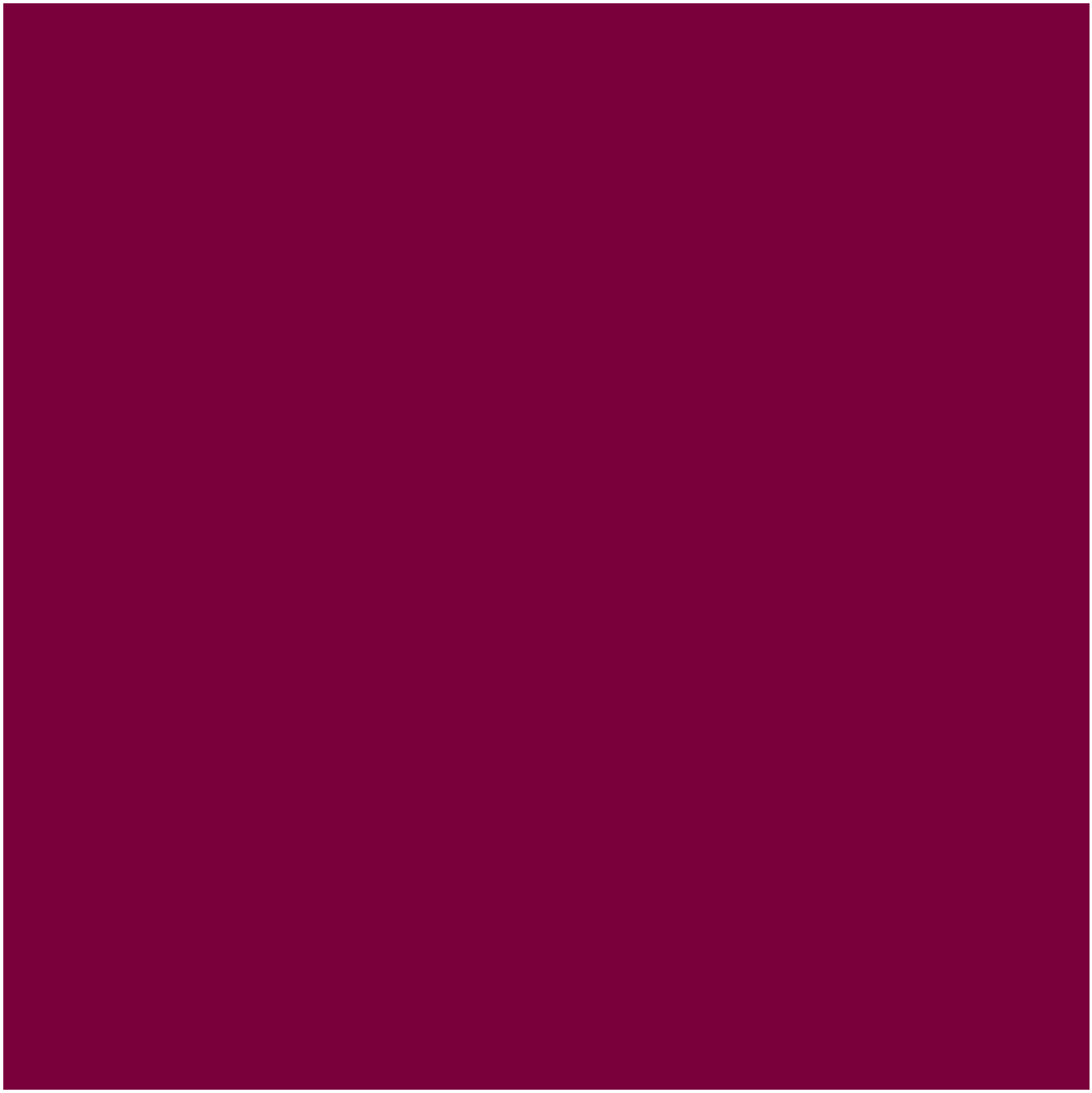
FEBRUARY 2003 • ASIA DIVISION

Laos

Poverty Alleviation for all



Contents

Figures

Published by Sida 2003
The Asia Department
Author: James R. Chamberlain
Print: Elanders Novum AB, 2003
Articlenumber: SIDA2226en
ISBN: 91-586-8606-8

Foreword by Sida

In November 2002 Sida had the privilege to host a seminar held by Mr. James R. Chamberlain where he presented his most recent report, **Poverty Alleviation for All – Potentials and Options for People in the Uplands',** which he co-authored with Panh Phomsombath. This study was commissioned by the Swedish Embassy in Vientiane as a part in the current country strategy process for Lao PDR for the period 2004-2008.

One of the overriding goals of Sida's cooperation with Lao PDR has been, and still is, to assist in creating optimal conditions to reduce poverty. However, with the advance of fundamental societal changes both on the global, national and local level, the concept of poverty has become more complex. The new perspective on poverty recognizes the dynamic, multidimensional and context specific elements inherent in the concept and ultimately puts new demands on the application of well integrated and cross-sectoral approaches and methods.

This study is an outstanding example of how this new perspective can be put into practice. The authors provide an in-depth analysis of the causes and effects of poverty and present the distinctive ethnic dimension of poverty in Lao PDR. As such, 'Poverty Alleviation for All', makes a most valuable contribution to our understanding of the complexity of poverty, especially in the context of ethnic and cultural vulnerability. Although the opinions stated in this study are those of the authors, we would all do well in reflecting upon their wisdoms.

Stockholm, February 2003

Jan Bjerninger
Assistant Director General
Head of Asia Department

Preface

In thinking and writing on such matters as poverty in the uplands of Laos one is led to consider the elusive and discursive, not to mention the often contradictory nature of this rubric which has yet to become a discipline. Relations between the disciplines upon which poverty touches are in a constant state of renewal and are the subject of on-going discoveries, and critiques. Having shifted from an essentially philosophical and religious concept into one that has come to be dominated by physiocrats and economists who speak of measurements and imputed values, the study of poverty has now arrived at a bifurcation in the road between quantitative and qualitative directions, and this might be spoken of roughly as the gap between signifiers of well-being defined in biochemical terms, and those which are defined in terms of mental process. There is a humorous saying, "when you come to a fork in the road, take it." And in keeping with this sentiment we have opted in the present study to adopt the vantage point of the gap, the place that is usually overlooked, and it might be thought of, following Bateson (1979) as the point of view of the eco-mental system.

The presuppositions used are essentially the findings of the PPA, especially the finding that poverty emerges in Laos almost entirely from the disruption of production systems that are embedded in religion, or what in the broad sense we call livelihood. These disruptions have taken the form of war, of resettlement, of epidemic disease in humans and animals, and of poorly implemented development policies such as land-forest allocation. The result are systemic pathologies that affect the well-being of the eco-mental system.

We might also venture that all of these sets of causations ultimately result from epistemological errors, errors in thinking and analysis, sometimes introduced from the outside, and sometimes implicit in development approaches. Whatever the source, we may broadly remark that the problems of upland poverty alleviation cannot be resolved solely through a focus on the upland villages, for it is the relationship between uplanders and lowlanders which is at the root of the misunderstandings and which have lead to the conditions of poverty that exist there today. Poverty, as was made explicit in the PPA, is not an endemic condition of the uplands, and one has only to read the ethnographies of upland groups to see that this was not the case. What is lacking is a means through which the misunderstandings can be corrected.

Our study has therefore been framed in this way in order to overcome certain elementary difficulties which are grounded in conventional thinking and it is only the wisdom of the terms of reference by Sida that has permitted this focus and this analytical vantage point. It has allowed for the dispelling of some myths associated with population, for the natural history of social systems to emerge with respect to markets, and for the focus on the gap that is the concern of language and interethnic relationships. It is our sincere hope that this study will, in this way, enhance our understanding and in so-doing contribute to the alleviation of poverty for all.

James R. Chamberlain
Panh Phomsombath

Chapter 1
Introduction

It is neither objectively identified organic well-being nor ecosystemic integrity but culturally constructed value and meaning that the cybernetics of human social systems tend, in the first instance, to preserve. The relationship of these culturally constructed meanings and values to organic well-being and ecosystemic integrity is the central problem for ecological anthropology.

– Roy Rappaport

1.0 Lao as a national language and culture

1. Although the greater portion of this study will focus on ethnic minorities in the upland areas of Laos, there is often a decided lack of consensus on the nature and definition of the group in comparison to which the upland peoples are considered as 'minorities.' The problem is interestingly enough, not a new one. Early European colonists and missionaries who remained and worked in Laos often found they had more difficulties communicating with and understanding the lowland cultures of Southeast Asia than they did with those of the uplands. The hard working maximizing uplanders shared many values with the foreigners, the work ethic being primary among them, along with a perceived 'honest' and 'simple' approach to life.

One directly observable result has been that throughout the mainland, especially in the Buddhist countries, it is mainly the uplanders who have been converted to Christianity. The rather more complex and highly stratified societies of the Theravadins in Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos proved almost totally resilient to the missionaries' message, although in most cases there was no overt resistance to their ideas. But these Buddhists, so it seems, simply could not comprehend the notion of conversion, of giving up the very spiritual foundations that govern their daily lives. (It goes without saying that the doctrine of communism was no more successful than that of the missionaries.)

Vietnam was different. Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism had all flourished in varying degrees since the Han dynasty.[1] Here also many of the Sinicized Mahayana Buddhists would not give up their religion. But many other lowland Vietnamese adopted Catholicism, especially in the north, or later, in the south, opted for other smaller religions such as the syncretist Cao Dai formed in 1926 or the neo-Buddhist secret society

[1] Taylor (1983). Although it is highly unlikely that the populations of what is today northern Vietnam were ancestors of the modern Vietnamese (cf Chamberlain 1999).

known as Hoa Hao established in 1939. We can assume that a dynamic of religious questing was in operation, originating, no doubt, in the non-Indianized history of that country, and in the divergent origins of the Vietnamese people themselves.[2] But Vietnam was no exception to the general Southeast Asian pattern of missionary successes in the uplands, particularly among the socalled 'Montagnards' in the south, Austronesian and Austroasiatic minorities who had inhabited these territories long before the invasion of the Vietnamese pushing south.[3]

In many instances, most particularly in Vietnam and Burma, upland Christian minorities have broken out in armed resistance against the lowlanders who dominate the governments of these countries, a resistance which is still ongoing. But in Laos, curiously enough, there is little historical evidence of armed conflict between uplanders and lowlanders, and the few rare cases that did occur appear to have involved the additional catalyst of French colonial practices, especially those which involved taxation.

Recorded conflicts between ethnic groups which have arisen have involved non-Lao ethnic groups. The most frequent of these could be characterized as rebellions against oppressive French policies during the colonial period. These have been described in some detail by Gunn (1990) using material from colonial archives, a work which clearly demonstrates the lack of ethnic Lao involvement in ethnic conflict.[4]

Uprisings against the French colonists were carried out in the south primarily by Bahnaric groups in response to corvée and taxation. In the north, similar revolts involved Chinese, Lue and Hmong.

More prolonged interethnic conflicts have occurred only rarely, such as that between the Hmong and the Khmu when the Hmong first entered into Laos in the early part of the ninetheenth century (Savina 1924), or between the Khmu (and possibly other Austroasiatic groups) against the Tai-speaking administrators in Houa Phanh and Xieng Khwang as well as in adjacent portions of Thanh Hoá and Nghê An in Vietnam beginning in 1875. This latter uprising was termed the *Soek Cheuang*, and its leader called himself *Phagna Thao Nhi*, in the tradition of the Cheuang phenomenon. *Cheuang* is the local term for an interethnic rebellion against oppression throughout the area. That the term exists implies that such phenomena are certainly not unknown in the history of the region. The Khmou Cheuang War was the only one of those recorded that did not involve the French. (Boutin 1937). The war continued in Thanh Hoa until 1902 (Robequain 1929) and was the cause for massive migrations of lowland populations from the affected provinces into the area that is today Khamkeut District of Borikhamxay Province.

The "Phou Mi Boun" uprising by the Alak and Jru led by the revolutionary hero Kommadam in protest against coffee taxes being levied on the Bolovens took place during the years 1901–1902 (Gunn 1985). The Hmong Pa Chay rebellion occurred between 1918–1921 over much of northeastern Laos and northwestern Vietnam (Gunn 1986).

[2] See Chamberlain (1999).

[3] c.f. for example, Hickey (1982)

[4] By "ethnic Lao" we designate a distinct ethnic group, the one which has traditionally dominated the affairs of state from protohistoric times to the present. Lao as a language that is definable and separate from other lowland Tai-Thay speaking populations. Thus the term "ethnic Lao" does not include the Tais (Tai Dam, Tai Deng, Tai Done, Tai Lue, Tai Nyouan, etc.), or the Thay groups (Phou Thay, Thay Neua, Thay Vat, Phouan, etc.).

Finally, another instance of the West-Upland alliance is military – both French and later American support to the Hmong in Laos and the Montagnards in Vietnam.

2. Returning to our topic of the nature and definition of the Lao, it is notable in relation to the above, that these upland-lowland conflicts did not involve people who are technically defined as ethnic Lao, but rather involved Phouan and numerous Tai-speaking lowland minorities in the north, and the colonials directly in the south. This is true in spite of the fact that the range of the ethnic Lao extends far into the northern half of Phongsaly Province on the Ou River where they live in villages surrounded by Khmou and a great variety of Tibeto-Burman groups. And from this it may be concluded that among the major defining personality traits of the Lao is an ethic of non-violence or avoidance of conflict.

There is generally a paucity of anthropological knowledge on the ethnic Lao, and in fact when we take the ethnic minority groups individually, there is not much more — with a few exceptions. First there is the excellent ethnography of the Lamet (a Mon-Khmer Palaungic group) by the Swedish anthropologist Izikowitz (1951); second there is the ethnography of a Green Hmong village by Lemoine (1972), and third there is the ethnography of the Nya Höñ (a Mon-Khmer Bahnaric group) in the south by Wall (1975). Thus, of the more than two hundred ethnic groups in Laos these are the only ones for which reasonably complete ethnographies have been carried out. Other works, mostly technical articles, are available, on various aspects of the cultures of minorities found in Laos, but these are, by definition, incomplete.
A recent work on Khmou livelihood done by a Khmou man is an excellent source, but unfortunately does not address social structure. This is the only ethnographic work of any significance done since Wall's publication in 1975.

In some cases, anthropological work carried out in Vietnam, China, Cambodia, Burma, or Thailand concerns ethnic groups which are also found in adjacent parts of Laos. Most significant are studies on the Brou (by Vargas) in Vietnam, on Akha in Thailand, on Brao (Lavè) in Cambodia by Baird (p.c.)

There have been attempts, ostensibly for purposes of nationalism, to include in the definition of "Lao" many of the Tai or Thay ethnic groups found throughout the country essentially because they are in many cases ethnically and linguistically related to the Lao, and most importantly, live in lowland valleys and practice primarily wet rice agriculture. The Lue, Neua, Phouan, Red Tai, Black Tai, Tai Meuy, Nyo, and Phou Thay, are the most numerous of such groups. Taken together they appear to inhabit more land area and most probably outnumber the Lao in total population, though due to a lack of hard data on the issue it is difficult to be precise.

One potential direction that many have not acknowledged is that the combination of international assistance and the premise of maximization could ultimately work to the disadvantage of the "Lao" government, as it has, say, in Burma, serving to further separate the upland minorities from the lowlanders. This fear, while not openly recognized, may underlie consciously or unconsciously, some of the thinking of behind govern-

ment decision making and policy, especially perhaps where these have been influenced by Vietnam.

1.1 The Anthropology of Development and Development Anthropology

An anthropological approach to problems of upland development, particularly in the multiethnic setting of Laos, is, logically speaking, indispensable. Yet anthropology is a complicated and far from unified discipline. Furthermore, in the broadest sense, anthropology in fact studies two aspects of the problem. First is the application of traditional anthropological enquiry to problems in development, usually referred to as applied anthropology, which has given birth to such forms as RRA and later PRA as a quickfix approach to data collection in preparation for development activities. Second, more recently, anthropologists have begun to focus on the development process itself as a subject of enquiry. The latter is not usually viewed as a deserving direction within the overall discourse of development. As Crush (1995:3) notes:

> "… the discourse of development, the form in which it makes its arguments and establishes its authority, the manner in which it constructs the world, are usually seen as selfevident and unworthy of attention."

But in fact there is a need to study development from an anthropological perspective, an investigation of the investigators, as it were, to better understand the motivations and the underlying assumptions of all parties involved. This cannot be done unless the cultural characteristics of the parties are made explicit in some way so as to allow for analysis. This is a task that anthropology is amply well-suited for given its repertoire of methodologies for describing cultural interactions. While such studies have been carried out in many countries, there have been no such studies to date in Laos.

1.1.1 Tradition applications of anthropology

The most productive role of anthropology in development has been and hopefully will continue to be that of investigation of existing systems. Whether this activity is framed in terms of ecological anthropology, farming systems, livelihood systems, or agroecosystems is dependant upon individual approaches, but in all of these what anthropology is most suited to describe is the interaction of human beliefs and social structure with the biophysical. For in the final analysis experience has shown that adaptation is first and foremost a matter of mental process, and that improvements in the physical side of well-being will not succeed without an understanding of the whole – call it the ecomental system.[5]

Anthropology may also assume the role of saboteur, undermining conventional ideas and approaches to development through the introduction of cultural obstructions or cultural alternatives to entrenched conceptions held by those in power.

But by championing the mental in the global context anthropology as an approach is vulnerable to the disdain of those in power who frequently disparage its anschauung as a sentimental return to the world of the "noble savage". And here they may employ outmoded definitions of

[5] Following Bateson 1979.

culture, dichotomizing the scientific West against the forces of superstition and in so doing seek to define as universal and transcendent the vision they have of themselves.

In part this may result from a paranoia born of a sense of inferiority in the face of anthropology's capacity to critique prevailing suppositions from a more authoritative position based on detailed observations and analyses of local cultures that are logically prior to the more technically superficial views of the development establishment.

But perhaps a more significant vulnerability was foreseen in the late 19th century by the American philosopher C.S. Pierce who warned against "sham reasoning", politically motivated scholarship that avoids the complexities of genuine inquiry.

> "Men, then, continue to tell themselves they regulate their conduct by reason; but they learn to look forward and see what conclusions a given method will lead to before they give their adhesion to it. In short, it is no longer the reasoning which determines what the conclusion shall be, but it is the conclusion which determines what the reasoning shall be."
> (Peirce in Hartshorne and Weiss 1931)

Thus, while it is true that with its current status of quasi-acceptance applied anthropology needs to be especially vigilant to avoid catering to advocacies for this or that piece of infrastructure by insuring optimistic social impact analyses, it is also true that anthropological insight into human behavior is irreplaceable and that without this insight development efforts are more prone to failure by ignoring the psychological needs of target populations. At least that is what we should expect of anthropologists.

1.1.2 Anthropological views of development

As an object of investigation, the first and most obvious aspect of development is the evolutionary tone implied in its terminology. 'Development' itself is etymologically complex. The semantic element that has emerged into current usage would seem to be 'disentangle' (i.e., assuming a prior condition of entanglement [=chaos]). Its praxis has been more infrastructural as is related in the Oxford English Dictionary meaning: "To realize the potentialities of (a site, estate, property, or the like) by laying it out, building, mining, etc.; to convert (a tract of land) to a new purpose or to make it suitable for residential, industrial, business, etc., purposes." Development indeed calls to mind the 19th century European notion of 'social evolution,' a notion that is reinforced in Laos by Marxism. By extension it also implies that countries such as Laos are technologically immature, which is to say, 'underdeveloped'.

> The conventional framework of development studies and reports invokes essentially the same stereotypes of lazy, inefficient, or corrupt natives who must be brought to self-sufficiency that one encounters in nineteenth century discourse. (Herzfeld 2001:162)

Equally worrisome is the nagging sense, reminiscent of the colonial experience, that development has come to represent a euphemism for civilization – the latter a term which Freud explored in his treatise on *Civilization and its Discontents*, wherein it was concluded that for all its benefits, civilization is gained at the cost of chronic discontent, manifest

as repression, inhibition, alienation, tension, anxiety, and so on. It is no accident that in the Lao language *khwaam chaloen* 'civilization' is always cited as the objective of development and that ethnic minorities are overtly described as 'backward'.

Among the other accusations leveled at anthropologists in the vanguard of development is that they are promoting a static view that is resistant to change, and even that the minorities themselves are resistant to change. In fact the opposite is true, and anthropologists from classic times onward have sought to describe change in the societies they study. Izikowitz notes in 1937, for example, of the Lamet gardening:

These gardens have to some extent the function of serving as "fields of experimentation." One old man in my village was extremely interested in new plants. He had obtained a number from Lamet boys who had been away in other parts, and when I came to Mokala Panghay and laid out a garden, he showed a decided interest and begged seeds and plants of me which he immediately set in his own garden. There he had a number of experimental plants and if these were successful he intended to plant them on a larger scale out on his swidden.

Likewise, Izikowitz (e.g. 288) dispels the myth that uplanders are living in "subsistence economies", that is, with no surpluses, a subject which will be examined in Chapter 4.

1.2 What kind of anthropology to pursue in relation to development?

Essentially there are two approaches taken by anthropologists with respect to development. The first is a fully integrated view of the environment in which no break is recognized between human and non-human worlds. This is consistent with and may be seen as applicable to an extensive pattern of resource use in which people become familiar with every aspect of their environment. The second, conversely, can be thought of as a perspective that would differentiate human and non-human and is more applicable to a pattern of intensive resource use in which human activity is heavily concentrated, that is, a division is maintained between spaces that are used and spaces which are not used and which remain unfamiliar. Thus the two dualisms of anthropology arise: culture versus society on the one hand, and nature versus culture on the other.

It is clear that for the study of upland poverty alleviation, it is the former which should be the recipient of our efforts. But in order to understand the causes of problems, it is also necessary to understand both sets of issues, inclusive of the lowland urban view of the uplander. "We may ask which versions of the environment are to be protected from whom and what, and on whose behalf – these are, after all, fundamentally anthropological questions." (Herztfeld 2001)

Most of the problems we are facing today with respect to poverty and swidden cultivation were noted by Izikowitz in 1937. For example for he writes (168):

> The most difficult period, when access to food is at its worst, comes during the hot season, just after the burning of the swiddens. For the Lamet this corresponds to the period during the year when they have the least to do.

And with respect to the stark differences between rotational and pioneering swiddening:

> This discarding of swiddens after a year is due to the great amount of denudation and erosion during the rainy season. If a bit of ground is left open and bereft of trees for more than a year, all the nourishment is gradually soaked out of the earth, and the latter becomes valueless. During the rainy season the surface layer of the earth is gradually peeled off. As a result the forest cannot grow there again. Imperata and other varieties of grass appear instead, and take possession of the old swidden which thus becomes transformed into a steppe. Many such are to be seen in Indochina, and are also in Indonesia where they are called the alang-alang fields. These are the result of a too intensive cultivation of swiddens up in the mountains. When these grass fields have once made their appearance, the earth there can never be of any use. Therefore the swidden cultivators must clear a new bit of earth. And when they have exhausted this also, they move on to new tracts and gradually ruin the whole supply of forest in the mountains. Such is the state of affairs among a number of mountain tribes, e.g., the Meo and others. In other words these peoples use one swidden as long as it is possible to do so, and after that the whole village moves on. The French call these cultivators of clearings "mangeurs de bois," and their agriculture is more or less nomadic in character. Erosion, also, leaves a strong impression on the mountain slopes that are devoid of forest, before this grass begins to spread. In several places I have noticed how rivers and streams have dug canyon-like grooves in the moose layers of earth, which are then made deeper year after year. Landslides occur, where large sections of earth are simply shuffled away. These and similar catastrophes are usual among the several swidden cultivating tribes in the mountains. But such is not the case among the Lamet or their kinsmen the Khmu.
>
> In the Lamet district a steppe is seldom seen, and the Lamet, as I have already mentioned, are not nomadized. Thus when they have harvested they leave the swidden, and allow the forest to repossess the lost territory. Then they do not return to the same place until after from twelve to fifteen years. Only then has the forest grown up to the extent that the land can again be used for cultivation. (207–8)

Thus, one of the greatest benefits to be had from anthropologists is that which is received from ethnography, and we can only regret that such endeavors are now considered passé in the current trends. For the insights to be gained here are many, and are of particular value in understanding the effects of change in the developing world. From such studies emerge answers to some of the most vital conflicts inherent in upland development, such as:

– change versus the preservation of cultural integrity
– resistance to development versus the selective adoption of innovations to maintain a degree of cultural and ecological balance
– shared cultural practices versus significant cultural heterogeneity, and internal class and gender hierarchies
– local boundaries versus the increasing need for regional and national demarcation
– commercialism versus traditional craft production and its impact on cultural reproduction
– the rift between those who think earth's resources should be controlled at a global level through international agreements, and those who argue that local communities should have control of their own resources. (this may be viewed as a rift between "law" as a means of "development" versus "tradition")

– The problem of nationalistic objections to discussions of minority rights on the grounds of the numerical insignificance of the minorities in question.
– International policies and conventions favor the larger minorities who can speak for themselves or have the potential to do so, and thus mitigate against diversity in the long run because these larger minorities, e.g. the Hmong in Laos, become majorities in both numbers and attitudes compared to lesser minorities in their spheres of influence. They view other minorities with attitudes that are typologically the same as those practiced by members of the dominant culture. (Thus to speak of "minorities" or "indigenous peoples" as a unified group deserving of special privileges is often an error of conception.)
– The issue of hybridization. An excuse to overlook ethnic differences.

These and other issues will be addressed in the chapters that follow.

1.3 Physical Versus Mental In Research And Analysis

Anthropologists have taken an increasingly physical view of their occupation, especially those who have become involved with development activities. The debate over the merits of swidden agriculture is one such area which is usually approached in wholly physical terms. Thus Rambo (1983), while admitting that,

> So well adapted is swidden farming to the humid tropics that, despite much effort, agricultural researchers have yet to perfect alternative systems having comparable social and ecological merits.

questions the "energy efficiency" of swidden systems claimed by some researchers, such as Rappaport. This latter writer has described in detail the swidden system of the Tsembaga of the New Guinea highlands, demonstrating that there is received an average return of 16–20 calories for each human calorie expended. This, as Rambo notes, places the Tsembaga systems among the most efficient agroecosystems in the world. But Rambo asserts that because the energy consumption of the fire used in burning the fields was not included, that the benefits of swidden agriculture are overrated. Indeed he compares the energy expended in burning fields to be equivalent to the consumption of fossil fuel by tractors in modern agriculture, that is, an expenditure of the earths resources. He somewhat gratuitously disregards the argument that the two uses are typologically dissimilar since the forest regenerates its biomass comparatively rapidly, whereas the earth's supply of fossil fuel is being replaced at an infinitely slower rate in comparison to the amount expended.[6]

Thus for the time being, it is safe to assume that traditional rotational swiddening remains one of the most efficient farming systems and would be difficult to replace, equally as difficult to replace as a food production system as opium is difficult to replace as a cash crop.

More relevant than this, however, is the question of whether traditional rotational swiddening can be replaced as a way of life for it practitioners. Many examples exist in Laos where swidden villages have been relocated to lowland paddy systems, and have failed to adapt, opting to

[6] Although even this would be difficult to measure.

return to their previous territories whenever possible. Reasons given relate primarily to the anti-aesthetic biases of the "developers" who planned the relocation, that there was nothing to replace the appreciation of rich natural abundance found in the upland forest environment with its diversity of animal and plant life.[7]

This sense on the part of swiddeners we might best accept as a form of knowledge, aesthetic knowledge that can be interpreted as wisdom or unconscious knowledge of the whole system, following Bateson (1972, 1979, etc.). It is interesting, therefore, that others, echo this conclusion, albeit framed in somewhat different terminology, as is the case with Jamieson writing on Vietnam and quoted in Box 1. Knowledge, of course, implies epistemology and learning, and it is here that we might improve our approach to the understanding of development processes, especially with respect to the upland populations of Laos on whom so much knowledge is lacking.

Box 1 – The Structures of Knowledge

Cultural factors play a critical role in the upland development process. State policies affecting everything from the central government to the village level are decided and im-plemented by men (and a few women) who for the most part share a culturally specific worldview and who base their actions on a common body of knowledge. This is not nec-essarily the worldview and body of knowledge typical of technocratic staff of interna-tional development agencies. Nor is it always the same worldview and body of knowledge of the uplands population.

In this worldview, development is assumed to take place in an orderly, predictable world in which the whole is equal to the sum of its parts. Such a world is readily broken down into pieces that can be reshaped according to a plan. Humans are considered the masters of nature. They can shape ecosystems, social systems, and even cultures by using "rational" models.

Causality is treated as simple, linear, and direct. Reductionist science, it is assumed, can solve all problems. To this basic view of reality has been added the Marxist version of social evolutionary thought. This is a linear scheme that assumes that evolution has a purpose and inevitably leads to a good end. It further assumes that social evolution is uni-linear, and that all groups must eventually proceed through a set number of ascending universal stages.

Development, then, is seen as planned movement up a predetermined path. Some groups, in this worldview, move more quickly up this evolutionary path than others. Move-ment up the path is equated with progress. Evolutionary laggards are "backward" and must catch up with those who are more advanced. It is inconceivable to those in advanced stages that they might have any-thing to gain from those in earlier stages.

Cultures of the ethnic minorities are per-ceived to be "backward" and it is the right and the duty of more advanced groups to transform them in conformity with the nat-ural order of evolution to a higher stage. Thus, a confidence in one's own ethnic supe-riority (a concept decried as "ethnocentrism" by social scientists in many parts of the world but for which there is no comparable term in Vietnamese) is perceived in a positive light, indeed as a force for progress in the uplands.

Elements of minority cultures perceived to be "backward" (such as shifting cultivation or matrilineal kinship systems) or "supersti-tious" (like animistic religious beliefs) are to be

[7] A good example is the case of the Maleng of Ban Songkhone in Nakai, Khammouane. Having been in voluntarily relocated to a new village on the Nam Sot river shortly after 1976, the villagers were provided with prime land for paddies, with beautifully rich alluvial soil, the envy of their Tai neighbors. And they in fact cultivated this land for three years before abandoning the fields. They remained in the village, but returned to a livelihood of light swiddening combined hunting and gathering, openly admitting that they missed the forest environment, the birds and the animals, and could not psychologically adapt to a paddybased livelihood

eliminated as obstacles to progress. But the determination of which cultural traits are backward or are superstitions can only be made by people who view themselves as more advanced and more rational. In Viet-nam, these are the lowlanders. It is their imposition of their own standards and per-ceptions that has driven sociocultural change in the uplands. Members of minority cultures have only passive roles in this process. To use the jargon of contemporary social sci-ence, they are the "objects," not the "agents," of development.

The inappropriate imposition of lowland Models upon upland realities is a major deter-minant of the "crisis." Few ranking policy-makers have any accurate and empathetic understanding of upland peoples and environ-ments. They have a much more valid and sympathetic image of life in lowland Kinh villages, but the lowland structure of knowledge that guides decision making is largely inapplicable in upland circumstances. The resulting development model is based on a particular set of assumptions about the na-ture of the uplands, assumptions that comprise the "conventional wisdom."

Source: Jamieson et. al. (1998).

We cannot escape the epistemological issue. Always there are at least five systems of knowledge present: that of "development" (as a discipline), that of the developer, that of the government, that of the implementer, and that of the upland villager. It goes without saying that the ways these systems may interact are myriad.

1.4 Finally, What is Cultural Change

We hear this expression used frequently in the discourse of development, perhaps all too frequently. But there is little consensus on or definition of what is implied. For purposes of clarity, I assume that culture is the sum total of those beliefs about life and the world that are held in common by a group and which are manifested in a common language. Culture by this definition is very deeprooted and acquired unconsciously by the child by about age two or three. Under this definition, those things frequently referred to as cultural objects or material culture are essentially of the same logical type, a category which includes crossbows and satellites. The only difference is one of degree.

But the unconscious beliefs about the world that are shared by a group of humans are not of this type. They are of the type which I shall refer to as cultural premises, and cultural premises are not readily open to change, short of changes on the order of a schizophrenic's psychological breakthrough, or a Zen Buddhist's enlightenment, changes that demand a total restructuring of the mind.

One of the difficulties is that we as humans transact not in reality but in symbols that represent reality (Korzybski's problem of the "map" versus the "territory"). And because of the need to communicate, we must pretend that these symbols are real, and furthermore we must deny that we are pretending. This is the problem for psychoanalysis, to uncover what has been relegated to the unconscious and then denied. But as Freud said, "what cannot be remembered is repeated in behavior," and thus for any endeavor that involves the analysis of human behavior, we must seek to discover what is being denied.

Now we see evidence for these differences in cultural premises in everyday behavior. They are commonplace, but may not be recognized for what they are. Take the example of the stop sign in the US and in Laos. This is a legal device ordering drivers to come to a halt at an inter-

section before proceeding across or onto the street. It is the same shape and color in Laos and the U.S. and contains the same message, "stop." But of course, it is not the sign itself, but rather the interpretation of the sign that determines behavior. So whereas the American driver reacts by braking and actually stopping the car at the sign, the Lao driver may slow down, or may disregard the sign entirely, because to a Lao person there are no absolutes, and all things are negotiable. Thus it is the interaction between the sign and the underlying premises of the driver that condition this response. The study of such interactions is know as pragmatics.

Therefore, when we come to development, it is the pragmatics of situations that need to be clearly understood, otherwise development is about as certain as a roulette wheel. And while changes may occur, that they may be actual "cultural changes" is highly unlikely, and how these changes may be understood by the target population is highly unpredictable. Lemoine (2002) in a recent study of a Lantène village in Meuang Long District, Louang Namtha, cites the example of a villager who used some of his wealth to purchase a Chinese television and CD player, and who proceeded to spend all of his time in the house watching Chinese blue movies while smoking opium. And of course there are thousands of examples of this type from around the world.

A final warning, with respect to the aesthetic appreciation that uplanders feel for their environment alluded to above, we should perhaps not pursue its explication further than this and merely accept it as necessary and as a given, despite the anti-aesthetic biases of Western education. Bateson (1979) wrote, "to be conscious of the nature of the sacred or of the nature of beauty is the folly of reductionism." For the unconscious is not structured according to the logic of symbols, the essence of which is denial. "He who covets a mythological abstraction must always be insatiable" (*ibid.*). Are we capable of assessing the degree to which the development lessons we seek to impart are in fact generating insatiability?

Thus we should be aware of the potential impacts of our Western ideologies. In the recent bestseller, *Culture Matters* (Harrison and Huntington 1999), Richard Sweder (*ibid*) concludes with a prediction:

> With regard to globalization, westernization, and economic growth, I would hazard this guess. If it should turn out as an empirical generalization that economic growth can be pulled off relying only on the shallow or thin aspects of Western society (e.g. weapons, information technology, Visa cards), then cultures won't converge, even as they get rich. If economic growth is contingent on accepting the deep or thick aspects of Western culture (e.g. individualism, ideals of femininity, egalitarianism, the Bill of Rights), then cultures will not converge and will not develop economically because their sense of identity will supersede their desire for material wealth.

In the following chapters, then, wherever possible I will always try to appraise the underlying structures of the issues first, followed by descriptions of actual situations, before attempting to propose solutions or directions for further action or study. In this way I hope that since so many of the issues addressed have not yet been fully researched in the development discourse, this document will be more useful as a means to understanding as well as a guide for actions.

Chapter 2
Upland population, density and land use

2.0 Population in Relation to Forests

Laos ranks 19th out of 197 countries in the world in its ratio of population to forested land. This is in spite of extensive damage to forest cover attributable to Pioneering Swidden cultivation carried out in the Northern provinces including Borikhamxay and early government policies on cooperatives and rice production. It is indeed the highest such ratio of any country in Asia (exclusive of Oceania). Furthermore, the figure rises to 3.21 hectares per person in rural areas.

Table 1

Forest Hectares Per Person		
Rank	**Country**	**ha per pers**
1	French Guyana	54.35
2	Suriname	34.48
3	Guyana	22.38
4	Gabon	16.60
5	Botswana	9.60
6	Belize	9.21
7	Papua New Guinea	8.59
8	Canada	8.32
9	Namibia	8.06
10	Bolivia	6.52
11	Solomon Islands	6.32
12	Vanuatu	5.33
13	Russian Federation	5.14
14	Equatorial Guinea	4.45
15	Finland	3.92
16	New Caledonia	3.86
17	Brazil	3.47
18	Sweden	2.78
19	Laos	2.55

Source: Marcoux (2000)

The world average is 0.61 hectares per person, and the total average for Asia is 0.15, which may be disaggregated into 0.37 for mainland Southeast Asia, 0.46 for insular Southeast Asia, 0.06 for South Asia, and 0.13 for East Asia. The total for tropical Asia is 0.16. Thus the Lao ratio is far higher than its neighbors. In Vietnam, for example, the ration is 0.12 ha per person.

2.1 Demography in the uplands

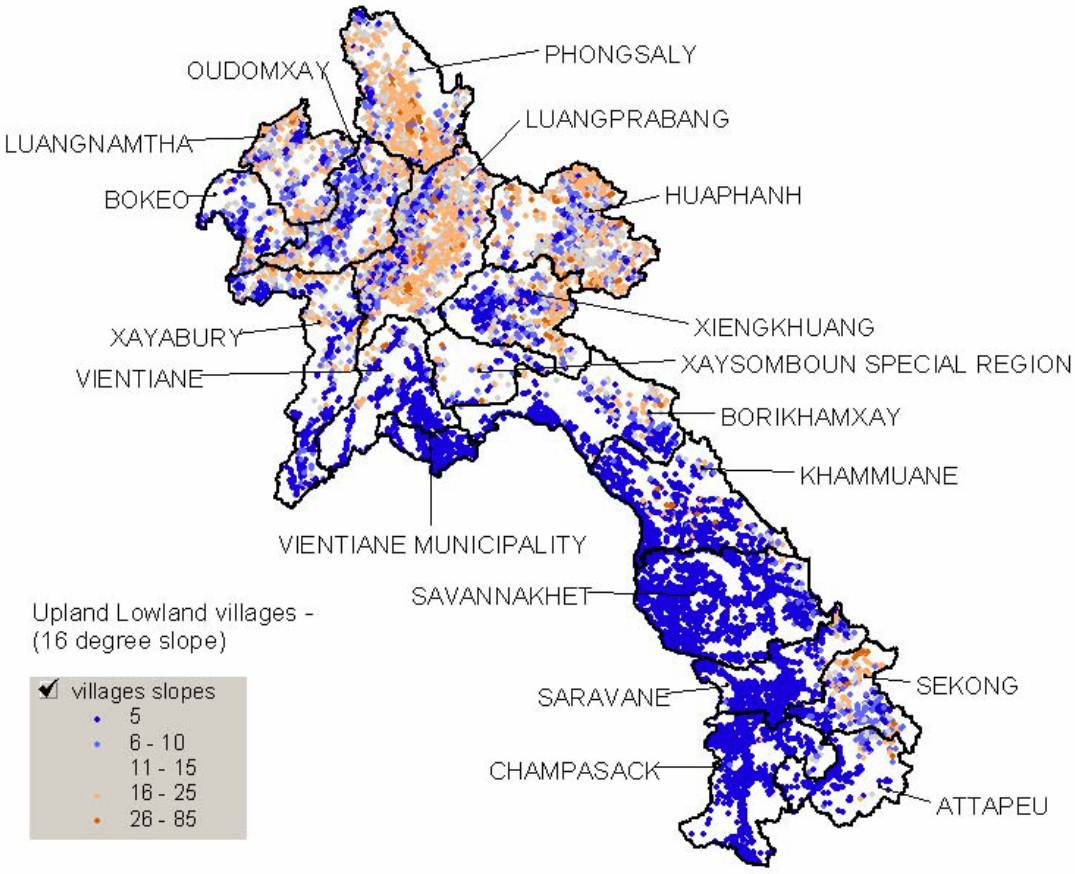
Given the enormous portion of the country covered by mountains (80%); given the large land areas devoted to swidden agriculture and fallows; given the environmental importance of the uplands in the preservation of biodiversity and watersheds; given the large numbers of diverse ethnic minority peoples inhabiting the micro-ecological niches created by the mountain formations; and given the importance of government policies on land-forest allocation, reduction of shifting cultivation and eradication of opium production; it is surprising that population data in Laos has never been disaggregated by an upland-lowland variable. If we look for this information in the two census data sets, 1985 and 1995, we find only population as a whole has been investigated, disaggregated by urban/rural. If we look for the distinction in the two LECS data sets, 1992–93 and 1997–98 it is absent as well.[8] These would be the two most important sources because we could measure growth rates. At this particular point in time we have only the data from the Agricultural Census (2000) (at a single point in time from which we can extrapolate disaggregated population according to lowland (*na*) and upland (*hay*) farming types), and; the promise of lowland-upland disaggregations in the forthcoming LECS 3 sample. (In both cases the match of population to village location will not be perfect as many predominantly paddy farmers in valleys will also carry out swiddening in the surrounding foothills in mountainous areas.)

Reasons for this lack of data are difficult to fathom, but may be speculated upon given the nature of scientific inquiry. Science, in particular quantitative research, which is patterned after physics and mathematics, looks for exact measurements. In the case of the upland-lowland distinction, the inclination would be to look first at absolute elevation. To do this in a survey would require GPS equipment and know-how which was not available to the various survey teams. Thus the distinction was ignored. But in fact, it is relative elevation, not absolute elevation which is the determining factor because the distinctions we are looking for in upland versus lowland are cultural, that is emic in character. The result is that we currently have no way of calculating upland population growth rates.

However, with the help of good GIS systems, it is possible to classify villages according to slope and from this to obtain a rather clear picture of the upland-lowland distribution. Figure 1 shows a rather rough distribution of villages by slope throughout the country.

[8] Although LECS 2 had a 'proximity to road' variable that has not been much utilized in the various analyses.

Figure 1 – Villages by slope

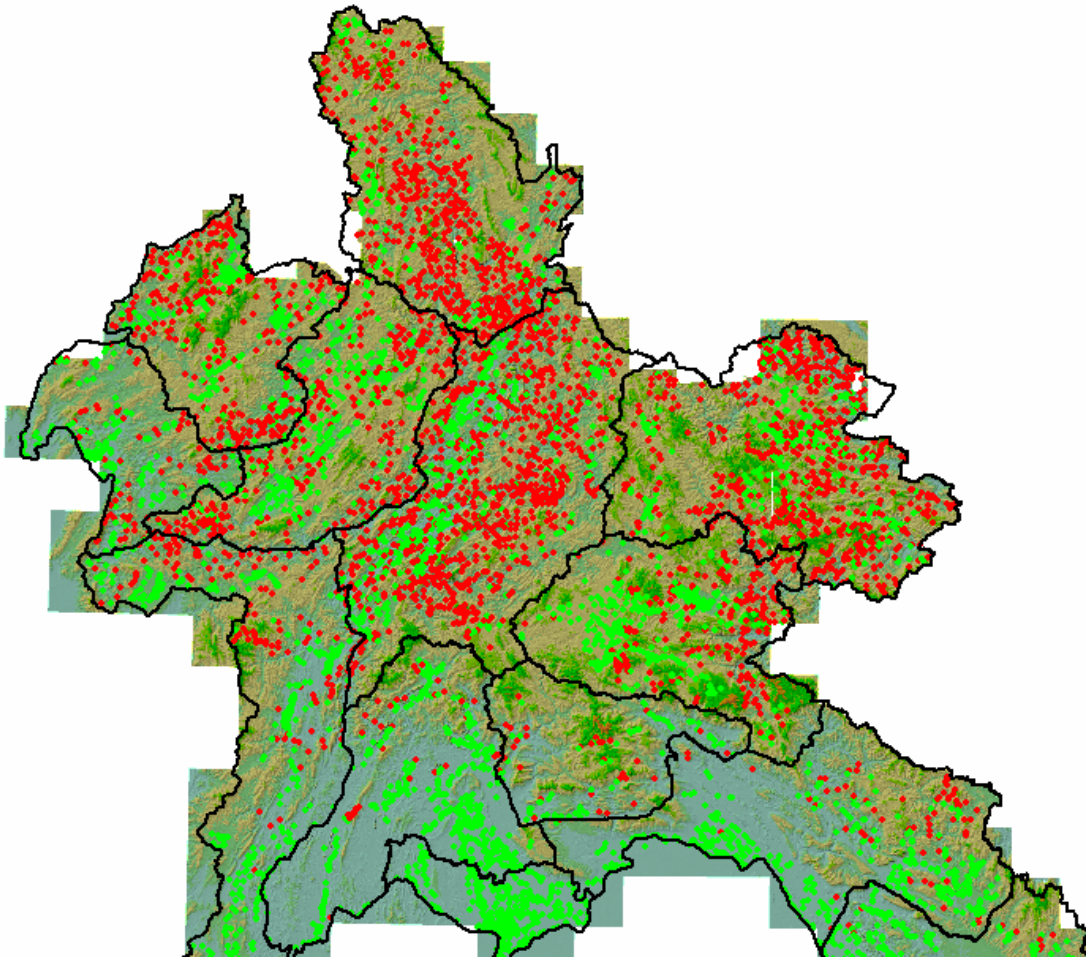


Courtesy of Paul Box (p.c.)

This method works well for identifying areas and villages which are classified as uplands in most cases. Only in the special cases of the Plaine des Jars in Xieng Khouang and the Bolevens Plateau in Champasak is the map somewhat misleading. That is, in these location we have upland minorities living on relatively level land, the Hmong and the Jru respectively.

Also, the scale here does not capture so well the micro-level distributions that occur throughout the country. Figure 2, for example differentiate lowland and upland villages using a more than 10% slope as criteria. The north of Laos would look like this.

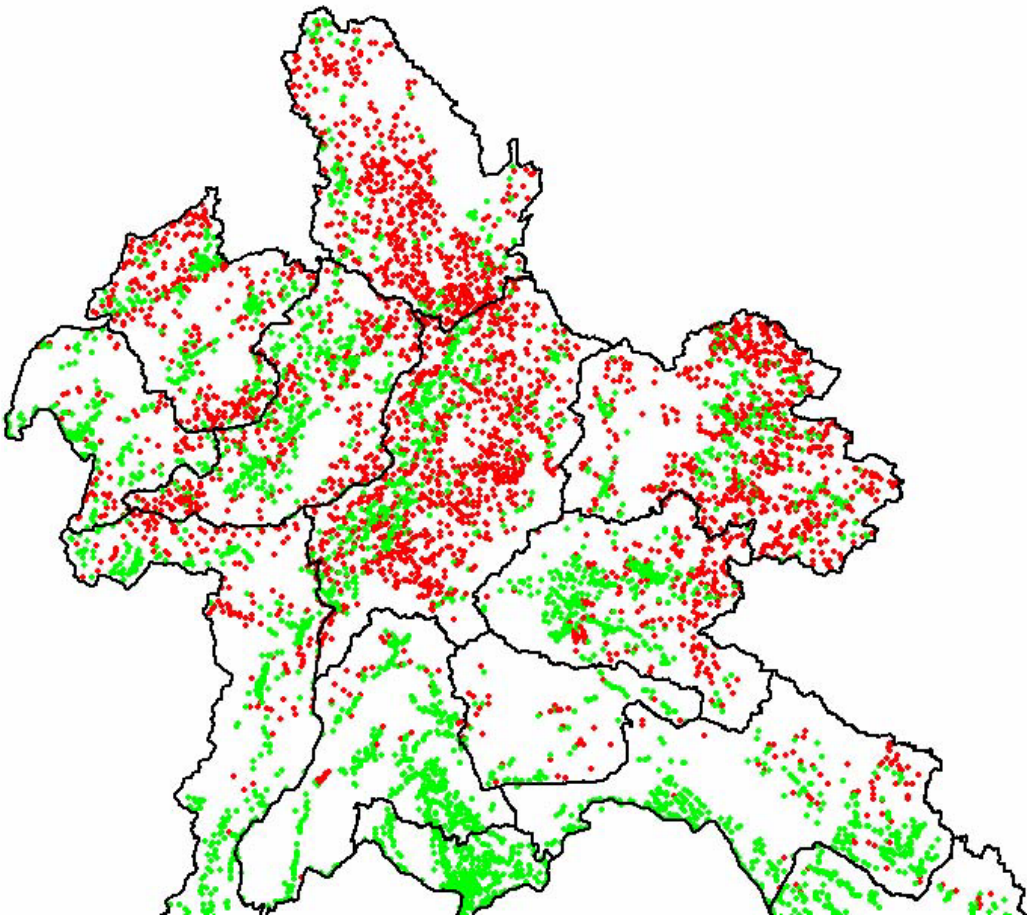
Figure 2 – Northern Lao villages:
Upland (Red) and Lowland (Green)



Courtesy of Paul Box (p.c.)

Likewise, the same data, without the topographic features would appear as in Figure 3 below.

Figure 3 – Northern Lao villages:
Upland (Red) and Lowland (Green)



Courtesy of Paul Box (p.c.)

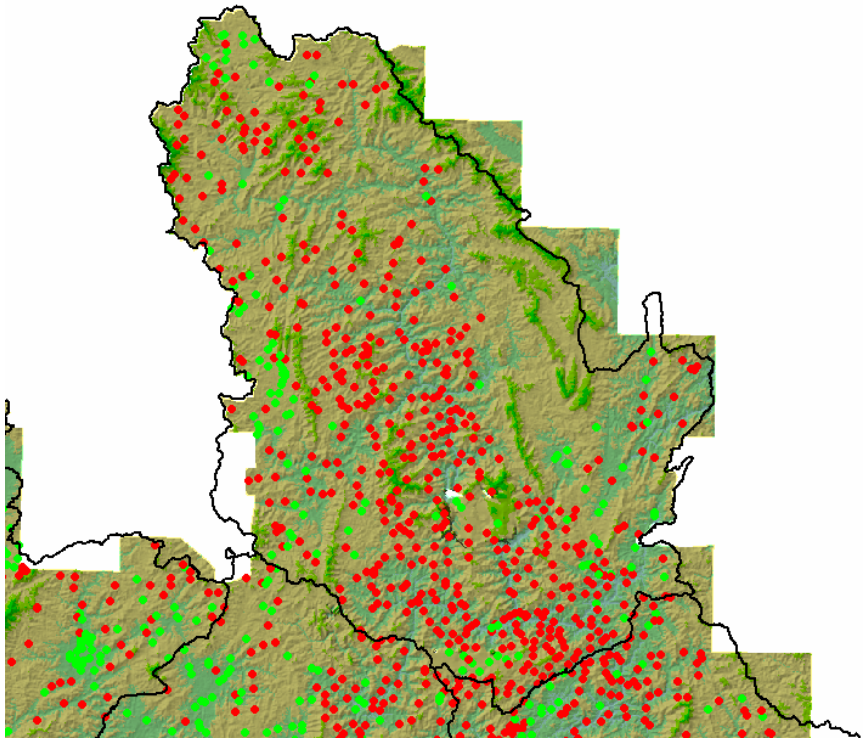
The situation is similar with ethnic minorities. We do have population by the government's ethnic classification system for the 1995 census. But again there is no time series since the 1985 census was not as precise in this area. It is possible, based on the 1995 data to provide relative percentages of ethnic minority populations by province, and from this to determine population shares by the larger ethnic groups. The problem with this is that when the three largest groups are identified by province, as was done in the ADB study (2000a), at least one of the groups is a lowland group in 17 out of 18 provinces and the effect on the population of this share is not possible to calculate.

Only in Phongsaly are all three of the largest groups uplanders and we may use this for our baseline. Here the Khmou share is 24.4 percent, the Akha share 20.0 percent, and the Sengsaly (Phounoy) share 19.4 percent. That is, 63.8 percent of the Phongsaly population in 1995 was comprised of these three upland groupings. However, many more uplanders who do not fall into one of these three groupings reside in the province, and the Lue (the largest lowland Tai group) comprise only eight percent of the population.[9] It is probably correct, then, to estimate that

[9] In fact each of these ethnic categories comprises more than one ethnic group but this level of specificity will suffice for the broader upland-lowland population issue. Of the total remaining only 8% are Lue, that is, lowlanders.

90% of the Phongsaly population are uplanders. This is supported by village slope data in Figure 4.

Figure 4 – Upland villages in Phongsaly



Courtesy of Paul Box (p.c.)

There may be some margin of error since lowland villages tend to be larger and more populous, though Figure 5 below again would seem to generally support this estimate. And thus the more general demographics which follow may be safely assumed to hold true for upland populations.

The Agricultural Census for Phongsaly (NSC 2000) calculates that 68.9 percent of the rice yield was from upland rice (and another 10 percent from combined upland and lowland sources). If this were taken as a proxy for the percentage of upland population, however, with an estimated total upland rice area of 13,191 ha the average production area per household of 6.3 persons would be only 0.74 ha which is below what would be considered adequate.[10] Experienced field workers note that data gathered on area of cultivation is usually grossly understated by villagers as this is a basis for taxation.

[10] Jameison et. al. (1998) estimates the minimum land necessary for food production is 2000 square meters per person, that is, 1.26 ha per person for a household of 6.3. And this is a minimum in Vietnam. In Laos where accessibility of land is much less a problem, the averages would presumably be much higher. Izikowitz, for example, notes that among the Lamet, the average area cleared is 3.41 ha per person over a 12 year rotational cycle, or 2,841 square meters per person per year. Unfortunately, even in Jamieson et. al., the rotational cycle is usually not part of the equation so we have no way of knowing whether this 2000 square meters is per year or per cycle. However, with an average population density of 75 persons per square kilometer, and an average rural population density per sq km of arable land of 1,067.5, the differences between the two countries with respect to population pressure are enormous.

Furthermore, farming systems data is not available, and thus the length of rotational fallows which is the determining factor in land use in relation to population is unknown. There seems to be considerable variation between ethnic groups here as well. An EU study (Bouté 2001) in Boun Tay and Boun Neua districts provides examples of Laopan (a Phou Noy group) cultivating upland fields in 8–12 year cycles, using one location for 2–3 years in succession, in a total of four locations. Whereas with the Akha Chi Pya and Noukuy there was a tendency for 7–8 year rotations, planting only one year per location. A Hmong village likewise planted in only one location per year but in ten year cycles. These districts, it should be noted, are the most densely populated by Phongsaly standards.

In Phongsaly, with an estimated land area of approximately 16,270 square kilometers, and 603 villages, there is roughly one village per 27 km^2. The estimated population density in 1995 was 9, compared to 10.7 in 2000 according to the projections in Table 1. However, as the map in Figure 4 above shows, there is considerable potential swidden land that is not occupied.

Table 1 – Population of Phongsaly by annual projections

1985	1995 (19.8%)	1996 (3.2%)	1997 (2.4%)	1998 (2.4%)	1999 (2.4%)	2000 (2.4%)
122,948	152,848	158,000	161,900	165,900	170,100	174,400

Source: NSC

However, according to the agricultural census population figures (NSC 2000), the population of Phongsaly in the year 2000 was 153,265, only slightly higher than in 1995, possibly indicating a considerable out migration. The urban proportion is estimated at 6 percent.

The natural growth rate for the province as a whole in 1995 was calculated at 1.0 percent, an average of the seven districts ranging from 0.6–1.3 percent. The natural growth rates were lower in the northeastern portion of the province, the most mountainous districts, with a range of 0.6–0.9 percent. (NSC 1997 Phongsaly).

There is evidence that growth rates may be higher for some ethnic groups in specific areas as in the mostly Hmong areas of Meuang Hom and Tha Thom Districts of Xaysomboun where growth rates are said to be 3.5 and 3.2 percent respectively (NSC 1985), but this seems not to be the case among minorities as a whole.

Based on the 1985 census data, the Total Fertility Rate (TFR) for Phongsaly was 5.7, compared to 4.4 in Louang Namtha, and 10 in Xieng Khouang. (GOL 1992) The IMR based on the 1995 census was 94 per 1000. Thus here again, we note the extreme differences between provinces, which to some degree represent differences between ethnic groups.

As a basis for comparison, currently the latest estimates for the Northern Region (NSC 2001) put the Natural Growth Rate at 2.8 (2.8 for the country [2.0 urban, 3.0 rural]); the TFR at 5.1 (4.9 for the country [2.8 urban, 5.4 rural]); and the IMR at 88.1 (82.2 for the country [41.7 urban, 87.2 rural]).

The average land holding per 6.3 person household was 2 ha (AC 2000), and if this figure represents the average in any given year (which we un-

fortunately have no way of knowing), then for say, an average swidden cycle of 9 years this would amount to a total of 2.86 ha per person, slightly lower than Izikowitz's figure of 3.41 per person (see below) for the Lamet in a 12 year cycle. But if the Phongsaly average was projected onto a 12 year rotation, the average per person would be 3.8 ha. Thus, while this is all very speculative, the figures are not that far apart.[11]

Izikowitz's study of the Lamet (1951) is instructive in studying the relations between population and farming systems. In 1937 the population density of the Lamet (Izikowitz 40–41) was calculated at 2.9/km^2 (compared to average of 2.0 for northern Laos as a whole – 4.0 for the country). It was also determined that in the Lamet District of what at that time was called the Province de Haute-Mekong, the distribution of Lamet villages was about one per 20 sq km tract. The average number of households per village was 14.2 with an average of 4 persons per hh. Swiddening was carried out in 12–15 yr rotational cycles with only a one year planting period per field.

These same studies indicate that an able bodied person clears approximately 0.457 ha. When averaged over the whole population the figure is 0.284. This multiplied by 12 (the Lamet have 12–15 year fallow cycles – planting a field only one year) indicates an average total land need of 3.41 ha per person. The largest Lamet village is 148 hh, approximately 150, and would need a total cultivation land area of 512 ha (=1.28 km^2), much smaller than the land available within the calculated 20 kilometer per village total territory.

The largest villages, those with more than 27 houses, also had the fewest people per hh. But within the Lower Lamet, a large village will have few houses with large households.

Izikowitz then asks the questions (41): would it be possible for the Lamet to have larger villages; what factors play a role in constraining village size, and; what is the maximum village size that is possible? Citing work on the Lhota Nagas of Assam, a group with a similar swidden system, he notes that they may have up to 350 households per village. The only difference is Naga utilization of a single swidden for two years, as opposed to the one-year system of the Lamet. But more importantly, the entire Naga village cooperates in the cultivation of one large swidden. Thus writes Izikowitz, "the size of the village seems to have no connection with the method of cultivation" rather, he concludes, the reason for village size rests with the social structure, leaving unanswered the issue of carrying capacity of land in swidden systems. He suggests (141) that it is the swidden group, which must consist of more than one clan, that remains the primary social construct (as opposed to the village. Furthermore it is swidden groups that may gradually expand and break off forming their own villages.

[11] Fischer (1964) cited in Kirsh, estimates that a family unit of five swidden cultivators would require 25 acres [=10.1 ha, that is, 2.02 ha per person] (unfortunately he does not specify the fallow cycle. Or, that swidden agriculture generally can support a population density of 130 per square mile [= 50 persons per km^2]. (Fischer, C. 1964. Southeast Asia: A Social, Economic, and Political Geography. Dutton, New York.) We are not informed of the basis for these figures, nor which country/-ies they are based upon, whether mainland or insular, etc. But if we take 2.02 ha per person as the minimum, then both the Izikowitz figures, and the Phongsaly estimates are far more generous. But the fact that the density figures differ so dramatically indicates that Laos remains very low.

Thus he notes (361):

> We have first two kinds of factors which have great significance for the rhythms of life: physical and biological. The climate types with the changes of the seasons, day and night, years and months, come under the first heading, under the second we have the individual himself with his different stages of growth, the whole course of his life, during which he constantly changes status and role.
>
> Connected with these natural factors are the social activities, but the factors can also belong to the cultural environment. The moving of the villages is an example of this. These movings are, as I have shown, certainly not dependent upon purely physical factors, since the villages seldom or never reach their possible maximum size. The rhythm here is also uneven and clearly dependent upon purely social factors, which are not always so easy to distinguish. Thus we have here the swidden group as the village's primary unit, which later, when the village has grown, divides itself up. And here appears another rhythm a division into the dry period and the rainy period or, more correctly, a time when one lives on the swiddens and takes care of the crops, and another time when one lives in the villages. The differences in the social life between these two phases are to a certain extent essential,… The life on the swiddens and in the villages is determined as to time by the seasons and the crops, but life itself is differ-ent in these two settings, the main difference being that on the swiddens one has no community house with all it involves of ceremonies, taboos, etc. Here one sees the functions and significance the community house has for the village as a whole.

He notes that the Upper and Lower Lamet have different land tenure practices, and these we will see in Chapter 3, may be seen as characteristic of general structural differences which forms a dichotomy between autocratic and democratic forms of organization found in most of the upland ethnic groups. The Lower have no village land boundaries, whereas for the Upper these are fixed.[12] And, the Lower villages have a tendency to factionalize and split to form new villages, whereas the Upper do not. But the Upper Lamet travel to Siam to hire out labor on a regular basis. Izikowitz attributes this to the preferred location of the Upper Lamet villages on the caravan routes.

Population growth, in theory, at first increases production, and later depletes natural resources. Population controls (birth control, birth spacing) are then by cultural definition counterproductive , that is, while population growth is a potential threat to swiddening systems in Laos in the very long term, paradoxically it is an advantage where maximization of production is concerned and de facto a precondition for economic growth by indigenous definition.

Note for the Khmou in LBNG province, population pressure began some time ago, and Halpern notes in 1958 that fallowing periods have been reduced to 7–8 year cycles. Unlike the Lamet, however, plots are usually cultivated for 2–3 years before fallowing, with non-rice crops such as corn, beans, gourds, cucumbers, etc. cultivated in the last season. This suggests that the area surrounding Louang Prabang could be studied as a living laboratory on the effects of population on swidden systems, with the caveat that Khmou practices may differ substantially

[12] This example of differing land tenure systems within what is essentially the same ethnic group contradicts suggestions by some developers that definitions of traditional tenure systems can be reduced to a few categories which could be applied throughout the country for land reform and land titling purposes.

from those of other ethnic groups. But whatever the case, upland population densities, even here, are far less than in any other country in Asia.

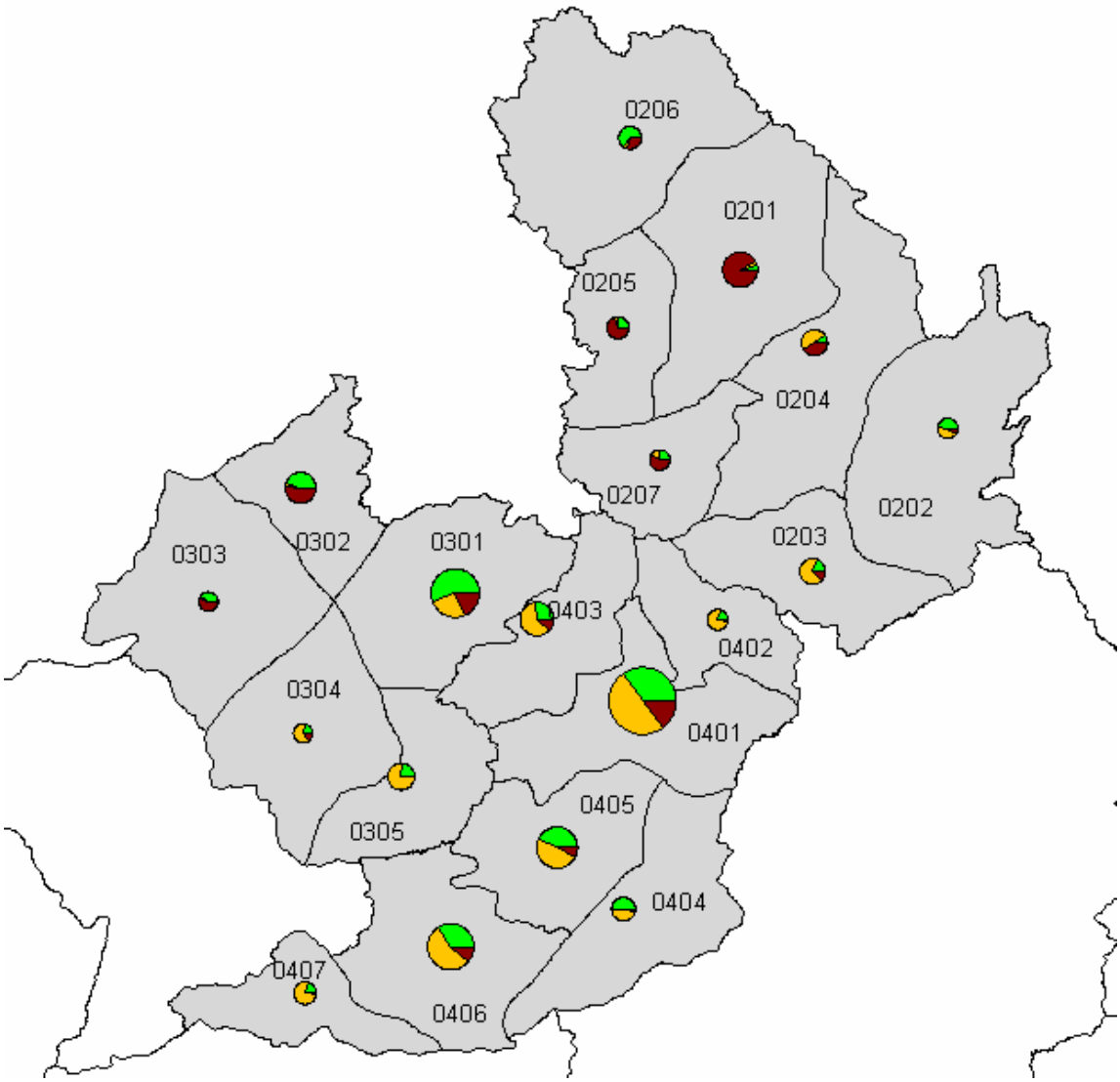
The next question that must be asked is why some groups cultivate in only one location per year and others two or more. Unfortunately this question has not been answered. It seems to be that this is an ethnically or socially defined practice …

2.2 Ethnolinguistic composition

The northwestern provinces of Laos, Bokeo, Louang Namtha, Oudomxay, and Phongsaly, stand out as being the most ethnolinguistically complex. That is, all four of the ethnolinguistic families found in Laos are represented: Lao-Tai, Mon-Khmer, Hmong-Mien, and Tibeto-Burman. It is common that ethnic groups representing these families are found interspersed in clusters, but in superimposed ways due to varying elevations that defy ready mapping other than on a microscopic village-by-village basis. Prototypically, Lao-Tai speakers are found settled in valleys or flatlands, Mon-Khmer peoples prefer the mid-level slopes, and Hmong-Mien and Tibeto-Burman speakers prefer living at higher altitudes near the tops of mountains. This is neat, and gave rise to the Lao Soung (high-Lao), Lao Theung (Lao above) and Lao Loum (Lao below) distinction that has been used at various periods at least since the early 1960s. There are however many exceptions. The Kim Moun (Lantène) for example, are a Hmong-Mien group that prefer to live in valleys, albeit carrying out swidden cultivation (they were indeed called Lowland Yao by French ethnographers). The Mon-Khmer speaking Lamet prefer to live on mountain ridges while many others in Khammouane and Savannakhet, such as the Brou, Tri, Katang, etc. live in the lowlands and cultivate paddies. So these stereotypic village locations are not universal.

Nevertheless, if we look at a rough division of ethnic distribution by this prototype. A map of Phongsaly, Louang Namtha and Oudomxay, would appear as follows.

Figure 5 – Population distribution by ethnicity



Courtesy of Paul Box (p.c.)

In the figure, green color represents lowlanders: Lue, Tai Dam, Yay (Nhang), and Lao in descending order depending on the district. Yellow represents Mon-Khmer: Khmou, Lamet, and Bit. And Brown represents Tibeto-Burman and Hmong-Mien combined. Today, due to the considerable resettlement of uplanders to lowland areas, the prototypical generalization is even less obvious.

Resettlement has been carried out by government officials, and in some cases are voluntary and spontaneous such as those to areas advertised by the government as being fertile (the case of the Hmong in Louang Namtha described in the PPA), or to roadsides because of curiosity and the belief that maybe there are opportunities for increased wealth here.

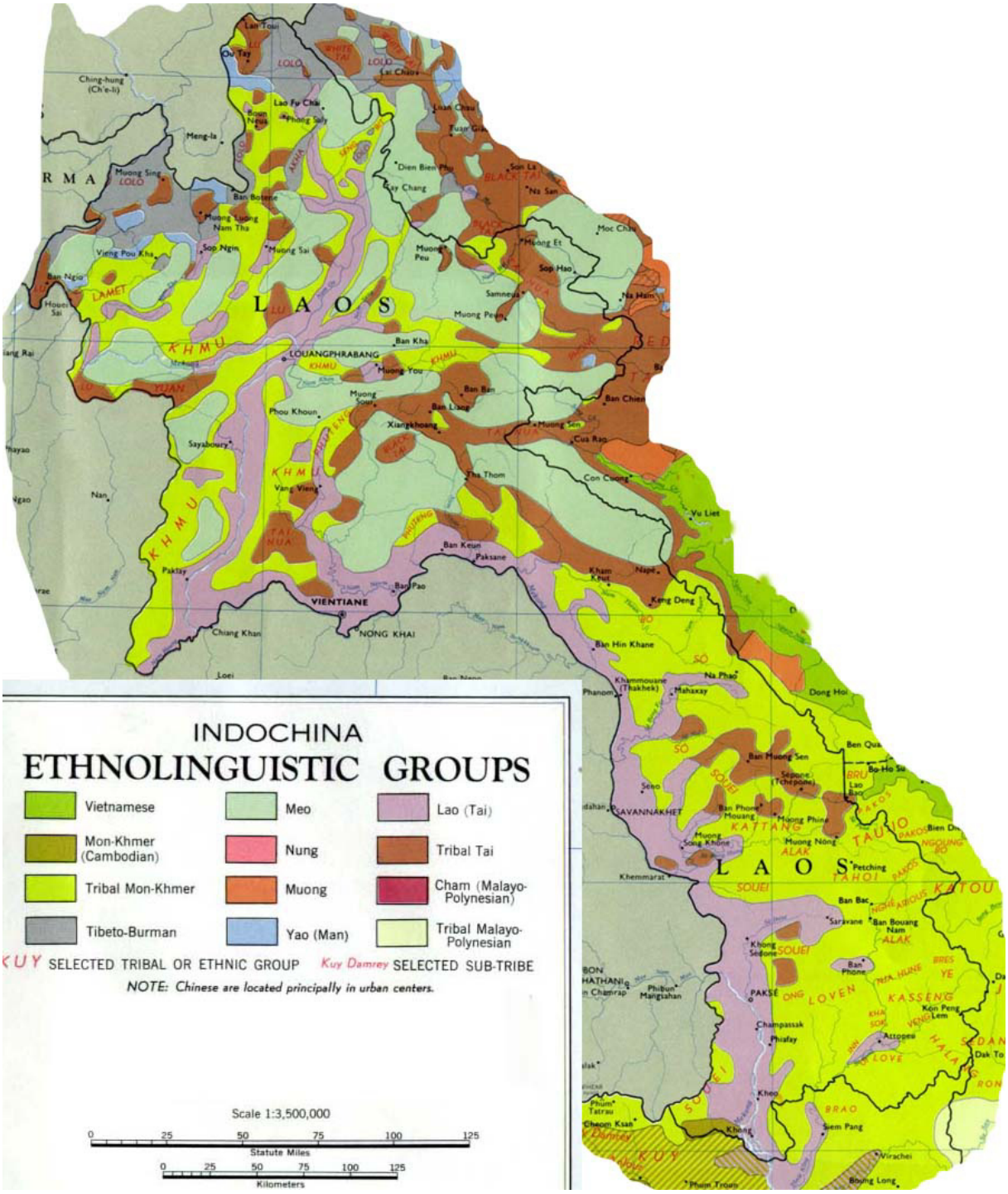
The rural development program that established focal sites often resettled villages of different ethnicities in the same village consolidation. The philosophy behind this thinking was, on the surface, to bring people to services rather than services to people. But these resettled situations frequently resulted in severe livelihood problems, in part because of

inexperience with lowland agriculture, in part because psychologically resettled uplanders had trouble adjusting. Furthermore, little or no integration took place. Villages were sectioned into ethnic quarters, and intermarriage was almost unknown or possible only in culturally prescribed circumstances.

Voluntary migration to roadsides may likewise take place only among certain ethnic groups, or in some cases subgroups of various ethnicities. Izikowitz mentions for example, that the Upper Lamet preferred to reside along the caravan trail, while the Lower Lamet specifically would not. Akha interviewed in Phongsaly cited a cultural prohibition against living along the road (though they were resettled anyway), while the Lahu Shi (Kuy), also a Tibeto-Burman group, apparently have done so voluntarily. Likewise Iu Mien (Yao) prefer not to live on the roadside. In the north, it is the Khmou that one finds most frequently relocated to the road, though in most cases they retain their original swiddens and simply walk further to the fields. (Chamberlain 1997)

With respect to distribution of ethnic groups, the best map to have been made so far was done by the French in 1949. This map, partially reproduced in Figure 6 below shows well the very restricted distribution of Lao, and the very wide distribution of the Mon-Khmer languages groups. Even so, the difficulties with mapping ethnicity lie in their topographical, as opposed to bounded areal, distribution. So the map here is obviously over-generalized, and is presented to give a rough approximation of the predominant ethnic groups in any given area.

Figure 6 – Map of Lao Minorities[13]



[13] This Map is from the Indochina Atlas 1970 (available at the University of Texas at Austin website), but was adapted from the Carte Ethnolinguistique, EFEO, Saigon 1949.

2.3 Migration Trends

So far in the Lao PDR, at least since the end of the war, there have not been major population movement from rural to urban areas. This is perhaps an indication that there is currently no advantage in moving to cities. Reasons for this are useful to explore as they provide insights into the country as a whole.

Firstly, there is a decided reluctance to relocate on the part of lowland ethnic groups. During the war when large numbers of internal refugees were being resettled, the least successful and most difficult groups were lowlanders whose attachments to ancestral paddy land was long and difficult to part with. These groups tended to become despondent and would do little to help themselves.[14] Beginning in 1976 there were considerable numbers of lowlanders from the north and from the south who relocated to Vientiane because of the new government. They were officials of military personnel and their families who were assigned to the capital or who had no place else to go. Since most had no skills or occupation, they soon became associated with the poorer segment of the population, and have unwittingly contributed in no small degree to the social ills of Vientiane. This situation has been discussed in (ICR 1998) and there is no need to repeat it here. But it should be noted that one of the primary difficulties discussed is the problems that the parents of children within the in-migrant groups appear to have difficulties communicating with their sons and daughters who have been brought up in Vientiane and are less tolerant of their parents' rural attitudes and perceptions.

Secondly, although there is poverty in rural areas, especially the uplands, as has been described in the PPA, the natural resource base is still plentiful enough to sustain the poorer groups, and remaining in rural areas is still preferable to moving to the city with its incomprehensible ways and attitudes.

Thirdly, there is no labor market in the cities to support in-migration. Manual labor needs are supplied mostly by Vietnamese immigrant workers. Among the Lao, wage dependency in manual and semi-skilled labor is practically non-existent since all workers have alternatives usually family farms to which they can return. Some young women from rural areas travel to Vientiane to stay with relatives. Many of these are Tai-Thay speaking minorities who have weaving skills and are employed as weavers in small enterprises located on the outskirts of the city. But here again, jobs are usually temporary, and the option to return home is always available. In other cases women end up marrying in Vientiane and remain. Be that as it may, this is still a very small percentage of the population.

As internal war refugees, upland minorities were often better equipped psychologically than the lowlanders. The Hmong settlement at Kilometer 52 (on the Route 13 North) is the main instance of a concentration of upland people who have established a real presence and created what is by Lao standards an urban center. This settlement began in 1972–3 as a Hmong vegetable cooperative for war refugees. It was

[14] This may be taken as an indicator of the fact that such dichotomies as those proposed by the new "culturalists" such as Harrison and Huntington (2000), between static and progressive cultures, that it is the lowlanders who are static by comparison to the uplanders. This also agrees with the maximizing-optimizing distinction discussed in Chapter 4.

close enough to the capital to provide markets for produce, and soon began to expand in population. Financial support increased with remittances from Hmong relatives in France and the US. Now it is a flourishing Hmong urban community, a place to which there is undoubtedly considerable internal migration, though to my knowledge this has not been documented. A similar but smaller Hmong settlement was established in the late 1980s at Na Pè in Khamkeut District, Borikhamxay, just 8 kilometers from the Vietnamese border on Route 8. Thus we see in the Hmong an example of an upland group who have successfully relocated to form lowland urban settlements yet who have not changed their identity. However, it would be interesting to study these settlements to discover what has or has not changed socially and culturally.

Other internal movements have occurred, but have not been highly visible. As mentioned in the PPA, approximately 13,000 Khmou from Phongsaly were reported to have moved out of that province because of dissatisfaction with the land allocation process. Many of these appear to have relocated to Borikhamxay province, but the details are sketchy and not always positive.

The majority of relocations have been in the form of villages being moved by authorities under a variety of pretenses ranging, including security, focal sites (rural development), opium eradication, and land reform policies. These will be further discussed in Chapter 2. It is safe to conclude that involuntary resettlement has not been successful and that it has been the cause of much hardship and poverty. Psychologists indeed compare the trauma of relocation to death from which some are reborn and others never recover. Frequently villagers are placed in untenable double-bind situations which often takes the form of inability to produce rice. Upland villages are relocated to lowland areas where the land has been declared suitable for paddy farming. But after the move, it is discovered that the land is really not suitable, usually for lack of water. The village at this point has no place to turn. During the PPA it was discovered that many had turned to opium as an escape, and the addicts have ended up hiring out labor in return for opium. In fact, on revisiting some of these villages under the poverty monitoring project, it was discovered that village entrepreneurs have in some cases capitalized on opium addicts as cheap labor to increase their own wealth.

At present we have no data which would help us determine what proportion of the upland villages in each province have been resettled.

Voluntary resettlement occurs frequently for a variety of reasons. The primary cause is due to epidemics of illnesses which villagers cannot control and as a last resort the village may be moved. This is quite common, but in these cases the villages are moved only short distances, retaining the same fields for cultivation.

Another cause is movement to be near the roadside, often for no particular economic reason other than to be close to the road and observe the changes that take place. After some time such villages may open small shops that cater to the vehicle traffic passing by the village. In most cases the same fields continue to be cultivated. In many instances this has caused problems in the provision of health and education services, since now that the villages are accessible there can be no excuse for not providing these services. On some of the national highways, speaking from

personal experience with villages relocated to Route 13 between Louang Prabang and Oudomxay, voluntarily resettled villages (mostly Hmong and Khmou) appear to be faring much better than villages which were moved involuntarily by the authorities. However this needs to be examined in more detail (and would make an interesting study in itself).

2.4 Conclusion

At the present time there is no evidence that population density in the uplands poses a threat to swidden systems, nor is there evidence of growth rates that would affect this situation in the long term. The possible exception to this is the areas immediately adjacent to Louang Prabang city, but even here we have no hard data.[15] The main threats to rotational swidden systems are from misapplied land allocation practices (discussed in Chapter 3) which reduce rotational cycles and deplete soils resulting in unsustainable yields.

Thus while alleged runaway population increase among the ethnic minorities has become the rallying point for the urgent introduction of changes to swidden systems, there is no evidence to justify this urgency in Laos, especially in light of the fact that rotational swidden cultivation in the tropics is one of the most efficient agricultural systems in the world.[16]

Involuntary relocation has adversely affected livelihoods, but responses to relocation vary depending on ethnic proclivities. Some groups, like the Hmong, adapt quickly, and even tend towards urbanization in some areas. Others, like the Atel, Mlengbrou, and Thémarou in Nakai, simply die in response. (See Appendix 4)

[15] Louang Prabang was badly affected by the period of intense collectivization and the formation of rice cooperatives in the uplands discussed in the following chapter.

[16] This conclusion is supported by David Thomas (p.c.) of the International Center for Research in Agroforestry (ICRAF).

Chapter 3
Government Policy

3.0 Brief History of Economic Policy

In order to understand the problems associated with government policy it is necessary to go back to 1976 when the Party and the Government began its plan for social and economic development with a five-part economic plan. From discussion with many people involved in the process at the time, a brief synopsis might be offered as follows:

1) Economic development for the Government, that is, state enterprises;
2) Economic development by cooperatives and collectives;
3) Economic development through joint ventures with local or foreign investment;
4) Economic development through Government investment;
5) Economic development through private investment.

But in fact it was only the first two of these that received the bulk of the energy, focus and funding of the Government.

State Enterprises were established all over the country with generous financial support from the Government, for example:

1) state construction companies;
2) state forestry enterprises (there were originally nine of these referred to simply as No. 1– No. 9);
3) state trading companies, which were classified as:
   - state fuel companies
   - state owned stores (of various kinds)
   - state owned food suppliers
   - etc…

All banks belonged to the state and were responsible for provision of financial support to all of the other SOEs (State Owned Enterprises) as well as the cooperatives and collectives as ordered by the Ministry of Finance.

In 1977, there was announced a change in currency, and opportunity was given for all holders of currency from the old regime to exchange this for the new liberation currency at a rate of 20:1, that is twenty old Kip to one new kip. At that time the old currency had been exchanged at

a rate of 25 kip per one Thai Baht. Thus with the exchange, the rate became 1 Liberation Kip = 1 Baht. Within one month the black market exchange rate was Eight (liberated) Kip = 1 Baht. By 1979 the new Kip had devalued to an official State Bank rate of 100 Kip = 1 Baht, and the devaluation continued. In rural areas, many people would not exchange their old Kip, and simply hid their money to wait and see what would happen. But highlanders were little affected, since most of them had never trusted paper money anyway, and they continued to use, whenever necessary, old French and Chinese silver coins, or simply the various shapes and sizes of silver bars that they had always used.

The Government, at the same time, promoted collectives and cooperatives, and wherever possible mobilized the population in their formation in order to change the economic structure of the country and replace private enterprise. All cooperatives could receive Government support for the initial establishment of such, but after this, the order was sent out that all local areas were to be responsible for their own food production, especially they must be self-sufficient in rice. This meant that in all parts of the country government officials, soldiers, policemen, and so on, had to concentrate on the production of their own food. But since the available land for paddies was limited, and had already been collectivized or converted into cooperatives, the only available land was in the uplands and from 1976 on enormous pressure was put on these areas to produce enough rice, especially dry rice, for local consumption. According to the National Statistics Center (p.c.), the amount of cultivated upland fields increased from 204,100 ha in 1976 to 297,400 by 1980 (and we can assume that these figures are low given the lack of survey capacity at that time).

By 1985 though, it was generally acknowledged, with respect to these two areas of economic focus, State Enterprises and Collectives/Cooperatives, that these approaches had not been successful because yields and production were simply not sufficient.

From 1986 on, the Government established a new policy, one that was considered to be more in line with real conditions, one that allowed economic events to follow the trends of the market. This was known as the "New Economic Mechanism." But what is not often taken into consideration is that there was no official cessation of the original policies of SOEs and Cooperatives. Official funding for these activities ended, however, with the exception of those SOEs that were considered successful.

Because cooperatives were not well-managed, they contributed to considerable deforestation that occurred during that period. Often forests were cut down at the sources of streams, on steep slopes, etc. Erosion and watershed destruction resulted. In some cases the more competitive ethnic groups, especially the Hmong in Louang Prabang and Xieng Khoang, encroached on the traditional land of other minorities, causing much inter-ethnic strife and population dislocation and movement generally.

3.1 Land Allocation

This had all been noticed by the Government and finally, after several years of deliberation, the idea of Land-Forest Allocation was born as a way of promoting forest and natural resource conservation. It was also

aimed at establishing new recognized official boundaries between villages because of villages having been relocated.

But in many areas the actual implementation of the Land Allocation Policy had an adverse effect on minorities all of whom had different culturally-based practices and livelihood systems dependant on localized conditions, especially with respect to land tenure. The effects of this were met with and recorded in the year 2000 during the PPA where it was observed that:

1. the demarcation of village boundaries was not carried out in an appropriate fashion and did not take into consideration traditional cultural practices. Serious conflicts between villages had erupted of which local authorities were well aware. Especially contentious were situations involving old long-established villages whose boundaries with neighboring villages were already well-defined. Here local DAFO officials had arbitrarily drawn new lines which created problems as villages were affected by gains and losses causing continuous dissatisfaction and conflict. Demarcations between old and new villages have been even worse as the new villages are almost always perceived as infringing on the territory and livelihood of the old village, and during altercations new villages would invariably respond by saying they did not want to be here, but were placed here by the government. And so on.
2. Within the designated land area of each village, land is divided according to types: conservation forest and cultivation land being the most important. In every case within the PPA sample, production land was insufficient for livelihood. Shorter rotational cycles have caused irreparable damage to soil structures and yields have dropped to levels that cannot support villages. For example: In Ban Pha Seua, in Meuang Et district of Houa Phanh, in 1998, because of security concerns, 67 Hmong and Khmou families were relocated.
   The DAFO office gave land, allocated according to their analyses of needs, amounting to 160 ha. of production land. Of this, 60 ha. were delineated as potential paddy land, but investment was needed for irrigation. From 1998 to 2002, the villagers had to practice rotational swiddening, moving the plots every 2 years. During this period yields decreased from 1.6 to 0.6 tons per ha. The paddy land is still not usable because there are no funds for the irrigation system.[17]

3.2 Rural Development and Socioeconomic Planning

In 1999 Decree No. 01 on decentralization was issued by the Prime Minister, designating the province as the strategic unit, the district as the planning and budgeting unit and the village as the implementing unit, with the special purpose of reducing poverty, although so far the planning and budgeting appears from anecdotal evidence to be carried out by the provinces and the Central level as before since sufficient time has not elapsed to implement the policy uniformly in all districts.

This was followed by the Strategy for Socioeconomic Development for 2010 and 2020, and the Five-year Plan. Here it is stated clearly that shifting cultivation will be stopped by 2010 along with opium production while at the same time "lifting the people out of poverty." Misunder-

[17] NSC 2002.

standings of the policy to "stop slash-and-burn cultivation" is in fact a problem of terminology. The general term for swidden cultivation in Lao is het hay but in fact there are two main types of swidden cultivation, rotational (hay moun vian) and pioneering (hay leuan loy), and it is only the latter which is environmentally destructive, and it is this term that is used in the Socioeconomic Development Strategy and Five-Year Plan (2001). Therefore it may be assumed that the intent of the policy was to control only the pioneering practices. With respect to opium reduction, many villages have been relocated to prevent opium growing, but without livelihood replacements, which also promotes poverty. It part, at least, the difficulties appear to be the result of communication problems between the agricultural and forestry specialists at the Central level, and less well-trained personnel at the provincial and district level. These problems are exacerbated by a low level of human resource development generally in the rural areas.

3.3 Ethnic Minority Policy

The Ethnic Minority Policy of the Lao PDR was written in 1992 by H.E. Kaysone Phovihane (ILO 2000) to be carried out by the Lao Front for National Construction. It provides a sound operational basis for the Government's approach to ethnic minority issues, although many of the provisions of the policy have yet to be fully implemented.

1. Strengthening of political foundations.

The policy calls for the resolution of disagreements between members of the same ethnic minority, between ethnic minorities, between ethnic minorities and government officials, soldiers and other citizens. Furthermore, it states that whenever violations of the policy on ethnic minorities occur these must be immediately resolved by the relevant authority and the offenders punished.

2. Increased production and opening [channels of] distribution in order to convert subsistence based economic systems towards market based economies; promote the strengths of the mountainous areas; and generally improve the quality of life of the minority citizens.

The policy highlights the need to continue the project of halting shifting cultivation through arranging for permanent livelihoods for the practitioners and increasing their incomes to make their lives better off than they were as shifting cultivators. It also states the need to implement strictly and clearly the policy of land allocation for every family so they have land for cultivation and livestock raising, and so that forests are preserved.[18]

3. Focus on expansion of education, culture, health, and other social benefits.

[18] Although the distinction between pioneering and rotational swiddening is not made here, the emphasis is clearly on sustainable livelihoods.

The network of formal primary education should be expanded to guarantee that all children of school age attend school. In addition, the policy calls for a revival of the "ethnic youth" schools in mountainous areas, which were in place in liberated zones during the war, with the condition that quality should be emphasized. It is also emphasized that minority children have the same rights to education as other children in the lowlands and cities. A detailed plan for teacher training is called for, directed at the ethnic minorities in remote areas, together with a policy and the personnel for its realization. Here, most importantly, the mandate is given for the relevant organization to urgently research the writing systems of the Hmong and the Khmou using the Lao alphabet as was formerly used in the old liberated zones for use in areas occupied by these ethnic minorities, to be studied together with the Lao language and alphabet.

Also reiterated in this section is the promotion and expansion of the traditional cultural heritage of each ethnic minority, "to allow the mental lives of each ethnic minority to blossom and contribute to the rich multiformed and multi-colored culture(s) of our Lao nation." At the same time, however, the policy calls for an effort to be made to reduce and begin to eradicate "backward traditions which are reflected in production, life-style," [without, however, providing guidelines for judging which traditions are to be considered backward].

The policy calls for protection against and eradication of dangerous diseases and to allow minority peoples to enjoy good health and long life. The Government, it states, should provide appropriate investments to enlarge the health care network by joining modern and traditional medicine.

Collection of data on the ethnicity of government employees, retired ethnic officials, the handicapped, and families of those killed in action is another activity called for in the policy.

Finally, the task of dissemination of information in the remote areas is mandated, through many methods, especially, radio broadcasting in minority languages. The plan calls for engagement of specialist officials who speak minority languages and who possess a knowledge of science, production, and socio-economic problems. [The issue of where these persons are to found is not addressed.]

3.4 Resettlement

Although not included per se in any of the policies with respect to agriculture, land or opium reduction, resettlement of upland villages has been practiced extensively throughout the country. Initially, as a reflection of security concerns, and later as part of the focal site strategy for rural development.

Relocation of villages continues now as a vestige of the focal site approach, in the guise of village consolidation. Arbitrary figures of 50 of 60 households are being promoted by many provinces independently as the minimum number constituting a "village." As with the focal site approach, the justification given is the provision of education and health, without consideration for the livelihood ramifications.

There appears to be, however, no legal documentation to support these local policies, other than the decisions of the provinces to carry them out.

It is perhaps appropriate to note here that the Ethnic Minority Policy of the Lao PDR is in fact based upon an earlier Hmong Policy written by H.E. Kaysone Phomvihane in 1982 which was directed at resolving problems faced by Hmong populations who were adversely affected by the war. Here the participatory approach was considered paramount, as it is written:

> The people must be consulted in order to allow them to engage in paddy cultivation or stable swiddening. Effort must be made to resolve problems of land shortage, land disputes between Hmong and other ethnic groups, and problems created by resettlement during the war: those who wish to return to their original territory or move to new ones. In the case of the latter, those responsible should consult with local Hmong officials, examine the views of the traditional leaders, ask the advice of the people, and, having received agreement from the people, carefully make available land for cultivation and sites for settlement. Once people have been resettled, host groups should be encouraged to help, and the government must provide a portion of the assistance… (cited in ILO 2000)

This appears to be the earliest official document relating to resettlement and relates only to the particular circumstances of that people following a period of internal disruption. But even here, the care and consideration of the consultation process is paramount.

3.5 Conclusions

The most obvious problem with respect to Government policies is the gap between policy and practice. The intent of the socioeconomic plans, ethnic minority policies, and the approach to resettlement all reflect good intentions in keeping with the constitution and its guarantee of minority rights and equal status.

Also, we know now that rotational shifting cultivation is officially accepted, and that the Land Allocation issue is being reviewed, so it is possible to consider, with a clear conscience, continued programming that will assist the upland minorities to improve their livelihoods, taking advantage of their innate propensities, and hopefully improving their agricultural production in accord with their own cosmologies and worldviews. This is the subject of the following chapter.

Chapter 4
The market in relation to the uplands

The operation of the hill tribes market, i.e. the feasting system, tends to equalize actual standards of living, but increases relative differences in ritual status.
The Hill tribe society produces only one major type of good, "fertility".

— Thomas Kirsch

4.1 Introduction

Before examining the problems and characteristics associated with "markets" in the uplands, there are certain aspects of upland economies and qualities of economic growth as related to the uplands that must be addressed in order to comprehend the essence of the situation. We must first of all define what we mean by "economy" and how this is manifested in minority cultures in the uplands. Secondly we need to explain what a "market" is in this same context. And thirdly we should be able to state what the basis of "exchange" is and what forms this may take, again, in the upland context.

To assume that economics in the Western sense of the term is in any way universal and thereby applicable to the analysis of livelihoods in the Lao uplands would be a grievous error. Economies, in any society, are products of cosmologies, sets of beliefs about the ways in which nature and the world are structured. Obviously cosmologies must be, for purposes of survival, adapted to the environment in which they are found, and might even be compared to organisms in the biological frame, though perhaps in the non-Darwinian or co-evolutionary systemic sense where all organisms are continually adapting to each other. Premises emerge which define the nature of the relationships, such as the North American and Northern European notion that nature is stingy and finite, compared to the Southeast Asian assumption that nature is bounteous and endless. And thus ideas like zero-sum arise in the West that do not apply in the analysis of ethnic minority cultures in the uplands, at least from their perspective.

Neo-classical economic theory from which most Western and development thinking emerges, is premised on the individual as a rational actor who works out the best way of achieving goals by weighing alternatives against each other in terms of their utility relative to their cost. This is in fact the economic expression of Cartesian epistemology, that the rational mind takes care of the needful body. And Adam Smith's

notion that the pursuit of private ends works for the common good has become central to the universalist cosmology of Western economics. The icon of the "rational needful man" has indeed led further to the projection of the monetary metaphors of Western society onto peoples for whom cash is not the basis of transaction. This is indeed the end result of quantitative poverty studies derived from in-kind expenditure and consumption proxies that may then claim to represent poverty measurement in monetary terms, even though economic transactions are not monetarily encoded in the cultural systems of the peoples themselves.[19] It is only when we recognize, or admit, that Western economics is just as entrenched in culturally bound thinking as any other society that we begin to appreciate the difficulties of economic planning for the many and diverse upland peoples of Laos. Bird-David (1992) writes:

> Neoclassical economic theory is deeply rooted in Western epistemology, morality, and cosmology, the influence of which is apparent in methodological details too. The idea of selfish parts, instructed each by the same 'instrumental rationality,' and making up a providential whole, has the methodological implication that multiple actions of diverse individuals can be lifted out of their respective contexts and aggregated. Neoclassical theory offers a body of logically-related concepts with which to understand, explain and predict both an individual's economic conduct and the working of the economy as a whole. The economy is doubly seen as an aggregate of individuals' operations, and as an entity with laws of its own. 'Demand', 'supply', and 'price' are some of the basic concepts, referring to the aggregates of needs for, and availability of a resource a resource and its 'value,' as determined by the relation between these. The deeply-held cosmological notion of the providential whole that encompasses and consists of its self-interested parts assured the viability, indeed the desirability, of such an economy.

Trying to understand other economies using the epistemology of Western economics would be logically the same as a Hmong shaman critiquing Western scientific method, something that would appear to us very strange indeed. In fact the role of the economist in Western society is in many respects similar to that of the shaman among the Hmong. For while economists are miserable failures at predicting fluctuations of the stock market, and Hmong shaman may often fail to predict the future, in both cases the authority accorded them in their own respective societies remains intact.

4.2 Ethno-economics

In the realm of cognitive anthropology it is usual to attach the prefix ethno- to local beliefs and practices that are roughly homologous to a Western "sciences." Hence the terms ethnoscience, ethnobiology, ethnobotany, ethnozoology, ethnoforestry, ethnoecology, and so on. These terms are used to separate the so-called 'scientific' discipline from the approach of the particular ethnic group in question. Another method has been to attach the term folk to such endeavors, for example, folk biological taxonomy or folk biological systematics. The issue of what is 'scientific' I will not deal with here, but will note only that from an

[19] Bateson describes a logically homolgous circumstance: "A description of the behavior or anatomy of a living thing (say a starfish) should relate – be a bridge between – our way of knowing and the way of knowing of the system which we are describing. It is partly false to say that the starfish has five arms if there be no components to represent "five" and "arms" in that communication system which governs the morphogenesis of the beast – nor yet in that other which governs its behavior." (1972)

anthropological perspective, there is a strong 'folk' character even in Western science. When we go to the hospital and see a doctor, we take the medicine he prescribes because we believe in his efficacy as a homoeopath, not because we understand the biochemical interactions of the medicine on our physical system. When Linnaeus was developing his system of binomial nomenclature for the biological sciences, he based his work on that of Aristotle who in fact took his names from the local Greek dialect spoken in his village, where, it turns out, Lepidoptera meant 'butterfly,' that is it began with a "folk taxonomic" system.[20]

Therefore, following in this tradition, it is only natural to adopt the term "ethno-economics" not only to describe the local system, but also to remind us that Western economics is not a collection of universal laws like the laws of gravity or thermodynamics, but simply another example of a "folk" system, albeit one that has been greatly elaborated and has become the standard, for better or for worse, of communication in the domain of development and globalization.

Izikowitz bequeaths to us a highly useful picture of such a non-Western economic system where, for example, he writes, "…the feast of the ancestors and all connected with it is the driving force in the entire economic and social life of the Lamet." …

To begin with there in the household, the most significant economic unit, in all of its array of interactions. Izikowitz writes:

> The family, whether it is biological or extended, makes up the essential organized active unit in the community of the Lamet, and it is through this group that so many of the different categories of the culture function. It is patrilineal and for the most part patrilocal. The housefather and his first wife are the leaders of the family, the housefather more especially. The other members are subordinate to both of these. In its economic activity the family forms a co-operating unit out on the swiddens, in order to produce different kinds of cultivated plants, and these are looked after by the family. Further contributions are made in the form of hunting and slaughter, and to some extent fishing. Through hunting and slaughtering, the family comes into contact with the men of the village in the exchange of work and products, but not so much with other women. By means of cultivation, the family makes up a part of the swidden group, and exchanges work with it as well. By means of building, it comes into contact with the whole village, and this contact appears in other cases also. Here as well there is an exchange of work. Through commerce in rice, the family develops an exchange of products with other tribes. By means of exchange through marriage, the family comes into contact with other families and clans, not only in the village, but in the neighborhood as well. This exchange is combined partly with service and partly with the exchange of articles of luxury. By means of the breeding of buffaloes and the cultivation of rice, the family attains. prestige and social standing, and by investing the rice in articles of luxury, and by slaughtering the buffaloes and inviting the entire village to the ensuing feasts, they satisfy the desires of both response and prestige, and the course of the processes ends here simultaneously with the reinforcement of the ancestor spirits for renewed effort in the cycle of production.

[20] Cognitive anthropology or ethnoscience is an active branch of the discipline and one that has generated a good deal of literature, much of which has itself become too Cartesian and therefore open to debate. Cf. for example Chamberlain (1992).

Izikowitz's simple tenants of ownership for the Lamet might be stated as follows:

Who uses owns
Who makes owns
Who plants owns

In the case of fruit trees and other things such as crafted objects, these may be available for community occasional, informal, use – but if compensation is involved, then ownership becomes and issue. That is, one can eat the fruit of someone else's tree, so long as it is not sold.

There is thus a need to distinguish between types of production processes: (1) individual; (2) a private group producing a thing in common; (3) an exchange of work between different groups.

When women gather wild plants together, what each woman gathers is later consumed by the respective individual families.

In hunting – one man may bring down the game, but will need help of others in transporting it back to the village. Thus those who helped receive almost half of the kill, and a bit must be distributed to each household. The same is also true of the slaughtering of animals.

Cattle and buffaloes are privately owned. Buffaloes are exclusively masculine property, pigs belong to both men and women because women do most of the raising.

Agricultural products are the result of a household's labor, any help from others must be reciprocated. Cultivated products are never given away as gifts, including and especially rice. (But this does not include fruit trees as mentioned above.)

Houses are owned by the 'housefather', but require the labor of all villagers to construct. This labor must be repaid, measure for measure. Izikowitz (135) mentions the example of a widow living in a simple house on the ground, not on piles, because house building is men's work and she had no male labor to exchange for the labor erecting the house. Izikowitz denotes five categories of exchange or finished products:

1) home consumption
2) export, to buy the things that cannot be produced — paid in the form of rice
3) taxes – paid in corvée
4) gifts and exchange on certain events of life (this would include marriage, but also certain distributional practices, such as the sharing of game or slaughtered livestock) — reciprocity
5) surpluses used in sacrifices to the spirits in return for the acquisition of prestige — especially bufflaoes

The household is the key unit of economic organization. Production and consumption is managed by this group. They decide how much work will be done, how much land will be cleared, how much of the different kinds of plants will be raised, and later on, how much will be consumed, exchanged, or saved for the acquisition of prestige.

> The family is a kind of gathering center for products and capital, and from this center all clearing and distribution radiates. Since the products

> are not only to be used as food, nor for the family's immediate consumption, a kind of tug-of-war arises in the matter of distribution of necessities. A decision must be made on how much they can afford to eat up and how much can be saved for other purposes. If the housefather wishes to win prestige or increase what he already has, he must make inroads upon the capital collected, and he is in a constant dilemma about how much can be for this or the other thing. … it is possible that the Lamet can calculate according to habit and experience, approximately how much can be sold, and how much can be consumed, and how much can remain for sowing. However, uncertainty always has the upper hand, which is forthcoming in the rites performed for the soul of rice. … By taking good care of the soul of rice "the rice does not come to a quick end in the barns." (298–299)

It is the wife of the first rank who makes all decisions concerning rice: how much is prepared and how it is distributed; how much rice is needed from everyday use; how much should be husked for a supply that can last a few days; which varieties are liked most; how much can be sold (only women can sell rice); how much each member of the family consumes; how much can be used for making rice wine (also a woman's responsibility). Moreover, the amount of rice consumed varies at different times throughout the year, so the woman must decide what proportion of the meals should come from other sources, tubers, wild vegetables, game, and so on. She is also responsible for distributing food to the pigs and chickens, in the form of rice bran and husks of varying degrees of fineness, for example, the fine bran goes to the small pigs, the coarse bran and husks to the large ones.

Women thus look after the vegetal portion of the diet, while men see to the meat. Here it is the housefather who decides how much shall be eaten. Most meat is dried and eaten roasted or in stews. Only if game has been killed, or at sacrifices is fresh mean available. At these time the meat is chopped, mixed with aromatic plants, and eaten raw. So there is a distinction between raw meat – consumed at sacrifices, and cooked meat eaten everyday.

In summary Izikowitz writes (302),

> The goal for the labor of a family is not only to supply the family with food and necessary implements, as well as seeing the various spirits are taken care of, but the general interest in life is the goal that all Lamet strive for, namely the acquiring of prestige and becoming rich enough to be looked upon as a lem [title of a rich man]. In order to reach this goal, all the resources must be weighed in the balance. The housewife must save rice in a way that the greatest possible surplus can be attained, and thus a constant strife between consumption and saving goes on. The greater the amount of rice that can be saved, that is, with other articles of diet replacing it, the greater can the capital saved be, and consequently the buying power can become greater also. It is first and foremost rice that must be saved, since according to tradition rice is the most important means of exchange with other tribes.
>
> … Thus it is of importance [for a housefather] to have as many able-bodied members as possible. The foremost resource for capital among the Lamet is really the working power of a family, and the larger a family is, the greater the surplus should be. … In order to get as many working hands as possible, a family must arrange to give birth to as many children as they can. The best way of doing this is to have an extra wife.

In the attainment of wealth and prestige, some surplus will be used for the purchase of buffaloes, but rice, not buffaloes, remains the means of exchange. Buffaloes only provide prestige and their meat is distributed to the whole village during annual sacrifices to the ancestral spirits. They are used as a unit of exchange only in the case of marriage as part of the bride price.

After owning several buffaloes, the next step is to buy a bronze drum, the equivalent of four buffaloes. Other valuables include, gongs, Chinese porcelain, and silks, all articles that can be used in the bride price, like buffaloes. All are paid for with rice.

Only after acquiring several buffaloes and other luxuries can a man get a wife who is rich, and she then brings with her additional articles of value as dowry to add to the prestige of her husband. When he saves even more, has several buffalo, a collection of valuable articles, and at least a couple of bronze drums, he may attain the rank of lem. He may then sacrifice buffaloes at the feast of the ancestors, providing meat for all of the village, and the more he can do this the more spiritually powerful he becomes. Certain rights are associated with becoming a lem, such as receiving a larger portion of the wild game brought into the village or when animals are slaughtered, and receiving small fees for acting as an intermediary in disputes.

The theme of ritual prestige is later echoed by Thomas Kirsch in his insightful study entitled Feasting and Social Oscillation: Religion and Society in Upland Southeast Asia (1973).[21] Kirsch makes use of Izikowitz along with other ethnographies from Burma to reinterpret and respond to Edmund Leach's classic work on Political Systems of Highland Burma (1954), a work on the Kachin [who call themselves Jingpo] that essentially attributes upland political structures to an "oscillation" between a more traditional democratic ideal and an autocratic one that mimics lowland systems, in particular the (lowland) Shan notion of divine kingship. Such oscillation, as Kirsh reminds us, was at odds with much of anthropological theory which presupposed a condition of static equilibrium. Thus among the Kachin, some individuals may exploit this dynamic and are able to establish themselves as autocratic chiefs, while others reject this form of power and form democratic communities.

Kirsch while acknowledging the descriptions and use of these categories by Leach and others, argues (p.2) that motivation for power in upland social systems in Southeast Asia is primarily religious, and that their underlying dynamic is "grounded within the cultural systems of the groups under consideration … resulting from endemic internal tensions and strains rather than … external contacts alone … [and that] his Kachin analysis does not do away with the equilibrium problem altogether … it merely broadens the range within which we must consider

[21] More recent works have been produced such as the collection of papers entitled Civility and Savagery: Social Identity in Tai States, edited by Andrew Turton (2000, Curzon Press, UK) but I find most of these works somewhat imprecise and caught up in academic jargon wars (as a substitute for good long term ethnographic field work which is no longer in vogue) that overlook much of the basic information that has so arduously been amassed during the last century. (For example, much ado is made of the "Tai-Kha" distinction in Laos and Thailand in terms of the history of the political relationship, overlooking the fact that in much of the Tai-speaking universe, the term "Kha" does not exist, because it refers directly to Mon-Khmer speakers who co-exist only with Southwestern Tai speakers, not with the Central or Northern branches of Tai spoken in northeastern Vietnam and the Chinese provinces of Guangxi and Guizhou. And thus the universality of the various authors arguments are highly suspect, that is, are the resultant relationships a result of a specific Tai-Mon-Khmer dynamic, or do they exist between Tais and others ethnolinguistic groups as well, or, what are the differences.) This criticism may say more about the nature of scholasticism in academia than about the efficacy of the various theoretical approaches being argued.

equilibrium processes." In fact, as Kirsh points out, if a Kachin individual were to over-develop the autocratic ideal, he would indeed "become" Shan, something which never happens.[22]

There is a tendency, today as well as in the 1940s when Leach did his fieldwork, to stress economic and political explanations on the grounds that they are "real" while ignoring the 'ideal" elements of social structure such as religion. Kirsch, then, views all aspects of politics or economy as "embedded" in religion in upland societies. And this view, judging from experience in Laos, and as reflected in documents such as the PPA, is the one that I feel is most useful here as a device for bridging the gap in communication that exists between Lao administrators, donors, and uplanders.

For example, one of the myths that has arisen surrounding upland livelihood systems is that these are "subsistence" systems, implying a lack of surplus. But, as we have seen from Izikowitz, examination of the ethnographies reveals quite the opposite, that not only are there surpluses, but that wealth may stored in the form of non-consumable heirloom wealth: bronze drums, gongs, porcelain, swords, necklaces, women's headwear, wine jars, etc. Or, wealth may be accumulated as livestock, especially buffaloes, that could be used to purchase heirlooms directly, but more frequently are used in the payment of the bride price for a wife who will bring with her feminine heirlooms such as silks, and occasionally pigs, as dowry. The difference lies in that surpluses are not used as they are in the lowlands to support non-productive religious (e.g monks), or political (e.g. kings and princes) specialists (Kirsch 1973).

Kirsch's main thesis with respect to what I am calling ethno-economy, lies in the suggestion that upland societies are oriented toward the maximization of potency and fertility. In his review of upland ethnographies, these qualities, while being characteristic of individuals, are in fact localized in household units or in some cases in lineages and clans. As he writes, "each householder is conceived to be a 'religious entrepreneur,' trying to maximize his 'potency' in relation to – but not necessarily at the expense of – other householders. In the functioning of this system which might be thought of as manufacturing 'fertility,' some units will inevitably be more successful than others." These inequalities expand, and, depending on the particular group, larger units may increase further through affinal links, marriages between the more successful groups, thereby reinforcing their superiority over the less successful ones and the potential for enhanced fertility increases. The economy is therefore one of ritual

[22] The approach of Leach was adopted by Evans in two repetitive articles on the relationship of the Ksing Moul to the Tai Dam in Xiang Kho District, Houa Phanh (Evans, G. 2000. Tai-ization: ethnic change in northern Indochina. in Civility and Savagery… ed. A, Turton. Curzon Press. ; Evans, G. 1999. Ethnic change in the northern highlands of Laos. in Laos: Culture and Society ed. G. Evans. Silkworm Books, Chiangmai.) Evans claim is that the Ksing Moul are becoming Tai, which seems to be a dubious possibility. In fact, the area referred to by Evans was visited during the PPA, and, contrary to Evans, the Ksing Moul have no desire whatsoever to become Tai Dam. In fact the opposite was the case. They resented any such implication, and were extremely sensitive on this issue. Superficially, it is true that much has been borrowed from the Tai Dam, as they have been living in feudal association with them in Laos and in Vietnam, for many hundreds of years (without changing ethnicity!). In fact the alternate name "pouak" (~phouak) is in fact used to delineate a social class of servants by the Tai Dam in Son La, a fact of which Evans was unaware (despite previous work on the Tai Dam in Vietnam). During the PPA, it was found that the Ksing Moul have re-etymologized this to "Bouak" meaning "wallow" or "small pond" because, they say, the Ksing Moul have always lived near the sources of streams on mountains. No doubt this etymology has been adopted to avoid the pejorative sense of the Black Tai term. Based on the Lamet example, Evans should have perhaps suspected that the Ksing Moul also have an autocratic/democratic split within their culture as well (which is suspected from the PPA experience). To examine this, however, an anthropologist would have to live among the Ksing Moul and learn their language, something few anthropologists are willing to do in this post-modern era.

status. But because this superior ritual status is one that can exist only in relation to other households or clans, there can be no monopolization of "profits," (that is, enhanced status) because every unit has some degree of such status. Kirsh points out that such a monopoly occurs among the Shan (but would be equally true of the Thai and Lao) where under the system of divine kingship ritual power is indeed monopolized.

Kirsh's analysis is summarized here as follows, and is, to my way of thinking, the best general description of the ethno-economy of the uplanders that is available to date.

> In true market economies a wide variety of kinds of goods are produced and sold. The functioning of the market is, partially at least if not completely, segregated from other social contexts. And, there is a clear cut distinction between producers and consumers. That is, the market economy is complex, differentiated and function-ally specialized. Ideally, each unit in the market place is trying to maximize its position relative to all other similar units. The wealth which accrues in success-ful trading is used partially to finance further ventures and partially to symbolize the success of the unit so that there is a differentiation between rich and success-ful and poor and unsuccessful. In the situation of hill tribes society only a lim-ited number of kinds of goods are produced, in particular those associated with agri-culture. (Other types of activity may also be equated with "potency" and "fertility," such as hunting success, daring in warfare or raiding, sexual prowess, etc.) The "market," however, is not segregated from other social contexts, nor is there a clear-cut distinction between "producers" and "consumers." In the case of hill tribes society the "market" is closely articulated with the system of religious feasting (and affinal relations as well). As in true markets, each unit is trying to maxi-mize its position relative to all other units in the system; however, the wealth which accrues is not "money" but an enhanced ritual status, increased control of ritual rights, and an increment of imputed "innate virtue." The operation of the hill tribes "market," i.e., the feasting system, tends to equalize actual standards of living, but to increase relative differences in ritual status.
>
> A major threat to hill tribes society as well as to market economies is "monop-oly." Among the hill tribes, monopoly consists of "exclusive ritual rights," whereas in the market economy, monopoly consists of exclusive control of means of production and/or distribution. Monopoly in both situations serves to eliminate competition and to close off the economy. But, the life blood of the market and of hill tribes society is competition. In those societies in which the market is segregated from other components of social life, monopoly in one sphere of the economy does not imme-diately create any acute strain for the economy as a whole or for the larger society. Such economies produce many kinds of goods so that competition can be channeled into other areas, both within and outside the economy. By contrast the economy of the upland Southeast Asian groups is undifferentiated and not segregated from the other contexts of the larger society. And, hill tribes society produces only one major type of good, i.e., "fertility." If the "economy" of these upland groups were closed and competition cut off, the entire system would collapse. But, in these upland groups this point is rarely, if ever, reached because there are a variety of mecha-nisms which serve to reduce the strains involved. For example, there is not a single overarching economy but rather numerous localized economies which are not completely integrated. Adoption, slavery, and migration also serve to minimize or at least reduce some of the strains involved. In an abstract way we might view the various up-land groups as distributed along a continuum of development ranging between the ex-tremes of "perfect competition" (gumlao) [democracy] and "absolute monopolistic control" (gumsa) [autocracy].

We can see that this description fits well with the Lamet example provided by Izikowitz, and it also fits with others for which personal experience is available such as the Katu in Xékong. The ethnographies of the others, such as the Nha Heun (Wall 1975) and the Hmong (Lemoine 1972) are less clear, but it is probable that similar processes are at work. For example, it is well known that in Hmong society the shaman has great respect and power, which can only be attained from religious sources. However the Hmong clan system plays a greater role in social decisions than the clan systems of either the Khmou or the Lamet. It is also clear that the potential for runaway escalation of certain cultural areas is strong in Hmong society. One example has been apparently been occurring throughout northern Laos but was first noticed during poverty assessment in Phonxay District of Louang Prabang and that is the issue of bride prices which were escalating beyond reason and young men's ability to meet the obligation. As a result the Hmong decision makers in this district held meetings where upward limits were placed on bride price by mutual agreement.

It is also interesting to speculate on the possibility that ritual status between ethnic groups is an issue in inter-ethnic relations, for example between Hmong and Khmou. If such were the case it would imply that this system can operate beyond ethnic boundaries, and while differentiation can occur within groups, they may also be relevant, as regards resource use, beyond groups. The Hmong would, in such a system be classed as more autocratic, and the Khmou more democratic. Kirsch hints at this when he discuses the matter of motivational levels in democratic versus autocratic societies, although he notes that little direct evidence is available.

Within the Lamet, it is noted that the more democratic Lower Lamet are more traditional while the more autocratic Upper Lamet are more outward looking, seeking temporary jobs in Siam, and preferring to live close to the caravan trails. It is also manifested in the difference in land tenure arrangements where land is strictly bounded by the Upper Lamet but not by the Lower. Thus it is much easier for household groups, usually a swidden group, who have disagreements with other units in the villages of the democratic Lower Lamet to split off and form their own village whereas this situation is not found among the Upper Lamet. Kirsch suggests that this may be due to more land and population pressure among the autocratic groups, but since land access is not a problem for any of the Lamet (nor for any upland group in Laos prior to Land Allocation) this is an unlikely explanation. Rather, we should, as indeed Izikowitz suggests (43–44), look for the answers in social structures rather than relying on empirical factors.

4.3 Typology of ethnic groups with respect tomaximization

Another aspect of ritual potency involves the issue of maximization generally. Here it is possible to group the minorities in Laos according to a rough typology which we might illustrate by means of the following set of rules.

Figure 7 – Typology of uplanders in relation to maximization

1. ethnic group => upland + lowland
2. lowland => more maximizing (Tai, Neua-Phouan) + non-maximizing (Lao)
3. upland => maximizing
4. maximizing => direct + indirect
5. direct (controlling nature) => Hmong + Yao, Akha, Seng Saly, Lahu Na, etc
6. indirect (encouraging nature) => Khmou + Lamet, other Mon-Khmer, Lahu Shi (?)

What needs to be investigated, in the light of Kirsh's findings, is the form taken by the autocratic/democratic distinction within each category of the maximizers, the direct and the indirect. This might be accomplished by ethnologists using the criteria of Kirsh in describing the ethnographic categories:

Figure 8 – Indicators of Societal Type

Category	Autocratic	Democratic
Marriage System	Prescriptive	preferential
Bride-price	High	Low
Class-endogamy	Present	Absent
Lineage size	More important for aristocrats than for commoners	More or less equal
Polygamy	Frequent	Less frequent
Divorce	Lower rates	Higher rates
Sex permissiveness	(Less)	(More)
Adoption, Bond-slavery	More	Less
Inheritance, Succession	Strict	Less strict
Property, tenure, boundaries	Demarcated	Less demarcated
Community house	Less important	More important
Oaths, litigation	More well-developed	Less well-developed
Feasts	Large and less frequent	Large and frequent

In so-doing, that is, using this paradigm within the already differentiated groups according to type of maximization, we have achieved perhaps a more refined basis for classification of upland societies for purposes of development, and also a means of explaining inequalities that result from economic growth.[23] That is to say, the propensity for social classes to occur is there already in upland systems, which are in turn motivated by the acquisition of ritual potency. These societies achieve balance or homeostasis (equilibrium) through the feasting system which redistributes wealth but increases ritual power. Hence the conclusion that in upland

[23] Note, though, that if by 'economic' we mean the ethno-economy of the particular ethnic group, as poverty is culturally defined, so too will economic growth. But this kind of 'ethno-economic growth' may conflict with either the development (Western economic) worldview or the lowland (or especially the Lao) worldview.

societies the economics and the politics are embedded within the religious system.

What needs to be done now, is to study a variety of emerging groups from the viewpoint of relative physical and mental well-being in the ethno-economic sense, and to determine in a given village or ethnic group (1) whether the ritual feasting system of redistribution is still in place; (2) the extent, if any, to which the indigenous economic system has declined or been disrupted by the use of cash and the market;[24] and, (3) what changes in the direction of runaway, or in the direction of correction have occurred that need to be taken into consideration in planning.[25]

Some themes that might to be taken into consideration are:

- The dangers of economic growth vis-à-vis the environment.
- To what degree are potentials for runaway being exacerbated.
- For maximizers, that labor = fertility is a main premise – fertility is the feminine side of ritual status
- Maximizers could be assumed to have more potential for economic growth
- One starting point to encourage economic growth would be to focus on direct maximizers – but the problem, in the multi-ethnic uplands, is what affect this would have on the indirect maximizers
- Implicit in the typology is the reality that the direct maximizers are often more adaptable, and thus poverty tends to be associated with upland indirect maximizers
- Up to what point are groups willing to undergo risk?
- There is a potential here for inter-ethnic social unrest or conflict (has already occurred in some places) as existing relations are subjected to increased degrees of change.

On the positive side, there would seem to be great potential for expanding marketing practices in the uplands once the problem of transfer of knowledge has been resolved. For at the present time, there is still a lack of understanding of the 'market' in Western terms and use of the paper-cash economy. As was shown in the PPA, most groups are aware that they do not understand the principles, but are eager to learn. The following points are perhaps the most salient in the list of "what needs to be known.":

- In the vicinity of the village and fields, what types of produce or products have value in the marketplace and which are sustainable in terms of resources use.
- How any given item should be marketed in terms of grading and selection.
- How to package for increased marketability (value added).
- How to preserve, as long as possible, the quality of products to be sold.
- How to bargain, and be aware of what the fair price of goods might be, both from a personal point of view and that of the potential buyer or trader.

[24] The idea of a "medium of ex-change" is no more foreign to the majority of uplanders than change itself. In fact it could be looked upon as more diverse than a single currency. For example: rice and other produce, opium, livestock, silver bars, coins, opium weights, labor, etc.

[25] That is, one must keep in mind that poverty in the uplands is the result of upheavals to what were, until recently, largely homeostatic systems, which, as already mentioned, does not imply 'unchanging'. But because they are whole systems they can be, in the technical sense, also be driven insane like individual's minds or like ecosystems.

Knowledge of these fairly simple principles would greatly enhance opportunities, for as simple as they may appear, these are the kinds of issues of which most upland minorities are not aware. And before dealings in the private sector may be considered such lessons must be learned.

4.4 Conclusions

We have described here, albeit briefly, the essence of what is known of uplanders in relation to markets, in both the indigenous and the Western economic senses of the term. The question then becomes one of how to evaluate this information for purposes of improving the well-being of minorities in the uplands.

The first task is to accept that the business of evaluation of capacity for social improvement will depend on a great many local factors, most importantly the inter-ethnic relationships that exist since this will determine not only the propensity of a group to take advantage of external benefits for social development, but also the problems that will be faced by groups with relatively less potential. Unfortunately, determination of inter-ethnic relationships is usually not an easy matter to assess. Multidisciplinary human resource assets need to be brought to bear in the study a given situation.

On their own, because of the maximization premise, there is potential for rapid development in the majority of groups. But when faced with (1) lowland biased value judgments, and (2) more highly competitive upland neighbors, many problems can be expected with respect to inequalities. These inclinations can only be offset by careful planning that takes the comparative ethnographic issues into account.

Secondly, we need to be on the lookout for runaway tendencies, such as that referred to above with Hmong bride price. A good example of this was discovered during a study of the social impact of the financial crisis in Thailand, with a Kouay speaking minority in Surin province where precisely this problem had arisen, but as a result of the Bank of Agriculture and Cooperatives. The village had become reliant on exporting migrant labor to Bangkok and Chonburi, jobs which had dried up during the crisis. Almost every household in the village was in debt to the bank and unable to repay their loans. But it turned out that the money borrowed in each case, ostensibly for agricultural purposes, was in fact used to pay for wedding celebrations, that is, for feasting that brings ritual prestige to the families involved.[26]

Runaway tendencies can also be manifested in religious millennialism that emerges from messianic cults, as described in the introduction. These examples involved indigenous themes that have been around in Southeast Asia for at least fifteen hundred years, but more recent ones have been inspired by Christianity such as many of the minority uprisings in Burma. In Laos, among the Khmou, protestant missionaries were able to combine the millenarian cult of the culture hero "Cheuang," that had already inspired one war in 1879, with that of the Second Coming of the Christians.

[26] Chamberlain, J. and P. Boyle, et.al. Social effects of the financial crisis in Thailand. The Brooker Group/ADB. Bangkok. (Draft report)

Thus, millenarianism among the minorities might be thought of as an ultimate in ritual power attained by the leader, who can go no further within the confines of his own cultural frame and, usually in response to a perceived outside threat sets out to seek revenge. The earliest example of this phenomena for which there is historical record dates from the 11th century (Song Dynasty), in the vicinity of what is now the eastern Vietnamese-Chinese border area. Here a Tai leader named Nung Tri Cao (Nong Zhi Gao) united the Tai peoples to rise up against the invading Chinese from Kwangtung and the Sinicized Vietnamese from Hanoi. He was unsuccessful, of course, but his people followed him westward, and reside today around Lao Cai where they are known as the Nung Cheuang. Interestingly, currently, both the Chinese and the Vietnamese communists have claimed Nung Tri Cao as their own, and see him as a "revolutionary" against class oppression. But such was not always the case. When the Chouang scholar Huang Xienfan in Guangxi published a book of this history in 1957 he was denounced as a Chouang (Tai) separatist, because this is indeed a history of rebellion against the Chinese colonization of the South, he was imprisoned for many years, and finally reinstated just before his death when Nong Zhi Gao became politically transformed into an anti-feudal revolutionary (Barlow 1987).

Another example occurred earlier in the 6th c. in Vietnam, in the modern province of Thanh Hoa (formerly known as Ai) but here the record is less clear. However, the names of the principal actors are identical to those found in the Lao (or Phouan) epic poem "Thao Hung Thao Cheuang" the original palm leaf manuscript of which came from Ban Ban Meuang Kham (Meuang Kham in Xieng Khoang). And just to the east are found the Khmou Cheuang, no doubt the descendants of the Khmou who began the war in 1879, a war which took place in Houa Phanh, Xieng Khoang, Nghe An and Thanh Hoa. It was not quelled until 1902 in Thanh Hoa. The epic poem, however, is a much earlier document, perhaps composed originally in the 13th century and based on oral tradition. Its language resembles the language of the linguistically perplexing "Ong Kan Cheng Nam" (Water Oath) from the early Ayutthaya period in Thailand. [27]

I think it must be stressed here that the primary motivating force, whether for maximization of production or for messianism, derives from religion. And we, as Westerners, perhaps need to view this through the eyes of the middle ages in Europe, where religion likewise played the dominant role, the age in which the Crusades, the Holy Roman Empire, and the quest for the holy grail were real issues in peoples' minds, and provided the motivation for actions. And these dissipated. But in the rural uplands of Laos, a similar age of dissipation has not naturally transpired, and now the many and diverse peoples must leap into the future (or what is for them a leap into a different universe of discourse), and it is a leap which threatens their survival.

[27] See Chamberlain 1996; Jit Phumisak (2524a,b)

Chapter 5
Language, poverty and development

Language planning is a latecomer to the family of national development planning. Although deliberate attempts to change or preserve languages and their use may be as old as economic policy making efforts in human societies, and thus long antedate the modern concept of planning, it is only very recently that these activities in the language area have been recognized as an aspect of national planning.[28]

5.0 Language and intellectual poverty

Lao has been the language of the of the realm, ostensibly since the earliest beginnings of the nation in the 12th or 13th century. Lao is, formally speaking, a member of the Southwestern Branch of the Tai family, ultimately classified under the superstock usually referred to as Tai-Kadai.[29] Also in the Southwestern Branch are included such languages as Black, White and Red Tai, Lue, Siamese, Shan, and Ahom, as well as Phouan and Phou Thay. The Lao alphabet appears to be the remnant of an intermediate form of written language that would fall between the Cham-based Tai alphabets of Vietnam and the Sukhothai style found in inscriptions from Thailand dating from the 13th century in Northern and Northeastern Thailand.

Lao writing prior to the French period differed from place to place in much the same way as spoken dialects differed. Beginning at least as early as the 18th century, and perhaps before, there was considerable Siamese influence on the writing, and some scholars and scribes added the extra consonants and would spell according to Pali or Sanskrit roots the words borrowed from Indic sources. But during the French period in 1949, King Sisavangvong issued Royal Ordinance No. 10 which stated that words should be written as they sound. There continued to be resistance to this idea from some of the more influential and often Thai-trained Buddhist Mahas, among them Maha Sila Viravong, and the Lao spelling system became the subject of much intellectual debate, usually focused on the Indic loanwords. But the mainstream of Lao writing adhered to the spirit of the ordinance, including the education system, the media, and the many literary works, both classical and modern that were published prior to 1975.

[28] Das Gupta, J. and C. Ferguson. (1977).

[29] Although an alternative name has recently been proposed in the form of "Kra-Dai"(Weera 2000).

From the point of view of language standardization, the general fact that separates Laos from its neighbors is the lack of a standard pronunciation. That is, because of the systemic character of the initial consonants and tone marking the written form of the language can be pronounced according to the dialectal variation of any of the Lao-Tai groups. In this sense, there is a decided advantage in not standardizing the pronunciation.

In 1975, the spelling reforms which Phoumy Vongvichit had set forth in 1967 for the areas under control of the revolutionary movement were implemented nationwide. The most dramatic of these was the removal of the initial consonant /r/ from the alphabet. But for the spelling of words in Mon-Khmer minority languages, almost a quarter of the population of the country, the /l~r/ distinction is critical and for those languages with Lao-based writing systems such as Khmou, the removal of /r/ would render their writing unintelligible. Now many Lao people have returned to using the /r/ grapheme and even in publications spelling tends to be increasingly haphazard in this respect.

For non-Lao-Tai speaking minorities the problem is considerable, and is exacerbated by the increasingly ad hoc spelling of Lao. So even with an intensive effort such as that now being carried out at the Ministry of Education with assistance of Ausaid to teach Lao as a second language to minorities, it is doubtful that much progress can be expected. MOE officials have also been slow to recognize the problems and there are no linguists among them. For example, during the course of this project it was planned that at least three sets of materials would be produced to better address the very divergent needs of the different language groups when studying Lao: one set for Mon-Khmer speakers most of whom do not speak tonal languages; one for Tibeto-Burman speakers, and one for Hmong-Mien speakers. But in the end this was rejected and only a single set of materials has been prepared. (G. Ovington p.c.)

It should be noted for the record here that Laos has a long and prolific literary heritage, much of which remains preserved only on palm-leaf manuscripts. Prior to 1975 many of the more important works were transcribed from the manuscripts and published by the Comité Littéraire, the Royal Academy, and the National Library. It has even been ventured that there is more extant Lao literature than there is Thai literature (David Wyatt p.c.). Thus it is regrettable that more efforts have not been made, in the name of nation-building or World Heritage, to publish and make available this literature.

The same is true of literature in minority languages. The Hmong, for example, have both Romanized and Laoized writing systems, although the Romanized system is by far the most widespread. The system requires no special characters or diacritics, the tones being marked by final consonants. It is ideal for letter writing between countries, and for writing emails since there is no special keyboard required. Even in Laos, in many villages the Hmong literacy rate for both men and women, frequently exceeds 50 percent.[30] Most literature, though, is being generated or preserved abroad.

For Khmou, interestingly enough, the oral literature has largely been preserved through the efforts of Professor Kristina Lindell of Lund

[30] Author's personal observation.

University in Sweden working with a Khmou man named Kam Rau (aka Damrong Tayanin). There was also a Khmou Roman alphabet devised by an Italian Catholic missionary named Bonametti (Sp.?) who worked in Louang Prabang. And by this time there may well be other phonemic writing systems used as well.

Lao-based writing systems are likewise in use for Khmou and for Katu.

The Iu Mien (Yao) and the Kim Moun (Lantène) use Chinese characters for writing their texts, although the practice may be dying out among the younger generations.

Even the writing system of the Lahu Na (Black Lahu) has been preserved among Lao refugees in the US, a system created by Baptist missionaries in Burma and imported into Laos.

Tai alphabets of the Lue, the Black Tai, the Red Tai, the White Tai, and the Tai Theng are found as well, although the last appears to have almost disappeared, preserved only by a few older men in the Khamkeut District, Borikhamxay. Related to Lao writing, these alphabets are still much in use. In the case of the Tai Dam (Black Tai) writing, it has been used to devise bilingual educational materials for the large community who resettled in Iowa in the US. There is also a newspaper published there in Tai Dam. Interactions between the Tai Dam in the US, France and Laos are considerable.

But, overall, there appears to have been little effort by the government directed at preserving the oral literature or the languages of minority peoples. What has been done has been accomplished by the peoples themselves, often with the assistance of scholars or missionaries from abroad.

We might say then that (1) failure to act to preserve the wealth of minority languages and literatures, failure to make available the wealth of Lao literature and to strengthen the national language, all lead to intellectual poverty, and; (2) failure to use these potential intellectual assets in the strengthening of national identity is tantamount to wasting a valuable and irreplaceable resource. It is safe to say at this point in time that intellectual poverty, for Laos, is at least as serious than economic poverty especially since this latter has not yet reached the threshold level of a decrease in 'organic well-being', to use Rappaport's phrase.[41] In fact, it could logically be argued that economic poverty is a direct result of a more serious intellectual poverty since the former is not an original condition.

5.1 Language Planning and Policy

Language problems in the Lao PDR, in relation to development, exist then in two dimensions: (1) problems associated with the national language; and (2) problems associated with linguistic diversity. Associated with the first, as we have just seen above, are the many issues surrounding the writing system. There are also, however, issues related to language use, how to use Lao in writing on many levels, all of which are necessary to the continued development of the Lao nation. These include, technical writing and the associated problem of (a) technical terms – where are

[31] There are, for example, those instances of malnutrition caused not by lack of food, but by the level of ignorance as regards the intake of junk foods now available in local markets. But this would have to classified as due to intellectual rather than economic poverty.

they going to come from? Transliterated from English, French, borrowed from Thai, coined from Lao sources, coined from Pali or Sanskrit sources, etc. Currently all of these sources are tapped, but not in a systematic way which leads to a proliferation of terms with the same meanings; (b) problems associated with technical writing in general, how arguments should be presented and thoughts organized for the best presentation. But problems also occur with using written Lao in other areas of expression, whether for creative writing or for expository writing of any variety. These categories of problems might be termed problems of language use.

The problem of Thai influence is unavoidable. At least six channels of Thai television stream into Lao TV sets daily, and the average number of hours watched per day by various age groups, while it has not been measured, can be said from personal experience to be considerable. Lao speakers have no trouble adjusting their ears to the Thai language, and as this has been going on for so long, most Lao living within a hundred kilometers of the Mekong, have long been exposed to the Thai language. In the previous regime, before many people had televisions, radios, magazines and newspapers formed the bulk of the exposure to Thai. In any event, all of this exposure has led to a sociolinguistic situation whereby Lao speakers understand Thai, but (Central) Thai speakers do not understand Lao. But over the past twentyfive years, where the exposure to Thai has been primarily oral, from TV and radio, large numbers of native Lao vocabulary have been replaced by Thai, especially, as might imagined, by the younger population, serving to widen the generation gap which is already considerable.

Technically speaking, the differences between Lao and Standard Thai might be compared roughly to the differences between Spanish and Italian in the Romance family. And thus quite apart from the study of foreign languages such as English, the majority of Lao speakers are already bilingual. Furthermore, speakers of other Tai languages in Laos, such as Black Tai, Red Tai, Moey, Yay (Nhang), Sek, Nüa, and Lue are likewise not mutually comprehensible, and so in addition they as well are at least bilingual. Still others, the Thay Neua, Phouan, Nyo, and Phou Thay groups, speak dialects that are quite different from Lao, but to a large degree understandable, and for these speakers, we may use the term bi-dialectal.[32] Among the lowland Lao-Tai speaking groups, then, there is already a high degree of bilingualism and bi-dialectalism. Furthermore, regional conventions have evolved as well, such that Lue predominates as the lowland norm in most of Phongsaly, Oudomxay, Louang Namtha, Bokeo and northern Xaygnaboury; Neua-Phouan serves the same function in most of Houa Phanh, Xieng Khoang, northern Vientiane, and Borikhamxay; Phou Thay predominates in the interior portions of Khammouane and Savannakhet; and Lao is the main language along the river from Vientiane north to Louang Prabang, and from Thakhek south to Champasak including the capitals of Saravanh, Attapeu, and Xékong, as well as Rattanakiri and northern Stung Treng in Cambodia.[33] The result then, is a highly diverse Lao-Tai population, with considerable linguistic flexibility.

[32] In fact, much of the understanding here is dependent on exposure. Vientiane residents have long been exposed to these dialects, whereas speakers of Southern Lao dialects would experience more difficulty.

[33] There is also a thin chain of Lao villages which follow the Nam Ou north of Louang Prabang, through Meuang Ngoy, Meuang Khoa, to the Hatsa river port in northeastern Phongsaly.

The Black Tai, Red Tai, White Tai, Thai Theng, Lue, and Nüa languages all have their own distinct writing systems as well.

When we begin to discuss the socio-linguistic situation among the upland minorities, we immediately find ourselves in need of additional information. With respect to the national language, it is mostly those groups who have had access to education or who have lived adjacent to Lao villages who are competent in Lao. Otherwise, if the uplander speaks a Lao-Tai language, it is predictably the regional dialect norm, one of those cited above. Thus in the north, the various Phou Noy (Bisu) groups of Phongsaly learn Lue, as do the Khmou of Oudomxay, Louang Namtha, Bokeo and Xaygnaboury. Likewise the Mien and Moun groups of these provinces learn Lue as well. But often in the north, the Hmong-Mien, Tibeto-Burman, and even many Lue minorities have also learned Ho (Yunnanese) Chinese as a trade language. Often, it is found that the Khmou and Lahu villagers speak Mien, with whom they have close relationships usually with the Mien dominating. Likewise many of the Akha in Phongsaly have learned a Phou Noy language.

In Xieng Khoang and Xaysomboun, Hmong predominates and many of the Khmou speakers in these provinces speak Hmong as well.
In eastern Borikhamxay, apart from Hmong, most of the population in Vieng Thong District speak Vietic languages (Phong, Liha, Toum) and can understand Vietnamese well. The same is true for the Vietic speakers in Nakai and northern Boualapha districts of Khammouane, those these groups are fluent in Brou as well, that is they are solidly trilingual.
Thus from Hin Boun and Nakai south through much of Khammouane and interior Savannakhet, Brou-type languages are spoken and are mutually intelligible (Brou, Tri, Chalouy, Makong etc.) These speakers also know the Phou Thay language well.

Further South the situation seems to become more complex. Ta Oy and Katang dominate in Saravanh, though the nature of the relationship is unknown. Likewise in Xékong, Katu appears to be the dominant language of Kaleum District, while Talieng, a Bahnaric language, has been described as the lingua franca of Dak Cheung (Thongphet p.c.).
Jru (Laven – also a Bahnaric language) prevails on the Bolovens, but historically their relationship with other Bahnaric speakers has been problematic, as with the Nha Heun. Alak likewise is ambiguous as to its role. In Attapeu, Brao (Lavè) along the southern border are widely spoken and appears to be the lingua franca here. But the sociolinguistic position of Oy and Cheng are less clear, other than to note that they fear the Brao apparently for historical reasons.

This is only a brief sketch and the actual situation is much more complex than can be adequately described without more research.
In Laos it would be difficult to find people who do not know more than one language, or who are at least bi-dialectal.

The question now becomes, what kind of reasoning can we apply that will cast the situation of Laos in a positive perspective, rather than one beset with problems and, from the government's point of view, added expense. In this regard the following section is informative.

5.1.1 Multilingualism and Cognitive Capacity

I include here some excerpts from works in cognitive linguistics which appear in a paper entitled "Economic Approaches to Language and Bilingualism" by Harold Chorney, as he utilizes many references which are not available to me at this time, but which I hope will make the point that, far from being a problem, bilingualism or multilingualism have high positive intellectual and economic benefits of which we should strive to take advantage.

Economic Approaches to Language and Bilingualism

The economic benefits of our official languages policy are far greater than we might expect. In the modern world it is increasingly clear that none of the old suppositions about economic growth and human development are going to remain unchanged. Indeed the pace of change is now breathtaking as computerized technology and micro-electronics transform the nature of everyday life. In such a fast changing world, nation-states and, more importantly, the individuals that compose them can increase their economic security and material welfare by being as supple as possible in meeting the challenges of the global economy. Of course, there is a faddist degree of cliché in this statement. But like most clichés it contains many important elements of truth.

The very act of acquiring knowledge and linguistic competence has a positive disproportional impact on the economic potential of an individual.[a] Furthermore it contributes to the likelihood that the individual can make a greater contribution to society. Quite literally the capacity to participate in one's society is considerably enhanced. As central Europeans often say "the more languages you speak the more times you are a human being."

The first step toward that competence is learning the language and becoming comfortable in using it to articulate one's view of the world. Hence, developing communicative competence in both of the official languages of Canada offers returns to the investment involved that go well beyond the normal ones that individuals expect. Not only does the individual benefit, but the society as a whole and the political economy that is the product of that society benefit as well.

Research on the cognitive and socio-cultural consequences of becoming bilingual has established that, contrary to the earlier conventional wisdom that the consequences might be negative, the results are very positive. For example, a now classic study by Elizabeth Peal and Wallace Lambert (1962) of McGill University found that bilingual children showed significant improvements in their cognitive performance.[b] In a later study Lambert argued that "bilingual children, relative to monolingual controls, displayed greater cognitive flexibility, creativity and divergent thought."[c] Such divergent thought reflected a richer imagination, a

a) This notion of communicative competence is at the heart of a fascinating and powerful argument made by the political and social theorist Jurgen Habermas. For a more in-depth exploration of the application of this theory to official languages, see Harold Chorney, "The Economic Benefits of Linguistic Duality and Bilingualism: A Political Economy Approach, New Canadian Perspectives: Official Languages and the Economy, Canadian Heritage, 1997, p. 181.

b) E. Peal and W. Lambert, "The Relation of Bilingualism to Intelligence", Psychological Monographs, 76, 1&endash;23.

c) Wallace Lambert, "Effects of Bilingualism on the Individual: Cognitive and socio-cultural Consequences," in P.A. Hornby, Bilingualism: Psychological, Social and Educational Implications, New York: Academic Press, 1974, p.16. See also Peter Homel et al., Childhood Bilingualism: Aspects of Linguistic, Cognitive and Social Development, Hillsdale, N.J: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1987.

more flexible capacity to manipulate the linguistic code and more advanced performance on tests of concrete operational thinking. Bilingual children display "a definite advantage in the domain of cognitive flexibility."

It is this increase in cognitive flexibility and creativity that enhances the society overall and in particular the nature of its linguistic and cultural discourse. Lambert establishes that bilingual Canadian children have their sense of appreciation for the other language group deepened and enhanced as well as their own identification with their original linguistic group strengthened. Their capacity for understanding cultural differences and communicating is increased. Lambert's conclusions have been reinforced by more recent work. The conclusions of the majority of studies done since Lambert and his colleagues reached these optimistic conclusions about the properties of bilingual education agree with his results. The cognitive consequences of bilingual education are clearly positive.

Almost all the researchers agree with Lambert's assessment that:
The picture that emerges of the bilingual is that of the youngster whose wider experiences in two cultures have given him advantages which a monolingual (student) does not enjoy. Intellectually his(her) experience with two language systems seems to have left him with a mental flexibility, a superiority in concept formation, and a more diversified set of mental abilities.[d)]

Reynolds has carried this argument further recently in 1991 when he suggested the possibility that there might be a relationship between the positive cognitive consequences of bilingualism at the individual level and the spillover of this to the social level. In a way that presages something of what I am arguing, Reynolds suggests drawing upon research by McClelland et al on the achievement principle and Protestantism that bilingualism may promote the growth of a knowledge-oriented, achievement-oriented society. He concludes that the "hypothesized relationship between societal bilingualism and national intellectual vitality is deserving of exploration."[e)] This is precisely what I have attempted to do in my own research.

Communicative competence is enhanced and public discourse enriched in a society that advances bilingualism: a more vibrant democracy with stronger webs of social affiliation becomes possible. It is this kind of democracy that has been constructed in Canada over the past few decades that now stands ready to bear very positive fruit for the twenty-first century. Canada as a country, despite a long history of disagreement and some considerable tension over language, culture and nationality, has evolved a highly sophisticated method of conflict resolution and communicative interchange that is considerably strengthened by the numbers of Canadians who speak both of our official languages. A very large side benefit or positive externality associated with this development is the contribution this linguistic duality and increasing communicative competence has for our economic well-being, our capacity to innovate and adapt and be open to a broad range of cultural difference.

---

d) A. Reynolds, "The Cognitive Consequences of Bilingualism", in A. Reynolds, Bilingualism, Multiculturalism and Second Language Learning, p.177

e). Ibid. pp. 171&endash;175.

This kind of society, where at present as many as 4.5 million people out of a population of 30 million speak both official languages, is more open to critical understanding, more supple in its appreciation of different ways of problem solving and more stimulated to becoming involved. This then creates a more dynamic cultural milieu that is receptive to economic innovation and experimentation.

In such an environment, economic growth is much more likely to occur and to flourish than in an environment that restricts part of the population because of linguistic difference. Of course, in a homogeneous society the cost is less obvious. That is so because it is possible, though probably more difficult, to teach the values of accommodation to new ideas and openness to innovation and diversity to an otherwise homogeneous language group. But even if the learning curve is somewhat steeper than in a diverse heterogeneous society, at least there is no one group within the labour force whose talents risk being excluded and whose contribution to economic growth thereby lost.

In a society with large linguistic minorities, failure to promote equal treatment of the language of the minority involves losing the contribution that the minority group can make to overall value added in human capital. Instead you have either unemployed or underemployed factors of production. This undermines the overall productivity of the economy. This problem of minority access to the mainstream of society applies in Quebec for the English minority as it does for Francophones in the rest of Canada. So the positive benefits of our official languages policy are economic, cultural and socio-political.

I would argue that productivity in the workplace can be related in part to general satisfaction with one's position in society. Consequently, our policy of linguistic duality strengthens our economic performance. The oft-repeated prejudice that bilingualism is costly ignores this critical linkage between the healthy functioning democracy and the policy of linguistic duality including recognition of the rights of linguistic minorities and the direct impact this has upon our overall productivity as an economy. For the productivity of employees depends "not only on their ability and the amount invested in them both on and off the job but also on their motivation, or the intensity of their work."[f] Motivation, of course, is largely influenced by the financial rewards associated with work, but one's general level of satisfaction, one's sense of belonging and having faith in the society, also plays an important role.

Costs associated with providing minority language services, bilingual education or services in both languages may be outweighed by the benefits that flow from a stronger sense of political efficacy and democratic participation. In other words, investment by the federal government in our official languages policy is investment not only in the stability of our political future as a country, but investment in our economic potential as well.

With respect to language diversity, from the evidence of the PPA and other direct observations, it is clear that language policies have not been implemented that would enable upland peoples to receive the benefits of government services, especially in the sectors of health, education, and

f) Gary Becker, Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis with Special Reference to Education, New York: Columbia University Press, 1964, p.36.

agricultural extension. But it is also a more general problem in that in many areas the government is incapable of communicating meaningfully with the uplands. To make matters worse, when interactions do occur, they frequently take on a negative connotations associated with taxation, opium reduction, or land allocation. This tends to reinforce uplander suspicions about lowlander intentions since this type of government interaction threatens livelihoods and well-being.

Language barriers exist throughout the country and may take many forms, including:

1. total inability to communicate with officials
2. ability to speak a lingua franca that may also be spoken by a local official
3. an upland villager may speak Lao, but with limitations imposed either by lack of competence, or by divergent worldviews reflected in language, that is, a villager may appear to be fluent in Lao, but the thought process, the associations attached to words, is still that of his or her original language.

5.2 Language and the environment

It goes without saying that language is central to our conceptualization and understanding of the world, and for acting on it, and that human culture, knowledge, beliefs, and values are linguistically encoded, such that language represents the only instrument for humans to elaborate, maintain, develop, and transmit such ideas.

Furthermore, as ecosystems are comprised of interacting species of plants and animals, languages may likewise interact in ways that are poorly understood. But it is easier to understand that each language symbolically represents the ecosystem within which it resides and preserves this system in a complex of taxonomies and beliefs that can be recorded and studied. This is the heart of indigenous knowledge, and its representation is the focus of cognitive anthropology. The ecosystem and the ways in which the individual human groups interact are preserved here, and when a language ceases to be spoken, that system is lost. Functional as well as aesthetic knowledge is preserved in this way, although they are not so differentiated by the speakers themselves.

Thus languages may be considered as part and parcel of ecosystems, since they govern such things as edibility, hunting rituals, and language used with nature spirits generally.

This topic then interacts with a number of broad interdisciplinary issues which need to be addressed. One list if such issues was cited for discussion at a conference held at the University of California: Berkley in 1996 entitled: "Endangered Languages, Endangered Knowledge, Endangered Environments."

> 1) What solid evidence do we have of sustainable human-environment relationships among indigenous and minority groups around the world, and under what circumstances, currently and historically? What kinds of human activities, and in which institutional and economic settings, have resulted and result in the maintenance or disruption of such relationships?
>
> 2) What role does the preservation or loss of traditional ecological knowledge have in the maintenance or disruption of such relationships?

3) What role does language have in the acquisition, accumulation, maintenance, and transmission of this knowledge, and how does language loss affect these processes?

4) What socioeconomic factors underlie processes of language/culture shift and changes in environmental knowledge and behavior?

5) What are the cognitive underpinnings of attrition due to contact between different linguistic and cultural models, as well as different knowledge systems?

6) How do these phenomena of change affect individual and societal choices and decision-making (with special reference to activities affecting the environment)?

7) How can our understanding of these issues best inform systematic studies of ethnoecological knowledge change/loss as well as action aimed at biocultural diversity maintenance and promotion?

8) How can this understanding best be made available to local communities as a tool for informed decision-making?

9) How can it best be used to educate the general public on the global threats to linguistic and cultural diversity and their relationships to ecosystem endangerment?

10) How do we assure countries — especially the numerous multilingual and multiethnic countries of the Third World who believe that the only key to national unity is the enforcement of monlingualism and monoculturalism — that recognizing minority languages and cultures could, in fact, be the only way to bring about mutual trust in a nation, and therefore unity?

11) How strong is the relationship between linguistic diversity and biological diversity? Is linguistic diversity a pragmatic or a moral good? How do languages persist in a world where human populations are at or above 8 billion and where spatial (market and political) integration is the norm? Can we define minimal criteria for language survival as we have for species survival? Must small languages depend on state or international support and/or protection to survive?

The bibliography from the original position paper (Maffi 1996) is of value and is included here in Appendix 2.

While answers to these questions may be difficult to address, we have in Laos, perhaps more readily available than in any other country, a living laboratory for research which relates directly to the essence of the human-environment relationship, not to mention relationships between ethnic groups.

5.3 Conclusions

Language and linguistics remains one of the weakest areas of development focus of the Lao PDR. And while there is some recognition of the problems, as demonstrated by the mandate of the Institute for Linguistic Research under the Ministry of Culture, lack of substantive Government support and human resources belie its alleged importance. But while the current lack of awareness within the Government is discouraging, there is a rising concern for ethnic minority education in the Ministry of Education if the momentum can be maintained.

Language policy and planning is the most immediately crucial for education, whether in the development of the national language, or in the use of minority languages in schools as is called for in ethnic minority policy. The psychological benefits of bilingualism and multilingualism are many and given the position of Laos in Southeast Asia, as potentially akin to that of Switzerland in Europe, there is no objective reason why there should not be more than one national language. The examples of prosperity in Switzerland and Singapore are legend, each of which has four national languages. In Laos, there would be problems, no doubt, in the selection of the languages.

Lingua francas could play a role in this. For example, Ho Chinese in the North would perhaps qualify, and be used for the Yao, and Tibeto-Burmans. Hmong and Khmou would be necessary because of their numbers. To the south Brou and Katu from Khammouane to Salavanh and Xekong. But in the far south choice of a Bahnaric language might be difficult due to old rivalries. In terms of numbers, Brao and Jru would be the obvious choices but might not gain universal acceptance. So seven would be the absolute minimum, and surely economists would question the desirability of so many languages for such a small population. It is likewise doubtful that a security conscious Government would appreciate the idea, as it could be perceived as a threat without further awareness of the advantages. Nevertheless, these advantages could outweigh the disadvantages in the long term. If English were added it would perhaps be even more advantageous.

In any event, even if no other action is taken, at the very least minority languages have been used successfully in radio broadcasts and in health campaigns using video CDs.[34] Radio is perhaps still the best medium since it is inexpensive and can be broadcast with a minimum of technology. In the case of the Hmong, the Romanized writing system is very widespread and continues to grow. Since there are no diacritics, a normal keyboard is sufficient not only for books and letters, but for the internet and emails.

[34] For example the VCD produced by Save the Children/Australia and PADETC on oral rehydration, and reissued by GAPE and the Canada Fund done in Lao and Hmong languages.

Chapter 6
Conclusions and recommendations

6.0 Setting the scene

In the preceding chapters we have seen the uplands from a variety of disciplinary and sectoral vantage points. We have first and foremost approached the uplands from the point of view of anthropology, and using the insights of that discipline have sought to examine the underlying structure of the issues which were selected as the subject of the study, and utilized this underlying structure in their analysis. But we have also borrowed heavily from other disciplines, ecology, systems theory, aesthetics, political science, development economics, and linguistics among them. We have then sought to appraise the upland situation from the perspectives of population, government programs, markets and language policy. We have, I believe, been able to penetrate and identify the crucial problems in each area of inquiry. But now it is time to look at the implications and practical applications of this analysis for the alleviation of poverty in the uplands.

The analysis thus far has not discussed poverty in much detail. There are several reasons for this. First, there have been ample treatments of poverty in the statistical analyses that have been made by econometricians. Second, there is the qualitative study of poverty carried out in the PPA. Third, the term 'poverty' itself, as was noted in the PPA, is not an indigenous term, it is a foreign concept, much like such terms as 'society' or 'culture,' which have no corresponding terms in the languages of the uplanders. (National languages such as Lao or Thai have of course academic equivalents which are either recently coined or are adopted from Pali or Sanskrit, much as European languages borrow academic terms from Greek or Latin. Vietnamese has of course borrowed its technical terms from Chinese, or more recently from French.)[35] Fourth and finally, the aim of this paper has been to focus on the topic from an indigenous perspective which for the uplander means that the relative position in society as measured by the amount of ritual potency is paramount as opposed to objective indicators of physical well-being.

It was the conclusion of the PPA, and it is further confirmed in this study, that poverty in Laos is new poverty. It is not an endemic condition,

[35] It was not until this year that the Government decided on the official term for poverty. The expression thuk nyak ['suffering' + 'difficult'] was selected over the competing term thuk chon ['suffering' + 'destitute'], as it was less dire sounding. Thuk 'suffering', of course, is the Buddhist term, and refers to mental suffering rather than physical.

even in the uplands. And even today, poverty in Laos does not take the form of hunger.

Likewise, we have seen that there is no evidence of runaway population increases in upland areas,[36] especially beyond what is completely sustainable. Rotational swidden cultivation has been shown to be the most efficient system in the world for caloric production, and where traditional systems are intact, there is certainly no urgency to make improvements, since sustainable ones will be slow in developing anyway. Perhaps then, the first priority should be enabling traditional systems to continue wherever possible without unnecessary interference, or, to correct systems where negative interference has occurred, such as undoing misapplied land allocation. This would result in an immediate increase in production which would benefit everyone concerned.

It should be stressed here, as we have sought to do in Chapter 4 and throughout this study, that such terms as traditional, equilibrium, or homeostasis do not imply static or unchanging, nor does "subsistence" agriculture imply lack of surplus. Change is inherent in upland systems, and is indeed implicit in the motivational dynamic that drives upland societies as expressed in religious systems. But change must be viewed within the cultural context, and be internally motivated. Changes imposed from the outside are high risk and are necessarily threatening to existing social structures.

The PPA data was highly informative in this respect. On the one had we were able to glimpse the possibilities that exist for positive changes when they are internally motivated, as in the example of the Khmou village in Xaygnaboury. On the other hand we saw the effects of misapplied land allocation on Kim Moun (Lantène) opium addiction in Oudomxay which was exacerbated by another outside innovation, the use of the additive thanh chay to opium making it instantly addictive. A follow up visit to this same village this year found that these addicts have been used by village entrepreneurs as cheap labor, willing to work for opium, creating a type of indentured servant class of the addicts. Interestingly, study of a (relocated) Kim Moun village in Louang Namtha (Lemoine 2002), although seemingly better off economically, revealed a runaway suicide epidemic among young women. These are the kinds of problems that cannot be foreseen, but that may generally be expected when changes are imposed from the outside.

But we should not underestimate the propensity for economic growth in the uplands as it is a growth that can work to the advantage of all if allowed to proceed in its own directions, and we need only increase the size of the menu of options from which they may select for themselves.

In the "newspeak" of development, matters of concern to anthropologists have been lumped, somewhat deceptively, into a new more sociologized "Culture." In one of the recent books to address culture on this level, Culture Matters,[37] Harrison in a chapter entitled, "Promoting Progressive Cultural Change," lists ten criteria for the identification of "progressive" cultures which are interesting to note here (setting aside the question of what is implied by progressive, progress towards what, etc).

[36] This seems to be a lowland myth, that "the hill tribes are breeding out of control."

[37] Harrison and Huntington (2000).

By almost all of these criteria, it is the upland cultures that qualify as "progressive" and the lowland cultures as "static."

> 1. Time orientation: Progressive cultures emphasize the future; static cultures emphasize the present or past. Future orientation implies a progressive worldview —influence over one's destiny, rewards in this life to virtue, positive-sum economics.
>
> 2. Work is central to the good life in progressive cultures but is a burden in static cultures. In the former, work structures daily life; diligence, creativity, and achievement are rewarded not only financially but also with satisfaction and self-respect.
>
> 3. Frugality is the mother of investment — and financial security — in progressive cultures but is a threat to the "egalitarian" status quo in static cultures, which often have a zero-sum worldview.
>
> 4. Education is the key to progress in progressive cultures but is of marginal importance except for the elites in static cultures.
>
> 5. Merit is central to advancement in progressive cultures; connections and family are what count in static cultures.
>
> 6. Community: In progressive cultures, the radius of identification and trust extends beyond the family to the broader society. In static cultures, the family circumscribes community. Societies with a narrow radius of identification and trust are more prone to corruption, tax evasion, and nepotism, and they are less likely to engage in philanthropy.
>
> 7. The ethical code tends to be more rigorous in progressive cultures. Every advanced democracy (except Belgium, Taiwan, Italy, and South Korea) appears among the twenty-five least corrupt countries on Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index. Chile and Botswana are the only Third World countries that appear among the top twenty-five.
>
> 8. Justice and fair play are universal impersonal expectations in progressive cultures. In static cultures, justice, like personal advancement, is often a function of who you know or how much you can pay.
>
> 9. Authority tends toward dispersion and horizontality in progressive cultures, toward concentration and verticality in static cultures. Robert Putnam's analysis of the differences between the north and the south in Italy in Making Democracy Work is illustrative.
>
> 10. Secularism: The influence of religious institution on civic life is small in progressive cultures; its influence is often substantial in static cultures. Heterodoxy and dissent are encouraged in the former, orthodoxy and conformity in the latter.

Harrison, is using his criteria, however, for macro-level comparisons between national cultures, criteria that characterize differences between nations, not as we have used them here to differentiate clusters of values that separate lowlanders and highlanders. What is more difficult to rectify is the problem that lowlanders would undoubtedly view themselves as "progressive" and the uplanders as static.

Only for the criteria of education (No. 4) and secularism (No. 10) do there remain any doubts. And here, we might suggest that (a) were education available in uplander languages the interpretation might be different, and; (b) there is no separation of religious from civic in upland societies, so the question for uplanders isn't relevant, but for lowlanders,

the role of orthodox Buddhism, for example, still meets the criteria. As was mentioned, the criteria were meant for comparisons on a global scale, and the fact that they are so applicable to the micro-level Lao situation is remarkable and revealing.

The criteria working so well, however, also takes us back to the introduction of this paper where relations between uplanders and Westerners is discussed. The values of the "progressive" nations are indeed those that have made these relations possible. The work ethic, frugality, merit, ethical code, justice and fair play, horizontal authority, are all values shared by both groups, Westerners and uplanders. We might also venture, that these are, by and large, the values of donor organizations and NGOs.

It is also interesting to compare the indicators of societal type suggested in Table 4.1 and to note that it is the autocratic type that seems to conform most closely to Harrison's progressive values.

This is not to say that upland cultures do not contain elements which are complex and difficult to understand from a development perspective. The maximization typology presented in relation to markets is still an analytical hypothesis that should point us in the right direction, it does not offer ready solutions. How can the indirect maximizers, for example, be assisted as opposed to the direct maximizers who have more stable livelihood capacities? Thus for the time being at least, while the analytical generalities are clear, the specifics are still lacking. But we can, as suggested above, accept the fact that all societies work in systemic ways, and make available options which have potential for livelihood improvements or corrections (as the case may warrant).

We can also do our homework, carry out systematic ethnographic study of especially relevant groups, in order to present the best options possible from a technological point of view. It is ironic, for example, that there is no ethnography of the Khmou, the most numerous ethnic minority in the country, and also, by poverty criteria, one of the poorest.[38] As Kirsch has demonstrated, homeostasis and economic growth are not mutually exclusive. But we must acknowledge that economies are culturally defined systems – not subject to universal laws. Growth should be then be pursued within the epistemological frameworks of the ethnic minorities – otherwise there is a high risk of failure. And to this the role of the ethnographer is crucial.

Another approach that works well in the short term is hand-holding. Most upland groups are delighted by the presence of development workers who are willing to commit to an extended presence and carefully guide villagers through the introduction to and implementation of new ways of doing things. This has been the approach of many NGOs and the more firmly committed of the bilateral donors. In this approach villagers are less threatened as there is a certain degree of security, that is, the development workers will accept a certain share of the responsibility when things go wrong. But donors can also point to their successes and readily demonstrate benefits so long as they are involved. Of course one must be concerned with sustainability here, and the lack of a Lao system that will continue working after donors have departed. However, given the relatively smaller number of target villages in Laos, and the opportu-

[38] There are studies of isolated aspects of Khmou culture, and there is the study of livelihood by Souksavang (1997), but there is, for example, no comprehensive work on the Khmou comparable to Izikowitz's study of the Lamet.

nity for establishing good and long-lasting relationships, so long as lowlanders are included in the learning experience and form personal relationships with villagers, the hand-holding approach should perhaps not be discarded without further experimentation. It goes without saying that for most peoples in Laos, the personal relationship is necessary, and objectivity, however well-intentioned, may be construed as not caring.

At the present time, there are many uneven and asymmetrical interethnic relationships throughout the country, the greatest being between the Lao-Tai speakers and the rest. Following accepted social theory, until these basic relationships become more equal, it is unlikely that successful integration can occur, economic or otherwise.

Inequality, we are told by the statisticians, (eg Kakwani[39]) is on the increase. This was confirmed to be case in re-visits to PPA villages this year, most notably in the north. Rich families had emerged, and were in some cases exploiting poorer ones in the same village. Of greater concern, however, is the probability that inequality between ethnic groups will increase, and that indirect maximizers such as the Khmou will become inextricably indebted to direct maximizers like the Hmong. Such patterns have existed in the past in the form of slavery, adoption, and debt bondage between ethnic groups. So whatever direction planning and programming may take, it should seek to work against this type of inequality which has already begun in many places, usually where resettlement or village consolidation has taken place.

6.1 Sectoral Implications and General Recommendations

If we expect to reduce poverty, however it might be defined, it goes without saying that we should above all else be able to see the problem through the eyes of the poor ethnic minority villager. In doing this we need to consider:

1. How to identify the cause, as opposed to the symptom
2. We know many symptoms – but not many root causes
3. Poor education and health service are usually symptoms – not causes
4. The solution must be based on the cause – but so far many of the proposed solutions are aimed only at the symptoms

It is our position in this paper, based on the evidence, that poverty in Laos was not the endemic state, and that as a result poverty reduction in the uplands can best be seen as a two-tiered process: allowing degraded situations to return to a more or less natural state of cultural equilibrium, and providing possible technical additions for intensification of agriculture or agro-forestry.

To carry this out, any given area must be considered as an integrated whole, the existing relationships between ethnic groups defined, and indigenous knowledge consulted. Public and private sector resources need to be considered here as well. The root-causes of problems need to be analyzed. Approaches should be interdisciplinary and holistic with initial inputs centered on research and understanding. Poverty is rarely uni-ethnic or internally constructed. Therefore the comparative view is a prerequisite.

[39] Cf. his analysis in the Annex to the PPA.

Histories of villages, especially as they relate to the experiences in this regime such as mentioned in Chapter 3, the war, relocation, need to be fully recorded. The degree of variation from the norm needs to be assessed, and most of all, where do villages see themselves and what are the mental health indicators. Is there despondency and depression, is there opium addiction. In such cases the approach taken must be to a large degree therapeutic. And here, what form should therapy and healing take.

What technical inputs can be suggested to provide advantages. What innate cultural advantages are already there and how might these function to improve livelihoods. These are not questions for which answers are readily available, but in every sector, these are the questions that will need be addressed. Language, communication, and listening are the essential ingredients for assessment.

As we have seen, the essential uplander comparative advantage is socio-cultural, but this is embedded in intricate systems of religion which must be preserved at all costs or, if changes occur they must be internally motivated and not dictated from the outside in the name of modernization or development. For real improvements to be undertaken, relevant choices need to be made available. In education, in the eyes of upland minorities, a practical end result is mandatory. For health, how do traditional systems interact with modern pharmaceuticals and diagnostic procedures. For agriculture and forestry, what is the status of the environment, is it still possible to make systemic corrections, what kinds of inputs are required from both cultural and technical bio-physical perspectives. For transportation, how are roads designed to facilitate positive impacts, if they are not, what inputs would allow villagers to take advantage.

It does need to kept in mind that for some minorities, an "enabling environment", unchecked by cultural constraints, could generate a risk of runaway development if the conditions were right. Such conditions may include many of the sector goals of socioeconomic development, such as:

1. health => population growth (these may at first increase production, and later deplete natural resources). Population controls (birth control, birth spacing) are then by cultural definition counterproductive , that is, while population growth is a threat to swiddening systems in the long term, paradoxically it is an advantage where maximization of production is concerned and de facto a precondition for economic growth.
2. education => competition with lowlanders may generate animosity. (Note: there is also a danger here that education could erode ethnic identity among the students through an overly Laoized curriculum as that being applied in ethnic minority boarding schools that teach and extol the virtues of Lao manners and customs, causing children to be ashamed of their own cultures which do not share these traditions (ILO 2000). This is often accomplished inadvertently by confusing ethnic and national identity which generates social confusion.

However, I see nothing to prevent the incorporation of market economy precepts into the realm of the maximizing highlander, but this needs to be approached with caution on a group by group basis with careful documentation, and of course careful market research. But in fact during

the PPA this type of knowledge, knowledge about the market, was specifically requested by many villages in the North. Indeed, natural resource use is already a kind or "purchasing power" (the power of local knowledge). How such information on the market might be imparted would depend on the specific group. It would be interesting to study the areas where this has already been going on in various areas by various projects to see what changes may have been precipitated. Such work should be carried out by a trained ethnographer familiar with the general socio-cultural patterns of Southeast Asia. And it seems to me particularly vital that such studies be carried out as soon as possible and with special attention to what I have referred to as the indirect maximizers.

6.2 Intellectual infrastructure and upland development

There are gaps in the types of programs and projects that are currently being proposed and supported by donors. And these gaps, in my opinion, are in the areas that are not always visible, but that are in precisely those areas which prevent Laos from becoming a balanced whole and united country. In short, there is a need for programs that meet the mental and psychological demands of the changing modern world that will assure Laos its rightful place in the family of nations. Most thinkers agree that there is great need in the world for music, art, philosophy, religion, and literature that will balance the overly purposive views of engineers, physicists, chemists, and the like.

Coupled with this is the sad lack of HRD in the areas that concern socio-cultural links between upland and lowland peoples. To date the emphasis has been in the technical areas such as agriculture and forestry. Health and education contribute some assistance toward this goal, but the systemic process that will inform educators and health workers of the cultural factors is not in place, and so decisions that affect the lives of the upland minorities are made almost entirely by persons with no training in the social sciences, no wonder these decisions are Lao-centric. This is an important gap, because if upland development programs are to be sustainable, the point of focus needs to be on the lowland-upland relationship, not on one or the other of the end nodes. The same logic holds for relationships between the upland minorities. The position of this study in essence is that all aspects of the relationship should be researched if development, including development of uplanders is to be sustainable.

Relationships are usually studied by describing interactions until a pattern is clear. Hence these relationships need to be approached first of all from a human resources perspective.

6.2.1 Some Specific Recommendations and Postures

1. The first logical response to the issues discussed here is in fact already being implemented by Sida in the Upland Agricultural and Forestry Research Project at NAFRI. This project has a decidedly anthropological and systems approach and should be seen as the backbone of an interdisciplinary research effort based on indigenous knowledge, biodiversity, and the examination of existing systems. The knowledge generated by this project should be imparted to relevant provincial and district level personnel, and the development of the ways and

means of utilizing the knowledge and lessons learned at the grass-roots level is a vital and indispensable need if the approach is to remain viable.

2. Make use of young Lao talent, university students, local consultants, etc. by enabling the formation of long-lasting personal relationships with upland villagers. There is great potential here, and it is only by developing the personal involvement that the we-them dichotomy will disappear.
3. Introduce the disciplines of anthropology and linguistics into NUOL, preferably as separate faculties. It is unreasonable to have a nation of more than 200 ethnic groups and not a single anthropologist.
4. Because of the impacts of upheavals in social systems experienced by many upland villagers (such as those mentioned with respect to opium addiction and suicides) there should be special programming for the study of mental health and psychopathologies in a psychological anthropology or related context.
5. Begin funding ethnographic (specifically ethnographies) and linguistic (grammars and dictionaries) research for the upland ethnic groups of Laos so that a reference collection of such works will be available. This could be done utilizing graduate students from abroad working with local students and under the guidance of more experienced Southeast Asian specialists available locally, perhaps under the auspices of the Institutes of Cultural and Linguistic Research.
6. Establish a project for National Language Planning which would encompass broadly the two areas of Lao Language Development and Minority Language Policy. Ideally this could be a joint project between the Institute for Linguistic Research and the Ministry of Education.
7. Establish a project for the publication of classical Lao and traditional minority literature that would make these available to libraries, the education system, and the general public. The collection of some minority literature would have to be done orally on tapes with transcriptions and word-by-word as well as general translations. (The assembly of these texts is in fact a job for linguists.)
8. At the same time, these texts should include local legal practices (some of which are quite highly codified, as in the cases of Brao (Lavè) in the south and Mien (Yao) in the north. [Nos. 5 and 6 here could be joined under an oral literature project that would include, literature, folklore, history, religious, and legal texts.]
9. Finally, indigenous knowledge needs to be formally documented, perhaps beginning with an ethnoscience approach, the working out of local biological taxonomies and descriptions of ethnobotanies, ethnozoologies, ethnoecologies, etc., but going beyond this to understand how such knowledge systems interact with ecological systems to preserve watersheds and to conserve forests and wildlife. Again this requires training in such disciplines as cognitive anthropology, and other interdisciplinary research.
10. Finally, specific training in sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics in addition to mainstream descriptive or theoretical linguistics will be necessary to comprehend the communicational aspects of interethnic relationships and the potential benefits of bilingual education.

These recommendations are perhaps the link that has been missing in programming, and their systematic inclusion can, I believe, be considered as a step towards creating an awareness of the upland issues within the Government, and of the unique benefits that may be had from ethnic diversity. Without the understanding that can be gained from these recommendations, it is probable that ethnic diversity in Laos will continue to be viewed as a problem rather than an asset. The main goal is to help lowlanders to take up the cause of the uplanders, while at the same time assisting uplanders to better themselves in the market economy. This would be, I feel, the approach that would reap the most benefits in a manner that is free of conflict.

In my opinion, these recommendations (with the exception of No. 1), wherever possible, need to be addressed as separate but clustered projects, and not simply as adjuncts to existing programs in upland development. This would allow for independent approaches to be generated that can complement, in a separate but equal way, each others' activities, and not be subsidiary to them.

Acronyms/ abbreviations

AC	Agricultural Census
ADB	Asian Development Bank
CPC	Committee for Planning and Cooperation
DAFO	District Agriculture and Forestry Office
EU	European Union
GOL	Government of Lao PDR
ha	Hectare
hh	Household
ICR	Institute for Cultural Research
ICRAF	International Center for Research in Agroforestry
IK	Indigenous Knowledge
IKS	Indigenous Knowledge Systems
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMR	Infant Mortality Rate
LFNC	Lao Front for National Construction
MAF	Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOH	Ministry of Health
NAFRI	National Agricultural and Forestry Research Institute
NSC	National Statistics Center
NTFP	Non-Timber Forest Product
NUOL	National University of Laos
PPA	Participatory Poverty Assessment
SOE	State Owned Enterprises
TFR	Total Fertility Rate

References

Asian Development Bank. 2002. *Participatory Poverty Assessment* (PPA). Manila: ADB.

Asian Development Bank. 2000. *Lao PDR Country Report: Health and Education Needs of the Ethnic Minorities in the Greater Mekong Sub-region*. Research Triangle Institute.

Barlow, Geoffry. 1987. The Zhuang minority peoples of the Sino-Vietnamese frontier in the Song Period. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* XVIII.2.250–269.

Bateson, Gregory and Mary Catherine Bateson. 1987. *Angels Fear: Towards an Epistemology of the Sacred.* New York: Macmillan.

Bateson, Gregory. 1979. *Mind and Nature: A Necessary Unity*. New York: Dutton.

Bateson, Gregory. 1942. Social planning and the concept of deutero-learning. in *Science, Philosophy, and Religion, Second Symposium.* New York: Harper and Row. (commentary on a paper given by Margaret Mead entitled, "The comparative study of culture and the purposive cultivation of democratic values.") Reprinted in Bateson (1972).

Bateson, Gregory. 1972. *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*. New York: Ballantine.

Bateson, Gregory. 1972. Style, Grace, and Information in Primitive Art. in *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*. New York: Ballantine. (Paper presented at the Wenner-Gren Conference on Primitive Art, 1967, and published in *A Study of Primitive Art*, edited by A. Forge, Oxford University Press.)

Bird-David, Nurit. 1992. Beyond "The Original Affluent Society": a culturalist reformulation. *Current Anthropology* 33 (1).25–47.

Bouté, Vanina. 2001. Socioeconomic Survey. Phongsaly Forest Conservation and Rural Development Project. (Draft Report)

Boutin, A. 1937. Monographie de la Province des Houa-Phan. *Bull. Des Amis du Laos.* 69–119.

Blunt, W. 1971. *The Complete Naturalist: A Life of Linnaeus*. London: Collins.

Chamberlain, James R. 1999. The Origin of the Sek: Implications for Tai and Vietnamese History. *JSS 86.1–2.27–48.*

Chamberlain, James R. 1997. (Draft) Social impact assessment for Route 3 (Khun-Ming Chiang Rai). Prepared for R.M. Nathan & Associates.

Chamberlain, James R. 1996. A critical framework for the study of *Thao Houng or Cheuang*. (Keynote Address). Paper presented to The First International Conference on the Literary, Historical, and Cultural Aspects of Thao Hung Thao Cheuang, Bangkok, January 18–19, 1996.

Chamberlain, James R. 1992. Biolinguistic Systematics and Marking. *The Third International Symposium on Languages and Linguistics: Pan-Asiatic Linguistics vol III*. Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok.

Chamberlain, J. and P. Dole, et. al. *Social effects of the financial crisis in Thailand*. The Brooker Group/ADB. Bangkok. (Draft report)

Crossette, Barbara. 2000. Culture, gender, and human rights. In Harrison, Lawrence E. and Samuel P. Huntington. 2000. *Culture Matters: How values shape human progress*. New York: Basic Books.

Harold Chorney. 2002 (?). Economic Approaches to Language and Bilingualism. New Canadian Perspectives. Public Policy, Concordia University.

Harrison, Lawrence E. and Samuel P. Huntington. 2000. *Culture Matters: How values shape human progress*. New York: Basic Books.

Crush, J. 1995. Introduction: Imagining Development. In J. Crush (ed.) *Power of Development.* New York: Routledge.

Das Gupta, J. and C. Ferguson. 1977. Problems of language planning. in *Language Planning Processes*. The Hague, Mouton.

Evans, Grant (ed.). 1999. *Laos: Culture and Society*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm.

Evans, Grant. 1999. Ethnic change in the northern highlands of Laos. (in Evans 1999).

Evans, Grant. 2000. Tai-ization: ethnic change in northern Indochina. (in Turton 2000).

Fischer, C. 1964. *Southeast Asia: A Social, Economic, and Political Geography*. Dutton, New York.

Gunn, Geoffrey C. 1990. *Rebellion in Laos: Peasant and Politics in a Colonial Backwater.* Boulder: Westview Press.

Gunn, G.C. 1985. A scandal in colonial Laos: The death of Bac My and the wounding of Kommadan [*sic*] Revisited. JSS 73.1–2.42–59.

Gunn, G.C. 1986. Shamans and rebels: the Batchai (Meo) rebellion of northern Laos and northwest Vietnam. JSS 74.107–121.

Halpern, Joel M. 1958. *Aspects of Village Life and Culture Change in Laos*, Special Report Prepared for the Council on Economic and Cultural Affairs, New York.

Harrison, Lawrence E. and Samuel P. Huntington. 2000. *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress*. New York: Basic Books.

Hartshorne, Charles, and Paul Weiss (eds.). 1931. *Collected Papers of Charles Saunders Peirce*: *Vol I – Principles of Philosophy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. (In the electronic edition of *The Collected Works of Charles Saunders Peirce* prepared by John Deely, Past Masters Series, Folio VIP.)

Herzfeld, Michael. 2001. *Anthropology: Theoretical Practice in Culture and Society*. Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell.

Hickey, Gerold C. 1982. *Ethnohistory of the Vietnamese Central Highlands, Vol I, Sons of the Mountains: to 1954* AND, *Vol II, Free in the Forest: 1954–1976.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

ILO (International Labor Organization). 2000. Policy Study on Ethnic Minority Issues in Rural Development [Lao PDR]. Geneva: International Labor Office.
Institute for Cultural Research. 1998. *Vientiane Social Survey Project: 1997–1998.* Ministry of Information and Culture.
Jamieson, Neil L., Le Trong Cuc, and A.T. Rambo. 1998. *The development crisis in Viertnam's Mountains.* Hawaii: East-West Center Special Reports No. 6.
Jit Phumisak. 2524a. *The Origin of the words Siam, Thai, Lao and Khom and the Social Aspects of the Names of Nations.* [in Thai] Bangkok: DK.
Jit Phumisak. 2524b. *The "Water Oath" and New Thoughts on Thai History in the Chao Phaya Basin.* Bangkok: DK.
Karlgren, Karl Gustav. 1951. *Lamet: Hill Peasants in French Indochina.* New York, AMS Press.
Kirsch, Thomas. 1973. *Feasting and Social Oscillation: Religion and Society in Upland Southeast Asia.* Data Paper No. 92. Ithaca: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program.
Korzybski, Alfred. 1941. *Science and Sanity*. New York: Science Press.
Leach, Edmund. 1954. *Political Systems of Highland Burma*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Lemoine, Jacques. 2002. Social Fabric, Education, and HIV Vulnerability Among the Lanten Yao of Muang Long, Luang Namtha Province, Lao PDR. Bangkok: UNESCO.
Lemoine, Jacques. 1972. *Un Village Hmong Vert du Haut Laos: Milieu Technique et Organisation Sociale.* Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
Maffi, Luisa. 1996. Position Paper. "Endangered Languages, Endangered Knowledge, Endangered Environments Conference", held in Berkeley, California, U.S.A., 25–27 October, 1996.
Marcoux, Alain. 2000. Population and Deforestation. In *Population and the Environment: a review of the concepts for population programmes. Part III: Population and Deforestation.* FAO.
NSC. 2002. *Recent Participatory Research on Poverty Assdessment.* Working Paper No. 3. Participatory Poverty Monitoring and Evaluation Project, CPC/ADB.
NSC. 2000a. *Agricultural Census 1998/99: Phongsaly*. Vientiane. [In Lao]
NSC. 2000b. *Basic Statistics of the Lao PDR 1975–2000*. Vientiane.
NSC. 1995. *The Census of 1995: Phongsaly*. Vientiane. [in Lao]
NSC. 1995. *The Census of 1995: Xaysomboun*. Vientiane. [in Lao]
NSC and UNFPA. 1992. *Population of the Lao PDR*. Vientiane. [in Lao]
PPA (*Participatory Poverty Assessment*). See ADB 2002.
Rambo, A. T. and Percy Sajise (eds). 1983. *Human Interventions with Tropical Ecosystems: An Introduction to Human Ecology Research on Southeast Asian Agricultural Systems.* Khon Kaen, Thailand: Khon Kaen University (East-West Environment and Policy Institute Workshop on Human Ecology).
Rambo, A. T. 1983. No free lunch: a re-examination of the energy efficiency of traditional systems of slash-asn-burn tropical agriculture. (in. Rambo and Sajise 1983).
Robequain, Charles. 1929. *Le Thanh Hoa. 2* vols. Publications de I'Ecole Frangaise d'Extreme-Orient, no. 23. Paris, Brussels: Ecole Francaise.

Roder, W. 2001. *Slash-and-Burn Rice Systems in the Hills of Northern Lao PDR: Descriptions, Challenges, and Opportunities.* Los Banos, Phillipines: IRRI.

Shweder, Richard A. 2000. Moral maps, "first world" conceits, and the new evangelists. In Harrison, Lawrence E. and Samuel P. Huntington. 2000. *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress*. New York: Basic Books.

Suksavang Simana. 1997. *Kmhmu' Livelihood: Farming in the Forest*. Vientiane: Institute for Cultural Research, Ministry of Information and Culture. (The English section was translated by Elizabeth Preisig.)

Taylor, Keith W. 1983. *The Birth of Vietnam*. Berkely: University of California Press.

Turton, Andrew (ed.). 2000. *Civility and Savagery: Social Identity in the Tai States.* Richmond, UK: Curzon.

Wall, Barbara. 1975. *Les Nya Hön: Etude ethnographioque d'une population du Plateau des Bolovens (Sud-Laos)*. Vientiane: Vithagna.

Weera Ostapirat. 2000. *Proto-Kra*. Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area 23.1.1–251. University of California, Berkeley.

Yukio, Hayashi and Aroonrut Wichienkeeo (eds). 2000. *Inter-ethnic Relations in the Making of Mainland Southeast Asia and Southwestern China*. (Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University). Bangkok: Amarin.

Appendix 1 – Ethnic Minorities in the Lao PDR[1]

I: The Lao-Tai Language Family (8 Groups)[2]			
No.	**General Name**	**Subgroup**	**Other local names**
1	Lao		Lao
		Phouan	Phouan
		Kaleung	Kaleung
		Bo	Bo
		Yooy	Yooy
		Nyo	Nyo
			Thay Pheung
			Isane[3]
			Thay Xam
			Thay Yeuang
			Thay Lane
			Thay Cha
			Thay Mat
			Thay O
			Thay Lang
2	Phou Thay		Phou Thay
			Thay Ang Kham
			Thay Kata'
			Thay Kapong
			Thay Sam Kau
			Thay Vang
3	Tai	Tai Dam	Tai Dam (Black Tai)
		Tai Deng	Tai Deng (Red Tai)
		Tai Khao	Tai Khao (White Tai)
		Tai Moey	Tai Mène
			Tai Theng
			Tai Et
			Tai Xom
4	Lue		Lue [4]
		Kheun	Kheun[5]

[1] This new classification of the Lao Front for National Construction, dating from August 2000, is based on language families generally recognized by scholars internationally. It should be considered as is a major step forward in the classification process even though the subgrouping has not yet followed this practice.
[2] In technical literature this family is known as Tai-Kadai.
[3] Refers to the Lao of Northeastern Thailand who migrated to Laos.
[4] Conventional spelling found in the literature.
[5] Originally from Keng Tung in Burma.

5	Nyouan		Nyouan
		Kalom	Kalom
		Ngiau	Ngiau[6]
6	Yang		Yang[7]
7	Sek		Sek
			Koy
8	Tay Neua		Tay Neua[8]
II: The Mon-Khmer Language Family (32 Groups)[9]			
9	Khmou		Khmou, Kammu
		Khmou Ou	Khmou Ou
		Khmou Lue	Khmou Lue
		Khmou Nyouan	Khmou Nyouan
		Khmou Khrong	Khmou Khrong
		Khmou Rok	Khmou Rok
		Khmou Khwène	Khmou Khwène[10]
		Khmou Mè	Khmou Mè
		Khmou Kasak	Khmou Kasak
		Khmou Cheuang	Khmou Cheuang
			Mok Pray
			Mok Prang
			Mok Tang Chak
			Mok Kok
			Mok Tou
10	Pray	Thin	Thin, Lawa, Lao May[11]
11	Ksing Moul		Phouak, Lao May
12	Phong		Phong, Kaniang
		Phong Piat	
		Phong Lane	
		Phong Fène	Phong Fène
		Phong Chapouang	Phong Chapouang
13	Thène		Thène, Thay Thène
14	Oe Du		Oe Du, Thay Hat

[6] The Lao word for Shan.
[7] The conventional spelling in Nhang, the outsider term for the group that calls itself Yay.
[8] Recent immigrants from the Sze Mao area of Yunnan, not to be confused with the 'Neua' of Sam Neua.
[9] Mon-Khmer is the major branch of the larger Austroasiatic Family.
[10] Or 'Kwène'.
[11] More commonly referred to as 'Phay' in Laos. T'in and Lawa are names used in Thailand.

15	Bit		Bit
16	Lamet		Lamet
17	Sam Tao		Sam Tao
		Doi	Doi
18	Katang		Brou Katang
		Pha Keo	Pha Keo
19	Makong		Brou Makong
		Trouy	Trouy
		Phoua	Phoua
		Maroy	Maroy
		Trong	Trong
20	Tri		Brou Tri
21	Jrou		Laven, Sou'
		Jrou Kong	Jrou Kong
		Jrou Dak	Jrou Dak
22	Triang		Triang
23	Ta Oy		Ta Oy
		Tong	Tong
		Yinr	In
24	Yè'		Yè'
25	Brao		Lavè, Louy Vé
		Kavèt	Kavèt
		Halang	Halang
26	Katu		Katu[12]
		Triu	Triu
		Dak Kang	Dak Kang (Panh Deng)
27	Halak		Alak
28	Oy	Sapouan	Sapouan
		Sok	Sok
		Inthi	Inthi
			Mèkrong
			Mèreuyao

[12] Conventional spelling.

29	Kriang		Ngè'
		Chatong	Chatong
		Ko'	Ko'
30	Cheng		Cheng
31	Sadang		Sedang[13]
		Kayong	Kayong
		Sadang Douan	Sadang Douan
32	Souay		Souay
33	Nya Heun		Tang Kè', Heunh
34	Lavi		Lavi
35	Pacoh		Pacoh[14]
		Kado	Kado
		Kanay	Kanay
36	Khmer		Khom, Khmer[15]
37	Toum		Toum
		Liha	Liha
		Thay Cham	Thay Cham
			Thay Poun
		Thay Pong	Thay Pong
			Moy
38	Ngouan		Ngouan
39	Meuang		Moy
40	Kri[16]		Salang, Arem
			Tong Leuang
		Maleng	Maleng
		Mlabri[17]	Labri, Tong Leuang

[13] Conventional spelling.
[14] Conventional spelling.
[15] Conventional spelling.
[16] This is a problematic classification. The Vietic (or Viet-Meuang) subgroups of Nakai and adjacent areas consist of a number of languages, of which 'Kri' is one. Salang is a local term for this group, and Arem is the Brou term for the same group. 'Tong Leuang' (Lit. 'Yellow Leaf') is the Lao expression for hunter-gatherers that refers to the shelters constructed for short-term residence during cyclical foraging in the forest, the idea being that when the leaves turn yellow it is time to move on. (cf Chamberlain 1997)
[17] The Mlabri (also hunter-gatherers and hence the confusion) do not belong to the Kri group and are misclassified here, rather they are related to Khmou and Pray and are found in Xaygnaboury.

III: The Chine-Tibet Language Family (7 Groups)[18]			
41	Akha		Ko, Iko
		Akha Chi Cho	Chi Cho
		Akha Pouly	Pouly
		Akha Pana	Pana
		Akha Fé	Ko Fé
		Akha Nou Kouy	Nou Kouy
		Akha Louma	Louma
		Akha Oe Pa	Oe Pa
		Akha Chi Pya	Chi Pya
		Akha Mou Chi	Mou Chi
		Akha Ya Oe	Ya Oe
		Akha Kong Sat	Kong Sat
42	Singsily[19]		Phou Nou, Pisou
		Phou Yot	Phou Yot
		Tapat	Tapat
		Ban Tang	Ban Tang
		Cha Ho	Cha Ho
		Lao Xeng	Lao Xeng
		Phay (Phong Saly)	Phay (Phong Saly)
		Lao Pane	Lao Pane
		Phong Kou	Phong Kou
		Phong Set	Phong Set
43	Lahu		Mou Xoe
		Lahu Dam	Mou Xoe Dam (Black Lahu)
		Lahu Khao	Mou Xoe Khao (White Lahu)
		Kouy[20]	Kouy Soung
			Kouy Louang
44	Sila		Sida
45	Hanyi		Hanyi
46	Lolo		Lolo
47	Ho		Ho[21]

[18] This is the Lao term for the larger superstock known as Sino-Tibetan which consists of two main families: Sinitic (Chinese) and Tibeto-Burman. Most of the languages of this family in Laos belong to the Tibeto-Burman family, the only exception are the Chinese Ho.

[19] Also found written as 'Sengsaly' or 'Sengsaly Ba'. This is one of 12 Bisoid (Phou Noy) languages found in Phongsaly. When the other groups discovered that Singsily was going to be used for all Phou Noy languages they voiced exceptions since they do not consider themselves to be "Singsaly."

[20] Call themselves Lahu Shi 'Yellow Lahu'.

[21] Yunnanese Chinese.

IV: The Hmong – Iu Mien Language Family (2 groups)[22]			
48	Hmong		
		Hmong Khao	Hmong Daw (White Hmong)
		Mong Lai	Mong Leng, Mong Youa (Green Mong)
		Hmong Dam	Hmong Dam (Black Hmong)
	Iu Mien		Yao
		Lantène	Lao Houay, Lènetène[23]
		Yao Phon May Deng	Yao Phon May Deng
		Yao Khao	Yao Khao

[22] The recent name for this family is Hmong-Mien (Iu Mien is the name of a particular group of Yao). The former name for this family found in the literature until about 1985 is Miao-Yao.

[23] Usually refer to themselves as 'Kim Moun' or 'Mane'. The 'Lènetène' name is apparently a distortion from Vietnam (J. Lemoine p.c.)

Appendix 2 – Bibliography of languages and the environment and multilingualism[1]

Adler, M.K. 1977. Welsh and the Other Dying Languages of Europe: a sociolinguistic study. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.

Alatis, J.E. and J.J. Staczek 1985. Perspectives on Bilingualism and Bilingual Education. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Alcorn, J.B. 1984. Huastec Mayan Ethnobotany. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Alcorn, J.B. 1995. The scope and aims of ethnobotany in a developing world. In Ethnobotany: Evolution of a Discipline, ed. by R.E. Schultes and S. von Reis. Pp. 23–39. Portland, OR: Dioscorides Press.

Alcorn, J.B. 1996. Is biodiversity conserved by indigenous peoples? In Ethnobiology in Human Welfare, ed. by S.K. Jain. Pp. 234–238. New Delhi: Deep Publications.

Atran, S. 1985. The nature of folk-botanical life-forms. American Anthropologist 86: 298–315.

Atran, S. 1990. Cognitive Foundations of Natural History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Atran, S. 1993. Itza Maya tropical agro-forestry. Current Anthropology 34:633–700.

Atran, S. 1994. Core domains versus scientific theories: Evidence from Itza Maya folkbiology and scientific systematics. In Mapping the Mind: Domain Specificity in Cognition and Culture, ed. by L. Hirschfeld and S. Gelman. Pp. 316–340. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Atran, S. 1995. Causal constraints on categories and categorical constraints on biological reasoning across cultures. In Sperber, Premack and Premack 1995. Pp. 205–233.

Atran, S. and D. Sperber 1990. Learning without teaching: Its place in culture. In Culture, Schooling and Psychological Development, ed. by L. Tolchinsky-Landsmann. Pp. 39–55. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Aumeeruddy, Y. 1994. Local Representations and Management of Agroforests on the Periphery of Kerinci Seblat National Park, Sumatra, Indonesia. People and Plants Working Paper no. 3, WWF/UNESCO/Kew Gardens People and Plants Initiative. Paris: UNESCO.

Balée, W. 1994. Footprints of the Forest: Ka'apor Ethnobotany-The Historical Ecology of Plant Utilization by an Amazonian People. New York: Columbia University Press.

Balée, W. and D. Moore 1991. Similarity and variation in plant names in five Tupi-Guarani languages (eastern Amazonia). Bulletin of the Florida Museum of Natural History and Biological Sciences 35: 209–262.

Barbier, E.B., J.C. Burgess, and C. Folke 1994. Paradise Lost? The Ecological Economics of Biodiversity. London: Earthscan.

[1] Modified from Mufti (1996).

Barkow, J.H., L. Cosmides, and J. Tooby (eds.) 1992. The Adapted Mind. Evolutionary Psychology and the Generation of Culture. New York: Oxford University Press.

Barnett, H. 1953. Innovation: The Basis of Cultural Change. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Bateson, P. 1984. The biology of cooperation. New Society 31: 343–345.

Batibo, Herman 1992. The fate of ethnic languages in Tanzania. In Brenzinger 1992. Pp. 83–98.

Becker, C.D. and E. Ostrom 1995. Human ecology and resource sustainability: The importance of institutional diversity. Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics 26: 113–133.

Bellon, M. and S. Brush 1994. Keepers of maize in Chiapas. Economic Botany 48(2): 196–209.

Berlin, B. 1972. Speculations on the growth of ethnobotanical nomenclature. Language in Society 1: 51–86.

Berlin, B. 1984. Contributions of Native American collectors to the ethnobotany of the neotropics. Advances in Economic Botany 1: 24–33.

Berlin, B. 1992. Ethnobiological Classification: Principles of Categorization of Plants and Animals in Traditional Societies. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Berlin, B. and E.A. Berlin 1983. Adaptation and ethnozoological classification: Theoretical implications of animal resources and diet of the Aguaruna and Huambisa. In Hames and Vickers 1983. Pp. 301–328.

Berlin, E.A. and B. Berlin 1996. Medical Ethnobiology of the Highland Maya of Chiapas, Mexico: The Gastrointestinal Diseases. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Berlin, B., D.E. Breedlove, and P.H. Raven 1974. Principles of Tzeltal Plant Classification: An Introduction to the Botanical Ethnography of a Mayan Speaking Community in Highland Chiapas. New York: Academic Press.

Berlin, B. et al. 1973. Lexical retention and cultural significance in Tzeltal–Tzotzil ethnobotany. In Meaning in Mayan Languages, ed. by M.S. Edmonson. Pp. 143–164. The Hague: Mouton.

Bernard, H.R. 1992. Preserving language diversity. Cultural Survival Quarterly 16(3): 15–18.

Blackburn, T.C. and K. Anderson (eds.) 1993. Before the Wilderness: Environmental Management by Native Californians. Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press.

Blount, B. and T. Gragson (submitted). Proceedings of the session "Ethnoecology: Knowledge, Resources and Rights", 93rd Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Atlanta, Georgia, 30 November–4 December 1994. Under consideration by Iowa University Press.

Bodley, J.H. (ed.) 1988. Tribal Peoples and Development Issues: A Global Overview. Mountain View, CA: Mayfield Publishing Co.

Bodley, J.H. 1990. Victims of Progress. Mountain View, CA: Mayfield Publishing Co.

Boom, B. M. 1989. Use of plant resources by the Chácobo. In Resource Management in Amazonia: Indigenous and Folk Strategies, ed. by

D.A. Posey and W. Balée. Pp. 78–96. Advances in Economic Botany 7.
Boyd, R. and P.J. Richerson 1985. Culture and the Evolutionary Process. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Bray, D. and D. Irvine (eds.) 1993. Resource and Sanctuary: Indigenous People, Ancestral Rights, and the Forests of America. Cultural Survival Quarterly 17(1).
Brenzinger, M. (ed.) 1992. Language Death: Factual and Theoretical Explorations with Special Reference to East Africa. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
Brokensha, D., D.M. Warren, and O. Werner (eds.) 1980. Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Development. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America.
Brooks, D.R. and D.A. McLennan 1991. Phylogeny, Ecology, and Behavior: A Research Program in Comparative Biology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Brown, L.R. (ed.) 1991. The World Watch Reader on Global Environmental Issues. New York: Norton.
Brush, S. 1990. Crop development in centers of domestication: A case study of Andean potato agriculture. In Agroecology and Small Farm Development, ed. by M. Altieri and S. Hecht. Pp. 161–170. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.
Brush, S. 1991. A farmer-based approach to conserving crop germplasm. Economic Botany 45: 153–165.
Brush, S. 1993. Indigenous knowledge of biological resources and intellectual property rights: The role of anthropology. American Anthropologist 95(3): 653–671.
Brush, S. et al. (in press). Potato diversity in the Andean center of crop domestication. Conservation Biology 9.
Bulmer, R.N.H. 1967. Why is the cassowary not a bird? A problem of zoological taxonomy among the Karam of the New Guinea Highlands. Man (n.s.) 2(1): 5–25.
Bulmer, R.N.H. 1970. Which came first first: The chicken or the egg-head? In Echanges et Communications: Mélanges offerts à Claude Lévi Strauss a l' Occasion de Son 60ième Anniversaire, ed. by J. Pouillon and P. Miranda. Pp. 1069–1091. Paris: Mouton.
Bulmer, R.N.H. 1974a. Folk biology in the New Guinea Highlands. Social Science Information 13: 9–28.
Bulmer, R.N.H. 1974b. Memoirs of a small game hunter: On the track of unknown animal categories in New Guinea. Journal d'Agriculture Tropicale et de Botanique Appliquée 21(4–5–6): 79–100.
Bulmer, R.N.H. 1982. Traditional conservation practices in Papua New Guinea. In Traditional Conservation in Papua New Guinea: Implications for Today, ed. by L. Morauta, J. Pernetta, and W. Heaney. Pp. 59–77. Bokoro, PNG: Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research.
Bulmer, R.N.H. and C. Healey 1993. Field methods in ethnozoology. In Traditional Ecological Knowledge: Wisdom for Sustainable Development, ed. by N.M. Williams and G. Baines. Pp. 43–55. Canberra: Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University.

Burger, J. 1987. Report from the Frontier: The State of the World's Indigenous Peoples. Atlantic Highlands: Zed Books.
Burger, J. et al. 1990. The Gaia Atlas of First Peoples. New York: Doubleday.
Bye, R. 1993. The role of humans in the diversification of plants in Mexico. In Biological Diversity of Mexico: Origins and Distribution, ed. by T.P. Ramamoorthy et al. Pp. 707–731. New York: Oxford University Press.
Caballero, J. 1987. Etnobotánica y desarrollo: La búsqueda de nuevos recursos vegetales. In IV Congreso Latinoamericano de Botánica: Simposio de Etnobotánica. Pp. 79–96. Bogotá: Instituto Colombiano para el Fomento de la Educación Superior (ICFES).
Caballero, J. 1994. Use and Management of Sabal Palms Among the Maya of Yucatan. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley.
Campbell, D.T. 1960. Blind variation and selective retention in creative thought as in other knowledge processes. Psychological Review 67(6): 380–400.
Campbell, D.T. 1965. Variation and selective retention in socio-cultural evolution. In Social Change in Developing Areas, ed. by H.R. Barringer,G.I. Blanksten, and R.W. Mack. Pp. 19–49. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman Publishing Co.
Campbell, D.T. 1974. Evolutionary epistemology. In The Philosophy of Karl Popper, ed. by P.A. Schilpp. Pp. 413–463. Evanston, IL: Open Court Publishing.
Castilleja, G. et al. 1993. The Social Challenge of Biodiversity Conservation. Working Paper #1, Global Environment Facility, The World Bank.
Cavalli-Sforza, L.L. 1991. Genes, peoples, and languages. Scientific American 265 (5): 104–110.
Cavalli-Sforza, L.L. and M. Feldman 1981. Cultural Transmission and Evolution: a Quantitative Approach. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Cavalli-Sforza, L.L., P. Menozzi, and A. Piazza 1994. The History and Geography of Human Genes. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Chafe, W. and D. Tannen 1987. The relation between written and spoken language. Annual Review of Anthropology 16: 383–407.
Chaliand, G. (ed.) 1989. Minority Peoples in the Age of Nation-States. London: Pluto Press.
Chapin, M. 1992. The co-existence of indigenous peoples and environments in Central America. Research and Exploration 8(2) [map].
Chernela, J. 1987. Endangered ideologies: Tukano fishing taboos. Cultural Survival Quarterly 11(2): 50–52.
Clay, J. 1988. Indigenous Peoples and Tropical Forests: Models of Land Use and Management from Latin America. Cambridge, MA: Cultural Survival, Inc.
Clay, J. 1990a. Indigenous peoples: The miner's canary for the twentieth century. In Lessons of the Rainforest, ed. by S. Head and R. Heinzman. Pp. 106–117. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books.
Clay, J. 1990b. What's a nation? Mother Jones 15(7): 28–30.

Colchester, M. 1994. Salvaging Nature: Indigenous Peoples, Protected Areas, and Biodiversity Conservation. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
Cole, M. and B. Means 1981. Comparative Studies of How People Think: An Introduction. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Cole, M. and S. Scribner 1974. Culture and Thought: A Psychological Introduction. New York: Wiley.
Comrie, B. 1989. Language Universal and Linguistic Typology: Syntax and Morphology, second edition. Oxford: Blackwell.
Conklin, H.C. 1954. The Relation of Hanunóo Culture to the Plant World. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation thesis, Yale University.
Cooper, D. 1991. Genes for sustainable development: Overcoming the obstacles to a global agreement on conservation and sustainable use of biodeversity. In Biodiversity: Social and Ecological Perspectives, ed.by V. Shiva et al. Pp. 105–123. London/New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd.
Corbett, G.G. 1991. Gender. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Cosmides, L., J. Tooby, and J.H. Barkow 1992. Introduction: Evolutionary psychology and conceptual integration. In Barkow, Cosmides, and Tooby 1992. Pp. 3–15.
Costanza, R., O Segura, and J. Marínez-Alier (eds.) 1996. Getting Down to Earth: Practical Applications of Ecological Economics. Washington, D.C./Covelo, CA: Island Press.
Damasio, A.R. 1994. Descartes' Error: Emotion, Reason, and the Human Brain. New York: Putnam.
Dasmann, R.F. 1991. The importance of cultural and biological diversity. In Oldfield and Alcorn 1991. Pp. 7–15.
Davis, Sh.H. 1977. Victims of the Miracle: Development and the Indians of Brazil. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Davis, Sh.H. (ed.) 1993. Indigenous Views of Land and the Environment. World Bank Discussion Paper No. 188. Washington DC: The World Bank.
Dearden, Ph. 1995. Development and biocultural diversity in northern Thailand. Applied Geography 15(4): 325–340.
de Avila B., A. 1989. Herbs, flowers, quelites and woods: Mixtec plant nomenclature. Paper presented at the XII Annual Conference of the Society of Ethnobiology, University of California at Riverside.
de Avila B., A. and G.J. Martin 1990. Estudios etnobotánicos en Oaxaca. In Recursos naturales, técnicos, y cultura: Estudios y experiencia para el desarrollo alternativo, ed. by E. Leff et al. México, D.F.: Centro de Investigaciones Interdisciplinarias en Humanidades, UNAM.
De Klemm, C. 1985. Culture and conservation: Some thoughts for the future. In Culture and Conservation, ed. by J. McNeely and D. Pitt. Pp. 239–58. London/Sydney: Croom Helm.
Denevan, W.M. 1992. The pristine myth: The landscape of the Americas in 1492. Annals of the Association of American Geographers 82(3): 369–385.
Denslow, J.S. and C. Padoch (eds.) 1988. People of the Tropical Rain Forest. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Diamond, J. 1987. The worst mistake in the history of the human race. Discover May 1987: 64–66.
Diamond, J. 1991. The Rise and Fall of the Third Chimpanzee. New York: Harper & Collins.
Diamond, J. 1993. Speaking with a single tongue. Discover 14(2): 78–85.
Dorian, N. (ed.) 1989. Investigating Obsolescence: Studies in Language Contraction and Death. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Dorian, N. 1993. A response to Ladefoged's other view of endangered languages. Language 69(3): 575–579.
Dougherty, J.W.D. 1978. Salience and relativity in classification. American Ethnologist 5: 66–80.
Dougherty, J.W.D. 1979. Learning names for plants and plants for names. Anthropological Linguistics 21(6): 298–315.
Dressler, W. and R. Wodak-Leodolter (eds.) 1977. Language Death. International Journal of the Sociology of Language 12. The Hague: Mouton.
Durham, W.H. 1990. Advances in evolutionary culture theory. Annual Review of Anthropology 19: 187–210.
Durham, W.H. 1991a. Coevolution: Genes, Culture, and Human Diversity. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Durham, W.H. 1991b. Applications of culture evolutionary theory. Annual Review of Anthropology 21: 331–355.
Durning, A.T. 1992. Guardians of the Land: Indigenous Peoples and the Health of the Earth. Worldwatch Paper no. 112. Washington, D.C.: Worldwatch Institute.
Durning, A.T. 1993. Supporting indigenous peoples. In State of the World 1993: A Worldwatch Institute Report on Progress Toward a Sustainable Society. Pp. 80–100. New York: Norton & Co.
Dutton, T. 1995. Language contact and change in Melanesia. In The Austronesians: Historical and Comparative Perspectives, ed. by P. Bellwood, J.J. Fox, and D. Tryon. Pp. 192–213. Canberra: National Australian University, Department of Anthropology.
Eggleton, P. and R.I. Vane-Wright (eds.) 1994. Phylogenetics and Ecology. San Diego: Academic Press.
Ehrenfeld, D. 1986. Thirty million cheers for diversity. New Scientist 110(1512): 38–43.
Ehrenfeld, D. (ed.) 1995. To Preserve Biodiversity: An Overview. Readings from Conservation Biology. Cambridge, MA: Society for Conservation Biology and Blackwell Science, Inc.
Ehrlich, P.R. 1988. The loss of diversity: causes and consequences. In Biodiversity, ed. by E.O. Wilson. Pp. 21–27. Washington: National Academy Press.
Ehrlich, P.R. and A.H. Ehrlich 1981. Extinction: The Causes and Consequences of the Disappearance of Species. New York: Random House.
Ehrlich, P.R. and A.H. Ehrlich 1992. The value of biodiversity. Ambio 21(3): 219–226.
Ehrlich, P.R., A.H. Ehrlich and J. Holdren 1977. Ecoscience: Population, Resources, Environment. San Francisco: Freeman.
Ellen, R. 1994. Rhetoric, practice and incentive in the face of changing times: A study in Nuaulu attitudes to conservation and deforesta-

tion. In Environmentalism: The View from Anthropology, ed. by K. Milton. Pp. 127–143. London/New York: Routledge.
Fase, W., K. Jaspaert, and S. Kroon 1992. Maintenance and Loss of Minority Languages. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Feeny, D., F. Berkes, B. McCay, and J.M. Acheson 1990. The tragedy of the commons: Twenty-two years later. Human Ecology 18(1): 1–19.
Fishman, J.A. 1978. Advances in the Study of Societal Multilingualism. The Hague: Mouton.
Fishman, J.A. 1982. Whorfianism of the third kind: Ethnolinguistic diversity as a worldwide societal asset. Language in Society 11: 1–14.
Fishman, J.A. 1989. Language and Ethnicity in Minority Sociolinguistic Perspective. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
Fishman, J.A. 1991. Reversing Language Shift : Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
Florey, M. 1993. The reinterpretation of knowledge and its role in the process of language obsolescence. Oceanic Linguistics 32(2): 295–309.
Frake, Ch.O. 1983. Did literacy cause the great cognitive divide? American Ethnologist 10(2): 368–371.
Futuyma, D.J. and M. Slatkin (eds.) 1983. Coevolution. Sunderland, MA: Sinauer.
Gal, S. 1979. Language Shift: Social Determinants of Linguistic Change in Bilingual Austria. New York: Academic Press.
Gärling, T. and G.W. Evans (eds.) 1991. Environment, Cognition, and Action: An Integrated Approach. New York: Oxford University Press.
Gilbert, L.E. and P.H. Raven (eds.) 1980. Coevolution of Animals and Plants. Rev. ed. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
Goehring, B. 1993. Indigenous Peoples of the World: An Introduction to Their Past, Present, and Future. Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Purich Publishing.
Goody, J. (ed.) 1968. Literacy in Traditional Societies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Goody, J. 1977. The Domestication of the Savage Mind. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Goody, J. 1987. The Interface Between the Written and the Oral. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Gray, A. 1991a. Between the Spice of Life and the Melting Pot: Biodiversity Conservation and Its Impact on Indigenous Peoples. IWGIA Document no. 70. Copenhagen, Denmark: IWGIA.
Gray, A. 1991b. The impact of biodiversity conservation on indigenous peoples. In Biodiversity: Social and Ecological Perspectives, ed.by V. Shiva et al. Pp. 59–76. London and New Jersey: Zed Books Lts.
Groombridge, B. (ed.) 1992. Global Biodiversity: Status of the Earth's Living Resources. World Conservation Monitoring Centre. London: Chapman & Hall.
Grinde, D.A. and B.E. Johansen 1995. Ecocide of Native America. Santa Fe: Clear Light.

Hale, K. 1992. On the human value of languages. Paper presented at the plenary session on Endangered Languages, 15th International Congress of Linguists, Université Laval, Quebec.
Hale, K. et al. 1992. Endangered languages. Language 68(1): 1–42.
Hamel, R.E. 1993. Derechos lingüísticos. Nueva Antropología 12(44): 71–102.
Hamel, R.E. 1995. Language, discourse, and cultural models: Three levels of language shift and maintenance. Paper presented at the Symposium on Language Loss and Public Policy, Albuquerque, NM, June 30–July 2, 1995.
Hames, R.B. 1991. Wildlife conservation in tribal societies. In Oldfield and Alcorn 1991. Pp. 172–199.
Hames, R.B. and W.T. Vickers 1983. Adaptive Responses of Native Amazonians. New York: Academic Press.
Handwerker, W.P. 1989. The origins and evolution of culture. American Anthropologist 91(2): 313–326.
Hardin, G. 1968. The tragedy of the commons. Science 162: 1243–1248.
Harmon, D. 1995a. The status of the world's languages as reported in the Ethnologue. Paper presented at the Symposium on Language Loss and Public Policy, Albuquerque, NM, June 30–July 2, 1995.
Harmon, D. 1995b. Losing species, losing languages: Connections between biological and linguistic diversity. Paper presented at the Symposium on Language Loss and Public Policy, Albuquerque, NM, June 30–July 2, 1995.
Harris, D.R. 1989. An evolutionary continuum of people-plant interaction. In Foraging and Farming: The Evolution of Plant Exploitation, ed. by D.R. Harris and G.C. Hillman. Pp. 11–26. London: Unwin Hyman.
Harris, D.R. and G.C. Hillman (eds.) 1989. Foraging and Farming: The Evolution of Plant Exploitation. London: Unwin Hyman.
Heath, Sh.B. 1977. La política del lenguaje en México: De la colonia a la nación. Mexico City: INI.
Hill, J.H. 1995. The loss of structural differentiation in obsolescent languages. Paper presented at the symposium "Endangered Languages", AAAS Annual Meeting, Atlanta, GA, 18 February 1995.
Hill, J.H. and K.C. Hill 1986. Speaking Mexicano: Dynamics of Syncretic Language in Central Mexico. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
Hinton, L. 1994. Flutes of Fire: Essays on California Indian Languages. Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books.
Hinton, L. 1995. Current problems affecting language loss and language survival in California. Paper presented at the Symposium on Language Loss and Public Policy, Albuquerque, NM, June 30–July 2, 1995.
Hoenigswald, H.M. and L.F. Wiener 1987. Biological Metaphor and Cladistic Classification.: An Interdisciplinary Perspective. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Homewood, K.M. and W.A. Rodgers (eds.) 1991. Maasailand Ecology: Pastoralist Development and Wildlife. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Hunn, E.S. 1977. Tzeltal Folk Zoology: The Classification of Discontinuities in Nature. New York: Academic Press.
Hunn, E.S. 1982. The utilitarian factor in folk biological classification. American Anthropologist 84: 830–847.
Hunn, E.S. 1990. Nchi'-Wana, The Big River: Mid-Columbia Indians and Their Land. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
Hunn, E.S. 1994. Place-names, population density, and the magic number 500. Current Anthropology 35(1): 81–85.
Irvine, D. 1987. Resource Management by the Runa Indians of the Ecuadorian Amazon. Ph.D. dissertation, Anthropology Department, Stanford University. University Microfilm DA8720400.
Irvine, D., J. Kosek, and J. Olson 1993. Indigenous forestry in the Americas: A roster. Cultural Survival Quarterly 17(1): 60–63.
Johnson, A. 1989. How the Machiguenga manage resources: Conservation or exploitation of nature? In Resource Management in Amazonia: Indigenous and Folk Strategies, ed. by D.A. Posey and W. Balée. Pp. 213–222. Advances in Economic Botany Vol. 7. Bronx, NY: The New York Botanical Garden.
Kaplan, R., and S. Kaplan 1989. The Experience of Nature: A Psychological Perspective. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Kaplan, S. and R. Kaplan (eds.) 1978. Humanscape: Environments for People. North Scituate, MA: Duxbury Press.
Kaplan, S. and R. Kaplan 1982. Cognition and Environment: Functioning in an Uncertain World. New York: Praeger.
Kellert, S.R. and E.O. Wilson 1993. The Biophilia Hypothesis. Washington, D.C.: Island Press.
Kelly, K.M. 1994. On the magic number 500: An expostulation. Current Anthropology 35(4): 435–438.
Kempton, W., J.S. Boster, and J.A. Hartley 1995. Environmental Values in American Culture. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
King, L. 1994. Roots of Identity. Language and Literacy in Mexico. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Klopfer, P.H. 1988. Reseeding the commons. In Evolution of Social Behavior and Integrative Levels, ed. by G. Greenberg and E. Tobach. Pp. 115–121. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum Associates.
Krattinger, A.F. et al. (eds.) 1994. Widening Perspectives on Biodiversity. Gland, Switzerland: IUCN, and Geneva, Switzerland: International Academy of the Environment.
Krauss, M. 1992. The world's languages in crisis. In Hale et al. 1992. Pp. 4–10.
Krishnan, R., J.M. Harris, and N.R. Goodwin 1995. A Survey of Ecological Economics. Washington, D.C./Covelo, CA: Island Press.
Kulick, D. 1992. Language shift as cultural reproduction. In Culture Change, Language Change: Case Studies from Melanesia, ed. by T. Dutton. Pp. 7–26. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics C–120.
Ladefoged, P. 1992. Another view of endangered languages. Language 68(4): 809–811.
Lambert, W.E. 1972. Language, Psychology, and Culture: Essays by Wallace E. Lambert. Selected and introduced by A.S. Dil. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Lélé, S. and R. Norgaard 1996. Sustainability and the scientist's burden. Conservation Biology 10(2): 354–365.
Linden, E. 1991 Lost Tribes, Lost Knowledge. Time 138(12): 32–40.
Linguistic Society of America 1996. Statement on language rights. LSA Bulletin 151, March 1996 [insert].
Lizarralde, M. 1994. Index of the ethno-linguistic Indian groups of South America. In Cultures of South America, ed. by J. Wilbert. Encyclopedia of the Cultures of the World. New Haven, CN: HRAF.
Lizarralde, M. 1995. Etnobotánica barí de la Sierra de Perijá: Conocimiento y uso de los recursos forestales para la protección de la cultura y biodiversidad. Paper presented at the Coloquio Venezolano-Francés Sobre el Estado Actual de la Antropología, Escuela de Antropología, Universidad Central de Venezuela, Caracas, October 2, 1995.
Loewenstein, G. and J. Elster 1992. Choice Over Time. New York: Sage.
Lugo, A.E. 1988. Estimating reductions in the diversity of tropical forest species. In Biodiversity, ed. by E.O. Wilson. Pp. 58–70. Washington: National Academy Press.
Lumsden, C. and E.O. Wilson. Genes, Mind, and Culture. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Maffi, L. 1995. Domesticated land, warm and cold: Linguistic and historical evidence on Tzeltal Maya ethnoecology. In Blount and Gragson (submitted).
Majnep, I.S. and R.N.H. Bulmer 1977. Birds of My Kalam Country. Auckland: Auckland and Oxford University Presses.
Majnep, I.S., A. Pawley, and R.N.H. Bulmer in prep. Kalam Plant Lore.
Malt, B.C. 1995. Category coherence in cross-cultural perspective. Cognitive Psychology 29: 85–148.
Marks, J. 1995. Human Biodiversity: Genes, Race, and Culture. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
Martin, G.J. 1987 El papel de la etnobotánica en el rescate ecológico y cultural de América Latina. In IV Congreso Latinoamericano de Botánica: Simposio de Etnobotánica. Pp. 67–77. Bogotá: Instituto Colombiano para el Fomento de la Educación Superior (ICFES).
Martin, G.J. 1995. Ethnobotany: A Methods Manual. London: Chapman & Hall.
Martínez-Alier, J. with K. Schüppmann 1987. Ecological Economics: Energy, Environment and Society. Oxford/New York: Blackwell.
Mascie-Taylor, C.G.N. and B. Bogin (eds.) 1995. Human Variability and Plasticity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
May, R.M. 1988. How many species are there on Earth? Science 241(4872): 1441–1449.
McNeely, J.A. 1995. The interaction between biological diversity and cultural diversity. Paper presented at the International Conference on Indigenous Peoples, Environment and Development, Zurich, 15–18 May 1995.
McNeely, J.A. and D. Pitt (eds.) 1985a. Culture and Conservation: The Human Dimension in Environmental Planning. London: Croom Helm.

McNeely, J.A. and D. Pitt 1985b. Culture: The missing element in conservation and development. In Culture and Conservation: The Human Dimension in Environmental Planning, ed. by J. McNeely and D. Pitt. Pp. 1–9. London: Croom Helm.
McNeely, J.A. et al. 1990. Conserving the World's Biological Diversity. Gland, Switzerland: IUCN, and Washington, D.C.: WRI/CI/ WWF-US/The World Bank.
Medin, D.L. 1989. Concepts and conceptual structure. American Psychologist 44(12): 1469–1481.
Miller, M.S. (ed.) 1993. State of the Peoples. A Global Human Rights Report on Societies in Danger. Boston: Beacon Press.
Milton, K. 1984. Protein and carbohydrate resources of the Maku Indians of Northwestern Amazonia. American Anthropologist 86: 7–27.
Milton, K. 1991. Comparative aspects of diet in Amazonian forest dwellers. Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, Series B. 334: 253–263.
Milton, K. 1992. Civilization and its discontents. Natural History, March 1992, pp. 36–45.
Mishler, B. 1995. Plant systematics and conservation: Science and society. Madroño 42(2): 103–113.
Morauta, L., J. Pernetta, and W. Heaney (eds.) 1982. Traditional Conservation in Papua New Guinea: Implications for Today. Bokoro, PNG: Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research.
Mühlhäusler, P. (1995). The interdependence of linguistic and biological diversity. In The Politics of Multiculturalism in the Asia/Pacific, ed. by D. Myers. Pp. 154–161. Darwin, Australia: Northern Territory University Press.
Myers, N. 1988. Tropical forests and their species: Going, going…? In Biodiversity, ed.by E.O. Wilson. Pp. 28–35. Washington: National Academy Press.
Nabhan, G.P. 1989. Enduring Seeds: Native American Agriculture and Wild Plant Conservation. San Francisco: North Point Press.
Nabhan, G.P. and S. St. Antoine 1993. The loss of floral and faunal story: The extinction of experience. In Kellert and Wilson 1993. Pp. 229–250.
Nabhan, G.P. and S. Trimble1994. The Geography of Childhood: Why Children Need Wild Places. Boston: Beacon Press.
Nations, J. and R. Nigh 1980. The evolutionary potential of Lacandon Maya sustained-yield tropical forest agriculture. Journal of Anthropological Research 36: 1–30.
Nichols, J. 1992. Linguistic Diversity in Space and Time. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Nietschmann, B.Q. 1987. The third World War. Cultural Survival Quarterly 11(3): 1–16.
Nietschmann, B.Q. 1992. The Interdependence of Biological and Cultural Diversity. Occasional Paper #21, Center for World Indigenous Studies, December 1992.
Nietschmann, B.Q. 1994. The Fourth World: Nations versus states. In: Reordering the World: Geopolitical Perspectives on the Twenty-First Century, ed. by G.J. Demko and W. Wood. Pp. 225–242. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Nitecki, M.H. (ed.) 1983. Coevolution.Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Norgaard, R.B. 1994. Development Betrayed: The End of Progress and a Coevolutionary Revisioning of the Future. London/New York: Routledge.
Norton, B.G. (ed.) 1986. The Preservation of Species : The Value of Biological Diversity. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Norton, B.G. 1987. Why Preserve Natural Variety? Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Oldfield, M.L. and J.B. Alcorn 1991. Biodiversity: Culture, Conservation, and Ecodevelopment. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
Ostrom, E. 1990. Governing the Commons. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Painter, M. and W.H. Durham (eds.) 1995. The Social Causes of Environmental Destruction in Latin America. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
Pawley, A. 1991. Man and a Half: Essays in Pacific Anthropology and Ethnobiology in Honour of Ralph Bulmer. Auckland: Polynesian Society.
Peluso, N.L. 1992. Rich Forest, Poor People: Resource Control Resistance in Java. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Perrings, C.A. et al. 1994. Biodiversity Conservation: Problems and Policies. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic.
Plotkin, M. 1988. Ethnobotany and conservation in the Guianas: The Indians of Southern Suriname. In Tropical Rainforest: Diversity and Conservation, ed.by F. Almeda and C. Pringle. Pp. 87–109. San Francisco: California Academy of Sciences.
Poffenberger, M. (ed.) 1990. Keepers of the Forest: Land Management Alternatives in Southeast Asia. West Hartford, Conn.: Kumarian Press.
Ponting, C. (1991). A Green History of the World. London: Sinclair-Stevenson.
Poole, P. 1995. Indigenous Peoples, Mapping and Biodiversity Conservation. BSP People and Forests Program Discussion Paper Series. Washington, D.C.: Biodiversity Support Program.
Posey, D.A. and W. Balée (eds.) 1989. Resource Management in Amazonia: Indigenous and Folk Strategies. Advances in Economic Botany no. 7. Bronx, NY: New York Botanical Garden.
Posey, D.A. and G. Dutfield 1996. Beyond Intellectual Property: Toward Traditional Resource Rights for Indigenous Peoples and Local Communities. Ottawa: International Development Research Centre.
Posey, D.A. et al. 1990. Ethnobiology: Implications and Applications. Proceedings of the First International Congress of Ethnobiology, Belém, 1988. Vols. 1 &2.
Potter, C.S., J.I. Cohen, and D. Janczewski (eds.) 1993. Perspectives on Biodiversity: Case Studies of Genetic Resource Conservation and Development. Washington, D.C.: AAAS Press.
Prance, G.T. 1977 Floristic inventory of the tropics: where do we stand? Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden 64: 659–684.
Prance, G.T. et al. 1987. Quantitative ethnobotany and the case for conservation in Amazonia. Conservation Biology 1(4):296–310.

Raven, P.H. 1988. Our diminishing tropical forests. In Biodiversity, ed. by E.O.Wilson. Pp. 119–122. Washington: National Academy Press.
Raven, P.H. 1993. A plea to the citizens of the world: Live as if Earth matters. Diversity 9(3): 49–51.
Redford, K.H. and C. Padoch (eds.) 1992. Conservation in Neotropical Forests: Working from Traditional Resources Use. New York: Columbia University Press.
Reid, W.V. and K.R. Miller 1993. Keeping Options Alive: The Scientific Basis for Conserving Biodiversity. Washington, D.C.: World Resources Institute.
Robins Hunter, Ph. 1994. Language extinction and the status of North American Indian Languages. Studies in Technology and Social Change 23. Ames, IA: Technology and Social Change Program, Iowa State University.
Robins, R.H. and E.M. Uhlenbeck (eds.) 1991. Endangered Languages. Oxford: Berg.
Rojas, M. 1995. The species problem and conservation: What are we protecting? In To Preserve Biodiversity: An Overview. Readings from Conservation Biology, ed. by D. Ehrenfeld. Pp. 35–43. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Science/The Society for Conservation Biology.
Rosch, E. 1977. Human categorization. In Studies in Cross-Cultural Psychology, ed. by N. Warren. Vol.1, pp. 1–49. London: Academic Press.
Rosch, E. 1978. Principles of categorization. In Cognition and Categorization, ed. by E. Rosch and B. Lloyd. Pp. 28–49. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum Associates.
Rosch, E. et al. 1975. Basic objects in natural categories. Cognitive Psychology 8: 382–439.
Rosenberg, M. 1990. The mother of invention: Evolutionary theory, territoriality, and the origins of agriculture. American Anthropologist 92(2): 399–415.
Sandlund, O.T., K. Hindar, and A.H.D. Brown (eds.) 1992. Conservation of Biodiversity for Sustainable Development. Oslo, Norway: Scandinavian University Press.
Schmidt, A. 1985. Young People's Dyirbal. An Example of Language Death from Australia. London: Cambridge University Press.
Schultes, R.E. 1994. Burning the library of Amazonia. The Sciences March/April 1994: 24–30.
Scribner, S. and M. Cole 1981. The Psychology of Literacy. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Shiva, V. 1991. Biodiversity, biotechnology and profits. In Biodiversity: Social and Ecological Perspectives, ed. by V. Shiva et al. Pp. 43–58. London and New Jersey: Zed Books Lts.
Shiva, V. et al. 1991. Biodiversity: Social and Ecological Perspectives. London: Zed Books.
Skutnabb-Kangas, T. and R. Phillipson (eds.) 1994. Linguistic Human Rights: Overcoming Linguistic Discrimination. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
Smith, E.A. and B. Winterhalder 1992. Evolutionary Ecology and Human Behavior. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Solbrig, O.T., H.M. van Emden, and P.G.W.G. van Oordt (eds.) 1994. Biodiversity and Global Change. Wallingford, UK: CAB International, and Paris: International Union of Biological Sciences.
Soulé, M.E. (ed.) 1986. Conservation Biology: The Science of Scarcity and Diversity. Sunderland, MA: Sinauer.
Sperber, D., D. Premack, and A. James Premack 1995. Causal Cognition: A Multidisciplinary Debate. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Stone, A.R. and D.L. Hawksworth (eds.) 1986. Coevolution and Systematics. New York: Oxford University Press.
Stross, B. 1973. Acquisition of botanical terminology by Tzeltal children. In Meaning in Mayan Languages, ed. by M.S. Edmonson. Pp. 107–141. The Hague: Mouton.
Stross, B. 1975. Variation and natural selection as factors in linguistic and cultural change. In Linguistics and Anthropology: In Honor of C.F. Voegelin, ed. by M.D. Kinkade et al. Pp. 607–632. Lisse: Peter de Ridder.
Symons, D. 1992. On the use and misuse of Darwinism in the study of human behavior. In Barkow, Cosmides, and Tooby 1992. Pp. 137–159.
Systematics Agenda 2000 1994. Systematics Agenda 2000: Charting the Biosphere. Technical Report. New York: Systematics Agenda 2000.
Taylor, A.R. (ed.) 1992. Language Obsolescence, Shift, and Death in Several Native American Communities. International Journal of the Sociology of Language 93. The Hague: Mouton.
Thieberger, N. L. 1990. Language maintenance: Why bother? Multilingua 9(4): 333–358.
Thompson, J.N. 1982. Interaction and Coevolution. New York: Wiley.
Thompson, J.N. 1994. The Coevolutionary Process. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Toledo, V.M. 1982. La etnobotánica hoy: Reversión del conocimiento, lucha indígena y proyecto nacional. Biótica 7(2)141–150.
Toledo, V. M. 1987. La etnobotánica en Latinoamérica: Vicisitudes, contextos, desafíos. In IV Congreso Latinoamericano de Botánica: Simposio de Etnobotánica. Pp. 13–34. Bogotá: Instituto Colombiano para el Fomento de la Educación Superior (ICFES).
Toledo, V.M. 1988. The Floristic Richness of Latin America and the Caribbean as Indicated by the Botanical Inventories. The Nature Conservancy and Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
Toledo, V.M. 1992. What is ethnoecology? Origins, scope and implications of a rising discipline. Etnoecológica 1(1): 5–21.
Toledo, V.M. 1994. Biodiversity and cultural diversity in Mexico. Different Drummer 1(3): 16–19.
Toledo, V.M. 1995. New paradigms for a new ethnobotany: Reflections on the case of Mexico. In Ethnobotany: Evolution of a Discipline, ed. by R.E. Schultes and S. von Reis. Pp. 75–88. Portland, OR: Dioscorides Press.
Tooby, J. and L. Cosmides 1992. The psychological foundations of culture. In Barkow, Cosmides, and Tooby 1992. Pp. 19–136.
Warren, D.M. 1991. Using Indigenous Knowledge in Agriculture Development. World Bank Discussion Paper no. 127. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

Warren, D.M., L.J. Slikkerveer, and D. Brokensha (eds.) 1995. The Cultural Dimension of Development: Indigenous Knowledge Systems. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
Webster, J. 1994. Conserving Biodiversity in Africa. Washington, D.C.: Biodiversity Support Group/WWF-US.
Wester, L. and S. Yongvanit 1995. Biological diversity and community lore in notheastern Thailand. Journal of Ethnobiology 15(1): 71–87.
Western, D., R.M. Wright, and Sh. Strum (eds.) 1994. Natural Connections: Perspectives in Community-Based Conservation. Covelo, CA: Island Press.
Wilkins, D. 1993. Linguistic evidence in support of a holistic approach to traditional ecological knowledge. In Traditional Ecological Knowledge: Wisdom for Sustainable Development, ed. by N.M. Williams and G. Baines. Pp. 71–93. Canberra: Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University.
Wilcox, B.A. and K.N. Duin 1995. Indigenous cultural and biological diversity: Overlapping values of Latin American ecoregions. Cultural Survival Quarterly 18(4): 49–53.
Williams, N.M. and G. Baines 1993. Traditional Ecological Knowledge: Wisdom for Sustainable Development. Canberra: Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, National Australian University.
Williams, N.M. and E.S. Hunn 1982. Resource Managers: North American and Australian Hunter-Gatherers. AAAS Selected symposium no. 67. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
Williams, P.H., C.J. Humphries, and K.J. Gaston 1994. Centers of seed-plant diversity: The family way. Proceedings of the Royal Society of London B 256: 67–70.
Wilson, E.O. 1975. Sociobiology: The New Synthesis. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Wilson, E.O. 1978. On Human Nature. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Wilson, E.O. 1984. Biophilia. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Wilson, E.O. (ed.) 1988a. Biodiversity. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.
Wilson, E.O. 1988b. The current state of biological diversity. In Biodiversity, ed. by E.O. Wilson. Pp. 3–20. Washington: National Academy Press.
Wilson, E.O. 1989. Threats to biodiversity. Scientific American September 1989: 108–116.
Wilson, E.O. 1992. The Diversity of Life. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Wilson, E.O. 1993. Biophilia and the conservation ethic. In The Biophilia Hypothesis, S.R. Kellert and E.O. Wilson. Pp. 31–41. Washington, DC: Island Press.
Winterhalder, B. and E.A. Smith 1981. Hunter-Gatherer Foraging Strategies: Ethnographic and Archeological Analyses. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.
Woodbury, A.C. 1993. A defense of the proposition, "When a language dies, a culture dies". Texas Linguistic Forum 33: 101–129.

WRI/IUCN/UNEP 1992. Global Biodiversity Strategy: Guidelines for Action to Save, Study, and Use Earth's Biotic Wealth Sustainably and Equitably. Washington, D.C.: World Resources Institute.

Wurm, S.A. 1991. Language death and disappearance: Causes and circumstances. In Endangered Languages, ed. by R.H. Robins and E.M. Uhlenbeck. Pp. 1–18. Oxford/New York: Berg Publishers.

Zent, S. 1995. The quandary of conserving ethnoecological knowledge: A Piaroa example. In Blount and Gragson (submitted).

Appendix 3 – Bibliography of Lao minorities and minority issues[1]

Bibliographies:

Boudet P., and Bourgeois. 1929,1931,1934,1943. *Bibliographie de l'Indochine Française*. Hanoi: IDEO.

Embree, J. and Dotson.1950. *Bibliography of the peoples and cultures of mainland Southeast Asia.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Huffman, Franklin E. 1986. *Bibliography and Index of Mainland Southeast Asian Languages and Linguistics.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Halpern, Joel M., and James Hafner. 1971 *A preliminary and partial bibliography of miscellaneous research materials on Laos.* Centre d'Etudes du Sud-Est Asiatique et de l'Extrême-Orient. Bruxelles.

Khène, Thao. 1958. *Bibliographie du Laos.* Vientiane: Comité Littéraire.

Lafont, Pierre-Bernard. 1964. *Bibliographie du Laos.* Paris: EFEO

Mogenet, Luc.1973. *Bibliographie Complementaire du Laos (1962–1973).* Vientiane, Biblioteque Nationale.

Main Works:

Abadie, Maurice. 1924. *Les races du Haut-Tonkin de Phong-Tho a Lang Son*, Paris, Société d'Editions Géographiques, Maritimes et Coloniales.

Alton, Charles, et al. 1994. *Nam Heu: A Mountainous Area Irrigation Scheme.* SRIDP Case Study No. 2. Vientiane: Department of Irrigation.

Anderson, Edward F. 1993. *Plants and People of the Golden Triangle: Ethnobotany of the Hill Tribes of Northern Thailand*. Bangkok: Silkworm Books.

Arutiunov, S. A. and A. I. Mukhlino. 1961. "Materialy po Etno-Lingvisticheskoi Klassifikatsii Narodov V'etnama [Materials for the Ethnolinguistic Classification of the Peoples of Vietnam]," *Sovietskaia Etnografiia*, 1, 72–82.

Asian Development Bank. 1998. "Country Economic Review: Lao People's Democratic Republic." Manila: Asian Development Bank (September).

Ayabe, Tsune. 1961. *The Village of Ban Pha Khao, Vientiane Province,* Lao Project Paper No. 14, ed. Joel M. Halpern, Los Angeles, University of California (mimeographed).

Bachelard, Gaston. 1958. *The Poetics of Space*. (edition of 1969) Beacon Press: Boston.

Bare, Galan. 1961. "The T'in and Kha Phai," Pua, Nan province, Thailand (mimeographed). (A background study for a conference of American Bible Society personnel and American Church of Christ missionaries.)

Barney, George L. 1961. *The Meo of Xieng Khouang Province,* Laos Project Paper No. 13, ed. Joel M. Halpern, Los Angeles, University of California (mimeographed).

Beauclair, Inez d. 1956. "Ethnic Groups," in *A General Handbook of China*, ed. Hellmut Wilhelm, HRAF Subcontractor's Monograph No. 55, New Haven (mimeographed). 1960. "A Miao Tribe of Southeast Kweichow and its Cultural Configuration," *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 10*, 127–99.

[1] This is a revised version of the bibliography included in Chamberlain et. al. 1996.

Beebe, James. 1987. Rapid appraisal. the evolution of the concept and the definition of issues. in *Proceedings of the 1985 International Conference on Rapid Rural Appraisal.* Khon Kaen University, Thailand.
Benedict, Paul K. 1943. "Studies in Thai Kinship Terminology," *JAOS*, 63, 168–75.
Benedict, Paul. 1976. Austro-Thai. HRAF, New Haven.
Berkmuller, Klaus.1992. *An Outreach Programme for People Living in or near Protected Areas of Lao, PDR.* (Draft) Vientiane.
Bernatzik, Hugo Adolp. 1938. *Die Geister der Gelben Blatter,* Munich, F. Bruckman. 1947. *Akha und Meau: Probleme der Angewandten Volkerkunde in Hinterindien,* 2 vols. Innsbruck, Wagnerische Universitats Buchdruckerei.
Betts, G. E. 1899. "Social Life of the Miao Tsi," *JRASNCB*, 33, 84–104.
Bonifacy, August. 1919. *Cours d'Ethnographie Indochinoise,* Saigon-Haiphong, Imprimierie d'Extreme-Orient.
Bourlet, A. 1906. "Socialisme dans les Hu'a Pha'n (Laos, Indo-Chine)," *Anthropos,* 1, 521–28.
Bourotte, Bernar. 1943. "Mariages et funerailles chez Les Meo," *IIEH,* 6, 33–57.
Boutin, A. 1937. Monographie de la Province des Houa-Phan. *Bull. Des Amis du Laos.* 69–119.
Boutin, A. 1938. Croyance et superstitions chez les Thai Rouges. *Bull. Des Amis du Laos.* 1. 65–79.
Bradley, Davi. 1979. *Proto-Loloish.* Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies. Monograph Series No. 39. Copenhagen.
Brown, David.1994. *The State and Politics in Southeast Asia.* London, Rutledge.
Brown, James Marvi. 1962. "From Ancient Thai to Modern Dialects: A Theory," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University.
Bruk, Solomon Il'ic. 1960. *Peoples of China, Mongolian People's Republic, and Korea [Naseleniye Kitaya, MNR I Korei]*, Moscow, Academy of Sciences USSR, Institute of Ethnography imeni N. N. Miklukho-Maklay,.1959 (translation by United States Joint Publications Research Service, No. 3710, Washington, D.C.).
Canada. Department of Mines and Survey. 1953. *Indochina: A Geographical Appreciation,* Foreign Geography Information Series No. 6, Ottawa.
Carte Ethnolinguistique. 1949. Saigon: Service Géographique de l'Indochine.
Ch'en, Kuo-chu. 1942. "Kuei-chou An-shun, Miao-I te Tsung-chiao Hsinyang [Religious Beliefs of the Miao and I in Anshun, Kweichow]," *Frontier Affairs, 1,* 88–92.
Chamberlain, James R. 1975. "A New Look at the Classification of the Tai Dialects" in *Studies in Tai Linguistics in Honor of William J. Gedney*. ed. J.R. Chamberlain. Bangkok: CIEL, University Development Commission.
Chamberlain, James R. 1971. A Comparative Word List of Sam Neua and Pak Seng of Northern Laos. Unpublished.
Chamberlain, James R. 1972. The Origin of the Southwestern Tai. *Bulletin des Amis du Royaume Laos* 7–8 (1972): 233–44.
Chamberlain, James R. 1977. An Introduction to Proto-Tai Zoology. Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan.

Chamberlain, James R. 1984. "The Tai Dialects of Khammouan Province: Their Diversity and Origins." Science of Language Papers. 4.62–95. Department of Linguistics, Chulalongkorn University.
Chamberlain, James R. 1991a. "The Efficacy of the P/PH Distinction in Tai Languages." in *The Ram Khamhaeng Controversy: Collected Papers.* ed. J.R. Chamberlain. The Siam Society.
Chamberlain, James R. 1991b. "Tai-Kadai Considerations in Southern Chinese anbd Southeast Asian Prehistory." in *The High Bronze Age of Southeast Asia and South China.* Hua Hin, January 14–19,.1991.
Chamberlain, James R. 1991c. "Mene: A Tai Dialect Originally Spoken in Nghe An, Vietnam: Preliminary Linguistic Observations and Historical Implications." JSS 79. 103–123.
Chamberlain, James R. 1991d. "The Black Tai Chronicle of Meuang Mouay, Part l: Mythology." *Journal of Mon-Khmer Studies* XXI. 19–55.
Chamberlain, James. 1999. "The Social Impact of the Economic Crisis in the Lao PDR." Draft paper prepared for the Asian Development Bank (15 May). Manila: Asian Development Bank.
Chao Khammanh Vongkhotrattana. 2516. *Phongsaavadaan Saat Laaw.* Vientiane: National Library.
Chassigneux, E. 1929-30. "Geographie physique," in *Un Empire ColonialFrancais: L'Indochine,* ed. G. Maspero, 2 vols. Paris, G. Van Oest.
Chazee, Laurent. 1991. *La Diversite Rurale du Laos a Travers la Vie de Quelques Villages Ethniques.* Vientiane: UNDP
Chazee, Laurent. 1995. *Atlas des Ethnies et des Sous-Ethnies du Laos.* Bangkok (privately printed).
Cheminaud, Guy. 1939. *Mes Chasses au Laos*. Payot: Paris.
Cheuang Discussion. *Lok Nang Seu* 3, no. 5 (2523): 10–19.
Chinese Academy of Sciences. 1959. *Report on the Investigation of the Pu-yi Language.* Peking: Minority Languages Research Institute.
Clarke, Samuel R. 1911. *Among the Tribes of Southwest China,* London, China Inland Mission.
Cloke, Paul. 1994. (En)culturing political economy: a day in the life of a rural geographer. In *Writing the Rural: Five Cultural Geographies*. Chapman: London.
Coedes, George. 1944. *Histoire Ancienne des Etats Hindouises d'Extreme-Orient,* Hanoi, Imprimerie d'Extreme-Orient.
Colquhoun, Archibald R. 1885. *Among the Shans,* London, Field.
Condominas, Georges. 1980. *L'Espace Sociale: A Propos de L'Asie du Sud-Est.* Paris: Flammarion
Condominas, Georges. 1987. Ritual technology in Mnong Gar swidden agriculture. in *Rice Societies: Asian Problems and Prospects*. eds. Irene Norlund, Sven Cederroth, and Ingela Gerdin. Studies on Asian Topics No. 10. Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies. Curzon/ Riverdale: London.
Condominas, Louis. 1951. "Notes sur les Mois du haut Song Tranh," *BSEI, 26*, 13–38.
Cooper, Robert. 1984. *Resource Scarcity and the Hmong Response: Patterns of Settlement, and Economy in Transition.* Singapore University Press.

Credner, Wilhelm. 1935. *Siam: Das Land der Tai,* Stuttgart, J. Engelhorns Nachfolger.
Cresson and R. Jeanni. 1944. "La toile Meo," *IIEH, 6,* 435–47.
Cuisinier, Jeann. 1948. *Les Muong: Geographie Humaine et Sociologie,* Paris, Institut d'Ethnologie,
Damrong [Kàm Ràw] Tayani. 1992. "From the Village to the City: The changing life of the Kammu." in *Minority Cultures of Laos: Kammu, Lua', Lahu, Hmong, and Lu-Mien.* Edited by Judy Lewis. Southeast Asia Community Resource Center. Rancho Cordova, California.
Damrong Tayanin. 1994. *Being Kammu: My Life, My Village.* Southeast Asia Program Series. Number 14. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University.
Damrong Tayanin. 1994. *Khmu – Lao Dictionary*. [Lao] Vientiane: Ministry of Public Health.
Damrong Tayanin.1992. "Environment and Nature Change in Northern Laos." in *Asian Perceptions of Nature.* Ole Bruun & Arne Kalland, eds. Nordic Proceedings in Asian Studies No. 3. NIAS,.1992.
Dang Nghiem Van et al. 1972. *Ethnic Groups of the South Asian System in Northwest Vietnam.* La-ha section, translated by Nhu Quynh and John C. Schafer, pp. 209-31. Hanoi: Social Science Publishing House.
Danuphol Chayasind, with Thongsuk Charumethichon, eds. 2523. *Thaaw nhii Baa Cheuang.* Loei, Thailand: Loei Teacher Training College.
Danuphol Chayasind. Nithaan Khun Buulom. N.p., n.d. Transcribed from Lao to Thai from original manuscript located at Silpakorn University.
Diffloth, Gerard. Map of Austroasiatic Languages. Bangkok, n.d. Mimeo.
Diguet, Edouard. 1908. *Les Mountagnards du Tonkin,* Paris, Challamel.
Dodd, William C. 1923. *The Tai Race,* Cedar Rapids, Torch Press.
du Guerney, Jacques, James Chamberlain, and Lee-Nah Hsu (2000). *From AIDS Epidemics to an AIDS Pandemic: Is an HIV/AIDS Hub Building in Southeast Asia.* Thailand: UNDP Southeast Asia HIV and Development.
Du Perron, P. C. 1954. "Etude d'un peuplement Man Xanh-Y," *BSEI, 29,* 23-42.
Ducourtieux, Olivie. 1991. *Le plateau des Bolovens. Etude du Système Agraire de la Region de Paksong (Sud-Laos).* Memoire de D.A.A., Institut National Agronomique Paris-Grignon. 163p.
Dussault, C. 1924. "Les populations du Tonkin Occidental et du Haut-Laos," *Cahiers de la Societe de Geographie de Hanoi,* vol. 5.
Eberhard, Wolfram. 1968. *The Local Cultures of South and East China.* Leiden: E. J. Brill.
Edmondson, Jerold A. and David B. Solnit, eds. 1988. *Comparative Kadai: Linguistic Studies Beyond Tai*. Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of Texas at Arlington.
Embree, John F. and William L. Thomas, Jr. 1950. *Ethnic Groups of Northern Southeast Asia,* New Haven, Yale University, Southeast Asia Studies (mimeographed).

Esquirol, Joseph, and Gust Williatt. 1908 *Essai de dictionnaire Dioi-français. Reproduisant la langue parlée par les tribus Thai de la haute Rivière de l'Ouest, suivi d'un vocabulaire français-dioi,* Hongkong, Imprimeriemde la Société des Missions Etrangères.

Esquiroll, J., and G. Williatte. 1908. *Essai de Dictionnaire Dioi-Francais.* Hong Kong: Imprimerie de la Société des Mission- Etrangères.

Evenson, John P. 1988. *Approaches to Slash and Burn Limitation. 1. Modifications to Existing Practices and Fallow Lengths. 2. Based on Replacement of Rice with High Value Crops.* Nabong Agriculture School. UNDP/ DTCD Project Lao/88/026. Vientiane.

Fall, Bernard B. 1960. *Le Vient-Minh,* Paris, Armand Colin.

FAO. 1986. *Investigation of Lands with Declining and Stagnating Productivity Project. Laos Country Report.* AG:GEP/RAS/107/JPN. Bangkok.

Feng, Han-yi and J. K. Shryoc. 1935. "The Black Magic in China Known as Ku," *JAOS, 55,* 1–30.

Ferlus, Michel. Les Khmou: historie et légendes. *Unite National* (Vientiane) 2, no. 10 (1970): 35–37.

Finot, Louis. Recherches sur la Littérature Laotienne. 1917. *Bulletin de I'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient* 17, no. 5 (1917): 1–174.

Fraisse, A. 1950. "Les tribus Sek et Kha de la province de Cammon," *BSEI, 25,* 333–48.

Fraisse, A. 1951. "Les villages du plateau des Bolovens," *BSEI, 26,* 52–72.

Fraisse, A. 19950. Les Tribus Sek et Kha de la province de Cammon (Laos). *Bulletin de la Societe des Etudes Indochinoises* 25, no. 3(1950): 333–48.

Fraisse, A. Notes sur les Phou Theng et Thai Bo. 1949. *Bulletin de la Societe des Etudes l ndochinoises* 24, no. 2 (1949): 51–53.

Freeman, John H. 1910. *An Oriental Land of the Free,* Philadelphia, Westminster Press.

Fromaget, J. 1937. "Etudes geologiques sur le nord-ouest du Tonkin et le nord du Haut-Laos," *Bulletin de la Societe Geologique Indochinoise,* vol. 23.

Front for National Construction, Khammouane Provinc. 1995. *Sathiti Sonphau Thoua Khweng Khammouane* [Statistics on the Ethnic Groups of Khammouane Province]. Khammouane.

Fujisaka, Sa. 1991. "A Diagnostic Survey of Shifting Cultivation in Northern Laos: Targeting research to improve sustainability and productivity." *Agroforestry Systems* 13:95–109.

Garrard, Lewis H. 1850. *Wah-To-Yah and the Taos Trail.* Reprinted by University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Okla., 1966

Gedney, William J. 1989. *Selected Papers on Comparative Tai Studies.* eds. Robert J. Bickner, John Hartmann, and Pacharin Peyasantiwong. Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asian Studies No. 29. Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Gerber, T., and L. Malleret. Queleques légendes de Moi de Cochinchine. *Bulletin de la Societe des Etude/ndochinoises*(Saigon), semester (1946).

Gordon, D. and P. Spickler. 1999. *The International glossary of poverty*. CROP: Cape Town, Dhaka, Bangkok, London and New York.

Gourdon, Henry. 1931. *L'Indochine,* Paris, Larousse.

Gourou, Pierre. 1945. *Land Utilization in French Indochina*, 3 vols. New York, Institute of Pacific Relations.
Graham, David C. 1937. "The Customs of the Ch'uan Miao," *JWCS*, 9, 13–70.
Greenberg, Joseph. 1953. "Historical Linguistics and Unwritten Languages," in *Anthropology Today*, ed. A. L. Kroeber, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
Grierson, G. A. 1904. An Ahom Cosmogony with a Translation and a Vo-cabulary. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1904): 181–232.
Grossin, P. 1926. "Les coutumes des Meos de la region de Long-He," *Extreme-Asie*, vol. 1.
Guignard, T. 1912. *Dictionnaire Laotien-Francais.* Hong Kong: Nazareth.
Gunn, Geoffrey C. 1990. *Rebellion in Laos: Peasant and Politics in a Colonial Backwater.* Boulder: Westview Press.
Karlgren, Karl Gustav. 1951. *Lamet: Hill Peasants in French Indochina.* New York, AMS Press.
Håkangård, Ågnet. 1990. *Women in Shifting Cultivation: Luang Prabang Province, Lao PDR.* Vientiane: SIDA.
Halpern, Joel M. 1957. "Trade Patterns in Northern Laos," paper read at the Ninth Pacific Science Congress, Bangkok (duplicated).
Halpern, Joel M. 1958. *Aspects of Village Life and Culture Change in Laos*, Special Report Prepared for the Council on Economic and Cultural Affairs, New York.
Halpern, Joel M. 1960. "Laos and Her Tribal Problems," *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review, 67*, 59–67.
Halpern, Joel M. 1961a. *Capital, Savings and Credit among Lao and Serb Peasants: A Contrast in Cultural Values*, Laos Project Paper No. 2, Los Angeles, University of California (mimeographed).
Halpern, Joel M. 1961b. *Population Statistics and Associated Data*, Laos Project Paper No. 3, LosAngeles, University of California (mimeographed).
Halpern, Joel M. 1961c. *Geographic, Demographic and Ethnic Background on Laos*, Laos Project Paper No. 4, Los Angeles, University of California (mimeographed).
Halpern, Joel M. 1961d. *Laotian Agricultural Statistics*, Laos Project Paper No. 9, Los Angeles, University of California (mimeographed).
Halpern, Joel M. 1961e. *Laos Profiles*, Laos Project Paper No. 18, Los Angeles, University of California (mimeographed).
Halpern, Joel M. 1961f. *The Rural and Urban Economies*, Laos Project Paper No. 19, Los Angeles, University of California (mimeographed).
Halpern, Joel M. 1961g. *Laotian Health Problems*, Laos Project Paper No. 20, Los Angeles, University of California (mimeographed).
Halpern, Joel M. 1961h. *Government, Politics and Social Structure of Laos: A Study of Tradition and Innovation*, Laos Project Paper No. 21, Los Angeles, University of California (mimeographed).
Handler, J. and Y. Hasenfeld. 1991. *The Moral Construction of Poverty*. Sage: Newbury Park, California.
Hansell, Mar. 1988. "The Relation of Be to Tai: Evidence from Tones and Initials." in Edmondson and Solnit,.1988, pp. 239–288.
Hartmann, John. Computations on a Black Tai Origin Myth. *Anthropological Linguistics* (May 1981): 183–202.

Hartshorne, Charles and P. Weiss (eds.). 1933. *Collected papers of Charles Sanders Peirce, Volume III: Exact Logic*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Haudricourt, Andre G. 1953. "La place du vietnamien dans les langues austroasiatiques," *Bulletin de la Societe Linguistique de Paris, 49*, 122–28.

Haudricourt, Andre G. 1962. "Comment," *Current Anthropology*, 3, 410.

Haudricourt, Andre G. 1970. "Les arguments géographique, écologiques, et sémantiques pour l'origine des Tai." Scandinavian Institute for Asian Studies Monograph Series No. 1, *Readings on Asian Topics*, 27–34.

Hickey, Gerald C. 1956-58 Field notes on southern Vietnamese highland groups. 1958. "Social Systems of Northern Viet Nam: A Study of Systems in Contact," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago.

Hoang Luong. 1990. "Some Colao Forms with Comparisons in Laha, Pupeo, and La Chi" (handout). XXIII Annual International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, University of Texas at Arlington.

Hoffet, J. 1933. "Les Mois de la chaine annamitique," *Terre, air, mer: La geographie, 59*, 1–43.

Houmpheng Soukhaphonh, Walter Roder, S. Phengchanh, & K. Vannalat. 1992. *Research at a Key Upland Farming Systems Site – Luang Prabang.* Paper presented at Upland Rice – Based Farming Systems Planning Meeting, Chiang Mai, April/May.1992.

Hu, Chang-tu et al. 1960. *China: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture*, New Haven, HRAF Press.

Hudak, Thomas John, ed. 1991. "William J. Gedney's The Yay Language: Glossary, Texts, and Translations." Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia, Number 38. Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. xxxvii + 757pp.

Hudak, Thomas John, ed. 1993. "William J. Gedney's The Saek Language: Glossary, Texts, and Translations." Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia, Number 41. Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. xliv + 989pp.

ILO (International Labor Organization). 2000. Policy Study on Ethnic Minority Issues in Rural Development [Lao PDR]. Geneva: International Labor Office.

Indochina, French. Service de la statistique general. 1936. *Annuaire statistique de l'Indochine,* Hanoi.

Investment Consultancy Company. 1999. "Report on the Impact of Regional Crisis on Labor Market in Lao PDR." Paper prepared for the Asian Development Bank. Hanoi (April).

Ireson, Carol J. 1989. *The Role of Women in Forestry in the Lao People's Democratic Republic*. Vientiane: SilviNova. 1990. *Hmong Farming Systems and Social Organization in Nong Het District, Xiang Khuang.* IFAD Xiang Khuang Agricultural Development Project. International Development Support Services PTY, Victoria.

Ireson, W. Randal. 1990. *Hmong Farming Systems and Social Organization in Nong Het District, Xiang Khuang.* IFAD Xiang Khuang Agricultural Development Project. International Development Support Services PTY, Victoria.

Its, R. F. 1960. "Miao: Istoriko-Etnograficheskii Ocherk [Miao: An Historical-Ethnographic Sketch]" in *Vostochno-Aziatskii Etnograficheskii Sbornik* [East-Asian Ethnographic Papers], ed. O. L. Vil'chevskii, Moskva, Trudy Institut Etnografii im. N. N. Muklukho-Maklaia, Akademii Nauk SSSR, n.s. 60, 1–118.

Iwata, Keiji. 1961a. *Ethnic Groups in the Valley of the Nam Song and Nam Ik,* Laos Project Paper No. 15, ed. Joel M. Halpern, Los Angeles, University of California (mimeographed). 1961b. *Minority Groups in Northern Laos, Especially the Yao,* Laos Project Paper No. 16, ed. Joel M. Halpern, Los Angeles, Iniversity of California (mimeographed).

Izkowitz, Karl Gusta. 1941. "Fastening the Soul: Some Religious Traits among the Lamet," *Goteborgs Higskolas Arsskrift, 47,* Pt. XIV, 1–32. 1943. "Quelques notes sur le costume des Puli-Akha," *Ethnos, 8,* 133–52. 1951. *Lamet: Hill Peasants in French Indochina,* Etnologiska Studier No. 17, Goteborg, Etnografiska Museet.

Jia Shan, ed. 1982. *Gelao Language*. Minorities Publishing House, Beijing.

Johnson, A.G. 1999. *The Blackwell Dictionary of Sociology*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Kakwani, Nanak. 2000. On measuring growth and inequality components of poverty with application to Thailand. forthcoming in *Journal of Quantitative Economics*.

Kanok, Rerkase. 1991. *Consultation Report on Baseline Economic Survey.* Highland Integrated Rural Development Pilot Project. UNDCP, Vientiane, April.1991. 1992. *Land Use in the Nam Dong Area: Potential and Constraints. NEDECO Technical Note No. 5. Rural Micro-Projects Programme in Luang Prabang Province. NEDECO, Luang Prabang, August.1992.*

Kathirithamby-Wells, J. 1998. Attitudes to natural resources and environment among the upland forest and swidden communities of Southeast Asia during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. in *Nature and the Orient: The Environmental History of South and Southeast Asia.* eds. R. Grove, V. Damodaran, and S.Sangwan. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Kaufman, Howard K. 1961. *Village Life in Vientiane Province* (1956–1957), Laos Project Paper No. 12, ed. Joel M. Halpern, Los Angeles, University of California (mimeographed).

Kingsada, Thongpheth and Somseng Xaygnavon. 1994. *Vatchanaanoukrom Khamou-Lao.* Institute for Cultural Research, Ministry of Information and Culture, Vientiane, Lao PDR.

Kingshill, Konrad. 1960. *Ku Daeng-The Red Tomb: A Village Study in Northern Thailand,* Chiengmai, Thailand, The Prince Royal's College.

Kirsch, Thomas A. 1973. *Feasting and Social Oscillation: Religion and Society in Upland Southeast Asia*. Data Paper No. 92, Cornell University Department of Asian Studies.

Kommadam, Khamdeng and Khampheng Thipmountr. 1992. *Thong Thiaw Banda Phaw yuu Laaw*. Vientiane, Committee for Social Sciences.
Lafont, Pierre-Bernard. 1955. "Notes sur les familles patronymiques Thai Noirs de Son La et de Nghia-Lo," *Anthropos, 50,* 797–807.
Lafont, Pierre-Bernard. 1959. "Pratiques medicales des Thai Noirs du Laos de l'ouest," *Anthropos, 54,* 819–40.
Lafont, Pierre-Bernard. 1960. Review of J. M. Halpern, *Aspects of Village Life and Culture Change in Laos, BEFEO, 50,* 184–90.
Lafont, Pierre-Bernard. 1961. Personal notes. (Specific notes from previous field experiences in Laos and Vietnam.
Lafont, Pierre-Bernard. 1962a. "Les ecritures 'tay du Laos, *BEFEO, 50,* 367–94.
Lafont, Pierre-Bernard. 1962b. Personal notes. (Specific notes from previous field experiences in Laos and Vietnam.)
Lang, Mi. 1990. "On the Affiliation of the Ge-Yang Branch of Kadai." *Discussions in Kadai and Southeast Asian Linguistics II*. 45–55.
Lao PDR. 1990. *Tropical Forestry Action Plan (TFAP)*. Vientiane
Le Boulanger, Pau. 1931. *Histoire du Laos francais,* Paris, Plon.
Le Thanh, Kho. 1955. *Le Vietnam,* Paris, Editions du Minuit.
LeBar, Frank M. and Adrienne Suddard, eds. 1960. *Laos: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture*, New Haven, HRAF Press.
LeBar, Frank M., Gerald Hickey, and John Musgrav. 1964. *Ethnic Groups in Mainland Southeast Asia.* New Haven, Human Relations Area Files.
LeMay, Reginal. 1926. *An Asian Arcady: The Land and Peoples of Northern Siam,* Cambridge, Heffer and Sons.
Lemoine, Jacques and Chiao Chie. 1991. *The Yao of South China: Recent International Studies.* Paris, Pangu (Editions de l'A.F.E.Y.)
Lemoine, Jacques. 2002. *Social Fabric, Education, and HIV Vulnerability Among the Lanten Yao of Muang Long, Luang Namtha Province, Lao PDR.* Bangkok: UNESCO.
Lemoine, Jacques.1982. *Yao Ceremonial Paintings.* Bangkok, White Lotus.
Lemoine, Jacques. 1972. *Un Village Hmong Vert du Haut Laos: Milieu Technique et Organisation Sociale.* Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
Levy, Paul. 1959. "The Sacrifice of the Buffalo and the Forecast of the Weather in Vientiane," in *Kingdom of Laos,* ed. R. de Berval, Saigon, France-Asie.
Li, Fang Kuei. 1977 *A Handbook of Comparative Tai (Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No. 15),* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
Li, Fang-Kuei. 1968. Notes on the T'en or Yanghwang Language:Glossary. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 40 (1968): 397–504.
Liang, Min, ed. 1979. *T'ung [Kam] Language.* Ethnographid Institute Publications. Beijing.
Lin, Yueh-hwa. 1940. "The Miao-Man Peoples of Kweichow," *HJAS, 5,* 261–345.
Lindell, Kristina, Häkan Lundström, Jan Olof Svantesson & Damrong Tayani. 1982. *The Kammu Year: Its Lore and Music.* Studies on Asian Topics No. 4. Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies. London, Curzon Press.

Lindell, Kristina, Jan Olof Svantesson & Damrong Tayanin.1992?. *Kammu Yuan – English Dictionary.* Preliminary Version. To be published by Cornell University Press.

Lindell, Kristina, Jan-Öjvind Swahn & Damrong Tayani. 1977. *A Kammu Story – Listener's Tales.* Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series No. 33. Copenhagen.

Lindell, Kristina, Jan-Öjvind Swahn & Damrong Tayani. 1980. *Folk Tales from Kammu – II: A Story-Teller's Tales.* Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series No. 40. London, Curzon Press.

Lindell, Kristina, Jan-Öjvind Swahn & Damrong Tayani. 1984. *Folk Tales from Kammu – III: Pearls of Kammu Literature.* Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Seriex No. 51. London, Curzon Press.

Lindell, Kristina, Jan-Öjvind Swahn & Damrong Tayani. 1989. *Folk Takes from Kammu – IV: A Master-Teller's Tales.* Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series No. 56. London, Curzon Press.

Lindell, Kristina, Jan-Öjvind Swahn & Damrong Tayani. 1995. *Folk Tales from Kammu – V: A Young Story Teller's Tales.* Nordic Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series No. 66. Surrey, England: Curzon Press.

Ling, Shun-sheng and Ruey Yih-f. 1947. *Hsang-hsi Miao-tsu Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao* [A Report on an Investigation of the Miao of Western Hunan], Academia Sinica, Institute of History and Philology, Monograph Series A, No. 18, Shanghai.

LPD. 1991. *Latthathammanoun Heng Sathalanalat Pasathipatay Pasason Lao* [Constitution of the Lao Perple's Democratic Republic]. Vientiane, National Printing House.

Lunet, de Lajonquiere, E. 1906. *Ethnographie du Tonkin septentrional,* Paris, Leroux.

Macey, Paul. 1906. Etude ethnographique sur les diverses tribus aborigènes et autochtones habitant les provinces des Hua Phan(s) Ha-tang-Hoc et du Cammon, au Laos. *Actes du XIV^e^ Congrrès internationale des Orientalistes* 14, pt. 1 (1906): 1–63.

Macey, Paul. 1907. Etude ethnographique et linguistique sur les K'Katiam- pong-houk, dits: Thai Pong (Province de Cammon-Laos). *Revue* I*ndochinoise* 5 (1907):1411–24.

MAF-NARC [Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry-National Agricultural Research Center]. 1991. *National Agriculture and Forestry Research Master Plan* [2 volumes: 1) Policy, strategy, programs and institutional framework; 1) Detailed priority research elements]. Vientiane: MAF-NARC.

Mahasila Viravong. *Thao Hung or Cheuang.* Ubol: Mitr Thai, 1943. Lao Literature: *Thao Hung or Cheuang. Vanakhadysan* (Comité Littéraire, Vientiane) 1, no. 2 (1953): 41–45; 1, no. 3 (1953): 56–60; 2, no. 4 (1953): 12–20.

Mao, Sung-Wu, et al, eds. 1981. *Yao Languages*. Ethnological Institute Publications, Beijing.

Maspero, George. 1929–30. *Un empire colonial francais: L'Indochine,* 2 vols. Paris, G. Van Oest.

Matisoff, James A. 1988. "Proto-Hlai Initials and Tones: A First Approximation." in Edmondson and Solnit.1988, pp. 289–322.

Matras, Jacqueline, and Marie Martin. 1972 Contribution à l'ethnobotanique des Brou [=Brao] (Cambodge – Province de Ratanakiri). Journal d'Agriculture Tropicale et de Botanique Appliquée XIX, nos 1–5.
McGilvary, Danie. 1912. *A Half Centruy among the Siamese and the Lao,* New York and London, Fleming Revell
Mickey, Margaret P. 1947. "The Cowrie Shell Miao of Kweichow," *PMAAE, 32,* 1–80.
Milloy, M.J. and M. Payn. 1995. "My Way and the Highway: Ethnic People and Development in the Lao PDR (xerox). Peterborough, Ontario.
Moore, Henrietta L. 1999. Whatever happened to women and men? Gender and other crises in anthropology. in *Anthropological Theory Today.* edited by Henrietta L. Moore. Polity Press: Cornwall, UK.
Morechand, G. 1952. "Notes demographiques sur un canton Meo Blanc du pays tai," *BSEI. 27,* 354–61. 1955. "Principaux traits du chaminisme Meo Blanc en Indochine," *BEFEO, 47,* 509–58.
National Statistics Center. 1994. *Kane Samlouat Phonlameiang Thoua Patheet.*
National Statistics Center. *1995: Khou Meu Nak Samlouat* [1995 Census: Handbook for Census Takers]. Vientiane.
NCTXH (Nha Cong-Tac Xa-Hoi Mien Thuong) (Bureau of Social Action for the Highland Area. 1960. *Tong-So Cac Sac Dan Thuong* [The Total Highland Population Figures], Saigon.
Neuman, W. L. 2000. *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. (Fourth Edition). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
NNCDT (Nhom Nghien Cuu Dan Toc {Cua Uy-Ban Dan-Toc}) [Minority People's Study Group {of the Committee of Minority Peoples}]. 1959. *Cac Dan Toc Thieu So O Viet-Nam* [Minority Peoples of Viet Nam], Hanoi, Nha Xuat Ban Van Hoa.
Phillips, Richard. 1962. Unpublished map of the ethnic groups in the highlands of South Vietnam.
Pinnow, Heinz-Jurge. 1959. *Versuch einer historichen Lautlehre der Kharia-Sprache,* Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz.
Plunian, A. Le Royaume des Pungs. 1905. *Revue Indochinoise* 1.126–31.
Prachit Soiulusak. 1971. *Pheun Thao Chet Hay*. Vientiane: National Library.
Prathip, Chumphol. 2523. Thao Hung or Cheuang: Masterpiece of Isan Literature. *Lok Nangseu* 3. 5.46–54.
Ratliff, Marth. 1992. *Meaningful Tone: A Study of Tonal Morphology in Compounds, Form Classes, and Expressive Phrases in White Hmong.* Northern Illinois University, Center for Southeast Asian Studies.
Reid, Anthony. 1998. Humans and Forests in Pre-colonial Southeast Asia. in *Nature and the Orient: The Environmental History of South and Southeast Asia.* eds. R. Grove, V. Damodaran, and S.Sangwan. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
Reinach, Lucien d. 1901. *Le Laos,* 2 vols. Paris, A. Charles, Librarie-Editeur.
Reinach, Lucien de. 1911. *Le Laos.* Paris: Guilmoto.
Rispaud, Jean. 1937. "Les noms a elements numeraux des principautes tai," *JSS*, 29, Pt. II, 77–122.

Robequain, Charles. 1929. *Le Thanh Hoa. 2* vols. Publications de I'Ecole Frangaise d'Extreme-Orient, no. 23. Paris, Brussels: Ecole Francaise.
Robequain, Charles. 1929. *Le Thanh Hoa: Etude geographique d'une province annamite,* 2 vols. Paris et Bruxelles, G. Van Oest.
Rose, Archibald and J. Coggin Brow. 1911. "Lisu (Yawyin) Tribes of the Burma-China Frontier," *Memoirs of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 3,* 249–76.
Roux, H., and Tran Van Chu. 1954. Quelques minorites ethniques du Nord Indochine. *France-Asie,* spécial.
Roux, Henri and Tran Van Ch. 1954. "Quelques minorites ethniques du Nord-Indochine," *France-Asie, 10,* 135–419.
Roux, Henry. 1924. "Deux tribus de la region de Phongsaly (Laos septentrional) I: A-Khas or Khas Kos, II: P'u Noi," *BEFEO, 24,* 373–500.
Ruey, Yih-fu. 1960. "The Magpie Miao of South Szechwan," in *Social Structure in Southeast Asia,* ed. G. P. Murdock, New York, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology No. 29.
Samuelson, Rolf. n.d. *Shifting Cultivation: A Misjudged Mode of Cultivation.* SIDA Development Cooperation Office, Vientiane
Sandewall, Ruchatorn Kajs. 1992. *Village Women and the Revolving Funds.* Consultancy Report, May 27–June 13,.1992. Swedforest, Vientiane.
Savina, F. M. 1930. *Histoire des Miao,* 2d ed. Hongkong, Imprimerie de la Societe des Missions-etrangeres.
Schafer, Edward. 1967. *The Vermilion Bird: Tang Images of the South.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.
Scott, James George and J. P. Hardima. 1900. *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States,* Pt. I, vol. 1, Rangoon, Superintendent of Government Printing and Stationery.
Seidenfaden, Eri. 1958. *The Thai Peoples*, Bangkok, Siam Society.
Seidenfaden, Erik. 1967. *The Thai Peoples.* Bangkok: Siam Society, 1967.
Sharp, Lauriston, Frank J. Moore, and Walter F. Vell. 1956. *Handbook on Thailand*, HRAF Subcontractor's Monograph No. 42, New Haven (mimeographed).
SID. 1991. *Programme Document.* The Lao Swedish Forestry Cooperation Programme.1991–1995. Vientiane, September 27,.1991.
Simana, Souksavang, Somseng Xaygnavong, anbd Elisabeth Preisi. 1994. *Kmhmu' – Lao – French – English Dictionary.* Institute for Cultural Research, Ministry of Information and Culture, Vientiane, Lao PDR.
Sinavong, Boun Tha. 1957. "Agrarian Rites in Laos," paper read at the Ninth Pacific Science Congress, Bangkok (mimeographed).
Sisawat, Bun Chuay. 1952. *Sam sip chati nai Chiang rai* [Thirty Nationalities in Chiengrai], Bangkok, Outhai Press.
Smalley, W. 1961. Cheuang: Khmu Culture Hero. In *Felicitation Volumes in Southeast Asian Studies Presented to H.H. Prince Dhanivat, vol 1.41–52.* Bangkok: Siam Society.

Smalley, William A. 1956. "The Gospel and the Cultures of Laos," *Practical Anthropology, 3,* 47–57. 1960. "The Gospel and the Cultures of Laos," *Practical Anthropology,* Supplement, pp. 63–69 (reprinted from 3, 47–57. 1961. *Outline of Khmu? Structure,* New Haven, American Oriental Society. 1965. "Ciam: Khmu Culture Hero." *Felicitation Volumes in Southeast Asian Studies Presented to H.H. Prince Dhaninivat.* I.41–52. Bangkok, Siam Society.

Snoe, Narakhol. 2521. Pravat Phou Thay. In *Isaan Khadii.* Mahasarakham, Thailand: Mahasarakham Teacher's Training College.

Souvannavong, Oudo. 1959. "Some Practices of Traditional Medicine," in *Kingdom of Laos,* ed. Rene de Berval, Saigon, France-Asie.

Stenflo, Gun. Alm. 1999. *Poverty Profiles for Lao PDR.* Statistics Sweden.

SUAN. 1989. *SUAN – EAPI Esploratory Workshop on Lao Agroecosystems.* Report on the SUAN – Lao Workshop, Vientiane, Lao PDR, 31 July–3 August,.1989. SUAN Secretariat, Khon Kaen University, Thailand.

SUAN. 1990. *Two Upland Agroecosystems in Luang Prabang Province, Lao PDR: A Preliminary Analysis.* Report on the SUAN – Lao Seminar on Rural Resources Analysis, Vientiane and Luang Prabang, Lao PDR. 4–14 December, 1989. SUAN Secretariat, Khon Kaen University, Thailand.

SUAN. 1991. *Swidden Agroecosystems in Sephone District, Savannakhet Provinde, Lao PDR.* Report of the.1991 SUAN – EAPI – MAF Agroecosystem Research Workshop, June 20–July 2,. 1991. Khon Kaen, Thailand, December,.1991.

Suksavang Simana. 1997. *Kmhmu' Livelihood: Farming in the Forest.* Vientiane: Institute for Cultural Research, Ministry of Information and Culture. (The English section was translated by Elizabeth Preisig.)

Surat, Warongwat. 1981. Kaloeng. *Meuang Boran Journal* 7.3.108–12.

Telford, J. H. 1937. "Anamism in Kengtung State," *JBRS, 27,* Pt. II, 86–238.

Theraphan Thongkum, ed. 1991. *Guo Shan Bang: Perpetual Redaction of the Imperial Decree of Emperor Ping Huang when Traveling in the Hills.* Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University, Linguistics Research Unit.

Thomas, Davi. 1962. "Mon Khmer Subgroupings in Vietnam," Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota (mimeographed).

Thurgood, Graham.1988. "Notes on the Reconstruction of Porto-Kam-Sui" in Edmondson and Solnit.1988, 179–218.

Vidal, Jules. 1960. *La Vegetation du Laos. Deuxieme Partie. Groupements Vegetaux et Flore.* Imprimerie Douladoure Toulouse.

Vidal, Jules. 1962. *Noms Vernaculaires de Plantes en Usage au Laos.* Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient. Paris. 197 pp.

Vidal, Jules. 1972. *La Vegetation du Laos. Tome 1. Le Milieu [Conditions Ecologiques].* Vithagna. Vientiane.

Vilaivan, Khanitthanand. 2520. *Phasa Phou Thay.* Bangkok: Thammasat University.

Vilaivan, Khanitthanand. n.d. *Phasa Saek.* Bangkok: Thammasat University.

Vongkotrattana, Tiao Khamman. 2495. *Phonsavadaan Meuang Phouan.* Vat Phiavat, Vientiane.
Wang, Jun, ed. 1979. *Mu – lao Language.* Ethnographic Institute Publications, Beijing.
Wang, L. 1952. *Hainandao Baisha Liyu Chutan.* Lingua Xuebao 11.2.253–300.
Weaver, Robert W. 1956. "Through Unknown Thailand," *Natural History, 65,* 289–95, 336.
Wiens, Herold J. 1954. *China's March toward the Tropics,* Hamden, Conn., Shoe String Press.
Wissman, H. von. 1943. *Sud-Yunnan als Teilraum Sudostasiens,* Schriften zur Geopolitik No. 22, Heidelberg, Kurt Vowinckel.
Wu, Che-lin and Ch'en Kuo-chu. 1942. *Kuei-chou Miao-I She-hui Yen-chiu [Studies of Miao-I Societies in Kweichow], Kweiyang, Wen-t'ung Book Co.*
Young, O. Gordon. 1961. *The Hilltribes of Northern Thailand*,Bangkok, United States Operations Mission to Thailand.

Appendix 4
An example of ethnic diversity and niche-ing[1]

The example presented here serves to illustrate the varieties of cultural patterning and niche-ing that could be posited as prototypical for Laos and probably for all of Southeast Asia in varying time depths. It is one of the few remaining examples of this sort of patterning in a small area and is, it is felt, instructive to our understanding of the structure of inter-ethnic relations generally, which is to say that similar types of relationships will be found to obtain between other groups, though not perhaps within the same ethnolinguistic grouping as is the case here.

Geographically the areas concerned here are primarily Khamkeut District in Borikhamxay, Nakai, and the northern tip of Boualapha Districts in Khammouane.

In the following Figure 1, a proposed subgrouping for the groups concerned is found. Vietic is a branch of the Mon-Khmer ethnolinguistic family, part of the greater Austroasiatic superstock that is found throughout Southeast Asia, parts of southern China, Burma, Assam, the Nicobar Islands and even in Central India (Munda).

Vietic					
North	**Northwest**	**West**	**Southeast**	**Southwest**	**South**
Vietnamese	Toum	Ahoe	Cheut	Atel	Kri
Muong	Liha	Ahao	Ruc	Thémarou	Phóng
Nguon	Phong	Ahlao	Sách	Arao	Mlengbrou
		Mày	Makang		
			Malang		
			Maleng		
			To'e		

Figure 1 – Tentative Vietic Subgrouping

The status of Thémarou is still problematical, and in many cases seems to fall midway between Atel and Kri. And frequently, Mlengbrou shows linguistic forms completely at variance with the rest of Kri-Phóng and Vietic. Additional information from Vietnam on such groups as "Arem", Malieng, and Kata would, of course, be helpful as well.

In Laos, Vietic ethnic diversity represents a critical dimension of biodiversity for the Nakai-Nam Theun Conservation Area. Within the

[1] Adapted from Chamberlain (1997): Nature and Culture in the Nakai-Nam Theun Conservation Area

limited radius of Khamkeut, Nakai and the northern tip of Boualapha, seventeen languages have been identified. Their considerable linguistic variety indicates a time depth for this branch of Vietic of at least 2000–2500 years. Until recently most of these groups lived in small bands as foraging nomads whose cultural traits became more specialized, their relationships with each other and their relationships with the forest transforming and diversifying to fill the eco-cultural niches postulated in below.

The groups classed as Culture Type I, the true forest people, represent a resource of inestimable value for Laos, a cultural type that is practically extinct in Southeast Asia, and that is found nowhere else on the planet. It is a way of life that demonstrates, in a way that no other can, the intimate relationship between nature and culture.

Beginning in 1976, these relationships were disrupted by a policy of village consolidation. The forest peoples were forcefully captured and brought out to live in villages, a way of life to which they were not capable of adjusting with the tragic result that the majority of them perished from the physical and psychological trauma of being relocated. The few remaining survivors live in three principle areas, the *Atel* at Tha Meuang on the Nam Sot (where 16 people have survived out of 5 families brought here – of the 8 families who were taken to Na Thone, none survived); the *Thémarou* at Vang Chang on the Nam Theun and Ban Soek near the Nam Noy (who appear to have been the most recently rounded up, about 40 are thought to have survived); and the *Mlengbrou* near the Nam One, now living on the Gnommarath side of the Ak mountain (out of 25 families 11 individuals survived). Other Vietic groups, located in the Noy and Sot river systems, have fared somewhat better as a result of their closer contacts with sedentary livelihoods, although they still face many difficulties resulting from the abrupt transition that was brought upon them.

An identical policy was implemented in Vietnam beginning in 1954 where according to Vo Xuân Trang (1987) [cited in Phong 1988] the Vietic forest peoples were resettled at Cu Nhái, apparently one of the relocation centers, either in the west of Quang Bình or southwest of the prefecture of Huong Khê in Ha Tình (it is not clear which). *Arem, Ruc, Maliêng,*and *Mày* were placed in these new sites. Regarding the Ruc, at least, he reports that at least one third of them returned to the forest after suffering from malaria, liver and gastro-intestinal problems, and were reported living in caves.

Many of the Ahoe who inhabited the territory between what is now Na Tane Sub-district of Nakai and the village of Ban Na Va (now in Khamkeut District), were taken as refugees to Hinboun District during the war, and were later resettled in Nakai Tay and in Sop Hia on the Nakai plateau. The main population consists of 39 households in Nakai Tay and 20 households in Sop Hia. Some of those in Nakai Tay may have intermarried with Bo families there, but to what degree is unclear at this time.

Several groups of Cheut in Boualapha were resettled in village situations. Those in Ban Na Phao have been there for approximately 10 years, and those in Tha Xang for only two or three years. Other Cheut people are said to be in Pha Song, Vang Nyao, and Takaa. An unidentified group of "Salang" live at Ban Xe Neua further south, also in Boualapha District.

To the north, the Thaveung (consisting of two subgroups, Ahao and Ahlao) are now located in several villages near Lak Xao, although they appear to have originated in the vicinity of Na Heuang. The Liha and the Phong (Cham) and the Toum seem to have come originally from the northern Nghê An – Khamkeut border area, but have lived in Khamkeut for some time.

The proposed relationships of these groups within the larger frame of the Vietic branch of Mon-Khmer are provided in Figure 1. Only the "Arem", Ruc, Maliêng, Mày (Cuoi), and the more sedentary Sách, groups are not known to occur in Laos.[2] According to information kindly provided by the *Lao Front for National Construction* in Thakhek, at least one *Nguon* village is known to exist in Laos, Ban Pak Phanang in Boualapha District of Khammouane, but this village has not been visited.

Within the Vietic group, considerable cultural differentiation has emerged and the groups have tentatively been classified into categories with ethnic consociations dependent upon (1) history, ethnolinguistic variation, and patterns of interethnic contacts; (2) modes of environmental utilization and arrogation and modes of production; (3) epistemological and ontological premises manifest in cultural traditions.[3]

Table 1 – Cultural typology of Vietic groups in Laos

No.	Eco-spacial type	Vietic group
I	small group foraging nomads	Atel, Thémarou, Mlengbrou, (Cheut?)
II	originally collectors and traders who have become emergent swidden sedentists	Arao, Maleng, Malang, Makang, To'e, Ahoe, Phóng
III	swidden cultivators who move every 2–3 years between pre-existing village sites	Kri
IV	combined swidden and paddy sedentists	Ahao, Ahlao, Liha, Phong (Cham), Toum

This division into cultural types should not be construed as evolutionary in nature. Indeed, to the extent that we have been able to observe the Vietic peoples, their modes of existence represent something more akin to an ecological niche-ing which is manifest in conscious preferences. Thus Atel people who have been residing in the village Tha Meuang for over 20 years have still not adopted the village way of life, even though they are perfectly capable, intellectually and technically, of practicing agriculture. A return to their previous way of life is still their preference. As noted above, similar views are held by Vietic peoples who were relocated in Vietnam.

Although the Cheut and the others of this group are roughly in the category, in fact there appear to be major differences indicating yet another type of differentiation. The Atel, Mlengbrou, and Thémarou hunt primarily by means of the wild dog known as the dhole (*Canis*

[2] These cultures are of a similar type to those found in Laos as described by Phong et. al. (1988), focusing on the Ruc. He writes: "…les Ruc vivent dans la forêt profonde, cherchant refuge dans les cavernes ou sous des abris de fortune faits de branchages. Refusant le contact avec les étrangers, difficilement abordables, ils mènent une véritable existence de nomades chasseurs-cuilleurs dans la Cordillère annamitique. Comme vêtements, ces hommes portent des pagnes en écorce d'arbre séchée. Ils vivent trois mois par an de cultures sur brûlis pratiquées pendant la saison sèche, de janvier à avril." This is the only mention of cave-dwelling, although other Vietnamese sources may address this subject. No mention was made of this practice was made during our fieldwork in Laos.

[3] This system is based upon a modification of sets of phenomena suggested by Benjamin (1985) as applicable to the differentiation of Semang, Senoi, and Malay groups in peninsular Malasia.

alpinus) which they follow through the forest. When the dholes make a kill they are chased away and the meat is taken, always, however, leaving a portion for the dholes. Dholes are in fact a sacred animal. All other hunting is done by means of sharpened bamboo spears, usually for the hog badger. The Cheut, however, while living in the forest without agriculture, use crossbows for hunting. It is not known whether the dhole connection is present, but we suspect not. Thus, the former groups might be classified as pre-hunting, and the latter as hunting.

The relative juxtaposition of cultural types can be further associated with biogeographical history and external contacts according to river systems as may be seen on Table 2. The evidence for this reconstruction is still not complete, and the picture may have to be modified as more evidence comes to light. However it may serve as a working hypothesis and as a basis for management and planning.

Table 2 – First historical phase

Eco-Cultural Category	**North**	**Nakai-Nam Theun river system**								**South**
	Khamkeut	**Sot-Mone**		**Theun**		**Noy- Pheo**		**One**		**Boualapha**
		upper	**lower**	**upper**	**lower**	**upper**	**lower**	**upper**	**lower**	
Ethnicity	Ahoe, Ahao, Ahlao, Liha, Toum, Phong (Cham)	Atel Makang	Arao Malang Maleng To'e	Thémarou	(Maleng) (=> Bo)	Kri	Phóng	Mlengbrou	Phóng	Cheut
Type	IV	I	II	I	II	III	II	I	II	I
Forest	mix-rain	rain	mix	rain	mix	rain	mix	mix-rain	mix	rain
Closest Contacts	Nghe An, Na Pè, M. Cham	Arao	Khamkeut, Nakai Plateau	Kri, Maleng	Nakai Plateau	Vietnam, lower Noy	Nakai Plateau	Phóng, Yooy	Nakai Plateau	Vietnam

Subsequent historical periods for the protected area and the Nakai plateau might be suggested as follows:

2. The *Second Historical Phase* is marked by the entry of the Sek into the valley of the Nam Pheo, perhaps displacing an older Vietic (Kri-Phóng type?) population there. According to the Sek, they arrived 286 years ago, that is, in the year 1711.

3. *Phase Three* encompasses the Siamese occupation of the territory between 1828 and 1860 in which period the original plateau dwellers, perhaps Nyo or Phou Thay, and many Sek were captured and sent to the northeastern Thai provinces of Sakol Nakhon and Nakhon Phanom. During this time, the Sek of the Nam Pheo retreated into Vietnam until the Siamese departed, and the Sek of Na Kadok sought refuge at Ban Na Vang, where their terraced paddies still exist.

4. A *Forth Phase* is characterized by (a) the departure of the Siamese; (b) the populating of the Nam Noy basin by Phong-Kri speakers (perhaps from the In-One territory); and (c) the subsequent arrival of the Brou into what is now the protected area,[4] probably from Gnommarath to

[4] We have already noted that there is a distinction between the Phong of northern Khamkeut District and the Phóng of the Nam Noy in Nakai. The former are sometimes designated as Cham even Katiam (Macey 1907).
None of the Phóng ethnic group were transported to Thailand, and since the Nam Noy was a well-known trade route between Vietnam and Thailand (and many Sek from the area were taken to Thailand), it must be assumed that the Brou arrived after the Phong had moved into the Nam Noy basin.

escape the Siamese depopulation policy which had been implemented vigorously in the lowlands. (d) Also in this period, beginning in about 1880, many thousands of Tai speakers from Houa Phanh and Nghê An fled into Khamkeut to escape the Cheuang millinarian war carried out by the Khmou in those areas. (Indeed, *Phase Four* may have to be further divided into four distinct periods.)

5. The modern phase, *Phase Five*, includes, among other events, the movement of the Hmong into Khamkeut District and the northern periphery of the protected area, and the relocation of several forest Vietic groups into their current locations under the village consolidation program.

Although the Sek have carried out some marginal swiddening, their primary focus has been on paddy cultivation. Likewise, the original Vietic populations probably cultivated only a few swidden plots, mostly corn, relying primarily on hunting and gathering. Thus, intensive swidden cultivation did not begin until the arrival of the Brou from the Gnommarath lowlands.[5] The Phong of the Nam Noy valley, originally hunters and gatherers, may have adopted their swidden practices from the Brou.

Finally, on the plateau, it is probable that the *Bo* populations were originally lower Nam Theun and Nam Sot Vietics (i.e. Maleng) who shifted their language to Nyo, Phou Thay, Kaleung, or Yooy. Since there were no Bo transported to Thailand, this must have occurred since 1860. One hypothesis is that the Bo were originally Vietic speakers, probably Maleng, recruited to work in the salt mines (the word *Bo* means 'mine') or perhaps gold mines on the plateau. The Maleng of Songkhone still maintain close contacts with the Bo settlements at Sop Phène and Sop Ma on the Nam Theun. In addition, some of the Maleng at Songkhone state that they are in a state of linguistic transition from Maleng to Bo.

Lessons to be Learned

This example from only two districts, and a small portion of a third, provides an overview of the kinds of complexity that exists throughout the country. In fact, ethnolinguistically speaking, there are in addition more than 25 Tai groups found in these same districts, most of whom migrated south from Houa Phanh and Nghê An to escape the Cheuang War of 1879 (a Khmou millenarian rebellion), and several subgroups of Brou which belong to the Katuic branch of Mon-Khmer, more closely related to the groups found further south in Savannakhet, Xékong, Saravanh, and Champasak. Finally, and more recently, many villages of Hmong have moved to the area as well, some from Vietnam.

It goes without saying that these groups reside in a richly biodiverse environment as well, adjacent to the Annamite mountains where a number of rainforest sub-habitats have been identified and which have yielded several new species of large mammals in recent years, including the Saola.

Hence we might speak of a biocultural continuum ranging from the pre-hunting Atel through to lowland paddy rice cultivators. Contacts between Type I and Type IV cultures occurred via the Type II and III

[5] The Brou of Ban Kounè may have entered through the Vietnamese district of Muang Bam, but appear ultimately to be from the same area as the other Brou in Gnommarath.

groups. And thus Type I remained almost totally isolated until 1976 and were not known to the outside world until 1996.

We see first of all that the effects of forced relocation in this case have been devastating. For the majority of the forest peoples it has meant simply death. These are the extreme examples, but we may view them as emblematic of the trauma wrought on all peoples who are removed from their home environment. Indeed, psychologically speaking, all relocation, let alone forced relocation, is a trauma often compared metaphorically to death.

During the course of the research in this area the remaining hunter-gatherers all stated they would prefer to return to their spiritual territories, a choice not acceptable to government authorities. What is more worrisome is that even the World Bank, with its Indigenous Peoples' policy that calls for governments to respect indigenous habitation of ancestral lands, has elected not to listen to the voices of these people.

Many other interesting experiences have been seen in the area. The Maleng people, a Type II culture, live in an area surrounded by excellent fertile paddy land on the lower Nam Sot. In fact, at one time, some seven years ago, the villagers engaged in paddy cultivation for several years, but in the end returned to their rudimentary swiddening because, in their own words, they felt restless and uncomfortable in the paddy environment which lacked the lush forests to which they are accustomed.

Another group, the To'e, have moved several times and now reside in the village of Pak Katane on the southern boundary between Nakai and Khamkeut. They were doing well by their own definition, with good swiddens and good yields, hunting and fishing. Now several large Hmong villages have moved to nearby locations and have intruded upon their ancestral territory. The Hmong are more aggressive and look down upon the To'e. They have even cleared swiddens on their ancestral burial grounds. The swiddens of the To'e have had to give way to the Hmong and the latter have almost totally depleted the wildlife in the area. This demonstrates clearly the danger of relocation, not only to the groups being moved, but to host villages as well.

Halving poverty by 2015 is one of the greatest challenges of our time, requiring cooperation and sustainability. The partner countries are responsible for their own development. Sida provides resources and develops knowledge and expertise, making the world a richer place.

SWEDISH INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AGENCY

SE-105 25 Stockholm Sweden
Phone: +46 (0)8 698 50 00
Fax: +46 (0)8 698 56 15
info@sida.se, www.sida.se