Domestication of Khamu women through domesticated trees?

The impacts of development interventions in Lao PDR

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Abstract

This study tries to shed light on the impacts of development intervention with respect to both the economic position of Khamu women and their local environment. The primary focus of the study is the effect of the commercialisation of wild and domesticated paper mulberry in Mang Village (northern Lao PDR). A secondary focus is how the development strategies including the commercialisation of paper mulberry are contributing to the destruction of the tropical rainforest. The overall cause for tropical rainforest destruction is misdirected development strategies that emphasize export-led growth. These strategies contribute also to a widening gap between the rich and 'poor'. It will be shown in detail that the tropical rainforest is decreasing in Mang village, due to (1) the forced transformation from subsistence to market oriented agriculture and (2) the population growth in the village caused by relocation programs. The same two reasons also enhance a class formation in the village, which shapes Khamu women's economic position in society. Their situation regarding the increased commercialisation of both wild, and domesticated paper mulberry is influenced by class through: (1) the access to related recourses which can reflect (2) the quality of paper mulberry bark, (3) the importance criteria of paper mulberry as a cash crop to contribute to their livelihood, and (4) the intra-household division of labour between women and men. This study is embedded in a broader framework which tries to link conflicts about scarce resources with development interventions.

Contents

Chapter 1 Introduction

With this introduction it is shown how central questions and objectives of this study emerged. Different aspects are considered, which allow both, a view on the development from paper mulberry as a non timber forest product (NTFP) to a cash crop product, and some of the possible implications of this transformation on the environment and local society.

1.1. Research Context and Issue

There is a long-running debate among physical and social scientist on the ability of the planet to sustain industrial and population growth. The debate is on the future. The two sides of the debate have very different concepts of what is sustainable and what is desirable. The technological worldview, with its support of elites and the status quo, currently dominates society.

This worldview fosters continued infrastructural intensification in the belief that technology will find a way to tap into infinite resources for human consumption, "*that technology will find a way to clean up the mess*" (Ewell 1991:57). Following Ewell, technologists tend to rhapsodize over innovations, pointing out not only their efficiency but also their positive impact on human dignity (often defined as freedom from labour), popular power, and freedom. Ecologists, on the other hand, tend to regard these same innovations as restricting human freedom, placing more power into the hands of the already powerful. Rooted in their system view, there is the belief that technology cannot be employed without creating further social inequalities. Ecologists question not only whether man can continue to exploit nature for profit but also whether he should continue to do so (Ewell 1991:56). It *"took millions of years for hunters and gatherers to deplete their environment. It took thousands of years for agricultural society to do the same. After only 100 years of intensive industrialism, however, the world is rapidly running out of many non-renewable resources*" (Ewell 1991:61). One of the most serious ecological problems of the world in recent decades has been the disappearance of tropical rain forests. The destruction of rain forest has reached levels that can only be described as catastrophic. Rain forests cover about 16 % of the earth's surface. They are enormously diverse and rich in life; they are home to perhaps 50 % of all species. The loss of rain forest is not limited to species, however, but to entire ecosystems, which are very difficult, if not impossible to reconstitute (Sutton and Anderson 2004:297). At the same time there is now recognition that there exists a mutually dependent relationship between biological diversity and cultural diversity, between habitats and cultures between ecosystems and cultural identity. This relationship is a determining factor in ensuring sustainable human development (Lukas 2006/7:25).

The Lao People's Democratic Republic (Lao PDR) is located in Southeast Asia and is one of the

most ethnically diverse countries in the world. Lao PDR is a poly-ethnic state with a complex and as yet poorly studied ethnic composition and high biodiversity. At the same time it is a so called least developed country. In recent years, the Government of Lao PDR has focused increasingly on 'the problem of poverty', especially in rural areas where about 80% of the population lives. While steady economic growth substantially reduced the poverty rate in the capital Vientiane, it had much less impact on poverty in remote provinces, especially in the northern region. Main indicators of poverty are rice insufficiency and loss of livestock (ADB 2004:15). Lao PDR development goals have a special focus on 'ethnic minority' groups living in marginal zones in the forest. Those groups, who lived based on a subsistence economy, have been considered as poor and "*shifting cultivation*", which is their main agricultural technique, is now officially blamed for the decreasing of Lao PDR tropical forest. Already 1954, Conklin states in his article *An Ethno ecological approach to shifting agriculture* that "*shifting agriculture is still only inadequately understood"* as it is often "*categorically condemned as primitive, wasteful or illegal*" (Conklin 1954:1). At a conference on agriculture in Lao PDR in the year 2004, researchers explained one more time the suitability of shifting agriculture for mountainous areas. These studies also indicate that with this kind of agriculture population density would have been limited (Baird and Shoemaker 2005:7). Officially, the main cause for the unenforceability of shifting cultivation is the increasing population in Lao PDR. A common argument is: "*This 'slash and burn' agricultural system of secondary forest has a rotational period of 10 to 20 years. With a 2% population growth rate, however, fallow periods are shortened, rendering shifting cultivation unsustainable. Thus alternative land use practices must be developed and supported to enable the growing population to build sustainable livelihoods*"[1].

The population of the Lao PDR is growing at an average of about 2% a year, but Kossikov point out that the population is distributed extremely unevenly. A considerable portion of the population is concentrated in the valleys of the Mekong and its tributaries along the Thai border. The rest of the territory is sparsely populated, especially in the mountainous northern provinces of the country (Kossikov 2000:227).

Alternative land use practices are usually the introduction of cash crops and the promotion of other income-generating activities. These are the two main suggested ways in rural development programmes, to reach the potentially contradictory aims of poverty alleviation and forest environmental protection. Whereas agriculture land in mountainous regions is restrained to permanent, limited areas.

That policy relies on the rarely explicit presupposition that it is possible for farmers to sell commercial products and that the cash income obtained should allow them to buy rice instead of growing it by, using shifting cultivation practices (Ducourtieux 2005:2). Another presupposition is

[1] http://www.oeaw.ac.at/kef/download/MDGs/MDG_project_database/MDG_db_poster_ribeira.pdf

that they should change to paddy field rice cultivation.

However, in order to reduce poverty and to protect the forest - and maybe for some further security aspects - both, women together with their men and children through e.g. resettlement programs and non timber forest products (NTFP) had to be domesticated. This process is going on. Now the members of the local society should become productive farmers in order to support the national growth rate. Development agencies and research programmes try to 'facilitate' their progress in order to reach these aims. Appell (1988) discusses the impacts of development and social change as a series of seven principles, whereby he states that most development interventions become "*hallowed, unchallenged goals"*. Their ***"…full impact on society is seldom considered…"*** (Appell 1988:272).

With increasing incorporation of the local society into the market economy, the nature of the environment to which groups adapt changes significantly. Grossman (1981) uses the term "*external environment*" referring to external economies and social forces that influence the functioning of the local system. Examples for Grossman's view on "*external environment*" are the political economy of the region and other government regulations (Grossman 1981:222).

The physical and biotic components within a village territory are part of the natural "*environment within the local ecosystem*" (ibid.). The introduction of plants associated with income-earning activities changes the environment within the ecosystem and disrupts potentially previously established linkages. As the incorporation process continues, forces emanating from the external environment become increasingly important, because they influence the functioning of local communities. In doing so, "*these factors alter previously established relationships among the natural environment patterns of production, social organization and cultural values within the local system*" (ibid.). This change in social organization and in patterns of production can especially affect women.

The field study was concentrated on paper mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera*)* a NTFP, which is increasingly transformed into a cash crop product. For Autbertin (2004), in Luang Prabang Province paper mulberry "*provides a good example of successful domestication of a forest product*" (Aubertin 2004:223). Its plantation in the allocated land plots is presented as a means to bring additional income to farms and to reduce the area under slash-and-burn used for subsistence production of rice. Its branches supply the bark that is used in paper production (ibid.223-238). Success can be measured in different ways, depending on who define success and who is benefiting from domestication.

Introducing cash crops requires normally prior in-depth thought about the socioeconomic conditions and suitable research in the on-farm environment (Ducoutieux 2006:74). Commercialized paper mulberry is often expected to increase income. Although a number of complex interrelated factors influence (1) whether commercialisation will succeed, so that it can

bring additional cash income; and (2) whether it will benefit or harm women's social and economic status (Belcher and Schreckenberg 2003:2).

For a successful commercialisation the quality of the paper mulberry bark is seen as the most important factor which can lead to better prices in a well organised supply chain. The bark collected in Lao PDR is often of medium quality because of the practise to mix rather than differentiate between different grades of bark. Further barks is often not properly harvested and handled (i.e. mould grows on the dried bark in the wet season) (Eureka 2004:5).

According to Ribeiro (2006), the gendered division of task may affect the quality of the bark. Men are often responsible to sell the produce and communicate with outsiders. They focus more in the marketing and management, whereas women are the main producers and processors of the bark. It was thus expected that women have a deep knowledge about some of the factors that influence the quality of the bark, which can be important for the supply chain. This gender division of tasks might lead to a failure to comply with the terms of delivery set by the traders and processors if men do not communicate prices, quality standards and negotiated time of delivery to women (Ribeiro 2006:3).

But if the bark of paper mulberry becomes more important in terms of economic value, women may not benefit from this success. For Neumann and Hirsch the largest negative impacts for women, from commercialisation, appear under two conditions: when new technology introductions reveal a pattern whereby men displace women from NTFP processing; and when men have control over the income derived from NTFP collection and sale. These shifts tend to occur in cases where NTFP become more important in terms of economic value (Neumann and Hirsch 2000:32). In the same directions a number of authors argue that one determining factors for women's position in society can be: (1) whether or not they control access to resources, (2) the conditions of their work, and (3) the distribution of the products of their labour (Moore 1988: 31-32). Gender in this context is understood as only one factor that shapes women's lives. Other kinds of 'difference', such as the geographical living location, class and ethnicity aspects, may influence women's access and control to related resources for paper mulberry domestication as well. As this study emphasise a materialist approach the influences of government and development agencies are included, as Bernard (2002) states:

> "*If you think economic and political forces causes values and behavior then you´ll be inclined to apply the materialist perspective in your search for explanations in general: Can a change in material (economic political, technological) conditions free women from their gender typed roles?*" (Bernard 2002:76).

This study does not question whether a change in material conditions *can* free women from their gender typed roles or not, but is rather asking for the impacts resulting out of such a change.

1.2. Research Objectives

In this part the main and specific objectives of this study are presented, as well as the way to reach this aims.

The general objective of the research is to answer the following question: **What causes development intervention, and what are their impacts on women's economic position in society and on the local environment, regarding the increased domestication and commercialisation of paper mulberry in Mang village (Oudomxay)?**

Several considerations have to be clarified in order to answer the above mentioned question. This is done in following six chapters. Chapter two until six, have the overall aim to understand the general cause for development intervention and their impacts, in order to find out broader reasons why paper mulberry have had to be domesticated. Chapter seven regards different aspects related to the increased domestication and commercialisation of paper mulberry. Hence, it deals too with the resulting impacts on both, society and environment. Chapter seven concentrates mostly with the data collected during the field study, whereby the methods used, are described.

Chapter *two* focuses on the leading concept of development and the proclaimed aims of poverty reduction and environmental protection. Anthropological contributions to and main critics on this concepts are included. Chapter *three* looks on the role that the gender division of labour plays in societies with different subsistence strategies. It should be clarified how the division of labour is adapted to different environments, as well as the economic implications on women, that may occur through the change from a subsistence economy to a market oriented one.

Chapter *four* concentrates on theories, which are situated in a specific anthropological subfield-cultural ecology. These theories aim to understand different cultural adoptions to environments, as well as the cause for social change. The approach of cultural and later political ecology is linked with the leading concept of development. This chapter ends with a comparison of development efforts in Southeast Asia and their implications on local society and on the local environment. The aim is to show a link between development programmes and possible conflicts about scarce resources, as described in the previous chapter. Chapter *five* clarifies the previous mentioned general aspects of development in the specific case of Lao PDR. Related policies regulations which affect access and control over resources and the ethnicity aspects are included. Chapter *six* tries to reconstruct Khamu traditional economy, society and culture, as well as their relationship with leading rulers in different times and the role of women in their traditional economic system.

Chapter *seven* is concentrated on several specific objectives, in order to meet the answer of the general question. The following specific objectives should be reached:

1. Discern the importance of paper mulberry compared to other cash crops to contribute to

families livelihoods

2. Find out, if women prefer to collect paper mulberry wild or domesticated
3. Discern who has access and who controls which resources related to the commercialisation of both wild and domesticated paper mulberry
4. Understand the factors which lead to a better or worse quality of the bark
5. Document the division of labour in harvesting, processing and selling bark from both wild and domesticated paper mulberry trees, and to find out if the division of labour in the household, can be linked with the wealth position from the household in village society
6. Discern who controls benefits in form of cash derived from both wild and domesticated paper mulberry.
7. Understand the factors that contribute to population increase and forest destruction in the village

Before finishing with the conclusion, chapter seven provides a comparison of the current Khamu women's economic position in contrast to their economic position in the former subsistence system.

Chapter 2 Development

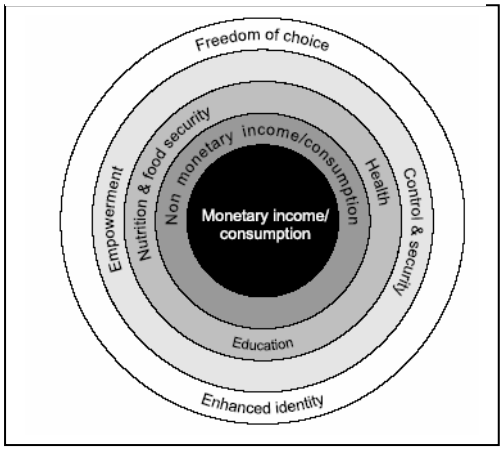
The concept of '*development*' is overriding and driven with contradiction. In general development deals with prospective achievements of yet unrealized states (Crush 1995:9). Development is also, first a "*key concept in Western culture and philosophy*", and second the term is especially associated with the international "*projects of planned social change*" set in motion in the years surrounding World War II (Barnard 2004:154). This part is concerned about the second meaning. '*Development'* in this sense is an unstable term. Crush writes that in a recent spate of development dictionaries "*we sense an urgent, even desperate attempt to stabilize development and bring order out of ambiguity*" (Crush 1995:2).
In order to understand the cause for development intervention, this chapter deals with the leading concept of development, and the proclaimed aims of poverty reduction and environmental sustainability. Focus is given on the issue about unequal participation and control of different resources related to the development concept. The issue about control and different interests in development affect anthropology as well. The chapter finishes with special critics on existing models of development.

2.1. Behind Poverty

The term '*poverty*' is usually in direct correlation with the concept of development. The term poverty is quite intangible, with a vast amount of different definitions existing in scientific deliberations, it has "*always meant different things to different people and can never be politically neutral, reflecting as it does the a priori conceptions of who is evaluating poverty and the data used, or available, to measure it*" (Jane 2006:93).
Shiva refers to the point that it is useful to separate a cultural conception of subsistence living as poverty from the material experience of poverty that is a result of dispossession and deprivation, because "*culturally perceived poverty need not be real material poverty: subsistence economies which satisfy basic need through self provisioning are not poor in the sense of being deprived*" (Shiva 1988:12), many societies organize(d) their economic activities without the use of money (Harris 1997:225). Yet the ideology of development declares them as poor because they do not participate overwhelmingly in the market economy, and do not consume commodities produced for and distributed through the market even though they might be satisfying their needs through self provisioning mechanisms. Hence she concludes that: "*This cultural perception of prudent subsistence living as poverty has provided the legitimisation for the development process as a poverty removal project... As a culturally biased project it destroys wholesome and sustainable lifestyles and creates real material poverty, by the denial of survival needs themselves, through the diversion of resources to resource intensive commodity production*" (Shiva 1988:12).

A subsistence economy is not simply a list of foods but a complex system that includes resources, technologies, social and political organizations, which differs from the market economy. This concept will be analysed in chapter three. The point here is that the productivity of this system was the major focus of the first development formulations. The first formulations of development were the works of economists, all strongly influenced by the ideas of Keynes and the wartime and post-war practices of state intervention in the economy, including the perceived success of the Marshall Plan, which was in many ways a model for later ideas about 'aid'. They wrote development plans for both newly independent countries and the not yet independent colonies, in order to foster economic productivity based on the idea of raising rural productivity and transferring underutilized labour out of agriculture into industry (Leys 2005:111). Although development is considered now as a multidimensional process, money is in the dominating world system the central key element to support and enhance the broader aspects of development.

Figure 1: Development Circle



Therefore the United Nations and the World Bank Group, together with the International Monetary Fund, both leading international organisations in the field of development, measure development firstly in economic terms. In strictly economic terms, development describes the capacity of a national economy to generate and sustain an annual increase in its gross national product (GNP). GNP is the total flow of goods and services produced in a particular country measured at market prices. The wealth and, by implication, the welfare of individuals is judged in terms of the growth of GNP per capita. As a Cambridge economist has pointed out, "*From the point of view of welfare, information about average income is meaningless unless we know how consuming power is distributed*" (Robinson 1979:5). In the late 1990's the term 'pro-poor growth' became popular as economists started to take a new look at how growth and changes in inequality together affect

poverty reduction. Cord (2004) pointed out that development practitioners and policy makers are fond of the term "pro-poor growth" because like "*Humty Dumty in Alice's wonderland, to each of them ´it means exactly what (they) want it to mean*" (Cord 2004:15).

In the same way Robison (1979), sees that the practice of using the GNP as a measure for social wellbeing, is based on a number of incorrect assumptions (Robinson 1979:124):

(1) Consumption is not an adequate measure of individual wealth, especially in societies in which not all goods and services are cleared through markets (e.g. reciprocal exchanges, subsistence production, gifts) or in which the proportion of total consumption attributed to government consumption of goods and services makes up a disproportionate amount of total consumption (e.g. government expenditures in armaments).

(2) GNP per capital is meaningful only if every additional unit of income generated the same satisfaction from each person. This is patently not the case, since a poor person is likely to value an additional unit of income more than a very rich person

(3) Increases in total and per capita GNP does not take into account that these increase are not shared proportionally and that a 10 % gain in income in the top 5 % income group is likely to represent a larger proportion of total GNP than, a 10 % gain in income for the bottom 5, 10 or even 20 % of the population of a developing country

(4) GNP further distorts the welfare of individuals and nations through its inclusion of times such as military expenditures, which have grown in their proportion of total GNP faster than the total GNP, averaging 7 to 9 %, as compared to 2 to 5 % for total GNP

Reno (1998/2000) has developed the concept of the "*shadow state",* a version of patrimonial rule attuned to current global political economy. The shadow state is a network of elite powers and patronages that exists alongside the official government institutions. Those at its pinnacle exploit the facade of government, but personally "*call the shots"* and "*appropriate as much wealth as they can by tapping foreign aid and enclave-based production of valued commodities*". The beneficiaries of this system, Reno argues have a vested interest in promoting insecurity (hence the need for patrons) and a war economy (smuggling, arms trade, etc.), and are against diversion of resources to public goods. Old-style capital accumulation via exploitation of peasant production is too limited, and would require counter–profitable expenditures on security. As Reno points out, such systems are unlikely to create peace or develop functioning institutions of government (cited from Ferguson 2003:11).
Many current policies in international economic development seem to encourage that national elites collude with international organizations in order to obtain capital by agreeing to enlarged projects that put Third World nations in debt. The projects end up benefiting a small number of

construction companies and elite groups capable of obtaining the large contracts. Less often multilateral development banks encourage decentralization of capital and control of information by local population. This has been left largely to the NGO`s and other grassroots organizations, which in so doing, have in many cases collided with Third World states over political and social policy (Moran 1996:234)[2].

The consuming power is distributed currently extremely disparately, regarding first development goal "*Eradicate Extreme Poverty and Hunger*"[3]. The declared aim is to "*Reduce by half the proportion of people living on less than a dollar a day*" and "*Reduce by half the proportion of people who suffer from* hunger". Food is not in short supply but people need money to buy it: "*There is enough available to provide each of the Earth's inhabitants with at least 2,700 calories a day. But production alone is not enough. The people who need the food must be able to buy it and consume it. And that is precisely the problem*" (Ramonet 1998:1). Hunger has become a political weapon. Hunger is a strategy pursued with unbelievable cynicism by governments and military regimes that the end of the cold war has deprived of a steady income. Rather than starving the enemy "*they are starving their own populations in order to cash in on media coverage and international compassion, an inexhaustible source of money, food and political platforms*" (Brunel 1998:310). Inequalities in income and human capabilities often reflect inequalities in political power. Disadvantaged groups - poor people, women, rural populations, indigenous communities - are disadvantaged partly because they have a weak political voice, and they have a weak political voice because they are disadvantaged. Sen is renowned for showing how government policies can cause famine even when food is abundant. On several occasions, he has stressed "*the remarkable fact that, in the terrible history of famines in the world, no substantial famine has ever occurred in any independent and democratic country with a relatively free press*" (Sen 1998:12).

This inequality, referring back to the concept of development, is also considered by Gardner and Lewis as "*the development discourse is central to how the world is represented and controlled by those with the most power*" (Gardner & Lewis 2005:352). The balance of power is complex between the different actors in planned development and this complexity is exacerbated by the use of varying levels and styles of 'participation'. The forms and effectiveness of 'participation' are so variable that the term actually denotes few specific practices, indicating only "*the notion of efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situation, on the part of groups and moments hitherto excluded from such control*" (Abram 1998:5). Dorman (1995) identifies two schools of thought's of participation: (1) *social planning*, where participation is used to facilitate development efforts initiated by outside agencies, and (2) *social action* where participation is a moral obligation leading to

[2] The continual emphasis on aggregate measures to evaluate the success of development projects leads to counterintuitive results: aggregate development and individual underdevelopment. Clear examples of these outcomes can be seen in Brazil , where GNP rose from about$270 in 1965 to more than$1,840 in 1986, while the share of GNP by the 50 % poorest went in that same period from 17,71 of the total to 11,81 %. During the same period the share of the richest 5 % went from 27, 69 % on the total wealth to 39 % of the total (Malan 1979:39).

[3] http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/#

empowerment of the participants (Doorman 1995:129). However, in each approach naive views of the process, as one in which communities make concerted efforts to reach shared interests, give way to the realisation that development is more commonly a struggle for scarce resources, through which existing internal power relations are often reproduced allowing local elites to gain the most benefits (ibid.131). This study is mostly concerned about this struggle for scarce resources, which lead to the second development goals which is related to this research.

2.2. Behind Environmental Sustainability

The first UN millennium development goal regarding environmental sustainability is clearly expressed: "*Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes; reverse loss of environmental resources*"[4]. 'Sustainable development' was initially defined in Grow Harlem Brundtland's UN-sponsored report *Our Common future* (1987) as practices that satisfy the need of our generation without jeopardizing the possibilities for future generations to satisfy their needs. This issue was discussed at the *United Nations Conference on Environment and Development* in Rio de Janeiro 1992. Nearly 150 Heads of State came together and agreed to a global action plan for sustainable development which they called *Agenda 21*[5][6]. The term '*needs*' was left undefined and was one of several contentious aspects of the new paradigm, which the World Bank, multinational corporations and environmental movements "*all claim their own*" (Edelman 2005:35). Part of the *Agenda 21* is also the concern about biodiversity[7] conservation. At least 80% of this biodiversity is concentrated and flourishes in the tropical regions.

Adjanohoun (1996) pointed out that conservation has two complementary aspects: *"a static aspect of strict protection, and a dynamic aspect of rational development, which should make it possible to make better use of natural resources...*" (Adjanohoun 1996:506). The pharmaceutical industry, which has grown in scale and importance during the twentieth century, is basically interested and depends on a better use of natural recourses in tropical regions resources. The whole clinical research began in the developed countries with the observation of the spectacular results of traditional medicine used to treat a

[4] http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/#

[5] http://portal.unesco.org/fr/ev.php-URL_ID=3994&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

[6] http://www.un.org/documents/ga/conf151/aconf15126-3annex3.htmPrinciples/Elements, Point 2:2. (a) States have the sovereign and inalienable right to utilize, manage and develop their forests in accordance with their development needs and level of socio-economic development and on the basis of national policies consistent with sustainable development and legislation, including the conversion of such areas for other uses within the overall socio-economic development plan and based on rational land-use policies. (b) Forest resources and forest lands should be sustainable managed to meet the social, economic, ecological, cultural and spiritual needs of present and future generations. These needs are for forest products and services, such as wood and wood products, water, food, fodder, medicine, fuel, shelter, employment, recreation, habitats for wildlife, landscape diversity, carbon sinks and reservoirs, and for other forest products. Appropriate measures should be taken to protect forests against harmful effects of pollution, including air-borne pollution, fires, pests and diseases, in order to maintain their full multiple value. (d) Governments should promote and provide opportunities for the participation of interested parties, including local communities and indigenous people, industries, labour, non-governmental organizations and individuals, forest dwellers and women, in the development, implementation and planning of national forest policies.

[7] As used in the Convention on Biological Diversity, the term '*biological diversity*' has the following definition (IUCN, 1994): 'the variability among living organisms from all sources including internal, terrestrial, marine, and other aquatic ecosystems and the ecological complexes of which they are a part; this includes diversity within species, between species and of ecosystems'.

wide range of illnesses (ibid.507). Tropical plants used by the pharmaceutical industry represent less than 0.1% of the world's genetic heritage currently catalogued (ibid.512). Vissac (1996) focus on biodiversity with a link to agrarian systems. He compares agrarian systems in developed nations, which have based their development on a limited selection of species and clones in simplified, highly controlled systems, with developing countries. "*The developed world has often set itself as an example for developing countries, while seeking to benefit at low cost from the biosocial reserves that have been protected by the lag in development of the poorer Nations*" (Vissac 1996:385)[8].

In most countries it is the government, not the people around the protected areas that ultimately decides the fate of forests and wildlife. The first half of the twentieth century, saw a hardening of attitudes towards indigenous peoples, and the implementation of many policies which alienated them from their lands, including the establishment of a large number of national parks and reserves in developing countries. This continued in the post-World War II era, "*when rural peoples*" were often perceived "*as a threat to wild nature*" (IIED 2002:1)[9]. But from the late 1970s, significant changes can be discerned in international conservation discourses and practices. These days, rural people are frequently seen as a resource for the conservation of biological diversity, which leads to the establishment of so called '*People -oriented approaches*'. '*People oriented conservation*' includes, but is not limited to, participatory approaches to natural resource management (ibid.). Currently many scholars and observers are calling for stricter enforcement of protected area boundaries given the perceived failure of integrated conservation and development projects (Brechin 2002a:42*).* Instead of studying and making use of the traditional systems for regulating critical environmental relations, often conducted by traditional ritual systems, the government is attempting to create and impose an entirely new regulatory system based upon civil law. In doing so, traditional systems that worked are often eliminated (Dove 1988:17). The new one often does not work out well, as mentioned above.

Dove (1988) offers two explanations, why it often does not work out: 1) Fears of certain supernatural sanction, rooted in the traditional belief system, resulted in strict observance of the traditional regulations. In contrast, the lack of fear of uncertain civil penalties, often results in widespread disregard of new imposed civil laws. 2) Many government officials in form of military or police, which should observe the imposed law often themselves "*do not take some of the new laws too seriously*", as they regard the shooting of wildlife for personal consumption or even resale as one of the "*perquisites of their office*" (Dove 1988:17). In fact, such attitudes can have disastrous impact for the environment.

Considering the stricter enforcement of protected area boundaries, the highly politicized nature of

[8] He discuss biodiversity of domestic livestock referring: (1) to its relations with ancient human cultures within agrarian systems (the set of items and relationships both induced by the environment and developed by a society in order to put the resources of a territory to use through agriculture), and (2) to the relations maintained between existing vestiges of those cultures via biodiversity (Vissac 1996:385).

[9] http://www.iied.org/pubs/pdf/full/9134IIED.pdf

conservation and development should be given recognition as "*most areas considered to be high priority biodiversity 'hot spots'"* are also *"social and political 'hot spots'"*. These hot spots often *"feature high levels of poverty, insecure land tenure and landlessness, unstable and, or undemocratic political systems, and histories of state-sponsored repression" (*Brechin 2002a:42*).*

As mechanisms of resource control, conservation programs tie up natural areas that are highly sought after by resource-dependent agrarian communities. A number of other groups also have interests at stake in these areas, including, pharmaceutical companies, international development banks, the military, tourism agencies, and oil companies, to name just a few (Brechin 2002b:44). Scientific and managerial explanations for conservation can mask other political understandings of the roles that protected areas play in the context of wider social and cultural spheres. Conservation policies can: (1) be another manifestation of external control that, in some contexts, mirrors earlier eras of imperial domination, (2) point to the use of protected areas over time as a means of elite control of territory or rival ethnic groups, and (3) contributes heavily to shifts in power dynamics in rural areas that are already highly politicized (Brechin 2000a23-24). While Brechin (2000/2002) discuss what stands behind some conservation policies, Homer-Dixon and Blitt (1998), look on the impacts when non-renewable resources decrease. Homer-Dixon and Blitt, link the issue from environment and security with the ongoing and often disastrous appearing population increase, and ask a related question to this study.

By the year 2025, world population will be nearly 8 billion (Marshall 1997:70). This figure represents an increase of almost 2 billion in just over 20 years. As a worldwide figure, the number is disturbing enough, but the implications of rapid population growth for specific regions are sometimes truly alarming. Over 90 % of the expected growth will take place in developing countries in which the majority of the population is often dependent on local renewable resources .In many places, these resources are being degraded and depleted. The resources that remain are often controlled by powerful interest groups and elites, leaving even less for the majority of the population (Homer-Dixon & Blitt 1998:1). What they both finally ask is, "*what are the links between this increasing scarcity of renewable resources*", what they call 'environmental scarcity', "*and the rise in violent conflict within countries in recent years*?" (ibid.1). 'Environmental scarcity' is for them, a scarcity of renewable resources. Natural resources, in general, can be either non-renewable (e.g. oil and iron ore) or renewable (e.g. forest, soil, lake, river water). Non-renewable are usually independent from one another depletion of one body of a non-renewable resources does not usually affect other bodies of non-renewable resources. In contrast renewable resources are highly interdependent (Homer-Dixon&Blitt1998:1-2). For Homer-Dixon a good example is the interdependence between a forest and its surrounding ecosystem of renewable resources. Severe regional forest loss from logging can significantly affect other renewable in the neighbourhood; it

can change the local cycles of rainfall, the stability of soils anon hillsides, and the productivity of local fisheries. As a result, depletion of renewable resources often produces unexpected effects, sometimes much more severe, complex, and difficult to manage than originally anticipated (ibid.). Their key findings are following:

(1) Under certain circumstances, scarcities of renewable resources produce civil violence and instability. However, the role of this "environmental scarcity" is often obscure. Environmental scarcity acts mainly by generating intermediate social effects, e.g. poverty, that analysts often interpret as conflicts immediate causes (ibid.223).

(2) Environmental scarcity is caused by the degrading and depletion of renewable resources, increased demand for these resources and/or their unequal distribution. These three sources of scarcity often interact and reinforce one another (ibid: 224).

(3) Environmental scarcity often encourages powerful groups to capture valuable environmental resources and prompts marginal groups to migrate to ecologically sensitive areas. These two processes in turn reinforce environmental scarcity and raise the potential of social instability (ibid.).

(4-6)If social and economic adoption is unsuccessful environmental scarcity (4) constrains economic development and contributes to migration; (5) sharpens existing distinctions among social groups; (6) weakens governmental institutions and states[10] (ibid: 225-6)

(7) The (above mentioned) intermediate social effects of environmental scarcity-including constrained economic productivity, population movements social segmentation and weakening of institutions and states-can in turn cause ethnic conflicts, insurgencies, and coups d`état. (ibid:227).

2.3. Development and Anthropology

Anthropology's relationship to development is driven with contradiction too. Currently the different approaches are expressed in "*Development Anthropology*" versus "*Anthropology of Development*" (Escobar 2005:341). 'Development Anthropology' has been termed the work of practitioners who actual design, implement or evaluate programs of directed change, especially those intended to alleviate poverty in poor nations. The 'Anthropology of Development', on the other hand, calls for a radical critique of, and distancing from, the development establishment (ibid.). While development anthropologists focus on the project cycle, the uses of knowledge to tailor projects to benefit cultures and situations, and the possibility of contributing to the needs of the 'poor', the

[10] In some poor countries the multiple effects of environmental scarcity increase the demands on governmental institutions and the sate, stimulate predatory elite behaviour, reduce social trust and useful inter group interaction, and depress the tax revenues. These processes in turn weaken the administrative capacity and legitimacy of governmental institutions and the state (Homer-Dixon 1998:226)

anthropologists of development centre their analysis on the institutional apparatus, the links to power established by experts knowledge, the ethnographic analysis and critique of modernist constructs, and the possibility of contribution to the political projects of the subaltern (ibid.505). At first the critical contributions of some researches to development should be considered followed by a main critic of these contributions.

Unfortunately it is not always so clear, who will benefit most from the research. Development projects enter often a field where the struggle for scarce recourses occurs, and as noted above may or can be highly political. The next part considers the role of social science, especially social and cultural anthropology, and NGOs in political "sensitive" areas.

Theorist and policy-makers have posed a special interest in rural areas, since the apparent success of communist insurgencies in mobilizing poor peasants, especially in Latin America and Asia. Driven by an awareness of the failures of conventional development interventions, mainstream development agencies began to pay more attention to the social side of development policy, and to turn more readily to social sciences other than economics (Leys 2005:112). This then lead to the broader definition of development. Very few at that time publicly questioned the identification of modernization studies with the aims of US foreign policy. In the 1950s and early 1960s the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) regularly "*'debriefed' US scholars returning from Third World fieldwork and the State Department frequently sought their advice*" (ibid.112). The director of DARPA[11] in 1965 explained:

> "*It is [our] primary thesis that remote area warfare is controlled in a major way by the environment in which the warfare occurs, by the sociological and anthropological characteristics of the people involved in the war, and by the nature of the conflict itself.*" (Wakin 1992:85).

The recognition that research and development efforts to support counterinsurgency operations must be oriented toward the local human terrain led to the establishment of the Special Operations Research Office (SORO) at the American University in Washington, D.C. With anthropologists and other social scientists on staff, SORO functioned as a research centre into the human dimension of counterinsurgency (McFate 2005:35).

In 1964, SORO designed the Project Camelot which was:

> "*a study whose objective [was] to determine the feasibility of developing a general social systems model which would make it possible to predict and influence politically significant aspects of social change in the developing nations of the world.*" The project's objectives were "*to devise procedures for assessing the potential for internal war within national*

[11] The Office of Naval Research and the Defence Advanced Research Projects Agency

societies; to identify with increased degrees of confidence those actions which a government might take to relieve conditions which are assessed as giving rise to a potential for internal war" (Horowitz 1967:47-9).

Special interest in rural areas has been established in Asia during the Vietnam War. Robert McNamara, a key architect of US military strategy in Vietnam, went on in 1968 to spend more than a decade directing the World Bank, where he articulated a new approach towards poverty reduction aimed at "*the poorest of the poor*" (Edelman 2005:37).

In 1970 the next covert research surfaced in Thailand. There a number of anthropologist and other social scientist were allegedly gathering data for DOD and the Royal Thai Government to support a counterinsurgency program that would "*use development aid to encourage tribal villages to remain loyal to the Thai Government rather than joining the insurgents*" (McFate 2005:36). In November 2004 DARPA sponsored the Adversary Cultural Knowledge and National Security Conference, the first major DOD conference on the social sciences since 1962 (ibid.24). In 2006 a manual was designed by the U.S. Army to "*fill a doctrinal gap. It has been 20 years since the Army published a field manual devoted exclusively to counterinsurgency operations*" (FM 2006:2)[12]. The manual refers sixty times to the importance of NGO`s, for e.g.:

"*Some NGOs maintain strict independence from governments and other belligerents in a conflict and do not want to be seen directly associating with military forces. Gaining their support and coordinating operations with them can be difficult. While establishing basic awareness of these groups and their activities may be the most commanders can achieve, it is important to note the role of NGOs in resolving an insurgency. Many of these NGOs arrive before military forces and remain long afterwards...To the greatest extent possible, the military should complement and not override their capabilities. Building a complementary and trust-based relationship is vital*" (FM 2006:49)

The *American Anthropological Association*[13], provide a general guideline for ethically responsible research. A range of ethnographies deals with the kind of complex situations that is frequently encountered by those working in or on the 'fringes of development'. Contemporary fieldworkers become ethically and politically embroiled in the complexity.

The approach to research, described above is more related to Development Anthropology, on the other side it should now be focused on the critics of the leading development concept, which rely to the field of Anthropology of Development. Development can support people in special situations, but currently:

"... nearly all analysts agree that most development projects fail. Nonetheless, a faith in progress (an assumed capacity to improve the conditions of existence) continues almost some supporters of all three positions – "development", development alternatives, and post-development alike." (Edelman 2005:2).

[12] http://www.fas.org/irp/doddir/army/fm3-24.pdf, page 2
[13] http://www.aaanet.org/committees/ethics/ethicscode.pdf

Although, Wolfensohn, Director of the World Bank states that "*Our common goal must be to eradicate poverty, to promote inclusion and social justice, to bring the marginalized into the mainstream of the global economy and society*"[14]. Basically he is stating that everyone should be included into the global economy. The concept of this global economy; however, is criticised in several ways. In the following part the critiquing of leading development models by DeWalt (1998) is reviewed and then considered more in depth with contributions from other authors. DeWalt critique identifies existing models as running counter to ecological and biological imperatives, placing an over-emphasis on growth as the solution to development, and "*resulting in considerable cultural wastage*" (DeWalt 1998:112)

(1) Model of economic growth run counter to ecological processes, making economic growth unsustainable in the long run. The growth of economies has been at the expense of the physical environment, thereby undermining their long-term productive capacity (DeWalt 1988)

According to Harris (1997) ecological crises have historically resulted from the "*intensification of production*", especially of food to compensate for population increase. Intensified modes of material production, stand as "*recurrent response(s) to threats against living standards*" and further deplete the environment and lower the efficiency of production, thus perpetuating rather than alleviating ecological crises (Harris 1997:5).

The abundance of quality of soils, amounts of rainfall, and extent of forest, in combination with a particular form of technology, set an upper limit on the production of food and hence on the number of human beings who can live in a particular environment. This upper limit on production and population is called the environment's "*carrying capacity"* (ibid.186). If these conditions change, e.g. deforestation, then the carrying capacity of the environment will also change. Although carrying capacity sets the upper limit to production and reproduction most societies maintain their production and population below that limit. In order to understand why this gap between carrying capacity and the actual level of food production and population occurs, he identifies another feature of food production, the "*point of diminishing returns"*. That is the point at which the amount of food produces per unit of effort begins to fall (ibid.).

It is an interesting fact that, according to him the production and population, farmers who engage in shifting cultivation, remain below carrying capacity. Those bring on diminishing returns as they increase the number of years thy consecutively plant in the same garden. The reason most food production systems maintain themselves below carrying capacity is that diminishing returns set in before carrying capacity is reached. When their system of production reaches the point of diminishing returns, people find themselves working harder and harder to maintain their level of

[14] http://www1.worldbank.org/devoutreach/fall01/special.asp

production and population. In some cases, people will attempt to relieve the pressure on rescores by reducing their productive effort and no one willingly wants to work more for less. But unless population growth is also regulated, the temptation to maintain or even increase production will be very great. This can be done, according to Harris by intensification, that is, by increasing the time and energy devoted to production. Through intensification, a mode of production can be pushed far beyond the point of diminishing returns all the way to and beyond the carrying capacity, thereby irreversibly damaging the resource base (ibid).

There is great variability in the kinds of shifting agriculture. With Conklin's (1954) study about this system, it is possible to broaden Harris' view on it. The aim is to put this system in contrast to the leading concept of economic growth, which is often based on intensification.

All of Conklin's outcomes are of high interest as he presents the swidden system in an annual process. Although this part is concentrates only on a few specific outcomes. One of the interesting conclusions in his study is that this system is highly productive, as "*the total area of productive swidden land in a given area*" is always "*several times that of the most recently cleared fields*". The reason for this is "*intercropping*" (Conklin 1954:135). After that the fields are used for one year, "*up to 40 separate crops*" have been observed in "*one field at the same time*", which frequently continues for several years. One of his informants drew a map of an 'ideal' swidden field. That contains 48 basic kinds of plants (ibid.138-9). According to Conklin this system follows a locally-determined, well-defined pattern and requires constant attention throughout most of the year. Hard physical labour is involved, but a large labour force is not required (ibid.140). The first clearing of the land results in a common prejudice that shifting cultivation destroys primary tropical rain forest.

His study points out that it is not the aim of people engaging in this system to clear primary forest, in order to obtain a swidden field. "*Second growth forest areas are preferred*" because a) the clearing of primary forest requires much more man power for a given area, b)the drying period of a cleared primary forest is longer than the land of a second growth forest. These features results in the fact that by using secondary forest for establishing a swidden field, they can get a profit out of their work earlier and with less hard physical labour involved (ibid.137). Finally the productivity aspect is linked with ecological implications and limitations.

In order for a productive use of swidden land by re-clearing the fallow periods have to be considered. Today in Lao PDR, the fallow period is shortened due to several reasons, which may make this system unsustainable. Conklin states out that many variables are at work determining a minimum period of fallowing, mostly depending on the total ecology of the local situation. A reasonable limit seems to be somewhere between 8 to15 years, whereas "*Swidden farmers are usually well aware of these limitations*". (ibid.141). Further, a 4-meter-wide safety path around the entire clearing prevents the fire from escaping into the surrounding forest or fallow swidden areas

(ibid.137). So one conclusion, which can be drawn from Conklin's study, is that people practising shifting cultivation, are aware about the problems of overuse and the limits of the carrying capacity.

(2) Development models place too great an emphasis on growth rather than on its purpose – what the growth is for. This leads inevitably to an abuse of resources and to lack of attention to moral ends (DeWalt 1988).

For Moran (1996) the emphasis on growth of capital and "*the lack of moral ends of such growth results in profound disorder in human society*". While it is acknowledged that the goal of development is a "*better living standard*", some economist have managed to keep their attention not on these ultimate ends but instead, on intermediate ends and on their achievement, measured purely in terms of capital growth. The problem is as Moran stresses, that "*intermediate ends can never be satisfied*" (Moran 1996:225). What is the reason for that moral dilemma that the 'needs' in the current economy almost never can be satisfied? Polanyi's considerations to this 'dilemma' are interesting and related to this study too.

For Polanyi (1968) the term 'economics' has two meanings: the formal meaning refers to economies as the logic of rational action and decision-making, as rational choice between the alternative uses of limited (scarce) means. The second, substantive meaning refers to the study of how humans make a living form their social and natural environment. A society's livelihood strategy is seen as an adoption to its environment and material conditions, a process which may or may not involve utility maximisation. Economics is they way society meets their material needs. He said that only in the historical development of the modern West have the two come to have the same meaning, for only in modern capitalism is the economic system (substantive) fused with rational economic logic (formal) that maximizes individual self-interest (Wilk 1996:6). In societies that preceded capitalism, people did not always make choices, nor did they act out of self-interest. They had no 'motive to gain'. Because people make moral or social choices, the formal modern economic model based on unlimited wants and scarce means, cannot apply. In modern capitalism, Polanyi said the economy is *embedded* in the institutions of the marketplace. In the economic systems of other cultures, however, the economy is embedded in the other social institutions and operated on different principles from the market, like kinship relations, whereas in other places religious insertions may organize the economy (ibid.7). Polanyi's central argument is that institutions are the primary organisers of economic processes. The substantive economy is an "*instituted process of interaction between man and his environment, which results in a continuous supply of want satisfying material means*" (Polanyi 1968:126).

He predicted the imminent "*breakdown of our civilization*" (Polanyi 1944:3) caused by the

development of modern market capitalism. In his view modern capitalism had elevated profits and the market over society and human values, turning everything into a commodity, which is to be sold. Polanyi suggested that there are three major ways that societies integrate the economy into society, whereby modern formal economics only studies the third and is unable to comprehend the first two, because they have different logics: "*reciprocity, redistribution*, and *exchange"* (Wilk 1996:7).
Reciprocity is a general kind of helping and sharing based on a mutual sense of obligation. People help each other because they have cultural and social relationships. *Redistribution* is a system with a central authority of some sort who collects from everyone and redistributes different things back. *Exchange* is calculated trade, which comes in several varieties, whereby modern market exchange using money and bargaining to set prices is a very special case that only recently became central to the European economy (ibid.7). Although, his substantivism leads instantly from relativism to evolutionism, by implying that reciprocity is the simplest and exchange is the most complex. Polanyi was in many respects unusually ahead of his time.
Giving free rein to the market would, he said, causes "*the demolition of society*"; the perishing of human beings as "*victims of acute social dislocation through vice perversion, crime, and starvation";* as well as the defiling of neighbourhoods and landscapes, pollution of rivers, and the destruction of "*the power to produce food and raw materials....Shortages and surfeits of money would prove as disastrous to business as floods and droughts in primitive society*" (Polanyi 1944:3). Boeke (1953), the relative unknown founder of the dual economy approach, noted that Indonesians were guided primarily by "*social needs*" in contrast to Western societies which are driven primarily by "*economic needs*" [15]. Already in early times, both Polanyi and Boeke accent that there exists other concepts of economics. In contrast to Harris and Conklin's considerations of economics, this part tries to deal more with the social aspect of the economic feature, as with the ecological ones in the former part.
This part finishes with an explanation from Galtung (1988). He considers "*basic human needs*" versus "*conventional development*" (Galtung 1988:151). For him a "*need for development"* can also be postulated, a need to go further, beyond the minimum, as the basic one. The concept of human development is related to a need not only to *be* but to *become*. Like all other needs it take on concrete tonality with concrete circumstances. Hence, there are also the wants and demands to *have*, on which capitalism is based. Beyond a certain level want becomes greed. So he concludes with Gandhi's dictum "*there is enough for everybody's need but not for everybody's greed*", and that remains, for Galtung, "*as valid now as when it was written*" (ibid.).

(3) Growth inevitably leads to greater hierarchy and greater losses in system maintenance. As greater proportions of the population must devote themselves to

[15] He is also considered as the ancestor of the substantivist concepts, but more in an idealist way than Polanyi (cited from Lukas 2007:17)

regulation of the system, controls become so complex and interconnected that there is a loss of control, and efforts at control have counterintuitive consequences leading to system disorder (DeWalt 1988).

Resources have become more unevenly distributed, and scarcities are created though export of local resources to the centres of capital. If systems are to be adaptive in the long run, higher order of control in hierarchical systems must keep their ordering function at a high level of abstraction or aggregation (Rappaport 1982:154). Solutions may or may not be developed someday to cope with this situation. Related to the study is also Wolf's (1966) distinction between farmers and peasants:

> "*Peasants are rural people who are existentially involved in cultivation and make autonomous decisions regarding the process of cultivation*". Peasants are distinct from farmers in that their major aims are "*subsistence and social status gained with a narrow range of social relationships.*" They "*are subject to the dictates of a super ordinate state.*" (Wolf 1966:xiv).

Referring back to Polanyi, for Wolf everywhere when land, labour and wealth turned into commodities that "*brought an ecological crisis"* (Wolf 1969:280). For him in the past the peasant had worked out a stable combination of resources to underwrite a minimal livelihood. The separate and differential mobilization of these resources, as objects to be bought and sold endangered that minimal nexus (ibid.).

Paradoxically, these processes of containment, subversion, and forced withdrawal of the peasantry coincided with a rapid acceleration of population growth. This acceleration was in large part a side effect of the very process of commercial expansion which threatened the stability of the peasant equilibrium. The peasant thus confronted a growing imbalance between population and resources. In such a situation the peasant's risks multiplied, and the mechanisms for the alleviation of these risks grew ever more unreliable. Thus paradoxically, the very spread of the capitalist market principle also forced men to seek defence against it. Yet the advent of capitalism produced still another-and equally serious-repercussion. It initiated "*a crisis in the exercise of power*" (ibid.282).

Where the social dislocations produced by the market go unchecked, however, the crisis of power also deranges the networks which link the peasant population to the larger society, the all important structure of mediation intervening between centre and hinterland. For him "*Increased commercialization and capitalization .... produce dislocations and tensions which often weaken the agents of the process themselves"* (Wolf 1969:285).

Appell (1988) labels this process the "*Erosion of support and maintenance Systems*" (Appell 1988:277). '*Support systems*' refer to those indigenous and social institution that provides '*aid assistance*' and occurs when one's health and hence self-reliance is impaired. '*Maintenance systems*' refers to systems

of social control, which include informal networks of gossip and exchange, religious provisions and formal sanctions. The problem is, in his eyes, that these traditional systems are quickly eroded but the support and maintenance systems of the modern world are the last institutions to be installed in the course of modernisation. Hence, he concludes that during a period of change and modernization, the population at risk has the least access to support and maintenance mechanism (ibid.). Often at precisely that time when they need them most, as these are also the first targets of introduced change from development planners, under the mistaken assumption that they are, for example, uneconomic.

(4) The loss of cultural diversity implied by development leads to the loss of a pool of available solutions, which further destabilizes the system and recorders it along new lines (DeWalt 1988).

It is not uncommon for economic development to destroy native habitats. Traditional cultures are often regarded as clear signs of underdevelopment, as Dove (1988) explicates. Further these kinds of lifestyles are often seen as:

> "*formidable obstacles to necessary socio economic advancement. Accordingly, one ubiquitous element in development planning is the deprecation and attempted alteration or elimination of traditional culture*" (Dove 1988:1).

That can have several unwanted impacts. Appell (1988) discusses the impact of development and social change as a series of seven principles, as already mentioned in the introduction. Although all of his principles are of high interest, two more of them are considered. For him first "*Every act of development or modernization necessarily involves an act of destruction*" (Appell 1988:272). As the purpose of development is to increase the productivity of a society, old ways are discouraged. Development often entails, therefore, destruction of indigenous systems of knowledge, the indigenous structure of articulation to an ecosystem, and the indigenous biological mechanisms used to adapt to an environment. As a result of the modification of this ecosystem by development, many of its life forms are being lost and will be lost "*before they have been identified and evaluated by science*"[16] for the contribution they might make to man's further adoption to this limited biosphere (ibid.272). Hence development planning tends to make use of partial social models that do not incorporate these costs, often because of the explicit devaluation of the culture and members of the target society.

Second "*The introduction of a new activity always displaces an indigenous activity*" (ibid.274). With the

[16] considering "Indigenous Knowledge", the definition; the gathering; the presentation and/or transformation; use or abuse, is an important task, which is side to in Ellen (2000). E.g. the distinct conception of indigenous knowledge, regarding "objectivist conception" and the other "environmentalist conception". In fact "*environmentalist texts very often seem to result from a combination of personal and ethnographic accounts producing a textual interweaving of personal travel narrative and ethnographic minutiae*"(Ellen 2000:297)

growing inclusion of rural agricultural societies into the world market system, the population in these societies becomes dependent on cash crops and exchange within the world economic systems, and lose their previous methods of adoption to their local ecosystems. The result is a society that is less adaptable and more dependent than before. For example can the indigenous system of banking break down. As cash crops become more prevalent and as shops become more common in rural areas, the cash received from agricultural activities tends to be exchanged for perishables rather than durables. Surplus cash is used to buy candy, alcohol etc. When, for example a bad harvest occurs, there is no "bank" to fall back upon[17], as they traditionally convert agricultural surpluses into brassware and ceramics. When a family has a poor agricultural year this surplus can be reconverted into food stuffs (ibid.275). He tries to show that one long-term effect of development is to make village societies more dependent on external values and forces and, hence, more vulnerable from factors beyond their control. In the same direction, DeWalt argues that:

> "*Decentralization local autonomy and contextual development could help to reverse the process of cultural wastage. A reemphasis on local culture will encourage the kind of cultural diversity that we should recognize as important* (DeWalt 1988:118).

Local cultural diversity offers a pool of solutions, but this knowledge often will not be recognized. Some of the current problems may stem from removing the student from his rural environment, in order to continue his schooling. According to Dove (1988) this removal prematurely "*terminates the student's informal schooling in the technical aspects of his local economy and ecology*" (Dove 1988:7). For him the problem lays in another aspect too. Often in a short time, a few hours or a few days, experts prepare surveys, which are in quick succession imposed into the local community, with the aim to show them a better way to order their lives. It is often difficult for

> "*the typical highly educated, and highly paid development planners to accept that the typical, poorly educated, and poorly paid villagers knows far more about his own local economy and environment than the expert knows*"(ibid.7).

Without resulting in a dichotomising, it should be stated, following Ellen (2000), that indigenous peoples and traditional communities often possess a "*conservation ethic*" developed from living in particular ecosystems. This ethic cannot be regarded as universal, but those systems tend to emphasize the following specific values and features: e.g. cooperation; family bonding and cross-generational communication; concern for the well-being of future generations; local scale, self-

[17] In Blumberg `s theory, this will less happen when women have the money under control (2000). It is also common that in the years after the Second World War, in Vienna, women were waiting in front of the factory, in order to get the money from their men, before they went on to celebrate on Friday night.

sufficiency, and reliance on locally available natural resources; rights to lands, territories and resources which tend to be collective and inalienable rather than individual and alienable; and those systems restraint in resource exploitation and respect for nature, especially for sacred sites (Ellen 2000:36).

Ecosystems are affected by extractive activities but also by the social system controlling the parameters of natural processes and thus manipulating the environment. While traditional systems provide coping mechanisms when ecosystem processes cease to function, effects from intensifying due to the introduction of external sources of energy and material may not be immediately visible but may have far-reaching effects. New forms of behaviour introduced by external agents may lead to unsustainable practices, not only for the local ecosystem but also more importantly for the local social system. The next chapter will deal will women roles and position in different social systems more deeply.

Chapter 3 Women and Oikos

Like 'economics', the term 'ecology' derives from the Greek *'oikos'*, meaning 'habitation'. The German zoologist Ernst Haeckel coined 'Oekologie' in 1866, and in 1873 its English translation first appeared in print. Prior to that time, what is now referring to as ecology was called the 'economy of nature'. For Haeckel, 'home' was all of nature. He insisted that economies (that is human economic activities) are but a portion of, or are contained within, biotic systems. Indeed, he defined 'Oekologie' as "*the study of the economy, of the household, of animals with both the inorganic and organic environments*" (Babe 2006:34). Environment and economies are still linked with each other. Further the economic position of 'not empowered' women does not always have to be linked only with the household.

As noted in the last part of the previous chapter the current development, which is based on economic growth can have several unwanted impacts on the environment and society. In this chapter women's position[18] in different economies[19], and hence different societies are considered. "*One of the most important organizational features of every economy is the assignment of different tasks to different people*", this arrangement is called "*the division of labour*" (Harris 1997:238). The sexual division of labour is constantly being transformed and re-created as social and economic change takes place. Women are seen as social actors engaging in different ways with the surrounding environment and embedded within a certain kind of social system, as Sanday states, that the "*plans for the sexual division of labour, can be formed from a people's adoption to their environment*" (Sanday 1981:76). A range of anthropologists, focus on the role that sexual division of labour plays in societies within different subsistence strategies. This will be done here too, but with a focus on the division of labour, regarding foraging , horticulturalist, and intensive agriculture systems. Finally the possible '*domestication aspect'* and the particular use of money, which is often combined with intensive agriculture will be considered.

3.1. Foraging

According to Sutton and Anderson (2004) foragers are often "*viewed as small and simple groups barely surviving in some hostile environment*" (Sutton and Anderson 2004:146). Their religions, literature, art, can be as complex as those in some state-level societies, but here their ecological adjustment is

[18] This study is not primarily concerned with explaining women's status. Although most of the following authors try to explain that economic power can be translated into social power,

[19] The term "economy", refers in this study to the different forms of activities that people engage in to produce and obtain goods and services, as well as their kind of distribution and exchange. Following Harris "*Different cultures value different goods and services, and tolerate or prohibit different kinds of relationships among the people who produce, exchange and consume*" (Harris 1997:226). Marshall Sahlins proposed that economy is a function of social structures: "...even to speak of "the economy" does not exist. Rather than a distinct and specialized organization "*economy" is something that generalized social groups and relations,...Economy is rather a function of the society than a structure for the armature of the economic process is provide by groups classically conceived "non economic*" (Sahlins 1974:76).

normally "*extremely varied and fine-tuned*" (ibid.). So what is this adjustment? Following Barnard (2004) the label 'hunter-gatherer society' implies "*that we are dealing with a correspondence between a type of social organization and a type of economy: that people who rely for subsistence on undomesticated plants and animals inevitably organize themselves in a distinctive fashion*" (Barnard 2004:288). That group for subsistence living relies on undomesticated plants and animals, but can also engage in trading with agricultural and pastoral societies They exploit wild resources rather than domesticated ones, and so have no direct control over the genetics of the species exploited. Those non agricultural peoples of the world most often depend on the same types of staples that agriculturist do – seeds and root crops, fruit, meat and fish – and often in the same basic proportions: mostly seeds and roots, with meat significance and the other things less so (Sutton and Anderson 2004:126). This is a point were the first discussions start.

Historically it was assumed that hunting was more important on people's livelihood than gathering, therefore the term 'hunter-gatherer' has been used. According to Burch (1994), "*recent evidence*" demonstrates that in many societies, gathering that was undertaken by women often contributed enormously more to the food supply than hunting. Therefore it has been suggested that the components of the label should be reversed into 'gatherer-hunter' (Burch 1994:3-4). A neutral term can be 'foragers', which is said to refer without prejudice to either gatherers or hunters, or to both, the complexity of this kind of living is broad, and no generalisation should be drawn, but in earlier times this was more common.

Washburn and Lancaster (1968) proposed what has come to be known as the '*man the hunter*', model of human evolution. According to them, "*our intellect, interest, emotions, and basic social life...all are products of the success of the hunting adaptation*" (Washburn and Lancaster 1968:293). Their assumption, in order to understand gender roles, is that it was men who hunted large game, while women gathered vegetable foods and cared for infants. This division of labour necessitated the sharing of food resources between women and their offspring and men. Food sharing provided the basis for the development of the human family. The family is for them "*the result of the reciprocity of hunting, the addition of a male to the mother plus-young social group of monkeys and apes*" (ibid.1968:301).

The problematic assumptions underlying the "man the hunter" model are many. Sally Slocum (1975) provided one of the earliest and most complete responses to it. For example, she demonstrates that the same aspects of human culture and social organization that Washburn and Lancaster attribute to the '*hunting way of life*' can be explained with reference to the '*gathering way of life*'. She not only critiques the 'man the hunter' hypothesis for its androcentrism, but for its unwarranted leaps of logic. She point out, for example, that:

"*the emphasis on hunting as a prime moving factor in human evolution distorts the data*", and she argues that "*it is*

simply too big a jump to go from the primate individual-gathering pattern to a hominid cooperative hunting-sharing pattern without (hypothesizing) some intervening changes" (Slocum 1975:48).

Clearly it was recognized that gathering was as important as hunting, and that this division of labour between men and women, was never fixed, as women do some hunting and men do some gathering. Although for Gowdy (2004), the "*higher dependency on gathering certainly contributed to the gender equality generally present in most gather-hunter societies*" (Gowdy 2004:396). Another way to explain women's status in it is not only the dependency on food, but the general more egalitarian system.
Unlike many agricultural groups, they cannot easily manipulate the system to create log-term food increases and must pay closer attention to population control. Hence, some foraging societies must have organized themselves into small and rather mobile groups, which lead to low population densities, with a limited accumulation of material possessions. Woodburn (1982) stated, as the accumulation of material possessions is rigidly limited that "*only poor hunter-gatherers are pure hunter-gatherers*" (Woodburn 1982:445). Whereby foraging societies exhibit a wide range of variation with regard to complexity (Burch 1994:6). The can have an economy where the:

"*people as a rule receive an immediate yield for its labour, use this yield with minimal delay and place minimal emphasis on property rights*" – termed by Woodburn as "*immediate-return societies*" (Woodburn 1988:11).

The detachment of people from property and the concomitant ideology of non-competitive egalitarianism are intrinsic and essential components of these so-called 'immediate-return economies'.
From another perspective, discussion of egalitarian societies often makes much of the unrestricted access to territory and resources which seems unique and central to their cultures, labelled as common property regime (Barnard and Anderson 2004:290). The rights to land is related to this study as accounts by early European explorers and anthropologists indicate that sharing and a lack of concern with ownership of personal possessions are common characteristics of such groups. According to Gowdy (2004), attempts to characterize the relationship of some of these groups to the land as '*ownership*' may be a case of imposing Western concepts on people who have very different beliefs about the relationships between people and between humans and nature. The term 'ownership' "*should be used only in case where people are observed denying others the right to use particular resources*" (Gowdy 2004:393). Ownership is in western concept more and more private, individual ownership. Hence it is here important to introduce the concept of communal property. Communal property is a type of local institution, which is transferred to the new generations of community members. Communal property held in common by members of the village, allowing their access and use of lands and resources therein. Traditionally, members of the community generally had a

consensus of where the communal property is located. In most instances, there are simple rules that are mutually agreed among the members without any written statement. However, rules for accessing and using communal property are often dynamic and flexible (Fujita 2006:23-24).
Winterhalder (2001) conclude in the same direction that four basic generalizations can be made about foraging societies. First, they tend to 'under produce': do not exploit all that is exploitable and to have relatively few material possessions. Second, they routinely share food. Third they tend to be egalitarian. Finally, they commonly employ a division of labour whereby men do much of the hunting and women do much of the gathering (Winterhalder 2001:13).
As women contribute in most foraging societies, sometimes "*as much as 75%*" to "*the bulk of subsistence foods*", Lees (2000) conclude this is for the most part related to a high status for women in foraging societies (Lees 2000:58). Leacock (1978), sees it in the same way, but suggests that his status is due to several factors. Women's work in foraging societies contributes to the overall group, and there is no division in such societies between a public and a private sphere with men relegated to the former and women to the latter. In addition, individuals who make a decision tend to carry out the actions that follow that decision. According to Leacock, these factors grant women a great deal of autonomy within foraging societies (Leacock 1978:10). Sutton and Anderson (2004) on the other side mean that it is a common misconception that hunter-gatherers were always egalitarian, that they lacked significant social distinction and status. As hunter-gatherers manifest a diversity of adaptations, they also have a diversity of social complexity (Sutton and Anderson 2004:131). The social distinction is not completely ignored from Leacock, but in 'pre-class' societies women and men were autonomous individuals, who held positions of equal value and prestige. These positions were different, but that difference in no way implied inferiority or superiority. She says:

> "*(When) the range of decisions made by women is considered, women's autonomous and public role emerges. Their status was not as literal `equals` of men , but as what they were – female persons, with their own rights, duties, and responsibilities, which were complementary to and in no way secondary to those of men*" (Leacock 1978:252).

Her argument is that contrary to earlier accounts by male ethnographers, women in all societies make a substantial economic contribution, and that this economic contribution is the determining factor. Leacock also rejects two of the arguments which have been put forward by other feminist writers, (1) that women's status is directly related to the functions of giving birth and rearing children, and (2) that the 'domestic' : 'public' distinction is a cross-culturally valid framework for gender analysis (Moore 1988:31). It was not simply the advance in technology-agriculture and the domestication of animals, that was the critical factor, but rather it was the transformation in

community organization, owing to changes in relations of production, that triggered the move away from sexual equality. For Schlegel (1977), this theory, however, cannot account for male dominance in classless societies where females do produce for exchange outside the domestic unit, such as exchange through kinship networks (Schlegel 1977:12). Leacock seems to generalise the equal and autonomous status of women in 'pre-class' societies, without allowing the possibility of variation.

Although there are a range of variations, the common tendency in literature is that women have been better off in foraging societies, due to their general social system and/or their higher contribution to subsistence. Some aspects of foraging society systems e.g. communal property tend to occur also in societies which use horticultural techniques.

3.2. Horticulture

Horticulture is low-intensity, small-scale agriculture involving the use of relatively small fields, plots, or gardens. Groups practicing horticulture, live in one place all year and frequently have a tribe-level political organization. Some hunter-gathers will employ aspects of horticultural practise as a minor aspect of their subsistence system (Sutton and Anderson 2004:197). The swidden system, as one form from horticulture, is an integrated system of sustainable agriculture, or permaculture that incorporates the slash-and-burn technique as its major component. This technique, sometimes called shifting cultivation, is practiced in areas of poor soil primarily in forest and woodlands. Many forested regions, particularly rain forests, have poor soils due to the constant rain which washes away topsoil and nutrients thus preventing the formation of rich soils. As soils are often poor, slash-and-burn fields are usually productive for only a short time. People generally grow crops in a field for a couple of years and then abandon the field and move to a new one. If the field was not abandoned then generally a huge amount of time, labour, and organic fertilizer must be invested to maintain crop yields. It is just easier and more cost-effective to move on (ibid:192). There is high complexity and variety in this system, but Dove (1988) explains links between time invested by farmers into the swidden agriculture and yields output.

The differences in both these systems are based on a "*fundamental*" difference in value systems: "*the government's is based on capital or land, and the swidden cultivators is based on human labour*" (Dove 1988:8). The former praises the relatively high returns per unit of land in irrigated rice agriculture. Swidden cultivators focus on and criticise its relatively low returns per unit of labour, as swidden agriculture provides high returns to labour and hence "*demands less of the farmer's time*" [20] (ibid.9).The management of this system is complex and to properly manage a swidden system, farmers must be

[20] This important fact have become encoded in some languages too: the Javaese word *ladhang*, which is cognates to the common Indonesian/Malay term for swidden, *lading*, means *ado wait lung*, „**there is extra time**" (cited from Dove, orig. Prawiroatmjojo 1981:284)

highly skilled and have an incredible knowledge of local plants, animals, soils, weather, and cultivation methods. Sutton and Anderson (20049 indicate, that the swidden system is very efficient and highly adapted to the local forest environment, it is "*a reasonable way to use forest, probably the best for some*" (Sutton and Anderson 2004:195). The perspective of environmental anthropology suggests that societies that did in fact achieve sustainability in their relationship with the local environment managed to do so by combining the theoretical - cognitively and emotionally powerful - with the practical, by encoding practices e.g. by religious explanation and transmission in socially binding ritual, as well as having had the relevant outlooks and practices become conventional and culturally supported (Schmidt 2005:61). People with flexible, egalitarian social structures commonly subscribe to religions which embrace shamanistic principles, as well as totemic beliefs (Barnard and Anderson 2004:290). This concept and world view may stay in contrast to intensive agriculturalist, especially for those who foster intensification. The changing scope and scale of intensive agriculture, coupled with increasing social and technical complexity, increase the range of options that humans have in adoption to the environment. Given a sufficient reservoir of potential action, some intensive agriculturalists have developed a worldview in which they are above nature and therefore less bound by nature than their less complex neighbours (Sutton and Anderson 2004:252)[21]. That may lead to a "*deculturation and devaluation of traditional religion*" possible by "*extremely simplistic and literal interpretations of traditional beliefs*" (Dove 1988:5). It is often easily overseen, that the traditional religion, beliefs and rituals, are linked with a sustainable resource use management.

Although it is possible for horticulturalist to share a habitat with hunter gatherers, they cannot coexist with intensive agriculturalist, because the two occupy too close a niche, with fertile land and water being critical resources. Horticulturalists also use wild resources to some extent, often as a major component of the economy (Sutton and Anderson 2004:199-200). Hence, following Lees (2000:58), women embedded in a horticultural system, continue to play an active role in subsistence, although their contribution does not necessarily result in high status. Findings suggest that women's contribution to subsistence alone cannot account for their position within society. Sanday (1973) presents a theory of the status of women which draws primarily on ecological and economic factors and postulates a relationship between female production and female status. She hypothesized that female contribution to subsistence activities would be a function of certain ecological factors and/or prolonged drain of male labour. She found that these factors were related to female production activities. A scale of female status was then derived from a small pilot sample and correlated with female contribution to subsistence. The results indicate that female production

[21] This belief system may generate a feeling that nature can be, and so must be, controlled or conquered. This view is flawed, however, because all cultures are integrated with their environment and cannot escape the consequences of their actions unless they relocate or exploit resources of distant places through trade or conquest (Sutton and Anderson 2004:252).

is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the development of female status (Sanday 1973:1682).

For Nielsen (1990), kinship organization within horticultural societies is more significant for determining women's position than their subsistence contribution[22]. Nielsen suggests that the presence of matrilineality is the significant factor influencing women's lives in horticultural societies (Nielsen 1990:32-6). However, she also points out that there is a variation in women's position within horticultural societies that practice matrilineal decent. This variation can be explained by differing residence rules that govern where or with whom a couple is expected to live after marriage (ibid:29). According to her, in matrilineal societies, two types of residence patterns can dominate: *matrilocal* residence, in which a newly married couple lives with or near the bride's family, and *avunculocal* residence, in which the couples lives with or near the husband's maternal uncle. Nielsen argues that in societies practicing matrilineal decent, women fare better in those societies with matrilocal residence than in those with avunculocal residence. She suggests that matrilocal residences are found in horticultural societies in which food sources are abundant; there is little competition over decreasing resources and there is no surplus production. Under such circumstances; related men need not be kept together (ibid.33). In societies with avunculocal residence, a woman is a member of a household in which the distribution of land and products is controlled by a man unrelated to her. She will, thus, have less autonomy in decision-making opportunities and will be less valued by the group than if she resides with members of her own descent group (ibid). Thus according to this analysis, subsistence contributions alone do not account for women's position in horticultural societies. Their status is mediated by kinship structures and residence rules, whereby the example from Nielsen is just one out of several interesting theories, regarding kinship and economy.

The point is as Moore (1988:33) notes:

> "*It is now a well-documented and widely accepted fact that gender relations in many parts of the world have been transformed under the successive impact of 'Colonization', 'Westernization' and international capitalism"*. As a number of studies have noted that "*development ...makes women more dependent on men by undermining rational systems where women have had a certain amount of control over production*…" (Moore 1988:33).

'Development' or 'international capitalism' as described by Moore, aims mostly on an intensification of the production system.

[22] It should be stated that production systems are often based on kinship relations, and in certain societies relations of kinship are relations of production. But the focus here is to give one example that contribution to subsistence alone does not determine women's position in society.

3.3. Intensive Agriculture

Intensive agriculture is a large-scale and complex system of farming and animal husbandry often involving the use of animal labour, equipment, water management techniques and the production of surplus food. Intensive agriculture represents a "*significant shift in the scale and scope of agriculture and reflects a fundamental change in the relationship between people and the environment*" (Sutton and Anderson 2004:252).

Intensive agricultural systems tend to rely on a narrower range of domestic species than horticulturalist do, with increases in both productivity and risk. A consequence of the increased productivity of intensive agriculture is an enormous increase in human carrying capacity and thus a huge increase in population (ibid.). The rate and scale of environmental manipulation are much greater in intensive agriculture than in other systems, and one of the hallmarks of intensive agriculture is the active large-scale alteration of landscapes. Entire ecozones have been so modified that they have little resemblance to their natural state. Intensive agriculturalists generally practice more intense resource management than horticulturalists. While the intensive form is highly productive it is also very polluting and inefficient. The system also results in the loss of biodiversity. Further, for Sutton and Anderson "*the system is ultimately unsustainable*" (ibid: 259-61).

Intensive agriculture is generally incompatible with other systems of subsistence and rapidly replaces them. This occurs for several reasons: 1) because intensive agriculturalists are more intensive and possessive of the environment, i.e. establish a very different relationship with the environment compared to horticulturalist or hunter-gatherers. 2) Most intensive agriculturalists tend to simplify their ecosystem, for example through monoculture. Such practices so alter landscapes that other groups find the area unusable. 3)Finally, "*intensive agriculturalists can successfully expand into the territories of other groups because they generally have larger populations and socio-political organizations and so can support a full-time military, often the vehicle of expansion*" (Sutton and Anderson 2004:262). As it will be shown in the later chapters, the expansion of societies is related to the study as well. However, the current concern in this section is about the introduction of plough agriculture.

Several authors claim that the rise of plough agriculture corresponds to a decline in women's position, due to the loss of their productive role. Martin and Voorhies (1975) suggest that with the adoption of intensive cultivation techniques, especially the use of the plough and irrigation, a sexual division of labour develops in which men usurp women's position as primary producers. This change in women's productive task occurs, they argue, because such innovations require strength and prolonged absence from the household, a requirement incompatible with child rearing. Consequently, women are withdrawn from agricultural production and become isolated in

the domestic realm where they are concerned primarily with childcare. At the same time, ideologies develop to justify women's domestic isolation. According to Martin and Voorhies:

> "*the economic horizons of women are thereby gradually limited to the physical and social space of the domicile. Entirely new mythologies appear to redefine the innate aptitudes of the sexes with respect to domestic and extra domestic horizons*" (Martin and Voorhies 1975:331).

For them the effect of colonial introduction of agriculture techniques on women's role and status is also mediated by kinship structures. Colonial practises, which favoured men's participation in agricultural labour, also encouraged the development of the nuclear family, which acted to isolate women from a larger social group. Furthermore:

> "*colonial administrators and missionaries took the initiative in inoculating European institutions and value systems. Since the culture they brought with them had a strong patriarchal base the social and economic horizons of the colonized male were characteristically broadened at the expense of women*" (Martin and Voorhies 1975:297).

Boserup (1970) is also concerned about the plough. She pointed to the detrimental effects of the adoption of plough agriculture on women's position in societies that have been affected by colonial practices. According to her research, due to population pressures on foraging groups, some societies adopted horticulture with shifting cultivation. Under such conditions, it was common for women to engage in more horticultural work than men and to enjoy a considerable degree of autonomy as well. However, with ever greater population pressure, plough agriculture emerged, and with it, women lost their productive role. This change was primarily the result of colonial polices that encouraged men to take over farming by introducing cash crops and new farming technologies exclusively through men. Boserup was also one of the first scholars, who undertake a comparative analyse of women's work, based on data from a wide range of societies (Boserup 1970:23). She emphasized that, in spite of sex-role stereotyping and cross-cultural regularities in the sexual division of labour, women's work differed from society to society. She explained the difference by linking aspects of the sexual division of labour to population density, landholding systems and technology. Boserup points out the negative effects that colonialism and the penetration of capitalism into subsistence economies had had on women. In some cases, colonial administrators introduced land reforms which dispossessed women of their rights to land. She makes clear that these reforms were not unconnected to the strongly held European view that cultivation should be men's work. Boserup stressed the underestimation of women's work, particularly in the spheres of subsistence agriculture and domestic labour. She points out that the ideological bias underlying statistical categories tends to undervalue women's work, and that the

subsistence activities – which are usually omitted in these statistics of production and income – are largely women's work (ibid:163).

Goody (1976) discusses the relationship between his work and that of Boserup, and demonstrates a large degree of similarity between their findings. Goody is concerned with linking forms of marriage and patterns of property transmission to types of agricultural production. To this end, he contrasts the African and Asian systems, as Boserup does. The value of Goody´s work is the specific linkages between kinship relations and economic organization. He argues that the major difference between African and Eurasian inheritance systems is that Eurasian forms are characterized by diverging inheritance (where property goes to children of both sexes) and by dowry (where parental property is given to a daughter on her marriage), both of which are unusual in Africa (Goody 1976:6). Goody links the existence of diverging inheritance to "*relatively advanced*" economies with intensive and plough agriculture. African hoe-agriculture societies, on the other hand, are characterized by homogenous inheritance, "*where a man's property is transmitted only to members of his own clan or lineage who belong to the same sex*" (ibid.7). In these African societies, women cannot inherit, and they receive no dowry when they marry. Instead, bride wealth (gifts of cattle or other goods) passes from the male kin of the groom to the male kin of the bride. This transfer of goods does not confer status on the bride, as dowry does, but acts instead as a means of compensating the brides kin for the loss of her labour, while simultaneously transferring rights in the women's reproductive potential (e.g. in any children she my bear from her kin group to that of her husband) (Moore 1988:45). Boserup draws very similar conclusions regarding the relationships between the sexual division of labour, marriage systems and types of agricultural production. She argues that were hoe agriculture predominates, as in the case of many African societies, most agricultural work is done by women, there is a high incidence of polygamy and bride wealth. In such systems, women have only limited rights of support from their husbands, but they may have some economic independence from the sale of their own crops. However, in areas where plough agriculture predominates and women do less agricultural work than men, as in the Asian examples she cites, few marriages are polygamous and a dowry is usually paid. In these communities, women are entirely dependent upon their husbands for economic support, and the husband has an obligation to provide for his wife and children (Boserup 1970:50). Both authors are concerned to link changes in agricultural systems to changes in domestication including marriage and the sexual division of labour. The relevance of their wok lies in the demonstrable links between women's status, the sexual division of labour, forms of marriage and inheritance and the economic relations of production.

Burton and White (1984) develop a cultural-ecological theory of the sexual division of labour in agriculture. Although they find support for Boserup's idea that there are linkages between

agricultural intensification and the division of labour in agriculture, their theory is a major modification of Boserup's theory. As they find that population density has only a weak effect on the sexual division of labour, they introduce the number of dry months and the importance of domesticated animals to subsistence, which they find to be the strongest predictors of female participation in agriculture (Burton and White 1984:579). A long dry season causes seasonal time pressures, requiring males to increase their participation in agriculture. High dependence on domesticated animals increases the time women spend caring for animals and processing animal's products, resulting in decreased female participation in agriculture. The plough and crop type are shown to be weaker causes of variability in female participation in agriculture. Regarding the crop type, they find that they must be specific about their definition of crop, as they cannot simply rely on the contrast between root crops a cereal crops. They find that "*tree crops have especially low female participation, and old world root crops have especially high female participation*". Further they note that unlike their general finding with respect to domesticated animals, a high degree of dependence on pigs for subsistence does not appear to cause decreased female participation in agriculture (ibid. 580).

Two historical processes have been identified, that also affect the sexual division of labour in agriculture (ibid.): (1) Bantu societies have consistently higher female participation in agriculture than would have been predicted by their model. For them, this shows the effect of cultural traditions on a group of societies that migrated throughout much of Africa in the recent past. (2) They have hypothesized that the rise of worldwide male labour migration during the past century may have increased female agricultural participation in the peripheral rural societies that are the source of much of this labour supply. This may account for their puzzling results with respect to population density. Despite the influence of historical processes, their "*overwhelming conclusion is the high predictability of the ecological model and the failure of a large number of measures of cultural complexity and social stratification to explain the sexual division of labour*" (ibid:580).

To undertake a sensitive analysis of female and male economic roles, Schlegel (1977) points out that:

> "*we must break away from a technological and evolutionary paradigm based on subsistence system – sex roles in foraging societies, sex roles in horticulturalist societies and so on*". Moreover, "*we should follow the elementary anthropological maxim that economic systems are social systems, systems of relations among people in the production and exchange of goods and services, and look rather at sex roles in modes of production, systems of production, and relations of production*" (Schlegel 1977:28).

In her theory about 'sexual stratification' she states that the emergence of stratification is multidimensional. In this respect, stratification or equality is a response to economic, political, social, and ideological conditions internal to the society or impinging upon it from its relations

with other societies. For her, sexual stratification does not follow a simple evolutionary line, although the factors leading to inequality may be more abundant in some modes or systems of production than others (ibid.26). She believes that the division of labour by sex is fundamental to the process by which sexual stratification arises, because if economic and social tasks within the central institutions are not sexually specific, there is no basis to oppose men against women as a predominant class, nor does there arise a material basis, through control over resources or social ties, for the concentration of power in one sex at the expense of the other (ibid.25). This leads to an interesting and complex view. With the intensification of agriculture, or the rise of the state, often a greater division between the 'domestic' and 'public' sphere arises. Often the economy and its central institutions, especially the central, most valued feature – money – is more concentrated in the public sphere, where men tended to be concentrated. In other words, paid work was and is concentrated in the public sphere. Hence in the western concept the public sphere is often embedded with economic value. With this concept in mind, several authors tried to explain women's position in other societies by using a dichotomised framework (public vs. domestic). This concept often was criticised. As noted above, different economies, or societies, value different goods and services.

At the same time gender stratification can result from several aspects. Schlegel (1977) identifies three main dimensions of stratification: rewards, prestige, and power. When access to any of these, however defined by the society, is characteristically restricted by gender, gender stratification exists. Power, she notes is the ability to exert control in domestic, political, economic, or religious arena; authority is socially legitimated power; and autonomy is the freedom from control by others (Schlegel 1977:8-9).

There are different views of power, or what power is. Errington (1990), for example, underlines why it can be useful to understand the natives' understanding of power:

> "*We also tend to identify 'power' with activity, forcefulness, getting things done, instrumentality, and effectiveness brought about through calculations of means to achieve goals. The prevalent view in many parts of Southeast Asia, however, is that to exert force, to make explicit commands, or to engage in direct activity – in other words, to exert 'power' in a Western sense – reveals a lack of spiritual power and effective potency, and consequently diminishes prestige*" (Errington 1990:5).

It is not the primarily aim, of this study to explain women's position in society, from a natives view. This study focuses on how the division of labour and women's access or control over valued resources change, and which influence that can have not only on women's position in society, but for the well-being for the whole society as well. This point is clarified at the end of the next section. Here it should be stated that power and prestige, in the most generalising sense, in a western economy, which is more and more imposed on other economies, is strongly linked to money. Hence the next section deals with the aspect of money and in which sphere it can be

found.

3.4. Domestication and Money

'Domestic/ate' means in this study "*not wild*", "*bring under control*" or "*tame*" (SOED 2002:733). To 'domesticate' a plant can mean "*to adapt so as to be cultivated by and beneficial to human beings*", and further to be domesticated can also mean to be "*attached to home; fond of home life or duties*" (ibid.733). With increased domestication of plants and animals the separation between public and domestic sphere arose. Matthiasson (1974) claims that there is a relationship between women's participation in agriculture and public status. In societies in which women are heavily involved in agricultural production (e.g. Philippines, Cambodia) the status of women is high. In places in which women participate little in such activities (e.g. China, North and Central India, Egypt) men tend to dominate public life (Matthiasson 1974:433).

Sanday (1974), on the other hand, looks at the conditions under which the relative status of women changes in the direction of public equality. She looks at ecological and demographic factors that influence a change in the balance of power between males and females. She selected four dimensions for coding female status in the public domain: (1) female material control, (2) demand for female produce, (3) female political participation, and (4) female solidarity groups devoted to female political or economic interests (Sanday 1974:192). The critical factor determining equality, according to her theory, is a balanced division of labour in production. Thus she finds that both societies in which women make a low contribution to subsistence and in those in which they make a high contribution, women are subordinate. She assumed that in the initial stages of human society, defence, subsistence, and reproduction were necessary activities for social survival and that male energy was more likely to be expended in subsistence and defence while female energy was devoted primarily to reproduction and secondarily to subsistence. In this case, she suggests that males were in a better position to gain both access to and control over strategic resources (Sanday 1974:189-90). Factors hypothesized to influence a change in the balance of power between males and females are: male absence, ecological factors, and changes in the systems of demand for female goods. The absence of males can result in females invading the subsistence sphere. Certain ecological conditions can have the same effect. When females move into the subsistence sphere, three possibilities are suggested: (1) women may occupy this sphere temporarily while males are absent, (2) they may become the predominant labour provider and remain in this sphere, or (3) they may continue to occupy this sphere in conjunction with males, which may result in a balanced division of labour (Sanday 1974:196). In the first two cases the public status of women does not change, whereas in the latter case the women develop economic

and political power. Where females invade the subsistence sphere and remain there, the evidence indicates that males develop an independent control sphere, with the result that women are treated as slave labour. Further it is suggested that increased demand for certain goods produced by women will also result in the development of economic rights that can lead to an overall change in status (Sanday 1974:205-6).

For Schlegel (1977:12) there is some confusion in Sanday's theory between contribution to subsistence and contribution to production, which includes production for exchange. Regarding Sanday' theory, she points out that the demand, or increased demand of certain goods produced by women, can have a positive effect on women's position in society. On the other side the intensification of agriculture, or the change in agricultural intensity resulted in growth in population, increasing complexity in social and political organization, and eventually some groups developing state-level societies. While there are large and complex groups of hunter-gatherers, horticulturalist, even the most complex of these groups fall within the socio-political category of chiefdoms, and none developed a state-level organization. On the other hand, a number of intensive agriculturalists did evolve socio-political organizations classified as states. The processes by which this occurred are unclear, but several models have been proposed, including those based on management, conflict, and a combination of factors (Sutton and Anderson 2004:254-62).

In the long term, this rise of the state is often claimed to have a negative impact on women's (economic) position in society, as in a state organisation a greater gap between public and domestic/private spheres arise. Reiter (1975) stresses the implications for women, which may arise through the development of the state. Through the construction of the state a greater separation between the public sphere and private sphere arises. She argues that when states arose, kin groups lost their role as determiners of access to important social resources. Instead, access was decided by membership in the class that had consolidated control. Under such conditions, the elite class, whose interests the state serves, developed a monopoly force, not only to control and defend its territory, but also to ensure its access to people's labour (e.g. in the form of taxes or the military draft). The use of repressive force is not a practical way to guarantee conformity. It is more effective to have control over people's minds. One mechanism that enabled state control over people's minds, according to Reiter, was the separation of the public and private spheres of life. Reiter argues that women are confined to the domestic sphere, while men participated in public activities. Thus, in state societies, the power and prestige associated with the private domain is extremely limited, and women's work within it is highly devalued (Reiter 1975:11-19).

Sacks' theory is in this line too (Sacks 1974). She focused on social factors which influence women's status in society. Those factors are based on the maxima that "*social or public labour makes men or women adult citizens in the eyes of society and that men's ownership of the private property establishes their*

dominance over women in the family and society" (Sacks 1974:213). Although enhancing the correlation between women's and men's relation in the domestic and public domain, the economic upspring for women's subordination is embedded in the social sphere. "*The subordinate position of women derives not from domestic property relations but from something outside the household that denies women adult social status...., the focus must shift from the domestic to the social level*" (ibid.219f). Only on the societies level, the human being and his work can be "*valued*", as a member of a social production system, "*large-scale forms of social production*" (ibid.220), in which it is possible to engage in a reciprocal relationship. "*Through their labour men are social adults; women are domestic wards"* (ibid.221). The reason for the social exclusion, and hence for her inferiority, is the change from egalitarian work, to a work atmosphere which is dichotomised in a hierarchical order, between private and public spheres. "*Once such a dichotomy is made – women in domestic work for family use; men in social production for exchange – there is an organizational biases for a sexual divide-and rule-policy*"(ibid:221). Women have to engage in society's production system, if they want to be equal to men. They have to be a full member of the society, to reach "*social adulthood*". This cannot be reached through paid labour:

> "*For full social equality, men's and women's work must be of the same kind: the production of social values. For this to happen family and society cannot remain separate economic spheres of life. Production, consumption, child rearing, and economic decision making all need to take place in a single social sphere(...). That is, what is now private family work must become public work for women to become full social adults*" (Sacks 1974:222).

Where women are equally involved in social labour, they have an adult social status and can participate in decision making and dispute settlement. The more removed women are from involvement in social labour, the less they are considered to be social adults and the less power they exert. The most extreme forms of female subordination are found in class societies where male labour is expropriated by the ruling class and women are relegated to domestic production.
For Schlegel (1977:12), this theory fails to distinguish between participation in production and control over labour and goods. Sack's (1974) work is based on Friedrich Engel's classic study "*The origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*" (1884), whereby this work was heavily influenced by Lewis Henry Morgan. In *Ancient Society* (1877) Morgan developed an evolutionary scheme for mankind's intellectual and material progress. For him, the growth of ideas, changes in the family, and, especially property, shaped the unrecognized social process of human history. His emphasis on 'the arts of subsistence' provides a mechanism for progressing from savagery, through barbarism to civilization. Morgan's work, along with that of other evolutionist was read by Karl Marx. Morgan developed what he called the 'property career' of Euro-American society and predicated a return to democratic communal principles which he believes were once universal. In changing Morgan's narrative sequence, Marx brought property into conjunction with the state rather than with the family. Engels restored Morgan's original emphasis in "*The Origin of the Family,*

Private Property and the State" (1884). As a result, Morgan's work remained important in Marxist anthropology. Engels' interpretation of Morgan took on a new lease of life among feminists in the 1970's (Barnard 2004:381). But of greater interest here is how Morgan expanded the concept from Bachofen, which saw a parallel between the technologic and civilized progress and institutionalised, family stages:

> "*As it is undeniable that portions of the human family have existed in a state of savagery, other potions in a state of barbarism, and still other portions in a state of civilization, it seems equally so that these three distinct conditions are connected with each other in a natural as well as necessary sequence of progress".* Further: *"Two independent lines of investigations thus invite our attention. The one leads though inventions and discoveries, and the other through primary institutions*" (Morgan 1877:3-4)

Western society, to which social evolutionists belong, was thought of as the highest stage of social evolution, as it had not only an industrial base for food production and a system of writing but, also had a superior set of social institutions which had enabled the development of these factors. These institutions, according to the early social evolutionist Herbert Spencer (1884), involved superior forms of family and gender role organization that ensured male rights and male dominance, which also had patrilineality and monogamy. In contrast, according to Spencer, matrilineal societies (the "*former societies*") were inherently weak because men lacked control over women and paternal authority over children. Any society that regulated paternity though monogamy or institutionalized it though tracing descent through the male line would increase the chances of its existence (Lees 2000:23). Institutionalized paternity would lead to institutionalized male protection, ensuring the vitality and survival of the entire society. A society that favoured monogamy and accentuated the male line would be able to conquer those that did not, thereby increasing its size and strength. In the process it would become more complex and evolve to higher stages of development. According to Spencer (1884), freeing women from productive labour would also increase a society's chances for survival, since it would allow women to devote all of their time and energy to being "*fit*" mothers (ibid). The concentration of energy on reproductive functions was responsible for women's supposed inferior mental capabilities, causing women to lack "*the power of abstract reasoning and the most abstract of emotions, the sentiment of justice"* (Spencer 1884:374). Inadequacies, which made women unsuited for important activities in the public realm, were seen as the natural outcome of the struggle for the "*survival of the fittest*". Spencer praised women's exclusion from the public realm. He argued that women's exclusion was the natural consequence of a long evolutionary process that selected those women dedicated to their duties in the domestic sphere. This conclusion was for sure one of his shortcomings. Although he pointed out the fact that mostly men occupied the central institutions, his view that this occupation leads to a higher development, is more than doubtful. The industrial base for food production, possibly through an earlier intensification form agriculture combined with a different

political economy has led to an increase in corruption.

Harris (1997) examined whether the capitalist production, can lead to greater inequalities and the higher likelihood of crime. He argues that by comparison with other forms of political economy, capitalism is a system in which "*money can buy anything*". Hence everyone tries to acquire as much money as possible, and the object of production itself is not merely to provide valuable goods and service but to increase one's possession of money (Harris 1997:236). It should be noted here, that in the capitalist system money is the factor which stands out, but it cannot buy everything. Further he concludes that the rate of capitalist production depends on the rate at which profits are made and this in turn depends on the rate at which people purchase the products. Hence, an enormous effort is expended on extolling the virtues and benefits of products to convince consumers that they should make additional purchases. Prestige is awarded not to the person who works hardest or gives away the greatest amount of wealth but rather to the person who has the most possessions and who consumes at the highest rate. This leads to marked inequalities in wealth, based on differential access to capital, technology, and resources. He concludes that "*as in all stratified political economic systems, the rich use soldiers and police forces to prevent the poor from confiscating their wealth and privileges*" (Harris 1997:236). The point here is that money is the central feature of the economy, hence it is important who controls it. In Harris' sense, it leads to a distasteful outcome, regarding the organization of society. Nearly worldwide, men work in the leading institutions in this economy with the most power.

Now a big jump is undertaken to Blumberg's (2005) theory, with the focus on how useful it can be when women have economic power (although she concentrated more on how to eliminate gender stratification). Based on her two gender theories, (1) general theory of gender stratification and (2) those on gender and development, Blumberg proposes that the enhancement of female economic power is the prime factor in reducing gender inequality (Blumberg 2005:3). Economic power is defined as control over income and other key economic resources like land. For her economic empowerment "*it is not just work, earning income or even ownership, unless it involves control of resources*" (Blumberg 1995:2). For her it matters who earns, controls, and spends the money. She examines three micro-level consequences for women having income under their control: a) effects on the extent of women's fertility practices, b) effects on women's input into household decisions of various types, and c) effects on women's self-esteem (Blumberg 1991:97-99). Drawing on recent studies, she shows that men and women in much of the Third World have distinct expenditure patterns. Women tend to spend income that flows through their hand differently than men, holding back less for personal use and devoting more to children's nutrition and family welfare. When projects reduce women's relative income, for example by expecting them to do the work but giving the resulting income to their husbands, their position tends to drop faster than it rises with

increased income, often reducing family welfare apace. This may lead further to the failure of the development project as women turn to sabotage, or to other income sources they can control. Further, she states that greater female economic power also enhances the "*wealth and well-being of nations*" at least for two reasons: (1) women who control their own income tend to have fewer children and the fertility rate is inversely related to national income growth, (2) they also are able – and generally more willing than male counterparts – to send daughters as well as sons to school, even when they earn less than those men (Blumberg 2005:5).

While current development workers and programmes are tuned to enhance women's economic power, it can have also unwanted side effects, as economic growth and intensification are often combined, as described in the previous chapter, with resource abuse. Hence the conclusion in this part is that it is often overlooked that women in certain societies have great economic power, although this does not have to be based on the explicit use of money.

Chapter 4 Cultural Ecology & "Identerest Conflict"

The anthropological subfield of cultural ecology has opened the possibility of a systematic analysis of the relations between culture and its natural environment. Today a standard definition of ecology is "*the study of the interactions between living organism and their environments"* (Salzman and Attwood 1996:169). Human ecology is more specific, being the study of the relationships and interactions between humans, their biology, their cultures, and their physical environments. In the 1950s the overall field was known as cultural ecology, but it is now more commonly referred to as human ecology. Human ecology is sometimes referred to by other names, including ecological anthropology (which may include aspects of biological anthropology), culture and environment, and even (still) cultural ecology (Sutton and Anderson 2004:2). Ecological anthropology overlaps considerably with economic anthropology, and at times they appear indistinguishable today, but these two sub-disciplines have a very different academic genealogy. Ecological anthropology investigates the ways in which a population shapes its environment and the subsequent manners in which these relations form the population's social, economic, and political life (Salzman and Attwood 1996:169). The following sections review the rise of cultural ecology and political ecology to explain development in Southeast Asia. It should be shown that development programmes can contribute to conflict situations.

4.1. Culture and environment: schools of thought

Julian Steward

The most important ancestor of modern ecological anthropology is the cultural ecology of Julian Steward, who is also known for his theory about cultural evolution. Steward was the first to combine four approaches in studying the interaction between culture and the environment: (1) an explanation of culture in terms of the environment where previously it existed rather as just an association of geography with economy; (2) an understanding of the relationship between culture and environment as a process (not just a correlation); (3) a consideration of the small-scale environment rather than culture-area-sized regions; and (4) an examination of the connection of ecology and multilinear cultural evolution (Sutton and Anderson 2004:20). He first described the general environment, listed important resources and then discussed how those resources were used. He then discussed the socio-political patterns of the people and how those patterns related to technology, the environment, and the distribution of resources. Steward supports a holistic view in which all aspects of culture are functionally interdependent on another. Steward's version of cultural ecology placed the productive economy firmly within the 'culture core' at the very base of society. The rest of society is functionally shaped by the necessity of survival and by the tools and

technology that together constitute the "subsistence system" (Wilk 1996:96). His primary arguments were that (1) cultures in similar environments have similar adoptions; (2) all additions are short-lived and are constantly adjusting to changing environments; and (3) changes in environment can elaborate existing culture or result in entirely new ones (Sutton and Anderson 2004:20).

Steward's theory is about multilinear evolution, which assumes that certain basic types of culture may develop in similar ways under similar conditions, but that few concrete aspects of culture will appear among all groups in a regular sequence (Steward 1955:4). In contrast, unilinear evolution postulates that all societies pass through similar developmental stages, progressing towards more complex forms. The inadequacy of unilinear evolution lies in it generalising approach utilizing a comparison of societies and cultures disregarding time and space. This theoretical strand does not regard dissimilar and specific patterns various cultures or societies may display. Unilinear evolution is also deeply eurocentric, as the highest stage to be achieved by a society is defined by and seen as being equivalent with European, Near East, and American culture (Steward 1955:15). Steward also defined universal evolutionism, as the category between unilinear and multilinear evolutionism. His critics, such as Marvin Harris, have pointed out that his categorisation of most of the ideas subsumed under the label of 'unilinear evolution' is a misunderstanding. Even Lewis Henry Morgan and Sir Edward Tylor, commonly understood as showcase unilinear evolutionist, have not "*denied that specific cultures could skip certain steps in a sequence or evolve in a divergent fashion*" (Harris 2001:171). In regard to Herbert Spencer there seems not to be the slightest similarity between this stance of evolution and the unilinear stereotype. Harris perceives Spencer as being more 'multilinear' than even Steward:

> *"Spencer was not only not a unilinear evolutionist, he was not even a linear evolutionist… he saw evolution as a process of successive branching in which increased heterogeneity goes hand in hand with increased complexity"* (Harris 2001:173).

For Harris, the link between cultural ecology and cultural materialism has been obscured by the spurious issue of evolutionism. This had provided Steward with the impetus to think of cultural ecology as a kind of evolutionism rather than as a kind of determinism (Harris 2001:655). Steward cannot explain causes and effects of adaptation. Adaptation is merely analyzed as a cultural process.

Marvin Harris

Cultural materialism is an anthropological research paradigm championed most notably by Marvin Harris. Cultural materialism is a practical, rather straightforward "functionalist" approach to anthropology, with a focus on the specific hows and whys of culture. It is based on the idea that

"*human social life is a response to the practical problems of earthly existence*" (Harris 2001:ix) and that these issues can be studied in a practical way. In its simplest terms, cultural materialism rejects the time-worn adage that "*ideas change the world*". Instead it holds that over time, and in most cases, changes in a society's material base will lead to functionally compatible changes in social and policy structures along with modifications in secular and religious ideologies, all of which enhance the continuity and stability of the system as a whole. The ultimate goal of cultural materialism, then is to explain, not merely describe, cultural variations in the way people live (Margolis 2001:xi).

In the most elemental terms, Harris suggests that cultural materialism is based on the simple premise that human social life is a response to practical problems of earthly existence. This statement highlights the central tenet of cultural materialism: infrastructural determinisms. For a cultural materialist, the infrastructure has two basic elements, the mode of production (technology) and the mode of reproduction (population). A society's infrastructure, in turn, shapes its structure and superstructure. A society's structure is comprised of its domestic economy (social organization, kinship, division of labour) and its political economy (political institutions, social hierarchies), while its superstructure consists of the ideological and symbolic sectors of culture; the religious symbolic intellectual and artistic endeavours (ibid.vi). The principle of infrastructural determinism begins with a simple premise: the physical world conforms to physical laws that must be accommodated by a society's infrastructural organization. The interface with nature is what gives the infrastructure causal priority within socio-cultural systems. The mode of production and reproduction probabilistically determines political and domestic structure, which in turn probabilistically determines the behavioural and mental superstructure. Infrastructural determinism assumes that explanations for cultural similarities and differences ultimately lie in the material conditions of human life (Harris 1980:57-8). Harris' formulation of the principles, however, has changed over the years (cf. Ferguson 1995:23). In its strict sense the principle holds that the explanation of all socio-cultural phenomena is to be sought in infrastructural variables. Thus "*cultural materialists give the highest priority to the effort to formulate and test theories in which infrastructural variables are the primary causal factors*" (Harris 1980:56).

Further Harris distinguishes emic and etic approaches to the study of cultural data. In an emic approach the observer attempts to learn the rules and categories of a culture form the native's perspective. In an ethic approach the observer does not use native rules or categories, but rather those derived from independent observers using agreed on scientific measures. Emic and ethic analysis can be used to study both thought and behaviour and both are important for an understanding of cultural phenomena (Margolis 20001:xi-xii). Harris sees "*the etic behavioural modes of production and reproduction probabilistically determine the etic behaviour domestic and political economy, which in turn probabilistically determine the behaviour and mental emic superstructures*" (Harris 1980:55-56). So the

main factor in determining whether a cultural innovation is selected by societies lies in its effect on the basic biosocial needs of that society. These innovations can involve a change in demographic technological change and/or environmental change in the infrastructure. The innovations within the infrastructure will be selected by a society if they increase productive and reproductive capabilities even when they are in conflict with structural or superstructural elements of society (Harris 1995:278). Innovations can also take place in the structure (e.g. in government) or the superstructure (e.g. religious change) but will only be selected by society if they do not diminish the ability of society to satisfy basic human needs. Basically then, the driving force behind cultural change, whether or not it is seen as 'real' from an emic perspective, is the need to satisfy the basic needs of production and reproduction.

If structural or infrastructural changes are not compatible with the existing modes of production and reproduction they are "*unlikely to be propagated and amplified*" (Harris 1980:73). Harris argues that the cultural materialist approach can be a vehicle for understanding, even solving, contemporary social problems, but before they have to be understood. By focusing on observable, measurable phenomena, cultural materialism presents an etic approach to society. The result is a more holistic approach, which is a principal tenet of anthropological research (Harris 1995:277).

Idealists argue that the key to understanding culture change lies in the emic thoughts and behaviours of members of a native society. Thus, they argue that there is no need for an etic/emic distinction. To idealist the etic view of culture is irrelevant and full of ethnocentrism; furthermore, they argue that culture itself is the controlling factor in cultural change. Culture, in their view is based on a panhuman structure that is embedded within the brain, and cultural variation is the result of each society filling that structure in their own way (Harris 1980:167). In this way, postmodernists believe that science is itself a culturally determined phenomenon that is affected by class, race and other structural and infrastructural variables. They associate science and reason with domination, oppression, and totalitarian regimes. In this sense, it is argued that the use of any science is useless in studying culture, and that cultures should be studied using particularism and relativism. Postmodernist reject broad generalizations and so called 'totalizing' theories. Truth is relative, local, plural, indefinite, and interpretive (Harris 1995a:62-63). "*The observer/observed relationship can no longer be assimilated to that between subject and object. The object (live) is a joint production. Many voices, multiple texts, plural authorship.*" The former self-authorizing text by which the returning filed worker speaks for another society in a "*determining way...now appears repugnant*" (Strathern 1987:264-65). For Harris the reason that scientists favour knowledge produced in conformity with the epistemological principles of science is not because science guarantees absolute truth free of subjective bias, error, untruths, lies, and frauds, but because science is the best system yet devised for reducing subjective bias, error, untruths, lies, and frauds (Harris 1995a:75).

In spite of the depot wowed to the economic theories of Marx and Engel's, cultural materialism rejects the Marxist dialectic:

> *"Ruling groups throughout history and prehistory have always promoted the mystification of social life as their first line of defence against actual or potential enemies. In the contemporary political context, idealism and eclecticism serve to obscure the very existence of ruling classes, thus shifting the blame for poverty, exploitation and environmental duration from the exploiters to the exploited. Cultural materialism opposes cultural idealism and eclecticism because these strategies, through their distorted and ineffectual analyses, prevent people from understanding the causes of war, poverty and exploitation....Cultural materialism holds that the elimination of exploitation will never be achieved in a society which subverts the empirical and operational integrity of social science for reason of political expediency. Because without the maintenance of an empiricist and operational critique we shall never know if what some call democracy is a new form of freedom or a new form of slavery"* (Harris 1980:158)

Unlike Marxist theory, cultural materialism privileges both productive (economic) and reproductive (demographic) forces in societies. As such, demographic, environmental, and technological changes are invoked to explain cultural variation (Harris 1995:277). A technical, but important difference between Marxism and cultural materialism is that cultural materialism explains the structural features of a society in terms of production within the infrastructure only (Harris 1995:277). Marxists, however, argue that production is a material condition located in the base that acts upon the infrastructure. Thus, according to Harris, cultural materialist see the infrastructure-structure relationship as being mostly in one direction, while Marxists see the relationship as reciprocal. Cultural materialism also differs from Marxism in its lack of class theory. Unlike Marxism, cultural materialism addresses relations of unequal power recognizing innovations or changes that benefit both upper and lower classes (Harris 1995:278).

Marx was the quintessential radical, whose life was spent in poverty as a journalist and writer outside of any institution. He found an external struggle in a society where powerful contradictions drove conflict founded in a history of inequality. There is a broad range of economic anthropologists who draw their inspirations from Marx. Marxist scholars still argue over the interpretations of Marx and fight over what often seem minor issues to outsiders. But the general thrust of all 'Marxian anthropologist' is quite clear: (1) a focus on issues of power and exploitations, (2) a concern with conflict and change, (3) a strong point in the material system of production and the ownership of property, and (4) an analysis of action as political power struggles between social groups defined by their control of property (Wilk 1996:89).

"*Neo-Marxists*" put elements of conflict and politics back into cultural ecology. Instead of studying the evolutions and adoption of isolated or ancient societies, they were interested in long-term dynamics and conflicts that occurred when societies became enmeshed in expanding Western capitalism (Wilk 1996:97). Cultural ecology combined with the study of political economy, leads to the development of the supplied field political ecology, around 1970. It is the study of how political, economic, and social factors affect environmental issues. The majority of studies analyze the influence that society, state corporate, and translational powers have on creating or

exacerbating environmental problems and influencing environmental policy. The field of political ecology rose rapidly in the late 1980s and 1990s, heavily influenced by contemporary economic theory and stimulated by a number of other influences. Perhaps the most important of these influences was environmental politics. Worldwide battles between exploiters and conservation policies have always had a serious impact on indigenous communities (Sutton and Anderson 2004:25). Political and cultural ecology tend to blend into each other. Brian Ferguson's consideration, regarding cultural materialism, is very suitable in this study.

Brian Ferguson

> *"For many anthropologists, cultural materialism is associated with a few prominent theories espoused by Marvin Harris that reflect the ecological functionalism of the 1960's and 1970's. His arguments that the sacred cow, Aztec cannibalism, or Yanomami warfare contributed to an adaptive balance of population to resources inspired heated debate. But cultural materialist theories have ranged far beyond that limited framework. Coercion and exploitation within states, for instance, has been a major focus of investigation"* (Ferguson 1995:21).

Ferguson disagrees with many of Harris's hypotheses, and has argued against ecological functionalism. Although he sees ecological relationships as crucial for understanding culture, he thinks of them in historical rather than equilateral terms (ibid.35). He argues that the source of cultural change must not necessarily be restricted to the infrastructure "*The principle of infrastructural determinism alone, in its strict sense, is too limited to deal with the range of deterministic relations that demonstrably exist*" (ibid.24). He proposes a modification, to a broad interpretation of the principle. Rather than requiring that every effort to explain any cultural phenomenon begin with the infrastructure, he proposes instead to begin with identifying causal regularities throughout the socio-cultural system (ibid.). The structure is the primary determinant of most processes and changes outside of periods of major socio-cultural transformations. Superstructure variables operate within the possibilities established by the structure and infrastructure, but with substantial autonomy. In addition, superstructural factors have a large effect on the perceptions and actions of individualist in a given context (ibid.25). In his view, infrastructural, structural, and superstructural constraints will produce a range of possible outcomes that can be very specific (ibid.36). Further Ferguson sees no reason to abandon the quest for causal regularity in normal historical process, as many of the pressing questions facing anthropology today concern historical change. His historical application of the concept of partially autonomous structural process operating within infrastructural constraints is illustrated in his work on indigenous warfare in the New World in relation to Western contact. He argues that contact-related infrastructural changes involving introduced industrial technology, demographic disruption, altered work regimes related to new commodity production, and a variety of ecological stresses, all set off major socio-cultural responses that – filtered through indigenous structures and superstructures, themselves directly affected by contact

– lead to the transformation, intensification, or even generation of war patterns (ibid.33).

In his work on Puerto Rican sugar plantations, Fergusson argues that the sugar plantations were, in fact, cartels that were politically maintained by statutes of the U.S. congress. These structural factors which are responsible for economic inefficiency ultimately lead to the collapse of Puerto Rico's sugar plantations and subsequent hardships for all citizens (ibid.). Thus, he argues that in this case, the infrastructure is affected by the structure, so that for example the biological well-being of citizens of Puerto Rico was affected by a wholly structural factor. For Ferguson, his proposed modification brings cultural materialism closer to contemporary research in political economy, where it belongs according to him. "*Stripped of the ahistorical and functionalist orientation often associated with it in the past, cultural materialism offers political economists useful theoretical tools, enabling them to bring ecological, demographic, and technological factors into better focus*" (Ferguson 1995:34). The reason for science in anthropology is for him "*the world*". Conditions in much of the "underdeveloped" world, devastated by the "*lost decade"* of the 1980's show only limited signs of improvement. Although the global cold war has ended the very hot wars of specific regions have not. The newspapers do not tell the whole story, but they tell enough "*Anthropology's professional "others" – are all too frequently being malnourished, evicted, imprisoned ...and quite generally deprived of what both we and they consider to be basic necessities of life*" (ibid.34).

Ferguson also developed a general framework for understanding internal political struggles, where a state implodes into identity-like violence, whereby he maps interrelationships between global connections, control of the State, nationalist programs, ethnicity and culture, "*ethnic violence*", and identity politics (Ferguson 2003:4). Miguel points out that "*Many popular and academic authors have made the case that ethnic divisions lead to slow economic growth and persistence poverty in less-developed countries, noting numerous instances where ethnic divisions have led to violent conflict and set back poverty alleviation efforts*" (2006:169). Instead of labelling them all 'ethnic conflict', Ferguson proposes another approach. For him cultural difference or ethnicity, which are not fixed but socially and historically constructed, is only one of several important aspects of identity.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity implies the existence of social markers recognized as a means of differentiating groups coexisting within a wider field of social interaction. Distinctions are made on various grounds, including physical appearance, geographic origins, economic specialization, religion, language, and such expressive patterns as clothing and diet. Regardless, however, of the particular criteria utilized, ethnicity implies distinctions that are cultural as well as social. Keyes (2002) points out that ethnic classification "*has been deployed as a technology of power only by modern states; in other words, modern states have set out to make legible, the "motley crowds" located on their frontiers. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, European researchers, armed with new theories of linguistics and anthropology began to undertake systematic linguistic and ethnological fieldwork. Colonial regimes in the domains under their control used the results of ethnological and linguistic research to construct census of the peoples living within the borders of their domains"* (Keyes 2002:1175). In Pre-colonial times, their social status was more important than any ethnic or

cultural status, in sense which modern 'ethicising' discourse have largely themselves created (Osborne 1988:56). Erikson notes, despite "*the remarkable congruence between theories of nationalism and anthropological theory of ethnicity... most bodies of theory have largely developed independently of each other*" (Erikson 1993:100). Although in the past thirty years there has emerged a widely accepted syntheses of three basic views of ethnicity: (1) ethnic identities are socially constructed, their defining characteristics and boundaries are a product of dialectical interactions with others ('constructionist'); (2) ethnic identity is used instrumentally, to obtain political and material advances in competitive or conflicted situations ('instrumentalist'); and (3) ethnic identity can be a powerful psychological factor strongly affecting perceptions and actions in political struggles, beyond instrumental advantage ('primordialist [23] ') (Ferguson 2003:19). For Ferguson the "*impermanent, contingent, relational character of ethnicity*" in no way diminishes the significance of local culture, although local culture is itself continually being transformed by connection to larger global process (and by violence itself) (Ferguson 2003:20).

The location where the people are situated has a strong influence on identity and broader social divisions. Location situates people in relation to ecology, resources, production regimes and markets, as well as places them in the hierarchy of controls that flows from cities to the countryside (Ferguson 2003:26). Identity and interest are often fused, or can be made that way in conflict situations. He suggests that the groups and conflicts which involve them be called by the neologism "*identerest*" (identity and interest), rather than labelling them all "*ethnic*". Identerest conflicts have four distinguishable opening phases, although these will overlap in practice: (1) formation of a core identerest group, (2) creation of mutual fears or a "*security dilemma*", (3) polarization and projection of negative attributes, (4) calculated violence (Ferguson 2003:30). In order to understand fully causes of conflict, global connections and concepts such as that of the "*state*" and "*nation*" have to be included. In the next part, it is attempt to link this "*identerest conflict*" together with government development programmes, imposed on "*ethnic minorities*" or "*indigenous people*" in Southeast Asia. Whereas "*resettlement policies*", which are included in some development programs, are considered in this study as a form of "*calculated violence*".

4.2. "Identerest conflict" of Development in Southeast Asia

> *"Most Southeast Asian governments have developed programs, at times entire ministries aimed specifically at developing indigenous minorities and incorporating them into the nation-state. These programs ostensibly seek to make these minorities conform to the norms of the ruling majority in the country...Those in position of power often justify these intrusions by claiming that these people are "backwards" or "primitive". Classifying the minorities as primitives helps strip them of political identity and discourages them from participation in larger state projects. Hence governments actively use the pejorative labels to exclude and deny autonomy to indigenous minorities at the same time that they can claim to be developing these populations"* (Duncan 2004:1).

The polarization of negative attributes has a long history in Southeast Asia. Scott (1999) points to

[23] The term primoridalist has two meanings: (1) it is a shorthand way of "ancient loyalties and animosities"; (2) the other meaning is proposed by Geertz (1963) and refers to ascribed identities with a powerful emotional hold. Ferguson refers to "ancient animosity", in the form that ethnicity is not constructed but ancient, the conflict is not about political and economic interest but about identity before all else (Ferguson 2003:19).

the fact that not permanently settled people and hill societies live in a space where state control has always been tenuous. Consequently, the kingdoms of the past as well as the modern nation-states see these peripheral people not only as peoples who are just out of reach: "*They see them instead as examples of all that is uncivilized, barbaric, and crude. Even when they are looked at with some sympathy, as they are by current "developmental regimes" they are seen as benighted primitives, "our living ancestors" who need to be developed, brought into modern life. They are thought of as what we were like before we discovered Islam or Buddhism, rice cultivation, sedentary life, and civilization*" (Scott 1999:45). There have been for a long time, and still is (despite increased infrastructure) a geographic or as Ferguson labels it a "*location*" difference between those who live in the hills and those who live in the valleys. This division was not so much based on ethnic division, but more on the nearly absolute social division, as the concept of "*ethnicity*" have been introduced, as noted above, from colonial rulers in order to mark their terrain.

The lowland cultivators nearly always were part of the dominant society, even if a very insignificant part. The people who lived in the upland regions were a group for whom the administrative apparatus of the lowland state did not apply and who did not share the values of lowland society. Although the separation was not absolute, as the people who lived in the hills played an important role by providing certain goods such as forest products and the lowland army with knowledge about the hills. Often however, the highland people have been a source of slaves. On the other side their relationship could have been magical (Osborne 1988:54-6).

The point here is to regard the current development programs as part of an "*identerest conflict*", is that *"The ethnic and linguistic links between the people of the hills and those of the valleys were often close even if this fact generally went unrecognised..."* to a considerable extend "*the popular picture that has persisted for so long of an absolute separation between the upland minorities and the lowland majorities is a result of the almost absolute social division between the two groups*" (ibid:55). This social division was summed up in the words chosen by the dominant societies to describe the people of the hills, often with a pejorative connotation. Those social and cultural gaps have separated the two groups. Uplanders were e.g. *moi* to the Vietnamese, and *phnong* to the Cambodians. This is usually translated as "savage" or "barbarian" (ibid.). Another fact which shapes the different identities of hill and valley people is the kind of agriculture, in which they engage: "*everywhere (in Southeast Asia) one finds a contrast between "hill people" practising shifting cultivation, and "valley people" practising irrigated rice cultivation*" (Barnard 2004:61).

Nation building

The creation of a core interest group, is in this case the government, was mostly happening during and after the colonial time through the 'divide and rule' technique. One ethnic group had the most

power when the state or nation was finally established. Too often "*the greatest threat to most of the people in the Third World comes not from internal war but from their own leaders*" (David 1998:33). Elites associated with government may allow global norms about state sovereignty, but that is because such norms support their own control and interests, and it is the pursuit of those interests which commonly take precedence over considerations of state building (David 1998:87-90). The very term "*nation-state*" can be seen as "*an expression of faith*" (Ferguson 2003:15). The concept derives from a France-England model of national unity, which has precious few exemplars in the real word. Recent events have focused attention on two fundamentally different meanings of 'nation': an 'imagined community' which comes together through unifying civic institutions within a state, or some collectively recognized culturally distinctive community in its own rights. This diction has been glossed over as "*civic*" or "*assimilations*" nationalism, versus "*particularistic*" or "*ethnic*" nationalism (Ferguson 2003:15). The point is "*that political elites often identify their culture with national culture*" (Van den Berghe 1990:8). Although official texts and papers claim equality for all citizens, often this does not happen in reality.

Development and Security

Southeast Asian governments have some aims in common regarding ethnic minorities. Although those governments are interested in developing the socio-economic status of virtually all their citizens, indigenous ethnic minorities often receive special emphasis: development aimed at them is a cultural as well as an economic project (Duncan 2003:3). The drive for modernization leads to a shift in the region from an economy based on agricultural production and extraction to an industrialized one. The basic model is taken from the success of the "*Asian Tigers*", the "*newly Industrialized Countries*" of Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea and Singapore (McCaskill 1997:31). As a result, the last few decades (prior to the financial collapse of 1997) saw a period of rapid economic growth for many countries in the region. These economic upswings were supported largely by the exploitation of natural resources: oil, timber, rubber, and minerals. Policies aimed at fully exploiting the capacity of the land, usually done to increase the GDP, which had "*a direct effect on the indigenous ethnic minorities who inhabited this same landscape*" (Duncan 2004:4). The "*global connection*" in Ferguson's framework, is considered here through the influence of the World Bank, and other leading development organizations. It is looked at with respect to their aim of increasing the GDP which has lead to several development programs. A common trend of many development programs is the (often forced) resettlement of indigenous minority groups. These policies have several justifications, including: (1) national security, (2) environmental protection, and (3) national development (ibid.12). The creation of mutual fears or a 'security dilemma', but again the polarization of negative attributes is often based on two assumptions. The first

assumption is the "*threat of communism insurgency*" and the other is "*environment destruction"*. These assumptions are considered in the following section.

Threat in the Forest

Regarding the first fear, Duncan states that each state in the region has been faced with communist insurgencies (Duncan 2004:8). During these struggles, minority groups often have suffered greatly and have frequently been used as pawns by both sides. For example, the United States essentially utilized the Hmong and other upland populations as mercenaries against the North Vietnamese army during the Vietnam War. These communist 'threats' have subsided as communist forces have either succeeded or been destroyed or defeated. Governments, however, still fall back on the threat of communism in their justification for dealing with minorities. By labelling populations reluctant to follow their directives as 'communists', regional governments can justify their poor treatment of them and avoid criticism from larger mainstream society over their actions (ibid.). Military and policy posts in the rural areas of Indonesians outer islands, for example, still routinely categorize forest-dwelling tribal peoples as their greatest "*security problem*", calling them "*communists*" or "*primitive communists*" or "*people susceptible to communist influence*" (Dove 1988:21).

For Duncan the opposite is true in communist nations. Indigenous minorities pose a threat because they are seen as revanchist or because they supported the losing side in the wars for political control of Indochina (Duncan 2004:8). In addition to communism, separatism is a threat often cited in discussions of indigenous minorities, and many of the nations in the region have suffered from it to some degree, whether based on ethnicity or religion (ibid:9). Those people also live in the marginal spheres of the country, and with a better form of surveillance, governments see it as a sort of strategic "*buffer-zone*" to guard against outside aggression (ibid.14).

Environmental protection

Environmental protection also often justifies the resettlement of ethnic minorities. For years, Southeast Asian governments decried swidden agriculture as destructive and unsustainable. As the environmental movement has grown in strength in the West, the case against swidden agriculture has shifted. At first they were seen as unproductive farmers, currently this agricultural system is considered as a threat to biodiversity conservation. Without surprise Duncan stresses that "*governments that often decry swiddeners as destroyers of the environment themselves frequently cancel conservation projects in an effort to provide land for large-scale agricultural schemes or timber concessions*" (Duncan 2004:14).

Some Southeast Asian states have eagerly embraced the idea of establishing large national parks to protect biodiversity. These areas usually also conveniently forbid human habitation, requiring the resettlement of populations out of protected areas. Contreras (1992) has pointed out that most of the environmental initiatives come from the top of the system, in the form of governmental

programs and legislative actions. In a society in which political and economic elites often overlap, "*it is almost always the case that state actions favour their own interests"* (Contreras 1992:78-80). Thus timber companies, mining companies and other extractive industries are often able to circumvent the laws through their connections to powerful elites (Duncan 2004:14).

The outcomes of these interventions as described in these sections are different. The impacts on the local society as well as their responses are different too. But as shown above, resettlement programmes and hence development interventions in rural areas, can add to Ferguson's 'identerest concept'.

Local impacts and responses

Indigenous people's reactions to government attempts at incorporation have taken many shapes. Although it is a complex issue, the following five scenarios frequently happen (Duncan 2005):

(1) Some groups put up armed resistance and actively seek to avoid incorporation. This is the worst case.

(2) On the other side, local populations, "*suffer at the hands of the incorporation and do not reap the benefits that they are promised*" or that they anticipated, but "*still welcome development*" to a certain extent for the material and political benefits these types of programs sometimes bring (Duncan 2005:16).

(3) One option still available to some groups is "s*imply avoidance, to ignore the government*" and its initiates by moving away from the government's grasp. This type of response is exemplified by the Chewong in Malaysia who after several years in a government–sponsored settlement, returned to the forest to follow their previous shifting settlement pattern and a foraging subsistence (ibid.17).

(4) These programs can also "*empower"* the groups that the government is trying to assimilate. Such an example can be found in northern Thailand. Some young educated "*hill tribe*" people have formed the "*Inter-Mountain Peoples Education and Culture in Thailand Association*" (IMPECT). This group was initially founded as a development organization but has increasingly become an active political group. Their self-identification as a unitary group of upland people is a "*consequence of lowland categorization imposed on them*" (ibid.17). This categorisation disregards profound social, cultural, and economic difference between the upland minority groups.

(5) Finally, another frequently mentioned outcome of state development programs and policies that try to incorporate local people into the state concept is the "*creation of an enforced ethnic identity*" among the target population. The government sponsored stereotypes of groups as "*primitive and backward*" can often lead to a) the creation of ethnic pride in response to this disdain, or b) total wider recognition of ethnic similarities (Harell 1995:27).

The implementation of tree plantations, e.g. rubber, as described by Dove (1988), can lead to a negative change in social structure. Rubber provides each household with a cushion against periodic failures of the rice harvest. Hence, this fact can reduce the need to seek assistance from other households and thereby reduce the integration of ceremony, as well as the need for this integration (Dove 1988:23). It may also affect other social customs, such as labour exchange, which will be described in the part of Khamu traditional economic tasks. A clear negative implication from rubber plantation is described by Lukas (2006), regarding the Maniq in Southern Thailand. The Maniq are by far the oldest inhabitants of this region. Despite the fact that they already live in a national park, whereas before they inhabited a vaster expanse of land, their living space, has been further reduced to make room for a myriad of rubber plantations. (Lukas 2006/07:248). As the Maniq "*never developed a concept of property for land or forest*", they "*do not defend their rights against invading villagers*" (ibid.250). And this in spite of the fact, that these invaders are not only occupying the land formerly used by the Maniq, but even prevent them, for example, from catching fish in nearby rivers. The conservation policies and rubber plantations going on in the 'deep forest' dramatically reduces the area the Maniq can use for their livelihood and as a safe haven for retreat. This means, that "*their traditional strategy, to retreat from aggressive intrusion*" or in other words to avoid violent conflict "*boarders on a limit*", as there is no longer enough forest where the Maniq can find refuge (ibid.250).

These programs do '*not always destroy culture*' or are '*not always connected with violence*', but often have impacts on the local society and environment, that lead to unwanted side effects. In order to establish '*national security*' and to provide rural people with '*development*', they often have to move out of the forest into the valleys or into places with '*better surveillance*', and so the forest can be used to as a resource for the national GDP growth. The trouble in measuring the welfare of people in GDP terms have been mentioned in the first chapter. The next chapter deals more in detail with different aspects from Lao PDR, ethnicity, and development before focusing on the '*ethnic group*' under study.

Chapter 5 Lao PDR

Lao PDR is a landlocked country and shares its borders with China to the north, Myanmar to the Northwest, Thailand to the west, Cambodia to the south, and Vietnam to the east (see Fig. 2). The country has an area of 236,800 square kilometres, 70% of its land is mountainous and hilly. In 2006 its population was estimated at 6,368,500 and about 80% of its people live in rural areas; most of them live at the subsistence level (CIA 2006). Osborne states, that in 1967 the population „*of Laos (all races) is variously estimated in the absence of any formal census at between 1, 75, and 2,3 million*" (Osborn 1967:260).

Figure 2:. Map Lao PDR

This chapter deals at first with a short historical overview to introduce Lao PDR. After the explanation of the ethnic composition and classification, further historical aspects are stated combined with the aim to explain why the ethnic Lao have been constituted the dominant group in this country. The next sections include development directions and policy regulations related to this study.

5.1. History and Ethnicity

Brief History

The construction of Lao PDR as a modern nation state dates only from 1945. Before then Lao PDR was administered as a province of French Indochina, conceived more as a hinterland for Vietnamese expansion and French exploitation than as a political entity in its own right. But the independent Lao state constructed after 1945 comprised the territory established by treaty between France and Siam (Thailand) between the years 1893 and 1907. For the ethnic Lao themselves, their history is far more ancient, reaching back well before the mid-fourteenth century when the Kingdom of Lang Xang was founded (Stuart 1997:6).

With the outbreak of the First Indochina War at the end of 1946, Lao PDR found itself drawn into

a wider conflict. In this wider conflict the Pathet Lao developed its own form of radical nationalism at odds with that of the Royal Lao government. This nationalism was based not on an elite Lao tradition of royal legitimation and aristocratic patronage, but on more broadly inclusive participation in forms of popular resistance. Dependency on external powers, however undermined the claims of both these contending nationalisms, and divided the country. The de-facto division of Lao PDR under the arms of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 took three years of patient negotiation to overcome. The territorial unity achieved under the First coalition government promised to provide the basis on which to construct a modern nation state (ibid.59). Despite high hopes and expectations, by mid 1958 the First Coalition government had collapsed, principally because of US machinations. A reversal of US policy opened the way for new Geneva Agreements and a Second Coalition government in 1962 (ibid.99). Not the Lao, but the struggle for supremacy in Indochina between (north) Vietnam and the United States was responsible for the collapse of the Second Coalition (ibid.128).

The National Congress of Peoples' Representatives that met in Viang Chan in December 1975 both marked the regime change from constitutional monarchy to communist People's Republic, and set the direction for future political, social and economic development. The priority of the new Lao regime was to assure the monopolization of political power by the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and to defend it against internal and external threats, both real and exaggerated (ibid.168). Still the rights to freedom of expression, association, peaceful assembly and political participation remain systematically violated for the Lao population. Political opposition is not allowed, the media are state-controlled and mass organisations, such as the Lao Front for National Construction, the Lao Federation of Trade Unions, the Lao People's Revolutionary Youth Union and the Lao Women's Union, are closely controlled by the state. There are no domestic independent non-governmental organisations (NGOs), but service-delivering international development NGOs are allowed to operate if under foreign management. Access for independent human rights monitors from abroad is prohibited[24]. The organisation 'Found for Peace' states that "*public service delivery was widely perceived as corrupt*", so the upland and highland minority communities "*received an inadequate share of public resources*" due to "*poor minority representation in government*"[25]. Further, the "*Lao military's activities consisted of patrolling the Thai border, operations against ...rebels and internal policing. Police powers were broad and frequently abused*[26]". The next section deals with these issues but focuses on ethnicity.

[24] http://web.amnesty.org/library/pdf/ASA260032007ENGLISH/$File/ASA2600307.pdf
[25] http://www.fundforpeace.org/publications/profiles/cp_laos.pdf, p.2
[26] http://www.fundforpeace.org/publications/profiles/cp_laos.pdf, p.2

Ethnic composition – Overview

Lao PDR is one of the most ethnically diverse countries in the world, a poly-ethnic state with a complex and as yet poorly studied ethnic composition. The major and controversial features of the ethnic composition of Lao PDR today are:

(1) the absence of any ethnic group whose entire population lives within the borders of Laos, which means there is not a single ethnic group in Laos whose population does not extend to neighbouring Indochinese countries (Kossikov 2000:227),

(2) no single ethnic group forms a majority (Ireson and Ireson 1991:921),

(3) the ethnic Lao have constituted the dominant political and cultural group in the country throughout at least the last six hundred years (Stuart 1986:3), except during the colonial period,

(4) although the present socialist Lao government is ideologically committed to the promotion of ethnic equality, foreign aid, foreign investment, and private economic ventures are all subject to government approval.

(5) National policies, in order to foster more rapid expansion of state control and more economic growth, as well as security concerns, leads to practices that promote the "*Laotisation*" of "*minorities*" (Ireson and Ireson 1991: 925). This "*Laotisation of minorities*" is mostly done through development policies and refer in this case, to cultural integration by adopting ethnic Lao livelihoods, practices and languages. "*The assumption is that minorities who become more "Lao" (e.g., adopting Lao language, clothing, housing, style, religion and other customs) will then be more 'developed' and 'civilized'"* (Baird and Shoemaker 2002:11).

The creation of an integrated Lao society drawing together all those who live within the frontier of the Lao state constitutes perhaps the major challenge facing the present regime (Stuart 1986:45).

Linguistic classification

Lao PDR inhabitants can be classified according to their linguistic features, or the official national norms, which often leads to different numbers, depending on who is classifying and for which purpose. Linguistic ethnological and anthropological terms, as well as international classification methods are presently used by experts in different ways in the Southeast Asian region. For ethnological purposes Chazée (2002) uses the term ethno-linguistic family, to classify the population of four of the five main linguistic families: Tai, Austro-Asiatic, Miao-Yao, Sino-Tibetan, on the Southeast Asian Peninsula, which includes a minimum of 131 different ethnic and sub-ethnic minorities groups. Although for him it is difficult, with existing information, to classify certain villages in one ethnic or sub-ethnic minority. The degree of ethno-linguistic and farming system differences between two communities from the same linguistic branch is linked to the length of the period of geographic separation, and to the acculturation experienced in contact of

other societies (Chazée 2002:4-7). By one estimate, lowland ethnic Lao constitute only 30% of the population of the Lao PDR (UNDP 2001:58). With the addition of other Tai ethno-linguistic groups (upland Tai, Lue, Phuan, Tai Neua), this figure increases to 66.5%. This still leaves one third of the population made up of Austro-Asiatic (23.5%), Hmong-Mien (7.5%) and Sino-Tibetan (2.7%) minority groups – a percentage larger than for any other Southeast Asian nation (Stuart 2004:22). According to such a classification system more ethnic Lao live in Thailand, than in Lao PDR.

National Classification

The official classification of ethnic groups living In Lao PDR adopted by the government ignores ethno linguistic principles, but utilizes, selectively and inconsistently, several distinct factors such as ethno-genesis[27]. In the official conception, the main criteria for the formation of ethnic entities were common geographical living conditions, similar economic and cultural patterns, and levels of social development. Such an approach resulted in a so-called "*trinomial conception*" of the ethnic composition of the population. According to this conception, the population of Lao PDR can be divided into three big "*national groups*". These are Lao Lum (or Lao Loum) 66% (lowland or valley Lao), Lao Theung 24% (Lao of the foothills or mountain slopes) and Lao Sung 10% (highland Lao). It is striking that in this trinomial classification the initial name "*Lao*" is common to all three groups. It expresses the subjective desire of the originators to emphasize the unification of different ethnic groups into a single state formation, or single ethnic entity, while on the other side created official ethnic minorities, with the political, legal and social consequences that are implied by minority status. Kossikov (2000) states that the other goal was to conceal the true number of the population considering themselves Lao and thus substantiate ethnic Lao political domination in the state that carries its name as "*it is no secret that Lao constitute only about a half of the inhabitants of Lao PDR*" (Kossikov 2000:231-232).

But this trinomial conception was also an attempt to overcome discriminating expressions for individual groups. These current terms can be traced back to Toulia Lyfoung, who on December 15th, 1946 was elected the first Hmong and also the first representative of an ethnic minority as a member of parliament in Lao. He suggested introducing the terms *Lao Loum, Lao Theung* and *Lao Sung* in official documents in order to use a value-neutral term for ethnic groups (Kubitscheck 2000:162). In the 1940s a stated aim of the nationalist movement was for all people in the new country to be considered Lao. The leaders of the new Lao PDR consistently emphasised cultural unity, but centred on the ethnic Lao. This was stated clearly by the eminent leader Kaysone Phomvihane: *"Lao culture must be the basic culture shared by all ethnicities",* or ethnic groups (Evans

[27] is the process by which a group of human beings comes to be understood or to understand themselves as ethnically distinct from the wider social landscape from which their grouping emerges

1999:171). Although Lao PDR leaders made respect for ethnic differences in a territory, as it *"does not mean that an ethnicity must have an exclusive territory, but may share it with other ethnicities"* (Evans 1999:179). So this nation-building logic, at least rhetorically respecting whilst de-emphasing ethnic differences, encouraged the retention until now of the simplistic division between highland, upland and lowland Lao. In 1985 the "*Laotian Committee for Minorities*" recommended not using the terms (Lao Lum, Lao Teung, Lao Sung) any longer (Kubitscheck 2000:162). While Kubitscheck states that "*this recommendation has not yet been followed, neither in every-day use nor in politics*" (ibid.), Phosena writes that "*this terminology (Lao Lum, Lao Theung, Lao sung) is now forbidden in the official texts*". Although it is "*nevertheless still widely used, even by state newspapers*" (Pholsena 2006:47). On the basis of this development and the process in Lao PDR the naming can be seen as a "Laotisation" of other ethnic groups.

The language can be an important factor regarding the assimilation of 'tribes'. In 1967 Osborne states that under some "*relief and development programs for bringing government to the tribes*" there was the intention to "*introduce a radio program*". In order to achieve the ultimate goal of gradual assimilation of the tribal peoples into the national life and economy, the first and foremost objective was to be able to communicate with them. And further, "*if this cannot be done initially through the medium of the national language (Lao) alone then tribal languages must be utilised in addition*" (Osborne 1967:267).

Why do ethnic Lao constitute the politically dominant group?

Origin and Settlements

The ethnic Lao began settling the territory of their current states in the 7th century and completed the settlement in the 12th-13th centuries. They came from southern China, from where they were driven out by the Mongolian invasions, and immigrated especially to the lowlands along the Mekong and Menam Rivers in their modern-day countries territory (Kubitscheck 2000:159-160). Their main mode of subsistence was wet rice cultivation, so this migration leads to the origin of the confrontation between two main civilisations, as the original inhabitants are shifting cultivators, with preference for the forest and mountains rather than for the plains. To practice irrigation, the newly arrived people had no choice but to settle down in the lowlands and valleys at the foot of the mountains, near the rivers (Chazéé 2002:14-15).

Based on their mode of subsistence, ethnic Lao settlement pattern appear permanent when compared to those of shifting agriculturalist. Well-watered crops produce much greater yields than unirrigated crops. Higher crop yields can support more people, whose labour can help intensify agriculture to support even more people, and large numbers of people are a condition for the development of complex socio-political entities (Sutton and Anderson 2004:256). In general

intensive agriculturalist did evolve socio-political organizations classified as "*states*". A state in this sense is a society with elaborate social stratification (or at least, the classes of rulers and commoners) and a hierarchal and complex political system that was highly centralized and internally specialized (Marcus and Feinman 1988:4).

Dove (1985) argues that the reason wet rice cultivation was so often associated with a 'despotic' state was not a techno-environmental one, but a military one. Unlike shifting cultivators, wet rice cultivators were tied to the land by the massive investment they and their ancestors have made in it. In Dove's view, it was not population growth which led to the switch from shifting cultivation to wet rice agriculture, which then made possible the development of the state. But the development of the state which led to wet rice agriculture, which made possible the growth of population (Barnard 2004:61).

Izikowitz (1998) mentions that the contact between the 'newcomers' and 'indigenous inhabitants' can take shape through intermarriage. This aspect is mentioned later. In which however, the ethnic Lao expanded. The pattern of expansion from ethnic Lao is evident from Lao PDR chronicles, as sons of local rulers (cau meuang) led their followers from one mountain valley to another. The settlements so formed were held together by common descendents, always drawn from the leading aristocratic family (as 'clan-based' meuang[28]). So meuang (a term now used to mean 'district') was the core traditional political structure of variable extent, but they were not primarily territorial units (Stuart 2004:3). Where riverine plains opened out, however more extensive 'principality-like' meuang[29] developed. (Stuart 1997:8). Smaller *meuang* were nested within larger *meuang*, and a variable set of larger *meuang* constituted *Meuang Lao*, the Lao kingdom of Lang Xang (Stuart 2004:3). The concept was based on a system called "*mandala*".

Mandala – the power to rule?

This term is used by historians of mainland Southeast Asia to refer to the political structure of Hindu/Buddhist kingdoms, where power radiated out from a ritual centre to more or less ill-defined frontiers. As that power varied, so frontiers could shift. They had a segmentary structure, large power centres extracting tribute from similarly organized smaller ones, and a variability of power relationships (Stuart 1997:6-7).

Wolters (1999) describes it as "*a particular and often unstable political situation in a vaguely definable geographical area without fixed boundaries and where smaller centres tended to look in all directions for security*". Mandalas would expand and contract. Each one contained several tributary rulers, some of whom

[28] The elite group in Lao PDR is made up primarily of descendants of some twenty or more noble families, the princely rulers of the old principalities which made up the kingdom of Lang Xang. In the Lao PDR society, numerous evidence of traditional status distinctions still remain. Members of the elite bear title such as *tia*, *maham*, and so on. The legal status of the 1950s retained provisions for the assessment of fines and penalties graded according to the traditional hereditary rank of the plaintiff (Halpern 1961:63). Special terms are still used in addressing superiors, including an honorific language reserved for the king alone.(LeBar 1964.:219)

[29] For Turton meuang (müang) is an expression referring to different police domains, whether at the stage as chiefdoms federations of chiefdoms principalities or kingdoms (Turton 2000:6)

would repudiate their vassal's status when the opportunity arose and try to build up their own networks of vassals (Wolters 1999:27-28). The mandala system was formed of several "*circles of power*", the centre of which was dominated by a Buddhist-king who ruled by right of (divine) descent and right of merit. He had, it was believed, accumulated enough merit in his previous lives to have deserved to born as a king (Wolters 1999:114). All Lao believed, and still believe, that to accept one's lot and to live in accordance with the precepts of Buddhism would improve one's chances for a better future rebirth. Karma thus traditionally reinforced the hereditary principle underlying political leadership, and even today still makes for a degree of acceptance of the prevailing political order (Stuart 2004:10).

The expansion or contraction of the mandala would depend on the king's ability to gain the allegiance of smaller political structures and lesser rulers. His power was not in fact measured in terms of territorial gains but rather determined by the size of the ruled population. The power status of the centre was therefore highly variable in accordance with the resources available to the ruler from trade, tribute and manpower; the latter mobilized through military conscription or slavery (Wolters 1999:114). The structure of early Lao society consisted of three categories: aristocracy, free peasants or commoners (pahi, slaves (kha)), and at the bottom, the non-ethnic Lao. As Stuart explains: *"At the apex stood the king, surrounded by his powerful lords. Below the nobility came the free peasantry who were valued as productive farmers and soldiers, for every able-bodied free man was expected to fight. Other ethnic groups abode by their own law and customs. They stood entirely outside the place of Tai-Lao society, their status even lower than slaves (kha), let alone domestic servants (khôy)*" (Stuart 1998:47).

Myths – the right to rule?

As historical sources, it would be easy to dismiss these myths as valueless. But myths preserve ancient fold memories of migration and displacement, as well as a sense of identity. The version of the Lao chronicles know as the *Nithan Khun Bôrom* (The Story of Khun Bôrom) contain the original myths of the ethnic Lao people, as Khun Lô is the eldest son of Khun Bôrom and so the original ancestor of all ethnic Lao. At the same time it suggests how the ethnic Lao came to dominate the indigenous inhabitants. Their right to self-determination and independence rests firmly on that early history when the Kingdom of Lang Xang was founded. In this version Khun Lô should be the founder of the first Lao dynasty of Luang Prabang (Stuart 1997:6-8).

Nithan Khun Bôrom

In the Lao chronicles known as the *Nithan Khun Bôrom* (The Story of Khun Bôrom), which contain the original myths of the Tai people, Khun Lô is the eldest son of Khun Bôrom, the original ancestor of all ethnic Lao. Different versions agree that Khun Bôrom was sent by the king of the

Thaen (celestial deities) to rule over the earthly realm. They also recount that life on earth was threatened by the growth of a gigantic vine. An elderly couple volunteered to chop it down, but were crushed to death when the vine fell. The vine bore two or three giant gourds, from inside which cries could be heard. Holes were made in the gourds using first a red-hot pole, then a knife. From the blackened holes came the Kha (literally " slaves", the pejorative term for those Austro-Asiatic-speaking minority tribes now known collectively as the Lao Theung, or "Lao of the mountain slopes"). From the holes cut with a knife came the Tai. These were the people over whom Khun Bôrom ruled. In time he sent his seven sons to find seven new kingdoms, from Burma (Shan state) to Vietnam (the Tai highlands), and from southern China to Laos, including both Luang Phrabang and Xiang. " (Stuart 1997:7-8)

This identity (Myth Khun Bôrom) was regularly reinforced in the annual festivities associated with the Lao New Year. Royal rituals reiterating the relationship between ethnic Lao and Lao Theung were performed right up to 1975 when the monarchy was abolished. Figures representing the old couple who had cut down the vine bearing the gourds still continue to be paraded each year through the streets of Luang Prabang (Stuart 1997:8).

The ethnic Lao, although they controlled former institutions, had little interest in assimilating the upland population during the pre-colonial period. Cases of assimilation were not the result of a deliberate policy on the part of the lowlanders. Systematic and institutionalized policies were not enforced to draw the upland people into a unitary culture, which would have been that of the ethnic Lao (Condominas 1980:275, Pholsena 2006:21). Hierarchical relations between highland and lowland did exist. 'Borders', either geographical or cultural, however, tended not to be too fixed. While there was a concept of social subordination, the concept of 'citizenship', that is, of people belonging to a nation state did not exist.

French Creation of cross-racial administration

The colonial period of French ideology influenced the political and social structure of Lao in several ways. The French instituted a cross-racial administration among the mountain peoples, because colonization had to be cheap and require a type of indirect rule. They manipulated ethnic relationships so as to ensure a system of indirect rule in areas where direct control would cost too much. "*The French used traditional racial hierarchies where they were strong, reinforced them where they were weak, and created them were they did not exist*" (McCoy 1970:80). In French eyes, the Lao were credulous, mendicant, and incapable of hard work. As a consequence, the French believed they could never depend on the Lao either to administer the country effectively or to develop its resources in the best interest of France. For that they turned to the Vietnamese, who staffed much of the middle-level French administration (Stuart 1997:41-42).

A taxation system was one of the first reforms which were implemented, as Laos had to become a self-supporting colony. One of the impact of the new system of taxation was to force the transformation of a predominantly subsistence economy into a monetary one, as money

progressively replaced barter as a means of exchange. The other was to strengthen and centralise administrative control. Within the taxation system, a distinction was drawn between ethnic Lao and the non-ethnic Lao, on the basis that the latter were considered more "primitive" and poorer. Consequently the ethnic Lao paid more tax per year, conversely, the number of days of corvée (forced labour) was higher for the non-ethnic Lao. However, corvée labour could be avoided by an additional cash payment, so the ethnic differentiation widened. The new system of taxes and forced labour was widely unpopular. So both systems ineluctably engendered or exacerbated ethnic conflicts and political awareness. The indigenous inhabitants, in addition to being portrayed as 'primitive', were also represented as rebels. The ethnic Lao in contrast complied more with the French, partly because they were better treated. Better treated, is meant in relative terms (Pholsena 2006:31-33; Stuart 1997:33-35).

The European concept of a centrally administered territorial state with clearly marked, agreed-upon boundaries, created the groundwork for the integration of minorities in the Laotian society. (Kubitscheck 2002:147; Stuart 1997:21). Many of their settlement areas in remote mountain regions could, realistically never be completely governed by the French (Kubitscheck 2000:161-162).

Pathet Lao

The organization under this name first appeared in 1950, when it was adopted by Lao forces under Prince Souphanouvong. He joined the Vietnamese revolt against the colonial French authorities in Indochina during the First Indochina War. In Lao PDR, as in Vietnam, the revolutionary movement was dependent on ethnic minorities to establish base areas. Therefore the Pathet Lao was obliged to develop an effective minorities (nationalities) policy. His policy was radically egalitarian with respect to ethnic minorities (Stuart 1997:79). The 1954 Geneva Conference agreements required the withdrawal of foreign forces, and allowed the Pathet Lao to establish itself as a regime in Laos' two northern provinces. The Americans were very unhappy with this outcome. The political movement associated with the Pathet Lao was first called the Lao People's Party (1955-1972) and was later known as the Lao People's Revolutionary Party (1972-present). Most of Pathet Lao movement leaders have been members of the elite. The elite families have often been driven between neutralist, royalist and communist conflicts, but during the whole conflict they tried to communicate with each other, and often build up a coalition government (Boike 2004:77).

America's Anxiety

US financial assistance to the Lao government effectively reinforced the clan patronage structure

of ethnic Lao politics. Leading families maintained their social standing by becoming the principal beneficiaries of US aid. Real power increasingly lay with the US Embassy and USAID mission. As paymaster, the United Stated was able to influence political thinking (Stuart 1997:92).

Most of their money was used to pay the army: "*84 % of all cash-grants went to pay military salaries and for local procurement*" (Stuart 1997:90). Of the project aid, most was spent on road building, transport and communications, all of direct military value. The extent of US financial support for the army and Lao PDR government, growing CIA involvement, and the drawing realisation among those Lao in a position to do so that considerable fortunes could be made from American largesse, all won the US increasing support for its anticommunist cause. Over the period from 1955 to 1963, US foreign assistance amounted to approximately $192.30 per capita; the highest amount for any country in Southeast Asia, including South Vietnam. However, this amount being was not spread evenly throughout the population. Between 1953 and 1959 only 7 % of project aid to Laos, a mere $1.3 million, was spent on agriculture, compared with $184 million spent on military support. This in a country where over 90 % of the population were peasant farmers[30] (Stuart 1997:91). Therefore Halpern and Kunstadter (1967) note that through American support in form of economic aid and refugee aid programs, the Royal Lao government was able to "*retain some control over the mountainous areas where the Pathet Lao have had some of their greatest military and political success*" (Halpern and Kunstadter 1967:232). For Stuart, the Lao elite is not rigidly exclusive. Entry is possible for those with educational and professional qualifications or with the right family ties through marriage. Kinship was the primary structural basis of elite Lao society. Important families, together with collateral branches and those to whom they are related by marriage, formed clans which competed for political power, wealth and social prestige. Clan interest and clan loyalties all too often were placed ahead of national loyalties and interests (Stuart 1986:50).

5.2. Lao PDR – Development

This part looks on Lao PDR development issues regarding poverty and forest decrease, the related logging aspect, as well as enhanced tree plantations. In the next part, the related policy regulations are considered.

Laos is heavily dependent on foreign investment and aid. Around 80% of all 'development' projects are paid for from overseas. Since 1988, 37 countries have invested more than US$5.7 billion in over 840 projects in Laos. Thailand has invested more than any other country, with around US$2.9 billion in 262 projects. The US ranks second with US$1.4 billion invested and

[30] If the cost of military equipment and secret expenditure by the CIA on both its own behalf and that of the US Department of Defence were to be included, the imbalance would be even more striking (Stuart 1997:91-2)

South Korea third with US$636 million[31]. During the five-year period 2001-2005, the Lao economy has maintained rapid and sustainable growth. On average, the GDP grew at about 6.24% per annum, which is about 0.3 percentage points higher than the average growth rate in the previous five-year period (1996-2000), but about 0.8 percentage points lower than the "Fifth Plan" target. The growth rate failed to reach the target set by the Plan and the full potential of the economy was not utilized. However, it is heartening to note that the growth rate achieved is higher than that recorded in the previous Plan period (1996-2000) (NSEDP 2006:16).

Although poverty steadily declined in Lao PDR inequality has steadily increased. Development is happening unequally as the last World Bank survey (1997) indicates. "*...inequality was rising, though not as sharply as in neighbouring Thailand. The 'poorest' 20% of the population was estimated to control 18% of the national income in 2002*[32]". While steady economic growth substantially reduced the poverty rate in the capital Vientiane, it had much less impact on poverty in remote provinces, especially in the northern region (ADB 2004:15), where most of the tropical forest is located.

Halpern and Kunstadter (1967) noted that: "*Since Laos has no major industries, she is dependent on foreign sources for almost all manufactured goods, and depends on foreign aid for most of the money with which to purchase them. This is not to say that Laos has no potential for economic growth. With proper development of transportation, for example, some areas could become rice exporters, and forest could be exploited*" (Halpern and Kunstadter 1967: 235). Since then tropical forest in Lao PDR is certainly decreasing. Forest cover in the 1950s was estimated at 70%. According to the latest study in late 2002 and early 2003, the forest cover is only about 41.5% (Chazée 2002:61), although the Lao government is very defensive about its forest-cover statistics. Aron (2000) accents that "*forest is useful in attracting foreign aid, and less forest means less money from aid agencies and conservation NGOs*". As an internationally founded forest cover mapping project estimated the forest cover to be less than 40% (the current common figure) "*the Lao government immediately blocked the distribution of reports and maps from the project*" (Aron 2000:57).

However, the '9th Round Table Meeting for Lao PDR' in November 2006 in Vientiane[33], "*ended with a vote of confidence for the Lao PDR's progress*"[34], whereby the progress is mostly measured in export growth rates. Related issues are also (1) to attract more foreign potential investors to invest in a large scale of commercial and industrial forest plantations and high value-added processing industries in order to increase employment in Lao PDR and, (2) to exploit logs (raw materials) in a sustainable way in the stable, rotational natural production forests and tree plantation gardens,

[31] http://www.wrm.org.uy/countries/Asia/Laos.html

[32] http://www.fundforpeace.org/publications/profiles/cp_laos.pdf, p.2

[33] The one and a half days Meeting held from the 28th to the 29th of November took place with the representatives of 36 countries, the European Commission, four International Financial Institutions, most resident and non-resident UN Agencies, and 22 International NGOs; as well as the Government of the Lao PDR and the Lao private sector.

[34] http://www.undplao.org/mdgs/rtp.php

which is gaining their international certification to Lao skill workers[35]. While between 1990 and 1993 the export rate for wood and paper was around 65%, it was reduced by more than half in the years 2000-2003. During those years, the export for clothes and textiles doubled[36]. Maybe this happened because in 1992 the Lao government abolished all logging concessions and handed over all logging rights to three regional military-owned companies, in the north to the Agriculture and Forestry Development Company (AFD).

Logging

After 1975, logging in Laos was limited by poor infrastructure and lack of processing facilities, although timber provided important income at the provincial level. The forests were divided into nine state forest enterprises covering in total approximately 2.5 million hectares. The state forest enterprises functioned as logging companies and were supported by the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), the Asian Development Bank (ADB), the USSR and Vietnam (Daoroung 1997:38; Anon 1992:3). The market opening in 1986 resulted in a rapid increase in logging and timber exports, with 120 new joint-ventures signed with foreign companies in the timber industry in 1987 and 1988 (Sluiter 1992:18). After the Thai logging ban in 1989, Thai businesses raced for a share in the profits gained from Lao logs, and by 1991, 56% of official exports came from wood products.

In August 1991 the government declared a nationwide moratorium on all logging concessions, until an audit of all logging operations was completed (Daoroung 1997:39). However, the logging ban was not implemented, and the rate of logging and timber exports continued to grow. A conflict in a village in central Laos in the early 1990s illustrates some of the problems. The village was surrounded by 110 hectares of community forest, managed by a village committee, which decided when and where trees may be cut for building or other needs. "*When outsiders turned up with chainsaws and trucks and began cutting the trees down, the villagers asked them to stop, and eventually drove them out of the forest with hunting rifles. Instead of supporting the villagers for upholding the logging ban, a state logging company, accompanied by soldiers, moved into the village and the surrounding forest in March 1992. The police threatened to arrest the only forestry official who dared to protest*" (Sluiter 1992:19). International aid agencies are heavily involved in the forestry sector in Laos. The Department of Forests is creaking under the weight of around fifty forestry projects, funded by a range of donors (Daoroung 1997:39). In July 1991, a month before the government imposed the logging ban, consultants ISO/Swedforest won the contract for the Lao-Swedish Forestry Cooperation Programme 1991-1995. More than half of the budget was devoted to logging and management of logging. Another 20 % of the budget was for imported equipment (Lang 2001:121). Combined with logging are mono-cropping

[35] http://www.rtm.org.la/rtm9doc.php, "National Export Strategy", page 15
[36] http://www.rtm.org.la/rtm9doc.php, "National Export Strategy", page 1

tree plantations.

Tree plantation - Rubber

Rubber is being planted rapidly and on a very large scale in Lao PDR. Private capital, almost entirely foreign, from small-scale business and large companies is the primary catalyst in the expansion of rubber. Investors see the abundant land and extensive farming systems of Lao PDR as offering significant potential for increasing rubber supply (NAFRI 2006:12). Osborne points out that the existence of natural rubber has been known for centuries before scientific advances in the nineteenth century permitted the development of a stable substance, largely unaffected by temperature changes, that was rapidly recognised as having a vast range of uses. The problem remained of finding a reliable source for this product since initially it was available only at high prices and in erratic quantities from South Africa. Mostly as a result of British efforts, the possibility of growing rubber in Southeast Asia was discovered (Osborne 1992:88).

The world demand for rubber, particularly new demand from China's expanding economy has created strong market prices (NAFRI 2006:12). Thai investors will plant rubber producing trees over more than 2,600 hectares in Lao PDR: "w*e will invest about US $35 million and expect to employ about 16,000 families"* said Mr Sane, the Lao Thai Rubber Company Director (Vongasay 2006:7). 1,000 hectares are rented from government at US$6 per hectare, per year, whereby they "*will invest about US$2,500 to US$3,000per hectare in the concession area*". The remaining 1,600 hectares belong to local villagers. The company will encourage them to plant rubber trees on their farms, providing the farmers with trees and growing techniques (ibid.). It takes six years for trees to produce rubber and they continue to do so for 25 years before becoming recusant. At that point, they are cut down and used for wood.

The process for rubber investments is driven with a lot of serious negatives impacts for upland farmers and the environment. Areas designated for large-scale mono-crop rubber plantation, are in northern Lao PDR, where the greatest amount of biodiversity is found. It will not only affect this forest, which play a vital role in villager's food security, but also alter the hydrology of the watershed. In rural areas, the overwhelming majority of farmers do not have the labour available to plant rubber on the scale found in foreign contracts. The potential increase in foreign labour can cause long-lasting demographic changes and consequent social conflict. The worst scenario that can happen would be the marginalization of small farmer's overtime as they lose complete control over their lands (NAFRI 2006:14-15). Farmers confronted with rubber plantation are often not aware about the following impacts; further the issue is affecting them in different ways. Shitong gives one example:

"My land is located far away from the road and the village. It is difficult to arrange transportation if I grow crops other than rice. If I plant rubber, I won't have enough land to produce rice for my family. I don't have any paddy field as I arrived in this village quite late. It is therefore, quite hazardous for my family to wait for 7 to 8 years to know results of planting rubber." (Shitong 1996:113).

5.3. Policy regulations and responses

Access and control - to the wild Forest and Land

Land policy that regulated individual and communal access to land has never been formally institutionalized in the Lao PDR due to disturbance by war that lasted over two decades. The socialist reform which began in 1975 was not so much focused on the redistribution of land to peasants, but more on modernization of agricultural production and attaining food sufficiency. Formal institutions of land management only began to gain importance after the introduction of the New Economic Mechanism in 1986 that pushed the country to liberalize its market and promote private sector development (Fujita 2006:1). The stabilization of swidden agriculture was set as a second priority program of the Second Socio-economic Development Plan of 1986-1990 (MAF 2005:3). In May 1989, the National Forestry Conference was held to establish new forest policy directions. One of the main adopted strategies in this conference was to stabilize swidden agriculture and to allocate land to swidden farmers (UNDP 2001:50). In this section, three main government policies on land management that have influenced private and community rights to land in Lao PDR since 1990s will be reviewed. This includes: Land Tax, Land and Forest Allocation, and Land Titling. Finally a deeper view on the issue about internal resettlement is given as well as local responses to these policy regulations

Land Tax

In 1990, the new land tax legislation was introduced replacing agricultural tax which was aimed to provide incentives to collectivized agricultural production. This meant that tax was no longer based on the amount of household production but on their land holding. It was thus aimed to promote individuals to make an efficient use of land, by removing tax disincentives for those that made productive use of land. The new tax legislation also required individuals to register their land parcels. For each plot the District Financial Office issued a Certificate for claiming land. It did not only record the use of land, but also its location and size, although there was little importance placed on the ownership of the land (Fujita 2006:13). Despite its purpose as a tax document, it was often used to legitimatize a household's claim over land, but it was based on self-declaration. Land that was reserved and located in the outskirts of the village remained underreported as there was no need to survey each parcel. Measurements were often erroneous, and boundaries were also a problem as there were no markings on the land (ibid.14)

Land and Forest Allocation (LFA)[37]

LFA was initiated in the early 1990s as a way to promote tree plantation in degraded forest areas through community efforts. LFA became a national policy in 1996 (Fujita 2006:23). Two major legislation shaped LFA:

(1) Decree No. 169

This decree came into effect in 1993, providing a new definition of forest and prescribing ways resources should be managed in the best interest of the national economy. Forest lands were classified into five categories (Evard 2004:2):

1. Production Forests ("Village Use Forest" at the local level): used on a regular basis for national development requirements and for people's livelihoods on a sustainable basis;
2. Conservation Forests: protection and conservation of animals and plant species or other entities of cultural, tourism or scientific value;
3. Protection Forests: protection of watershed and prevention of soil erosion and also including areas with national security significance;
4. Regeneration Forests: young fallow prohibited for agriculture in order to increase tree maturity and reach a natural equilibrium;
5. Degraded Forests: heavily damaged, classified for tree planting and or allocation to individuals or organizations for economic purposes in accordance with national economic plans.

Any development and forestry activity in the protection forest and the conservation forest were prohibited and swidden fallows were regarded as the regeneration forest to recover its forest cover. Regarding the ownership of forest and forest land, villagers can own, use, transfer and inherit it for tree plantation but on the other hand the decree states that forest and forest land are defined as national heritage and controlled under the MAF. At this moment boundaries of forest lands were set in village areas (Yokoyama 2006:2).

(2) Decree No. 186

This decree, which targeted zoning of land and forests for tree planting and forest protection, was legislated in 1994. It recognises individual, collective and private investor's efforts to manage degraded forest. This decree offered incentives to those individuals and groups that sought to plant trees in degraded forest. It also decentralised the right to allocate degraded forest land to local authorities. Households, companies, national organizations and public organizations allocated the degraded forest for tree plantation. Furthermore, Decree no. 186 accentuated the importance of classification and zoning into eight categories (Fujita 2006:24): (1) agricultural land, (2) forest

[37] also known as Land Use Planning and Land Allocation (LUPLA)

land, (3) water area land, (4) industrial land, (5) communication land, (6) cultural land (7) land for national and security defence, and (8) construction Land (Yokoyama 2006:2).

The process of land allocation was implemented in each village according to a standard methodology, designed jointly by the National Agriculture and Forestry Research Institute (NAFRI) and the Forestry Inventory and Planning Division (FPID) with the collaboration of the Lao-Swedish Forestry Programme. The method was officially adopted by MAF in 1996. In this method, the land-use plan (LUP), targets the whole village community, while the land allocation procedure is performed at the household level. Although the whole process should have taken between 45 and 60 days, local LUP/LA teams spent only 5 to 10 days in the villages (Evard 2004:3).

Land Titling

Introduction of land titling began in the mid-1990s, but was imposed in 1995 and was funded by the Australian government through the World Bank until June 1997. This was followed by initiation of the Lao Land Titling Project (LLTP) in July 1997. LLTP was specially aimed to improve the economic use of land particularly in areas of high population density by securing right to private property. Land Titling was not intended to create any new rights for individuals, as most individuals already had access to land. Instead it formally recognized the exclusive land use rights of the private entity (Fujita 2006:14-15). Correct land titling is mostly done close to urban centres. In rural areas the Temporary Land Use Certificate (TLUC) which is combined with the Land Use Contract (LUC), stated the intended use of land of the farmer for the next three years. After these three years the TLUC should be replaced with a permanent land use and property right certificate.

Internal Resettlement

"*Internal resettlement is the systematic relocation of a community from one location to another"* (Baird and Shoemaker 2002:11). Resettlement of ethnic minorities has become a central feature of the rural development strategy in Lao PDR. Over the past ten years, a majority of highland villages have been resettled downhill, and the local administrations are planning to move the remaining villages in the coming years. There has been no official policy (either in the form of a state decree or other legal text) concerning the resettlement of villages by the Lao PDR government. Officially, moving the highland villages to the lowlands is seen as a strategy, and is used when needed to address broader issues or problems of "*improving the quality of life in rural areas*" (Evard and Goudineau 2004:944).

Periodic resettlement and movements of people in Lao PDR have been a prominent aspect of the country's history. While there were no major shifts in populations during the French colonial period, resettlement during the 1960s and early 1970s was commonplace, mainly as a result of the

war and US bombings. In 1975, the newly formed Lao PDR government began moving ethnic minorities out of mountainous and remote areas due to security concerns about armed rebel activities (Baird and Shoemaker 2002:6). Yet, after 1985, it was the highland villages that were to be moved nearer to the centres of development to benefit from rural development policies (Evard and Goudineau 2004:941).

In this period Lao PDR opened the market toward investors from outside. Schuh states that "*development practitioners probably face no more difficult challenge than that of dealing with the problems of involuntary ...relocation that occur in association with large investment projects*" (Schuh 1993:55). Resettlement policies are embedded in "*Focal Sites*" or "*Village consolidation programmes*". Focal Sites concentrate large numbers of ethnic minority families into selected areas so that they can be provided with development assistance in an efficient and cost effective manner. Focal Sites are chosen by provincial and district authorities in order to concentrate development resources in certain geographic locations. Village consolidation is implemented in much the same way as the Focal Site Program, albeit on a smaller scale. It combines scattered smaller settlements by resettling people into larger permanent villages, which can then be more easily administrated. People and communities are moved to new locations, sometimes far from their traditional fields and forests, and outside the spirit boundaries of their original villages (Baird and Shoemaker 2002:11-2). Foreign aid projects, whether intentionally or not, are becoming directly involved in these current resettlement dynamics. This includes the main development agencies, especially the World Bank, because they provide most of the funds used in rural development actions. Many NGOs are also involved as projects are usually directed towards already resettled villages rather than towards upland villages (Evard and Goudineau 2004:947). Evard and Goudineau discuss if it is possible to distinguish between 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' resettlement, concluding that it "*makes no sense in the Lao context*" as it "*may happen in some case*" but others "*have chosen to leave their homelands*" (ibid.947). Baird and Shoemaker consider it more strictly, stating that resettlement is "*being forced upon communities through a combination of specific political, social and environmental policies and actions*" (Baird and Shoemaker 2002:11) in order to facilitate development.

Social impact and responses

Baird and Shoemaker (2005) state that both commercial forestry and biodiversity conservation programmes have generated conflict with ethnic minorities who have customarily and historically used upland forest resources. With the eradication and severe restriction of swidden agriculture concerns about food security have grown (Baird and Shoemaker 2005:7). Further, up to the late 1980's newly arriving migrants were able to access land through the practise of allocation of

customary land. This meant that established villages that accessed and used resources in the territory allowed the others to use the land without any payment. The increasing population in the villages and the transition from a centrally planned economy to the market economy has increased the competition over land (Jones 2002:19). Pioneering families who were the first to arrive in a village tend to have access to more land with better soil quality. Today, these families have successfully intensified their land and constitute the well-off and middle-income families. On the other hand, low-income farmers have less access to land. Furthermore, their fields tend to be further from the road and difficult to access compared to other classes of families (Sithong 2006:13).

Competition over land is not only increasing in the residential areas or core zone of the village, but also extending into economically marginal lands in the outer zone (Jones 2002:21). This has added to strengthen privatization of the marginal lands, which had been part of the village commons. While villagers most often had a positive attitude towards the formal registration of rights, the villages who have not yet been affected by land allocation seem to become more and more reluctant, because they are aware of the difficulties encountered by their neighbours. Moreover they also consider that their customary system is more flexible and fairer than the new system (Evard 2004:12)

Land rentals and land sales in the village became more common between older inhabitants and newly arriving families. These leases and sales are a much needed source of cash for poor families, but the practice reduces their agricultural assets and imperils future livelihoods, especially in case of sales (Evard 2004:13). LUPLA regulations allow villagers to use land for swidden cultivation and to maintain long-term rights to their land. The regulations also prohibit farmers from leaving land to fallow for more than three years or the rights to use the land will be forfeited. Agricultural land parcels that remain unused for more than three years revert back to the community as common property. As a consequence, farmers living in villages where LUPLA has been conducted are forced to plant something on their land to retain their use rights. As a result, many farmers plant trees such as rubber to insure their claim over the land (Mahandy 2006:113). For Yokoyama "*the forests of Laos are under government control, and the land-forest-allocation program is proceeding under the guidance of international organizations and overseas development assistance groups*". The forest resources of Lao PDR are increasingly gaining international attention, and "*the government is now attempting to enforce a forest conservation policy*" (Yokoyama 2004:21)

Chapter 6 Khamu

This chapter focuses on the Khamu ethnic group under study, on three main points. In the first part I deal with endonyms and exonyms of the Khamu. Subsequently I compare the origin myth of the Khamu with the Lao version. The next part deals with their relationship to ethnic Lao through different times. In the final part different aspects of the traditional economy are presented, the kinship included, with a focus on women's role in it.

6.1. Identification

Endonyms

Khamu means '*person, human being*' but it is inevitably polysemic and multivalent, simultaneously reflecting pre-existing social relations and constituting newly emergent ones. Proschan points out that "*ethnonyms in their socially situated linguistic use, can offer insights into indigenous conceptions of the socio-cultural universe*" (Proschan 1997:91). In their traditional conception of the socio-cultural universe, Khamu recognize an overriding unity among those who speak the Khamu language and practice Khamu customs, in short those who are Khamu. Proschan further points out that "*for the Khamu people, ethnic groups are simultaneously primordial and imagined, ethnic boundaries exist but are permeable and ethnic identities are both stable and flexible*" (Proschan 1997:93). The Khamu language is so diverse that in some regions every village has its own dialect. Recognizing this diversity the Khamu use the word '*tmôoy*' which can be translated as '*guest*' or '*visitors*' for those people who are clearly Khamu but are not known to the speaker personally (ESAE 2005:342). '*Tmôoy*' is in this way also the generic term for a sub-grouping of the Khamu. It is used in combination with the name of a specific sub-grouping. The '*Tmôoy Ksak'* group is an unusual group, as they are regarded by the Khamu as a cognate group, but the language is Lao with its own particular accent. Another term '*jê*' refers to people who are '*not like us*' (ESAE 2005:342).

Exonyms

The Austro-Asiatic indigenous inhabitants of northern Lao PDR belong to the Mon-Khmer language group. Hence they are considered as their '*older brothers*' in this respect by ethnic Lao. More often the ethnic Lao refer to people belonging to the Austro-Asiatic Language Group, as "*Kha*". The central meaning of Kha is that of '*slave*' or '*kill*' and it is therefore pejorative (LeBar 1964:113). The French re-appropriated the Lao word 'Kha' to construct a pseudo-scientific or objective ethnic category, although the difference was originally a social one. The writings of Reinach (1911) and Le Boulanger (1931) on the people of Laos were fairly typical of their time.

According to these French authors, there were two major racial categories: The Tai and the Kha. However, if the Tai category was justified to a certain extent by linguistic criteria, the Kha were first assigned specific morphological features. Le Boulanger who based his book on earlier ethnographic data, described the Kha as the "*traditional type as savage with their dark skin, straight nose, non-slanting eyes*" (Le Boulanger 1931:15). Although amongst themselves, there were significant differences in languages, rituals, customs, domestic architecture and clothing, which made Reinach note, in contraction to his own argument: "*scattered, with no links between them, spread out so that they would offer less resistance, speaking different dialects, deprived of common interests, the various Kha tribes appeared before us under a degenerated aspect*" (Reinach 1911:126)[38].

Later terms such as '*Phouteng', 'Phou Teng'*, or '*P´u Ting'* were used, which are different spellings of a Lao expression meaning roughly '*people who live high up*', referring to hill people. This is a polite expression covering the same people as the pejorative Kha (LeBar 1964:113). Thongchai (2000) discusses two articles which appeared towards the end of the century and seemed to reflect this preoccupation, though still at a very initial stage. In the 1886 Wachirayanwiset journal, a journal well read among the ethnic Lao educated group, there was an article which discussed '*khon doem'* (native people, autochthonous people, original inhabitants) *"who still live in the jungles and mountains"* (cited from Chienthong 2000:6). Apart from giving a sense of geographical distance between these people and town dwellers, there was also a sense of distance in time; implying that they were people who were left behind, who could not catch up with modern civilisation. While the article did not offer a systemic account of such people, since it was only two pages, it does portray the popular belief about ethnic hierarchy among different groups of people. Another article appeared in the same journal in 1889, written by Chao Praya Surasakmontri, then commander of the Siamese army in northern and central Lao PDR. It described 'twenty peoples, and twelve subdivisions'. These people were seen as *"wild people who refused civilisation and whom it seemed not worth trying 'to care for and protect'"* (ibid.6). Today the term, '*Lao Theung*', as ascribed above, refers to the hill people who live in mid-altitude mountain slopes, which cover the same people as the pejorative Kha.

Origin

The Khamu are the indigenous inhabitants of northern Laos prior to the south-westward migrations of Tai-speaking peoples. One of their origin myths is as follows:

[38] Mohout in the late 1850s/early 1860s, Harmand in the 1870s and Pavie in the 1880s–90s also wrote detailed accounts of their extensive exploration of various parts of 'Indochina'. An example of survey work by Harmand, undertaken in 1877 and later published as "Laos and the Hilltribes Of Indochina", subtitled "Journeys to the Boloven Plateau, From Bassac through Hue through Laos and to the origins of the Thai", shows how the area was explored, and knowledge of 'human geography' was collected and written about. Such nineteenth century travelogues starkly display the clashes of two cultures, the notions of modern Western 'superiority' and indigenous 'backward, superstitious inferiority'. The indigenous people may sometimes be described as nice, but for the most part are presented as naïve or even stupid (chingthong 2000:5).

Om Pèè om Ngèen

"The legend "om pèèk om ngèèn" tells about a big flood covering the earth, and relates the story of a blood brother and sister who married each other. After being pregnant for three years, the wife finally gave birth to a big, red pumpkin (This type of pumpkin is often used to make water-basins in which to soak rice or to use as a container for the water that is added to the rice wine). When they pierced a hole into it with a glowing iron stick, the Khamu came out first, then they took an iron boring knife and bored a second hole for the Lao, the Vietnamese, the Chinese and all other people to come out. Because the Khamu came out of that black hole first to this day they have a darker skin and are considered the older brothers to the other people" (Simana 1997:3).

This legend is in contrast to ethnic Lao Myth from Nithan Khun Bôrom, as this one does not suggest that through this birth out of the pumpkin the ethnic Lao had the right to rule over them.

> *"In northern Laos, on the Plain of jars and in the region of Luang Phrabang, formation of early mandalas is shrouded in mystery and myth. A millennium earlier on the Plain of Jars a megalithic iron-age culture had flourished (...) But who the people of the jars were, and who the culture declined, remains a mystery. Nor do we know when the first mandala was established in the region of Luang Phrabang that who occupied the region before the arrival of the Lao we can only speculate. It seems likely that these early inhabitants were ethnically and linguistically akin to the Austorasiatic-speaking people still found throughout the region The Lawa of northern Thailand Khamu of northern Laos and possibly even descendants of the people of the jars."*(Stuart 1997:8).

Simana and Preisig refer to "*Es na Nayy*", "*The Khamu´ king*" and "*Lazy Ni*", indicating that Khmu people lived "*...many reigns and political eras ago, before the Thai and the Lao had come down to live alongside the Khamu. In those times the Khamu governed themselves and also many big meuang"* such as the Meuang Sva[39], Meuang Pa-Kan[40], Meuang Xeing Sene[41], Meaung Ngeun Naang[42], and Meaung Xeing Kheua[43] (Simana and Preisig 1997:6). The Khamu once were masters of the domain of Muong Cvaa (or Muong Sua), centred on what is now the city of Luang Prabang (ESAE 2005:243).

Younges

"The Khamu have stories relating that there used to be a man named "Younges" who built the "suspended castle" (roong gmluuy) in Meuang Keut, which is today's Luang Phrabang[44]. Meuang Keut (keet) means "the place of origin (or birth)" of the Khamu people. In the legend of Mr. Klaang Meung (ta´klaang mwng) (family legend of the Hap clan) it says this: "Once upon a time there was a couple that had seven children, all of them blind. So they took them and sat them on a raft and let them float down the river. One day they managed to catch a gift black civet cat. When the youngest of the seven ate the head, he bit into the eye of the civet. A bit of the civet's eyes fluid squished into his own eye and he could suddenly see everything. He then took some of this eye fluid of the civet and put it in to his brother's eyes too, and all opened their eyes and could see. Then they started a village and made houses and stayed there." The youngest one, later on in the story, gets others to get stones and build the "suspended palace" (rôông tmluuy) there. Khamu

[39] is Luang Phrabang of former times, believed to have existed many centuries before the reign of Cao Fa Ngum
[40] former Name of Xeing Khouang
[41] region of Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai
[42] an old city in Thailand
[43] is the name of a larege meaung that often occurs in Kmhmu´legends and in Kmhmu petic singing , as for example , in the legend of "Thao Hung Thao Ceuang" and "King Ceuang Haan"

keep say that the palace which this youngest of the seven blind brothers built is the equivalent of the "Youngest child's palace" (rôông Lung), whereas the city these children founded is supposed to be Meaung Keut (City of Birth). The rôong Lund did actually exist and can be found at the place where the Vat Vi-suun in Luang Phrabang stands today." (Simana and Preisig 1997:3)

How the ethnic Lao come to rule over them is expressed in another legend:

> *"One Khmu legend describes the ancestor of the Ksak as the older brother of the original king of Luang Phrabang. The two brothers set out to find a place to found the city of Luang Phrabang, the Ksak in a brass canoe, and the king in a leather one. The Ksak arrived first, and planted a marker to stake out the city. When the king arrived, he placed his marker on the top of the tree, and argument allowed over who got there first. The king won by insisting that his marker was higher, and therefore must have been first. The Ksak had to go off and live on the mountain, and the king took over the city,"*

This theme of being tricked and deprived of their rights is a common one in Khmu texts (LeBar 1964:113). However, following their conquest in the thirteenth century by Lao people, the Khamu were driven into remote mountain ranges.

6.2. Relationship with other ethnic groups

As mentioned above, the Khamu have been respected as '*elder brother*' by the newcomers due to their primary ownership of land. Their primary claim to the land was symbolically recognized in ceremonies, like those held at Luang Prabang, in which "*the Kha are defeated in a game which represents the ancient contest between their ancestors and the Tai-speaking invaders*" (Osborne 1967:261). The ethnic Lao believe that the Khamu have power over the spirits of the area, and the Ksak are by tradition brought to the Lao court as magic-religious specialists too. They take part in annual court ceremonies and it was the Khamu who purified the royal palace in Luang Phrabang after it was built and before the king took occupancy (LeBar 1964 1964:113).

The significance of the Khamu role in the court of Luang Phrabang, and in Buddhist ceremonies involving the spirits, is heightened with the realization that they played the same role in the ancient Kingdom of Nan in Thailand. According to a prince of the former Kingdom of Nan, the old records show that even there the Khamu were believed to have control of the spirits. They are still considered the most powerful practitioners within the Nan area. Seidenfaden reports that the Lawa had a similar function in the ancient Kingdom of Chiengmai (Seidenfaden 1958:119). They mostly became serfs to a Lao aristocracy. In places, however, the Khamu retained a good deal of autonomy and local authority, sometimes even governing over local Lao and Tai populations. Maybe this was facilitated by intermarriages. Izikowitz points to intermarriages between 'Thai' (ethnic Lao) and 'Kha' (possibly Khamu) groups, although that was unusual in this time. In certain parts such mixed marriages have had ritual significance. Izikowitz "*(I) have heard of a newly immigrated Thai chief ...who gave his daughter in marriage to a Kha chief so that the latter in return should use his expertise to perform the rites for phi moun, i.e. the earth's or area´s spirits*" (Izikowitz 1998:139). Izikowitz hearing

switch together with the custom in the royal court in Luang Prabang, as there a Khamu chief should conduct the Lao king to his throne on certain occasions.

Historical accounts also describe Khamu as providing rice to their lowland neighbours, the Lao or Tai, and other forest products[45].A traditional source of Khmu income was also wage labour for ethnic Lao, Chinese Meo, French and American (LeBar 1964:115). Regarding trade, the institution of the *lam*, usually an ethnic Lao who serves as an intermediary between the Khamu and the outside world of traders and government, have to be considered. However, LeBar mentions that Halpern's contention that the Khamu will desert a dishonest lam is questionable.

Traditionally the Khamu have feared to cross the Lao. They complained that when they go to the market with produce, the Lao through whose villages they pass will sometimes take what they want with little or no payment. Further it is written that "*To the Khmu who have no effective redress the lam would be a powerful figure and few would dare to cross a powerful (ethnic) Lao, nor could they do it with impunity*" (ibid.).

In the nineteenth as well as in the twentieth century, Khamu frequently rebelled against the local Tai and Lao feudal lords and French colonial authorities, in millenarian rebellions that were called '*Sók Cheuang'* (Cheuang's Wars), after the mythical or legendary culture hero Cheuang. From 1945 until 1975, Khamu were in the forefront of the Lao independence revolution, making up the largest part of the Pathet Lao military forces. A smaller segment of the Khamu population supported the United States and Royal Lao Government. Many of them fled as refugees to the United Stated, France and Canada, following the establishment of the Lao People's Democratic Republic in 1975[46].

Khamu villages

So, "o*ne could well claim that the whole life and being of the Khamu is based on the forest*" (Simana and Preisig 1997:12). Their livelihood has changed dramatically now, due to government policies. Social life, custom, culture and the belief systems are/were always closely related to the conditions of life in their natural environment. "*Another important, yet not well known fact is that, out of any given year the Khamu might live in their village only for a period of about four months. Other than that they may stay out in their fields, depending on the food supply that can be found in the forest*" (Simana and Preisig 1997:12). Many Khamu live in small huts in the rice fields for several months after the rice has begun to sprout and until the harvest grain has been carried to the barns, to protect the fields from both animal and bird marauders. The field hut is often built off the ground for better visibility and is usually a platform with a roof (LeBar 1964:114). Khamu houses are usually built on piles. Characteristically they are entirely of bamboo except for the piles and for crossbeams and some of the supports of

[45] http://www.everyculture.com/East-Southeast-Asia/Kmhmu-History-and-Cultural-Relations.html
[46]http://www.everyculture.com/East-Southeast-Asia/Kmhmu-History-and-Cultural-Relations.html

the floor and roof, which may be of wood. The space underneath the house is used to store firewood, and possibly animals are tethered there (ibid.114). Because of the rotation system, the Khamu do not move their villages much. They may move a short distance because of some calamity, anger of the spirits, or personal grudge (ibid.115)

6.3. Economy

This description of the traditional subsistence system of the Khamu offers only a general approach and can not be guaranteed for being complete or rightly interpreted due to the general lack of ethnographic information. Chamberlain notes that "*it is ironic, for example, that there is no ethnography of the Khmou, the most numerous ethnic minorities in the country*" (Chamberlain 2003:67). Chazée mentioned Khamu Lu attitude to developments that "*their isolation has not allowed a sensible improvement of productivity and living condition in the last 20 years. Rather passive attitude to development, but a relative maintenance of culture and tradition*" (Chazée 2002:73).

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Kinship system

The kinship system forms the basis of Khamu society. The following figures show the kinship terms for kin in different generations. Some of the female and male ego[47] kin are different (Suwilai 2002:117-220). Khamu kinship terminology reflects the asymmetrical-alliance system. The members of the lineage related to Ego as wife givers/husband takers are referred to as '*e'ém'* and the members of the lineage related to Ego as wife takers/husband givers are referred to as '*kheey'*. Kinship terminology distinguishes kin and affine, parallel cousins, and cross cousins. Kin are distinguished terminologically by gender (except for members of the grandchild and great-grandchild generations). Relative age is marked terminologically for kin of the same gender as Ego (Proschan 1997).

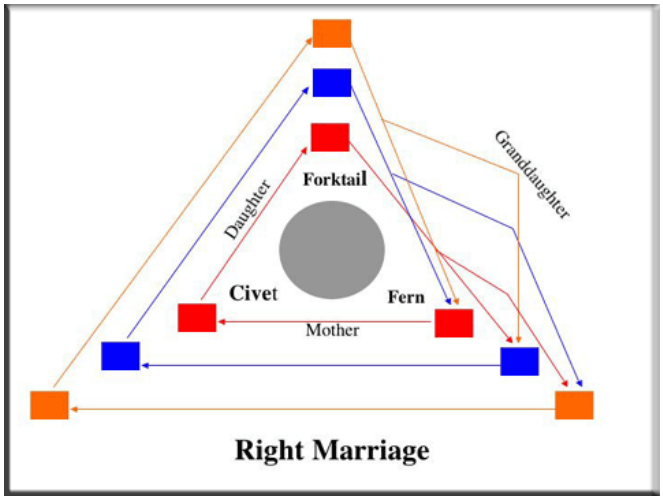
Khamu kinship is characteristically a gens triplex system of prescribed marriage with the matrilateral cross cousin. There are three lineages each comprising one or more totemic clans: the quadruped lineage may include the civet, tiger, gaur, monkey, squirrel, and bear clans; the bird lineage may include the fork tail, hornbill, myth, kite, and kingfisher clans; the plant lineage includes the fern clan. Descent is patrilinear in some regions, bilateral in others[48]. There is a penalty for touching the totem animal or plant. The offender will automatically be burned by the touch. Penalty for killing or eating the animal is to have the teeth fall out and to die young. Each totem

[47] 'ego' = the point of view taken in describing a relationship
[48] http://www.everyculture.com/East-Southeast-Asia/Kmhmu-Kinship.html

has a different origin myth, often based around some kind of incident in which the ancestor of the lineage was killed under circumstances associated with the totem. Patrilineage and cross-cousin marriage are not so rigidly structured as to produce universal patrilocal residence or rigid inheritance of property within the linage. The property of a mother goes to her children (LeBar 1964:116).

A right grandmother's marriage should follow the lines shown in the picture below. The bride came from the red house in the Fern totem. In the third generation, her daughter's daughter should marry a man in the blue or the yellow house instead. In the second generation, the woman's son should get married to his mother's brother's daughter from the red house in the Fern totem[49].

Figure 3. The right way to Marriage



Monogamy is the predominant form of marriage, although polygamy is possible. The first wife calls each of the others '*younger sister*', while they call her '*older sister*'. Residence with the wife's family is usual for at least three or four years, at which time a new home may be set up, or the couple may move to live in the home of the husband's parents if it is not crowded. The form of the domestic unit is not fixed beyond the nuclear family. Khamu houses are small, and it is rare for more than three nuclear families to be under one roof. Divorce is easy, except for an adultery case, which is decided by the elders. In such a case the wife must repay twice the bride price, and the husband pays a fine (LeBar 1964:116).

Originally the clan system thus provided adequate means to handle social mobility and to prescribe rules for marriage of a kind that implies a moderate change in social practice, such as finding a bride outside the usual wife-giving group. Despite, as Lindell considers: "...*the clan system may have been created just for these purposes; it was not designed to meet the needs of modern large scale social mobility... The current trend is very clear. Young people of some villages are uncertain even about their own clan affiliation and many of them do not know the tales explaining why a certain clan has a specific totem*" (Linda 1984:4).

[49] http://person.sol.lu.se/DamrongTayanin/kammusoc.html

Farming the Forest

Khamu people are traditional shifting cultivators. There have been many varieties of rice, all of them glutinous. There is a defined system for rotation of the fields. Decisions as to how fields are to be used in a given year are made on the basis of omens, the length of time in fallowing, and consultation with the spirits (LeBar 1964:114). Therefore they have a lot of customs and rituals related to rice growing and rice fields, for example the ritual related to 'finding, examining and marking a field':

Finding, examining and marking a field

The selection of new fields, was connected with at first with a lot of questions: "*Do we want to clear in a warmer climate, or at a higher elevation where it is cooler? Should we possibly clear an old field that is well overgrown with shrubs and smaller trees again? Should we clear a regenerated, deep forest area, or else cut of field we already had used the previous year*?" (Simana and Preisig 1997:21). Before a decision is made the possibilities must be carefully considered as well as what other group of farmers to team up with in order to form a "field cluster". A "Field cluster" consists of several farmers agreeing to work together to make their fields in one area in order to facilitate mutual assistance. There are rules to consider in the choice of people forming a working group, in order to not break any taboo, as certain people cannot have their fields next to each other. After they have chosen a field and spoken to the related spirit, they clear one or two sub-divisions as a test. If during that time they don't hear any animals, they go home. During the following night if they don't dream anything, it means that they can go ahead with the clearing. But if they dream of something too frightening, they may abandon the place where they planned to plant the fields and go to find another place somewhere else (Simana and Preisig 1997:21-22). It is evident that this will no longer be possible.

Jones points out that traditionally Khamu did not 'claim' land because in the past farming land was unlimited. The rights and decisions to clear land were made by the family and were based on family capacities and labour. Hence, there was no clear 'land ownership' in the past. The land distribution for crop cultivation among, the villagers was considered fair, because every hard working family had equal opportunities to access land, for which there was very limited competition. Widows and single person households always acquired less land because of their relative lack of labour resources. As land pressure rises, adjustments start to be made which results in some redistribution of land normally between related families (Jones 2002:18-19).

There are usually three or four types of a communal property in the Khamu system: village forests in general, sacred or spirit forests, cemeteries and sacred water bodies. In some cases, villagers demarcate specific areas of production forest for the collection of forest products and timber for housing and other purposes. Water bodies include sacred ponds, natural river ponds, and in more recent times protected water bodies. Fishing by families and individuals is not permitted in sacred water bodies but is permitted in natural river ponds. Families and individuals have the right to gather forest products in village forests of all types depending on their needs and capacities. There are few restrictions. Distinctions between categories of forest are not normally made. In the past

villagers were free to access forest land in nearby villages for collection of forest products. Villagers have no rights to disturb or exploit natural trees or vegetation in communal village sacred forests. They have the obligation to respect the spirits of sacred forests that include for example, spirits that ensure good health, good rice production. Wildlife of all species within village forest areas have been hunted by families or individuals without any particular restrictions (Jones 2002:18-19).

Already in 1964 LeBar noted that in the Luang Prabang area there have been serious problems in finding enough swidden fields. The Khamu realized the necessity of a long fallowing period, but in this area fallowing is no longer than seven or eight years. As Khamu worked for ethnic Lao farmers from time to time as hired labourers, they have been able to learn the technique for wet rice cultivation. Although the barriers to a wider spread of permanent field cultivation included cost (many Khamu do not have the buffalo needed), initial labour (as it is less work to make a swidden than to make a permanent field), and yield (a swidden will initially produce more, acre for acre) (LeBar 1964:114). Hence he concluded that "*the Khamu would probably be right in feeling that they are better off with swidden*" (ibid.115). Corn, bananas sugar cane, cucumbers, beans, chillies, scallions, water cress, cabbage, eggplant, tobacco, and occasionally cotton fax, and opium are planted in the swidden along with the rice (ibid. 114). Simana and Preisig refer to different hunting methods and to the importance of gathering vegetables and fruit in the forest. Whereby they write: "*Even today we can still observe that in many areas the Khamu don't yet know how to cultivate leaves, vegetables or fruit for their own consumption. Rather they pick and gather leaves, vegetables and fruit from the forest and bring them home to eat*" (Simana and Preisig 1997:18).

Labour

Tayanin (1994) states that in a Khamu village "*there is no market and one cannot buy rice or meat. There is nobody who sells food of any kind nor is there anyone who sells clothes*" (Tayanin 1994:57). In case that somebody wants to get e.g. a few vegetables, a little piece of meat, salt or tobacco "*you may ask for it from another family*". As according to him people do not sell vegetables or any kind of small things to one another they "*give these away for nothing*" (ibid.57). Also in case there is work to do, people assist each other and give mutual help without asking for payment. As Tayanin was in Lao PDR he "*(I) never heard that people were unemployed*" as everyone had a lot of work to do (ibid.98). Whereby he believe that women were busier than men, as women take care of the house and are responsible for everything in it, and housework never ends.

Gender Division of labour

Following LeBar a rigid division is not always maintained, but the following lists are approximate (LeBar 1964:112):

Men	Women	Both
Clearing forest Hunting Trapping Basket making Iron work Gathering firewood Making charcoal Trade involving Men's produce And long travel Distant travel Headman	Planting seed Splitting firewood Fetching water Gathering Milling rice Washing clothes Feeding animals Cleaning house Trade involving Women's produce Making alcohol Ginning cotton (Rare) Weaving (rare)	Weeding Harvesting Carrying Cooking (men are considered better) Fishing Shaman

According to OCISP.03 report the women are heavily engaged in selling products: fish, poultry, NTFP, crop, and vegetables. Women also take care of the money, but men use the money in order to buy clothes, animals (cattle, buffalo, poultry), or things for the family. Regarding rice, women plant, carry the rice to the home sort, keep and take care of it. In this way the go to and ask for the seedlings. In contrast men go and ask for money. Further women's work is: to carry water and take fire wood, cooking, washing clothes, cleaning and taking care of the children. The interesting fact is that men take care of the old people. Further men are responsible to build a house and to fix it. Regarding the weeding party males attend mostly, in contrast to women (03. OCISP:3). There is no absolute division of labour, but the tendency towards the above outline is high.

Yokoama states an interesting point, which is not focused on the division of labour between Khamu women and men. It is the division of gathering between ethnic Lao and Khamu: "*The ethnic Lao, who have historically been half-farmers and half-traders, are not active in NTFP gathering. The Khmu, in the mountainous areas, have earned cash income from NTFP gathering for a long time, and are very active in NTFP gathering*" (Yokoyama 2004:22)

Labour exchange -The custom of mobilizing labour support and helping each other

The labour exchange or the custom for raising labour support was based mostly on kinship relations. In order to undertake intensive work that will need to be completed in one or two days, the effort of several people is put together, to help one person without paying. Projects that qualify for collective labour help are for example: carrying wood to build a house, building a house, carrying heavy things, fieldwork such as clearing, planting or harvesting, or transporting the rice from the fields to the rice house. This custom is used when heavy work: 1) cannot be accomplished with only one's own restricted family, 2) needs to be done within a certain limited period, 3) is too difficult to be done alone (Simana and Preisig 1997:93-4).

According to Simana and Preisig the women together with the children go and notify when the reinforcement is needed with following phrase:

> *"Dear mother, father, brother- in-law, grandfather and aunt–in-law. This is a time when we can't cope by ourselves with all the work we have to do even though our children and the whole family already work as hard as they possibly can and without taking a break, we just don't seem to be able to make it. This is why today we come to you to ask you to extend your love to us and give us a hand"* (ibid.).

The family head will answer following:

> *"The tradition of calling others for help building a house (e.g.), is what our fathers, mothers, forefathers and leaders have led us to do, ever since the beginning of our families until now. We shall try to help with our children, with our small hands and feet, but we are afraid they will just be in the way and under every one's feet"* (ibid.).

The last phrase is just a way of lowering oneself and the quality of one's help, but the work is perfectly well understood and nobody will have a problem in order to undertake the work.

Religious Beliefs

Traditional Khamu religion centres around spirits called 'hrooy'. Of particular importance are the hrooy gaan (house spirit) and hrooy hôo (apparently one of the most powerful of the jungle spirits. There are in addition spirits of the village, jungle, mountain, rock, water, sun and one particularly identified with shamans (LeBar 1964:117). "*Something that only a few people are aware of now is that formerly the Khmu villages and houses served primarily to house and to please those spirit (hrôôy gaang) who is believed to protect the family*" (Simana and Preisig 1997:12).

Each person has hrmaal (soul-spirits) who are inclined to flight at times of turmoil or transition[50]. At important ceremonies the entrance or the exit from the village becomes taboo for varying periods of time. A special sign made of strips of bamboo indicated that the village is sealed off. The sign also prevents evil spirits from coming. Should a stranger ignore the sign and come into the village trouble, sickness or death will ensue, and indemnity must be paid by the transgressor (LeBar 1964:117). For at least the last century, Khamu villages have adopted Buddhism, often without completely forgetting their traditional religion. Protestants undertook missionary activity from the nineteenth century, and Catholics from 1945. Adherence to Christianity usually required giving up most traditional beliefs. Khamu who have migrated to the United States and France usually practice Christianity, although some maintain those beliefs that can still be practiced in their new circumstances[51].

Women, rice and clothes

For the Khamu "*eating rice is EVRYTHING. If there is not enough rice one doesn't have enough of ANYTHING. To eat rice therefore means to be alive whereas to not eat rice means death*" (Simana and Preisig

[50] http://www.everyculture.com/East-Southeast-Asia/Kmhmu-Religion-and-Expressive-Culture.html
[51] http://www.everyculture.com/East-Southeast-Asia/Kmhmu-Religion-and-Expressive-Culture.html

1997:21). For the Khamu rice is considered to not just feed the stomach of the people or animals, but also to feed the invisible soul. Rice also feeds the spirits of the people that have already died. The Khamu baby gets rice to become a living soul and a person (Preisig 2004:7-8). They do not perceive their self-sufficient farming system as a signal of poverty. For them poverty was rice insufficiency. 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. Chamberlain points out that "*only women can sell rice*" (Chamberlain 2003:42). Chamberlain (2003) refers back to the ethnographic work from Izikowitz (1941) about the Lamet. Historically there has been a connection between the Lamet and the Khamu, due to the lack of information it is not a fact if the same point is true for the Khamu in former times, but it is possible. By looking at the roles of men and women in the rice cycle related rituals, Preisig reveals that "*all rice production related rituals to do with the actual handling of the rice are performed or co-perfumed by a woman*", while all those related to the house-spirit or the area-spirits, such as spirits of the fields or graves or water are performed by men (Preisig 2006:6). Further she refers to the ritual about the '*rice-mother*':

The rice mother

In some of the rituals performed during the rice-cycle, the women only are responsible while in others they are the performers or a central figure of the ritual. Following the link of "life-motherhood-rice" it is possible to see that in the process of the Khmu rice harvest rice will get connected to the people. This is when the mother of the house gets "installed" in the role of "mother of rice" ma´hngo´. From that time until the end of the harvest (or the harvest celebration) she keeps the role of rice-mother mothering the rice-child (koon hngo´) which embodies the "rice-spirit-soul(s)" hm-maal hgno´. So the harvested rice has a family which it belongs to, so to speak. During their time of duty as "rice-mother" the family mother is under a taboo and has to follow several restrictions: She is not talk to anyone on that first day and, until the taboo is lifted she may not carry any of her own children, nor is she to take a bath in flowing water. The rice-child and its sprit-soul in there symbolic care might float away and disappear which would compromise the rice crop (Preisig 2006:7).

Tayanin (1994) refers further to the important connection in the Khamu culture between women and rice, which leads to following expression: "*child woman get rice*" and "*child man get money*" (Tayanin 1994:85). That means if there are many young girls in the family, they will get more rice, and if there are many young men , they will get money. This is because "*women work much more in the fileds than the men do*", on the other side, the men do all the trading and therefore its them who bring home the money (ibid.86). In the same way as Simana and Preisig (1997) notes, Tayanin states to that "*money is a friend, but rice is our heart*", as "*money is good to have, but one cannot live without rice*" (Tayanin 1994:98).

Another common expression was: "*heavy rice, sleep field*" and "*heavy blanket sleep warm*" (ibid.98). This expression points to the importance of clothes, especially that they can keep warm. The fabrication of cloth is women´s work from beginning to end, and the women own their outfits as individuals. Women thus, as Tayanin notes, own loom and other utensils for spinning and weaving and all these things are considered their personal property (ibid.80). So in traditional Khamu economy women have been responsible for two of the most important things, rice and clothes.

Chapter 7 Study

This section explains the way how primary data on paper mulberry and women in Mang village were obtained. If prepared tools had to be limited during the field work reasons are clarified. In this cases ideas from the former research proposal are cited, which should provide a reflexion of the research methodology too. This chapter present at first the framework for the study. Then the methods used are presented, as well as the related limitations and self-reflexion. The final section deals with the results of the field study, the comparison with the traditional system, and the conclusion

7.1. Framework for the study

The research project uses the 'Harvard analytical Framework', sometimes called the GFA (Gender Framework Analysis) developed in 1980`s in the Harvard Institute for International Relations to provide the basis for a gender profile of a social group (Williams 1994:267).

The Harvard analytical Framework is composed of three inter-related components:

1. The Activity Profile, which is based on the gender division of labour and delineates the economic activities. It provides for disaggregation by sex and for recording the amount of time spent on activities and the location of the activities.
2. The Access and Control Profile, which identifies the resource individuals can command to carry out their activities and the benefits they derive from them. By distinguishing between access to resources, the benefits, and the control over them it is possible to assess the relative power of members of a society or economy.
3. Factors Influencing Activities, Access and Control: Factors (such as gender division of labour, cultural beliefs) which create different opportunities and constraints on women and men's 'participation in development'. The impact of changes over time in the broader cultural and economic environment must be incorporated into this analysis.

The Activity Profile will focus on harvesting, processing and selling bark from both wild and domesticated paper mulberry. The Access and Control Profile will identify who controls which resources related to the commercialisation of both domesticated and paper mulberry. The influencing factors on activities of access and control will be considered at the micro level through cultural beliefs related to women's and men`s ideologies and at the macro level through the influence from government and development agencies.

1. Activity

The gendered division of labour fosters some measure of empowerment, but the division of labour within sociological, economic, and political structures did not necessarily mean in itself fostering inequality (House-Midambe and Ekechi 1995:XV). The sexual division of labour is constantly being transformed and re-created as social and economic change takes place (Moore 1988:73). It is possible for traditionally gender defined roles and tasks to be changed by virtue of outsiders`(projects, government officials) interventions. A classic example of this occurred in Nepal where women had traditionally been in charge of community woodlots. Projects introduced a commercial aspect to community wood-lots with various fast-growing tree species, and because men were interested in controlling more cash, they took over this traditional task of women (Gebert 1998:2). Several important aspects regarding the Activity as well as the Access and Control Profile are considered in chapter tree 'Women and Oikos'.

2. Access and Control

Power can be vested in control over resources, such as land, or labour, and over benefits, such as cash, or prestige. Women may have access to some of these resources, but if they lack control over it they will be unable to assert their priorities for its use, e.g. when planned development projects increase women's labour but reduce their independently controlled returns form that labour.

Papenek (1990) point out, that how a group or society distributes available resources among members reflects not only power and authority relations but also the moral bias of the group, its consensus about distributive justice, and its implicit priorities (Papenek 1990:163). Therefore individuals within the household are motivated not only by personal well-being but also by their perceptions of obligations and legitimate behaviour which should characterize family members (Sen 1990:124). Senauer`s (1990) combined findings indicate that behaviour within the household can be modified by improving women's economic opportunities outside the household (Senauer 1990:161). So the main factor seen as affecting intra-household stratification is relative male versus female control of income, once ideological factors about male-female roles have been taken into account.

3. Influencing Factors

Gender Ideologies: For Schlegel (1990) gender ideology has two aspects, the general and the specific. The interpretation of a particular representation of gender must rest on whether it is gender per se that is being represented, in the general sense, or whether some particular aspect of gender relations is on display, in the specific sense. In the case of the latter, women and men may stand for themselves, but they may also stand for other principles, becoming metaphors for social

relations on a broader scale. The method of analysis proposed by Schlegel should clarify some of the "*apparent paradoxes in gender representation, which may exist more in the mind of the ethnographer than in the minds of the natives*" (Schlegel 1990:20). By locating representation within the social spaces they occupy, it is possible to determine whether they are general or specific, and if the latter, what messages beyond gender they convey. In doing this the analyst gives recognition to the fact that gender ideology is not tacked into other ideologies. Rather, it is an inherent part of a culture's total ideological complex and must be treated within that context (ibid.21). As this study emphasise a materialist approach the influences of government and development agencies are included.

Government and development agencies: The possible influence from government agencies have been discussed in chapter five, especially in section '5.2. Lao PDR - Development' and '5.3. Policy regulations and responses'.

This study is linked to the research project "*Spatial trade-off analyses for site-sensitive development interventions in upland systems of Southeast Asia*" from BOKU and the International Center for Tropical Agriculture (CIAT). CIAT works directly with Lao government partners in a number of areas of agricultural research for development, and provided the permission for this field study as well as the translator. The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), a specialized agency of the United Nations, also works in the study area. Hence the following part gives an overview of these two agencies.

CIAT

The International Center for Tropical Agriculture (CIAT), which was established in 1969, is one of the 15 centres that make up the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) [52]. It is funded mainly by 64 countries, private foundations, and international organizations. The origins of the CGIAR lie in the Mexico-Rockefeller Foundation International Agriculture Program (1949)[53]. William J. Zaumeyer – (1903-1995) he was one of the first in the world to evaluate foliar applications of antibiotics – and others laid the foundation for the world-encompassing program of CIAT in Cali[54]. CIAT works to conserve and increase the productivity of beans, cassava, tropical forages and rice[55]. Special effort is given to conserve genetic resources and to establish a database. "*The plant genetic resources conserved by CIAT are a component of the world "designate collection" of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). Under a 1994 agreement with FAO, CIAT makes its germplasm available free of charge, upon request, to farmers, farmer associations, breeders, agronomists, extension agencies, universities, and biodiversity institutes with a clearly articulated need*".[56]

[52] http://www.ciat.cgiar.org/about_ciat/cgiar.htm
[53] http://www.cgiar.org/who/history/index.html#3
[54] http://www.apsnet.org/phyto/PDFS/1998/0402-01O.pdf
[55] http://www.ifpri.org/pubs/otherpubs/savingseeds/savingseedsCh7.pdf
[56] http://www.ciat.cgiar.org/pgr/index.htm

Since 1983 CIAT has been working with national institutions in East and Southeast Asia. An important "*hallmark of the Center's work on cassava and tropical forages in Asia is its commitment to working closely with small farmers*"[57]. In Asia CIAT is funded by the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID) and the Asian Development Bank (ADB), with supporting research funded by the Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research (ACIAR). There it enhances knowledge to improve rural livelihood[58].

Currently CIAT works with rural communities to develop or improve small and medium-sized agro-enterprises, based on better marketing or value-added processing of current agricultural products and identification of new products. They recognised that development impact depends, not just on appropriate technologies, but on market opportunities. Therefore the aim of the research project "*Spatial trade-off analyses for site-sensitive development interventions in upland systems of Southeast Asia*" is to "*enable rural dwellers to effectively engage in market activities while maintaining and enhancing the productive capacity of their lands*"[59]. The project started in December 2004 with a target end-date of December 2007 and has a budget of USD 141,000 for 2006. Some aspects of the project addresses the goals of the Austrian Development Agency (ADA), i.e.: 1) **Sustainable increase** in agriculture productivity; 2) **conservation** and **efficient use** of natural resources and biodiversity; 3) **Development** of **sustainable production** and marketing systems; 4) Strengthening institutions and improving policy development (CIAT 2006:3).

IFAD

The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), a specialized agency of the United Nations, was established as an international financial institution in 1977. Since it was created, IFAD has focused exclusively on rural poverty reduction. It works with poor rural populations in developing countries to eliminate poverty, hunger and malnutrition; raise productivity and incomes[60]. In Lao PDR, IFAD has nine approved projects. The one implemented in Oudomxay, where the CIAT-BOKU project is located, is called "*Oudomxai Community Initiatives Support Project*"[61] and a total project budget of USD 21.14 million. The project is financed by a proposed IFAD loan of USD 13.41 million; a grant from Luxembourg of about USD 1.77 million to finance the rural financial services component; WFP food assistance equivalent to about USD 1.76 million; beneficiary contribution of about USD 539 000; and government contribution equivalent to USD 3.67 million (IFAD 2002:9)[62].

[57] http://www.ciat.cgiar.org/asia/pdf/ciat_asia.pdf, p.1
[58] http://www.ciat.cgiar.org/asia/pdf/ciat_asia.pdf, p.3
[59] http://www.wiso.boku.ac.at/laos.html
[60] http://www.ifad.org/governance/index.htm
[61] http://www.ifad.org/operations/projects/regions/PI/LA_all.htm
[62] http://www.ifad.org/gbdocs/eb/75/e/EB-2002-75-R-20.pdf

Their project target group include about "*29 000 households who live below the national poverty line in the province of Oudomxai"* whereby *"Most targeted households belong to ethnic groups living in the midland and upland areas who practise shifting cultivation and opium production ...By the end of the project period about 10,000 households in Oudomxai, will benefit directly from the project*" (IFAD 2002:IV).

Women are of special concern as they "*are an important part of the target group because of the major role they play in on- and off-farm farm activities"* (IFAD 2002:IV). So the project will mainstream gender issues and target women in its interventions enabling them to become agents of change in the area's social and economic development. Hence there are three aims regarding women's support (IFAD 2002:4): (1) 40% of village development committee (VDC) members will be women, allowing them to play a more effective role in decision-making at the community level. (2) Women will be encouraged to participate in all training programmes and beneficiary planning and impact assessment activities. (3) Topics identified for demonstrations will reflect the particular interests of women.

The ethnic groups have been considered poor because they**: (1) lack access to sufficient paddy land for cultivation and other productive resources, (2) lack access to improved technology or capital required for investment in income-generating opportunities, (3) engage in shifting cultivation and opium production and consumption, and (4) lack access to government support services, social services and rural access roads** (IFAD 2002:IV).

In the traditional economy mostly women had controlled production and distribution of rice – whereas rice in this system, has the meaning of 'money' in western sense.

The study indicates a negative impact from development intervention too on the local environment and ecosystem.

In 2002 Mang village became an IFAD project village and due to the increased demand of cash crop fields, the tropical forest as well as wild paper mulberry in the forest declined. Combined with the issue of land tenure, these factors can possibly lead to violent conflict or a struggle about scare resources in the future. This is maybe caused by the introduced need and desire to foster economic growth for survival. Without money it is hard to get land, especially paddy field land for wet rice cultivation. On the other side rice should be bought in the future though the selling of cash crops.

Villagers belonging to the 'Khamu ethnicity' are also engaged in IFAD and CIAT. The prime determining factor is the location of the people, which influence their identity. As far as I know, none of these workers is born or derive from Mang village.

"2 jokes"

I would like to end this section with two anecdotes, which I have been told during my field work:

The first was when we entered the village and went to meet the new chief of the village who had

recently taken over from the old chief. The reason for this change was that: "*the old chief of the village had so many visitors, that he didn't have enough rice in his store, so that he had to leave his former role in order to go back to the fields.*" This joke refers to the point that Mang village is a so called 'project village', and that each development and research worker has to be introduced to the chief of the village first.
The second anecdote refers to guns. Male villagers have been hunters, but currently they are missing some of their guns. The reason for this is that "*in the first village the government knocked on the doors in order to ask for taxes, so the villagers came out with their guns. In the second village the government learned how to ask, so they knocked on the door and order at first the guns, and then the tax*".

7.2. Method

Study area – Mang village

It was planned to conduct the study in two villages, Houaysan (District La) and Mang (District Beng), in order to have a comparison. In Mang paper mulberry is already domesticated. In Houaysan paper mulberry has not been domesticated so far, but following the workshops held within the project in April 2006 "*the villagers are now motivated to plant paper mulberry*" (Ribeiro 2006:3). Because of time limitation the study took place in Mang (District Beng) and not in both villages. Mang was choosen as it is possible to compare the situation between people who have already domesticated paper mulberry and those who have not.
Mang is situated in Oudomxay province. It takes 14 km from Bang to Mang village, and the district shares one border with China's Hunan province. Oudomxay was selected by CIAT to implement a development project to improve supply chains of NTFPs. It was selected because it is a remote and impoverished province, which is currently seeing rapid change into market integration due to its location close to China, Vietnam and Thailand (CIAT 2005). Oudomxay has a very low proportion of undisturbed natural forest, but there is secondary forest (fallows) in varying stages of maturity (OCISP 2002). According to 03.OCISP: "*The old name of Mang village was called Mok Lam Sek after that they had moved to live in Mok Ta Lo Village because of there was a tiger had killed people so that Mr. Look who was a leader decided to set up the village in Mang and called Mang village and other reason why people called Mang name Because of there are some Mang tree along the river. In year 1974, there were some villagers and some people from outside had moved and lived in a new region but people are still keeping call Mang village (Mang Neau). The reason why people have to move because of the Lo movement want them to live in low land areas to access of development*" (03.OCISP:1). So the old name of Mang village was Mok Lam Sek. The first people moved to Mang village from Mok Ta. They left Mok Ta because a tiger had killed some people and therefore the leader, Mr. Look, decided to set up a new village. Along the river some Mang trees were growing, so the village was called Mang.

Mang village is divided into two parts: an old and a new part. The new part was established around 1990, and is located around three hundred meters away from the old village. According to 0.3.OCISP "*Mang village that was merged many villages together such as: Tang Dou, Keo, Chey, and Theen Tho village*" (03.OCISP:1). According to a woman from Mang village, eleven villages have been resettled together into Mang village: Pu, Tangcahn, Tahn Chong, Ichanvang, Nalork, Cheu, Tan Ro, Kam, Tang Tou, Mok Ka, Bong.

Since 2002 Mang is one of 13 IFAD project villages[63] within Oudomxay province. Four other projects also engaged there: 1) 'Concern's about girl', 2) 'birth control for mothers', 4) 'World Food Program', and 5) 'Luxemburg'. Land zoning started around 2002:

Map of Mang village

Figure 4. Map Mang Village

According to a list from IFAD, there are 168 households (210 families), and 1060 people are living in Mang (538 females) (IFAD 1:5). In another document I got, there are 171 households (the amount of families is not mentioned), and 1080 people who want to start rubber (573 women) (IFAD 2:6).

Sampling

The first persons whom I would try to contact were Ms. Naga and Ms. Loi, who have participated in the workshops held in Xay and Luang Prabang on the 26th-28th April 2006. "*Five women and three men should be selected with Ms. Naga and Ms. Loi through snow-ball sampling. Three women and two men should*

[63] Oudomxai Community Initiatives Support Project: http://www.ifad.org/operations/projects/regions/pi/des/LA.htm#1207

already have a paper mulberry plot (group A). The other two women and the men should not have a paper mulberry plot until now (group B). In each group one younger women and in group A one younger man should be included to find out possible differences between age groups. Key informant should not be from the same family to avoid intra-household influences or complications. If possible one woman from the informants group should derive from a family living in adverse conditions and one should live in a family with higher status".

„*Informants required*":

With paper mulberry plot group A		Without paper mulberry plot, but collecting paper mulberry in the forest group B	
Women	Men	Women	Men
3	2	3	2

The primary aim of the study was to compare the group which has a paper mulberry plot in contrast to the group who collect it in the forest. The first persons who have been interviewed were women from the first class. As those women attended to a former hold focus group session, it was just 'easier' to undertake the first interviews with them, instead of organising and inviting a new group.

Finally main criteria for selecting key informants from the village were (a) whether they collect paper mulberry mainly from their plot or from the forest, (b) their sex and age, and (c) their position in the wealth ranking list [64] established from the IFAD project. The goal was to get informants from families living in different economic conditions. The selection was finalised with the help of IFAD project workers and the new village chief. The village chief or an IFAD project worker was the ones who asked the informants if they had time, personally or by microphone announcements in the morning.

IFAD works with a wealth categorisation from class 1 to class 5[65].

Number of Households in each wealth category (IFAD 1)

Wealth Category	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Number of Households	14	22	31	40	61

In some cases the wealth ranking list from Mang inhabitants, established by IFAD, does not go conform with the reality, or the lines between wealth category 2 and 4 cannot be drawn as sharply. Hence this study uses a classification from category 1 to category 3 and works with extremes.

[64] Appendix 1: Wealth ranking criteria from IFAD
[65] Appendix 1: Wealth ranking criteria from IFAD

Classification used in this study

Wealth Category used in this study	Wealth ranking position IFAD 1
1., first	1.
2., middle	3.
3., least	5 (two informants from 4.)

Wealth category 1 includes the richest households in the village. Category 1 in this study goes conform with the wealth ranking list established by IFAD. Informants from the category 2 (IFAD) were excluded in this study. Informants belonging to category 3 in the list of IFAD are situated in category 2 in this study. The least wealth category 3 in this study includes mainly informants from category 5 in the list from IFAD. Two informants who are situated in category 4 from IFAD are included in class 3 in this study.

During 36 interview settings[66], 27 women and 6 men have been interviewed. All of them were farmers from Mang village, including one male trader and one female teacher. Some informants were interviewed again either for clarification or if new aspects were discovered during other interviews. During 8 interview settings, 6 officials from IFAD, 2 officials from DAFO, and 3 officials from RFS (Rural Financial Service) were interviewed. They were held in Mang, Beng and Xay.

Data collection

Available secondary data on paper mulberry and women in Lao PDR are obtained from several projects publications, internet databases, articles and books, both national and international. This comprehensive literature review helped to develop a primary analysis of local context and research problem. That leaded to primary research objectives formulation. These primary research objectives were based on the assumption that the gendered division of labour as well as the access and control to related resources and benefits are mostly influenced by local gender ideologies. During the fieldwork in Mang I had to realise that the political and economic environment, termed by Grossman as "*external environment*" (Grossman 1981:222), has more and more influence on women's 'real live' as some hypothesised gender ideologies. Hence, primary data collection was based on the 'Grounded-Theory Approach'.

The Grounded-Theory approach is a set of techniques for (1) identifying categories and concepts that emerge from text, and (2) linking the concepts into substantive and formal theories. The approach was developed by sociologists (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Strauss and Corbin 1990) is widely used to analyse ethnographic interview data.

The mechanics of Grounded Theory are:

[66] Appendix 2: List of Informants (orginal names have been changed)

1. Produce transcripts of interviews and read through a small sample of text.
2. Identify potential analytic categories – that is, potential themes-that arise
3. As the categories emerge, pull all the data from those categories together and compare them
4. Think about how categories are linked together
5. Use the relations among categories to build theoretical models constantly checking the models against the data-particularly against negative cases
6. Present the results of the analysis using exemplars, that is, quotes from interviews that illuminate the theory

The key to making all this work is called 'memoing'. Throughout the grounded-theory process, running notes are kept about the coding and about potential hypotheses and new directions for the research. Grounded is an iterative process by which the analyst becomes more and more grounded in the data. During the process the analysts (should) understand more and more deeply how whatever he is studying really works (Bernard 2002:462-63). Hence prepared analytical categories had been modified [67]. The main methods were semi-structures interviews, non-participant observation and photo-elicitation:

Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviewing is based on the use of an interview guide[68], which is a written list of questions and/or topics that need to be covered during the interviews (Bernard 1995:209). Within this structure the researcher formulates questions spontaneously throughout the interview (Kumar 1996:109). Linguistic and grammatical categories mirror perceptions and experiences of the surrounding environment. According to Lukas (1994) words are codes which represent "*categories of reality*". Words collocation mirrors the expectations about reality structure (Lukas 1994:35f). Hence the next step should have been a 'deconstruction of central terms through indigenous logic'. During this step, the central terms or key variables (division of labour (work), power/value/prestige, and, as well as women, men, household, paper mulberry), should have been understood in the local context, through the local eyes. This step had three aims:

1. Direct translation from English language in Khmu language, and the translation of linguistic meanings: so it should have been possible to find out if the expression of the key variables is appropriated.
2. Sampling of expression and adages for key variables: Each key variable should present a category, which should be full field spontaneously by the native persons
3. Depending on the results of the previous two steps (translation, sampling of expressions), the categories should have been linked with each other.

[67] see Appendix 4: primary interview guideline
[68] Appendix 3: Interview guide

During the preparation for the field work, I got the information that the translator may want be available all time so step B was modified. The aim was than to conduct a 'back translation'. "*To be sure, that question are sensible in Khmu language a 'back translation' is needed. This means that the interview guideline will be translated by a bilingual person who is a native speaker of Khmu language. Second, the guideline should be retranslated form another bilingual person, who is a native English speaker*". All Interviews were assisted by a translator, but 'back-translation' was not possible. The interviews were translated from Khamu and/or Lao language into English, depending on the language skills of the translators, and the informant's[69]. Appropriate language skills and translation is one of the most important aspects, for example: During the first interviews 'forest and wild paper mulberry' as well as 'plot and domesticated paper mulberry' have been connected in my mind. Hence when I asked about wild paper mulberry I expected that informants collect it in the forest and not on their plot. It took some time to become aware that e.g. paper mulberry doesn't have to be plant on the plot as it can grow there by itself or that the plot can be situated in the forest. Questions and answers were recorded using a digital voice recorder.

Interview situation in study area: Interviews took place either at the IFAD project house or in the village, at the house of the informant. Most of the interviews were held at the IFAD project house, because during the interviews in the village, other people (especially men) took over and answered questions. Because of the on-going rice harvest most of the informants were very busy and most of the interviews took place in the morning before they went to the field or at evening when they came back from the field. A few interviews in the village were held during the day.

During the interviews every effort was made to ensure a considerate rapport. Rapport was established by sharing food and having group interviews in the beginning. Rapport consists of establishing lines of communication between the interviewer and her informants so that the former can collect data that then allows understanding the culture under study. Field notes taken about things I see and hear in natural settings and interview situations, was handled as a self-reflective instrument.

Non-participant observation

The second method for the collection of primary data was observation. Observation can be categorized into participant and non-participant techniques. According to Savenye and Robinson (1996) participant observation takes place when the observer becomes part of the environment or the cultural context as a long term participant and therefore to varying degrees an 'insider' allowing for an emic view (Savenye and Robinson 1996:1051-1052). Participant observation gives the researcher an understanding on "*what's going on in a culture*" and allows to "*speak with confidence about*

[69] see Appendix 2: List from Informants

the meaning of data" (Bernard 1995:141).

In this study, observation happened mostly in a non-participant form because of the limited time spent in the study area, and the lack of language skills. With non-participant observation the researcher does not interact to a great degree with those he or she is observing, but primarily observes and records (Savenye and Robinson 1996:1053). The observer does not get involved in the activities of the group, but remains passive, drawing conclusions from what he sees and listens to (Kumar 1996:106). However, it must be stated that observation is always an interaction with the observed environment and cannot be completely non-participant.

Photo-elicitation

To help overcome the limitations of non-participant observation, photography and photo-elicitation was used as a third research method in two different forms. The first photo task had the aim to stimulate interviews and to give a view from inside. Five women from different wealth categories and different ages got a single serving camera with the task to photograph things and situations which the like or/and which are important for them. Examples of these results are included in this study.

The second photo task also had the aim to stimulate interviews and to support the gendered analyses of labour division. For one day (5 a.m. – 7 p.m.) photos have been taken by me from everybody who passes the way from the village to the field, as well as from everybody who passes the way back. Permissions to take a photo were obtained all the time. If the digital photo was clear, notes about sex and carried stuff was taken.

The data was collected in three steps:

Step A: Context of paper mulberry

At this stage the boarder the context would have been clarified. This should allow becoming aware of the most important influences which have to be considered in the research and to check the assumed key variables. The main objectives of Stage A are:

1. *Importance – Criteria:* Should clarify the importance/meaning criteria of paper mulberry: Is it a main resource for the household? Do they sell it as primary or secondary cash income? Does it have an importance in another meaning or not (status, prestige)?
2. *Alternatives:* If the importance from paper mulberry is not as high as expected, other possible cash incomes should be considered.
3. *Decision - Criteria:* After the ranking from paper mulberry with alternatives for household and cash income, the reason for this decision should be clarified: why is paper mulberry attractive, why not. Why are the alternatives more attractive or not? (E.g. one decision

criteria can be control about the resources, or their situating next to/in the village?

The method for this stage should have been photo-elicitation. The photographs should serve as a tool to stimulate the interviews. In each village five women should have been asked if they are willing to take photos. Each woman should receive a single-serving-camera.

The aim was to take three pictures from each following issue:

1. Most important plant for the household regarding cash income for household, livelihood
2. Products which they sell from time to time
3. Products which are currently the most important source of cash income
(4. Free: places with which they feel connected, where they like to be)
(5. Free: things/persons which they love, which are important for them personally, actions which they like spending their time)

Developed photos should have been ranked by themselves (individual interviews). Their explanation for the importance ranking, should have lead finally to the decisions criteria's. As the group know that I do my research about paper mulberry I assumed that they will photograph it, but it was planned to tell them that they don't have to do, if it is not an important resources for them. The importance of paper mulberry should have been discovered through their ranking. If they don't photograph it, the reason for it would have been clarified. Women should have kept the photographs as a present. If the importance of paper mulberry for household or medicine uses should have been as high as for selling, which was not expected, it would have been considered in following steps (e.g. Activity Profile).

This method was modified most during the field work. The method of photelication was not performed in the first weeks due to following reasons: The sampling of the focus groups did not work out as it was planned. The planned schedule for field work in the village was modified too. The 'acclimatization time' in the village as well as the selection of the group which should receive the cameras took longer as expected. Hence the main method used to collect primary data for Step A as well as for the following parts in the study was semi-structured interviews.

Step B: Paper mulberry - Activity/Access and Control Profile

Activity Profile:

Gender: **F**: exclusively female
F/m: predominantly female
M/F: equally male/female
M/f: predominatly male
M: exclusively male

Time: daily, weekly, seasonal
a lot of time, few time
Why: e.g. Why is it done exclusively by women?
Location: close to village, far from village, in the village

The time component were replaced with grades of difficulty.

Tool 1a) Activity Profile for domesticated paper mulberry

Location	Activity	Gender	Why?	Time
	Clearing land			
	Plant seedling			
	Cultivate			
	Cutting the tree			
	Debarking			
	Cleaning bark by hand			
	Sorting the bark in grades			
	Bundling			
	Seeling to traders			

Tool 1b) Activity Profile for wild paper mulberry

Location	Activity	Gender	Why?	Time
Near the village	Collect in the forest			
Far from the village	Collect in the forest			
	Debarking			
	Cleaning bark by hand			
	Sorting the bark in grades			
	Bundling			
	Seeling to traders			

Acces and Control Profile:

Acess by Gender: **F**: exclusively female
F/m: predominantly female
m/f: equally male/female
M/f: predominatly male
M: exclusively male

Control/final decision: husband, wife, eldest woman/man of household or family, village chief, forest department

Depending factors: e.g. why does the husband control.....

Benefits: income, skills, (political power, status, prestige), (existing disadvantages?)

Location: household level, village level, development agencies, goverment

Tool 2a) Access and Control Profile for domesticated paper mulberry

Ressources	Access by gender	Control	Depending factors, why?	Benefits?	Location
Paperwork to request fields from the government					
Receive land title					
Decision:Whether PM is planted					
Decision: How much area is devoted to PM?					
Communication with traders					
Knowledge for domestication					
Decision Spending cash income					
Decision Save income					
Time for training					

Tool 2b) Access and Control Profile for wild paper mulberry

Ressources	Access by gender	Control	Depending factors, why?	Benefits?	Location
Forest/land with PM near the village					
Forst/land with PM far from village					
PM for Household use					
PM for seeling					
Decision: How much PM will be collected					
Communication with traders					
Save Cash Income					
Decision Spending cash income					

Step C: Influencing factors: gender ideologies-Government and development agencies

This part was concentrated more on women than on men. It was the most difficult one: a) the performed questions were to direct. Hence b) through participant observation it would have been easier to form the right questions, but that was limited, not only due to the lack of language skills. So I had mainly c) 'official' interviews, which were mainly assisted by a male translator.

During one interview I recognised tattoos on two old women. Although this consideration was not directly connected to the study it was included in some questions, due to general lack of ethnographic data. Questions about the tattoos seemed to be sensitive too. So the study focused on the outcomes of the photo-elicitation. Two women photographed situations which are connected to traditional cloth fabrication. The results of this part were finally about 'tattoos' and 'cloth fabrication'. As these aspects are not directly related to the study, results are not included in this study.

Most data about the influence of government and development agencies were obtained out of the informants answers connected to the Access and Control Profile.

Data Management/Analysis

Data from the interviews have been be transcribed in Word Documents, or in the field book if there was no energy for the computer available, in Xay, so that obscurities have been able to be clarified as soon as possible. Photos were developed in Xay and brought back into the village. Data analysis started in Lao PDR, based on the grounded theory approach, as described above. The final writing was done in Vienna. The analysis was done in Vienna through modified and full filled tools from the Harvard Analytical Framework, as described above. The outcomes were reinterpreted in the conceptual framework and embedded in ethnological theories.

7.3. Limitations and Reflexion

To undertake the study during the rice harvest was absolutely the wrong idea[70]. During this time, most women and men work for the whole day in the field. So the interviews took place before they went to the fields in the morning, or when they came back home. Often I got the impression that I was taking away their time. The interviews started around 6:30 in the morning. We (another researcher spent the same time with me over there) shared one translator, except for one week. Each of us undertook one or two interviews in the morning, with one interview lasting between thirty minutes to one hour. Thus the last informant in the morning went to the field when it was

[70] also other PRA approaches from the project side in this time, are dubious, e.g. when they should participate in them for 4 days during the rice harvest

already very hot. On the other side, when they came back home from the field, when it was already dark, they often seemed very tired. In the worst case, they had to wait, because the informants come at the same time, although we tried to avoid this situation.

Inviting (or rather 'ordering') the interviewee to come to the interview through the microphone announcement in the morning, gave me the image from a ghetto village. Every day at six o'clock in the morning the "radio" woke the village up, with music and some announcements, and often the 'invitation' for our interviews (nearly all of the interviewees came, if they did not stay in the upland rice fields).

This leads to the next very important limitation, the language. I was not able to understand anything without the translator. And translation was limited too, because of the double translation, from Khamu into Lao and then into English, which is also not my native language. The absence of my Khamu or Lao language ability appeared in the simplest case, when I tried to speak out or write down the correct name of the informants, especially when it was necessary to interview them again. Initially, I had no list of names from the villagers therefore I had to write the names down myself. Later, I received a hand written list of names and then finally an official printed version. On the different lists the numbers of household were not the same. Together with the language this created some confusion for me in the beginning, as somebody else (not the expected person) was standing in front of me. This was not so dramatic, and finally, it worked out well.

Regarding the mentioned technique for the "*interview invitation*", the "*interview situation*" had often an 'official character' too. Two aspects will be now considered a) the interview location and b) the amount of people who have been involved in the interview situation.

Considering the interview location, most of the interviews took place in front of, or beside the IFAD project house. The house is situated on a small hill, above the school. So it is not directly part of the village, it is possible to look from above onto the village. Interviews which took place when it was already dark were accompanied by the beautiful sound of the generator, which produced energy for the television, and provided light for us during the interview. Often many children, as well as some women, and from time to time a few men, came to watch the television. Since there were too many people standing in front of the house to catch a few glimpses of what was on the TV, the interviews often took place beside the house with a candle. When the generator was too loud, they were kind enough to turn it off for the time of the interview. Most of the interviews took place at the IFAD house due to the fact that more information could be gathered as there were fewer interruptions.

When the interviews took place in the village, it was more common that other people, especially men, answered the question, this was not my goal. So the women were 'invited' to the project house.

A few group interviews of two or three women were conducted in front of, or next to, the project house. However, the outcomes of these interviews were often limited. This was due to three reasons: 1) the duration of the interview should not take longer than one hour (otherwise they get tired, as this is an official interview, not a casual discussion[71]). 2) Given the need for translation, time was limited, 3) my interview line was semi-structured, but it was only possible to ask each person one simple question, which had to be clarified a number of times. When women were invited for a group interview, I ensured that they came from the same wealth category in order to avoid potential embarrassment for the women. For example, to ask one women from the first wealth category to come with one from the last wealth category, may have caused some embarrassment with questions regarding the internal economy[72]. In my impression women enjoyed the group interviews more than individual interviews. However, I acted selfishly and invited mostly one woman at a time, to get more information. This results in the worst case that, one woman was confronted with two official translators, one stranger who asked 'stupid' questions (this is me in this case) and another 'white' person (the second researcher) who was just listening, or from time to time to time, supported me (especially in the beginning) by taking additional notes. This case can give a dramatic impression for somebody who is reading, now about the interview situation.

It was not always like this[73], and often it was funny too. But it should be noted that in the beginning I was often not aware of this unequal interview situation. It was also very awkward to ask questions about the family's internal economy. The internal economy, is a) one of the private spheres, hence sensitive, b) second, it should no be expected that the answers are useful, as I too will not tell a strange person about my money business.

To establish rapport with the interviewees, I implemented several ideas, which in retrospect seem ill-advised. For example, I shared apples and cookies with them during the interviews. On the one side apples and cookies are a kind of food, which is not so common in the village. On the other side the apples are imported from China, so they (1) may not be full with vitamins; (2) potentially may symbolize that we are better than them and 3) come from the country, which is now responsible for taking away some of 'their land'[74]. Nearly the same can be said for the cookies, a) they are full of white sugar, thus absolutely not healthy compared with their 'traditional' food; b) they are imported from China too; and last c) the packages make a lot of garbage (!!). As I saw it, traditionally food is normally packaged – if it is packaged at all – with a leaf, hence it is possible to throw it away and it will decompose and in the best case turn into humus. At the end of my stay, enough plastic was laying around the IFAD house, although we collected it. At the same time

[71] this is my personal view, as in other discussion, e.g. in a café shop it is possible to speak easily longer than one hour

[72] This situation emerged for one time, although both had been from the first wealth category. Asking question about the firewood, the first said how difficult it is now, as the forest is far away and the wood is heavy, whereby the later said full of pried that her family has now a hand tractor, hence she don't have to carry it.

[73] E.g. one translator, me, and the informant plus some children, or a friend from the informant who just pass by

[74] I will refer later to this issue. Here it should be stated that the company is actually a Lao company with Chinese workers

women[75] who came to the interviews brought us bananas, papayas and cooked beans. Full of vitamins, and from very high quality (!!). Our exchange, with a few cookies, and apples (which we had to ration, to have enough for the interviews) was really 'very limited'.

This naivety, which was underlying my first field-study, is also expressed in the fact that it took me two weeks, until I realised that Mang village, is composed out of several resettled villages. This 'realization' happened, as I was asking about the time, when the second part of the village was established.

7.4. Results

1. Context of paper mulberry commercialisation and domestication

Importance of paper mulberry

The importance of paper mulberry to serve as primary source for cash income is higher in households from the 3. wealth category than in better-off households. The later often have more alternatives for raising cash income since they own more land (this point is considered in deep in the Access and Control Profile). The amount of money that the farmers receive for paper mulberry bark is described as very low although, the price for paper mulberry has risen, as there is currently a better market for it. In 2002, a farmer got 1,500 kip[76] per kg. Currently it is 3,000 kip for high quality and around 2,500 kip for poorer quality. In general more Paper Mulberry is collected compared to five years ago, when Mang have not been an IFAD project village.

Alternative sources of cash income and rubber plantation

The main sources of cash income are rice, corn, and sesame. Paper mulberry is often compared with peuak mueak, which has a higher economic value and is easier to obtain. Currently nearly every household in the study area wants to start a rubber plantation (0,5 - 2 ha), some have already started. This is due to two main reasons: (a) informants see it as "*a long-term investment*", whereas paper mulberry is mainly for "*short term income*". Rubber is maybe considered as 'long-term investment' as the first rubber can be harvested only in seven years, at the same time more money is expected to get out of rubber selling than with the selling from paper mulberry. Personally, I think that there are not so many alternatives to rubber plantation, regarding current land tenure. (b) It is easy to obtain land for a rubber plantation.

However, there are a number of arguments raised by the informants regarding the advantages and shortcomings linked to rubber plantation:

[75] a young boy took the chance and tried to sell us regularly tasty roots

[76] 1500 Laotischer Kip = 0.11772 Euro (http://www.oanda.com/converter/classic)

1. Land, where young paper mulberry trees were planted, was destroyed by a company advocating rubber plantations. The affected households did not receive new land until now.
2. This company provides young rubber-tree seedlings to villagers. However, this year the company brought the seedlings too late, i.e. after the raining season, so the young trees might die.
3. The first rubber can only be harvested seven years after planting
4. In the first few years it is possible to grow other cash crops between rubber trees, but later this is not possible because rubber trees give too much shadow
5. Informants have no experience with rubber trees, and after seven years rubber trees cannot be easily replaced
6. Informants describe the work regarding rubber plantation as very difficult compared to paper mulberry because they have to: (a) clear the land, (b) "*made a good soil*" (c) the land have to be terraced, (d) prepare a "*big hole*" for planting and (e) weeding takes a lot of time
7. Informants are not aware that rubber harvesting has to be done before sunrise and it is very labour intensive

Some informants have already started to plant rubber trees. According to the list from IFAD (for the time from 2006-2007 and 2010), as noted above, 171 families are planning to cultivate rubber, on a total area of 368 ha, with 197,500 trees on it. According to this list one family will plant on average 2.1 ha with 1,150 trees on it. Some families plant one hectare and others up to three hectares. The list gave no insight about the wealth ranking of these households and hence it can not be determined if there is a link between wealth ranking and the amount of hectares to be planted for rubber. Although, I was told, that this list is incorrect and the amount of hectares is actually more.

None of the informants engage on rubber plantation as wage labour, although it should be common in the village, according to other project members. During the field work I was not aware of this possibility, hence I did not ask them.

Decision criteria and reasons for planting paper mulberry/ Preference

The first decision criterion is money. Informants plant paper mulberry because traders come and buy it and they need money. It "*does not depend on how hard the work is, I do everything, I need money*". At the same time there exists high land tenure and the informants state that "*If I would have more land I would grow more*".

Reasons for planting paper mulberry are following independent points: (a) The technique is recommend by IFAD project workers, (b) the availability of paper mulberry is decreasing in the forest, (c) it is easier to collect it from one's own plot, (d) "*nobody can take it away*" from one's own

plot (e)pueak mueak grows well combined with paper mulberry, because the shadow from paper mulberry is protecting the pueak mueak tree and (f) given the different harvest seasons from pueak mueak and paper mulberry, informants always get money.

Two other points, which are not a reason to plant it but described as an advantage, are that (g) those who have a bigger plot and pigs can feed them with the leaves from the tree. (h) The stem from the tree can be used as firewood; the firewood is only carried home from the plot, but not from the forest. This is now seen as an advantage, as it is now more difficult to get firewood from the forest because one has to walk far away from the village to collect it.

All informants prefer to collect paper mulberry from their plot compared to the forest or the upland rice fields because of following reasons:

1.The forest is now far away from the village, compared to approximately five years ago. Thus it takes a lot of time to collect it from there. The reason for the decreasing of the forest next to the village is the increasing demand for cash crop fields. In 2002 Mang village got an IFAD project village.

2.There is less and less paper mulberry in the forest. This is due to following factors:

(a) The increasing amount of people who collect it for selling since around 2004. One reason for the increasing amount of people who collect it in forest can be the last 'resettlement' intervention in the village. I don't now the amount of people who arrived in the village in this year. As those people who arrived late in the village have often greater difficulties to obtain land and due to the interviews it is this group which collect wild paper mulberry primarily in the forest.

(b) The stem is cut too short, so that the trees die. That harms especially people who are depending on paper mulberry which is growing in the forest, as they have not enough land where they could domesticate it. Some who are depending on the availability of paper mulberry in the forest take care and keep the stem long enough so that the tree can grow again. Others need the money and cut the tree very short and the trees die. A woman complained another person in the village: "*They don't have a good heard, they don't care who will come and cut it again*".

(c) The general population growth in the village through government resettlement politics since 1992.

(d) Another reason for the decreasing availability can be that people also take small rootstocks from the forest to plant them on their plots.

3.Paper mulberry is easier to control on one's own plot because: (a) other people are not allowed to take it from the plot and (b) the debarking, described as the most difficult work, is easier with stems collected from the plot, because they can cut the trees when they are young

which also results in a high quality product.

2. Access and Control Profile

The control of resources related to the commercialisation of both domesticated and wild paper mulberry, is not so much happening at the household level, but extremely controlled from outside (see Table 3). The intra-household control and access of resources, regarding the commercialisation of both domesticated and wild paper mulberry, depends less on the sex of a family member or a cultural gender ideology than on the (1) wealth category of the household, which can be also be determined by (2) family circumstances, e.g. arrival time in the village, amount of labour in the household. Those first two aspects are considered in detail below. Minor differences are between women and men, regarding the access and control from related resources and benefits e.g. money, the depending factor was more (3) age and the personality of the informant. These results about the internal economy are included in the Activity Profile.

Table 3: Access and Control Profile for domesticated paper mulberry

Resources	Access	Control	Depending factors
Land		1. DAFO 2. (IFAD?) 3. Chief of Village 4. Household	• Arrival time in village • Land Allocation • Land Location • Labour • Money to buy Land • Relatives, Friends • Chinese Rubber Company • what they want to plant
Land Title		1. DAFO 2. Chief of Village 3. Household	• Amount of Hectares • Location • Time, land have to be cultivated since 3 years • what they want to plant
Knowledge		• IFAD • Workshop • Possah Group • Relatives\Friend • Household	

Resources

1. Land

Land is the most important resource for domesticating paper mulberry. Informants from DAFO state that enough land is available. However, villagers often describe difficulties regarding the access to land:

Around twelve years ago land was easy to obtain, but the amount of land was depending on the

labour available within the family: "*a lot of forest was just next to the village and the land was easy to obtain, we could choose from wherever we want, how big was depending on labour*". Compared with villagers who arrived five years ago, people often had to buy land, or were related to friends or relatives, whereby there will be some exchange as well: "*I had to buy some land from villager, because I came too late*" and/or "*I have some cousin who gave it to me*". Most difficult is it for people who arrived three years ago, through resettlement programmes: "*land was and is quite difficult. I asked the headman (village chief), but the plots near the village belong to many people. The headman didn't give me any land until now*".

For somebody to acquire land or more land is, as already noted above, depending on the amount of labour in the household: "*I do not have enough labour to get land from DAFO, because we don't have enough labour in our household*". The amount of land which one household gets from DAFO is not depending on the amount of members in a household, but on the amount of labourers. To be regarded as a labourer a family member has to be older than 15 years. In Mang village one up to two families lives in one household. Children are important in the family is given to have enough labour, to obtain land, but at the same time there is a "Birth Control Project" active in the village. The other point is that the households have to inform DAFO what they want to plant, and these cash crops have to be approved by DAFO.

The special difference is that the people who arrived earlier, or already lived there got their lands just next to the village, but people who want to get new land or just arrive have to take the land "far away" from the village. In the informant's words: "*the land next to village belongs already to somebody*" and "the *agricultural land which is available now is far away from the village*". "*Far away*" means in this case, a two-hour walk (counted in the informants speed) for one way. Newly arrived, as well those who have lived already longer in the village often claimed, that "*I need money to buy land*".

The need for new land often arises due to the fact that: "*often land is too small and too many things grow on it, so I cannot use it for planting paper mulberry*". The difficult factors for acquiring new land are money, labour, and location (whether it is near to or far from the village). Several informants claimed that *"I cannot expand my land because the land next to my plot belongs to another family".*

Finally, the land issue come together with the on-going rubber plantation. This link is one of the most critical and complicated aspects, which is here reduced to paper mulberry, as land was taken away from households who had planted young paper mulberry trees on it, and given to those who planted rubber trees for the Chinese Company':

> "*Actually I had 6 hectare land, 4 hectare are already destroyed ...last year the Chinese destroyed it… they didn't inform me before...until now I didn't get something back, I wrote three times already a letter, but they didn't write anything., I am just sad about this. I am only a farmer I don't know how to complain about this, nothing... I heard about a lot of other families (to which was happening the same)...I think two hectares will not be enough for my family, ...nobody can help (with the work),*

the main labourers are only me and my husband, children have to go to school...the project gave me two pigs, but one I had to kill, because some people helped me to make the rice harvest, and now I have only one,...I ask the headman, he said he will divide the land for me, he will just check first, but until now I am only waiting for the answer... I just can do me best, and try to improve what I have now..."

2. Land Title

Some informants who have a Temporary Land Use Certificate (TLUC), and cultivated the land for three years have not received the Land Use Contract (LUC), which legitimizes the permanent use and property right of the land. Reasons why they do not get it are that 1) DAFO has not enough time, or 2) the informants do not know the reason, why they don't get it. The name of both, men and women, is written on the temporary and the permanent certificate. Those who stop shifting cultivation, in order to plant cash crops, on this land, have to approve their planted crop in order to get the land title.

3. Knowledge and technique for domestication

This study does not indicate a general difference regarding the knowledge of domestication between women and men. The difference is depending on the wealth category of the household. Women and men situated in better of households have been well informed about the technique compared to those with the last wealth category.

Informants received the knowledge for the domestication of paper mulberry from: 1) the IFAD workers, 2) a workshop in Luang Prabang, 3) the village Paper Mulberry group, and 4) relatives or friends. One informant, the richest of the village, got the knowledge by himself: "*I heard in 2002, that some trader will come to buy paper mulberry here. I thought I will need paper mulberry in the future. I saw some people who go into the forest to collect it. They collected so hard, and it was not easy to find. So I decided to have a garden in the village...I know it by myself, automatically*". Another women from the last wealth category was nearly crying because she "*(I) do not know how to make it*". Another informant from the last wealth category, who just arrived three years ago, states that "*nobody promote, nobody gave me the idea, I don't know what I should do*". The informants who joint the Paper Mulberry workshop, have been already "*well informed*" before the workshop, so are from the better-of households.

In general it is preferred to grow paper mulberry with two meter distance between the trees, because then "*it can grow better*". That means, if the trees are planted too close to one another, they grow higher, and this is less preferred, as there are less stems on it. On the other side young paper mulberry trees can grow by themselves from the mother tree on the plot, when there is enough space for it. Then they cut the tree and get "*many, many small one*".

NAFRI points out that after the initial planting paper mulberry does not need to be replanted but will regenerate from underground roots. Paper mulberry grows very rapidly and competes with rice. Hence this article recommends to "*Keep PM (paper mulberry) at a low density (1 plant every 4m²) and the PM canopy below the rice to reduce competition*"[77]:

Rice growing with PM

Low PM density does not reduce rice yields

High PM density reduces rice yields

The planting density is also related to the land tenure problem: (1) the plot can not be expanded because the land next to the plot belongs to another family or the forest next to the plot is part of a protected forest area, (2) the family does not have enough labour to get more land or does not have enough money to buy land.

In an article NAFRI recommended the planting by polybags[78], but this is not really practiced in Mang because: (a) the bags are not provided from IFAD and otherwise the informants have to buy it. (b) The informants, who have knowledge about the use of black plastic bags, still prefer small rootstocks, because it is easier. c) The method to plant paper mulberry with polybags is described as "*expensive and you have to take much more care for small plants (which are planted polybags)*".

The reasons why some domesticated paper mulberry plants died on the plot are because: a) the land was too dry, b) there is a lack of knowledge, c) there was not enough time for weeding, or as one informant explain that d) problems with the soils occurred, e.g. "*I had difficulties with the soil in the beginning, I didn't know about it*". Only two informants who are situated in the first wealth category have their paper mulberry plot next to a stream near the village, which enhance the growing.

[77] http://www.knowledgebank.irri.org/regionalSites/laopdr/docs/FS_Eng_PaperMulberry-UplandRice.pdf
[78] http://www.knowledgebank.irri.org/regionalSites/laopdr/docs/FS_eng_Mulberry.pdf

3. Activity Profile

The intra household gendered division of labour, focusing on harvesting and processing bark from both wild and domesticated paper mulberry, derives from the Access and Control Profile, as it is in the same way mostly depending on the wealth category of the household. Some results of the photoelication are included in this part. This section deals too with results about the quality of the bark and the internal economy of the household, regarding paper mulberry.

1. The wealth category of the household

a) First wealth category

Women and men from households in the first wealth category mostly collect paper mulberry from their plots, because (1) they have enough land where a lot of paper mulberry trees are already domesticated since three to five years, (2) the forest is too far away, (3) they do not have time and labour to go into the forest, (4) small trees are growing by them self on the plot and young trees for planting on another plot can be taken mostly from the domesticated plot. For them paper mulberry is not so important for cash income. Women do most of the work on the plot because men are too lazy. If they would get more money for paper mulberry, men would work more.

b) Second wealth category

Informants from the middle wealth category often have already started to cultivate paper mulberry trees on their plot, but (1) most are too young for harvesting, or (2) they do not have many trees on it. As there is a big demand for money, men was women still go into the forest to collect wild paper mulberry for selling and young trees for planting.

c) Third wealth category

Members from households in the last wealth categories often go into the forest to collect paper mulberry, because (1) they do not have enough land to cultivate it, (2) for them paper mulberry is more important as a source of cash income than for households in other wealth categories, (3) in general it seems that these households have a bigger lack of knowledge about domestication techniques. Men as well as women go into the forest to collect it. Who goes also depends on who has time to go into the forest. Some go back to their old village, which is a six hour walk one way, to collect paper mulberry. They let it dry there and then bring back the bark.

The clearest division of labour is mainly that women only go with women into the forest and men only with men. (If they go in a mixed group to the forest men and women are not from the same household). The question why they go separated was answered by laughing and one time with the

reason that it is more fun.

Neumann and Hirsch (2000) – while not focusing explicitly on paper mulberry but on NTFP generally – note that a common pattern are the differences in harvesting and collecting practices between men and women. Thus studies indicate a spatially distinct division of labour, whereby men harvest from distant forest areas while women harvest near residences (Neumann and Hirsch 2000:30). That is not the case for the group under study. The collection of wild paper mulberry growing in the upland rice fields is mostly done by women, because men are "*too lazy*". On the other side hunting, a traditional task of men is now mostly forbidden, hence some of them engage in the upland rice fields too.

2. Photoeliciation

Here some photos made from the informants are included, as it is possible to recognize on these photos the gendered division of labour. The following 12 pictures were made from one Khamu women.

Picture 1. and 2. describe the way to the upland rice fields. On picture 2. it is already possible to see the house were women often stay over night, as it is "*a too long distance to go back to the village*". On picture 3. two old women are sitting in front of the house in the shadow. Picture 4 shows a group of women and their children who were there at this day. Picture 5. describes the cleaning of the rice. Picture 6. "*lunch time*". Picture 7., 8., and 9. "*rice harvesting*". The woman who took the picture was standing in the middle of the queue. Mainly women were engaged in this work. Picture 10. and 11. show the transport to the village, with a short lunch time, after the women carried it to the road.

Picture 1.

Picture 2.

Picture 3.

Picture 4.

Picture 5.

Picture 6.

Picture 7.

Picture 8.

Pichture 9.

Picture 10

Picture 11

The traditional custom of labour exchange can affect domesticated paper mulberry. For example: "*My sister help me on the plot (with paper mulberry) and than I will help her*". One the other side the richest also may hire some people to work on his paper mulberry plot. By asking the labour division on this plot he answered: "*We go together for working… If it is too much work, I will hire some people to help me, maybe from the Women Union or the Village Group".* This man is a paper mulberry trader to and the richest man in the village.

3. Quality of paper mulberry bark

Nearly all of the informants describe a good quality of the bark, as white and dry, which is obtained from young trees. The bark from old trees is often darker and more difficult to process compared to younger trees. Although not all of the informants separate the bark according to different grades of quality: "*I never separate*". Informants who do not separate paper mulberry according to different grades often collect it in the forest. Informants who have participated in the workshops held in Xay and Luang Prabang on the 26th-28th April 2006 often separate the bark according to the grades of quality.

Two different kinds of trees have been described: the first tree has round leaves and a red fruit (female tree), the second has jagged leaves and white fruits (male tree). Both kinds of trees have a 'good' bark, but from some informants the female tree is described as better when the tree is young, because it has a whiter bark. At the same time the female tree is not as common as the male tree, in the forest as well as on the plot, although nearly all of the informants states that they get the "*same amount of money*" for both kind of trees.

Fruits and leaves from the female tree:

Fruits and leaves from the male tree:

The trader states, that the difference regarding the quality of paper mulberry barks, arise out of the location where paper mulberry is collected. Bark of poorer quality, described as dark and red, comes mostly from the forest, whereby the bark, described as white and dry, comes mostly from the plot.

4.vInternal Economy

Outcomes from interviews about the internal economy in a household have varied depending on informants' personality and family circumstances and will need further in-depth studies, thus the results in this part should be considered as preliminary. As noted in Chapter six according to the 03.OSICP report, if women collect and sell NTFPs, the women keep the money, but the man go and buy goods for the family. The outcomes from the interviews differ from this 03. OCISP report, as men are currently engaging in collection of paper mulberry bark too, as already seen in the Activity Profile.

The trader states that: "*Mostly it is the women who collect and sell paper mulberry*". If the price will get better "*men will sell as women do*", because "*they (men) want more money to improve their family, they want to have more income*". A woman from a wealthier household stated "*I do everything with the money because my husband is not interested in it*", another one from the same wealth class mentioned that "w*hen I sell, I give the money to my husband*". In general it seemed that when large amounts of money is involved, young men and young women give it to the responsible person in the household, which was often the men (except for the female-headed households which are situated in the last wealth category). But these young men and women keep small amounts of money. Another factor is the knowledge, as it was mentioned "*My son sells, because he knows how do to it*" or "*My daughter sells, because she knows how do to it*"

In a family (lowest wealth category) where a young couple lives, together with the husband's brother, the large sums of money are divided by three: "*one part for my brother, one part for his wife, and one part I keep".* This money, which is divided by three, comes from paper mulberry collected on the plot. When he needs more money he goes by himself in the forest.

A woman from the middle wealth category stated that her husband "*also goes into the forest. Then he cuts and he keeps the money. Otherwise I go into the forest, cut the tree and keep the money*". Whereby here it is possible to see a trend: in former time mostly or only women engaged in this activity: "*before I went into the forest and sell by myself… But men can go too, and then he cuts and sells*". The selling is not always fixed, and not always depending on who has collected it as "*selling depends on who is at home when the trader comes*". On the other side a woman of around eighty year old, who was convinced that "*only women go into the forest and collect and only men sell*".

During one of the last interviews I got the impression/feeling/idea that a key aspect regarding the internal economy is that if women sell, they do not show or give all the money to the husband, and secretly keep a small amount of the money. Which also can mean: when paper mulberry selling does not bring so much money, they keep all of it, like when they sell vegetables on the market. Some of the vegetables are collected one or two days before in the forest too. The market takes place for one time each month. Women also buy clothes on this market. The money for it derives

mostly from cash crop selling, e.g. paper mulberry.

An old loom under a paper mulberry tree. Photo made by a Khamu woman

7.5. Comparison and Conclusion

This part start draw the line from the local to the national and finally to the global view, in order to answer the questions raised in chapter one: "*What impacts do development intervention have*? ", or more specifically: *"what are the impacts of the increased domestication and commercialisation of paper mulberry bark on women's economic position in society and on the local environment, in Mang village (Oudomxay)?"*. At first the answers to the specific questions are summarised. After that, Khamu women's current economic situation is compared with that in the former traditional one, based on subsistence as described in chapter six. Further aspects which contribute to the current situation from the external environment are included: the national history and economy; the ethnicity aspects and development policies, as described in chapter five. This should lead to the conclusion that current development interventions in northern Lao PDR can be considered as a form of 'identerest conflict' as shown in chapter four. Women's economic position tends to change together with the general features of society that arise with intensive agriculture. Hence this outcome traces back to chapter one, to show what occurs behind the development aims of poverty reduction and environmental protection. This study critiques current development interventions, but at the same time could place knowledge in the hands of the already powerful.

The women, who are most dependent on paper mulberry as a source for cash income, currently have the least access and control over it. The importance of paper mulberry to serve as primary source for cash income is higher in households from the 3. wealth category than in better-off households, as there is the trend that the latter one has more access to related resources for cash

crops. These cash crops have at the same time more economic value than paper mulberry. Hence women in the already better-off households have also more access to related resources regarding the domestication of paper mulberry for commercialisation.

In general it is preferred to collect domesticated paper mulberry from the plot in contrast to wild paper mulberry in the forest. The reason for this is that the forest is 'now far away' compared with 2002, where the forest was just next to the village. It is not only the forest, but also wild paper mulberry in the forest is decreasing since 2004. In 2002 Mang village became an IFAD project village and due to the increased demand of cash crop fields, the forest declined. Wild paper mulberry decreased in the forest since the promotion to sell it in the form of a cash crop around 2004, and due to the fact that traders will come to the village and buy it.

More than the domestication of paper mulberry, it is ongoing rubber plantation, that threat the tropical forest, and hence the people living in it. Nearly every household wants to start or have already started to cultivate rubber trees, however, there are a number of arguments raised by the informants regarding the advantages and shortcomings linked to rubber plantation. The outstanding fact is that land, where young paper mulberry trees were planted, is taken away from villagers for rubber plantation without obtaining proper compensation.

But land is the most important resource for domesticated paper mulberry. At the same time there exists high land pressure in the village, due to the increased population through resettlement programmes. The population increase in the village is enhanced through the policy that a household only can get land, if there is enough labour in the household. Hence, land policy imposed by the government indirectly enhances population growth. On the other hand a project has been in the village which try to 'facilitate' birth control.

The other possibility to obtain land is to buy it, whereby the already better-off households have more money than these in the poorer households. The quality of the bark is not, as it was expected through primary literature review, depending on the division of task between women and men. Outcomes of this study show that one determining factor of the quality is the location where paper mulberry is collected. Domesticated paper mulberry tends to have better quality compared to the bark collected wild in the forest, as it can be harvested when the tree is still young. Women from the first wealth category in general have better conditions for increased domestication, than those from the last wealth category.

A better supply chain of paper mulberry may contribute to a widening gap between poor and rich women in the village. Further wild paper mulberry may decrease more in the forest as women from the last wealth category are more dependent on paper mulberry, but have less access to land (and often less knowledge) in order to domesticate it and therefore will clear more from the forest.

Claims were made about land tenure, as e.g. land was taken away from households, who had

planted young paper mulberry trees on it, for rubber planting. Claims were made too, regarding the technique to collect wild paper mulberry in the forest. Some people complained to others in the village that they cut the stem from the paper mulberry tree in the forest too short, so that the trees may die. These people on the other hand did it because they need a longer steam to get as much money as possible. On the other side some informants from the last wealth category do not no the technique for paper mulberry domestication on the plot. These factors may indicate possible conflicts in the future.

The intra-household division of labour between women and men can indicate the economic position of the household in village society. In households situated in the last wealth category men and women harvest and process the bark. In better-off households women tend to do most of the work regarding the harvest and processing of paper mulberry bark. Men in these households will engage more if the price for paper mulberry will increase.

This study was not able to establish a clear gendered division of tasks regarding collection and selling of from paper mulberry bark and the control of the cash income obtained: both women and men engage in the selling of the bark. According to the trader more women than men are engaged in this task.. Hunting, a traditional task of men is now mostly forbidden, or more specifically their guns were taken away. Through this change, in some cases men engage in tasks formerly performed by women. The most interesting point, regarding the gendered division of labour, was the statement from an old woman, which was convinced that only women go and collect paper mulberry in the forest, and only men sell it. On the other hand, the richest man in the village, already pay women and men to work on his fields. That indicates the decrease of labour exchange, as a traditional custom. This last two points leads to the comparison with women's economic position in the traditional subsistence system.

On the broader view, there are several indicators that societies and women's general situation may be far better off in the traditional subsistence system, as shown in chapter six - especially women's economic position. Following the literature review, communal property regarding land 'ownership' was one central feature of the society, in contrast to current increased privatisation. Women, as members of the society, had access and control over land. But more important, they had in general control over the central feature, in former traditional economy – that was rice. Rice was practically and ideologically combined with women. In contrast money was practically and ideologically combined with men. One feature of the imposed development concept is the following: cash crops, e.g. paper mulberry, are encouraged and introduced in order to stop the economy of shifting cultivation – where women had a central position. To obtain rice there are two possibilities: a) to buy it, by the cash obtained from e.g. paper mulberry selling, or b) by engaging in paddy field rice

cultivation, whereas one determine factor regarding the access to paddy field is again money (currently the most important one).

These outcomes coincide with the outcomes from chapter three, where it was shown that women maybe are better off in economic systems based on horticulture, combined with attributions from foraging, in contrast to intensive agriculture. Two points stand out: a) Former systems tend to be more egalitarian, whereas the study indicate a current high social stratification in the village (the contrast between households from the first compared with those from the last wealth category); b) in the traditional economy mostly women had controlled production and distribution of rice – whereas rice in this system, has the meaning of 'money' in western sense (!).

The study indicates a negative impact from development intervention too on the local environment and ecosystem. The tropical forest as well as paper mulberry in the forest is decreasing. Combined with the issue of land tenure, these factors can possibly lead, as described above, to violent conflict or a struggle about scare resources. This is maybe caused by the introduced need and desire to foster economic growth for survival.

This aspect leads to chapter four and five. Infrastructural variables in the local community are not the prime factor for social cultural and environmental change. For example, by following their traditional agricultural system population density would stay low. Primary cause for the change in the local system is development intervention, which then heavily influences the environment, infrastructure, structure and superstructure. Differences between the local community and governing elite which have arisen historically also have to be included. Considering the ethnicity aspect, it is possible to speak about an 'identerest conflict' comparable with other development intervention in Southeast Asia. Villagers belonging to the 'Khamu ethnicity' are also engaged in IFAD and CIAT, who are supported through and guided by the interests of the ruling elite (often described as ethnic Lao). The prime determining factor is the location of the people, which influence their identity and interests. Mang village is situated in a boarder region, which is still under military observation. In former times people who lived in this region and who belong to Khamu ethnicity were part of the Pathet Lao military forces and some fled as refugees following the establishment of the Lao People's Democratic Republic in 1975. The Hmong conflict in northern Lao PDR is still no solved. Hence the ruling elite also aim to control the people living in this region. One way to control them are resettlement interventions. So that they can not live 'wild' in the forest but in permanent villages, where the government is possible to know how many people live in one household, with what they earn their money and how they spend it. Further the land and forest around the village is needed too from the ruling elite. As further shown in chapter five and in the outcomes from the field study, rubber plantation is fostered as well as the transformation from tropical forest to cash crop fields to reach national economic growth. That

leads to further decrease of tropical rain forest, but at the same time conservation policies are introduced. These factors, combined with the disguise of development, involve again in resettlement intervention.

The Development system implemented in Mang village based on fast economic growth lead to (a) greater inequalities in access to resources, as well as in distribution on the local as well as on the national level, at the same time have the (b) tendency to disturb the most important natural tropical forest, which (c) indirectly may foster conflicts, and/or (d) cause 'poverty', hence may (e) legitimatize development interventions.

This study entered a field, where struggles about scarce resources not only already occur, but is further enhanced by current development direction. The tendency, as described by Dove (1988) in the case of Indonesia (although it may fit in here as well), is to blame all development problems on "*recalcitrant peasants*" (Dove 1988:25). For him this is a part of a broader pattern of poor evaluation, or "*even the complete lack of evolution*" (ibid.26). In the same direction, Ducoutieux (2006) emphasises, that "*introducing cash crops requires prior in-depth thought about the socioeconomic conditions and suitable research in the on-farm environment*" (Ducoutieux 2006:74). A prior in-depth study, before cash crop introduction, did not occur in Mang village, as far as I know and experienced. It may be that prior evaluations would not have lead to a 'domestication' of Khamu women.

Although maybe this is, regarding the global desire and need for economic growth, an ideological thought. As it seems that in current situation the people under study will not benefit from this research, it is me who got the most benefit out of it, by gaining a lot of experience. But who else may benefit from this study?

"Khamu women in Mang village carrying firewood"

"IFAD project car in Mang village"

Chapter 8 Appendix & References

8.1. Appendix

Appendix 1 Wealth ranking list IFAD

11. ´¾©«¾-£¸¾´ê÷¡¨¾¡¢º¤Â£¤¡¾- 11. Project poverty Criteria

¥¿-¸-£ö¸À»õº- # of households	¡¾-¥ñ©ì¼¤ Ranking	ªö¸§š¸ñ©ªÈ¾¤Å Indicators
	Category 1	**1.** Surplus rice, sell and lend to others, **2**.Sell cash crops (corn, sesame, job's tears) , NTFPs and cattels of around 500,000-700,000 kip/year,**3**. Cattles more than 8 heads, small animals (pigs, goats)more than 10 heads, poultry more than 30, **4**. Own assets (a tractor, TV, rice mill,sola, and small hydroelectricity) **5**. Own a lot agricultural land, **6**. Children go to school and Few household members ill and can spendfor treatment, and enough clothes 7.permanent House
	Category 2	**1.** Surplus rice, **2**.Sell cash crops (corn, sesame, job's tears) , NTFPs and cattels of around 300,000-500,000 kip/year, **3**. Cattles 5-8 heads, small animals (pigs, goats) 5-10 heads, 20-30 poultry, **4**. have no assets (TV, sola,and small hydroelectricity) **5**. Own enough agricultural land, **6**. Children go to school and Few household members ill and can spend for treatment and enough clothes, 7.halfpermanent House
	Category 3	**1.** Rice sufficiency to eat for whole year, **2.** Sell cash crops NTFPs, cattels of around 200,000-300,000 kip/year, 3**.** Own 2-5 cattles, 2-5 small animals (goats, pigs), 10-20 poultry 4**.**have no assets (TV, sola,and small hydroelectricity) **5**. Own medium agriculture land, **6**. Children go to school and few household members ill and can spend for treatment and medium clothes 7.half permanent House
	Category4	**1.** Not enough rice to eat for 1-3 months/year, **2**. Sell cash crops and NTFPs cattels of 50,000-100,000 kip/year, **3**. Own 0-1 cattles, 0-1 small animals (goats, pigs), 5-10 poultries**. 4.** have no assets (tractor, TV, rice mill ,sola, and small hydroelectricity) & have to go for Wage Labor for money **5**. not enough agriculture land **6**. Children cannot go to school and Few household members ill and can not spend for treatment and not enough clothes 7.temporary House
	Category 5	1**.** Not enough rice to eat more than 6months in each year, **2.** no income from cash crops and NTFPs, cattels in each year, **3.** Have no any livestock 4**.**Have no assets (tractor, TV, rice mill ,sola, and small hydro electricity) & have to go for Wage Labor for money & meals **5**. none agricultural land , if have just little, 6. Children cannot go to school, and Few household members ill cannot spend for treatment and none clothes, if have just few 7.temporary house

Appendix 2 - List of Informants

Sex:
F: female
M: male

Location:
IH:IFAD project house
V:Village
B: Beng
X: Xay

Translator:
A: female translator, she spoke Lao and English
B: male translator, he spoke Khamu and English
C: IFAD project worker, who assisted interviews, he spoke Lao and fluently Khamu
Figure 4: List from Informants

Nr. Setting	Name	Sex	Function	Wealth-Category IFAD	Age	Location	Translators
1. Week 4. – 6. Nov.							**A and C**
1.	aii	F	Farmer	1	40	IH	
	cii	F	Farmer	1	25	IH	
	doi	F	Farmer	1	33	IH	
2.	aii	F	Farmer	1	40	V	
3.	cii	F	Farmer	1	25	V	
	doi	F	Farmer	1	33	V	
2. Week 11. – 14. Nov.							**A and C**
4.	aa	F	Farmer	3	40	IH	
5.	ouang	F	Farmer	5	40	IH	
	oah	F	Farmer	3	50	IH	
6	in	F	Farmer	3	45	IH	
	i	F	Farmer	3	25	IH	
	hum	F	Farmer	3	28	IH	
7.	hum	F	Farmer	3	45	IH	
3. Week 17. -20. Oct.							**B and C**
8.	er	F	Farmer	5	48	IH	
9.	eay	F	Farmer	5	20	IH	
10.	Kri	F	Farmer	4	53	IH	
11.	y	F	Farmer	5	49	IH	
12.	euaj	F	Farmer	5	51	IH	
13.	om	F	Farmer	1	42	IH	
	ong	F	Farmer	1	68	IH	
	ng	F	Farmer	1	54	IH	
14.	ng	F	Farmer	1	27	IH	
	rn	F	Farmer	1	40	IH	
	au	F	Farmer	1	50	IH	
4. Week 24. – 25. Oct.							**B and C**
15.	y	F	Farmer	1	40	IH	
16.	Krj	F	Farmer	4	53	IH	
5. Week 31. Oct. – 3. Nov.							**B and C**
17.	Sam	M	Offical			IH	
18.	eay	F	Farmer	1	40	IH	
19.	peth	F	Teacher, Farmer	1	23	IH	
20.	ank	F	Farmer	3	68	V	
21.	a	F		3	40	IH	
22.	Watt	M	Offical		25	IH	
23.	Frau von finanz	F	Offical			IH	
24	Kri		Farmer	4	72	IH	
25.	erj	F	Farmer	5	53	IH	
26.	n	F	Farmer	3	45	IH	
6. Week 7. – 10. Nov.							**B and C**

27.	ang	F	Farmer	1	27	IH	
28.	rn	F	Farmer	1	40	IH	
	g	F	Farmer	1	68		
29.	li	F	Farmer	4	30	IH	
7. Week14.- 17. Nov.							**A, B, and C**
30.	IFAD house, frau	F	Offical			B	
31	Wild director DAFO	M	Offical			IH	
32.	ng	M	Farmer	1	20	IH	
33	aa	F	Farmer	3	40	IH	
34.	om	M	Farmer	5	30	IH	
35.	ay	F	Farmer	1	40	IH	
36.	um	F	Farmer	3	45	IH	
37.	msi	M	Trader, Farmer	1	50	IH	
38.	ak	M	Farmer	1	60	IH	
39.	Si	M	Farmer	3	26	IH	
40.	To	F	Teacher, Farmer	1	23	IH	
41	La	M	Farmer	4	50	IH	
	Y	F	Farmer	4	45		
8. Week 21. – 24. Nov.							**B**
42.	Driver CIAT	M	Offical			X	
43.	Rural financial service					X	
	Head of rural financial service	M	Offical				
	National technical adviser	M	Offical				
44.	IFAD					X	
	Adviser	M	Offical				
	CD Member	M	Offical				
	Email Unit	M	Offical				

Appendix 3 - Interview guide

Do you collect paper mulberry?
Only you or somebody else in your family? Why?
Where do you collect paper mulberry?
Where do you collect mostly? Why?
Forest, how far away? Easy or difficult to find it? Why? Is paper mulberry decreasing in the forest? Why. With whom do you go into the forest? Men only with men and women only with women? Why? How deep do you cut it (forest and plot)? Why?

Field how far away, since when do you have it?
Do you plant it, or is it growing wild?
Only paper mulberry, or do you mix it with something? Why?
How do you plant it?
Rootstock, or black plastic bag? Why?
Is somebody helping you?

What is the difference between (painting 2 different kinds),
What is the difference between them regarding quality?
How do you describe good quality of paper mulberry bark?
Do you separate in qualities?
Do you sell the paper mulberry bark, which you have collected?
Do somebody else from your family sell it?
What do you do with the money?
Do you keep it, or do you give it to somebody else in you household?
On what is it depending?
What do you buy?
What is your men buying?
What do you want to buy?
What does your men want to buy?

Who is the most responsible for money in you household? Why
Do you sell something else?
When you go into the forest to collect paper mulberry, do you collect something else?
Do you sell it?

What are you doing and what is you man doing (division of labour)
From where do you prefer to collect it? Why?
Do you use paper mulberry for something else?
Firewood (difference plot and forest)

Do you want to have more paper mulberry on you plot?
Do you have enough land?

How important is paper mulberry for cash income?
When you compare paper mulberry with puag muag, what are the differences?
Do you want to grow rubber? Why?
Do you think is it easy or difficult to grow rubber?

Are you member of the women Union? Why or why not?

What is the women union doing?
What is you advantage when you are member of the women union?

Since when do you live here?
Why did you come here?
Was it easy or difficult in the beginning?
What was easy, what was difficult in the beginning?

Do you have any questions for me?
Is there anything important more to say about paper mulberry?
Was the interview easy or difficult for you?

Appendix 4 - Primary interview guide

I. Context of paper mulberry

Interview guideline:
Entry:
Start with pictures from family and friends as warm up.

1. Most important resources/plant for the household:
   Why is it important for the household? Who collect it?
2. Products which they sell from time to time:
   Who collect/produce it, who has access to it? Who controls it, how much time they spend on producing it, who sell it where and how often?
3. Products which are currently the most important source of cash income:
   Who collects/produces it, who has access to it? Who controls it, how much time they spend on producing it, who sell it where and how often? Is the cash income which derives from these products very important or less important for survival?

Group A: How does it come that you (your family) have a paper mulberry plot now?
What reasons did you have to aplly for land?
How/why did you decide to plant paper mulberry on that plot?
What other plants did you plant?
(How much land is used for paper mulberry? –*game with stones*)
Group B: Do you (your family) wish/thinking about a paper mulberry plot?
If yes: why?
Do you already have a plot? What do you grow there?
If no: Why do you not want to frow paper mulberry on that plot?
Why do you want to request an additional plot?
What do you prefer to do?

Both groups:
1. Do you (your family) still collect wild paper mulberry?
2. What do women use wild/domesticated paper mulberry for (in the household, for sale, medicine)? Importance rancing of uses
3. What are the differences between wild and domesticated paper mulberry?
4. What are the advantages/disadvantages for wild/domesticated paper mulberry?
5. How important is cash income for you?
6. How important is cash income for men?
7. How important is cash income for women?
8. What do the women think that the men would like to buy if they had more cash from increased sales?What do the men think that the women would like to buy if they had more cash from increased sales?
9. What other strategies would you like to pursue to have more cash? (Other NTFP which they prefer? Raise animals? Plant more rice? Which? Why?)

Step B: Paper mulberry - Activity/Access and Control Profile

Interview guideline:
1. How do women define a good quality of paper mulberry, and how do men define it? What aspects of the current use/importance of paper mulberry is important to the women, what do they want to keep in the future too? (labour requirement, control over resources, labour division, etc.?) What aspects of the domestication do women like (closer to home? Control over fields?)
2. What did the women who participated in the workshops find important, what did they like in

their discussions with women in Luang Prabang (how do they perceive the option of boiling paper mulberry bark to improve quality? More labour, more resources (boiling tank, fuel for fire, labour, soap?).

3. The personal thoughts of women regarding the potential role paper mulberry can have in the future: what are their hopes/fears for paper mulberry? (increased cash income, competition for labour, prefer using their labour for other tasks, prefer to use the fields to plant other crops; fear that men will take control of the money earned, etc.)
   Does an extended focus on this product fit in their concept of future development?
   Until where they see an extended dealing with it as useful?
   What are their expectations, what are their fears?
   Which interactions and changes are they expecting, if paper mulberry becomes more important?
4. If they use more labour time for paper mulberry, would this lead to a lack of time for other important tasks they want to integrate in their daily life, what kind of activities would they prefer to do?
5. Do they have concepts or networks to cope with a higher expenditure of time?
6. Their thoughts about possible changing effects in the family dynamic.
   Is a shift of power expected, wished or do they worry about such a shift?
7. What aspects support and which inhibit the extended production and sale of paper mulberry?
8. What to women do with the cash from paper mulberry sales?

II. Gender ideologies

Interview guideline:

1. Who is the hightest ranking woman in the village? Why? How do you see her?
2. Who is the lowest ranking woman in the village? Why? How do you see her?
3. Who is the highest ranking man in the village? Why? How do you see him?
4. Who is the lowest ranking man in the village? Why? How do you see him?
5. What gives a young women prestige? How is she expected to behave (to save her face), what should she possess, what knowledge is important? What should she not do?
6. What gives an old women prestige? How is she expected to behave (to save her face), what should she possess, what knowledge is important? What should she not do?
7. What gives a young man prestige? How is he expected to behave (to save his face), what should she possess, what knowledge is important? What should he not do?
8. What gives an old man prestige? How is he expected to behave (to save his face), what should he possess, what knowledge is important? What should he not do?
9. Is it possible to rank the different tasks perfomed regarding paper mulberry by prestige? Yes? No? Why, why not?
10. Will a specific knowledge or work will become more important than others?
11. What means poverty for you?

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