corporate and other activities envisioned by modern industrial societies, but rather those that correspond to behavioral assessments of Mlabri hunter-gatherer children.

5. Inventory of behavioral characteristics of Mlabri children

We prepared the interview questions in Thai to facilitate understanding by the Mlabri, Hmong, and Thai raters we planned to use as respondents. The refined inventory was as follows.

5.1. Questions and Answers

- 1) Do you think Mlabri children are nervousness?
- 2) Do you think Mlabri children are nimble?
- 3) Do you think Mlabri children concentration?
- 4) Do you think Mlabri children are interested in many things?
- 5) Do you think Mlabri children are easily bored?
- 6) Do you think Mlabri children are close to male and female?
- 7) Do you think Mlabri children are good friends?
- 8) Do you think Mlabri children are kind-hearted?
- 9) Do you think Mlabri children are cleanliness?
- 10) Do you think Mlabri children have a cheerful personality?
- 11) Do you think Mlabri children like to study?
- 12) Do you think Mlabri children are less competitive?
- 13) Do you think Mlabri children are quiet?
- 14) Do you think Mlabri children are violent?
- 15) Do you think Mlabri children are skillful in the fingertip?
- 16) Do you think Mlabri children like talking?
- 17) Do you think Mlabri children can take care of themselves?
- 18) Do you think Mlabri children are not easily injured?
- 19) Do you think Mlabri children do not get sick easily?
- 20) Do you think Mlabri children are angry?
- 21) Do you think Mlabri children have thoughtfulness towards others?
- 22) Do you think Mlabri children are good at running?
- 23) Do you think Mlabri children keep their promises?
- 24) Do you think Mlabri children will obey their teachers?
- 25) Do you think Mlabri children are good at drawing?
- 26) Do you think Mlabri children are good at singing songs?
- 27) Do you think Mlabri children adore insects and animals?
- 28) Do you think Mlabri children like to play in forests, streams and springs?
- 29) Do you think Mlabri children have thoughtful care for their families?
- 30) Do you think Mlabri children are good at group behavior?
- 31) Do you think Mlabri children like to be alone?
- 32) Do you think Mlabri children are scared?
- 33) Do you think Mlabri children are courteous?
- 34) Do you think Mlabri children are spoiled children?
- 35) Do you think Mlabri children can behavior alone?
- 36) Do you think Mlabri children will exclude someone from their peer group?
- 37) Do you think Mlabri children are enduring?
- 38) Do you think Mlabri children are equal between male and female?

[Thai Language]

- 1) คุณคิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีจะประหม่าไหม?
- 2) คุณคิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีว่องไวไหม?
- 3) คุณคิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีมีสมาธิหรือไม่?
- 4) คุณคิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีมีความสนใจในหลายๆ เรื่องหรือไม่?
- 5) คุณคิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีเบื่อหน่ายง่ายหรือไม่?
- 6) คุณคิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีมีความใกล้ชิดกับเพศชายและเพศหญิงหรือไม่?
- 7) คุณคิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีเป็นเพื่อนที่ดีหรือไม่?
- 8) คิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีใจดีไหม?
- 9) คุณคิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีสะอาดไหม?
- 10) คุณคิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีมีนิสัยร่าเริงหรือไม่?
- 11) คิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีชอบเรียนไหม?
- 12) คุณคิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีมีการแข่งขันน้อยกว่าหรือไม่?
- 13) คิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีจะเงียบไหม?
- 14) คุณคิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีมีความรุนแรงหรือไม่?
- 15) คิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีจะเก่งเพียงปลายนิ้วหรือไม่?
- 16) คุณคิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีชอบพูดไหม?
- 17) คุณคิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีสามารถดูแลตัวเองได้หรือไม่?
- 18) คุณคิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีไม่บาดเจ็บง่าย ๆ เหม?
- 19) คิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีไม่ป่วยง่ายหรือไม่?
- 20) คิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีจะโกรธไหม?
- 21) คุณคิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีมีน้ำใจต่อผู้อื่นหรือไม่?
- 22) คิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีวิ่งเก่งไหม?
- 23) คุณคิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีรักษาสัญญาหรือไม่?
- 24) คุณคิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีจะเชื่อฟังครูหรือไม่?
- 25) คิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีวาดรูปเก่งไหม?
- 26) คิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีร้องเพลงเก่งไหม?
- 27) คุณคิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีชื่นชอบแมลงและสัตว์หรือไม่?
- 28) คุณคิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีชอบเล่นในป่า ลำธาร และน้ำพุหรือไม่?
- 29) คุณคิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีมีการดูแลเอาใจใส่ครอบครัวเป็นอย่างดีหรือไม่?
- 30) คุณคิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีมีพฤติกรรมแบบกลุ่มหรือไม่?
- 31) คุณคิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีชอบอยู่คนเดียวหรือไม่?
- 32) คิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีจะกลัวไหม?
- 33) คิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีมีมารยาทไหม?
- 34) คุณคิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีเป็นเด็กใจแตกหรือไม่?
- 35) คุณคิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีสามารถอยู่คนเดียวได้หรือไม่?
- 36) คุณคิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีจะกีดกันใครบางคนออกจากกลุ่มเพื่อนหรือไม่?
- 37) คิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีจะจบไหม?
- 38) คุณคิดว่าเด็กมลาบรีมีความเท่าเทียมกันระหว่างชายและหญิงหรือไม่?

The above is an English translation of the Thai language, and the Thai and auxiliary Mlabri languages are actually used.

5.2. The actual research method

In the actual interviews using the inventory, the purpose of the survey is briefly introduced to make it easier for the raters to answer the questions, "How do you compare with the children in Hmong?" and to consider the raters' position. In addition, several co-researchers should always be present during the interview to ensure as much objectivity as possible. Before the questions begin, ask, "Please answer the questions the way you think they should be answered. If you don't understand the meaning of a question or have difficulty evaluating it, don't force yourself to answer it. Ask the evaluators to answer one question at a time, and those evaluators who are able to grade the paper themselves are asked to grade it directly on a scale of "1 to 5" (score). If it is difficult to grade, the interviewer will make an overall judgment and enter the following grades. The scores are as follows:

- 1 point: "I strongly agree." if the respondent answered
- 2 points: "somewhat agree." if the respondent answered
- 3 points: "neither" if the respondent answered: Hmong children and Mlabri children are about the same
- 4 points: "not so much, I don't think so." if the respondent answered
- 5 points: "strongly disagree." if the respondent answered"

5.3. Objectivity and data control

The researcher's will should not interfere with the data obtained by the interviewer.

6. Conclusions

The traditional observational records of the behavior of the hunter-gatherer Mlabri children are the personal observational records of a particular researcher, such as an ethnologist, and the assurance as to whether the descriptions are true or not depends on the citations in the literature. However, as long as the literature used as a source for the records is itself a highly subjective observational record, there is a limit to what can be accepted as true, even if more references are added. To overcome the fragility of the research method itself, which leads to such serious ambiguity, a quantitative rating scale was created in this study.

The behavioral and personality characteristics of Mlabri's children are described here as behavioral traits, and the researchers discussed a number of evaluative perspectives for measuring these traits and selected a rating scale. However, since there are countless possible inventories, the researchers selected the most important items (behavioral characteristics) that were prioritized among them. The goal is to explore the behavioral characteristics of Mlabri's children as measured (rated) by this inventory.

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Appendix 1. Mlabri children as subjects of the inventory

The biggest change in the children's lifestyle after the Mlabri settled in Thailand was their participation in public education. Until then, Mlabri was a preliterate society and had no connection to education; according to Bernatzik, H.A., parents of Mlabri children did not actively provide educational training or guidance to their children. It was, so to speak, a "society with little educational function" (Bernatzik, H. A., 1951, pp. 122-130, pp. 298-231).

When they first settled, they were reluctant to enroll in school, but now all the children in the camp (Huay Yuak Village) are enrolled in school. Some of the adults received Thai education after settling in the camp and were able to read, write and do arithmetic, but even in the author's 2010 survey, most of the adults could not read or write Thai script, the official language of Thailand, and were not good at arithmetic. Not a single adult in the Mlabri tribe of about 170 people knew the name of King (former King Bhumibol Adulyadej). In their society, the only children who were educated were the generation of children who learned to read. In their society, the only educated group was the generation of children who learned to write.

Today, all children have the opportunity to receive a primary education. Their school (Phu Keng Pattana Elementary School) is located in Phu Keng village, next to the settlement camp (Huay Yuak village). Although the school and the Mlabri camp are adjacent, it is not convenient for the Mlabri to commute to the school, so a boarding house was built on the school

grounds where they all live together during the week and return to the camp on weekends. After six years of schooling at Phu Keng Pattana Elenentary School, Mlabri will graduate and eventually move on to middle school, where they will live away from their parents by boarding at Suksasongkhro School in Wiang sa district, Nan province. Currently (2022), there are 15 students enrolled in this middle school, Phu Keng Pattana Elenentary School, which was established by the government for Hmong children, and Mlabri attends classes there. The teachers are both Thai and Hmong. The language of instruction is Thai.

Abstract (Japanese)

従来の民族誌は多くは、研究者が調査地で収集した記録、体験などに基づいて、個人の主観を交えて一人の研究者が書き上げたものである。本研究で取り上げたタイ北部山地の狩猟採集民ムラブリについて書かれた Hugo Adolf Bernatzik (1897-1953) のインドシナ山岳民族誌 (1938) もそうした著作の1つである。これには著者の主観や西欧的な価値観が多分に介在しており、その客観性については必ずしも十分ではない。

そこで本研究では、より客観性をもって評価するための、ムラブリ (子ども) の行動の特徴 (行動特性) を客観的、計量的に把握する方法論を提案した。評価尺度の構成にあたっては、ムラブリの研究者5名と、ムラブリの子どもに日常的に接して彼らの行動特性をよく知っている近接のタイ人、モン人 (教員などを含む) らによって吟味検討した。また、評価尺度の構成にあたって、行動特性の個々のインベントリーは、Bernatzik, H. A. のインドシナ山岳民族誌 (1958) を基礎に選択、精選しさらに共同執筆者らがムラブリの子どもを観察し、その経験を参考に所見を加えたものである。

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Key words (Japanese) : ムラブリ, 行動特性の評価尺度, ベルナツィーク, ピートンルアン, 狩猟採集民

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