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Welcome Remark

By Ambassador Vitthya Vejjajiva

Vice-Chairman, ASEF Board of Governor, Thailand At the Asia-Europe Seminar on Ethnic Cultures Promotion 18 September 2001, Chiang Mai, Thailand

Excellencies, Distinguished Participants, Ladies and Gentlemen

It is a great honor for me to be with you today at the Seminar entitled "Ethnic Cultures Promotion" which is organized by the Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF) and the Office of the National Education Commission of Thailand (ONEC) in collaboration with Vietnam Institute of Culture and Arts Studies and Central Arts Council of Finland.

As the representative of Thailand to ASEF, may I extend warm greetings welcome to all the named institutions and the participants from the two continents to this famous city of Chiang Mai, the "Star" of Northern Thailand, which, indeed, is a most appropriate venue, considering Chiang Mai's rich and varied historical and cultural heritage and its geographical position right in the heartland of Southeast Asia.

Also in my capacity as the ASEF Governor for Thailand, may I express a deep sense of gratification that such important intellectual-cum-cultural event, co-sponsored by ASEF, should be held in Thailand. Indeed, everyone of the joint organizers of this Seminar should be congratulated for their positive interest and support as well as their far-sightedness and exemplary planning, which has finally and effectively translated their vision

into reality. My especial thanks and appreciation go to the Office of the National Education Commission of Thailand for its valuable contributions as the host institution.

To my mind, this seminar is yet another testimony of the Asia-Europe Foundation's dedication to the promotion of better understanding between the peoples of the two regions, which, as you all know, is the prime objective of the 25 Asian and European Governments, plus the Commission of the European Union, who set up the Foundation as the cultural arm of the ASEM process.

You will presently learn more and in greater detail about ASEF's aims and achievements from the Deputy Executive Director and the Director for Cultural Exchange of ASEF. Suffice it for me to say as Thailand's Governor how much we in Thailand appreciate the role and value of culture as the soul and spiritual well-being of any national society.

As it happens, both Europe and Asia are blessed with an abundance of cultural traditions and heritage. Cultural exchange, in this context, seems an obvious priority, when the avowed objective is to make peoples of the two continents know, understand and appreciate each other more and more. The so-called "mainstream" cultures of the countries of the two regions are reasonably well-known to one another, thanks to long-standing contact over many centuries. But to venture to the more unusual and therefore more challenging task of discussion ethnic cultures in this inter-regional effort is certainly a bold initiative, which can only lead to a deeper appreciation of the cultural dimension of Asia-Europe co-operation.

Distinguished Participants, Ladies and Gentlemen

Ethnic Cultures, in themselves and anywhere in the world, deserve closer attention and higher esteem since, they may signify, for lack of a better term, the "inner" soul of a nation. The survival and thriving of ethnic cultures in any society, as indeed their strengths or weaknesses and the degrees of support of promotion by the national authorities,

may all add up as a valid indicator of the health and well-being of that given society. An opportunity to compare "notes", in other words, experience both positive and negative between Europe and Asia, is to be welcomed, as indeed is this seminar. It can thus confidently be expected to produce helpful ideas and recommendations on the subject of ethnic cultures themselves, together with possibilities for further co-operation between the 2 regions in this matter of common interest.

May I conclude by wishing the Seminar every success and a pleasant and fruitful stay in Chiang Mai for all the distinguished participants.

Thank you.

Welcome Remark

By Mr. Kim Sung-Chul

Deputy Executive Director, ASEF

At the Asia-Europe Seminar on Ethnic Cultures Promotion

18 September 2001, Chiang Mai, Thailand

Your Excellency Ambassador Vitthya Vejjajiva Distinguished Participants from Asia and Europe

It is indeed a great pleasure that Asia-Europe Foundation has this opportunity to hold Asia-Europe Seminar on Ethnic Cultures Promotion in cooperation with the Office of the National Education Commission of Thailand.

This seminar is particularly meaningful because it is being held in the beautiful city of Chiang Mai which is steeped in the cultural diversity. No one denies the importance of cultural diversity is the thing that provides the vitality to the society and even upgrades the quality of the society as a whole. But, as ethnic culture, is less prevailing the mainstream culture, it is the culture that needs protection and promotion. But, as Ms. Asa Simma, in her paper on Sami Culture described certainly not, "as a colorful feather in the hat for the majority culture, showing falsely how good they are towards their ethnic minority". It should rather be based the desire to understand, respect and love. Lack of understanding is at the root of every human problem. If you understand your neighbors better, then, you are slower in getting angry, and more likely to be tolerant to things that are different from our

own. You understand that other people have a different way of living, and therefore, can have a different view of things.

I still remember that day, 35 years ago, when I was punished to go without food for three days by my elders in the family. One of my uncles was explaining to young ones about the patriotic fighters who bombed and assassinated the Japanese dignitaries. I expressed my view that they must be terrorists in the eyes of the Japanese. I believe it was difficult for my uncles, who vividly remembered the Japanese colonial rule, to have that point of view. I still believe it helps to solve our problems if we put ourselves in other people's position and try to understand other people.

What Asia-Europe Foundation does is promoting the understanding of peoples of Europe and Asia. In the past four years, ASEF carried out over 90 projects in the areas of cultural, intellectual, and people-to-people exchange involving 4,500 people from Asia and Europe. The Asia-Europe Seminar on Ethnic Cultures Promotion is doubly meaningful because it aims to promote the understanding not only between Asia-Europe, but also among different cultures in our own societies.

I hope you will all enjoy the seminar, and use this opportunity to establish a network which will enrich your work for many years to come. I hope you will also enjoy the contacts with the ethnic culture in this beautiful Chiang Mai region.

Thank you.

Opening Remark

By H.E. Dr. Kasem Watanachai

Privy Councillor
At the Opening Ceremony
of Asia-Europe Seminar on Ethnic Cultures Promotion
18 September 2001, Chiang Mai, Thailand

Excellencies, Distinguished Participants, Ladies and Gentlemen

First of all, I would like to welcome colleagues from Asia and Europe to one of the most significant seminars in Asia, the "Ethnic Cultures Promotion", which is organised by Asia-Europe Foundation and Office of the National Education Commission of Thailand, in collaboration with Vietnam Institute of Culture and Arts Studies (VICAS) and Central Arts Council of Finland.

Our meeting here in Chiang Mai has its own significance. This northern province is home to various ethnic groups with a fascinating historical and socio-cultural background. Here you can learn the diversity of their lifestyles and cultures from linguistic classification and ethnographic aspects including religious practices and customs.

Such ethnic and cultural differences are playing a greater role in the world today than ever before. After the trauma of World War II, the World moved through into two major periods -- the first was the Cold War period, and the second is the ascendancy of the Free World, which has a bi-polar power structure, in a contrast to the Cold War period and its a bi-modal power structure.

In today's world, there is increasing fragmentation of national souvereignty into numerous ethnic groupings, causing inequity, loss of rights, economic poverty, fighting over scarce resources as well as ideological and cultural polarization. There are differences in beliefs; for instance, religious beliefs, cultural beliefs, beliefs of good governance as well as beliefs of the new world economic order, some of which can and do lead to conflicts. Some visible examples are the increasing globalization of the world economy and increased international investment which is one of the main causes of global financial instability. There is also an increasing adoption of a so-called "Global" culture which at the same time has caused a re-assertion on traditional culture of peoples around the world. So, it seems that globalization, regionalization and localization are all different trends happening and competing at the same time, all as a result of one another. The so-called cultural imperialism is spreading conflicts of differences, greed and selfishness as ethnic groups are deprived their rights and the strong take advantage of the weak.

Ladies and Gentlemen

There exists many ethnic cultures in our Asia-Europe communities, which have invariably enriched our societies through their unique customs and identities. One of the reasons we are here today is to combine our efforts into the preservation and promotion of all manifestations of these different cultures. We should seek cooperation and find ways to blend this cultural diversity into a global cultural richness and hence stop the bickering and conflict. We should help these ethnic peoples to promote and preserve their cultures in order to create better understanding, to achieve more equal rights and to create more harmony and peace in our regions.

Ladies and Gentlemen

I believe that this international seminar can call for a better solutions and marks the beginning of building a network among specialists, which in turn, will provide opportunities for possible exchanges between the two regions in the future.

To conclude, I wish the seminar every success and hope that all of you have a pleasant time in Chiang Mai. May I now declare the Seminar on Ethnic Cultures Promotion officially open.

Thank you.

Closing Remark

By Dr. Rung Kaewdang

Secretary-General of the National Education Commission of Thailand.

At the Farewell Dinner

20 September 2001, Chiang Mai, Thailand

Distinguished Participants, Ladies and Gentlemen.

On behalf of the coorganizer with Asia-Europe Foundation, I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to the chairpersons and the rapporteurs who worked hard and have done an excellent job during the three days of the seminar. And most of all, I would like to thank all participants for your support to make this seminar a great success.

To our understanding, globalization is bringing a clear challenge to every society. The knowledge-based economy and competitiveness is attained through knowledge and ability of the people. As educators, we cannot deny responsibility for the country's economic, social, cultural and political ills. In the case of Thailand, we had no other alternative but education reform to help our people to survive efficiently in this global village. The heart of educational reform is the reform of learning or the new culture of learning. Only through wise learning will our children be able to develop their fullest potential in accord with their aptitude, interests and capabilities. They will not only understand themselves but also understand their families, their peers and other human creatures living in this world.

Ladies and Gentlemen

You are here at Chiang Mai province, the home of many ethnic cultural groups, to share and exchange our learning of these ethnic cultures in order to foster our mutual understanding, increasing the effectiveness of preserving, protecting, developing as well as promoting the international exchange in this particular area in the future. I am certain that during these three days, thanks to your strong efforts, you have already given concrete and venerable recommendations to implement in our Asian and European countries.

Chiang Mai is regarded as a city of learning; there are many places for you to visit and enjoy the cultural diversities of the surrounding communities. So, before leaving Chiang Mai for those who are busy with the tight schedule of the seminar, I recommend that you increase your learning by visiting the nearest cultural spot, the night bazaar, just 10 minute's walk from this hotel. There 'you can relax, have a chance to talk with the merchants, some of whom belong to the ethnic groups, and learn how they manage to sell their products in the local market.

Thank you very much again, I wish you have a safe journey back home. And I now declare the seminar on the ethnic cultures promotion closed.

GENERAL REPORT

Preface

The Asia-Europe Seminar on "Ethnic Cultures Promotion" is a project jointly organized by the Asia- Europe Foundation (ASEF) and Office of the National Education Commission (ONEC) of Thailand in collaboration with the Vietnam Institute of Culture and Arts Studies and Central Arts Council of Finland. It was organized from 18 to 20 September 2001 at Chiang Mai Province and was attended by 100 representatives from 16 countries. The objectives of the project are:

- 1. to identify the current status of ethnic cultures in ASEM member countries
- to increase effectiveness in their efforts to preserve and promote ethnic cultures through exchanges of experiences
- to build a network among specialists and representatives of institutions on ethnic cultures
- to provide opportunities for possible exchanges of ethnic cultures from the two regions, which are expected to add depth to the overall cultural exchange dimension of Asia and Europe.

In addition, two workshops were also held to discuss the 4 important issues; they are:-

- 1. Concurrent Situation on Promotion of Ethnic Cultures
- 2. Ethnic Cultures in Local Economy
- 3. Protection and Development of Ethnic Cultures
- 4. Promotion of International Exchange on Cultures of Ethnic Groups

Inaugural Meeting

In the morning session, distinguished guests of honour, Ambassador Vitthya Vejjajiva, Vice-Chairman, ASEF Board of Governor, Thailand and Mr. Kim Sung-Chul, Deputy Executive Director, ASEF delivered welcoming remarks to the participants.

Ambassador Vitthya Vejjajiva, in his welcome remarks, stated that the mainstream cultures of the countries of the two regions are reasonably well-known to each another, but to venture to the more unusual and challenging task of discussion of ethnic cultures in this inter-regional effort is certainly a bold initiative leading to a deeper appreciation of the cultural dimension of Asia-Europe cooperation. Ethnic cultures deserve closer attention and higher esteem. The survival and thriving of ethnic cultures in any society, as indeed their strengths or weaknesses and the degrees of support and promotion by the national authorities, may all add up as a valid indicator of the health and well-being of that given society. He further stated that this seminar will produce helpful ideas and recommendations on the subject of ethnic cultures themselves, together with possibilities for future cooperation between Asian and European countries.

Mr. Kim Sung-Chul, ASEF Deputy Executive Director, welcomed the delegates to the seminar. He informed that the Asia-Europe Foundation's major tasks are to promote the understanding of peoples of Europe and Asia. In the past four years, more than 90 projects in the areas of cultural, intellectual, and people-to-people exchange were implemented and had involved more than 4,500 people in the two regions. This seminar is doubly meaningful for the reason that it promotes the understanding not only between Asia and Europe, but also among different cultures in our global societies. He hoped that the encounter of participants in different areas would offer a better chance to establish a network that could enrich works for many years to come.

After the welcoming remarks, Mr. Cai Rongsheng, ASEF Director of Cultural Exchange, informed the participants of the background, the expectation of this project, and proposed names of the four chairpersons and two general rapporteurs. The seminar approved the nominations as proposed.

The seminar was officially opened by Dr. Kasem Watanachai, Privy Councillor. In his opening address, he stated that there exists many ethnic cultures in Asia-Europe communities, which have invariably enriched the societies through their unique customs and identities. The gathering of experts from Asia and Europe at this seminar will undoubtedly help preserve and promote all manifestations of the different cultures as well as call for better solutions, mark the beginning of a network-building among specialists, which in turn will provide opportunities for possible exchanges between the two regions in the future.

SESSION ONE:

Concurrent Situation on Promotion of Ethnic Cultures Tuesday, 18 September 2001 at 10.15 - 12.30 hrs.

In the first plenary session, Dr. Pisit Charoenwongsa, Director, SEAMEO Regional Centre for Archaeology and Fine Arts (SPAFA), Thailand and Ms. Naseem Khan, Senior Policy Advisor, the Arts Council of England, were nominated to be chair and rapporteur respectively. The three speakers were invited to present their papers, starting from the speaker from Philippines, Professor Jesus T. Peralta, presenting the paper on "Documentation, Preservation and Promotion of Ethnic Cultures in the Philippines", followed by the presentation of the Thai speaker, Mr. Chupinit Kesmanee under the title of "Overview of the Ethnic Cultures Promotion in Thailand: A Case Study of Ethnic Highlanders" and the paper of Ms. Asa Simma from Finland entitled "Observations on the Sami Situation", read by Ms. Irma-Liisa Perttunen.

The participants heard about the riches of 'ethnic' culture - the songs of the *Sami* people of the far north of Scandinavia (in a paper from Asa Simma) and the long epic chant, the *Hud Hud*, sung traditionally in the Philippines (described by Dr. Jesus Peralta).

These forms embody the identity and wisdom of the peoples concerned (there was some distaste amongst delegates for the term 'ethnic minorities') and need to be retained. In the case of the *Hud Hud*, this has recently been declared a Masterpiece for All Mankind under a UNESCO scheme.

These voices are also strong advocates for diversity, but also are too rarely appreciated and fostered. The morning's session heard three presentations that detailed the barriers that ethnic peoples faced: barriers of terminology, the law, education and international convention.

Where terminology was concerned, the words used to describe ethnic peoples were frequently not of their choosing and in some cases were considered highly derogatory. They did not recognize themselves in the terms applied to them. They should have the right to be able to denote the names that they felt were right.

Laws acted against them, denying them the right to a voice. The *Sami* people, paticipants were told by Ms Simma, had experienced barriers in using their own traditional language. Thai Highlanders had lost the right to live on their own ancestral lands when those had been declared part of National Parks.

State education itself encouraged young people from minorities to devalue their own culture, and to contribute to the loss of those cultures. Lastly, there was the widespread prejudice - fuelled, it was said, by the FAO and the World Bank - against shifting cultivation (traditional farming methods of many ethnic minority peoples) and a campaign to stop it.

While the meeting was clear about some of the forces acting against the ethnic peoples, delegates accepted that there was a central dilemma. How could cultures be preserved but still not be ossified? Cultures need air to change and develop and forms often vanish when the function that had given them life disappears. Delegates did not want to support a dead museumised culture, with no connection with living ways.

Some hints were taken from the Finnish paper that spoke of the way to accept new techniques for the transmission of ancient arts - for a storyteller to ply her art on a word processor as well as by the traditional fireside. And the example was mentioned of the Welsh language, once a dying form and then revived by the establishment of a Welsh television channel. Now a vigorous Welsh literary tradition is following suite, with even Welsh films on the international market.

SESSION TWO:

Ethnic Cultures in Local Economy

Tuesday, 18 September 2001, at 14.00 - 15.00hrs.

Ms. Marja-Leena Pétas, representatives of Arts Council of Finland, Dr. Chua Soo Pong, Director of Singapore Chinese Opera Institute were nominated Chair and rapporteur respectively. Mr. Stéphane Martin, speaker from France was invited to present his paper on "Ethnic Cultures and Minorities as Cultural and Economical Asset".

In his paper, he gave a comprehensive account of how the rights and freedom of the 'minority' have come a long way. Citing many examples from Europe and Asia, he illustrated the contributions made by the ethnic groups to the economy of societies. Their works of art, either in the forms of stone or wood sculptures or ritual drum, are not only used as commercial products but also served as cultural symbols with distinctive identity.

Mr. Martin then unveiled the French's new policy on museums wanting to 'give the arts of Africa, the Americans, Oceanic and Asia their rightful place in the museums of France'. In Paris, a new museum devoted to become a centre for exchanges of artworks and promoter of preservation of cultural heritages

of 'the others', the Quai Branly museum, will be opened in 2004. However, he also cautioned that museum should not become a place where new economic exploitation could find its foundation and justification. The new museum will formulate a local economic policy that benefits the minorities, and this will be made possible through dialogue and communication.

Questions from the floor included the right and responsibility of the ethnic groups which are invited to exhibit their artifacts in museum, the risk of exploitation of the underprivileged, the importance of dialogue and communication between the museum and the ethnic community and the initiative of the museums in reaching out to the communities that produce the cultural products to be exhibited.

SESSION THREE:

The Protection and Development of Ethnic Cultures Wednesday, 19 September 2001, at 09.00 - 12.00 hrs.

In the third session, Mr. Prakash Daswani, Artistic Director of Cultural Cooperation, United Kingdom and Dr. Chua Soo Pong, from Singapore were nominated as Chair and Rapporteur respectively. Three papers from Vietnam, Austria and Council of Europe were presented.

Dr. Luang Hong Quang provided background information of the many nationalities in Vietnam and examined how the social factors and economic growth have shaped the changes in the environment of arts and culture. (A) Ecological changes forced the nationalities to migrate to lower mountainous areas. (B) The settlement movement launched by the government in the 5Os and since 1975, had resulted in closer interaction among nationalities. (C) Development of infrastructures, mass media and education has resulted in greater culture transformation.

He then highlighted a three-element focus - on the artist, the work, and the public - as the approach that would guarantee the safety of intangible cultural heritage.

Vietnam Institute of Culture and Arts Studies has been in existence since 1997, spent 17 billion VNPong (US\$1,330,000) for 308 projects documenting intangible ethnic heritages in 61 provinces.

Furthermore, VICAS organized training courses to upgrade the skills and knowledge for its project team members. It is hoped that the data bank in intangible ethnic heritage the VICAS built will be used to educate the young. The Institute will enhance its exchange programmes with foreign partners to develop a wider network on intangible ethnic heritages.

The Chairman of the session then read the paper on "The Current Work of the Council of Europe" in the framework of the Protection and Development of Cultural Pluralism: The Role of Heritage on behalf of Dr. Dona Nuria Sanz Gallego from Council of Europe. The paper outlined the aim of the Council of Europe to achieve greater unity among its member states as Europe experienced the process of 'disintegration' in one part while to other part was integrated in the 90s. The writer cited examples of projects such as the defense of traditional techniques and know-how or cooperation in exploring intangible heritage, as efforts made by the Council of Europe to promote awareness of cultural heritage in the continent.

Dr. Helmut Lukas' paper focused on the comparison between two ethnic communities, *Anak Dalam* (or Kubu) in Jambi and Palembang, Indonesia and the *Maniq* in Southern Thailand. Professor Lukas traced their history from the days they played a valuable role in politics and economic to their present predicament of being marginalised in the recent years.

Professor Lukas' paper generated considerable response from the floor. One asked whether the state has the right to claim land from the indigenous people and if the indigenous people are capable of sustainable development on their own and if their way of life could be protected.

A linguist mentioned that some changes initiated by the authority caused the

serious threats to the ethnic cultures. For instance, in some countries language, which is considered an importance vehicle in transmitting culture, had disappeared. In this case, in implementing of projects, the consultation must be done closely with the ethnic groups.

The participants were cautioned about the danger of ethnocentrism and racism in the studies of ethnic cultures. It was pointed out that the right for development should not be ignored. There should be further studies on the cultural expressions of the ethnic communities and their interaction with the larger communities. It was agreed that for the culture of the many ethnic communities, what to preserve, what to be protected and what to be changed are debatable and deserves further discussion.

SESSION FOUR:

The Promotion of International Exchange on Cultures of Ethnic Groups

Wednesday, 19 September 2001 at 14.00 - 15.00 hrs.

In the fourth plenary session, Mrs. Savitri Suwansathit, Inspector-General, Ministry of Education, Thailand and Ms. Naseem Khan from the United Kingdom were nominated as Chair and rapporteur. The paper entitled "The Importance of Promoting Ethnic Cultures Exchange in Asia and Europe" was presented by Professor Pan Guang, speaker from China.

Professor Pan Guang talked about the effects of economic globalization in cultural terms, seeing a dual tendency - to westernize and also to localize. He warned against cultural hegemony, isolationism and extremism, and saw ethnic cultural exchanges as being a corrective to any of those tendencies. The gulfs that had existed between Asia and Europe were being partly bridged by the effect of the Asian economic miracle, but the need was to find a model that

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would ensure equal partnerships. He suggested that the following should be

priorities:-

What kind of exchange and co-operation and exchange were needed between

Europe and Asia, asked the Chair, in opening the floor to debate.

There was a response from the floor that cultural diversity was favorable to

economic development. It was not a mere moral piety, but practical sense.

There was a need to find commonalities, and steps that could be relevant and

practical to a broad range of participants. Collaborative research - such as the Council of Europe's research into the practice of seven very disparate European

nations around cultural diversity - was one example given.

In conclusion, it was determined that the following workshop

sessions should look for commonalities, for modes of exchange, mechanisms,

sources of funding as well as means of networking for the international exchange

promotion of cultures.

SUMMARY OF WORKSHOP DISCUSSIONS

Discussion Group I. Tuesday, 18 September 2001 at 15.15-17.00 hrs.

Topic: Concurrent Situation on Promotion of Ethnic Cultures

Dr. Pisit Charoenwongsa

Rapporteur: Ms. Naseem Khan

A wide-ranging discussion started by considering traditional methods of ethnic

peoples. The shifting cultivation method was officially frowned upon, it was felt, because it had become associated with despised groups, as was the habit of

animism. The knowledge of folk medicine also suffered from disparagement - and

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worse. Multinationals were building seed banks and robbing ethnic peoples of their birthright, and patents were being taken out on the genes of plants used in traditional healing.

The group wondered if Islam posed restrictions on cultural development, but felt that this was a matter of interpretation rather than basic doctrine. All faiths have their perspectives and Islam should not be singled out.

There was much disquiet over the loss of old skills. Young people did not learn traditional cultural forms, and at times the instruments themselves were at risk and commercial exploitation was a threat. Tourism had its advantages, but it should be kept within bounds, and resources should go towards sustaining the culture of marginalised groups.

It was accepted that commercial interests would always exist, but the concern over standards and a shift towards popular entertainment persisted. It lent strength to the desire of the group to see more documentation and recording of traditional forms.

Discussion Group II: Tuesday, 18 September 2001 at 15.15-17.00 hrs.

Topic: Ethnic Cultures in Local Economy

Chair: Ms. Marja-Leena Pétas

- To protect cultural minorities
- To mount more exhibitions, festivals and media coverage
- To encourage more youth exchanges
- To give more support to researchers and scholars.

Rapporteur: Dr. Chua Soo Pong

The workshop session dealt with the problems in terminology, role of museums, formulation of cultural policy to promote cultural industry, relationship between local economy and national economy, commercialization of ethnic culture and protection of benefit of ethnic cultures.

The participants voiced their discomfort of the term 'minority' and feel that the term 'ethnic culture' is problematic too. One suggestion is that the term nationality might be more appropriate.

The role of museums was also a topic that generated long discussion. Citing the example of the Ethnographic Museum in Osaka as an example, it was suggested that there is clearly a need to build museums in locations that are accessible. Museums should organize exhibitions that financially benefit the ethnic communities as well as educational to the masses and to have dialogue with the ethnic communities regarding aspects of culture to be featured. It is also necessary to organize training and workshops so that skills and knowledge in traditional modes of production could be disseminated.

There should be measures to prevent the exploitation by middlemen in the process of museum exhibitions.

The issue of losing artifacts in the past was also raised. Hence, there should be concentrated efforts to eradicate such activities. Organization of exhibitions should also to a great extent help to promote the self-esteem of the ethnic community and to create opportunities for their economic gain.

Governments and cultural agencies could formulate well-defined policy to help promote cultural products of the ethnic communities, and to promote cultural tourism, to encourage the injection of new meaning into tradition and to initiate educational programmes on ethnic cultural heritage, to prevent the domination of the main-stream culture and ensure the development of cultural diversity.

Finally, the participants also emphasized the importance of education and training programmes for the ethnic communities. Apart from handicraft textiles and food culture, their traditional cultural practices and intangible heritage such as the performing arts, should not be overlooked.

Discussion Group III: Wednesday, 19 September 2001 at 15.15-17.00 hrs. Topic: Protection and Development of Ethnic Cultures

Chair: Ms. Irma-Liisa Perttunen Rapporteur: Dr. Chua Soo Pong

The session began with the discussion on development ethnic culture and what impacts economic development will have on the ethnic cultural heritage. Nevertheless culture is not static and the process of change, through education, will bring about economic development. This will also lead to more communication with other ethnic groups and become part of the mainstream cultures.

It was suggested the ethnic communities makes their own choices and more importantly, there should be measures to empower them.

A successful example cited was that of the Inter-Mountain People Education and Culture in Thailand Association (IMPECT), an NGO that helps to bring education to the people in northern Thailand. It helps to improve their living standard and to develop agriculture. The ethnic community continues to learn their mother tongue and learn about their cultural heritage.

Once again, the issue of language was emphasized. Learning mother tongue and national language will help to promote communication between ethnic groups as seen in the success of the Indonesian bilingual policy. Preservation of intangible heritage was found urgent due to the dying of many languages. Real participation of the indigenous people in the planning programmes regarding the fields and areas where they are living, would be essential.

Finally, it was agreed that further research on the needs of the ethnic community is essential in helping the government formulates policies that can benefit development of ethnic cultures and the economy of these communities.

Discussion Group IV: Wednesday, 19 September 2001 at 15.15-17.00 hrs. Topic: Promotion of International Exchange on Cultures of Ethnic Groups

Chair: Ms. Savitri Suwansathit Rapporteur: Ms. Naseem Khan

The discussion group established common values that should be maintained in cultural exchanges; i.e.,

- work of quality, sincerity and creativity. It was recognized that art work needed not only follow tradition, but could also create in contemporary terms.
- equal benefit of exchange to both sides, and result in long-lasting sustainable impacts.

Based on that understanding, the group turned to specifics. It particularly focussed on the issue of intellectual property rights. Time and again ethnic cultural forms have been appropriated by commercial interests and one occasion was mentioned in which a highly popular Thai traditional pattern was discovered to have been patented by Dutch commercial interests. The group wanted to see action taken so that ethnic peoples gained the benefit of their work.

Festivals and workshops were seen as a good mode of exchange. Workshops were a more low-key and maybe more far-reaching method of exchange. The group prioritized workshops with young people from different countries, scholars and traditional artists. It felt that empowering the traditional artist and maker was essential.

Information in general was an important theme. A website was needed to continue the discussions begun here in Chiang Mai. ASEF is possibly launching one, and this subject could be contained within it.

In conclusion, the principle of using existing networks and structures was approved. Many were mentioned. The European Union's Asian Link could offer a source of funding. The CIOFF was an important umbrella. The British Council and Arts Council of England, the Finnish Arts Council and other European Arts Councils offered opportunities for advice on promotion and promoters, and should be contacted. UNESCO's Living Treasures scheme offered a very important model. The scheme should be expanded to take in the protection of ethnic cultures' creators. The Council of Europe collaborative study of Cultural Diversity Management in seven countries could be also a useful model and provide a factual base for political debates.

Reflection of Ethnic Cultures Visit

The participants visited 3 different ethnic groups in Chiang Mai province; i.e. Khun Klang Village, Nong Tao Village and Mae Sa Mai Village. The visit provided an impressive perspective with evidence of proactive thought and creative planning. The representative of each group reported on the reflection of their visits on the ethnic cultures' way of living, socio-cultural contexts and the coming of globalization which affected their traditional beliefs, ways of living, as well as the dangers and the negatives of the overall situation of minorities.

The conference was impressed by the proactive steps taken by communities themselves to identify their own cultural, economic and educational needs, and their efforts to see that those needs were met.

Reports by Workshop Rapporteurs and Chairpersons

The seminar was concluded by the two workshop rapporteurs which were summarized into 2 parts: they are (1) the Reflection from the paper presentations and (2) Recommendations made at the discussion groups.

(1) The reflection from the paper presentations can be itemized as follows:

1.1 Lessons.

The three villages with their demonstrations of alternative curricula, cultural centres and internal organization showed the potential of people from ethnic minorities in planning. Far from being passive victims, they often had a keen sense of their plight, a keen desire to be able to profit from the mainstream while not losing their own roots, and informed ideas of what would work or not work within their own communities. A meeting of this kind inevitably had drawn in scholars and administrators. But another such should take in people of different ethnic communities to debate the issues further.

1.2 Barriers.

The seminar had been very clear about the barriers standing in the way of both ethnic cultures and, indeed, the national cultures at large in a globalized world. Education could marginalize traditional cultures, and inculcate scant respect for them in their pupils/learners. Legal frameworks could act against those cultures further, denying them the right to equality or even access to their own ancestral homes. A number of the papers included in the delegates' folder were of great interest and brought up very pertinent issues.

The seminar had been troubled by the legal fragility of traditional cultures. Delegates were shocked to hear how makers of a traditional Thai pattern had discovered that it had been patented by a Dutch firm, so continuing to use it constituted illegality. The question of appropriations had concerned people greatly. While named creators could have some form of redress, anonymous traditional crafts (even though experts were well able to identify the maker by his or her distinctive 'fingerprint') had no such protection. They felt there was a real role for ASEF in keeping this issue centre stage. They were heartened to learn that a forthcoming ASEF conference in Lyons on cultural industries would address at least part of this issue.

Lastly, the seminar was concerned over threats to quality coming from commerce and tourism. It had heard about the loss of skills amongst the young and problems in obtaining products. Campaigns are needed to be waged to protect riches like the *Hud Hud*. And that example had been bolstered, in the seminar, by hearing about the *Sami* song, the ecological harmony of the *Maniq*, and bolstered by the handicrafts seen during the day's visit to the *Hmong* Village.

But it was not a matter of simply retaining static traditions. There were some strong voices raised reminding delegates about the role of the contemporary artist-creator. Traditional arts need to develop, while retaining their roots. They are for living arts, and a matter of evolution, rather than revolution.

1.3 Steps:

What can be done? Clearly standards need to be established and skills retained.

The seminar had shown:

- Training needed to be addressed, at different levels, and for different constituencies. Young people were particularly important.
 The idea of adopting the system of Living Treasures attracted support.
- The axis of interest should focus on three areas of benefit the artist, the work and the public. The artist should be reinforced by policy and his or her status raised. The work should be improved, standards guaranteed, skills and artistic freedom protected. The public should have the opportunity to see, experience and under-

stand the work. If these three sectors are borne in mind, and long-term commitment made to them, then there was a real chance that the Asia-Europe Seminar on Ethnic Cultures Promotion would have made a positive step towards a richer, more informed and informative future.

However, it had been clearly stated that all activities, without exception, should take place within a frame-work of long-term commitment and sustainability. The seminar did not want to see one-off ventures that embodied no follow-ups. The real links, real knowledge and real communications developed between Asia and Europe, between countries in Asia and those in Europe are more rewarding. They need to be teamed with educational work, skills-sharing workshops, research, documentation and contextualization if they were to have the lasting impact that would make sense of their endeavors.

(2) Recommendations:

The seminar reasserted and supported the aims of the seminar in seeking for ways to use culture to create meaningful bridges between Asia and Europe. It explored different methods and ways of creating such exchange, particularly with the ethnic minority cultures of each country in mind.

Their broad recommendations fall into six categories, and while they focus on ethnic peoples, they clearly have resonance for the overall cultures of all the countries of ASEF. The framework in which they should be regarded is one of long-term effectiveness. The seminar was clear that they wanted to build relationships that represented long-term commitments, and effects that would last. The role of the artist and the scholar had particular relevance, while there was strong support for the role of the young, the hope of the future. The involvement of people of ethnic minority origin in the formulation of policy was also key. The six categories are:

(1) NETWORKS

Connections and the flow of information are vital. This conference has in itself created a network of specialists and committed individuals. This should be continued as an informal entity. A website presence was needed.

At the same time, members should take care to use all the other available networks - ICOM, CIOFF, the World Dance Alliance, the European Arts Councils, and funding opportunities such as offered by the EU's Asia Link.

(2) WEBSITE

It was felt that it would be useful to keep alive the cooperative spirit in the field of ethnic cultures. And as an immediate measure, a website for the follow-up of the seminar should be set as a forum for exchange and to prepare for future projects of further co-operation among countries of Europe and Asia.

(3) TRAINING

Delegates were extremely concerned at the loss of traditional skills and wisdom. They recommended the organizing of series of training workshops focused on specific skills. The example on the Living Treasures Scheme of UNESCO can be adopted and extended. At the same time, they called for policies that would see techniques passed on from practitioners to ethnic groups and others. This should be reinforced by a policy of promotion, development and presentation.

(4) WORKSHOPS/COLLABORATIVE PROJECTS

Workshops are an invaluable device for passing on skills and sharing techniques in an ongoing and intensive way. The seminar called for workshops that would bring together scholars around collaborative research, the development of documentation and joint studies; young people around skills sharing; traditional artists with their peers and others.

(5) RESEARCH

No policy can be formed without knowledge. Research should be a fundamental activity, with the kind of workshops mentioned above in which scholars can collaborate. It should also enable the building up of comprehensive data of the resources of the sectors involved and investigation into ways in which to disseminate this

effectively.

(6) FESTIVALS AND EXHIBITIONS

The demonstration of the highest skills available helps to further the art and to raise the status of the creators. The seminar supported the concept of exhibitions and festivals across regions, as part of a general strategy of sustainability.

CLOSING

Mr. Kim Sung-Chul, Deputy Executive Director of ASEF, thanked four distinguished chairpersons and two rapporteurs for their hard work during the past three days. He also thanked the co-organizer, the Office of the National Education Commission of Thailand, for the well-arranged preparations for the participants, and its close collaboration with the Office of the National Culture Commission and Chiang Mai Rajabhat Institute to make this seminar smooth and successful. As a follow-up of this project, he also called for another seminar to be held somewhere in Europe.

Dr. Rung Kaewdang, Secretary-General of the National Education Commission, Thailand, also thanked the four chairpersons, two rapporteurs, persons and institutions involved, in making this seminar a great success. In his closing remarks, he cited that globalization is bringing a clear challenge to every society. In order to wisely survive in this competitive world, people of that society must possess intelligent learning. In the case of Thailand, educational reform is the best solution and the heart of educational reform is the new culture of learning. Learning would enable children to develop their fullest potential in accord with their aptitude, interests and capabilities and most of all to understand others. This

 the benefits of possible inter-regional collaboration. The gathering of information as to what resources existed would be a useful first step. It was suggested each country amass information about a particular art form - an imaginative form of collaboration. Networks to share information were fundamental to policy and to initiatives. These could be formal or informal, and the Internet offered an easy way to communicate. Cross-regional workshops could also provide the spread of skills and information - between the best of traditional artists from different countries, between scholars who, through collaborative research, could provide the evidence base needed for a strong and credible foundation.

seminar is the venue for Asian and European participants to improve their learning, learning the real situations of the ethnic cultures and finding ways to preserve, protect, develop and promote the international exchange in these particular areas. He reiterated that the concrete and venerable recommendations made would be followed-up and acted upon.

He again thanked all the participants, presented gifts as a token of appreciation to chairpersons and rapporteurs, and declared the seminar closed.



STATE OF AFFAIRS:

Documentation, Preservation and Promotion of Ethnic Cultures in the Philippines

By Jesus T. Peralta, Ph.D.¹

Even before there were countries, there already were ethnic groups. The ecological diversity and the differential cultural adjustments of particular populations to their effective environment both physical and natural, have led to the evolution of at least 70-80 major ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippine archipelago. The number is thereabouts and perhaps cannot be precisely determined. A conservative estimate of subgroups under these major ones is a listed 250 sub-groupings down to a third level- a number that can rise even to more than five hundred if further studies are conducted since ethno-linguistic studies indicate this. This problem cannot be resolved because individual societies fluctuate all the time - some groups merge, some fission off, others emerge, while still others simply fade away.

Ecotonal areas too have given rise to marginal populations where culture change is much more accelerated than the core areas. The mainstream groups (55.7 million) composed mainly by the Tagalog, Cebuano, Ilocano, Hiligaynon, Bicolano, Kapampangan, Waray, Pangasinan of the Luzon mainland and the Central Philippines (Visayas), comprise 87.42% of the total population, while the indigenous groups form 12.56% (Muslim - 6.05%; other indigenous - 6.51%). The Islam practicing

¹ Consultant, National Commission for Culture and the Arts; and retired Director III, National Museum

people (3.9 million) are the Maguindanao, Mananaw, Tausug Sama/Badjao and smaller groups of Mindanao mainland, and the adjoining islands. The peoples who traditionally practice indigenous religions are numerous in the highlands of Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao. Among the major ones are the Manobo, Subanon, Ibanag, Kankanay, B'laan, Mandaya, and Ifugao - numbering some 4.1 million. They compose some 6.51% of the entire population of the Philippines, numbering some 4.1 million.²

The present population of the Philippines now speak languages that belong to the Austronesian family of languages since the influx of these populations at about the beginning of the Neolithic Period approximately 6000 BC. The physical types are southern mongoloid except for the negrito and Mamanwa populations. Even the some 30 negrito groups and the Mamanwa speak the language of the Austronesian peoples closest to them.

The diversification of the entire population is not only dispersed horizontally in the various regions, but also vertically, with respect to the different elevations of the habitation areas of groups. Due to the generally homogeneous forms of ecosystems that are prevalent in some broad areas, and the relatively more increased interaction in between ethnic groups that inhabit proximate areas, some regional patterning of culture may be seen in certain regions in the Philippines. Thus, the mountain regions of the Cordilleras of Northern Luzon have peoples that appear to be related in general aspects of their culture, as the Ifugao, Bontoc, Kalinga, Ibaloy, Kankana-ey, Apayao, Itneg, and Gaddang. In the Cagayan Valley between the Cordilleras and the Sierra Madre Mountains adaptation is again specialized giving rise to the cultures of the Ibanag, Itawis, Malaueg and Yogad.

Data collated from the National Museum ethnic group census of 1994.

The southwestern part of the Philippines influenced by the Islamic movements and provided with a base Southeast Asian culture forms another generalized grouping of similar cultures: the Tausug, Maranao and Maguindanao. The peoples of the central and eastern Mindanao are yet to exhibit another set pattern: like the Manobo, Mandaya, T' boli. The Central Philippines and the other lowland and coastal areas all exhibit a leveling of culture such that homogeneity is more the rule. An enigma in itself is the widely distributed groups of negrito who, in spite of isolation from one another, exhibit similar features in their culture. In the hinterlands still, are small groups that subsist largely through food gathering activities. The similitude, however, is deceptive for each group is very well defined and distinct, and as differentiated in their resources and habitat and as far ranging in variations as their Austronesian languages.

More than the geographic and environmental circumscription is the social boundaries that separate one group of people from another. From the basic biological unit of parents and children, the more sociologically operable unit composed of the household extends the concept of family, as the former form the basic economic, social and ritual unit - the household. The composition of this unit is defined by each society and it may range from a single individual to more complex families composed of a number of nuclear members. In some societies a household of only one member is considered an effective and operable unit so long as this single member fulfills all the obligations to the society of a family member, that is, it performs all the functions in terms of subsistence, social, ritual and others usually attributed to a full-fledged family.

Usually, households are bound together into a more or less cohesive aggrupation based on kin relationships of some kind in varying degrees of distances in consanguinity or affinity, gravitating about the household of a senior member, e.g. households of children

establishing post marital residences about a parent of either side. Groupings like these are further increased in scale by the gathering of kindred, which greatly enhances the spread of sociological benefits horizontally among peer groups, as in the polarization of social groups in confrontational situations. The relationships between such groups, however, can redound into one of more cohesive nature as the development of alliances where the canalization of behavior becomes more of a pattern than a divergence. In such instances the emergence of a strong personality would weld such alliances into a political structure, some initially based on reciprocity and redistribution of benefits.

Ethnic groups become marked also by the means by which inheritances are distributed among the members. While the general rule of kinship is an equal reckoning of affiliation on both parents, there are differences in the manner by which property is treated upon the death of parents. In the Cordilleras, for instance, it is the oldest child that inherits the property, but who is also under social sanctions to support his siblings. In much of lowland areas the inheritance is more equally distributed among the offspring. The difference might be explained in that in the highlands arable land in the rugged environment is a premium commodity that cannot be continually subdivided and reduced down the line of descent, whereas in the lowlands, this is not usually the case since agricultural land is more expansive.

Since social proximity and distance necessitate that groups tend to invert into themselves to the exclusion of others, the environment in which they find themselves tend to be homogenous for all the members as a rule. The manner by which the members adapt to the parameters of the environment in terms of subsistence technology is usually common to all - thus along the shoreline communities tend to be fisher folk, and in the uplands the subsistence pattern develops along the lines of slash and burn cultivation, and so on. The domestic kind

of economy practiced would be one where each household is both the producing and the consuming unit - without the generation of a surplus in the production, hence there is little need for a market, if there is one at all, where the existence of specialization in the production of goods would lead to the need to trade for things one household does not produce.

Religion, too, is a powerful organizing principle that defines the edges of an ethnic group. The communities may be organized based on any number of parameters. One of this would be based on the circle of members that constitute a "congregation". The congregations of ritual specialists are sharply confined to specific groupings of individual households. The linkages may be based on kinship network or more intimate personal associations, or simply that the structure of the religion itself limits the membership. In some areas in the Cordillera, for instance, the ritual specialist will only celebrate the rituals of a particular grouping of households whether or not these belong to a contiguous group. The membership is traced to the extent of the meat-sharing system that is a part of the ritual feast that composes the highlight of a celebration. Outside the network of households and individuals that shared the meat of animals sacrificed, membership There are overlaps in particular meatto the community stops. sharing networks. Those that do not belong to any of these networks will not be part of the ethnic group.

Persistence of Tradition

Although change is part of social existence, and societies fluctuate in number and character, there is always a functional resistance to change due to homeostasis of adaptation. Thus, there has been through Philippine prehistory, and even to the more recent times, the maintenance of levels of subsistence technologies and the corresponding cultural traits. Groups like the Tasaday, Tau M'loy and Uka of Southern Mindanao island subsist through the same food

gathering level, but exploiting different features of the environment. Maintaining a balance with their ecosystem, the population reached no take-off point to another level of technology other than incipient hunting. Thus, their societies are organized into separate nuclear units loosely structured into bands widely distributed in respective territories of exploitation in the rain forests of Mindanao. Principal among the organizing principles is kinship, both sanguinal and affinal. Relationship with parents and parental relatives are equal in terms of how these relationships are named. The difference only is in the way one behaves with particular relative. Often it is the frequency and intimacy of interaction that define the difference.

The structure of leadership is hardly defined and may only be specific to occasions. The most incipient form is probably one where the difference in role is only one based on prestige or economic levels. In larger communities an individual is recognized because of personal prowess, but in most other cases even this is tempered by a council composed of the elders.

The development of broad spectrum dry cultivation supplementing gathering and hunting among other groups that occupy the Philippine highlands like the Subanon, Mandaya, Mansaka, Manubo, T'boli, and others in Mindanao, the Pala-wan and Tagbanua of Palawan, the various Mangyan groups of Mindoro island and many others, has repercussions in the sociology of these groups. The cropping of cultigens has further effects on sedentism and the increase in interpersonal relations since communities tended more and more to be nucleated under these conditions. In this stage there is already environmental degeneration due to the imbalance between the man and land ratio. A homeostatic condition no longer exists to balance natural regeneration and man's exploitative intrusions into his ecosystem such that agricultural production has to supplement the minimum subsistence requirements of populations. Cultivation trends

gradually shifted to focus more on mono-cropping, and as opposed to broad-spectrum cultivation, seasonality of cultivation activities also has implications in social behavior of groups. Mono-cropping and seasonality make crops more vulnerable to pests and disease, and hence posing the threat of seasonal shortage of food supplies. The cultivation, too, in ever increasing areas of land affords less protection than the checker board techniques of earlier periods.

However, since the techniques of swidden cultivation is energy efficient in terms of the ratio of production output to labor inputs per unit area more than the production in intensive wet cultivation, there is a tendency for this cultivation technique to persist through time even to the present. The persistence of their subsistence technology brings with it the maintenance of associated cultural milieus, thus the preservation of cultural traditions and their resistance to change. until there are another technological breakthrough did dramatic change in culture take place among the peoples of the Philippines. came with the introduction of intensive wet rice cultivation and the associated complex that go with it. But since the technology is adaptable only to specific geographic situations, it flourished only in the lowlands, except in certain mountain regions where water could be channeled to terraces on the slopes as among the Bontoc, Ifugao and Kalinga of northern Luzon. Vast mountain regions are to remain under slash and burn cultivation in spite of the technological breakthrough.

The persistence of cultures is due to the capacity of groups to maintain a systematic organization where each of the functional segments of the society make adjustments to changes so as to preserve the social structure. The result is societies organized as almost closed systems in a domestic type economy. The structure of the societies are based on social functions that co-function and co-vary, thus kinship, religion, social organization, subsistence technology, leadership,

and so on are integrated in an interlocking network. An example of this is the I'wak of the Southern Cordilleras, northern Luzon. Among the I'wak the basic social unit is the household defined by its capability both to be economically self sustaining and being able to function ritually in the community. A number of households are organized into a kin-related group that operates also as a ritual congregation with the head, also a ritual practitioner. This ritual congregation cofunction with at least one other ritual congregation in order to be able to conduct a community ritual. Animals sacrificed during rituals are utilized in the meat distribution within the community since this is shared equally among the members. Thus, the principal ritual animal, the pig, is a basic requirement for a unit to be considered a social member of the community. The taro (Colocasia esculentum). which is the principal crop, is also the ritual cultigen and it systematically binds the various households together in terms of cultivation. Taro is propagated through cuttings. But since taro is harvested daily to fill the daily consumption only, not enough cuttings can be gathered to sufficiently plant a field. Other members of the community contribute cuttings in order that a taro field may be planted, thus sharing in the capital outlay. The elders of the community who are active in ritual practice also operate as the group from which community decisions and leadership emanates.

Each of the social functions, however, serve as a lynch pin that holds the rest of the society together. Social change is effected when a link in the structural chain is changed. Among the I'wak, when advanced soil degradation necessitated the shift of cultivation from taro to sweet potato (*lpomoea batata*) changes took place. Cooperation between households no longer became necessary, for instance, to get slips for planting a field. Sweet potato did not have a function in rituals, thus with cohesion gone the society began to disintegrate even in its religious structure. The effects are seen in household migration and the movement from a purely domestic economy to an

integration with the market economy and labor market. But even without changes that come from within, social change comes inevitably with the integration of the various ethnic groups with the market system that intermeshes the rest of the country; and the continuing imbalance between population and the land they inhabit. Thus, social practices change with the changing times. However, vestiges of aspects of particular cultures persist, even when modified, and become bases for tradition to become what is recognized as the adat (customary law) of the southern Philippines, or the kadawyan (custom) of the north: things of the past, yet creatures of the contemporary factors that yet continually change them.

Inter-group Relationship

It is the amount of interaction between social units that affect the character of a community or a society. Beyond this network of interchange are zones of diminishing exchanges between peoples. There are interchanges even across ethnic boundaries, however, and the character of these social exchanges defines the limits. Thus, even if there were factors that divide the various peoples of the Philippines into distinct ethnic groups, there still exist social exchanges between them if not in terms of exchanges for marriage, then exchanges for goods or for social services. Trade is one of the strongest bases for reciprocity among groups and the sociologically acceptable means of penetrating social boundaries. For instance, Maranao of southwestern merchants range far into Central Mindanao and farther Mindanao north into the rest of the country in their trading forays. The Ifugao go from the Cordilleras of northern Luzon to the Cagayan Valley to trade for animals. Peoples from the lowlands, on the other hand, depend on the highlanders for forest products.

Ethnic boundaries, however, are continually maintained although transactions take place through them. Interchanges among the different

Philippine ethnic groups are not entirely harmonious as frictions develop even among the best of kin. When kin groups are involved, friction escalates in accordance with the number of participants and inter-group conflicts taking place. More often than not blood flows which must be balanced by each contending side. Head-taking thus developed as a social mechanism among the Ilongot, for instance, for minimizing conflicts and retributions. And peace pacts are forged between conflicting groups as among the Kalinga of northern Cordillera to further ensure peace, further enforced by the establishment of ritual kinship and blood brotherhood, like the Tagbanua of Palawan. Slowly, however, the civil government structures radiate even to the hinterlands to slowly redefine traditional social controls that integrate the different ethnic societies.

Intangible heritage

In spite of the agricultural base that has reduced ethnic economy to primarily a domestic one, cultures of the various peoples flourished in surprising ways. Among peoples that did not develop writing, oral literary traditions that combine poetry and song grew with amazing proportions with various kinds of epic poetry like the Hud-hud and Alim of the Ifugao, Labaw Dunggon of the Sulod of Panay island, Datangan of the Islamic groups to name a few that compare with the Iliad and the Odyssey. Among those that developed writing, like the Hanunoo Mangyan of Mindoro island, have created poetic forms like the highly sophisticated ambahan. Decorative art floriated in well-established communities that are marked with functional specialization. Among the most sophisticated of this art is the okil of the Maranao exemplified in the painted woodcarvings in floral motifs that decorate the torogan, or royal house. The Ifugao, well known for the complexity of their religious structure, combine the art of sculpturing with their belief systems, exemplified by their consecrated images like the bullols (granary images) and the kinabbigat (image

of the law-giver). The expression of music both vocal and instrumental, solo and in ensemble became as distinctive as the development of the languages. Flute music among the Pala'wan, for instance, is used as a language with the various notes becoming ideational apart from being tonal. Music of an ensemble is often inseparable from the dance of which there are innumerable varieties from the purely imitative to the prodigiously societal like the lunsay of the southern Philippines.

Organizing Principle

The pattern of kinship among the various groups varies in accordance with accepted behavior that is to some extent expressed in kinship terminology. An individual is reckoned to be equally related structurally to his parentage from both sides although behaviorally his interactions with such individuals may vary in accordance with the social distance built between them. Thus, he may relate himself more to either side depending on this interaction bias in terms of social organization. Behavior-wise, kinship is cognatic as has been noted in the northern mountain groups. In southern Philippines, where Islamic religion has been entrenched, a lineal-like organization is resurgent that is somewhat segmentary in nature.

Ethnic Leadership

Leadership among the traditional peoples of the Philippines is amorphous and defined by the moment. Among the Tau't Bato of Palawan island an incipient form of leadership that is distributive in nature is exhibited. This is more a type of social exchange where goods are exchanged to gain prestige within a group. More general is the redistributive kind where the leader gathers from the production of his groups and distributes these among others to gain a larger following. Often there are a number of leaders within a group

depending on the nature of the function, religious, political, aggression, and so on. At times a group of prestigious men, often the elders, make the necessary communal decisions. A mark of distinction, however, is that beyond the functions of politics, he labors in his own fields and in all domestic functions acts in a community of peers.

The Anomaly of Persisting Cultures

Change is as inevitable as time, and his is true to what has been accepted as traditional cultures. Traditions change as new values are developed, adopted and integrated by a society. The Kalinga of today are different from the Kalinga some fifty years ago because people change as they alter their physical and social environments since the perturbations impose upon them some feed backs to which they must respond. Thus, it is erroneous to assume that the ethnic groups that are now living in the fringes of urban areas of the Philippines are representative of prehistoric cultures of the land. Ethnic cultures have moved as far forward in time as the social developments in the metropolitan areas. The distinction of development, however, diverged due to parameters of other kinds. The existences of items of material culture identified to earlier period are no help at all for such survivals as often would have lost its original function and context in a society. An example of this is the polished stone adz which was before a utilitarian cutting tool but which has reverted to a purely ritual function during the present days as a talisman among the Ifugao to make the warrior bullet-proof, to a cock-fighting charm among the lowlanders.

So much changes have taken place that the question has been raised as to whether there is still some validity to the existence of some ethnic groups as they have been known heretofore. Some of these groups specially those that live near urbanized areas or are within reach of the sphere of government, the market and educational systems, no longer look nor behave the way they used to do. The reason is that the state coordinates that are factors in the development of specific ethnic groups before the coming of the colonizing western powers no longer exist or at the most are mere vestiges of what these were.

Apart from the internal changes that take place within each community as a natural course of things, more drastic are the pressures from outside that alter the character of ethnic groups. Even internally societies change without influences from outside. Culture traits change depending on the individual actors in the society - a powerful leader may pass away and direction of the community might veer in some other ways with a new kind of leadership. A shift in the environment of subsistence, the rise of another powerful person - all these cause alterations in the way the people are organized.

Pressures from outside the society are even more compelling and effect changes in shorter time frames. Colonized peoples are even more subjected to changes that drastically alter aspects of their cultures. The ways groups of people organize their subsistence strategy largely define how they organize their society. While the domestic type of economy that define the traits of cultural communities change little through time, the introduction of the network of the national market system with catchment areas that include international sources have affected micro-economies. Self-sustaining domestic economies have begun to cease from being merely producing-consuming entities and have now inter-linked with the marketing network. Cash-cropping, for instance, has become the by-word of agricultural production, with it the recourse to mono-cropping of intensive agriculture. The system of multi-cropping and inter-cropping characteristic of ethnic agriculture no longer becomes viable since now there is a need for the production of surplus in the trade-off with the markets. Thus

households became dependent on the market for the production of others in satiating their own consumption needs. New needs are created for consumer goods of which there were none before. The use of money became a necessity to survive in the market relationships. Even more drastic is the superimposition of an alien political structure upon the local leadership organization. The national political structure have now encompassed heretofore isolated communities with a kind of leadership organization that infringe on traditional leadership forms like the community council of elders, and relegating the latter to secondary functions. Often those that occupy the positions of government in the civil structure are those members of ethnic communities that are young and relatively more educated since these are the ones that can relate better in the national institutions. The elderly and less educated elders who ordinarily occupy positions of authority in the communities are now subordinated to this younger generation resulting in internal cultural conflicts. Different social institutions, too, contribute to the degradation of local leadership since issues are now elevated from the sitio to the Baranggay, and higher to the municipal, provincial and national levels in either the executive, legislative and judiciary areas of concern. The end result is the degradation of traditional authority and the re-structuring of internal relationship within the group.

The most leveling factor of all is the public education system introduced by West where the reduction of learning of generations into standardized gradation among age groups pervaded the cultures of ethnic groups changing entire systems of ethnic knowledge, values, loyalties, perspectives, internalization, needs and whole sets of cultural traits. Education within an ethnic group is culture specific while nationalized education establishes a generalized standard that develops people in a larger scale that transcends ethnic boundaries.

This is further aggravated by the official emphasis on the development of a national language through the medium of public education. Language has been said to be the bearer of culture. There is nothing in the culture of a society that is not reflected in the vocabulary of the group. The degradation of an ethnic language can only mean the erosion of traits in that culture. The introduction of a new language induces necessarily changes in the parameters of that particular culture, including its original language. The internalization of concepts through the medium of language and the externalization of these are altered since the culture of the introduced language is internalized by the receiving culture.

What the public education has not reached in terms of influence, mass media especially in the form of the transistor radio made incursions to affect changes in erstwhile isolated communities that before this tended toward conservatism. New tastes and needs ranging from consumer goods, personalities, leadership, opinions, points of views are continually developed and then altered by the relentless bombardment through the airwaves further contributing to the destruction of traditional value systems.

Indigenous religions which differentiated between peoples were the first to go among major ethnic group. The great religions introduced by the Western powers were an efficient leveling device destroying entire systems of beliefs and with these indigenous values that bind together members of a community and exchanging these with new ones alien if not outright contradictory to the traditional forms.

The end result is the gradual eradication of ethnic boundaries especially in areas of greatest contact between groups. Where one can move through the islands before and see differences among people through their manners of dress, the types of architecture, modes of subsistence, organization of communities, now there is a visual continuum where

cultural breaks are no longer perceived. One will be hard put to recognize the ethnicity of a person except when he states this or when he speaks his native tongue. The Filipino nation is emerging without doubt, at the cost of the disappearance of individual ethnic groups. This is so because the parameters that led to the development of ethnic groups no longer exist, and have been replaced by new kinds of social factors.

There are survivals of ethnic cultures in areas still distant and isolated enough to remain relatively untouched by external influences. But these are more the exceptions than the rule. Even these communities have developed needs attuned to the market system, which have made them dependent on external providence. It is only a matter of time when the onslaught will reach them. Communities by now, in different degrees, have become mere terminal points in the development of the peasant-urban continuum. They are no longer discrete and independent cultural entities.

There are divergences, convergences and parallel developments in societal change. The cultures of the Filipino people are much too complex and compounded to be reduced to generalized statements that are not just sociological principles. The beauty of ethnicity is in the particular aspect. It is the shell-inlaid wooden earplug of a wizened Abiyan Negrito woman, the friction decorated blowgun of the Pala'wan, the chanting of the Alim by an Ifugao membunung or again, the I'wak ritual practitioner reciting the bilang, enumerating the deities to which they have accord and the names of the ancestors with whom they maintain kin relationships.

Yet even these particular aspects of culture change through stimuli both from within the structure of the society and from pressures impressed by external factors. Thus "traditions" develop in time where there were not present before, as the Ati-Atihan of Aklan and the Motiones of Marinduque. Thus in time, too, even these change, for the interpretation of cultural values between groups is a constant where there is social contact. What maintains the ethnic boundaries, however, is still the particular culture that defines what change is sociologically relevant to a population and how this can operate within the limitations of the ecological niche. Thus we witness the paradox of persisting cultures that are in reality altered to respond to the perturbations in the social and the physical environments. This is because ethnicity is not of the static past, but of living peoples. But like all things, even ethnic peoples change at the inception of a country.

The growing awareness of ethnicity and cultural identities that exist in the different countries of the world has created the concerns on how to cope with the management of ethnic and cultural diversities. Among these concerns are how to deal with the manner by which ethnic and cultural minority groups' participate in and have access to the resources of society in maintaining the dual need of contributing to the unity of the country and as well conserving their traditional ways of life. Countries are hard put to develop democratic policy responses for coping with such diversities in society. Much of these concerns have been expressed in the Policy Paper No. 4 of Management of Social Transformation (MOST)-Unesco, entitled "Multi-culturalism: New Policy Responses to Diversit". Although the paper focuses principally on Australia, Canada and Sweden, the issues most certainly are present in other countries of the world, including the Philippines.

Ethnic concern is worldwide. Last August 9, 1999 as part of the efforts to use legislation to empower indigenous peoples, a technical working group of the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) was convened by the International Labor Organization (ILO) to forge a statement to rationalize development assistance to

these groups. This event marked the International Day of the World's Indigenous Peoples, when a global forum was created to address indigenous issues. The United Nations and Social Council planned that this Permanent Forum will be in place by the year 2002. This Permanent Forum is one of the fundamental goals of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples, proclaimed by the UN General Assembly for 1995-2004. The draft UNDP program for capacity building for Philippine indigenous peoples include policy planning implementation and advocacy; sustainable management of ancestral domains; and cultural preservation.

Conditions in the Philippines in modern times, coupled with the problems posited by the growth of globalization, has created inroads into the preservation and maintenance of different ethnic identities such that there is even now a question as to the existence of ethnic diversity.

The exponential intensity of information exchanges of various kinds through the length of the Philippine archipelago has posited a problem - what constitute ethnicity. It used to be that ethnic identity is defined by self-ascription and, more tenuously, ascription by others. This approach was appropriate when the territorial integrity of ethnic groups have been maintained, and when there were relatively fewer cultural intrusions into the relatively closed structure of ethnic groups. Recent times saw organization and structural changes in Philippines societies that indicated a gradual gravitation toward cultural convergence. The institutions that contributed to this convergence are many: 1) the political system that radiates from the national, provincial, municipal and the baranggay that through the years have supplanted the indigenous systems of leadership; 2) The economic system that introduced a market system that included as catchment area the international market; 3) The educational system that leveled the modes of values and education through all the sectors of Philippine

society; 4) the religious systems of Christianity and Islam that subordinated and debilitated indigenous belief systems; 5) the emergence of a powerful multi-media system that invaded all forms of communication and information systems; and 6) a gradually developing transportation system that is bringing remote areas closer to central places of dispersion. No ethnic group can withstand such onslaught on its fragile culture. It seems that concomitant of the 19th century emergence of modern-industrial society, ethnic groups had lost their saliency.

Along with kinship and other status-based forms of social differentiation, ethnicity was to be replaced by class as the driving force in social organization. Ethnicity has been viewed as anachronistic and limited only to pre-modern or traditional societies. Most governments and policy makers believe that assimilation of ethnic groups into mainstream society is the key to national development. The development of a global village appears to be typified by this world cultural homogenization. The impact on the ethnic communities is such that what is emerging now is an "urban-peasant continuum" network in every central place, with the major fulcrum in the government centers of Manila and other urban focal points. In the lower end of the continuum are remnants of indigenous communities that are relatively out of administrative reach of government and its services.

The effects of the changes are readily apparent in the forms of material culture that are now widespread in the country; especially those distributed through the market system. The most obvious is the way people dress, and the mode of thinking that to wear ethnic dress is to put on a "costume". It is no longer possible to distinguish ethnicity by way of dress, and also because this has evolved. Even more definitive is that peoples used to live in types of architecture that are distinct to their culture. No so anymore that ethnic architecture have been relegated to a few dilapidated specimens in out of the way

places and the emerging pattern is the Mediterranean house-types that that congest residential areas. Philippine diets have also become catholic. Even more overpowering is the convergence that is taking place through the use of English as a medium of instruction and the evolution of a national language.

These widespread socio-cultural alterations underline the need for the redefinition of what comprises ethnicity itself, since classic parameters no longer work. Among others, the United Nations Economic and Social Council, Commission on Human rights posited this 1982 definition.

"Indigenous populations are composed of the existing descendants of the peoples who inhabited the present territory of a country wholly or partially at the time when persons of a different culture or ethnic origin arrived there from other parts of the world, overcame them and, by conquest, settlement or other means, reduced them to a non-dominant or colonial situation; who today live more in conformity with their particular social, economic and cultural customs and traditions than the institutions of the country of which they now form a part, under a state structure that incorporates mainly the national, social and cultural characteristics of other segments of the population that are predominant."

However vague is the above definition, the final criterion is that ethnicity boils down to self ascription since nothing else works, not aspects of culture, not dress, not behavior, not even language. In fact, even this has become problematic since there are those even who cannot make a categorical statement as to what ethnic group they belong or from what core area they came from. Yet, it is the tenacity of identity that keeps the indigenous peoples proclaiming the persistence of their culture no matter how progressively altered.

The International Conference on Cultural Policies for Development, held at Stockholm from March 30 to April 2, 1998 recalled that the World Decade for Cultural Development has stressed the importance of the cultural dimension of development; asserting and enhancing cultural identities; broadening participation in cultural life; and promoting internal cultural co-operation. Emphasized also is the need to take into account universal values while recognizing cultural diversity and the need to preserve the pluralism of cultural initiatives in order to promote mutual understanding as well as respect and consideration between individuals and nations in view of the risk of disagreements and conflicts. It points out that cultural creativity is a source of human progress, and cultural diversity, being a treasure of humankind, is an essential factor for development. Globalization links cultures more closely and enrich the interaction between them. Key is the development of harmony between cultures and development, respect for cultural identities, tolerance for cultural differences in a framework of democratic values, socio-economic equity and respect for territorial unity and national sovereignty as precondition for a lasting and just peace.

The present Philippine Constitution adopted in 1987 makes explicit statements about the indigenous peoples with respect to autonomous regions, national economy and patrimony, social justice, human rights, education, science, technology, as well as arts and culture. In the cultural area, government action is largely being carried out under the umbrella of the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA, Republic Act 7356) coordinating work with the affiliated cultural agencies, and concerned private cultural workers. The areas covered are 1) Culture and Development, which includes Schools for Living Tradition, Preservation of Traditional Arts and Rituals, among others; 2) Culture & Education; 3) Program for Artistic Excellence; 4) Promotions of Culture and the Arts; 5) Conservation of Cultural Property; 6) Cultural Agency Cooperation; and 7) Culture & Diplomacy. The

range of coverage includes all ethnic entities even those in the mainstream.

One of the four Sub-commissions of the NCCA is the Sub-Commission on Cultural Communities and Traditional Arts, which covers but is not limited to the arts of the negrito groups, the northern and southern cultural communities, the Muslim cultural communities and lowland cultural communities.

A more specific legislation implemented also by a Committee of the NCCA is RA 7355, an act providing for the recognition of National Living Treasures, otherwise known as "Manlilikha ng Bayan", and the promotion and development of traditional folk arts, and providing funds for this purpose. An awardee is given a medallion, and has an initial grant of P100,000 and P10,000 a month thereafter for life. The duties of the Awardees include the transfer of their expertise to the younger generations; to assist in the promotion and propagation of their expertise and to donate a sample or copy of their work to the National Museum. At present there eight awardees in *kutyapi* (two-stringed lute), two traditional back-loom weavers, an ancient script and poetry writer, an epic chanter, an exponent of traditional dance, a group of traditional ensemble players, and a traditional musician.

Databanks have been established to include ethnographies, lexicostatistics, demographies and other related topics which are accessible through the NCCA Website (HYPERLINK http://www.ncca.gov.ph (www.ncca.gov.ph) or by other means from the national Cultural Databank, the structure of which is appended here. Some of the data have been published by a special unit of the NCCA in print and in CD formats. The NCCA continuously works toward the preservation of aspects of traditional culture by organizing traditional rituals in their original forms and contexts; assisting in the documentation, preservation and promotion of traditional practices, specially with

reference to the development of practitioners. One of the present foci is the work on the preservation, conservation, and promotion of oral and intangible heritage, like epics and culture spaces. Recently, for instance, an ancient Ifugao epic, the *Hudhud*, was proclaimed by Unesco as one of the Masterpieces of Oral and Intangible Heritage for all Humanity, along with 38 others in the world.

The prime Philippine legislation that addresses ethnic groups is RA 8371, an act to recognize, protect and promote the rights of indigenous cultural communities/indigenous peoples, creating a National Commission on Indigenous Peoples, establishing implementing mechanisms and appropriating funds. Salient provisions deal with the rights to ancestral domain, the rights of the people to preserve and develop their tradition, culture and institutions, and their maximum participation in the distribution of national education, health and other service, mandatory representation in policy-making bodies and other legislative councils.

Republic Act 8371 passed in 1997 declares the policy of the state to recognize, protect and promote the rights of the indigenous peoples. It establishes the mechanisms whereby the realization of the above is achieved. The salient provisions deal with the rights to ancestral domain; the rights of the people to preserve and develop their tradition, culture and institutions; and their maximum participation in the distribution of education, health and other services.

The altered state of culture of the traditional societies posits polarities in approach to protection and preservation, which may be contrary but not necessarily contradictory. Foremost is the problem of tradition that is the basis for ethnic definition and the establishment of identity. The other is the developmental aspect of culture, since it does not only continually change because of internal causes but also due to external factors. When the tradition is preserved, culture change is

inhibited. When cultural development is attended to, tradition cannot endure. What is evident in the recent years is a movement toward convergence of both aspects. Both are being addressed at present. There is a certainty, however, that what will be looked back at in the few years to come will only be memories of the perspicuity of culture, or how these are perceived to be. Eventually there will be homogeneity of culture throughout the country, and only ethnic identities will remain. There is therefore an imperative that the governments should develop programs that will ensure that cultural diversities still existing at the moment be preserved.

Appendix

(Pls. Note relevant entries in bold fonts from pages 17-21)

CULTURAL DATA BANK (CDB) STRUCTURE³

I. STATIC INFORMATION

- 1. The mandate, structure/organization of the NCCA
 - 1.1 grants program
- 2. The affiliated Cultural Agencies
 - 2.1 Cultural Center of the Philippines, and Website
 - 2.2 Commission on National Language, and Website
 - 2.3 Records Management and Archives Office, and Website
 - 2.4 National Historical Institute, and Website
 - 2.5 National Museum, and Website
- 3. Listings of:
 - 3.1 Libraries
 - 3.2 Museums
 - 3.2.1 national
 - 3.2.2 provincial
 - 3.2.3 municipal
 - 3.2.4 city
 - 3.2.5 private
 - 3.2.6 site
 - 3.3 Universities
 - 3.3.1 state
 - 3.3.2 private
 - 3.4 Cultural Organizations covering:
 - 3.4.1 Visual Arts

Drafted June 1, 1998 by Dr. Jesus T. Peralta, National Commission for Culture and the Arts, Manila Philippines.

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3.4.2
             Architecture
     3.4.3
             Drama
     3.4.4
             Literature
     3.4.5
             Cinema
             Music
     3.4.6
     3.4.7
             Dance
             Cultural/Historical Assoc. (region, prov., Municipal)
     3.4.8
3.5
     Galleries
     3.5.1
     3.5.2
             Antiquities
    Directories of:
3.6
     3.6.1
             Painters
     3.6.2
             Sculptors
     3.6.3
             Printmakers\\
     3.6.4
             Photographers
     3.6.5
             Performance Artists
     3.6.6
             Musicians
             3.6.6.1
                      composers
             3.6.6.2
                      conductors
             3.6.6.3
                      instrumentalists
             3.6.6.4
                      singers
             3.6.6.5
                      orchestras
             3.6.6.6
                      bands
             3.6.6.7
                      ensembles
     3.6.7
             Architects
     3.6.8
             Dramatic actors/actresses/directors (theatre)
     3.6.9
             Writers
             3.6.9.1
                      poetry
             3.6.9.2
                      prose
             3.6.9.3
                      drama
             3.6.9.4
                      cinema
             3.6.9.5
                      video
             3.6.9.6
                      lyricists
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3.6.10 Cinematic actors/actresses/directors 3.6.11 Dancers 3.6.12 Choreographers 3.6.13 Dance Troupes 3.6.14 Choirs 3.6.15 Music Schools/conservatories 3.6.16 Dance Schools/studios 3.7 Media (audio/visual) 3.7.1 Metropolitan/rural dailies 3.7.2 Periodicals 3.7.3 Radio Broadcast 3.7.4 Television Networks 3.7.5 Local Cultural Websites 3.7.6 SEA Websites/links 3.7.7 Government Agencies 3.8 Theatres/cinema 3.9 Theatre Associations 3.10 Antique shops 3.11 Scientific Centers 3.12 Churches of Different Sects 3.13 Planetariums 3.14 Zoos 3.15 Environmental Reservations/wildlife stations 3.16 Museology 3.16.1 Administrators 3.16.2 Conservators 3.16.3 Restorers 3.16.4 Curators 3.16.5 Technicians 3.17 Critics 3.17.1 Literary 3.17.2 Art 3.17.3 Dance

3.17.4

Theatre

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3.17.5
            Cinema
     3.17.6
            Music
3.18 Art
     3.18.1
            Authenticators
            3.18.1.1
                     19th Century
             3.18.1.2
                     Modern
            3.18.1.3
                     Realism/Conservatism
            3.18.1.4
                     Contemporary
                     For Specific Artists
            3.18.1.5
            3.18.1.6
                     Sculpture
             3.18.1.7
                     Graphics
     3.18.2 Evaluators
3.19 Cultural Foundations
     3.19.1
            Local
     3.19.2 International
3.20 Private Collections
     3.20.1
            Antiquities
     3.20.2
            Visual arts
3.21 Antiquities experts
     3.21.1
            Archeological
     3.21.2
            Ethnographic
     3.21.3 Ceramic
            3.21.3.1 high fired
            3.21.3.2 low fired
     3.21.4 Historical/colonial
     3.21.5 Islamic
     3.21.6 Christian Liturgical
3.22 Filipiniana Collections
     3.22.1
            Artifactual
     3.22.2 Documentary
3.23 national Artists/Profiles
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- 4. Country Profile
 - 4.1 Type of government/branches/regions/cities/provinces
 - 4.2 Economy
 - 4.3 Educational System
 - 4.4 Religious Systems
 - 4.5 Time Line (analogous events in history)
- 5. Geologic History
- 6. Prehistoric Sketches
 - 6.1 Paleolithic/photo
 - 6.2 Neolithic/photo
 - 6.3 Metal Age/photo
 - 6.4 Age of Contact with the Great Traditions of Asia/photo
- 7. Historical Sketches
 - 7.1 Proto-history
 - 7.2 Colonial Periods
 - 7.3 The Philippine Republic
 - 7.4 Martial Law/People Power
 - 7.5 2nd Millenium
- 8. Ethnography -- Peoples of the Philippines
 - 8.1 Ethnic Sketches/photos
 - 8.2 Languages/dialects
 - 8.3 Demography
 - 8.4 Kinship Structure/organization
 - 8.5 Belief/value systems
 - 8.6 Technologies
 - 8.7 Subsistence Strategies
 - 8.8 Listing: Groups/subgroups
 - 8.9 Ethnic Map
 - 8.10 Census
- 9. Cultural Property (National Registry)
 - 9.1 Intangible/Ephemeral
 - 9.1.1 Ritual Process
 - 9.1.1.1 highland northern

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9.1.1.2
               highland southern
       9.1.1.3
                lowland plains
       9.1.1.4
                coastal/marine riverine
       9.1.1.5
                Islamic
                Christian
       9.1.1.6
9.1.2
       Dance
       9.1.2.1
                ethnic
       9.1.2.2
                folk
       9.1.2.3
                choreographed folk/ethnic
       9.1.2.4
                modern/jazz
       9.1.2.5
                classical
9.1.3
       Music (Citations)
       9.1.3.1
                ethnic songs (traditional chants)
       9.1.3.2
                epic poems (Alim, Hudhod, Darangen,
                Hinilawod, etc.)
       9.1.3.3
                classical songs (kundiman, balitao, dalit,
       9.1.3.4
                contemporary songs (sampling)
       9.1.3.5
                librettos (Bien Lumbera)
       9.1.3.6
                experimental (Jose Maceda)
       9.1.3.7
9.1.4
       Literary Compositions
       9.1.4.1
                indigenous (ambahan, etc.)
       9.1.4.2
                vernacular (balagtasan, etc.)
       9.1.4.3
                contemporary English
                9.1.4.3.1
                         cultural essays
                          (e.g. state of the arts essays)
                9.1.4.3.2
                         land mark poetry
                          (e.g. comma poems)
                9.1.4.3.3
                         land mark novel
                          (e.g. Portrait of the Filipino)
                9.1.4.3.4
                         land mark drama
                          (e.g. Itim Aso?)
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9.1.4.4
                      contemporary Pilipino
                      9.1.4.4.1
                                cultural essays
                      9.1.4.4.2 land mark poetry
                      9.1.4.4.3 land mark novel
                      9.1.4.4.4
                                land mark drama
     9.1.5
             Performance Art
     9.1.6
             Cinematography/Video
             9.1.6.1
                      feature
             9.1.6.2
                      documentary
9.2
     Tangible
     9.2.1
             Ethnographic artifacts: (national treasures)
     9.2.2
             Archeological artifacts (national treasures)
             9.2.2.1
                      type sites (e.g. Tabon, Cagayan)
     9.2.3
             Ethnic dress
             9.2.3.1
                      traditional indigenous highland/lowland
             9.2.3.2
                      colonial lowland
             9.2.3.3 Islamic groups
             9.2.3.4
                      contemporary
     9.2.4
             Visual Arts
             9.2.4.1
                      Painting
                      9.2.4.1.1
                                oil/alkyd
                      9.2.4.1.2
                                acrylic
                      9.2.4.1.3
                                casein
                      9.2.4.1.4
                                pastel
                      9.2.4.1.5
                                watercolor
                                9.2.4.1.5.1
                                             aquarelle
                                9.2.4.1.5.2
                                             gouache
                                mixed media
                      9.2.4.1.6
                      9.2.4.1.7
                                collage
            9.2.4.2
                      Sculpture
                      9.2.4.2.1
                                relief
                      9.2.4.2.2
                                round
                      9.2.4.2.3
                                construction
                      9.2.4.2.4
                                mobiles
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9.2.4.3
                Installation
       9.2.4.4
                Graphic Arts
                9.2.4.4.1
                          serigraph
                9.2.4.4.2 lithograph
                9.2.4.4.3 engraving
                9.2.4.4.4 woodcut
                9.2.4.4.5
                          etching
                9.2.4.4.6
                          monoprint
                9.2.4.4.7
                          etc.
       9.2.4.5
                Photography
                9.2.4.5.1
                          black and white
                9.2.4.5.2
                          colored
       9.2.4.6
                Environmental
       9.2.4.7
                Numismatics
       9.2.4.8
                Philately
9.2.5
       Architectural
       9.2.5.1
                Vernacular
                9.2.5.1.1
                          traditional ethnic
                          9.2.5.1.1.1
                                       residential
                          9.2.5.1.1.2
                                       dormitories
                          9.2.5.1.1.3
                                       granaries
                          9.2.5.1.1.4
                                       ritual
                                       (e.g. buklogan)
                          9.2.5.1.1.5
                                       others
                9.2.5.1.2
                          lowland contemporary rural
                9.2.5.1.3
                          colonial types
                          9.2.5.1.3.1
                                       Spanish
                          9.2.5.1.3.2
                                       American
                Contemporary buildings (sampling)
       9.2.5.2
                9.2.5.2.1
                          contemporary sub-urban/urban
                9.2.4.2.2
                          contemporary commercial
                          buildings
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9.2.5.3.1
                                   archeological
                         9.2.5.3.2
                                   ethnographic
                         9.2.5.3.3
                                   historical
                         9.2.5.3.4
                                   cultural
                9.2.5.4
                         Community patterns
                9.2.5.5
                         Churches
         9.2.6
                Famous personages
                9.2.6.1
                         historical
                9.2.6.2
                        contemporary
         9.2.7
                National symbols
         9.2.8.
                Tarsilas/family trees
         9.2.9
                Boat types -- developmental
10. Legislations
    10.1
          RA 7356
    10.2
          RA 7535
    10.3
          RA 8492
    10.4
          RA 4846
    10.5
          PD 374
    10.6
          PD 260
    10.7
          PD 756
    10.8
          PD 1109
    10.9
          PD 1492
    10.10 PD 996
    10.11 PD 1683
    10.12 PD 1726-A
    10.13 ETC.
11. Cultural Awards
          National Artist Awards
    11.1
    11.2
          Gawad Manlilikhang Bayan
    11.3
          CCP Gawad
    11.4
          Famas
          Metro Manila Film Awards
    11.5
    11.6
          Etc.,
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9.2.5.3

Sites and Shrines

- 12. Art Competitions
 - 12.1 AAP
 - 12.2 Metropolitan Bank
 - 12.3 Philip Morris
 - 12.4 Shell
 - 12.5 International Biennial, Triennial
 - 12.6 Etc.
- 13. Literary Competitions
 - 13.1 Carlos Palanca Memorial Awards in Literature
 - 13.2 CCP
 - 13.3 etc.
- 14. World Heritage List
- 15. Endangered Cultural Sites

II.CHANGING

- 1. Programs and Activities of NCCA Committees
 - 1.1 Architecture
 - 1.2 Cinema
 - 1.3 Dance
 - 1.4 Dramatic arts
 - 1.5 Literary arts
 - 1.6 Music
 - 1.7 Visual Arts
 - 1.8 Communication
 - 1.9 Cultural education
 - 1.10 Cultural events and information
 - 1.11 Language and Translation
 - 1.12 Agta/Aeta cultural communities
 - 1.13 Balud cultural communities
 - 1.14 Muslim cultural communities
 - 1.15 Northern cultural communities
 - 1.16 Southern cultural communities
 - 1.17 Archives

- 1.18 Art Galleries
- 1.19 Libraries and information services
- 1.20 Historical research
- 1.21 Monuments and sites
- 1.22 Museums
- 2. Sub-commission programs/activities
 - 2.1 SCCTA
 - 2.2 SCH
 - 2.3 SCA
 - 2.4 SCCD
- 3. National Cultural Events/Calendar
 - 3.1 Agencies of the Government
 - 3.1.1 CCP
 - 3.1.2 NHI
 - 3.1.3 RMAO
 - 3.1.4 NL
 - 3.1.5 NM
 - 3.16 Unesco National Commission
 - 3.1.7 DOT
 - 3.2 NGOs
 - 3.2.1 AAP
 - 3.2.2. PAP
 - 3.2.3 SPS
- 4. Cultural Websites linkages
 - 4.1 local websites
 - 4.2 International
- 5. Religious Events in the Philippines
 - 5.1 Liturgical
 - 5.2 Syncretic
 - 5.3 Fiestas (dinagyang)
 - 5.4 Indigenous
- 6. The Oldest, First, newest, Best, the only, etc.
- 7. Eco-tourism areas

- 8. Cultural events under bilateral international agreements with other countries
- 9. Cultural events under unilateral arrangements
- 10. NCCA Commitments under bilateral cultural agreements w/ other countries
- 11. Cultural programs in Broadcast media
- 12. Foreign Training Opportunities
- 13. Winners in recent cultural competitions
- 14. On board cultural events
- 15. "Press releases" limited time frame
- 16. Library material citations/excerpts
- 17. Pending Cultural Bills
 - 17.1 Lower House
 - 17.2 Senate
- 18. State of the Arts papers (every 5 years? To be commissioned)
- 19. Publications

III. CENTENNIAL

1. Centennial Events/Activities

IV. OTHERS (previously not included in the original draft of the structure)

- 1. Archives
- 2. Performing Arts and Other Venues
- 3. Publishers
- 4. Other Organizations (Library/museum associations, youth organizations, etc.)
- 5. International affairs
 - Diplomatic and Consular Missions
 - Embassies
 - Consulate Offices
 - Overseas Cultural Mission/Cultural Attaches
 - UN and Other International Organizations

JESUS T. PERALTA, PH.D.

A Bachelor of Philosophy graduate from the University of Sto. Tomas, with a Master of Arts in Anthropology from the University of the Philippines, and a Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology from the University of California, Davis Campus. Jesus T. Peralta was Director III of the National Museum until he retired in 1997. Presently, he is a Consultant of the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA).

Among the recognition he has earned are: the 1967 Leader and Specialist from the State Department of USA in the field of Theatre; a Ford Foundation grant for graduate studies in 1872; the 1965 *Golden Sto. Nino Award for Cultural Contributions* in the country; Outstanding Alumnus in the field of Literature from the Colegio de San Juan de Letran; 1964 Award of Merit in the field of Literature from the University of Sto. Tomas; Meritorious Honor Award from the National Museum, and Civil Service Commission; and a 1985 Outstanding Professional Award in the field of Literature and Anthropology from Letran College. He is a *Gawad Bantayog ng Museo* in 1993 and a *Dangal ng Haraya* for lifetime cultural conservation achievements in 2001 from the National Commission for Culture and the Arts.

He is a ten-time winner in the Carlos Palanca Memorial Awards in Literature in the field of playwrighting, with similar awards from the Cultural Center of the Philippines, the University of the Philippines, and the Rockefeller Foundation through the Arena Theatre, and others. In 1995 he was elevated to the Hall of Fame of the Carlos Palanca Memorial Awards in Literature.

He is one of the senior members of the Art Critics Association of the Philippines (ACAP). In the 50 s, he painted with the "Primitives" art group.

He was formerly division head of Anthropology and Archaeology from 1974 before he became Director III of the National Museum in 1992; Director of the Sub-Centre for Prehistory of the SEAMEO Projects in Archaeology and Fine Arts (SPAFA) from 1978 to 1987; member of the Archaeology Institute of America; Archaeological Consultant of the Intramuros Restoration; Commissioner in the Cultural Committee until 1988, and the Social Science Committee of the Unesco National Commission until 1990; lecturer at the Foreign Service Institute of the Department of Foreign Affairs. He headed a number of Philippine delegations to international conferences. He was past Vice President of the Southeast Asian Association of Prehistorians based in Jakarta. He has written more than 120 scientific papers and books in the field of Anthropology, Archaeology and general culture.

He is married to Rosario Bitanga, the noted abstract painter/sculptor, and has three sons: Samuel, Francis Paul and Patrick Ian who are the fields of Physics, Chemical Engineering and Mass Communication, respectively.

THE PROMOTION OF ETHNIC CULTURES IN THAILAND: A Case Study of Ethnic Highlanders

By Chupinit Kesmanee ¹

WHO ARE ETHNIC HIGHLANDERS

Thailand, like other Asian countries, has long been the homeland of multicultural groups speaking more than a hundred dialects (Ratanakul,1999) Before the emergence of the Nation-State, these phenomena of heterogeneous coexistence were found commonly all over the world. With the global wind of nationalism, the Nation-States in various parts of the world were claimed a possession of a dominant ethnic group. Thus, Thailand was once claimed the Nation of Thai/Tai people. This left other ethnic groups minimal sociopolitical space to move about. When the country decides to move towards industrialized ideology and modernization, most marginal ethnic groups are either left behind or melt into the mainstream of national development.

Abner Cohen defines "ethnic group" as (1) a group of people whose patterns of behaviour are commonly accepted as social norms, and (2) the group belongs to the larger population where it interacts with other groups in the same social framework (Cohen, 1974 xvii). Actually groups of ethnic highlanders in Thailand may be more in numbers, official acceptance is currently confined to only 10 ethnolinguistic groups whose designation is referred to as "Chao khao",

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meaning "mountain people" The coverage of the term "Chao khao" includes, Pga Ker Yaw/Phlong (Karen), Hmong (Meo), Lahu (Muser), Akha (Eekoh), Mien (Yao), Htin (sometimes called Lua), Lisu (Lisaw), Lua (Lawa), Khamu and Mlabri (Tong Luang). Thus, when the term ethnic highlander is referred to, it covers more than these 10 categories. The settlements of ethnic highlanders are found distributed in 20 provinces stretching from the Northernmost to the Central region of Thailand, namely, Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai, Mae Hong Son, Phayao, Nan, Phrae, Lamphoon, Lampang, Tak, Sukhothai, Kamphaeng Phet, Pitsanuloke, Petchaboon, Loey, Uthaithani, Kanchanaburi, Suphanburi, Ratchaburi, Petchaburi, and Prachuabkhirikhan. The total population of ethnic highlanders in 20 provinces were reported in 1998 as following:

Highland Population by Ethnic Group

Ethnic Group	Population
Pga Ker Yaw/Phlong	339,943
Hmong (Meo)	125,097
Lahu (Muser)	87,364
Akha (Eekoh)	57,266
Mien (Yao)	44,973
Htin	38,635
Lisu (Lisaw)	32,744
Lua	17,873
Khamu	13,173
Mlabri (Tong Luang)	125
Da-ang (Palaung)	1,626
Tongsu	257
Chinese Yunnanese	21,158
Shan (Tai)	12,020
Lue (Tai)	5,907
Lowland Thai	132,680
Others	8,996
Total	939,837

Source: Hill Tribe and Minority Peoples Section, Department of Local Administration, Ministry of Interior, 1998.

In 1998, Tribal Research Institute collected figures specifically on the nine "hill tribes" (excluding Mlabri) within the same 20 provinces showing the total population of 752,728 which is slightly different

from the figures shown above. These figures of the hill tribe population make merely 1.2 percent of the entire population (6.5 million) in Thailand.

Wanat Bruksasri (citing Matisoff, 1986) classifies the Thai hill tribes into three major ethno-linguistic superstocks as followed.

Sino-Tibetan: - Karenic: There are several subgroups of Karen (or Yang) many of whom refer to themselves

as "Pga Ker Yaw."

- Tibeto-Burman: This group speaks the languages in the Lolo family and includes such groups as Lisu (Lisaw), Lahu (Muser),

and Akha (Eekoh).

Austro-Thai: - Meo-Yao: Not only native to the Pacific region,

these groups also share language with Tai Ka Dai and Meo-Yao groups and include the

Hmong (Meo) and Mien or Iu Mien (Yao).

Austro-Asiatic: - Mon-Khmer: The Mon-Khmer linguistic

includes the Lua (Lawa), Mal or Prai (Htin),

Khamu, and Mlabri (Tong Luang).

(Bruksasri, 1989: 7-8)

ENTRANCE TO DEVELOPMENT

Of all the ethnic highlanders, those who are designated as the "hill tribes" are targeted for the planned development. Three major reasons have been commonly cited by the Thai government as the causes of national problems. First, shifting cultivation which is practiced widely among the hill tribes is regarded as an environmentally destructive method. The term "shifting cultivation" is translated officially as "kan tham rai luan loy" (literally, "idle farming"). In fact,

there are various systems of shifting cultivation. Land rotational farming system is one form of shifting cultivation which has been studied often times with similar findings that it is ecologically friendly with the forest environment (Zinke, et al., 1978: 140-159; Kesmanee, 1987: 29; and Ithiphol-olan, 1998). Second, the hill tribes practice opiumpoppy cultivation. This accusation which has been made unjustly is actually a partial truth in the sense that more than 50% of the hill tribes have never traditionally grown opium-poppy (Kesmanee, 1991: 213). Third, because of their cultural difference and their remote residences, the hill tribes were believed to pose a national security risk at the time of communism infiltration (Charusathira, 1967: 3-4; Tapp, 1990: 31; Radley, 1986, 82; and Renard, 1986: 4). Those lines of accusation can be observed in various official documents as reflected in the following statements:

'The Department of Public Welfare, Ministry of Interior, estimated that 200,000 to 300,000 people of various hill tribes live scattered in the mountains of northern Thailand. These peoples have different customs, traditions, languages, and beliefs. They grow and trade opium and practice shifting cultivation, always moving and searching for new lands to cultivate. This results in the destruction of forests and headwaters. These people lack education, are prone to illness, and have a low standard of living. They are thus vulnerable to outside ideologies penetrating the country and they threaten the economic, social, political, and administrative aspects of society. If these problems are not addressed, they will over time jeopardize the security and safety of the nation.'

(Dhammakittisophon, 1965: 22)

In 1959, the Hill Tribes Welfare Committee was established for the first time to declare the government concern of the hill tribes affairs basing on these three major problems. In early years of highland

development, the Department of Public Welfare had its mandate to render government basic services right into the hill tribe communities with the help of foreign and international support from time to time. Other government agencies came in much later to provide services according to their specialization. One of the major changes in educational provision started in 1980 when the Department of Non-Formal Education, with the support from USAID launched a pilot project called "Hill Areas Education Project" which had incorporated some aspects of ethnic culture into the curricula. Although the first and second Master Plans for Highland Community Development, Environment, and Narcotic Plant Control have been approved by the cabinet to be implemented for the duration of 1992-1996 and 1997-2001 respectively, none of these master plan documents mention about cultural promotion at all.

Even with numerous government services, the hill tribal people are still confronting fundamental and chronic problems such as the lack of citizenship and land title to their farms; and above all, their settlements have been declared as locating in the national parks and forest reserves.

ETHNIC CULTURAL PROMOTION

The present Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand proclaimed in 1997 indicates its intention in Article 47 that,

'Individuals who live together in traditional communities have their rights to preserve or to revive their customs, indigenous knowledge, arts and culture, which are good for locality and the nation; and to participate in the management, maintenance, and utilization of natural resources and environment leading to well-balance and sustainability....'

(Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand, 1997)

Obviously, the Constitution has illustrated its recognition of traditional culture with its cultural rights. However, concerning cultural rights, in principle the government is compelled not only to recognize the traditional culture, but also to ensure its protection from all kinds of external threats. In this respect, the Constitution does not make clear of its intention to place considerable responsibility to the government to devise a plan and protection measures to safeguard the endangered traditional culture from outside forces. Thus, in simpler statements, the Constitution goes to the point that the people are free to maintain or to revive their traditional culture regardless of the extent of external threats and for whatever cost it may be; and, besides, the government may or may not assist.

In official documents, such as, "the Master Plan for National Agenda on the Decade of Cultural Transmission for Development" and "the National Cultural Policy", there are terms like local culture and indigenous knowledge. However, it is difficult to find the terms, ethnic culture, indigenous/tribal culture, and endangered ethnic culture. In addition, these official documents at the policy level make no reference to any international Declaration related to ethnic culture, such as the ILO's Convention 169 (Convention concerning Indigenous and Tribal People in Independent Countries).

Although the national cultural policy does not make clear to what extent the government is obliged to promote the ethnic cultural activities, numerous projects have been launched mostly by the NGOs on ethnic cultural promotion. The Inter-Mountain Peoples Education and Culture in Thailand Association (IMPECT), for example, has received financial support both from the Government agencies and foreign donors to work with ethnic highland communities on cultural development.

The Office of National Culture Commission (ONCC) plays important roles by giving grants from time to time to IMPECT and other NGOs to work on culture. In 1995, ONCC sent its financial support to IMPECT to launch a research project on ethnic herbal medicine with the aims to build up a directory of herbal medicine and resource persons and also to form the basis for the transmission of medicinal use among ethnic highlanders. In 1996, ONCC supported another research project on indigenous knowledge for health care of five hill tribal groups which was implemented by IMPECT. As an ongoing project the ONCC initiative of "the Community Cultural Center in Commemoration of the King's Mother" was first started in 1997 covering seven different hill tribal villages. The objectives of this project are to set up community cultural centers in the hill tribe villages, to set up a cultural fund for the promotion of cultural activities, such as, the collection of indigenous and herbal plants and the production of food for health. The following year (1998), new community cultural centers were open in 12 villages covering more ethnic groups. Apart from these, the ONCC usually invites the NGOs to bring cultural products made by ethnic people for sale in the annual cultural trade fare.

Other cases can be drawn to illustrate the ethnic cultural promotion implemented and supported by various organizations.

The case of cultural curriculum development: Starting in 1995, with financial support from the UNICEF and under the coordination of the Office of National Education Commission (ONEC), IMPECT, in cooperation with the District Office of Primary Education and the Provincial Center of Non-Formal Education in Chiang Mai, launched the cultural curriculum development project in a cluster of Karen villages in Mae Wang district, Chiang Mai. It was interesting to observe how the project incorporated village leaders as well as local specialists to help in cultural curriculum (Kesmanee, 1998).

The case of Akha ceremony: Starting in 1995, with financial support from the UNICEF, the Department of Public Welfare launched a five-year project called, "the Promotion of Village Participation in AIDs Prevention and Rehabilitation." The project was meant to revive family relationship and to restore the traditional culture, as well as to step up the roles of elderly people in order to counter attack drug addiction and AIDs spreading. In an Akha village, one of the project sites in Chiang Rai, the youth volunteers in consultation with spiritual specialist prepared a traditional ceremony as an act against AIDs. A special ceremony was performed to get rid of all the malevolent spirits and all the houses were expected to be cleaned. The ceremony actually offered a cultural space where the villagers were brought together and thus, to bring back the sense of solidarity (ibid.).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Although cultural diversity has been adopted in the policy documents, in practice ethnic minority culture has been threatened in the name of development. The situation is aggravated by the fact that a considerable number of ethnic highlanders are considered newcomers to the country; thereby their rights should be limited. This explains why the younger generation of ethnic highlanders are too willing to discard their own traditional way of life, to be accepted as Thai citizens of course.

Although the cultural policy at the national level does not specify in concrete terms how to promote ethnic culture, there have been projects of short-and-long terms aiming for the strengthening of ethnic cultural diversity. However, one needs to be reminded that sometime in the past, cultural diversity was regarded as a threat to the national solidarity. This occurred at the time the country was highly centralized. At present, Thailand is moving slowly towards the new direction which is reflected in the more democratic Constitution

and a socio-political change towards decentralization. If Thailand is striving for a place to stand in line with other developed countries, perhaps, it would be time to think globally and at the same time to act in support of local/ethnic diversity. Ethnic cultural promotion would be part of the movement towards this direction. Then the recognition of cultural rights would go hand in hand with the protection. Perhaps, this requires a new way of thinking that the sameness leads to stagnation, while diversity brings about progress.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE SAMI SITUATION

By Ms. Åsa Simma

Honourable seminar participant Honourable human Woman and man Sister and brother

I send you greetings from the Sami people, the indigenous people of Scandinavia and North Western Russia. My people are also known as the Laplanders, we prefer to use the name saami, we also call ourselves for the people of the wind, the people of the eight seasons, the people of the sun, yes the names are many depending on what we want and need to say and express. I have been asked to say something about the concurrent situation and promotion of ethnic cultures.

My name is Åsa Simma I am an actress and director within theatre and film. Currently working as an artistic director for the Sami Theatre located on the Swedish side of Samiland. I could not be present personally since my company just has started to rehearse a new performance; therefore my speech is being read by for you.

I will share with you my personal thoughts and experiences about the concurrent situation and promotion of ethnic cultures; I have been working with Sami cultural issues in all the countries my people live in. I have also worked internationally with other indigenous artists, from North America and Greenland but also Mongolian artists, and discovering the similarities and differences between us has been of great impact for me.

Let us go back to the beginning.... I was born in 1963 into a reindeer herding Sami family; since my family was nomadic we lived with our reindeers on the Norwegian side during the summers and moved to what is called Sweden at winter times. At that time the political pressure was hard towards the saamipeople, our language, parts of our traditional costumes, our singing was not accepted. So I grew up with a feeling that my people were of less worth than the ruling majority.

Even though our traditional singing was not accepted and even forbidden by the institution called the church, my mother taught me the songs. She said the songs would be of great power and help for me in my life. I also promised her not to tell anybody that I was doing the traditional singing, since that could put me in trouble my mother said. At the age of nine years in the beginning of the seventies a great saami artist from the finish side of Samiland came to ask me if I would go on a tour with some traditional same singers, I said yes!

The seventies was the time of political awakening for the Sami people. We started to question if all the restrictions that had been put on our culture were correct. Was it true that our language should not be spoken, was it true that our songs that we had sung for eons were of no value, and was it true that our costumes should not be worn? Fortunately the artist and political leaders of my culture said, NO! We have a right to be the humans we are. In that spirit I toured a whole summer with great traditional same singers. All around Samiland encouraging our people not to forget and not to silence our songs and ourselves. That time was an important school for me, it was as if my saami identity blossomed, I was taught the incredible tradition and philosophy of our singing. I understood that the silence that had been forced upon us, had just created more and stronger stories to be told. This put me on the path that made me later choose theatre and film as my profession.

I came back to school that fall full of strength, full of stories and knowledge. To my surprise my classmates did not want to speak to me, they told me I was a witch, I would go to hell because I was singing our traditional songs, there I would burn with all the others doing such horrible things as singing our songs.

That of course was a heavy experience for a 9 years old little girl. I promised myself not to sing my peoples songs any more. I called the Sami artist Nils Aslak Valkeapää, who took me on tour, I cried to him that I never would go up to heaven since I sung these songs. With a humble voice he said: -Åsa my child, what are you going to do in a heaven where our songs are forbidden, a heaven where we are not allowed to be the ones really are.

Those words have followed me my whole life and have become something I hang on to when I am confronted with questions like why Samis need a theatre, why Samis need to have filmmakers, why the Samis should be promoted in the big world.

Things have changed a lot the past 30 years, but I still meet strange questions about my culture and people. Questions, that are born out of not knowing and preconceived ideas. How do we change this? I think one of the ways to bring about change is to not be quiet.

We have to speak, we have to tell, we have to be healed and heal. One of the strengths that Indigenous cultures have is the way we relate to life and land. Our traditions have been born out of humble communication with the earth and all living things; therefore I believe we have a responsibility towards mankind. We have been able to keep a sensitivity that modern traditions have left.

A Sami artist and poet wrote once: Time has come when men will discover the darkness around them, that power, intelligence wealth

or glory is not enough to save their souls. Then maybe they will listen to the wisdom and understanding of those people whom they regarded as small and worth less, the Indigenous Peoples of the earth. They will ask for our help and we must give it. The circle of life is to become a part of eternity. The Great Spirit links us together. He made us different not to control each other but to contribute. Not to sell or take not even to give but to share. The voice of the creator we can hear only when we listen. Just like the wind that refreshes suffering mankind, we cannot see it. Yet it is there, we do not know from where it comes or where it goes....

I am not promoting to turn time back and remove mankind to stone age, and relocating to the caves. I believe it is fully possible to participate in modern life and still carrying the traditional values. All the modern inventions are a gift to mankind and should therefore be handled with respect. The storyteller today does not need to sit by the fire with his or her knowledge. The storyteller today can carry a film camera, and tell his or her story on the white screen. The storyteller today can sit by a computer writing manuscripts. The storyteller today can act in a theatre performance. The traditional singer today can record a CD and thus reach more listeners. The person with the gift of vision today might be a painter, weaver an artist. My experience as an artist has showed me that art in itself a language. A language that speaks beyond all racial limits, therefore an excellent tool for promoting a culture. It is the duty of an artist from an ethnic minority to have full understanding of the values, traditions and the philosophy of his or her culture, I call it the invisible school, a knowledge that has not been locked into dusty books. A school that requires patience and a great drive to know things and it requires that one seek the keepers of that knowledge.

I also think it is the duty of an artist from an ethnic minority to learn the techniques of the modern society. What the so-called formal

education has to offer. This powerful combination of traditional and non-traditional knowledge will create outstanding individuals, which in itself is a gift to mankind.

An artist is a bridge builder between two cultures, a promoter of visions and dreams. An artist can bring about understanding. As an artist from an ethnic minority I feel I have 2 tasks. One towards my own culture and the other towards the so-called majority culture that still today knows very little about my people.

I have been so fortunate that I have been able to work with same cultural issues in Norway, Sweden and Finland, the three countries that my people live in. I have had a chance to study the differences in these countries. I have noticed that Norway and Finland are far ahead from Sweden in recognizing Sami rights. Norway has reached the furthest. The Sami language has been an official language in Norway and Finland for many years. That gives me as a Sami the right to use my mother language when I deal with officials, such as the dentist, the doctor or any governmental institution. Sami language became an official language in Sweden as late as October 2000. I do not say that it works but it is my right to use Sami language, and should of course be practised so it does not become just a fine promise in the peanut gallery. This requires that Sami speaking people are hired on all institutions so that the right becomes right, if you understand what I mean!

As a member of the Sami filmmakers union we are discussing that we have to start to send our scripts in it to theto our different national film institutions in these three countries when we apply for money to our film projects. Of course we have discussed that maybe our projects will be neglected due to the institutions lack of practising the right to use Sami language. But we have to start somewhere. It can take a few generations until this right works the way it was meant to.

I had the opportunity to work in Norway with Olympic games in Lillehammer. They had an Olympic arts festival and had invited artists from the whole world. I came with a Saami Performance group. As you might remember the whole opening of the Olympic games viewed the many-coloured diversity of Norway. The Sami culture had a central roll during the opening ceremony and during the different events that were present.

Already during the preparations that happened for a year before the Olympic games took place, the Sami culture was present. The Olympic committee had hired Sami artist Nils Aslak Valkeapää to be an advisor during the preparations. The Sami presence in the preparations was of great importance and showed that the Norwegians wanted to be correct in viewing the same culture. They wanted to show something more, something true.

In these commercial situations it can easily happen that an ethnic culture becomes as merely decoration, an exotic flower, something colourful and a feather in the hat for the majority culture, showing falsely how good they are towards their ethnic minority. I tried to imagine if this scenario could happen in Sweden. My answer is, NO! Sweden does not have that interest and the competence. I have wondered why, but I think the answer is so simple as, Sweden does not have that tradition.

You see both Norway and Finland have a short history of independency. Both countries have been ruled by other countries and I believe that is the reason for greater sympathy and understanding towards the saami culture. To promote an ethnic culture one has to ask what the reason for promotion is. Promotion seems for some reason to be connected with commercial aims; to make money and even more money. But for an ethnic culture promotion it might be to create understanding, to erase the clich's that the majority society has created due to lack of knowledge.

Therefore the promotion of an ethnic culture has to start for very young people, the children in the schools. Today there is a lack of books and study material for students. When I went to school I had to learn how many millimetres of rain falls in southern Sweden. But there was nothing about my people and my culture in the schoolbooks.

The situation is not so much different today. In Sweden many Sami organisations have requested the ministry of education to bring about a change. I think it should be of interest for any nation to teach the richness and diversity of a country to its inhabitants. We are living in a time where many of us are longing for peace and understanding. We have seen the injustice that many people are suffering under. Wars are tormenting many nations. Creating wounds and broken souls, today if ever we have to educate and remind each other and ourselves about the richness diversity brings to mankind.

Today we have many tools to reach out to each other. We have radio stations, we have television, and we have internet, excellent tools for communication. Information reaches us quicker than ever. I heard in the radio how the president of Finland, Tarja Halonen apologized for the wrong doings that Finland has done towards the Sami people. I also heard on an other radio broadcasting where the King of Norway addressed the same apologize to the Samis. This if anything is promotion, or? This certainly creates understanding and makes one think of what was once done wrong and how it can be changed.

For many years we have had our own broadcasting stations in our own Sami language. In august this year Sami television started sending news everyday in Sami language simultaneously in Sweden, Norway and Finland. The Princess of Norway opened the first broadcasting, speaking fluent Sami and wishing Sami television good luck and congratulations. This news broadcasting is the highlight for many

Samis. Finally wecan have news coming to us in our own language, with sub texts in the National majority language. So even non-Samispeakers can understand. Why did it take so long? It seems, as we might be able to create our own television channel in the future together with Sweden, Finland and Norway. This It should be a right to all any ethnic minorities right, to have their own television channel. It might not be of cultural interest for us to indulge in the intrigues of the popular television show Dallas, or Robocop or Ricki Lake show, or some other television product created in America or other commercial country.

As an artist when I create, I have to ask myself what are the ethics and aesthetics of my culture. I was brought up in a nomadic culture, how did we express that which is called art. We could not carry big Picasso or Andy Warhol paintings with us when we moved with our reindeers. The things we had with us were simple but well handcrafted. Art could be sound of ones voice or how one carries the human body. Those values I carry with me when I create an artistic expression, and I think that is of great interest for any ethnic minority to bring in our original values when we open the doors for modern influences.

We are living in modern times, our culture is alive, and we have not stagnated in a museum. Today we sing our traditional songs to modern music, but our original traditional singing is also living just as it did for hundreds of years ago. We make our traditional clothes as we have done for times, today we might use silk from china or wool from England in our costumes, but we still also use the skin of reindeers. This shows that our culture is alive, because change is life and stagnation is death. We will continue to change as long as we breeth.

With this hope of change and life I will close this speech! I thank you for your attention and I will say goodbye in the Sami way. Live well!

ETHNIC CULTURES AND MINORITIES AS A CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC ASSET

By Stéphane Martin

There is a tendency for the discourse on minorities, as it is now understood more or less everywhere, to become uniform. It is accepted by the majority, not only within this context but in all international institutions, universities and museums, the latter being, as you can well imagine, what concerns me most. The use of such a consensual discourse should be studied with great attention and caution. After struggling for recognition in the sixties and seventies, after the approval by States of charters guaranteeing the rights of minority ethnic groups, the geopolitics of the minorities of the world now seems to be established, with its spheres of influence, frictions, fights for independence, and also its residual fringes where minorities still have to struggle for survival. This geography, which does not take into account the borders marked on maps, concerns about 300 million Whether they are sources of conflicts and armed fights or, on the contrary, "cocoons" peacefully settled within States that protect them, minorities are viewed mainly from a strategic or legal angle. Strangely enough, the economic aspect of the problem is frequently passed over in silence. It is too paradoxical, often politically incorrect, and sometimes reflects the cynicism of the majority groups. latter, sheltering behind claims of having a clear conscience and waving the banner of the protection of rights for ethnic minorities, rationally organise the economic exploitation of a cultural source that has flowed for the last thirty years.

Will this "ethnic petrol" make the exclusive fortune of a few major operating companies to the detriment of the minorities themselves? If so, the latter risk entering into a new phase of servitude, all the more dangerous and pernicious in that it wears the mask of liberal views. This drift is recent and has therefore not been studied sufficiently. It has been placed on the back burner by those who focus on the question of the legal rights and social protection of minorities, an issue that is admittedly important but has at present been well covered. I believe we are about to start a new chapter in the history of the protection of ethnic minorities. The cultural, touristic and artistic potential of ethnic minorities is considerable. In my opinion, the museum world, where this potential is enhanced and "exhibited" to advantage, lies at the heart of the new worldwide movement. And because the leading museums of the world, with their expertise, scientific authority and budget for acquisitions, also have a growing economic impact in these areas, they now play an important role. I would like to sketch the outlines of the discourse they have adopted although I will limit myself to a few lines of thought.

Minorities play a traditional role in the economy of societies. There is no shortage of examples in world history of ethnic groups that have been able to use their small size to obtain protection from States, thus enabling them to carry out an intensive economic activity. In Northern Europe during the Middle Ages, the communities known as the "Lombard Bankers" were composed mainly of merchants of Jewish origin, grouped into districts, who obtained protection charters from towns and sovereigns. Many households from northern countries were established in the heart of Italian cities, and an intensive trade in artworks also accompanied their economic exchanges. This explains why one of the greatest masterpieces by the Flemish painter, Hugo Van der Goes still hangs in the Uffizi Gallery of Florence. Art historians know it as the Portinari "triptych", from the name of the rich family of Tuscan merchants who first owned it. In the Empire of Suleiman,

following the most incredible agreements concluded with François I, the King of France, French Catholic merchants formed a powerful minority thanks to an alliance pact that guaranteed not only their religious freedom but also trading privileges. Across the Sahara, the Tuareg minority spread its influence through the salt trade. The Moors of North Africa founded big and powerful cities on the caravan route (Timbuctoo, Oualata, Ouadane, etc). In Japan, the Noh masters formed a highly structured ethnic group that served as the vehicle of a culture that gradually identified itself with that of the Empire. Yet many of them were recruited from among the "burakumins", the scorned "people from the hamlets". Likewise, Chinese minorities were economically very active in the South Pacific, and anyone who has travelled to Polynesia or Madagascar would find it difficult to imagine life without that indispensable person, "the Chinese man".

Besides these financially powerful minorities, others were capable of developing activities that could, in the future, provide unsuspected sources of wealth through tourism. The Khmu minority, living in Laos, Vietnam, Thailand and China, semi-nomads who are becoming increasingly sedentary thanks to rice cultivation, have retained their age-old crafts, especially basketry. In Vietnam, the Bahnar, clustered around their rong, the communal house, are skilful weavers who enhance their work with embroidery, thus producing an easily identifiable craft. This artistic production is not used for commercial purposes but serves to give a strong identity to a minority ethnic group that has succeeded in preserving its distinctive characteristics despite western influence and the urban settlement of a large number of Bahnar in Kon Tum.

In his book *Tristes Tropiques*, Claude Levi-Strauss describes a visit to Cuiaba around 1935, during his trek to meet the Bororo Indians at the doors of Bolivia. To his great surprise, the trading minority he encountered in this old gold territory was Lebanese. He describes

the "back shops of Lebanese traders known as Turcos: half-wholesalers, half-usurers who supply relatives, customers and protegés with hardware, fabrics and medicines". He was even more surprised to find that the garage mechanics were of Corsican origin, and everyone in Cuiaba, even the beggars, were hunters of gold and diamonds. Today, the gold and diamonds of Cuiaba is the new tourist petrol, and it passes through the protection of the Indian minorities who lived there, totally unaware of the capital that they could, in the years to come, be capable of developing themselves. For the time of these atypical minorities, more powerful from the economic point of view than the inhabitants of the State that harbours them, is running out. It is necessary to reason on a world scale. It is the ethnic minorities, even if they are outside the economic circuit, even if they are not powerful traders, who now have a strong economic impact.

In 1920, the critic F élix Fénéon talked of "distant arts". Today, no art is distant and cultural tropisms are in the process of turning over. Suppose Italy, Greece and Egypt were to be replaced by Amazonia, Cameroon, Queensland or the Arctic of the Inuits in the course of the new century? Here is a Copernican revolution, started almost imperceptibly around 1920 in the research laboratories of museums and universities, that may well shake the world economy and disrupt all the circuits of the tourist economy and trading, the impact of which cannot be measured yet.

The promotion of minority cultures now plays a vital role in the economy of these regions. The fragmented, fragile and threatened margins of our earth are the object of great attention. The stone or wood sculptures of the Paiwans, a minority in Taiwan, are displayed in the biggest museums and collections, and their name has become famous throughout the world. Soon, the mountains on the island of Hainan will become a tourist destination because of the dwellings

on piles, boat-shaped roofs and the traditional costumes of the Li, an aboriginal population living in the South of China. In the Hunan, visitors will flock to see the huge ritual drums of the Dong, and this ethnic group, composed of a million and a half people, will thus be saved from oblivion but threatened in its integrity. The Taiwanese have taken the habit of showing in their tourist brochures the men from the Yami minority wearing their huge silver helmets. quarter of the inhabitants of the famous 'island of orchids", called Lan Yu by the Chinese, deserted the land of their ancestors in the eighties to go and live in Taiwan itself. This does not means that their traditions are in the process of becoming extinct, as the government of Taiwan soon realised. The Yami wield considerable weight in the Alliance of the Aborigines of Taiwan, which also includes the Rukai who defend the statues of their forefathers, the Bunum and the Atayal. The influence of the Yami was felt in 1978, when the construction of a new military port was being considered. Although this project would have created jobs for the population, it would have deteriorated the environment and undermined traditional fishing areas. The development of Taiwan now goes hand in hand with the recognised role of ethnic minority groups in the national economy.

In a world that is becoming more and more transparent and uniform, at a time when there is widespread talk of globalisation, certain cultures, paradoxically, are shaped by structures that have remained clearly visible. Their works of art, both old and contemporary, are displayed in museums and have become the standard bearer of authenticity, the greatest luxury that a world saturated with wealth can offer itself. Some 800 peoples throughout the world have been clearly identified and carefully studied. They have a strong sense of identify and a culture deeply rooted in a local history that has been rediscovered and rehabilitated. From the Inuits of the Great North to the Dakota of the United States, from the Koriaks of Siberia to the Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert, from the Australian Aborigines to

the Khamp of Tibet, these people are asserting themselves everywhere, with the firm intention of proving they are the salt of the earth. This planet would indeed be dull without them, without the history they guard. This history, which many ethnologists have studied, has been given to us, and it is in the process of becoming ours just as much as theirs. Even the term "first arts", when it was replaced by the word "primitive" in the second half of the 20th century, before disappearing in its turn in recent years, is sufficient evidence that the entire world finally recognises its roots in the heritage and cultures of these minorities. And the world is willing to pay a high price for this extra bit of soul, history and singularity that makes globalisation more bearable.

There are many examples of minorities that succeed in managing the products of their activity, even if it is sometimes at a microscopic The Bouyi in China, living in Szechuan or Guizhou Yunnan and officially recognised as a "national minority", are appreciated for their skills as carpenters or masons, but these skills are not exported. No more than the famous palm wine made by the Bafuts of Cameroon on the Bamenda plateau. The province of Milne Bay, in the east of Papua-New Guinea, is well known for its old trading system of what is known as Kula, between the ethnic groups of the islands of Trobriand, Iwa, Gawa in the north, Amphletts, Dobu, and Duau in the south. This circular bartering of red and white shells, described by Malinowski in 1922, is very old and it may go back to as far as the first century B.C. It is still very much alive, and in 1970 was opened It is clear that it is the rites accompanying this trade, rather than the trade itself, that are likely to create new commercial dynamics today, hopefully for the benefit of the populations concerned.

To achieve this, it is now necessary to guarantee a new right for peoples. The right of peoples to self-determination, which was a political and essential one, must now encompass the right of peoples to manage the economic spin-offs engendered by their distinctive characteristics, arts and traditions. But who, today, gives this discourse to the Intuits of North Canada or the Australian Aborigines? Who tells them that they have strong economic potential because they are politically a minority?

It is necessary to go back to the source. The European notion of a museum emerged in France and England at the end of the 18th century. The museum of the Age of Enlightenment, of which the Louvre of Napoleon the First was the culmination, was like undertaking the Grand Tour, for visitors were able to discover the masterpieces of Italy in Paris and the Parthenon Marbles in London. In 1796, the scholar Antoine Quatremère de Quincy, who had a passion for antiquities, protested against what he called "the removal of monuments of art from Italy" in a series of open letters addressed to General Miranda. The French armies, he explained, were in the process of tearing pages out of the "great book" of Italy. He did not know that this was only the beginning of a policy that was to continue until 1815, when France was obliged to return nearly all the works it had requisitioned during the Revolution and Empire. In writing about Italy, Quatremère de Quincy asked, "Surely the country itself is a museum?" All the issues developed subsequently, up to the debate on what a post-colonial museum should display, originate from these few letters written in 1796.

France is strongly committed to a new policy on museums aimed at giving back the cultures of ethnic minorities the place they deserve, and at each stage of this policy, economic concerns have always been present. The initiative was taken by the President of the French Republic, Mr. Jacques Chirac, who in 1998 wanted to "give the arts of Africa, the Americas, Oceania and Asia their rightful place in the museums of France." The operation consists of two phases. Since April 2000, exhibition galleries in the Louvre, with an area of

1,400 sq. metres, have been set aside for exhibiting arts that have shaped the way we look just as much as the Mona Lisa and the Victory of Samothrace but were still unfamiliar to the general public. The growing success of these galleries, which received over 4,000 visitors every day this summer, demonstrates clearly that they fulfil their function as an "appeal for recognition," a wish sincerely expressed by Jacques Chirac. All the peoples of the world that have produced masterpieces, until recently only known by specialists, are now represented at the Louvre, where visitors from all over the world can admire their art. Afro-Americans can discover their roots while the French belonging to immigrant communities find an acknowledgement of the history and creations of their ancestors.

The Quai Branly Museum will open in 2004, on a superb site on the banks of the Seine. It will be a new museum, with an innovative programme, dedicated to the arts of Africa, Asia, Oceania and the Americas. This will be the second stage, the outcome of many discussions undertaken by museum curators all over the world, especially institutions specialised in the cultures of ethnic minorities. A museum, as we perceive it, is no longer just a place to exhibit works. It has become a centre for exchanges, first of all, exchanges of artworks with important museums in countries where these collections come from. Thanks to a system of loans, they will receive 19 th and 20 th century pieces from national collections, which could either complete series that remained in the country of origin or fill in gaps. In return, Paris will receive, on a temporary basis, artworks from all over the world. Temporary exhibitions will be part of a permanent circulation of works so that the public can benefit from this international co-operation between museums. The museum will also function as a centre for scientific resources and information, open in particular to the countries at the origin of the collections. The ensuing collaboration will also be of a new type. Researchers from the regions in question will be associated with the scientific research and programming of the future establishment. They will continue to work in the institution as soon as it opens its doors. Databases, especially on ethnology, will be placed at the disposal of experts. It is no longer a question of showing "other" cultures, as in the museums of the past, but to work with "the others" and help them preserve their own heritage. All acquisitions are made in complete agreement with the country where the works were produced.

One of the basic roles of the museums of today is to help clean up the art market and to fight against the black market. Museums must also contribute to the struggle against the worldwide looting of cultural goods by serving as focal points and providing information, for the economic stakes are high. Three years before its public opening, the new Parisian museum at the Quai Branly is already doing its utmost to protect minorities whose roots are being seized and turned into trophies. The location of the institution in the centre of Paris, with its great visibility and future development, will make it one of the strongest bastions against practices that should belong to another age.

There are many risks. These cultures are being placed under the projectors of the media and under the spotlights of national museums from Ottawa to Washington, all determined to give a more prominent place to their minorities. As a result, they are over-exposed and may become even more fragile than in the past. It is not enough to promote a cultural minority within a majority national group. Minorities must be heard in the international concert. They should not be used in museums to serve as simplistic symbols of national reconciliation, and even less as alibis to express officially a few hypocritical apologies. At the Quai Branly Museum, we will give minorities a voice, on an equal footing with predominant cultures. They will speak in their own name, like adult cultures involved in a dialogue with other cultures. It is the duty of museums to play a role of vigilance, recognition and affirmation in the present-day world. Under the

cover of humanism and respect for others, under the misleading varnish of a well-polished "post-colonial" discourse, a new exploitation of peoples may emerge tomorrow. The museum should under no circumstances become a place where this new economic exploitation can find its foundations and justification, and exploited as an indispensable vector for publicity. On-the-spot vigilance is of the utmost importance to organise the kind of tourism that respects traditions, the landscape and the works of art that have remained on site and to prevent the uncontrolled bleeding of human heritage. In the bigger museums, curators who are accustomed to exchanges and dialogue have developed a specific code of ethics that seems to be at the forefront of discussions on such sensitive issues. In my opinion, they can serve as models to construct a local economic policy based on respect for the specific nature of ethnic groups that are still underprivileged. What we are doing in Paris is only one example and I have restricted myself to describing the struggles in which I and my staff are involved - but there are many in London, Washington, Canberra and elsewhere who are working in the same direction. The world of museums is often accused of being inward looking, too idealistic and remote from economic realities. But I believe this "small world" is the first to have understood what States are finally beginning to realise: preserving the heritage of ethnic minorities can become an extraordinary factor in the harmonious development if efforts are made to promote dialogue and communication at the same time. These new museums will be open to researchers, the basic but small group of people who, in all countries, help to advance knowledge about different cultures. And they will also be opened, simultaneously, to the greatest number of visitors, like an invitation to travel.

Stéphane MARTIN

Born in 1956, Judge, National Audit Office

Following his studies at the Paris Institute of Political Science and the National Administration School (ENA), Stéphane Martin was appointed to the National Audit office in 1982, and was then promoted to Public Auditor in 1986 and Senior Adviser in September 2000.

1982-85	Lecturer, Paris Institute of Political Science, ENA and the National School for Statistics and Economic Administration
1985	Rapporteur at the Budget and Finance Court
1986-89	President of Senegal's Commission for Auditing Accounts and Monitoring Public Institutions
1989-90	Delegate-General of the Georges Pompidou Centre
1990-93	Deputy Head of Music, Radio France
1993	Cabinet Director for Jacques Toubon, Minister of Culture
1993-95	Director, Department of Music and Dance, Ministry of
	Culture
1995-97	Cabinet Director for Mr Philippe Douste-Blazy, Minister of
	Culture
1997-98	Director, Forum Grimaldi, Cultural and Congress Centre,
	Monaco
1997-	President, Ensemble Intercontemporain
1998-	CEO, the public Musée du quai Bianly.

He has been a member of ICOM since May 2000.

Awards:

Knight of the Legion of Honour Commander of the Order of Arts and Litterature Commandeur des ordres du Lion et du Mérite du Sénégal Officer of the Order of Merit (Poland)

Protection and Development of Ethnic Cultures in Vietnam (Through the National Programme of Collection of Intangible Ethnic Cultures)

By Luong Hong Quang, Dr*

Current Situation for Implementing the Programme

Vietnam developed as an agricultural society, and the population is still predominantly rural. Nowadays, nearly 20 percent of the population lived in urban areas. As much as 90 percent of the people are ethnic Vietnamese, descendents of the people who settled in the Red River Delta thousands of years ago. Ethnic Chinese constitute the largest minority group. Other important minorities are the Khmer and the Cham. In addition, there are also numerous tribal groups. While the ethnic Vietnamese live in lowland areas scattered throughout the country, most minorities are concentrated in specific regional areas. The ethnic Chinese, also known as overseas Chinese, are immigrants or descendants of immigrants who settled in Vietnam during the last 300 years. They live primarily in the cities and provincial towns and number about 2 million. The Khmer (about 500,000) and the Cham (about 50,000) are descendants of peoples who lived in central and southern Vietnam prior to the Vietnamese conquest of those areas. The tribal peoples are descendants of communities who migrated into Vietnam from other parts of Asia over a period of several thousand years. They are divided into about 50 different languages and ethnic groups (including the Tho, the Tay, the Nung, the Muong, and the Jarai) and live almost exclusively in the mountains surrounding the

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Red River Delta and in the Central Highlands. Taken collectively, the tribal peoples represent 7 percent of the country's total population.

- 2. With the goal of productive power liberation and by some reforms in economy institution, firstly in agricultural institutions, we have remarkably gained the achievements in socio-economy. The process of social democratization and the achievements in health, education, labor-job, were acknowledged by internationals as one of the most remarkable achievements in Doi Moi Process, took premise for the development of spiritual cultural life of people. The achievements in economy created much clear progress in enhancing the standard of living and HDI in general. Under the influence of changes of social economic situation, the cultural life in ethnic groups has been changed fast nowadays, both advantages and disadvantages aspects. The environment of culture and arts has been changed by the rapid economic growth and a lot of social factors as follow:
 - Ecological change is the first factor that leads to surrounding changes of ethnicities in Vietnam. The decrease in forest coverage and climate changes forced many ethnic groups to leave their traditional residence for the lower mountainous areas or places where there is no hurricane. The lifestyle that used to be merely dependent on forests has changed.
 - The transformation of economic mechanism is also an important factor that changes the surroundings of ethnicities. Most of Vietnamese ethnicities, especially those who live in the Northern mountains and along Truong Son mountain, live on natural and self-sufficing economy. It is the small-scale agricultural economy with the cultivation on sloping land, low productivity and animal husbandry. Thanks to State investment and that of foreign companies, there have been

industrial zones, factories, electricity, and transport system in the minority residence. Although the small-scale agricultural economy still prevails, a new economic structure is gradually formulated. There is emergence of goods economy in these areas, the minority people have to be used to trade and economic relations, to the demand and supply law, to the demanding production. In some in the Middle highland, the Eat of Mekong delta, a developed farming economy and industrial zones have created a service and industrial economy, a modern agriculture, which are far different from the traditional ones. Households formerly only knew how to make cultivation in burnt over land and terraced field to grow maize and rice. Now they can cultivate water rice. This change strongly impacts on cultural life of ethnicities. The trends of emigration of almost Vietnamese ethnicities occurred from the 1950s. The settlement movement launched by the Government led to the fixed residences along the road or the advantage areas for communication. Amout of ethicities such as H'mong, Zdao who lived as a nomad in the past, have been fixed home and settled agriculture. The big migrations from 1975 up to now are a fact that was impacted the changes of the structure of arrangement of ethnic map in Vietnam. Recently, the plans of building the big hydroelectric plants in the North and the middle highland are an element for disordering the arrangement of ethnic map. Another characteristic of emigration is the homogeneity of ethnicities can not be preserved as it was. Nowadays, we often see that there are some minority groups living together in a village, having cultural interactions with each other in which they are much influenced by the majority- the Kinh people. In such conditions, the cultural homogeneity becomes a past concept.

- The closeness of the ethnicities no longer existed due to influences from external cultures on their identities. The development of infrastructures such as transport system, electricity, post offices help these communities access to other communities. The coverage of radio and television broadcasting as well as the supply of audio-visual media supported by the Government to these communities creates a chance to the improvement of people's knowledge and education. This means the traditional belief, habits and customs have to face with challenges, at least in people's mind for what should be preserved, accepted, or what should be abolished.
- The intangible cultural heritages are put in a socio-economic context that is quite different from the traditional one. The dangers of transformation of cultural nature as well as the expressions of intangible cultural heritages that are in a making priority what to collection and promotion of intangible cultural heritages. All activities should base on a fact that a three-element system: artist- work- the public is the mechanism that helps intangible cultural heritages exist. These three elements interact and depend on each other in which artist is the leading element as artists themselves own works/intangible heritages. They are both preservers and creators of these heritages. Therefore, the interest of preservation of intangible cultural heritages is an activity to which Vietnamese Government has given priority.

The Overall Objectives of the Programme

- Collecting most intangible ethnic heritages through fieldwork that have been implemented in 61 provinces in Vietnam.
- Building up the data bank of intangible ethnic heritages based on the digital technique.

The Specific Objectives

- Classifying the intangible ethnic heritages.
- Setting priority in collection of intangible heritages that have been seriously failed in some minorities or artisans who are getting older.
- Improving the capacity of teamwork who lack of the knowledge and skills of collection, edition and evaluation.
- Investigating modern technical equipment systems, including the component of data collection, edition and archives.

The Methods of Collection

For gaining the aims of project, much methods and techniques were implemented in our programme such as:

- Ethnological fieldwork;
- Text analysis;
- Visual techniques: Photo/camera shooting

Based on visual data that was collected in the fieldwork, we edited into a CDs or VCDs or Betacam tapes in one visual data archives. An evaluation report was written in which we focus on the evaluation of current situation of each intangible event. An album of each intangible event was also edited.

The Process of Implementation

From 1997 to 2000, the amount of 12 billions VN Dong (apprx. 1,000,000 USD) has been invested for 233 projects. In 2001 fiscal year, approximately 5 billions VN dong (apprx. 330,000 USD) were supported for 75 projects.

- There are four forms of documentation: descriptions of fieldwork, photos, video tapes and the evaluation reports in each project.
- In four years, 233 projects have been implemented such as:

Performing arts, festivals:	104	projects
Traditional techniques, handicrafts	9	projects
Music	39	projects
Traditional theatres	7	projects
Folklore literatures	15	projects
Folklore games	5	projects
Religions	54	projects
Total	233	projects

- Every year, two training courses were organized for the aims of improving knowledge and skills in collection, edition and writing of evaluation reports. The first form of bank of visual data was establihed in VICAS nowadays, in which all data were classified by content, form and ethnicity. In the near future, an electric bank was formulated with the supported by Government. The next month, an expert group of VICAS will go to America for learning the experience of building up an electric bank of visual data.
- There were two study tours in China and Germany for exchanging experiences in 1998, 1999.

The Social Effectiveness of the Programme

- Raising the awareness of people in intangible ethnic heritage protection and promotion specially in the local people.

- Distributing most traditional heritages in young generation in media system.
- Creating skillful staffs in collecting, editing and evaluating intangible ethnic heritages.
- Building up the foundations for developing the data bank on intangible ethnic heritages in Vietnam in the near future.

Recommendations

- 1. Investigating for collecting intangible ethnic heritages in minority groups as well as the major ethnic group- the Viet.
- 2. Concentrating the technical issues in capacity of staff, the way of developing the data bank for archives.
- 3. Popularizing the intangible ethnic heritages in schools, especially in kindergartens, primary, elementary, secondary and high schools.
- 4. Mobilizing the collection of intangible ethnic heritage activities, instead of using financial sources from government only.
- Reinforcing the international exchanges between VICAS and foreign partners for building up a network among specialists and institutions on intangible ethnic heritages.
- 6. VICAS welcomes to all individuals or organizations in ASEM countries sharing experiences with us, through the visits, seminars or technical assistance.

Note:

ⁱ The speed of growth GDP constantly increased in many years. Average 8,2% for 5 years, remarkably higher than the period of 1976-1980 (0,4%), the period of 1981-1985 (6,4%), the period of 1986-1990 (3,9%), and for general period of 1976-1990 (3,5%). The speed of growth GDP was higher than the speed of population growth, so GDP per capita constantly increased year by year and clear higher the speed of before stage (Average the period of 1976-1980 reduced 1,8%, period of 1981-1985 increased 4,2%, period of 1986-1990 increased 1,8%, average of whole period of 1976-1990 increased 1,3%, while the period of 1991-1995 increased 5,8%). To compare with GDP, total of accumulation increased from 14,4% (1990) to 27,1% (1995) and internal accumulation increased from 5,1% (1990) to 17,8% (1995). The economic growth with high speed not only increased the accumulation but also made the final consumption funds per capita that create material resource to implement the aim of society. The government estimates approx. GDP 6% in 1998, reduce 1/3 to compare with the average of the period of 1996-97. In 1999, the rate estimates approx. 4,8%.

	1991-96 (%)	1997 (%)	1998 (estimate)
Total GDP	8.4	8.8	3.5 - 4.5
- Agriculture,	4.4	4.5	2.5
forest and pisciculture			
- Industry	12.4	13.2	7.0 - 8.0
- Services	9.0	8.6	1.5 - 3.0

(Sources: Estimate of WB base on the data 9/1998. Remaining data of Vietnam general statistical office.)

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Some main books:

- Tam son commune, The Tradition and Modern, National Politics Publisher, 1993. (Coo - Authors)
- The way of life in contemporary Urban in Viet Nam, Institute of Culture, 1993. (Coo Authors)
- Culture and Development, Institute of Culture, 1995 (Coo Authors)
- The village culture in Me Kong deltas at Decade 80s 90s (Through case study: Binh Phu - Cai Lay - Tien Giang), Culture - information publishing, 1996.
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- Social Knowledge and its influence to personal culture. Culture information publishing, 1999.
- Community development: Theory and practice. Culture Information publishing, 1999
- Influence of Doimoi to the Basical Social Connections in the Rural Society (Case of The Red River delta). The publishing of Social Sciences. 2000;
- Culture of poverty in Vietnam. Culture Information publishing, 2001

Scientific papers:

from 1985 to 1996, over 20 scientific papers were published in some scientific reviews such as Culture and Arts Review, The Review of Theory, Idea and Culture Review...

Experiences:

Participating of some health and medicine projects such as: ARI, PHC, CDD ... under College of Hanoi Medicine, Vietnam - Sweden Health cooperation (Evaluating the corresponding of formulation of plans and objectives in VSHC during the five year period, 1994-1999).

Now, I am a member of Project: The Cultural Policy for Development in Vietnam that was supported by Vietnamese Government and Swedish SIDA (2000-2002), and the project: Improving the Capacity of Research and Teaching of Cultural Management in the Context of Market Economy that was supported by Ford Foundation.

The Current Work of the Council of Europe in the Framework of the Protection and Development of Cultural Pluralism: the Role of Heritage

By Dr. Nuria Sanz *

The aim of the Council of Europe is to achieve greater unity between its Member States for the purpose of safeguarding and realizing the ideals and the principles which are their common heritage and to facilitate their economic and social progress, in particular by the maintenance and further realisation of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

A decade ago, the process of disintegration of an important part of Europe started just at the time when another part of Europe started to integrate as a continent. This coincidence in time allowed what would have been the integration of half of Europe to broaden its scope to all of the continent. The decade that is usually called "transition" from socialist communities to civil societies, for a great part of Central, Eastern and Baltic Europe, involved a new understanding of traditions, languages and religions and a new and way of living these essential elements of human existence.

In the course of the years 1999 - 2000, the "Europe, a Common Heritage" Campaign has explored the functions that society attributes to its heritage, keeping in mind that this is a society that today finds

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itself faced with the imperative of assuming multiple identities. Society is now being defined less as a property than a challenge, less as a piece of evidence than a dilemma to be resolved. Heritage is defined as a crossroads and a space for selection, for perplexity, for interchange and for conflict. Heritage ceases to be an inventory of what is typical in favour of more epistemological contents.

How can a reciprocal interest and respect among all countries be articulated through the use and categorization of its heritage? This is the challenge to a Europe without centres faced with the need to develop and strengthen a common attitude of understanding while tearing up its own ethnic, local and national concept and revise while questioning what is European - and all of this without implying a need to relativize what is one's own. How can we redefine a heritage that could be of use and relevance to the social and cultural development of the greater Europe?

Through projects such as inventories (e.g. the one carried out following the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina), the defence of traditional techniques and know-how (e.g. wooden heritage in Europe), or cooperation in exploring the intangible heritage (e.g. traditional music in Europe), the Cultural and Natural Heritage Department addresses issues and questions such as:

- how can heritage in any territory marked by its cultural, religious or ethnic context occupy a space from which each tradition accepts the differences and characteristics of the others?
- · how can cultural heritage contribute to a model of society?
- what role do heritage policies play in reconstructing these territories?
- how can administrative structures, legal channels and professional networks be established in order to reach objectives of tolerance?

The presentation will outline the normative aspects most relevant to the goals of this Conference, including:

- the UN Human Rights Declaration of 1948 European Convention for the protection of human rights; the European Cultural Convention (ETS¹ 18 - 1954)
- the draft Recommendation on Cultural Identity
- the European Charter for Regional or Minority languages (ETS 148);
- Framework Convention for the protection of National Minorities (ETS 157), in the framework of the policies devoted to diversity and cohesion.

¹ The term ETS (European Treaty Series) desgnates Council of Europe Conventions.

Can "They" save "Us", the Foragers?

Indonesian and Thai Hunter-Gatherer Cultures under

Threat from Outside.

Вy

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1. Introduction

The subject of this contribution is focused on the comparison between two marginal ethnic communities, one in Indonesia and the other in Thailand, and between their interethnic relationships in the past as well as in recent times. The problems both ethnic groups are faced with are a matter of great scientific concern. It is impossible for both of the groups in question to resist external threats ensuing from unfavorable political, economic and ecological developments in the present nation-states. In this light, responsible anthropological policy means detecting and translating their real needs as well as realizing sound concepts of protection. Both ethnic cultures are worth being protected due to their ideal sustainable utilization of natural resources. Both, the Anak Dalam and the Maniq, represent the periphery, which according to the cultural symbolism of Southeast Asian states is regarded as a negative reflection the core area, the state society: in terms of its ecology, its religious practices, its social structure, its governance, and - at least in the case of the Anak Dalam - its fugitive dissident population. Why has the state almost always been the enemy of people who move around? The contention of James Scott is that hunter-gatherers and hill societies in Southeast Asia represent the

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illegible, non-state space, where state control has always been tenuous. Consequently, the kingdoms of the past as well as the modern nation-states see these peripheral peoples 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 **Tdevelopmental regimes** they are seen as benighted primitives, **Four 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) No doubt, all forms of discrimination that the hunter-gatherers of Indonesia and Thailand are faced with are basically indigenous (cf. Woodburn 1997).

The Anak Dalam or "Kubu" represent the first ethnic community concerned. The dense rain forest in the provinces Jambi and Palembang (former sultanates of Southern Sumatra), Republic of Indonesia is inhabited by the Anak Dalam. The outsiders refer to the forest people pejoratively as "Kubu", but they call themselves Anak Dalam or "People of the Interior". Today the Anak Dalam form a small minority of only 1.4% in the midst of Islamic Malay. Besides foraging the Anak Dalam also practice to a less extent shifting cultivation. However, the Anak Dalam mostly depend on hunting and gathering in the forest. As the majority of the foragers of Southeast Asia as well as of the world the Anak Dalam are secondary hunters and gatherers, in other words, formerly they used to be sedentary agriculturists who changed into a predominantly hunting-gathering mode of life. The Anak Dalam's language is a kind of archaic Malay without any influence of Arabic loanwords and Islamic terminology. In all probability, the ancestors of the recent Anak Dalam retreated into the jungle in order to avoid Islamization and subsequently separated themselves from the Malay. Like many other hunter-gatherer societies of Southeast Asia the Anak Dalam are the descendants of riverain or coastal peoples who rejected Islam. Because they did not want to give up their gods, or their pigs, or because they were afraid of slaving raids, the most common case.

The system of interethnic relations between the Anak Dalam and the Malay as well as the changing position of the totagets in this interethnic interaction with their sedentary neighbors due to the rise of the modern Indonesian nation-state is the focus of interest. In order to get a deeper insight in the interethnic relations we should try to view them through the eyes of the Anak Dalam: According to their dualistic world view the Anak Dalam contrast the mutually contradicting ways of life, customs and values of "Anak Dalam" (= "People of the Interior") and the "Otang Tetang" (= "People of the Bright World", that is to say, the Islamic Malay).

The Maniq, the second ethnic group to be dealt with, are hunters and gatherers in Southern Thailand who have established long trade relations with their sedentary neighbors. Unlike the Anak Dalam, there is no evidence of a former cultivation (agriculture). The Maniq, therefore, could be called primary (pristine) hunters and gatherers. In contrast to other tribal peoples of Thailand the Maniq are almost totally ignored, that is neither regarded as a problem (as the so-called "hill tribes") nor considered to be protected. Provided the present destructive development (deforestation, encroachment by intruding legal/illegal settlers etc.) continues, the Maniq are in great danger of extinction as an ethnic group (ethnocide or even genocide).

2. <u>Background and Situation of the Anak Dalam of Sumatra (Indonesia)</u>

Anak Dalam is an endonym and means "People of the Interior", "Inland People". "Kubu" (possibly from ngubu, "elusive") is an extremely pejorative exonym and has the connotation of "backwoodsman" or "primitive" (LeBar 1972:46). In dealing with the Anak Dalam one should avoid this term in any case.

At present something like 20,000 Anak Dalam live in Southern Sumatra. But only a part of the total Anak Dalam-population is today

living as hunters and gatherers in the forests of Sumatra. This development is mainly based on two reasons. On the one hand, the former "New Order" government of Indonesia launched many projects in the course of the "Five-Year Development Plans" intended to integrate the so-called "isolated tribes" (suku-suku terasing) into the society of the nation-state. On the other hand, the living space of this originally roaming foragers was increasingly reduced by large-scale clearings of foreign as well as domestic logging companies over the last 30 years. Moreover, the government "transmigrated" poor people from Java into this "empty" land and in this way produced a population pressure not yet existing by then. During the last few years vast areas of Sumatra covered with forest were just burned down, in order to open big plantations. These illegal actions of scorching the forests were often ordered and protected by powerful politicians and tycoons. The big forest fires of 1997 and afterwards which raged in Sumatra and Kalimantan destroyed many hundred thousands of hectares rain forest. The impact of this forest fires on the hunter-gatherers can not be estimated at the moment. Fortunately, since the end of the "New Order" government of General Suharto in May 1998 a fundamental change of the attitudes towards the hunter-gatherers and other peripheral minorities has been going on. For instance, the pejorative term "isolated tribe / isolated community" (suku terasing / masyarakat terasing), formerly used by government officials, was replaced by the more honorable designation "adat society" (masyatakat adat).

The traditional behavior system including the values and norms attached to it, is a decisive factor of the culture, for which today the term adat is referred to by the Indonesians. A long time ago different terms were used in various vernacular languages of Indonesia for the diverse local norm- and behavior-patterns. Later on these terms were replaced by the standard word adat originating from the Arab language (= "custom", "habits", "tradition", "statutes of the ancestors"). Today the common forms of translation for adat are: (1) "Habit", "custom", "tradition"; "customary law", "traditional institutions"; (2) "Customary practices", "morality", "proper behavior". In the eyes of the Indonesians, firstly adat makes men human beings proper; that is, the possession of adat distinguishes them from animals.

In sharp contrast to the past the peripheral minorities are now more and more described as very just and democratic societies and as native ecologists who are protecting the ecological environment, if necessary also against the pressure of profit-oriented timber-hungry groups of the "modern" Indonesian society. On 31st January 2000 the "head" (tumenggung) of an Anak Dalam band, who waged peaceful resistance campaign against the mindless destruction of the Hompongan forest in Jambi, was called "environmental savior" and received the Kehati award 2000 from a non-governmental organization fighting for saving the bio-diversity in Indonesia (cf. The Jakatta Post, Tuesday, February 8, 2000:7; Suata Pembatuan, 1st February 2000: 16; Kompas, Kamis, 3rd February 2000).

The preferable living space of Anak Dalam is the upper courses of rivers (right in the vicinity of the headwaters) or the small tributaries, whereas the Malay live along the banks of big rivers. There is a comparatively low population density in the whole area. The average population density in the province of Jambi is around 18 people per km² (average density in Indonesia = 111 people per km²). The Anak Dalam are gathering, hunting, fishing and in some cases working in small swiddens cleared amidst the forest. The Anak Dalam don't have domestic animals (pets), because according to their custom they are not at all allowed to eat them. The Anak Dalam say that the meat of domesticated animals has a very bad smell. Eating it would inevitably lead to vomiting. The Anak Dalam are therefore entirely dependent on the protein sources of their hunting and fishing activities. Besides gathering, hunting and fishing many, but not all Anak Dalam bands practice shifting cultivation (yam, sweet potato, taro, banana, sugar cane) to varying degrees. The term for shifting cultivation in the language of the Anak Dalam is tani tahon which roughly means "to plant in the fields in order to survive or to get through", until the next fruit season is approaching. In the meantime one is willy nilly forced to fill the belly with tubers and bananas. Crops not planted by the Anak Dalam are rice and vegetable. The band of Air Hitam I encountered in the early eighties has only very small fields abandoned soon after planting, with the result that these Anak Dalam hardly ever tend their fields; they come back only to harvest. Fortunately tubers need not much maintenance and the harvest time is also not precisely prescribed as, for instance, in wet rice cultivation. Obviously, there is a clear preference for products of hunting-gathering activities. This indicates a strong inclination of Anak Dalam to live in the forest or the other way round a strong aversion to adopt the way of life of Muslim Malay. It is no accident that Loeb (1935:283) observed that the "wild Kubu have no rice, and are unwilling to eat it." Eating domesticated animals (like goats, chicken etc.) is strictly forbidden. It is also prohibited to hunt and to eat elephants, tigers and monkeys. Trade and commodities: In fact, the term "commodities" is misleading, since nearly the entire interethnic exchange is confined to barter and is run without any money. In addition there is no and was never "free" exchange between the Anak Dalam in the forest and the Malay villagers. The exchange has to flow through the jenang, a kind of mediator (see below). In former times the valuables of the Anak Dalam never entered the market, but were handed over by the jenang to the king of Jambi. The Anak Dalam of the past were, therefore, never - not even indirectly - connected with the market. Virtually all the bartering objects (like rattan and resins) originate from gathering. Today the Anak Dalam exchange their goods for products from the Malay such as salt and cloths.

Besides, the Anak Dalam sometimes work for the "People of the Bright World" (Otang Tetang) living near to their camp as well. The Anak Dalam call this "ambil upah", which literally means "to take temunetation / teward". "Ambil upah" stands for work in exchange for payment in kind: As a rule, the Anak Dalam work on the dry fields or swiddens of the Malay, help to clear the forest, or get the order to collect rattan. In exchange for this work they get salt, rice, cloth etc. In comparison with the common wages the Anak Dalam are "satisfied" by only small quantities of cheap products. The "silent

barter", a common and recurrent topic in the old literature on "Kubu", probably never existed and is merely a legend originally introduced by the Arabs.

3. Changing Position of Anak Dalam in the Interethnic System

Concerning their origin the oral tradition of the group living in Air Hitam has it as follows: "A long time ago when the Otang Kayo Hitam, who ruled over the sea from the strait, Tanjung Jabung until Muara Sabak, was at war with Selaro Pinang Masak, the tatu of Jambi, the Datuk Perpatih Na Sebatang² from Minangkabau sent troops to Jambi. But the way through the vast forest to Palembang was long and our forefathers lost their way as a result of it. The supplies were already finished. Knowing that they were already late our ancestors could continue their way to Jambi. But in this case the king (1ajo) of Jambi would punish them. Supposing they returned, they would lose their face and would be cursed by the 1ajo of Minangkabau. In case they tried to escape upwards, they would be killed by a falling tree. If they tried to escape downwards, they would be stung by a big bumble-bee. As a result, they decided to stay in the forest and to separate themselves (mengkubukan diri) from the "bright world" (dunia terang). Accordingly, our ancestors left behind the syatak [= Islamic Sharia-law] and that is the reason why our forefathers kept and preserved the adat. Since then we have had to stay in the forest and we are not permitted to eat domesticated animals" (cf. Muchlas 1975:6).

The above-mentioned account reflects a claim of the Anak Dalam on deliberate and active isolation from their ethnic environment. Thus

The Anak Dalam mention the name of Datuk Perpatih Na Sebatang, who was a famous "secretary of state" during the reign of Adityavarman (±1320 - ±1375), the greatest king of the Pagaruyung empire!

they are strongly opposed to the exonym "Kubu" (literally: "fence", "entrenchment"; in a wider sense: "elusive backwoodsman") assuming an isolation of the forest people by the Malay.

A typical feature of the world view of these hunter-gatherer bands is the binary opposition of Anak Dalam's and Otang Tetang's way of life. The Anak Dalam are contrasting the mutually contradicting ways of life, customs and values of "Anak Dalam" (= "People of the Interior") on the one hand and the "Otang Tetang" ("People of the Bright World", that is to say Islamic Malay), on the other hand (cf. Drexler/Lukas 1986:190-202).

binary opposition of Anak Dalam's and Orang Terang's way of life

Anak Dalam (Orang Dalam, Orang Rimbo)	Orang Dusun (= Malay)
Living in the forest (roaming, mobile)	Living in permanent villages/dusun (sedentary)
Laws/rules of the ancestors; own religion and magic (kept secret)	Islam ("syarak" = Sharia, Islamic law)
Living in the dark forest (rimbo) of the interior (dunia dalam)	Living in clearings or in areas bare of trees, that is the "bright world" (dunia terang)
Hunting of game (incl. wild pigs) and gathering	Agriculture incl. breeding of domesticated animals (except pigs)
Taboos concerning consumption of domesticated animals Leaving behind the deceased (who lies on the ground and is only	Consumption of domesticated animals (except pork) Burial of the deceased within one day, interment of the dead body (wrapped
wrapped in bark), running away and weeping/crying at the same time (= "melangun")	in a white cloth)
Supply the Orang Dusun with forest products earned from hunting and gathering activities	Supply the Anak Dalam with salt, cloth, iron etc.
Popular foodstuff: fruits, meat from game, wild tubers and roots, honey (not rice)	Popular foodstuff: rice and meat from domestic ated animals

The ethnic identity of the Anak Dalam implies an ethnic boundary segregating them from the Malay environment or "bright world" (dunia tetang). This ethnic identity reveals itself by the hunting as well as the consumption of game (like kuau-bird or kijang/small deer etc.) and by the prohibition of breeding and eating domesticated animals (like chicken and goats). The social consequence of this sharp opposition of their own living world and the outside world is the institutionalized limitation of the contacts with the neighboring Malay to the necessary minimum: exchange of goods and communication between Anak Dalam and Malay have to be performed by an intermediary (mediator) called "jenang" acting according to the adatrules. When I asked the Anak Dalam whether they want to take up residence in villages built especially for them by the Indonesian government, they replied with a proverb, whose text reads as follows:

"Atap sikai, berdinding banir; mbak ayam kuau, berkambing kijang."

Translation: "Our roofs are the leaves of the *sikai*-tree, our walls are the big roots of the trees above the surface of the soil; we are hunting and eating the kuau-bird; its counterpart among the villagers is the chicken; we are hunting and eating the small deer (*kijang*); its counterpart among the villagers is the goat."

Meaning: We are living in the jungle (sikai-leaves as roof etc.), we have to hunt game and cannot eat domesticated animals.

By that way the Anak Dalam express that they cannot take up residence in a permanent village and adopt the life of Malay villagers. Even if they could continue their hunting and gathering activities after settling down in a village, they have to leave the village sooner or later. The reason for this is the institution called "melangun": If somebody dies, the whole band has to leave the camp or village immediately, leaving behind the deceased who lies on the ground

and is only wrapped in bark. They will run away and weep at the same time. This is called "melangun". If somebody falls ill and the disease proves to be serious, the whole band leaves the camp and abandons the sick person who had been previously provided with provisions in addition to other equipment (spear, knife etc.). If the sick person recovers, she/he can join the band again (cf. Loeb 1935:285).

The following ideological concept of the *Anak Dalam* explaining and justifying their mobility (frequency of macromoves) is connected with the above-mentioned custom: In case of a disease, the band has to move out of the camp or to increase their mobility. Conversely, if the band stays too long at one place, disease will inevitably break out.

Since the "Anak Dalam" have had no access to salt and are unable to produce iron for their weapons and tools, they are economically dependent on the Otang Tetang or Malay villagers. Despite their inclination to separate themselves from the Malay and to maintain their own way life, the Anak Dalam have to approach the Malay villagers from time to time. Every encounter with the Otang Tetang is for the Anak Dalam unpleasant and embarrassing. The average Malay views the Anak Dalam as dirty poor savages and unbelievers. The opinions of Otang Tetang about the Anak Dalam are usually highly biased and are lacking in factual substantiation. Oddly enough, the average Malay villager who, on the one hand, often speaks with disgust about the forest people but, on the other hand, avoids direct contact with the Anak Dalam because they are said to dispose of a very strong magic. Consequently, the normal villager avoids entering the dark forest, an uncanny place full of evil spirits, and he is not willing to be confronted with this forest people inspiring little confidence. Every material transaction or communication with the Anak Dalam is therefore entrusted to the jenang (wakil jenang, kepala waris, ujung waris), an intermediary whose function is inherited through the patrilinear line (from father to son). Until the 19th century the intermediary of the village (jenang) was connected through several intermediate links (village heads/tio etc., territorial chief/pasitah) with the king (tajo). The Malay forced upon the egalitarian Anak Dalam their own hierarchical structure: In the graphic representation of the interethnic system seen from the perspective of the Malay you will find a hierarchy of functionaries whose titles (tumenggung = "state minister"; depati = "resident" or "governor"; menti = "minister") without exception are derived from Indianized kingdoms (as Pagaruyung, Majapahit etc.) (see table).

TABLE:

System of interethnic relations between *Malay* and *Anak Dalam*(Seen from the viewpoint of the *Malay*)

Orang Terang ("People of the Bright World") = Malay villagers (Muslims)	DUNIA TERANG (bright world)	
Rio / kepala dusun/ kepala kampung = heads of the villages Pasirah = marga-chief* (head of a district)	World of Islamic and sedentary Malay villagers Synonymic terms for the Malay	
1 and an - man garanta (most of a distance)	villagers:	
Jenang (wakil jenang, kepala waris, ujung waris) = mediator between the "bright world" /	Orang Dusun/"Village people", Orang Jambi/ "People of Jambi",	
dunia terang (world outside the forest) where the Malay are living and the world of	Orang Batin ³ , Orang Terang/ "People of the Bright World"	
the forest (dunia dalam, "the Interior World"),	recepte of the Bright World	
where the Anak Dalam ("People of the Interior") are living		
Tunnenggung ("state minister") ⁵	RIMBO (forest)	
Depati ("governor")6	Anak Dalam /	
Menti ("minister")	Orang Dalam ("People of the Interior")	
Anak Dalam ("People of the Interior", "Inland people")	Orang rimbo ("People of the Forest")	

Interestingly, the meaning of the word "batin" (derived from Arab language) is also "(the) inside", "inner", "internal", but also "spiritual", "mystical", "esoteric"

⁴ marga = (in Southern Sumatra) "district"

tumenggung (or: temenggung) = (class. Malay/Javanese) "title of high ranking royal official", "regent"

depati (or: dipati / adipati) = (class. Javanese, skr.) "(vice-)regent", "head of a regency", "prince"

menti (or: manteri, menteri) = (class. Malay/Javanese, skr.) "minister", "low ranking gvt. employee"

A very important and useful concept for hunter-gatherer-study was developed by the German anthropologist Wilhelm Mühlmann (1964:58-61, 194-212): According to Mühmann, the real topic of anthropology is not the tribal society itself, but rather "interethnic relations as well as their regularities and typical processes." The focus of anthropological research should therefore be the study of interaction between neighboring ethnic groups (Mühlmann 1964:59f; translation from German is mine, H. L.). Seen from this viewpoint any monographic approach to "primitive isolates" proves to be obsolete. It is a matter of fact that the ethnic groups living side by side are not on the same social level; they are rather placed vertically on different ranks according their size of population, influence and political power etc. As a rule the hunter-gatherer societies with "poor technology" are at the bottom of this "interethnic hierarchy" (ibid.). It is paradoxical that classless hunter-gatherers like the Anak Dalam of Sumatra as well as the Wedda of South India and Sri Lanka and the Ngo 'Pa / Maniq of Southern Thailand are integrated as the lowest class or caste into highly stratified societies. In his article "Die Wedda, Pygmäen und Pygmoide als «Gastvölker»" ("The Wedda, Pygmies and Pygmoids as «Guest People»") Mühlmann (1964:194-212) has shown the common denominator of these different "interethnic systems" which connect the hunter-gatherer societies living in the forest (Wedda, BaMbuti, Negrito and Anak Dalam / Kubu), on the one hand, and their neighboring agriculturists living in open landscapes (Sinhalese, Malay, Filipino, Bantu etc.) on the other hand. Compared to this recent pattern of relationship the hunter-gatherers in the past were often placed by the encompassing societies on a much higher rank than now. Based on their role as scouts, emissaries, vassals, archers, suppliers of valuables like ivory, resin, game etc. the hunter-gatherers possessed the so-called "monopoly of the forest". In other words, at the beginning the relationship between hunter-gatherers and agriculturists turned out to be a "symmetrical" and "reciprocal social symbiosis". The forest-dwellers occupied a comparatively high position in this interethnic system. Since the forest was in the course of time more and more colonized by agriculturists and "disenchanted", the hunters and gatherers lost step by step their former monopoly of the forest. By this way the interethnic system became more and more "asymmetrical". The pattern of economic exchange became increasingly unbalanced and the hunter-gatherers were more and more dependent on farmers. In other words, former unconstrained and voluntary contacts became steadily forced and unbalanced contacts.

A weak point of this theory is the one-sided concentration on farmers (or pastoralists). Furthermore it has to be called in question whether this decay of forest monopoly is exclusively caused by the colonization (clearing) of the forest as well as by the transfer of the forest-know how to the settled people in the direct neighborhood of huntergatherer societies. It is rather a question whether in addition to that transformations in the political and economical system of the so-called "host-people" entail a fundamental change of the interethnic relationships. Finally a decisive shortcoming of this theory consists in the restriction of interethnic systems on the immediate neighbors only. By this way Mühlmann excludes the nation states and the government officials as well as supraregional market forces as determining factors of interethnic systems from theoretical consideration. However, today's hunter-gatherers are willy-nilly members of nation-states, in which nationalism is altering and radicalizing the attitudes of majorities towards peripheral ethnic groups (incl. hunters-gatherers).

As far as I know the interethnic relations between the Anak Dalam and the Malay were exposed to fundamental changes: The interethnic relationship which was once characterized by symmetry and reciprocity changed into a relationship of dependence and exploitation although to a great extent the formal structure of the interethnic system remained unchanged. Similar to the Wedda of Sri Lanka, the Anak Dalam lost their "monopoly of the forest". Until the end of the 19th century the

1ajo Jambi, the king or sultan (1ajo) of Jambi, was the one who received most of the valuables collected by the Anak Dalam. In his relations with foreign countries the king of Jambi used the Anak Dalam as scouts for the visitors from abroad who had to cross the then still vast jungle. If in times of war the king had to take refuge to the deep forest, he was hidden and protected by the Anak Dalam. The Anak Dalam supplied the king with highly esteemed rare and sometimes strange valuables from the forest like ivory, resin, living elephants, dragon blood, game, drugs and other magical medicine (among other remedies for infertility) etc. In the war against the Dutch colonial army the Anak Dalam supported the Sultan of Jambi. After the annexation of Jambi the Dutch deposed the Sultan. This resulted in the loss of the most important demand-institution on the part of the Malay. Moreover, the "monopoly of the forest" was lost not only by passing over to the Malay, but rather by its devaluation: After the arrival of the Dutch the much sought-after valuables of the past were often replaced by new and cheap substitutes (e. g. chemical colors or manufactured lacquer instead of dragon blood and other resins from the forest) or were now not at all needed (e. g. elephants). However, the most decisive factor for the transformation of the interethnic system was the break down of the old socio-political system. This is the reason why the institution of the mediator (jenang) controlling the entire exchange of goods and the communication between Malay and Anak Dalam, is not more embedded in the old socio-political system. Prescribed by the adat (tradition) the Anak Dalam of the past supplied mainly the Sultan (1ajo) with certain valuables. Only in the second place they supplied the villages in their near vicinity with forest products. Under these circumstances the function of the jenang could not yet become a source of individual enrichment. Today, however, the regulation of interethnic relations by the adat is not so strict as in the past. In addition to that, the interethnic relations are no more supervised by the authority of the 1ajo. The Sultan is no longer behind the jenang, but the market. The (deteriorating) rates of exchange are not only determined by the

market. Likewise by its demand the market determines which forest products are to be supplied or not.

4. The Maniq of Southern Thailand: A forgotten minority

The Maniq are hunters and gatherers in Southern Thailand. The Maniq belong to the Semang, a very dark skinned Negrito tribe living in Southern Thailand and Northern Malaysia. In Southern Thailand are now about 200 Semang. The Maniq belong to the northernmost group of the Semang numbering altogether 2.000 to 2.500 people. Similar to other hunter-gatherers of this world the Maniq-Semang are adapting themselves to the scarce and scattered resources of their natural environment by their basic mode of social organization, i. e. bilateral bands with fragmented nuclear families. The Manig of Southern Thailand consist of small groups roaming in the forest. The band size ranges from 10 to 55. In all probability the Mania have already long trade relations with their sedentary neighbors. Since there are no evidences for a former cultivation (agriculture) the Maniq could be called primary (pristine) hunters and gatherers in one breath with the Andaman Islanders, the Pygmies of Central Africa (BaMbuti) or the Aborigines of Australia (Hoffman 1986). "Maniq" is an endonym of the Kensiw-speaking Semang in Satun, Trang, Phatthalung and Yala⁸ and means "us". The Maniq call their neighbors Hamiq, that is "them" ("the others"). Because of their curly hairs which is reminiscent of the hairy skin of the rambutan fruit (luk ngo') the Thai people call these foragers "ngo' pa' ("wild/forest rambutan"). Other exonyms used in Thailand are "khon pa' or "chao pa', i. e. "People of the Forest" (cf. Keyes 1995:32; Credner 1935:149). The old Malay exonym "Sakai" had the connotations: "slave", "serf", "bondman", "dependent". Due to its pejorative meaning this exonym passed out of use in Malaysia and was in the sixties replaced by the term "Orang Asli"

The Maniq of Trang and Yala are already sedentarized.

("Aborigine", "Autochthonous"). Like the old name "Sakai" the new term "Otang Asli" is applied indiscriminately to all ethnic groups living in the mountainous inland, no matter they are Semang, Senoi or Austronesian speaking groups like the Jakun. In Thailand, however, "Sakai" is still widely used by archaeologists as well as by the administration. The local population of Southern Thailand prefers the terms "chao pa". By analyzing these more or less pejorative exonyms we could quite easily reveal the asymmetric interethnic relationship between the ethnic groups of the mountainous inland, on the one hand, and the Malay or Thai on the other hand. In the past the Malay preferred to hunt the foragers in slave raids, to enslave them, and to use them as hamba or abdi, servants or slaves, in the households or courts. Since the Muslim Malay were not allowed to enslave their fellow-believers, they directed their search for new slaves at the "Sakai" of the interior, because they were regarded as "unbelievers" (katii). Only the Orang Laut, the seanomads, enjoyed a special position in this interethnic system.9 According to the accounts I could gather from the Maniq the relations between the Semang and Buddhist Thai were by no means less violent. It is not until recently that raids, murder, rapes, kidnappings, and other atrocities were common. Even today villagers occasionally shoot at a Maniq. At present, however, they have to find excuses like the following one: "I just mistook him/ her for a game." Robbing the forest people still seems to be common. Without any feeling of injustice the intruding villagers turn the forest people out of the forest and clear the forest for the purpose of their rubber plantations.

In the Malay principalities the Orang Laut could sometimes achieve very high positions, as for example the post as Laksamana, that is to say leader of a fleet or admiral (In this connection I refer the Hikayat Hang Tuah, the story about the Malay Hero Hang Tuah who was a member of Orang Laut-society).

As in many other traditional non-western societies the "economy" of the Maniq is "embedded" in the social structure. The main subsistence activities of Maniq are gathering (wild plants and fruits), hunting (game) and fishing. This subsistence pattern and the use of non-domesticated resources require comparatively small groups ("bands") roaming in a vast area (territory) of the rain forest. The high mobility of these bands is combined with a marked egalitarian social structure and a strongly developed etiquette of reciprocity. Unlike some Semang groups of Malaysia the Maniq of Satun do not practice any shifting cultivation along with hunting and gathering. It has to be emphasized that the Maniq are one of the very few surviving societies of this world which are quite "pure" foragers, that is they are exclusively living on gathering, hunting and fishing! The reason for the absence of agriculture is not their ignorance of permanent agriculture or shifting cultivation, but taboos exclusively based on their religion. The plant-taboo fosters the flexibility and spatial mobility of the foragers: Provided the Maniq would have the intention of depending on small fields in the forest all the year round

The founder of the so-called substantivism in economic anthropology, Karl Polanyi, maintained that in non-market exchange (pre- or non-capitalistic) societies the economic system is "embedded" in the encompassing social relations. It follows from this that in these societies do not exist separate economic institutions; in other words, the economy is only a function of the society (Polanyi 1978; 1979:215-226). In a kinship based society reciprocity is the dominant form of integration (Polanyi 1979:189, 225). Similarly, Marshall Sahlins states that in such societies "the economy" as a separate and specialized organization do not exist; the "economy" is rather a function of social structures, especially the kinship relations: "[...] even to speak of «the economy» of a primitive society is an exercise in unreality. Structurally, «the economy» does not exist. Rather than a distinct and specialized organization, «economy» is something that generalized social groups and relations, notably kinship groups and relations, do. Economy is rather a function of the society than a structure, for the armature of the economic process is provided by groups classically conceived «non-economic»." (Sahlins 1972: 76)

for their subsistence, they would lose their capacity to evade the unbearable pressure of villagers. Moreover, the life of full-time farmers serves as a negative contrast to their own way of life.

Accordingly, the Maniq of Satun and Phatthalung are (almost) completely dependent on the forest. The Maniq live in shelters covered with leaves where they keep one or two fireplaces keeping away mosquitoes and other prowling animals. Maniq men hunt (with blowpipe/bolau) or trap game. Besides, men manufacture blowpipes, weave rattan bags and baskets and make fire by using the fire saw (consisting of bamboo, wood and rattan).11 Gathering is, for the most part, the task of women. Women collect (wild growing) tubers (mostly Dioscorea), roots of different rattan varieties, fruits and small animals as well as herbs and medicine. Manig men who are skilful tree climbers collect honey and tree fruits. As in most other foraging societies gathering contributes much more to the subsistence rather than hunting. Moreover, gathering is a much more reliable subsistence activity than hunting. Some products of the forest like wild honey, parkia pods, riang pods, herbs and medicines are in the first place gathered for the exchange with Thai or Malay (barter). Occasionally the Maniq are working for their sedentary neighbors. Owing to the ever increasing number of farmers and traders penetrating into the forests by then only inhabited by Maniq the exchange with the sedentary neighbors as well as occasional work for villagers gained in importance (Schebesta 1954:130ff). The reciprocal transactions among the Maniq themselves, however, are linked with a specific etiquette: Nearly all exchanges take place among relatives or at least between close friends, who attach great emotional importance to the giving, the receiving and the use of gifts. On this occasion the reciprocity in

When the Maniq of Satur and Phatthalung stay in the deep forest and do not want to approach villagers for getting lighters they still use the traditional way of making fire.

the transactions is bound up with an etiquette requiring modesty in the reciprocal exchange and condemning boastful demonstration of one's own generosity. Under these circumstances of "generalized reciprocity" (Sahlins) it is considered to be impolite to express one's thanks to someone and to show by it that one has calculated the amount of a gift or share and that one did not expect the donor to be so generous. Typically enough, the Maniq of Satun, Phatthalung and Trang have no word for "thank you"! The Maniq who do not practice agriculture failed to develop groups of families identifying with definite territories; consequently, neither did they develop unilinear descent groups nor exclusive property rights to resources (cf. Harris 1995:85-93; Hayden 1994; Lee/DeVore 1968:30-43). Within the territory used for hunting and gathering the men of the Maniq assert individual rights to *ipoh*-trees (*ipoh* is the poison used for the blowpipe darts) as well as to the durian trees. This is the only evidence for immovable property of families or individuals. There is every indication that the sedentary neighbors of the Mania (Thai or Malay) neither understand nor respect this concept of property applying to trees as well as the socio-cultural background for the almost complete absence of exclusive ownership of resources (Schebesta 1954:229ff; Endicott 1988). On account of the recurrent need to break camp and to travel long distances on foot (high mobile life style) the accumulation of material possessions is rigidly limited. The material culture of the Mania is therefore comparatively "poor". This is the reason why James Woodburn, a foremost authority on foragers, stated that "only poor hunter-gatherers are pure hunter-gatherers". The average Thai villager, however, pity the poor and miserable forest people. The Mania of Thailand as well as simple hunter-gatherers like !Kung (Botswana, Namibia), Hadzabe (Tanzania), Malapantaram (Southern India), Naiken (Southern-India), Paliyan (Southern-India) or Batek De Semang (Malaysia) have an economy where the people as a rule receive an immediate yield for its labor, where the yield of labor is used with minimal delay only and where property rights are only minimally

stressed. 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" (Woodburn 1982:445; Woodburn 1988:11). Obviously, the Maniq are quite closely approximating to the ideal type of a simple huntergatherer society with immediate return system. It is most obvious that the following major characteristics of this variety of hunter-gatherers quite exactly apply to the Maniq of Southern Thailand: low-population density; not dependent on stored foods; live in temporary camps most of the year (nomadic life style); the resources are comparatively stable, but limited, fluctuating and highly susceptible to excessive exploitation; the subsistence is very diversified; limited (not maximal) use of resources ("underproduction"); "generalists", that is to say broad spectrum hunters and gatherers; immediate return system; flexible social groups with constantly changing group composition ("flux"); no (exclusive) ownership of resources, i. e. common (general) access to the basic resources; no interpersonal dependencies; reciprocity and egalitarian sharing ethic; nearly no specialization and minimal social stratification; (at most) weak distinctions of rank (cf. Burch/ Ellanna 1994:223-239; Woodburn 1980, 1982, 1988; Harris 1995:47). Owing to the fact that these hunter-gatherers have no political integration, which goes beyond the local group (cf. Forde 1963:12, 15; Helbling 1987:78), any political mobilization of Mania huntergatherers for a joint action against intruders, illegal loggers, poachers and the like seems to be doomed to fail from the start!

5. <u>Intrusion of villagers, deforestation, ethnic discrimination, detrimental projects:</u> <u>Is there a way out of it?</u>

Many observers draw the conclusion that the *Maniq* are by far the oldest inhabitants of the *Malay* Peninsula from the fact that the *Maniq* are at present living in isolated retreat areas and in the past inhabited many times vaster expanse of land than today! Through

marriage and exchange of goods the Manig had long contacts with their neighboring ethnic groups which outnumbered them. Nevertheless, the Thai and the Malay were without exception regarded as hamiq, "foreigners" (cf. Schebesta 1954:218). After years of martial law and the fight against Islamic and Communist guerrillas in the jungle of Southern Thailand the outer influences and the threat to the culture of Mania increased as a result of it. The close of the guerrilla war and the new peace in 1990 by no means resulted in any improvement. Quite the contrary, since the late eighties and the early nineties both many small farmers and partly rich plantation owners invaded the jungle untouched by then, and cleared the forest. Despite the fact that the Mania live in a national park area the ever decreasing forest had to make room for a myriad of rubber plantations. In doing so, the forest is doomed to vanish rapidly, and the situation for the Maniq is changing for the worse. Now it seems to be high time the Thai government and the public changed the "traditional" behavior of overexploitation of nature and reconsidered obsolete views on the "backward" forest people (ngo 'pa = "forest/wild rambutan"). Why do we take it for granted to call this people "ngo 'pa" ("the Forest Rambutan") the "pa" (forest) of whom we are going to destroy completely? If this process of large scale destruction of the natural habitat of the Maniq is going on at the same speed, the Manig will be faced with the alternative either to leave the forest or to lose their cultural identity (ethnocide), or even worse, to perish in the near future (genocide). The unique tropical rain forests of Southern Thailand did not survive despite the existence of the Maniq but rather with and because of them. The protection of the forest means simultaneously "salvaging" and "conserving" the "People of the Forest" (ngo 'pa).

At the fringes of the forest area where some peripheral *Maniq*-groups roam are many villages with rubber plantations in their vicinity partly erected in the very recent past. In these locations clear signs of forest

degradation, of heavy erosion, and of the emergence of *Imperata cylindrica* are visible. The constant <u>deforestation</u> has a dramatic impact on the *Maniq*: their primary source of subsistence is destroyed; to say nothing of the demoralizing effect of the disappearance of their cultural and religious world. As a rule the *Maniq* express a strong desire to preserve their traditional culture and ethnic identity.

It is through the roads connecting even the remotest villages with the cities that the Maniq living at the fringe of the Banthat mountains and forests are subject to increasing invasions of farmers clearing the forest. In short, these are the communities exposed to serious threats and on the way to becoming easily controllable semi-nomads, "Pseudo-Maniq", who can only enter the lowest social stratum below the lowest farmers. Though less dependent on forest products than their fellow-people in the interior, they hunt and fish regularly and do some collecting of forest products for trade. This already happened in other areas so that somewhere between 50 and 80 Manig were already compelled to settle down. Nevertheless, these former Maniq who already settled down do still depend on forest resources (mainly for trade and to a lesser extent for subsistence) for their livelihood as well. As a rule the Maniq who still earn their livelihood to a large degree out of hunting and gathering do NOT regard this sedentarized people as "Maniq" ("us") but rather put these deserter-like people into the category "Hamiq" ("them"). This process of settling down seems to be a painful loss for the Maniq: For one thing, they lose fellows and feel to become weaker (as a group); for the other, the already small pool of marriage partners becomes even smaller. Consequently, I advise government agencies or NGO's against carrying out development projects which aim at changing the Manig into small-scale farmers who are adapted to the "normal" (Southern) Thai way of life. No Maniq of the groups in Satun and Phatthalung I visited was married to Thai farmers. On the other hand, about 4 families among the Maniq of Satun, Phatthalung and Trang are of "mixed" composition that is one of the parents of the conjugal family originates from a Thai village. As a rule male Thai villagers marry a Maniq woman who leaves her people and the forest after marriage and subsequently takes up residence in the village of her Thai husband. In this way the children are unable to learn their mother tongue and are thus alienated from the way of life and the customs of the Maniq. What is more: They learn to despise their mother's people of origin. Only in one case a Maniq man married a Thai woman. In this case the loss is felt more painful by the Maniq and the alienation of the children from their people of origin seems to be even more extreme. From the anthropological point of view, it is very interesting to obtain some reliable source of information about the opinions and assessments the Maniq have on this splitting-off process which started in the very recent past. It is of vital importance to know how the newly sedentarized Maniq build up an ethnic boundary: In one way or other they seem to invent distinctive markers distinguishing as well as segregating them from their former fellows. In this way they try to identify themselves with the villagers and to adapt themselves to their new environment. To what extent this strategy is successful cannot be stated now. We can only wait and see what the future has in store for us. There is no denying the fact, however, that this splitting off process will lead to the disappearance of the Maniq as an identifiable ethnic group (ethnocide) in the long run. In view of the fact that the majority of the villagers in the South are reluctant to accept the Maniq as equals, this process of sedentarization and villagization, is most unlikely to lead to assimilation of the former hunters and gatherers but rather both to a total marginalization and heavy deterioration of their life quality (cf. Gomez 1990).

The *Maniq* do not only deplore the loss of all the good land taken over by the farmers, rubber plantations, and projects etc., but are also reminiscent of the forest areas lost mainly in the recent past. *Maniq* are aware of the fact that the forests which are now peripheral and to

a large extent degraded, about 10, 20 or 30 years ago still represented the "deep forest" which did not only serve as a basis of livelihood but also as a safe haven where the *Maniq* could retreat and which was to a great extent not accessible to villagers and other outsiders (incl. some not adaptable scientists!). The deep forest areas constitute their favorite environment: The forest is a cool place, provides the basis for their subsistence, is a barrier for diseases, and provides relief from the heat of the villages. Unfortunately, there are no plans to establish reserves for the *Maniq* up to the present day.

The Maniq represent an exceptional low conflict society. Mostly non-violent and particularly vulnerable, the Maniq fear contact with the outside world. Owing to their absent political integration beyond the local group the Maniq are not in the position to organize any kind of defense mechanism nor have they launched any counter-attacks. Consequently, the usual reaction of Maniq to the aggressive intrusion of villagers in the past was to retreat. But nowadays these strategy borders on a limit, since there is no longer enough forest where the Maniq could find refuge.

To an increasing extent the recent Maniq seem to be forced to adapt themselves to the way of life of the villagers. Are the Maniq really damned to follow the villager's way of life in order to survive? The fact is that nowhere can we see a serious attempt to understand the Maniq-perspective, how they perceive the world in a more different way than we do. This Maniq-perspective seems to be badly needed for improving our one-sided perspective about the hunter-gatherer life style. We should bear in mind Woodbin's warning: "... we should be extremely careful before we believe outsiders' views about stigmatised groups. ... What we need, of course, is more field research among the hunters and gatherers themselves to clarify the situation." (Woodburn 1988:41f; emphasizes are my wording)

Why do the Maniq persist as an identifiable ethnic group with marked cultural differences (e. g. in mode of subsistence, behavior, values, religion, customs, language etc.) and reject any ethnic assimilation (de-ethnicization) despite their low status in interethnic contact and the continuous experience of covert or overt discrimination? Why the "Maniq" are contacting the villagers ("Hamiq") and sometimes living in camps close to the villages whereas on the other hand they are stressing their autonomy? By and large the Maniq are to a great extent economically independent. The villagers therefore try (intentionally or unintentionally) to tie the Maniq to their village community by non-economic means and to "fix" Maniq in camps which are near to the village. By "fixing" (settling down) them to a semi-permanent camp and within easy reach, the Maniq are more and more becoming (economically) dependent, because the livelihood by hunting and gathering is becoming increasingly difficult. Furthermore, the villagers prevent them from going fishing in the nearby rivers. Eventually the Mania are forced to work in the nearby plantations in order to get additional food.

When the *Maniq* get into touch with the *Hamiq*, they seem to have an ethnic endo-perception marked by a sense of inferiority: They seem to be ashamed of their own culture and their behavior is marked by an exaggerated timidity as well as a striking servility. But when they are in the forest and among themselves they tend to show a quite different behavior. In fact I assume that the *Maniq* are proud of their own culture and their way of life. This may be the main reason why the *Maniq* are not at all attracted by the culture of the adjacent *Thai* villagers who are in material terms by far richer than the people living in the forest. A similar contrast between the behavior during contacts with outsiders and the attitudes towards members of the same ethnic group was found by Turnbull among the *BaMbuti* of the Ituri-forest in Congo (Turnbull 1966:21-26).

The non-reciprocal or unequivalent exchange practiced by villagers using cheap Maniq labor force is in sharp contrast to the egalitarian ethic of sharing of Maniq people. This ethic is typical of huntergatherer societies. According to Woodburn, hunter-gatherer societies with "immediate return system" are characterized by an ideology of "non-competitive egalitarianism": This ideology disengages people from property and makes people independent on possessions. In this way the opportunity to create dependence via property rights is eliminated. Without leading to poverty, this principle can only be realized in hunter-gatherer economies (Woodburn 1980; 1982; 1988). Like the Batek De' Semang the Maniq never developed a concept of property for land or forest (cf. Endicott 1988). Consequently, they do not defend their rights against invading villagers who are not only occupying the land formerly used by Maniq, but even prevent them from catching fish in nearby rivers or they are usurping their right to use fruit trees (e. g. luk riang) in the parts of the forest which are within easy reach.

Projects, an underestimated danger: Efforts of NGO's to save the Maniq by moving them out from the National Park Area and to bring them to a so-called "safe haven" seem to be highly irresponsible. I hope the government of Thailand does NOT give any permission to remove the Maniq against their will from the environment they are acquainted with !!! As far as I know their is a NGO operating in Southern Thailand which attempts to resettle about 50 Maniq of Phatthalung and Satun to Trang. This NGO (which is - as can be proved - responsible for the death of at least 1 Maniq!) bought 8 hectare forest land, located in the middle of villages and rubber plantations and far from the National Park. As is already proven by researches in human ecology the hunters and gatherers have to move around the forest all year round, even during the rainy season in order to hunt and collect forest products. In view of the high macromove frequency (more than 20 times/year) and the high

dimension of the territory, that is to say the total of the ranges used during one year, which exceeds 800 km², every effort to confine a group of 50 people to 8 hectare would be an highly irresponsible, if not criminal act. Why did the Maniq never ask for help, why did the Maniq who represent the by far oldest population of Southeast Asia never insist on their rights on the land? The reason for that has to be looked for in the social structure (absence of exclusive property rights to land/territory, egalitarian ethic; see above) and in the in the religion of the Mania: For the Mania the earth was created for all to use, Maniq and non-Maniq. But they do take into account the place where a person grew up, spent his/her childhood, and for which strong feelings remain even if one is presently living far away from it; but there is no sense of ownership. The territory, vast and traditionally open to all, has lost much of its land today to the plantations. Owing to their suspicion of outsiders as well as to the above-mentioned ideology the Maniq have no idea of asking outsiders to help them attain legal recognition of "their rights". Without any outside help based on profound knowledge of Mania economy, social structure and ideology, the Maniq who are doomed to live in increasingly densely populated areas will be greatly disadvantaged in the competition for the land with Thai farmers and subsequently disappear as an ethnic group.

Available ethnohistorical data give evidence that in the past the Maniq-Semang held a high position in the interethnic relations. The oldest reliable source about Maniq-Semang produced by a European is an article written by John Smith, a British people, who around the year 1600 worked as adviser of the Queen of Pattani, a Malay kingdom in today's Southern Thailand. John Smith had an exceptionally good knowledge about the Maniq-Semang which proved to be very useful for the Queen of Pattani: "He (John Smith) even waged a war with the Petak-Malay on behalf of the Queen (of Pattani) and he enrolled in his atmy among others also Semang-atchers. According to his

report the Semang were so highly respected that they performed special posts of honour, that is to say at the enthronement of a new Raja, and in general they were reputed to be the real masters (aborigines) of the country." (Schebesta 1952:17; translation from German is mine, H. L.). Obviously, this is a clear evidence for a fundamental change of the pattern of interethnic relationship. Beyond it since the ${f 18}^{th}$ century the dominant influence of Malay culture was more and more replaced by the influence of Thai culture and language. Since there are at present no further detailed ethnohistorical sources concerning the interethnic relationship between the sedentary peoples of this region and the Manig-Semang for the time between 1600 and the 19th century (Schebesta 1952:17) we are not able to describe how the recent asymmetrical pattern of interethnic relationship came into being. For the time being, however, we can come to the conclusion that, compared with the above described past, the present state of interethnic relationship between Thai and Maniq is a change for the worse which does not at all deserve to be called "evolution" or <u>"progress".</u>

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The Importance of Promoting the Exchange of Ethnic Cultures in Asia and Europe

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I. Economic Globalization and Diversities in Ethnic Cultures

The development of economic globalization has greatly promoted cultural exchange of various nations and ethnic groups in the world. Such is the case in Asia and Europe. However, the phenomenon of "cultural globalization" which some people predicted has not appeared. This is worth studying.

We see there have appeared two parallel yet antagonistic tendencies of cultural development in the tide of economic globalization. On the one hand, a kind of popular culture has swept the world. It carries a strong coloring of industry and commerce, with the values of the West as the core and deeply bearing the imprint of the American culture. The appearance of the Internet has enhanced the spread and expansion of this tendency to a certain extent. On the other hand, the tendency of protecting, developing and strengthening the cultures of local ethnic groups, local countries and local regions is on the rise. Viewing from Asia and Europe, though the economic and cultural contacts of these two continents are becoming closer and closer, respective cultures seem to be strengthening their own characteristics. Within these two continents, the tendency of protecting and developing individual countries own cultural characteristics is also intensified.

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Our French friends pay special attention to the protection of the French culture when the English culture is prevailing, and our German friends are making the same efforts. To the developing countries in Asia, they have to make double efforts in this regard. In the colonial period, a number of Asian ethnic cultures vanished under the impact of the gunboats and preachers of the West, but today these Asian countries can use the state policy to protect and develop their own cultures. We can see that some ASEAN countries have achieved success in this regard.

In a word, economic globalization does not change the variety of the cultures of Asia and Europe. Our Japanese friends prefer to wear Western-style clothes on formal occasion, but they put on kimono when they go back to their private life. One of my friend is a Shanghai businessman. When he does business in various places around the world, he looks every inch a Western-style gentleman. However, he never forgets to look for Chinese restaurant when he wants to have his meal. Though each one of us is influenced by the popular commercial culture in the circumstances of economic globalization, the inherent traditional cultural characteristics in us do not disappear. On the contrary, they are sometimes strengthened.

Some people consider economic globalization contradictory with cultural diversity, believing that inevitably a variety of cultures will be replaced by an integrated common culture. I should say this point of view is lopsided. Actually, economic globalization is not always antagonistic to cultural diversity. In many cases, they will promote each other for certain reasons.

Firstly, although economy and culture are closely connected and the economic exchanges will inevitably lead to the cultural exchanges, but judging from the development of the past decades, the integrated world economy didn't directly result in an integrated common

culture. For example, the United States, Europe and Japan are all marching at the head in the process of the world economic integration, but their individual cultural characteristics haven't been weakened. For the developing countries involved in the same tide of economic globalization, though almost all the people recognize that they should learn from the good points of the Western culture, hardly any people advocates throwing away their own traditional culture.

Secondly, every ethnic culture has its good points and shortcomings. It is true that the Western culture has many good points, but it has defects as well, such as the social problems caused by excessive personal freedom, the tension of interpersonal relations caused by excessive competition, etc. Many people in the West highly praised the good points of Confucianism in the East Asia when the economies of East Asia took off in the 1970s and 1980s. They also believed that many good points in the Confucianism could make up for the weaknesses in the Western culture. However, when the financial crisis broke out in Asia in 1997, some people again put forward the idea that Confucianism had many bad points that were harmful to economic development. I don't like to connect the success or failure in economic development directly with the good or bad points of a culture. But the fact is there do co-exist factors favorable and harmful to economic development in every culture. Judging from this angle, cultural diversity, i.e. the development and complementation of various ethnic cultures, is also favorable to the economic development and economic globalization.

II. Cultural Hegemonism, Cultural Isolationism, and Cultural Extremism

To maintain cultural diversity and to ensure the peaceful and productive interchanges among different national and ethnic cultures in this world of economic globalization, it is believed that we must fight against cultural hegemonism, cultural isolationism, and cultural extremism.

Cultural hegemonism, as a self-centered mentality usually supported by superior economic and political strength, takes a strong interest in suppressing, rejecting and transforming other different, disaccording or perhaps conflicting cultures and values. Seeking to contain, emasculate and eradicate the various features of alternative cultures and values, cultural hegemonism strives for the subordination of the "lesser" civilizations to its own ideological predominance. Brezinski, former U.S. national security advisor, is quoted as saying, "National power is composed of four major aspects, i.e., military, economic, technological and cultural capabilities, which may, when combined together, constitute a determinant global political influence. In each of these four aspects, no nation-state is in a position comparable to that of the U.S." It is an undeniable fact that the U.S., by taking advantage of its incomparable national power, is engaged in the practice of cultural hegemonism. Related to this, Professor Samuel Huntington put forward the highly influential idea in his "Clash of Civilizations" that Islam and Confucianism become the greatest threat to the West following the dissolution of the Soviet Union. This perspective of viewing other civilizations as potential enemies has actually provided a theoretical basis for cultural hegemonism.

Cultural isolationism, which disregards the long history of effective cultural interactions among different nations and ethnic groups, tends to stand against cultural interchanges and communications that have persisted and developed for at least thousands of years. In its pursuit of "unpolluted" and "original" indigenous culture, cultural isolationism invariably cuts itself from the outside world and indiscriminately rejects all foreign cultural and religious factors, often ending up with fatal follies. As a matter of fact, all the indigenous cultures are in one way or another results of common creations,

exchanges and accumulations of peoples of different ethnic groups, ages and places, with no one immune from exotic influence. Absolutely exclusive and purely indigenous culture is fundamentally non-existent. For example, the current Chinese culture is just born of the continuous clash and fusion of the heterogeneous cultures of different ethnic groups making up the modern Chinese nationality. It is known to all that over thousands of years, what is now called the Chinese culture absorbed numerous exotic cultures ranging from Buddhism, Islam to Christianity. By the way, China also suffered from cultural isolationism, the most recent and prominent case being the Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976. Keeping this and other historical lessons in mind, the Chinese people guard closely against any form of cultural isolationism.

Let me also talk a bit about cultural extremism, which is in fact a culmination of cultural isolationism. However, the distinction between the two trends of thought is also discernible. Cultural extremism not only opposes mutual cultural borrowing and assimilation, but also advocates the extermination of "heterodox" cultural elements by violent and bloody means, or even further, the physical extirpation of the "heterodox" ethnic and religious groups. A recent typical example of this extremism is the physical destruction of the Buddha statues in Afghanistan claiming a history of over 1500 years. Similarly, we have also recently seen in the ethnic and religious conflicts in the Balkan Peninsula, Middle East and Africa a series of heinous atrocities committed by some extremist groups against their aliens. It should be noted that cultural hegemonism can also lead to cultural extremism, sometimes called cultural racism. The history of some developed countries is ridden with bloody pages of the Western Christian civilization stamping out aboriginal cultures. Added to this is the "Final Solution" of the Jews, a most barbarous attempt of the Nazis to destroy the Jewish civilization. In short, this world is still far from being free of cultural extremism, as evidenced by those followers

and agitators ranging from the extremists in Afghanistan to the new Nazis in the streets of Europe. In face of these extreme thoughts and behaviors that undermine sound cultural development and sabotage basic human security, we should not relax our vigilance, not even for a single moment.

III. To Promote the Exchanges of Ethnic Cultures in Asia-Europe for Strengthening the Cultural Basis for Asia-European Cooperation

The problems we are discussing here are of great significance to concentrate on how to promote the international exchanges of ethnic cultures. As I understand, for the ASEM and the ASEF, this topic mainly contains following three layers of meaning: (i) the international exchanges of ethnic cultures on a global scale; (ii) the international exchanges of ethnic cultures between Asia and Europe; and (iii) the international exchanges of ethnic cultures within Asia or within Europe. Here, I will focus on international exchanges of ethnic cultures between Asia and Europe.

Historically speaking, there exist marked cultural differences, deep cultural barriers, as well as acute cultures conflicts between Asia and Europe, which are originated from the following two causes. First, the Christian culture in Europe is originally different from the Confucian, Islamic, Buddhist and Taoist cultures in Asia; secondly, after great geographical discovery the eastward expansion of European powers who turned the Asian countries into their colonies or dependencies, which had formulated the unequal political and economic relationships between Asia and Europe, and were naturally lead to an unequal cultural relationship, and the Eurocentric modes of thought and colonialist values have head-on confrontations with nationalism and the mentality of anti-colonialism in Asia, while they

were sometimes resulted in the sharp clashes between the European culture and the indigenous cultures in Asia.

After the World War II, with the final collapse of the European colonial system in Asia after the successive independence of the Asian countries one after another, the equal political relationship between Asia and Europe was gradually shaped, but economic gap and cultural barriers could hardly be eliminated in a short time. Then, the economic taking-off in East Asia was of great significance to the Asia-European relations, as it not only had narrowed the economic gaps between Asia and Europe, the two continents become more intimate in culture.

As pointed out by Malaysian Prime Minister Datak Seri Mahathir that only after the revolutionary changes of psychology, it could be possible for Europe to establish an equal partnership relations with East Asia. The flourishing development of the East Asian economies and especially the East Asia Model, which was given birth to by the extensive knowledge and profound scholarship of the East-Asian civilization, shook the traditional Eurocentric theory. The Europeans with breath of vision came to know that the rise of East Asia means that the East-Asian civilization is worthy of learning and borrowing by the Europeans. In French President Jacques Chirac's words, all European countries should look Asia in new perspectives, now it's high time to renew our views on each other. Obviously, after the economic taking-off of East Asia, the psychological revolution mentioned by Premier Mahathir has at last appeared in Europe. In the meantime, in the course of several-decade's exploration and development, Asia also has come to realize that the advanced technology and management models are the common wealth of human progress, while the modernization is also development orientations of Asian countries. Now under the prerequisites of maintaining the sovereign rights, all East-Asian countries have adopted vigorous

measures to open up to the outside world, while absorbing the advanced elements the European civilization. Thus, Asia and Europe are taking a joint effort to seek something applicable to both and point of intersection so as to find common ground and reserve differences, and overcome their own shortcomings by learning from others strong points on the bases of equality and mutual benefits, as well as mutual respect, which have laid down cultural basis for the establishment of the equal partnership relations between the Asia and Europe.

The cultural exchanges and cooperation have achieved magnificent achievements since the first ASEM Summit at Bangkok in March 1996, especially the formal start of the Asia-Europe Foundation at Singapore in February 1997. It is not necessary to go into details of all achievements in these aspects, what I would like to point out is that theme of our discussion, i.e. Ethnic Cultures Promotion is another important project for potential cooperation. Here I'll make some suggestions for promoting the exchanges of ethnic cultures in Asia and Europe.

- Special attention should be paid to the protection of the cultural heritages of ethnic minorities in Asian and European countries as to promote the cultural development of ethnic minorities in the two regions, because in comparison with the ethnic majorities, the protection and development of ethnic minorities cultures are always neglected.
- 2. In order to promote the international exchange of ethnic cultures in ASEM member countries, more circulating exhibitions and film or TV projects should be supported and organized so as to present the people of all countries with the briefing of the ethnic cultures in Asia and Europe in these forms. If possible, we could even sponsor an Asia-European ethnic cultural festival at certain place, which will be focused on a fine display of various ethnic cultures

from the two regions. So far as I know, Yunnan Province of China is very interested in this kind of festival.

- 3. With regard to international exchanges of ethnic cultures in Asia and Europe, more efforts should be made to promote exchange among the Youth and juveniles, because they are the future and hope of the development of ethnic cultures in the two regions.
- 4. In promoting the exchanges of ethnic cultures in ASEM member countries, the scholars should be given more supports. Generally speaking, the number of scholars doing research on ethnic cultures is on the decrease, while their studies have met a lot of difficulties, especially fund shortage. Their work is of great significance but very hard with little income, at least much less than economists and jurists. Therefore, we should really find a way to provide them with more financial supports and help them to organize some academic seminars or workshops. For this purpose, a special fund should be established so as to seek support from the governments and enterprises.

I do hope that my remarks could arouse more discussions. Thank you.

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- Visiting Scholar, Asian Studies & European Studies, University of Munich, Munich & Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest (5/95-6/95)
- Visiting Scholar, East Asian Studies, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris (8/94-9/94)
- Visiting Scholar, East Asian Studies & Jewish Studies, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan, Israel (5/93-6/93)
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PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

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MEMBERSHIP IN PROFESSIONAL SOCIETIES

Vice President & Secretary General, Shanghai World History Association Vice President, Shanghai Association for International Studies Executive Director, The Chinese Society of Middle East Studies Executive Director, The Chinese Society of Russian and Central Asian Studies

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AWARD

1993 James Friend Annual Memorial Award for Sino-Jewish Studies (3/93)

1996 Special Award for Canadian Studies (3/96)

Award for Social Sciences Works of Excellence (7/94, 12/96, 7/98, 7/2000)

WRITINGS AND PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS:

The Exploration of the Origins of Major International Issues
Contemporary International Crises
The Development of Jewish and Israeli Studies in China (English)
Open Door Policy in Asia, Africa and Latin America
Shanghai Jews Memoirs
The Jews in Shanghai (English & Chinese)
The Revitalization of the Jewish People
Selected Works on Arab African History
The Jewish Civilization
The Jews in China (English & Chinese)

TREATISES AND ARTICLES:

The Nuclear Issue in Korea Peninsula and R.O.K's Northeast Asian Diplomacy

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The Change of Japan's China Policy and Its Cause

Malaysia's Sensitive Period: Transition of Power

China Faces Challenge from Southeast Asia

On the United Nations' Intervention in International Conflicts

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Zionism in Shanghai 1903-49 (English)

Chinese View on anti-Semitism and Zionism (Hebrew, French & German)

The U.S. - Russian Relations after Rerise of Russian Nationalism

Notes on Rerise of Global Nationalism since the End of Cold War

China and Israel 1949-95: An Analysis of Bilateral Relations

Jewish and Israeli Studies in China

On the New Characteristics of the Post-Cold War Terrorism

The Sequel of the Eastern Question and Its Influence on the Middle East

On the Impact of World War II on the Middle East
The Emergence of Early Zionism and Its Ideological Origins
On the Balkan-Caucasian-Central Asian Hot Point Zone

The Islamic Factors in China's Security Interests

The "Shanghai Five" and China's Security Policy

Central Asia in China's Security Policy and Energy Strategy

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East Asia in Asia-Europe Cooperation

The Prospects of Shanghai Cooperation Organization

LECTURES:

China and Israel 1949-95: An Analysis of Bilateral Relations

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Shanghai in History: 751 -- 1996

The Paralels and Differences of the Chinese and Russian Reforms

Islam and Confucianism: the Development of Chinese Islam

Ethnic and Religious Conflicts in Pacific Rim Area

China and Post-Soviet Central Asia

Central Asia and China's Strategy for Overseas Energy Development

Sino-Russian Relations since 1992

PROMOTION OF ETHNIC CULTURES IN INDONESIA

Sri Hastanto

Introduction

Before a more detailed discussion on the promotion of ethnic cultures in Indonesia, I feel it is necessary to set limits as to what is meant by culture to be discussed in this short paper. Culture has a very broad meaning and the word is now also used to describe all kinds of human activity, often obscuring the meaning of the word culture.

Physically speaking, we can see culture in two forms, activities and objects. Examples of activities may be traditional ceremonies, life rituals, art, behaviour, and so on, while examples of objects are life facilities such as equipment, buildings, costumes and so on. Both of these physical forms of culture contain concepts, whether philosophical, aesthetical, ethical, or concepts of pragmatic ideas. In cultural events, these three elements are almost always bound together to create an inseparable unit, a human activity involving objects based on philosophical, aesthetical, ethical concepts, and often containing pragmatic elements. It is culture in this sense that is discussed in this paper. Nevertheless, due to the short time available, only a few examples from the wide range of existing cultures will be given to represent a number of events of the promotion of ethnic cultures in Indonesia.

Several Examples

1. Traditional Ceremonies

For the cultural activity in the group of Traditional Ceremonies, I have chosen the example of a Ruwatan Ceremony. A ruwatan (purification) event is a supernatural attempt to cleanse a person or a place (such as a building, bridge or road), which is regarded as

spiritually unclean. In communities with an agrarian culture, including Indonesia, a ruwatan is carried out in the form of a traditional ceremony which includes art. Each ethnic group (Indonesia has around 500 different ethnic groups) has its own form, almost all of which use performing arts as a vehicle for the ritual ceremony.

In Indonesia, which is said to have entered the modern age, ruwatan ceremonies still have a place in society, although of course they are not as intense as in the past, before modern life had spread as it has today. However, if a family, or an organization, or a place, continually experiences, or is the site of disaster, the community often performs a ruwatan ceremony.

There is now a new phenomenon appearing associated with this ruwatan. An organization arranges a large-scale ruwatan and offers it to members of the community who wish to take part and purify their child, or building, or land, with a fee of course. This activity can promote a cultural element from the agrarian community, in this case ruwatan, so that it does not disappear from the community. From a cultural point of view, as an activity and object, this activity has a positive value, although from the point of view of concept, it has undergone degradation.

The promotion of other traditional ceremonies often takes place in the form of shows, whether for educational purposes, as information, or as a tourist attraction. The evaluation of this kind of activity is the same as for events of ruwatan as a business. From a cultural viewpoint, the activity and object can be preserved but from a conceptual viewpoint, its content has experienced a decline. This means that the value it contains is also reduced.

These kinds of event cannot of course be forbidden. As such, the government is endeavouring to maintain the existing values found in each ritual event by:

- Making suggestions and criticisms to the show organizer or business of traditional ceremonies, to reduce the components which decrease the weight or value of the ceremony.
- 2) Supporting and spreading the news through the mass media and making academic and popular reviews about the traditional ceremonies organized by the community.
- 3) Reminding and encouraging the implementation of traditional ceremonies by the community.

2. Festivals

In the agrarian community, harvest time is their happiest time. At times of harvest, many kinds of ceremonies take place, such as thanksgivings, weddings, festivals and so on. One example of a festival in this category of cultural events is katapan sapi and sapi sono on the island of Madura. Katapan sapi is a bull race while sapi sono is a beauty contest for the female cows. This festival is carried out as part of the celebrations for a successful tobacco harvest in Madura. Almost every owner of a tobacco plantation holds this festival at harvest time, so during one harvest season, there may be dozens or even hundreds of karapan sapi or sapi sono festivals.

There are many cultural elements involved in this festival, beginning with traditional costumes, traditional food, traditional games for children, and equally important the traditional music known as sronen. The function of this music is to accompany the cows which are going to race as they process around the field. Each pair of cows has its own musical accompaniment, sronen. The owners of the cows are interested in sronen music of a high quality, and if a good sronen group enters the arena, the cow owners will compete with each other to book the group for the next festival. The owners compete for the best sronen group by offering money to the group of sronen players. In this way, sronen music is becoming highly advanced.

This is an example of promotion of ethnic culture carried out by the community itself so the government needs only to focus on two points: firstly (in the case of karapan sapi and sapi sono), that the tobacco trade runs smoothly; and secondly, providing information to the cultural exponents about high quality traditional clothing and food. In particular for sronen musicians, they are given the knowledge about how to improve their music from a performing arts point of view.

3. Art

Art is an important element of culture. There are many traditional art forms which are said to be disappearing. There is a wide rage of promotion of traditional arts in Indonesia.

First of all, the government has implemented Higher Education for the Arts in a number of cultural centers throughout Indonesia, namely Padang (in Sumatra), Bandung (in West Java), Yogyakarta, Surakarta (in Central Java), and Denpasar (in Bali). In addition, there are a number of private institutions of higher education for the arts such as in Surabaya (East Java) and Jakarta. One of the functions of these institutions of higher education for the arts is as an institution of conservation for traditional arts, and also for development and revitalization of the traditional arts.

Secondly, traditional arts which are becoming less popular are being changed to become pop art, with priority on the entertainment side. Examples of this are ketoprak humor, ludruk humor, and wayang kulit humor in the field of traditional theatre, and gamelan campursari in the field of traditional music. This activity, which is in fact business oriented and mainly for financial profit, is highly popular among the general public. Of course it cannot be hoped that philosophical, aesthetical and ethical values and concepts will appear in this kind of

activity. However now that this kind of activity has been around for almost two decades, the community is beginning to miss once again performances of traditional arts which are proportional, contain values, and raise the standards of the owners and supporting community. As such, this phenomenon, although it has had negative effects, has ultimately brought about an awareness of the community to return to art of a high quality.

Thirdly, another activity which can be included in the promotion of ethnic culture is the presence of private commercial radio stations, which broadcast a number of programs introducing ethnic cultures from all over Indonesia. This began with the idea of a traditional cultural observer, with financial assistance from abroad, who included a program introducing Indonesian ethnic cultures on a private radio station. With the introductory style suited to young people, this program received a good reception from the audience of that particular radio station. Eventually, these radio stations created a network throughout Indonesia to increase and exchange information on ethnic cultures. This kind of promotion is a highly effective way of reaching the young educated generation.

Conclusion

It has been recognized that a large country, with a population of around 220 million and over 500 different ethnic groups like Indonesia, is a country with a great wealth of cultural variation. However, there are also great obstacles in promoting ethnic cultures while retaining a balance between their spiritual and physical existences. Efforts continue to be made, and it is hoped that the exchange of information between nations such as is currently taking place, will provide input on the efforts to preserve our cultural heritage that our ancestors left behind.

ETHNIC CULTURES PROMOTION: THE ORANG ASLI (ABORIGINES) MALAYSIA

Yahya bin Awang

1. INTRODUCTION:

This paper is prepared and presented in Asia-Europe Seminar on Ethnic Cultures Promotion held in Chiang Mai, Thailand from 18 to 20 September, 2001. As outlined by the organiser, the paper tries to related on aspects such as: the situation/status of The Orang Asli Cultures; efforts to preserve, promote the cultures; ethnic cultures in local economy; and promotion of international exchange on cultures of ethnic groups. The paper will just focus on a group of the indigenous people in Malaysia 'the Orang Asli' (the aborigines) in which the writer is involved and worked with the department (the Department of Orang Asli Affairs Malaysia).

2. BACKGROUND:

The population of Malaysia is approximately 22 million. It is a multi-racial country. Its people can be classified into two major groups i.e. the Indigenous and Non-indigenous. The non-indigenous groups comprised the Chinese and the Indian. Where as the indigenous consisting the Malays, the peoples of Sabah ad Sarawak and the Orang Asli (the aborigines) in Peninsular Malaysia. Based on the census (conducted in 1997 by the Department of Orang Asli Affairs Malaysia) the total population of the Orang Asli in Malaysia is 116,119 (approximately 0.5% of the population of Malaysia). Although small in numbers they are still lagging behind as compared to other groups; such as the Chinese, Malays and Indian. They are divided into three main groups i.e.:-

- i) the Senoi (60,633);
- ii) the Proto-Malays (49, 401); and
- iii) the Negritos (3,507).

Each of these three main groups are again divided into six subgroups as follows:

i) Senoi: Temiar, Semai, Che Wong, Jahut, Semoqberi

dan Mahmeri

ii) Proto-Malays: Temuan, Semelai, Jakun, Orang Kanaq,

Orang Selectardan Orang Kuala

iii) Negritos: Kintak, Kensiu, Jahai, Mendriq, Bateq an

Lanoh

They live on reserved lands/areas granted right of occupancy by the state governments, free of rents or in some cases subject to such conditions imposed by the State Authorities especially in cases where they have been given individual grant.

In terms of settlement patterns, the Negritos live in northern parts of Peninsular Malaysia such as Kedah, northern part of Perak and areas bordering states of Kelantan, Perak and Terengganu. The Senoi live in central parts of Peninsular Malaysia i.e. in the states of Pahang, Perak and Selangor, where as the Proto-Malays can be found in states of Pahang, Negeri Sembilan, Malacca and Johor. Hence in general they are not a homogenous group and can be found scattered in all the states in Peninsular Malaysia except Penang and Perlis.

Census survey in 1991 showed that 60% of Orang Asli lived in the interior, 30% in rural areas neighboring the Malay Villages, while 10% lived in urban or in small urban towns. Those live in the interior and rural areas are engaged in a variety of occupations majority related to agriculture and extracting forest products. A fair number of them involved in permanent agriculture and manage their own rubber or

oil palm plantations. A very small number of them (less than 1%) are still semi-nomadic largely from the Negritos group.

3. STATUS/SITUATION OF ORANG ASLI CULTURES:

Each group of the Orang Asli practices its own beliefs, customs and cultural values that differ from each other. About 75% still believe in animism and hold strong beliefs in supernatural powers. Some had embraced Islam and Christianity. Nevertheless, while the group differs from the other, more often than not generally in origins, physical features, beliefs, lifestyles, social organization, economic activitiesthey do share some common features. Their cultures are manifested in the non-materials practices such as customs and beliefs; and the materials products such as the handicrafts, carving etc.

3.1 Handicrafts

The Orang Asli community in Malaysia is famous for their skills and experts in their handicraft works which is fine and unique. The skill is passed from generation to generation. Example of their handicraft works are: floor mats, window blinds, blow pipes, 'nyiru', walking sticks (tongkat), axe (beliong) etc.

3.2 Wood-carving

The sub-group of Mahmeri in Selangor and Jahut in Pahang are famous for their skills and fine works on woodcarving. The design is based on their environment and beliefs. Much of their works become tourists' attraction. The fine carving work of The Orang Asli (the Mahmeri-sub-group of Senoi) from Kampung Bumbun, Pulau Carey, Selangor for example attract locals and overseas tourists and get orders from overseas through consignments.

3.3 Medical Sources

Although the Orang Asli Community has been exposed to modern medical services and facilities, but to a certain extent they still maintain their old way of treating certain health problems, or sickness. The traditional healer called the 'halak' plays an important role in the community. He compliments the modern medical services. Among the Orang Asli (and to other ethnic groups in Malaysia in general) they believe certain forest plants contain good medicinal values. Such plants for example: 'akar tonkat ali, kacip fatima, tunjak langit, bunga pakma, pisang hutan etc having certain medicinal values and functions good for men and women. Some of these wild plants are processed in the form of pills and capsules. Some are processed in the forms of chips to be boiled and drink. The water is believed to have good medicinal values for men and women.

3.4 Musical Instruments

Traditional musical instruments are still used by the Orang Asli. Such instruments are:

- a) Flute (made from bamboo, using mouth or noose);
- b) Genggong;
- c) Kerep (bamboo guitar);
- d) Bataq (drum);
- e) Gooh 'centong' (bamboo drum)

These instruments are played in ceremonial functions, festive seasons, entertaining visitors etc. Tourists whether local and overseas are attracted by these items and many of them buy for souvenirs.

3.5 The non-materials cultures

Apart from the materials products their cultures are also manifested through non-materials products such as in their customs, beliefs, life styles, social organization, economic activities etc. Let us see some of their customs and traditions.

3.5.1 Headman:

Every Orang Asli group has a headman commonly called "Batin or Penghulu". Always deal with a group through the recognised headman on all matters affecting the group such as guides, porters, labours, instructors, to start on certain projects or works etc. On no account do not try to deal with the group through anybody else. This will both expose our ignorance of Orang Asli social, political structure and almost certainly alienate and upset the proper headman. It may undermine his authority in the group and cause his own people to loose respect on him.

It should be stated quite clearly that an Orang Asli headmen does not have the power of life and death over his people. In some instances, he cannot order any of his people to do anything. He can only advise or persuade them to do so. In nearly all cases he does this by means of persuasion and explanation. No headman can force any one of his people to do anything if they do not want to do it. Bearing this in mind a headman should not be blamed if he is unable to persuade his group to do something which the government want them to do so. (This is especially so among the Senoi and the Negritos)

3.5.2 Mannerism:

Never force our way into an Orang Asli house. Always ask permission to enter. Normally one will be invited to enter. If one is invited to enter, be careful how one climbs the stairs to the door of the house and be careful on how one moves around inside the house, especially the raised - type are not designed for heavy people. If one is above average size and weight, one may find one self falling through the floor of a house. This is usually very amusing for the Orang Asli but not pleasant to the person concerned.

In many groups, it is the custom to offer a stranger visiting the group some food or cigarette made of home-grown tobacco wrapped in a jungle leaf. If food or cigarette is offered, do not refuse it unless:

- that particular type of food offends religious beliefs such as beef for a Hindu or pork for Muslim;
- ii) you do not smoke.

If the food is cooked-tapioca, fruit, fish or rice etc. Try to eat a little of it even if it does not taste nice. There is a good reason that the person who refuse it bears a grudge or intends doing harm to those who offer it.

If promise is made to an Orang Asli, always try to keep it. Promises are very important things to Orang Asli and an unfulfilled or broken promise is never forgotten. The corollary of this is never make promise which you do not intend to keep or cannot keep. Try not to forget promises. Even if you do, you can be sure the Orang Asli won't.

3.5.3 Names:

Different Orang Asli ethnic groups have various systems of naming persons. Some of these systems are not found outside Orang Asli ethnic groups and will be rather strange and difficult to understand for outsiders. In practice Orang Asli methods of naming can be classified under the following systems:

- i) proper or real names;
- ii) order of birth names;
- iii) marital status names;
- iv) names of dead person;
- v) persons named after their children;
- vi) designations

Proper names are personnel names and it is unusual to find more than one person with the same name. In practice many Orang Asli especially Temiar are extremely reluctant to tell their real of proper name and it is considered taboo to ask. Sometimes a person proper name can be found out by asking a third person. If an Orang Asli is very reluctant to tell you his name do not press him, ask a third person.

Order of birth names are names in everyday use but there seems to be considerable variation in the order even within a single tribal group. The first two names are always "Along" or "Ngah" but after this there seems to be a considerable amount of variation. These names are listed below but those from number 3 onwards may be frequently be given in order quite different from that shown:

Variation	Men	Women	
First child	Along	Along	Long
Second child	Angah	Angah	Ngah
Third child	Alang	Alang	-
Fourth child	Adik	Adik	Pedik
Fifth child	Pandak	Andak	-
Sixth child	Busu	Busu	-
Seventh child	Itam	Itam	-
Eight child	Anjang	Anjang	-
Ninth child	Uda	Uda	-
Last child	Aliuj	Asu	Aluid
Only child	Tunggal	Abok	-

In some cases when a person dies, it is forbidden to use the name or name he was known by during his lifetime. He may be referred to by the name of the locality or stream where he was buried or perhaps a nickname. Another way of naming a person is to name him after one of his children such as father or mother of so and so. This is more common in Proto Malay areas but also occurs in Semai areas.

Designation, these include nicknames such as beringan (Bien Gun), karbain (Carbine) and rashin (tations), Bah Gajah (elephant), Batin Singa (tion), etc. Many of these names resulted from contact with the outsiders, such as security forces or animals. Orang Asli also have their own traditional nicknames such as the Temiar who use "Abain" for a talkative person or a chatterer or "Asord" for a short person. Some groups change names at different ages.

Among the Semai all male names can take the prefix Bah or Yoke and all female names Wah or Han.

In general, it is best when recording Orang Asli names to use the order or birth name for a Temiar together with a nickname or place

name if available. Semai and Proto Malay seem to be less reluctant to give their names. It is also fairly easy to record Negritos names. Negritos have only two types of names. These are proper names and nicknames. Both are fairly easy to obtain. However the rule about asking a persons name through a third party still applies.

3.5.4 <u>Taboo</u>

In many ways, it is quite true to say that taboo (pantang) play very significant part in Orang Asli life especially in the case of deep jungle dwellers. Taboo and pantang influence every aspect of Orang Asli life such as birth, death, marriage, sickness, hunting, agriculture, personal relations etc. These vary from tribe to tribe and from group to group.

There are many taboos on the type of food that can be eaten. In all groups it will be found that old men and women can eat nearly everything except for those items with a major or very powerful taboo on them. In many groups it is forbidden to mention elephants or tigers by name. A special word must be used (e.g. tuan besat "big Boss") which the Orang Asli believe these animals do not understand. Detailed discussion of a route to be traveled in the jungle is frequently thought to be unlucky. Many Orang Asli will refuse to discuss details and confine themselves to saying they will take the hill route or the river route.

Nearly all Orang Asli are greatly influenced by their dreams. Never laugh or criticise an Orang Asli if he gives an inauspicious dream as a reason for being unwilling to do something or go somewhere.

The main supports or pillars of a house are inhabited by spirits. Never kick these or tick them with a parang or urinate or throw water on them as many Orang Asli believe this will result in serious illness for the occupants.

Mirrors taken to the side of the stream or river are believed to attract lighting and produce violent thunder storms. Never ask a Temiar man to hand anything or speak to his mother-in-law. Under Temiar custom he cannot do this. This particular taboo also applies very strongly to Negrito groups. Death taboos are still in existence among the deep jungle dwellers. The spirit of the dead are much reared by Orang Asli and if a death in a ladang (taim) the group would usually move a considerable distance from the house where the death took place usually crossing a small river or stream before choosing a new house site. Some fifteen to twenty years ago this taboo or practice was observed faithfully by all deep jungle groups. At present however this taboo has lost much of its influence.

Many taboos are associated with sickness. One of the most important things to remember is that no sick Orang Asli should be given medical treatment by a medical officer if he is already being treated by a "halak" (local Healet) or shaman unless the "halak" agrees to open the taboo or "buka pantang". In many cases, a "halak" is quite willing to do this. But always ask first. Remember! If treatment is given after the halak has refused to open the taboo we will be held directly responsible if the patient subsequently dies, even if the reason for his death has no connection with the treatment given.

Orang Asli usually have separate bathing places for men and women and in any case don't bath together. Find out where is the men -bathing place. Or if the same place is used for both sexes do not bath at the same time as the women. Quite often when crossing a small stream in the jungle, a Temiar will pluck a handful of leaves or grass from the bank and throw it in water. Temiar believe doing so will prevent from raining. Do not laugh at actions such as this. Just take note for future reference.

No complete list of Orang Asli taboos has ever been compiled and many are more or less unknown to outsiders. The best thing to do

is to keep our eyes open and to learn as much as we can. Many Orang Asli believe that their taboos only apply to themselves but considerable numbers believe that these taboos apply to all people whether they are Orang Asli or not. In any case the Orang Asli will certainly appreciate the fact that we respect their customs and taboos and do not ridicule them.

Of course there are other customs and traditions that are practiced by the Orang Asli such as in wedding ceremony, celebrating a new born baby, the art of dancing or "sewang". death ceremony and other ceremonial functions. All these functions indicate the social organization and the close knit, cooperation and the sense of belonging of the Orang Asli community. Although poor in material values but the Orang Asli can be considered as rich in social and cultural values.

4. PRESERVING AND PROMOTING THE ORANG ASLI CULTURES:

Every community in Malaysia has freedom to practice its own culture. They have no restriction to do so. The Department of Orang Asli Affairs (DOAA) has set seven objectives in its development programs. One of it is "to maintain and promote the arts and cultures of the Orang Asli". To achieve this objective, the government especially, DOAA, has taken the following steps:

4.1 The Orang Asli Museums:

Artifacts, handicrafts, customs, beliefs and practices of the Orang Asli are kept in museums specially built for them. Such museums are as follows:

- **4.1.1** Muzeum Orang Asli, Gombak, Selangor (Appendix 7);
- 41.2 Muzeum Orang Asli Jeli, Kelantan;
- 4.1.3 Muzeum Orang Asli Air Keroh, Melaka.

Besides the special Orang Asli museums above, their cultures can also be found in our national museum in Kuala Lumpur, museum in Taiping, Perak and Malacca's state museum.

- 4.2 The Orang Asli cultures has become tourists attraction both locals and foreigners. Groups of Orang Asli dancers perform their fine dance and music in various functions in hotels, radio/television, not least in conjunction with important events such as in National Day celebration, festive seasons etc.
- 4.3 The Orang Asli arts and crafts are sold in various outlets such as their own cooperatives (six states are having such cooperative outlets). Some Orang Asli themselves have taken their own initiatives to establish cottage industry and markets their products. An Orang Asli shop (Asli Ctalt) located at the Central Market, Kuala Lumpur actively sell various items on Orang Asli crafts. Such active sign of promoting and marketing the Orang Asli artifacts and products can also be found at tour National Crafts Centre in Kuala Lumpur. the National Craft Malaysia has kindly allocate area in their gallery for the Orang Asli to venture, exhibit and promote their cultures.
- 44 The DOAA also provide financial assistance to Orang Asli in a form of machineries, buildings to enable them to start their activities or to expand them. DOAA also channel their applications to other government agencies if necessary. Also DOAA facilitate their applications to financial institutions and banks for financial assistance to enable them to venture into this business and at the same time promoting their cultures.
- 45 DOAA not only provides financial assistance, but also facilitate the Orang Asli getting relevant training courses at DOAA training centre in Paya Bungor, Pahang also from various training centres run by other government agencies. Such training institutions are the Community Development Centre, MARA (Indigenous Trust Malaysia), Forest Research Institute Malaysia (FRIM) etc.

- 46 Quite recently government has encourage places that can attract tourist to be developed for 'eco-tourism' projects. DOAA has identified few Orang Asli settlements/villages to be developed under this program. Happy to say a project has been established in Sg. Tiang, Pahang. More such projects which have potential will be established in the near future. Under this project it has not only benefits the local Orang Asli in generating their income and livelihood, but also managed to promote their cultures in term of their fine handicrafts work, local dance, music sand song. The project attracts both local and foreign tourists. The Orang Asli cooperatives also get involved in the project in term of providing trained tourist guide, buying Orang Asli handicrafts to be sold to the tourists and provided financial assistance to the Orang Asli concerned.
- 4.7 A special radio "Orang Asli" (under Radio-Television Malaysia) is on air daily from 2.00 p.m. until 9.00 p.m., depicting their four major tribal dialects; i.e. the Jakun, Semai, Temiar and Temuan.
- 48 Orang Asli cultures has also been a common interest for students, academicians researchers etc. locally and overseas. Abundance of information/books are kept in DOAA library, schools, universities to meet these needs.
- 4.9 Orang Asli cultures are also included in school curriculum at primary level. They are taught not only to the Orang Asli students but also to other students.
- 5. The Orang Asli cultures not only meant to be preserved as a show piece, but it has become a source of income and economic potentials for the Orang Asli. Government has taken initiatives to help in training, financial aids and market their products. However, there are still avenues and rooms for its promotion and enhancement such as:

- 5.1 Steps have to be taken to upgrade and maintain the quality of the products and cultures to meet the increasing demand;
- 5.2 Training and financial assistance has to be provided and geared up at the initial and implementation stage and for expansion;
- 5.3 More avenues to be set up by the government to help the Orang Asli to participate, to promote/to display and to market their products and cultures;
- 5.4 Government and private sectors should assist more and help to promote Orang Asli cultures. Orang Asli group dancers, musician be given more opportunity to perform in functions to local and foreign visitors/dignitaries (this is still lacking).
- 5.5 More research and development (R & D) of the Orang Asli cultures to be undertaken for promotion and advancement.
- 5.6 Establish more contacts and networking to both local and overseas agents and markets to promote and market the Orang Asli products/cultures.

To date, we receive consignments (orders) from overseas particularly crafting works of the Mahmeri in Selangor. Their cultures in term of folk dance and music also attract locals and overseas tourists. Orang Asli cultural groups participate in various functions/celebrations at national /state/districts/village levels. This is an indication that the Orang Asli culture has potentials to break through in overseas and local market. However, groundwork has to be prepared and ready such as in term of the quality and quantity of the products, the supply, training, market and its promotion. More networking has to be established-both locals and overseas in order that the Orang Asli cultures not only being preserved and promoted but become as an

important source of income and livelihood to the Orang Asli. Not least important income to the nation!

5. CONCLUSION

The policies and objectives as mentioned above showed that the government of Malaysia is serious in promoting and preserving the ethnic cultures (including the Otang Asli cultures). However modernization and development, sometimes to a certain extent, has bearing and impact to sustaining the ethnic cultures. Some of the habit practices and way of life has been eroded over time. Hopefully, development will not necessarily flourish at the expanse of eroding valuable and priceless local cultures and heritage of its people, including one belongs to the Orang Asli.

ACCU PROGRAMMES FOR REGIONAL COOPERATION IN CULTURAL HERITAGE PROMOTION IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

Megumi Takimoto

Asia/Pacific Cultural Centre for UNESCO

What's ACCU?

Asia Pacific Cultural Centre for UNESCO (ACCU) is a non-profit organisation in Tokyo, Japan, established in 1971 through efforts of both public and private sectors in Japan.

In line with the principles of UNESCO, ACCU has since been working for the promotion of mutual understanding and cultural cooperation among peoples in Asia and the Pacific region. Its fields of activities include: culture, book development, literacy promotion and youth exchange.

The scope of its activities include: (1) material development (co-production programme), (2) human resources development (training of experts) and (3) network development (communication between concerned organisations.)

Regional Co-production Scheme: Characteristics of ACCU programmes

All of the ACCU programmes are implemented in close cooperation with UNESCO Member States in the region through the National Commissions for UNESCO, designated national co-agencies and related organisations in respective countries, with support from UNESCO. In

particular, material development is carried out through co-production or joint production programmes. This is one of the unique features of ACCU. Experts from each country jointly plan, develop and review material, from concept to presentation, and produce a master version in English. And then, ACCU encourages and supports the Member States to produce vernacular versions.

Under the scheme, ACCU has produced books for children, environmental education materials, collections of songs, musical instruments and dances of Asia and the Pacific, educational materials for neo-literates (people who have acquired basic literacy skills), material development handbooks and clip-art CD-ROMs for literacy teachers, and so on. In case of producing local versions of literacy promotion materials, each country is free to make necessary modifications in text and illustrations in order to make them suitable to its cultural, social, religious and other situations.

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(e-mail) culture@accu.or.jp
(URL) http://www.accu.or.jp

ACCU Activities related to Cultural Heritage Promotion

Although ACCU does not particularly emphasise the promotion of ethnic culture, it has always been active in the preservation and promotion of uniqueness of each culture and respective local characteristics. Here are some examples of its programmes related, to various extents, to traditional/folk culture promotion.

MD - Material Development, HRD - Human Resources

Development, NWD - Network Development

Organisation of Regional Seminar for Cultural Personnel HRD

ACCU has been organising regional seminar for training cultural personnel in the region, in close cooperation with countries in Asia and the Pacific. Since 1998, the focus has shifted from training to mutual cooperation and information exchange among experts. In response to the call to safeguard intangible arts which are on the verge of disappearing, the theme of recent years has been on the preservation and promotion of intangible and oral heritage.

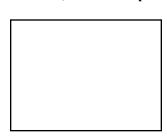
ACCU is planning to hold another regional seminar in Tokyo in March 2002 in cooperation with UNESCO, to promote the new UNESCO instrument "Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity."

At the seminar, participants will share the results of the first selection by watching video footage of the selected "masterpieces". learn about the selection procedure, and discuss ways to utilise this system to raise the overall awareness of the general public about the importance of intangible and oral heritage, etc.

	Theme	Venue	No. of participants
Feb. 1998	Preservation and Promotion of	Tokyo, Japan	20 participants
	Intangible Cultural Heritage		from 19 countries
Feb. 1999	Preservation and Promotion of	Bangkok,	7 participants from
	Traditional/Folk Performing Arts	Thailand	7 countries
Feb. 2000	Building a Network for the	Tokyo, Japan	21 participants
	Preservation and Promotion		from 19 countries
	of Traditional Performing Arts		
Mar. 2002	Promotion of "Proclamation	Tokyo, Japan	
(to be held)	of Masterpieces of the Oral		
	and Intangible Heritage		
	of Humanity"		

Data Bank on Traditional/Folk Performing Arts in Asia and the Pacific -A Basic Model" MD NWD

This 400-page directory was published in September 2000, as a fruit of the 1998 to 2000 Regional Seminars. This is a pool of information for sharing information on endangered traditional/folk performing arts in the region, and existing frameworks for their preservation. The reason it is named "A Basic Model" is that it is intended to demonstrate a possible methodology for archiving information on such arts, for future production of this kind in the region.



Contents:

- 153 traditional/folk performing arts from 18 countries
- 62 organisations/institutions engaged in preservation and/or promotion of such arts, from 19 countries
- National backgrounds of 17 countries

Examples of the performing arts include: Baul Gaan (Bangladesh & India), Kunqu (China), Ta'zieh (Iran), Ainu Yukar (Japan), Hoomii (Mongolia), Kolam (Sri Lanka), Likay (Thailand)

* This Data Bank so far comes only in print format, but it is planned to produce a digital version to be accessible by Internet soon.

Co-production of Audio-visual Materials and their Dissemination MD

In view of contributing to mutual understanding among the peoples in the region, ACCU has carried out the Asian/Pacific Music Materials Co-production Programme (MCP) since 1974 and the Asian/Pacific Audio-visual Materials Co-production Programme (AVCP) since 1978. Under these programmes, the materials listed below were produced.

Vol.1 Vol.2	Recorded Material	Guidebook			
Vol.2	3 LP Records	1	62		1975
	3 LP Records	1	69		1976
Vol.3	3 LP Records	1	75		1977
Vol.1	3 Cassette tapes	1	74		1979
Vol.2	3 Cassette tapes	1	70	21	1983
Vol.3	3 Cassette tapes	1	64		1985
Vol.1	3 Cassette tapes	1	54		1980
Vol.2	3 Cassette tapes	1	63	17	1981
Vol.3	3 Cassette tapes	1	59		1982
Vol.1	3 Cassette tapes	1	83	16	1989
Vol.2	3 Cassette tapes		95	16	1991
Vol.1	1 Video tape	1	18	18	1994
Vol.2	1 Video tape	1	16	16	1997*
Vol.3	1 Video tape	1	17	17	1999
			(musical		
			Instruments)		
	36	14	819		
Special Selection					
"Favourite Melodies of Asia and the Pacific" - for		1	39	18	1987
- for					
s of	1 Cassette tape				
Asia and the Pacific" - for		1	31	18	1987
	Vol.1 Vol.2 Vol.1 Vol.2 Vol.3 Vol.1 Vol.2 Vol.3 S of - for	Vol.1 3 Cassette tapes Vol.2 3 Cassette tapes Vol.2 3 Cassette tapes Vol.2 3 Cassette tapes Vol.2 3 Cassette tapes Vol.3 3 Cassette tapes Vol.1 3 Cassette tapes Vol.2 3 Cassette tapes Vol.1 1 Video tape Vol.2 1 Video tape 1 Video tape 1 Video tape 1 Video tape 2 Open reci tapes s of - for	Vol.1 3 Cassette tapes 1 Vol.2 3 Cassette tapes 1 Vol.3 3 Cassette tapes 1 Vol.1 3 Cassette tapes 1 Vol.2 3 Cassette tapes 1 Vol.3 3 Cassette tapes 1 Vol.1 3 Cassette tapes 1 Vol.2 3 Cassette tapes 1 Vol.1 1 Video tape 1 Vol.2 1 Video tape 1 Vol.3 1 Video tape 1 1 Cassette tapes 1 2 Open reel tapes 1 s of 1 Cassette tape s of 1 Cassette tape	Vol.1 3 Cassette tapes 1 74 Vol.2 3 Cassette tapes 1 70 Vol.3 3 Cassette tapes 1 64 Vol.1 3 Cassette tapes 1 54 Vol.2 3 Cassette tapes 1 63 Vol.3 3 Cassette tapes 1 88 Vol.1 3 Cassette tapes 1 88 Vol.2 3 Cassette tapes 1 1 Vol.1 1 Video tape 1 18 Vol.2 1 Video tape 1 16 1 Video tape 1 17 (musical Instruments) 36 14 819 s of 1 Cassette tape 2 Open reel tapes 1 39	Vol.1 3 Cassette tapes 1 74 Vol.2 3 Cassette tapes 1 70 21 Vol.3 3 Cassette tapes 1 64 Vol.1 3 Cassette tapes 1 64 Vol.2 3 Cassette tapes 1 63 17 Vol.3 3 Cassette tapes 1 83 16 Vol.1 3 Cassette tapes 1 83 16 Vol.2 3 Cassette tapes 95 16 Vol.1 1 Video tape 1 18 18 Vol.2 1 Video tape 1 16 16 Vol.3 1 Video tape 1 17 17 (musical Instruments) 36 14 819 1 Cassette tape 2 Open recl tapes 1 39 18

"Data Bank on Traditional/Folk Performing Arts in Asia and the Pacific - A Basic Model" MD NWD

These audio-visual materials were distributed to schools and libraries.

Series 5, Musical Instruments of Asia and the Pacific Vol. 3

The video is a compilation of 17 pieces of 6-minutelong footages, which were shot and edited by respective countries, showing the production process of the instruments and musical performances. The introduced instruments include: Dranyen (Bhutan), Bandurria (Philippines), Krapeu (Cambodia), Saronen (Indonesia), Taegum (Rep. of Korea), Tabla (India), Sukwaimengke (Papua New Guinea)

Cultural Kits (AVCP Materials)	Formats	Guidebook	No. of countries	Year
No. 1 Music of Asia	slides	1	18	1978-9
No.2 Our Wonderful	slides	1		1981-2
Cultural Heritage	video			1987
No.3 Traditional Handicrafts	slides	1		1983
of Asia and the Pacific	video			1988
No.4 Looking around	slides	1		1985
Museums of Asia and	video			1991
the Pacific				
No.5 Festivals in Asia and	video	1	20	1988
the Pacific				
No.6 Folk Dances of Asia	video	1	14	1990
and the Pacific I				
No.7 Folk Dances of Asia	video	1	8	1992
and the Pacific II				

One of the ways to help the endangered heritage from dying out is to record it, so that one could refer to the documentation when revitalisation becomes necessary. In order to help preserve intangible heritage, ACCU has sent mobile teams of experts to national workshops on the documentation and promotion of intangible cultural heritage. ACCU organised workshops in the following countries:

	Country	Joint Organiser
Feb 1994	Pakistan	Lok Virsa (National Institute of Folk and Traditional Heritage)
Dec 1994	Thailand	Fine Arts Department, Ministry of Education
Jan 1996	Viet Nam	Vietnam Institute of Culture and Arts Studies(VICAS)
Jan 1997	Lao PDR	Institute of Cultural Research, Ministry of Information and Culture
Jan 2001	India	Centre for Cultural Resource Training, India

Each workshop, lasting for two weeks, had 22 to 45 participants from cultural/educational organisations, TV stations, schools of music and dance, etc. The workshops consisted of academic lectures, video shooting of traditional folk dance, music, drama and/or puppet theatres(indoor and outdoor), collecting data of background information of the performances through photographs and literary and oral documents, etc.

Publicity Programme for the Safeguarding of Cultural Heritage in Asia MD



ACCU has carried out a publicity programme for the safeguarding of cultural heritage in Asia since 1971. Under this programme, it has produced a number of photo panels for exhibitions, booklets, posters and postcards about some cultural heritage sites in Asia.

ACCU Photo Contest in Asia and the Pacific MD NWD

Since 1976, ACCU has been organising an annual photo contest in Asia and the Pacific on various themes, as a means to contribute to mutual understanding and friendship, as well as to encourage artistic activities in the region. At the latest contest, an international jury

selected 100 winning works including 3 Grand Prizes and 10 Special Prizes out of more than 7,000 entries, in the first week of September 2001. Winning works are going to be enlarged and mounted on panels for the Travelling Photo Exhibition to go around about 30 cities in Asia and the Pacific at their request.



Feace, Down the Legs, Debasis Mukherjee (India) (A Grand Frix Winning work in 2000 Contest)

Themes of Past Photo Contests

1st 1976	Daily Life of Asian People	15th 1990	Education for All
$2^{^{\text{nd}}}\ 1977$	On the Move	1 6th 1991	Animals in Daily Life
3^{md} 1978	Children	17th 1992	Food and People
$4^{\text{th}}\ 1979$	Women	* 1993	Family
5 th 1980	Youth	18th 1994	People at Work
6 th 1981	(Free)	** 1995	Living Together
7^{th} 1982	(Free)	19th 1996	Children at Play
8 th 1983	Festival	20th 1997	Traditional Arts and
9 th 1984	Water and Life		People
9 th 1984 10 th 1985	Water and Life Happiness	21st 1 99 8	People Nature and Daily Life
		21st 1998 22nd 1999	•
10 th 1985	Happiness		Nature and Daily Life
10 th 1985 11 th 1986 12 th 1987	Happiness Street and People	22nd 1999	Nature and Daily Life Our Elders - Happiness
10 th 1985 11 th 1986 12 th 1987	Happiness Street and People Market Place People and their Dwellings	22nd 1999	Nature and Daily Life Our Elders - Happiness in Old Age
10 th 1985 11 th 1986 12 th 1987 13 th 1988	Happiness Street and People Market Place People and their Dwellings	22nd 1999 23rd 2000 24th 2001	Nature and Daily Life Our Elders - Happiness in Old Age Living in Harmony

Regional Cooperation in Protection of Cultural Heritage (tangible) HRD NWD

Cultural Heritage Protection Cooperation, ACCU, established in 1999 in Japan's ancient capital of Nara, focuses on collecting and providing information on cultural heritage, and establishing information networks among specialists. The office organises international conferences, symposiums, training courses for young specialists, etc.

Folk tales and traditions

Asian/Pacific Co-publication Programme (ACP) MD

Through the Asian/Pacific Co-publication Programme (ACP), ACCU has published 28 titles of books, including a collection of literature for young adults, books on ecology for children, picture books, etc. since 1972. Those which are related to ethnic cultures include:

Folk Tales from Asia
Can You Find Me?
My Village, My Family, My Asia
Wonders of Our Asia
Laughing Together
Stories from Asia Today

Festivals in Asia More Festivals in Asia Making Toys and Playing Together Together in Dramalnad Let's Play Asian Children's Games

All the titles were planned and developed jointly with experts from countries in Asia and the Pacific. The master version is first published in Japan in the English language, and then ACCU encourages and assists participating countries to produce vernacular versions by various means including lending of the positive films.

APPROPRIATION OF WOMEN'S INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE: THE CASE OF THE MATRILINEAL LUA IN NORTHERN THAILAND *

Cholthira Satyawadhna

The Lua, according to their mythology, are the original inhabitants of northern Thailand. Today, however, they are regarded as ethnic minorities who inhabit this region. A study of their myths and legends reveals the importance of spirit cults, matriclans, and women's role in the discovery, production, and trade of salt. The matrican system is also established in the longhouses and their social structure. However, with the entry of the Thai State, power has shifted from the Lua women to Thai men who represent the state. This has also resulted in the appropriation of women's traditional knowledge about the technology and rituals surrounding forest conservation and sustainable use of resources. Further, there has been a shift in gender relations in favor of men among the Lua people.

This research is an investigation into the origins of the Lua people of northern Thailand, their matrilineal clan system, the narrative of how Lua women's knowledge of salt extraction was appropriated by outsiders, and the Lua confrontation with the forest conservation policy of the Thai government in the 1990s and particularly in the year 2000. The article is based on field investigations conducted over the last two decades in two areas:

^{*} This paper, was first presented in the Workshop on "Gender Relations in the Forest Communities" at Gender & Development Program, School of Environmental, Resources and Development, Asian Institute of Technology, Thailand; published in Gender, Technology and Development 5 (1), 2001: 91-111. [Reprint: Sage Publications New Delhi/Thousand Oaks/London, 2001]

- 1. the Thung Chang-Pua Lua of Nan province where I did intensive fieldwork in 1978-82, 1986, and 1988;
- the Doy Luang Lua of Chiang Rai who were forced to relocate to Lampang province where I conducted fieldwork in 1999-2000.

These two Lua groups share a cultural heritage of matrilineal spirit cults and are similar in many ways. Some subgroups of Nan in the former 'red areas' gave up their matrilineal spirit cults when they joined the communist insurrection in the early 1960s. However, remnants of this belief system, social structure, and practices are still to be found among some other Nan subgroups in 'pink areas.' Field investigation in 1988 revealed that all Lua groups of Nan are the direct descendants of the Lua matrilineal social structure of Lanna of the past (Cholthira, 1991). Lua of Nan Province (a subgroup of Lawa) are the third most numerous among the highland peoples of Thailand who mostly live on the mountains of the Thai-Laos border. There are 146 Lua communities with a total population of 28,516, comprising 51.7 percent of highlanders in Nan province (Cholthira, 1987)

Anthropologists, particularly Paul Cohen, Peter Hinton, and Gehan Wijeyewardene (Cohen, 1984), have reported that the Lua of northern Thailand, especially those of Chiang Mai, practiced matrilineal spirit cults. One Lua group from Chiang Rai, who are now relocated in Lampang, believes that their ancestors settled in Chiang Rai before any other ethnic group and even before the Thai communities. Therefore, it may be inferred that the Lua of Chiang Rai are also the direct heirs of the forest Lua who lived in the early Buddhist era, as mentioned in many ancient palm-leaf texts of Lanna (Cholthira, 1991).

The so-called northern Thai have been the subject of extensive literature about contemporary spirit cults in the region of the former Lanna kingdom. Anthropologists assert that these spirit cults are organized

around matrilineal descent groups and provide a venue for leadership and social control by women (Cohen, 1984, Davis, 1984). Much of the 'Thai' and Lua systems of belief are centered around spirits. In turn, these systems are invariably associated with various forms of social organization, social relations, relative power, and ritual performances. It may be argued that power might have shifted from one dominant structure (Lua women) to another Muang [Tai] men). Nevertheless, the original collective identity persists without its ethnic labels. Taking the Boe Kluea spirit cults as a case study, although 'Luaness' and 'Thainess' have intermingled both socially and culturally, separate Lua identities are still distinguishable.

The most ancient written source about the Lua is the inscription on the base of the Siva image at Kamphaeng Phet, Caruek Thaan Phra Isavara (1510) (Cholthira 1987, 1991: p.136). This dates back to the 16th century and states: 'According to the new law, sale of cattle to the Lua/Lawa was torbidden. It cannot be confirmed whether modernday Lua are the same as the Lua/Lawa mentioned here who lived in the mountainous range and who had traded with lowlanders for a long period of time. However, a large number of cattle had been sold to the Lua probably for their carts and caravan trade, which was a major operation along the mountain ranges across the borders of northern highland principalities. Though we lack any accurate account, this caravan trade must have had a strong economic and political impact on Thai Communities in the lowland, if the inscription reported the prohibition. This may be related to the reconstruction of Lua economic history. In the absence of accurate data, it may be surmised that the Lua economic situation in the past was not as bad as it is today. The importance of cattle and the Lua caravan trade together with Lua/Lawa archaeological sites show us a different dimension of Lua ethnohistory.

The area of Thung Chang Pua which the Lua inhabit today, particularly the Boe Kluea or salt mine area. was not always as remote as it is at present. More likely, it was at one time a strategic site through which every power 'center'- Burma, Lanna, Lanchang, Chiang Rung (Sipsongpanna)-had to pass to dominate the extraction of rich natural resources, and the production of salt, both for everyday consumption and military purpose. There were a number of salt wells in Pua and the indigenous people, mostly Lua, had used them for generations. The salt from this strategic site was said to supply the needs for the whole of Lanna before 1950. During wars, these salt wells became more important for military strategy, as thousands of soldiers needed salt as well as rice. In 1450, historical evidence shows that the Boe Kluea (Lua) 'state' was conquered by King Tilokaraja of Chiang Mai. Later, this strategic site was conquered by the Burmese. Power had shifted from one group to another during the Lanna crisis (1558-1774). In 1782, King Rama I ruled Bangkok and established Siamese power in Lanna. It was perhaps during this event that the Tai Lue of Sipsongpanna were forced to settle in the Lua area at Boe Kluea. Subsequently. McCarthy (1991) first marked the site 'M.baw,' at the beginning of the Nan river, as the location of salt wells with an enormous capacity to produce salt, noting that during that period, highlanders compared the price of salt to that of gold.

Lua Matrilineal Social Structure

Lua Women have high status and significant roles in society and in their households. I interpret the Lua social structure as being matrilineal and matricentric. An old Lua saying (rendered here in Thai) points to the importance of women in Lua society: ying raeng khwaai, chaai raeng kai (Women have buttalo-like labor, man have only chicken-like labor). The existence of Lua matrilineal longhouse communities and their matricentric ideology confirms this interpretation. Yet, most ethnographic studies of the Lua of Nan before 1986 state that the Lua

had neither clans nor lineage, much less matrilineal ones. David Filbeck (1971: Ch. 2, p. 1; Ch. 5, p.6), in his research on the ethnography of the Lua, whom he called the 'Tin tribe,' first articulated this ethnographic interpretation in 1971:

No clans or lineages exist among the T' in which would draw one's attention and concern away from his own village.... T' in society is village oriented with few or no strains of relationships running out to other villages. For the T' in tribal person, the village is the largest social unit.

Ten years later, William Y. Dessaint (1981: p. 128) also claimed that the T in or the Lua of Nan had no unilineal social structure:

'The descent system is bilateral, that is descent is reckoned both through the mother and through the father. There are no lineages, clans or other social institutions based on kinship apart from the family and the household.'

In my first publication on the Lua, Lua Muang Nan, written in Thai (Cholthira, 1987), I mentioned Lua clans and lineages without at that time being aware of the fact that anthropologists Filbeck and Dessaint had denied their existence. The privileges among certain groups of particular ranks in the Lua hierarchy, coupled with the Lua terms cao kok and trakul or khra kul (clan or lineage), are still observed in everyday life, strongly implying not only that the Lua have clans and female lineages, but also that these matriclans are hierarchically interrelated. The mistaken inference that the Lua have a bilateral system is perhaps based upon observations among Lua who have abandoned their matrilineal traditions. In 1988, I went back to northern Thailand and traveled around various Lua communities in Nan to check my understanding of this contentious issue. This phase of research strongly confirmed that the Lua do

really have matriclans or matrilineages.

Living among the Lua for more than five years, I found that the life of the Lua was closely attached to water resources, which are in fact managed by clans. Lua people's daily meals include fish and other aquatic animals such as crabs, shrimps, and shellfish. Various aquatic plants are also favorite foods. In the Thung Chang Pua 'red areas' (the base of the revolutionary Lua under the leadership of the Communist Party of Thailand [CPT] from 1967 to 1982), it is known that before 'liberation,' in some Lua communities, the privilege of using water and fish resources was organized by clans. There was a customary law which specified that members of other Lua communities, or those from different clans, were handed down from generation to generation. Breaches could lead to serious conflict (ibid.: p. 47).

These ancestral rights over resources usually belonged to a major clan whose senior member had rank or was a person of authority in the community or among a number of interrelated communities. Two persons who claimed to have had such rights in the old days were the former female chieftains (ma? Rong) of Ban Kuuchaat, and the ritual leader (moe phii) of Ban Namchai. The operation of clans and lineages may also be seen in the way privileges were allocated in the distribution of land. Lua in the same village, though living on the same mountain for many generations, did not have equal rights in the choice of land for cultivation. Even nowadays, the clan of the chieftain, who is also known by the term cao kok (lord of the clan or descent group), which is the biggest clan of the village, has first right over choice of land for swiddening. This family also has priority in the recruitment of labor. Members of other clans cannot begin cultivation until the chieftain's schedule is completed (Cholthira, 1987).

The privileged clans of the Lua community, as I have described elsewhere (ibid.: p. 48), may be ranked as follows:

- 1. The big matrilineal clan, usually an extended family, which owned more than one rice field and more than 10 gourds. This matrilineal clan had privileges over fish and water resources, but they had to work in the chieftain's fields under a corvée system.
- The titual leader's mattilineal clan which had privileges over tish and water resources.
- 3. The super-matrilineal clan, usually the clan of the chieftain, which had the most privileges of choice over land, fish, and water resources, and was entitled to labor corvée from all adult members of very other matrilineal clan living in the Lua community.

I identified 33 matrilineal lines, with three types of identification which have been tabulated in Figure 1. An investigation of the genealogy of the founding longhouse (huan kaw) of one village, the Huay Thôn community, can be taken as a case study of Lua matriclans and their function. In this original longhouse, every member worships the house-spirits, who seem to also be their matrilineal ancestral spirits. The Lua term is pronglyyong tajeng, meaning 'spirits of the house.' In everyday life, pronglyyong has the same meaning as the term for ritual leader.

According to my field investigation, the name of the female lineage house-spirits of the house-spirits of the $h\ddot{u}an$ Kaw is A?, representing the clan name of all members who actually live in it. It is evident that membership in the A? Yo? Clan descends through the female line, that is, from (supposedly) the first generation to her daughter of the second generation, then to her daughter in the third, and similarly to the fourth generation and her daughter in the fifth. A male member

is also an A? Yo? member at birth, but his membership is lost as soon as he is married. From then on he is no longer A? Yo? but belongs to his wife's female spirit line. In the A? Yo? longhouse, there was a man from another longhouse in the same community, but of another clan, A? Saweng. when he married Mae Coang Phat, who is an A? Yo? Clan woman, he became A? Yo?. This couple had 12 children, of whom four died, while eight, four daughters and four sons, are still alive. Their four sons married into other clans or, as it is sometimes said, 'to other spirits', one of them is known as A? Pela. Their four daughters were also married to men who came from other 'spirits', One of them, who came from a Lua village in Laos, is known to have been A? Pih. All four husbands are now A? Yo?. Their children, both daughters and sons, are A? Yo?. Their grandchildren, the children of their daughters who all live in this longhouse, are also A? Yo?.

There is another case of a man named $A?\hat{a}w? \hat{U}$, now dead quite a long time, who formerly belonged to A? Pih in Laos. He also became A? Yo? when he married. His four sons, who were born A? Yo?, married and moved out to live in two neighboring longhouses in the same community. Two of them, including the youngest, are A? Khelt, while the other two are A? Saweng. Two of them now stay together in the same long house of A? Saweng, and the other two live in the same longhouse of A? Khelt. Both A? Khelt longhouse and A? Saweng longhouse are in the same community of Ban Huay Thôn where the original longhouse is A? Yo?. Their children are A? Khelt and A? Saweng, respectively.

From this genealogy, we may infer that there are at least five 'female spirit' lines, namely, (a) A? Yo?, (b) A? Saweng; (c) A? Kheli; (d) A? Peli; and (e) A? Pih (from Laos). Further genealogical investigation shows that two more lines occur in Ban Huay Thôn, that is, A? Lol and A? Pyeu. Ther are, thus, at present six 'matriclans' for the five generations represented within the 11 longhouses of the

Huay Thôn community (since the ancestors of A? Pih lived in Laos, they never had their own longhouse in this community).

From this analysis of genealogy, we may understand that though there may be deviations in some Lua communities, especially among those who have moved to lowlands and live near lowlanders, the dominant system in Lua society is one of matrilineal clans, a system based on the Lua system of belief in female ancestral spirits and house spirits.

Figure 1 Lua Matrilineal Clans, Nan Province, 1988

No	Туре	Matriclan Names	Remarks
1	Ban	Ban Châ	Ban is a Thai word meaning village.
2	Ban	Ban Khom	
3		Ban Koak	
4			Ngual is the Lua term for 'village'
5	_		Also known as A? Vâl Dakthiat
6	A ?	A? Kal	Lua understand the word $A?$ only as a prefix to clan names. No other meaning is given
7	A ?	A? Koa	
8	A ?	A? Khat	Nos 8, 9, 10 may be the same clan,
			but their names are distinct
9	A ?	A? Khâ	in different villages.
10	A ?	A? Khân	
11	A ?	A? Khin	
12	A ?	A? Khoak	
13	A ?	A? Kheli	
14	A?	A? Bo?	Nos 14 and 15 may be the same clan.
15	A?	A? Boang	
16	A?	A? Lol	
17	A?	A? Lap	
18	A?	A? Saal	
19	A?	A? Sangkhâl	
20 21	A? A?	A? Sabung	
22		A? Sawaeng	
23	A? A?	A? Siat A? Sêk	
24	A?	A? Sapâl	
25	A?	A? Pih	Its origin was in Laos.
26	A?	A? Peli	as vign was in Laws.
27	A?	A? Pyeu	
28	A?	A? Adâı	Also known as An Dâr
29	A?	A? Noang	
30	A?	A? Tdjûlı	Also known as Ban Tdj ûn
31		A? Yeli	u .
32	A ?	A? Yât	
33	A ?	A? Yo?	Huay Thôn community's original clan

Women's Knowledge and Control of Salt Production

In the political economy of northern Thailand, salt production and trade played a key role in history. Although it has been argued otherwise, knowledge of salt production was clearly indigenous to Lua people, evident in their control of salt production and the myths surrounding its origins. Moreover, the dominant figure in Lua legends of salt mine origins was a woman, and the spirits of the salt mines worshipped to this day are all women, lending further credibility to the notion of matrilineal dominance among the Lua.

Dessaint's studies on the *Thin/Mal* or the Lua of Nan (Dessaint, 1973: p. 16) claimed that this Mon-Khmer speaking group controlled the salt trade throughout northern Thailand and Laos:

Salt is collected by a simple technique in two communes near the head-waters of the Mae Nam Nan, namely Baw Kleue Nua and Baw Kleue Tay. Until recent years, salt, which is rare in the mountains of southern China and northern South-East Asia (there is still a high incidence of goiter in these areas), was used as an exchange standard. In the not very distant past, the 'Mal' living around the salt wells of Nan province controlled the salt trade by ox caravan or on elephant back throughout a large part of northern Thailand and northern Laos.

Later (1981: p.122), Dessaint confirmed his view:

Salt, as an exchange commodity, is a major source of cash or rice.... It was often used as an exchange standard. In the not very distant past, the T'in living around the salt wells in the northern part of Nan province largely controlled the salt

production of the area. Lowlanders used to come to get salt in exchange for rice or other commodities. They took it by zebu caravan or on elephant back to other parts of northern Thailand and northern Laos. This was a slow method of transport-ox caravans went from muang Nan to Bo Kleue Tai in twelve stages, that is in twelve days—but it was a very profitable activity for the lowlanders who organized and led these ox caravans until recent times. In Muang Nan, they sold it for several times what it had cost them in Bo Kleue Nua or Bo Kleue Tay.

Chusit (1981) provided some supportive data for Dessaint's claim. His research on the ox-caravan trade of northern Thailand showed that the people of northern Thailand consumed salt coming from three directions before 1914: (a) sea salt from malamaeng (Mataban); (b) sea salt from Bangkok; and (c) hill salt from Boe Kluea of Pua district, Nan province.

During my own field research in 1986, I learned that local people at Boe Kluea Tay believed that about 700 years ago, when the rulers of Phuu Khaa and Pua, Cao Luang Phuu Khaa and Cao Luang Pua respectively, were still good friends, they let their elephants walk and wander around the Pua area. After a month, they found that the elephants ate a substance which the Thai called din poong (literally, soil trom salty pond). Cao Luang Pua tasted the water which the elephant caretaker (knwaan chaang) brought with him; it was salty. The Pua ruler then boiled the salty water, resulting in some perfect quality salt. From that time on, Cao Luang Pua invited Cao Luang Phuu Khaa to cook salt with him and the citizens of the two muang have used this salt mine since then (Cholthira, 1987: pp. 190-91). If this legend is valid, knowledge of salt production was indigenous to this area, and not imported as suggested by some.

Legends often refer to the role of great ancestors or gods in the discovery of important skills or inventions: the art of spinning and weaving, the invention of sacred designs, the discovery of the most fundamental objects upon which a culture is founded, staple foodstuffs such as rice, domestic animals such as buffaloes, and basic raw materials for clothing such as cotton.

Yaa Lua and the Origin of Salt

Lua narrative refers to the role of a Lua grandmother (yaa) in the origin of salt and salt wells at Muang Pua. The legend of the origin of the salt mine among the Lua of Nan is as follows:

Once upon a time, a long time ago indeed,
When people still lived together,
Having communal life,
Both production and consumption,
At that period the Lua did not know what salt was.

Later a grandmother, called Yaa Lua,
Took cooking as her duty for the Lua commune.
Whenever she cooked, the food was very delicious.
Everyone praised her and wanted to know
What kind of ingredients she added into her food.

Two men secretly watched her while cooking
And amazingly, they found out that, in fact,
The lady used the water she bathed in to cook food.
This secret was told and spread about,
But no one seemed to believe it.

So she was often watched Until it was no longer a secret. The people then held a meeting without her attendance And it was decided by majority vote That she should be punished by execution.

The Lua used a spear to kill her but she was able to run away. Terribly hurt and bloody, she reached two wells:
Boe Nan and Boe Wen.
The blood flew down the well
Until the wells were full of bloody water.
These wells later became the salt wells of North Nan.

Giandma Lua continued to iun away until she ieached Boe Yuak.

She spat into the well, and
That is why the water in Boe Yuak is salty until now.
She continued to travel southward and died at Boe Luang.
Which is called Boe Kluea Tay nowadays.

(Story told to the author by Mae Phoeng, a Lua matriarch in Nan in 1978.)

This legend was also used by the Lua to explain why the salty water in Boe Wen and Boe Nan was red: because of Yaa Lua's blood. However, salt made from Boe Yuak and Boe Luang, where she died, was white. The mythical Grandmother Lua died at Boe Luang, therefore Boe Luang is believed to eat human beings. There had existed in the past, a tradition of human sacrifice every three or four years to appease the female spirit of Yaa Lua. Newborn babies to 10 year-old children were normally offered to the female spirit of the salt mine. Banana, sugarcane, rice, and meat were put in woven baskets called ktathong and placed at the four corners of the well. If it was a human sacrifice, bits of human blood, heart, lung, and liver were also put in the ktathong and offered. If it was necessary to seek a human being for sacrifice from a faraway land, only a bit of blood and the

tip of an ear were needed (Cholthira, 1987: p. 191). Today, pigs, chickens, and dogs are sacrifice to Boe Luang instead.

Among the Lua in the mountain ranges, human sacrifice for the propitiation of the Boe Kluea spirit had been practiced consistently. However, it was given up with communist control of the area in the 1960s. A senior Lua lady told me frankly that outside the revolutionary base, the practice still occurred. Once she came across an outsider who seemed to be a ritual expert's follower, and she believes he came to steal babies. She threw a piece of firewood at the man, causing him injury and driving him away.

While the Lua myth and its associated sacrificial rituals record, on the one hand, the indigenous knowledge of salt production, on the other hand, the myth could also be a reproduction of matrilineal ideology. This 'subjugated popular knowledge' is by no means borrowed from outsiders or imported by new settlers, because the 'matrilineal' Lua ideological processes are still at work. No one is allowed to take the sacred female satong down from the spirit shrine. The female tubular skirts have been among their spirits' offerings until now. In fact, the property of Cao Som Paak Nam, the last spirit of Boe Kluea, is still well protected by the male ritual leader, or Khao Jam. He showed me the khiueang khiua, literally 'domestic utensils,' of Cao Som. They included two female tubular skirts (satong), one piece of Chinese silk-a delicate fabric with a violet floral pattern, a red traditional shirt, a pillow, a spear, a sword, a betel container (uk maak), and a food tray (khan took). All these interesting objects have become sacred materials offered to the female spirits of the salt mine and are used in spirit propitiation at Boe Luang once a year. In a three-year cycle, chickens are sacrificed the first year, a pig in the second and a buffalo in the third. In all, in every three-year cycle, a black male buffalo, a dog, a pig, twelve chickens, two pairs of huge candles, and eight packs of small candles are offered to the Boe Kluea spirits.

Children were earlier sacrificed by the Lua to please the Boe Kluea spirits. This was a frequent practice particularly in the far northern area, i.e., the Boe Kluea Nuea. Two salt wells, Boe Haan and Boe Ket Sawaa, were closed by the indigenous people to stop human sacrifice. Nowadays, though human sacrifice is no longer practiced, remnants of Lua traditions still exist in the ritual performances, when buffaloes are sacrificed and their horns hung in front of the ritual pavilion, Likewise, dog sacrifice is still practiced and the Lua of Hang Dong in Chiang Mai cut the dog's ear and tail (without killing it) and combine these parts with other offerings made to please the ancestral spirits of the female lineage.

It can be seen in the Lua matrilineal system and in the history and myths surrounding salt production in Nan, that women were the creators of popular knowledge and occupied a central position in Lua society. While this matrilineal society was unable to prevent Lua women's knowledge of salt production and spiritual propitiation from being appropriated by outsiders, it does seem to have prevented the disappearance of Lua identity as a whole. The question then becomes: how has power in this territory been shifted or subverted away from the Lua of Nan through the course of history?

The State Rewriting History

Lua yea hai, Tai het na (The Lua work swiddens, the Tai work paddy fields)-a well-known northern Thai proverb.*

This saying may be interpreted as representing the cultural hegemony exercised by the Tai over the Lua through the centuries. Throughout 'la longue duréé (Braudel, 1958), the history of the region is unveiled,

^{* &#}x27;Tai' is linguistic designation referring to speakers of 'Tai' languages in mainland Southeast Asia. 'Thai' refers to citizens of the nation of Thailand.

not by institutionalized authoritative written texts but by the study of the popular knowledge of salt production and management and the spirit cults involved. Braudel (ibid.: p. 27) was totally correct when he said:

"We may find a history to be capable of traversing even greater distances, a history to be measured in centuries, i.e., the history of the long, even of the very long time span, of the longue durée".

There are, so to speak, transformational laws of social relations and power relations which may be discovered. This is in accordance with Marx's assertion that social relations appear to us as if they were relations between things; in fact, in depth there lay relations between human beings. The process of the historical power shift from the Lua (Mon-Khmer speaking group) to the Muang (Tai speaking group) shows that state political power had shifted from Lua to Tai, and gender power had also shifted from women to men. In view of these shifts, the economic base of salt production in Lua society demands an analysis of social, gender relations.

My analysis of Boe Kluea, territorial spirits, and popular knowledge of the region must thus be set in its historical contest. The Boe Kluea Lua community is seen in relation to the whole complex of districts and towns surrounding it, as well as the communities of nieghboring states and countries. By doing this, We come closer to the dialectic of time spans, which will achieve an explanation of Lua society in all its reality, both historical and contemporary.

Lua history is part and parcel of the politics of the Lua states that developed and declined in the Lanna region and further north. What distinguishes them from the rest of the regional population is the fact that their society is an organization of matriclans and has been remarkably conducive to the emergence of matriarchs. It may well

be that such distinctive institutions became firmly entrenched among the Lua of Nan during prolonged periods when they eschewed alliances with outsiders and withdrew their support for Yuan centers of power, after the latter either became excessively exploitative or the Yuan declined with the advance of the modern Thai domination. It is possibly the case that matriliny and matriarchy developed as village institutions with the 'devolution' of the traditional Lanna kingdom (Cholthira, 1990: pp. 75-104).

The Lua of Nan, including those of the Boe Kluea salt mine have defied the dominant lowland states in their effort to present their identity and culture. Oral tradition suggests that such resistance took physical form at least four times over the last 200 years. Rebellions included the Suek Maan, Khaa Tdjae, and Phii Bun Lua revolt and the communist Lua insurgency (Cholthira, 1991: Ch. 3 and 4, Appendix A). Lua assertion of collective identity was later express in terms of customs, beliefs, and spirit cults without ethnic label. The Lua-Tai assimilation is the product of a long economic, sociological, and One result of this process is that many residents of political history. northern Thailand are unaware that the Lanna traditions, which they recognize and revere originated in Lua culture, which they themselves deem to be 'primitive' and 'uncivilized.' Such traditions include the belief in the city pillar, Sao Indakhiila, homage to Lanna (Lawa) territorial spirits, Puu Sae?, Yaa Sae?, the Phii Mot-Phii meng dancing rituals. And the matrilineal ancestral spirit cults among the northern local people who now call themselves Khon Muang.

The spirit cults at the Boe Kluea salt mine of Nan province are also a strong case for Lua regional predominance in the past. *Phii Muang* spirit cults were held by the people of Nan in the fifth month of every year, when 36 *Phii Muang*, literally city-spirits, were said to be possessed by spirit mediums, mostly female. If this information is correct, it suggests that there may have been at least 36 state rulers known in the realm of folk memory with a state history well preserved

by folk wisdom in terms of spirit cults. It is suggested that the Boe Kluea region or Muang Boe (McCarthy, 1900) was first occupied by the Lua, and that a Lua traditional state emerged because of salt.

Recent history of the Lua of Nan may be explained in a broader framework of la longue duiee or historical process and change. do this we need to look at the evidence on Lua millenarian movements and resistance. The Phii Bun Lua revolt, the last Lua movement, is most prominent in their memory. Many young adults could recount their experiences in the movement. The rituals concerned suggest that the ideology was quite distinct from the Buddhist believe and was in fact truly indigenous. The chief of the movement Puu Wong offered, as sacrifice to the Lua spirit ?aeng Prong, a large pig five spans tall. Also, there was a ceremony known as suu khwan calling for an increase of spiritual power for the body, retained during the seven months that the movement lasted. Chickens were killed and sacrificed in the initiation ceremony for the new believers. strings were tied around the wrists of believers and it was proclaimed that there would be seven years of plenty when all Lua would live in prosperity. The messiah, Jao Phuu Bun, was coming shortly to bring the millennium to the people. He would bring with him modern goods and technology, turn each bamboo cottage into a cement building, and finally establish the Lua communities as a civilized state. On a certain day. Jao Phuu Bun would arrive in an airplane at Huay Khi Min village; indeed, it was claimed that he was then building the airplane.

While Puu Wong died in the Nan Provincial Penitentiary, his sons and sons-in-law were later released (Filbeck, 1971: p.26). His wife, Mae Phong, who had also joined the communist insurgents operating in the area, is still alive and is highly respected by the Lua. When an ideological crisis occurred and the Communist Party of Thailand (CPT) found it difficult to control the red area, it was Mae Phong who made the decision and signed a treaty with the Third

Army that the Lua people of south Nan would remain in peace. The Lua followed her advice and the military moved into the area without any bloodshed.

It is clear that the Lua have shared at least a united consciousness of rebellion with Mon-Khmer speakers in the state periphery. This ethnic consciousness was not at all the 'surface' of social relations; it was part of their collective consciousness, reproduced through the dynamic process of social history. The chain of historical events gathered from Lua oral tradition suggests that their ideology functioned as an internal and necessary component of the relations of production.

The Lua and the Khmu have engaged in a united struggle for quite a long time. Though each ethnic group has had its own version of *millenatian movement*, differentiated in time and space, there was in particular one which was a kind of messianic movement active among some of the Mon-Khmer speaking highland groups of the areas straddling the borders within the periphery. The messian who was to come and rescue the Khaa, including the Lua (T'in) and Khmu?. and/or Lao Theung, all Mon-Khmer speaking groups, from their life of poverty, cultural disintegration, and economic deterioration was Tajeueng. Amazingly, not only the Mon-Khmer speaking groups in Southeast Asia, but also the Hmong and the Yao within the periphery, including all Tai speaking groups, seemed not only to be involved with similar movements, but also shared the same figures as savior, Khun Jeuang.

The Lua were thus involved in the latest millenarian movement, the *Phii Bun Lua* revolt which took place in late 1964 and continued into 1965. This movement had close connections with the millenarian movement in Laos. After the unsatisfactory outcome of the movement, most of the Lua turned to the CPT and the region was known as 'red area.' Oral tradition shows that the Mon-Khmer speaking groups of northern Thailand had been involved in a long chain of millenarian

Such movements were also recorded in the written historical sources of northern Thailand in the series of chronicles of Muang Chiang Rung, Muang Lai, Muang Thaeng, and Muang Chiang Khaeng. In these chronicles, the Royal Siamese Government refers to the movements as Khabot Khaa Jae? (Revolt of the Khaa Jae?), in some contexts as keut Jae? pen Jeuang. We may refer to it as the Kha Jae? or Tdjae? (as represented in Thai in the chronicles) is a word used by Mon-Khmer speaking peoples; the Lua pronunciation may be represented as Tdjae?. The events first took place in the year 1861 and ended in 1884 when the Kha Tdjae? local troops were finally defeated by the modern military forces of King Rama V of Central Siam. During these 23 years, a series of revolts took place in this Thai-Yunnan periphery. First, it was the Hmong who sparked the uprisings of other local people in the region, particularly the Kha Tdjae?; that is, the Mon-khmer speaking groups. Chronologically, the most important were the Sük Ho Thong Dam (Black Flag Ho) Revolt in 1861, and the Sük Ho Thong Lüang (Yellow Flag Ho) revolt in 1862.

Chronicles provide evidence of the harsh taxation and conscription for warfare imposed on the people of Muang Thaeng, Muang Lai, Chiang Rung, and Chiang Khaeng. Possibly, the matrilineal structure of the Lua of Nan was a response, which allowed them to survive these hardships. Women's labor was crucial in agriculture as well as in the household, with men being lost in war and through corvée.

The Lua of Nan, who have been engaged in millenarian movements at least three times in the past 150 years, are illustrative of the Mon-Khmer speaking groups of the region. Their matrilineal social structure, in my view, is not a primitive stage in an internal unilinear evolutionary process. It may, in fact, be seen as 'devolution'-an ancient Mon-Khmer kingdom being reduced to communities of a 'primitive' and 'stateless' form in which women need to hold power to maintain the processes of reproduction as well as agriculture

and totest management. Matriliny, matrifocality, and matricentricity are constrained in a devolutionary process created by both internal economic conditions and external political power. Practicing 'matriliny' in a strong sense among the Lua of Nan is perhaps the only way for them to preserve Lua identity.

Confronting the State Takeover

The Lua confrontation with the politics of environment played by the state via the Forestry Division is a case of emergency.

The present situation of the Lua of Chiang Rai, who were forced to move from their homeland and were relocated in Lampang about six years ago (February 1994) according to a decision made by the Thai cabinet, is indeed a problem of community rights and state takeover. Along with other highland ethnic groups, the Lua of Chiang Rai have confronted problems of increasingly scarce agricultural land, resulting from the construction of hydroelectric dams and national parks. All these matters have affected the livelihood of the Lua in several ways, including their swidden cultivation and their rotated rice fields. This is Lua knowledge, which they have passed on from generation to generation.

According to an interview with the Doy Luang Lua at their new settlement in Lampang province (December 1999), all senior persons were born in Chiang Rai and some could trace their ancestral line back to over ten generations. It may be hypothesized that the Doy Luang Lua or the Great Mountain Lua had settled in the Great Mountain of Chiang Rai for over 500 years according to their oral traditions, and for over 1,000 years according to ancient palm-leaf texts. They had lived adjacent to a moderately fertile natural forest, which became a national forest park by a Thai cabinet resolution in the year 1993. In the past, the Doy Luang Lua community in Chiang Rai had relied heavily on forest products for their livelihood. They utilized forest

products for food, and raw materials like bamboo for home use as well as for making handicrafts for sale. It is estimated that about 80 percent of their food came from the forest and home-stead, as also medicinal herbs for traditional treatment, and leaves, flowers, branches, and tree-trunks as materials for ceremonial practices. Although Lua villagers earned a relatively low income, they lived peacefully and appeared to have good living conditions and good health. The Doy Luang Lua community also had a tremendous amount of knowledge concerning the utilization of biodiversities of animals and plants. Women and men differed in the possession of knowledge due to their different social and family roles and status. This knowledge, or, in other words, Lua wisdom, was generally found among women and men of older generations rather than younger ones.

However, Lua women had accumulated indigenous knowledge different from men. This is because Lua women were the ones who went out seeking food and firewood along the creek and in the forest. Children were educated along the Lua way of life led by the senior women. Therefore, it may be asserted that Lua women were potentially the key counterpart in ecological conservation in the Lua community. It has been the case that planning sustainable development is inefficient or likely to fail if women's roles and knowledge are overlooked.

Unfortunately, this invaluable local wisdom was destroyed and the process of learning interrupted by environmental politics when the settlement of the long-lived Lua community of Doy Luang was incorporated into the national sphere of influence. At present, the growth and strength of indigenous ethnic communities are usually considered a threat to national security. To lend legitimacy to the state takeover, the Lua community as well as many other hill-dwelling ethnic communities have become scapegoats for various social problems, such as poverty, resource conflicts, drug abuse, and crime. The Lua encountered a forced relocation of their communities, along

with increased privatization and control of resources by the newly emerged state-market mafia.

In their new settlement at Ban Wangmai, Wang Neva district, Lampang province, the process of state takeover and intervention has continuously weakened the Lua community's autonomy and its cultural identity. By making use of so-called "environmentalism", state policies on nature conservation influenced by western "extremely green policy" plus urban-based middle-class vision have protruded into the community's subsistence economy and its cultural space, particularly its traditional harmonious livelihood.

Although rural environmental movements led by some academic and NGO groups have supported indigenous highland communities in opposing state policies, especially on conserved areas, i.e., national parks, wildlife sanctuaries, and watershed protection forest, the situation of the Doy Luang Lua community at Lampang resettlement, as well as that of other ethnic communities such as the Lisu, Mien (Yao), Lahu (Musor), and Akha, which have also been forced to relocate in the adjacent areas, is still at stake at the moment.

Confronting state takeover and intervention, most highland ethnic communities in northern Thailand have become a social space of power struggle over natural resources and eco-politico-cultural domination. Community culture has been reconstructed to identify various forms of contestation between highland and lowland sectors at large. Reinvention of community-based forest management and a push for its recognition through the communal customaty laws are, among other things, new trends in the indigenous communities' struggle for human rights, community rights, and land rights as well. In northern Thailand, according to Chusak Wittayapak (1999), these grassroots movements have currently widened to a "tribal-based movement struggling for citizenship rights and access to natural resources". These civic movements emerged in line with the emplacement of the new

That Constitution of 1997, which provides for community rights over natural resources as well as allowing people's participation in resource management.

It is not exaggerating to claim that the politics concerning environmental issues in the Thai state can also be interpreted as an obvious case of racial oppression and ethnic discrimination between the lowlanders and highlanders, urban and rural communities, and Thai and indigenous ethnic groups, where lowland-based state authorities have increased their efforts to oppress hill-dwelling ethnic minorities. The aforementioned case of the Boe Kluea Lua in Nan province in the historical scenario of northern Thailand fits well into this category. Recently, racist patterns and processes in the northern region have been augmented and transformed through acts of the state taking over land and forest resources.

In this research, I first drew out the past condition of land and forest use in one of the local Lua communities, the Boe Kluea of Nan province, presenting the coexistence of different and sometimes conflicting power relations, and the power shift from one ethnic group to another, which is related to and affects gender relations. At the same time, there is also a discourse of the "community" and a conscious effort to maintain communal rights to land forest resources - not only salt but also natural resources - particularly the forest, in the present-day situation.

Through this contrast between "forest conservation", which is a matter of "state takeover", and "communal tradition" which is part and parcel of "community rights", creating a discourse of some of the region-wide cases and the confusion that exists in a specific locality, my point is not that the current discourse is merely a created tradition, but that such creative discourse and movement have sprung right out of a complex state such as Thailand - a plural

society in its existence and reality, but a unified Royal Siamese Kingdom in its national, even racist, ideology.

In the final analysis, the Lua case evidently shows that some theories, related to a stereotypical paradigm of thought, were not based on reality, and that the indigenous groups have proved themselves to be good citizens, by participating in a process of formulating a "civil society", making use of their cultural heritage, knowledge, and wisdom to challenge the "powers-that-be" in order to preserve their identities and community rights.

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People's Initiative

THE AKHA STRUGGLE FOR NATURAL RESOURCES AND FOREST CONSERVATION IN THAILAND*

Cholthira Satyawadhna

Thailand's rapid economic development has resulted in an equally rapid and degrading ecological transformation. It has also affected the resource base on which rural people's livelihoods depend. Although environmental politics in Thailand are clearly more than a straightforward response to resource degradation, environmentalism in Thailand not only reflect, but also acts upon, changing social and political relations at many levels. (Chusak, 1999) In northern Thailand, both highlands and lowlands, mainstream technocratic environmentalism has been practiced and politicized by the state via the Forestry Division. Justification of the state takeover has brought with it issues of serious conflict between highlanders and lowlanders. At present, the politics concerning environmental issues in Thailand is far from being a simple argument between those in favour of extremely green forest conservation and those in favour of sustainable usage and function of ecosystems. These arguments have initiated concerns among people's organizations and NGOs for the reform of the Thai Constitution and the construction/reconstruction of a multifaceted civil society, interpreted and acted upon by people's organization and NGOs.

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By using so-called 'environmentalism,' state policies on nature conservation influenced by western 'extremely green policy' and urban middle-class vision have intruded into the community's subsistence economy and its cultural space, particularly its traditional harmonious livelihood. Although rural environmental movements led by academics and NGOs have supported indigenous highland communities in their opposition of state policies, especially on conserved areas, i.e., national parks, wildlife sanctuaries, and watershed protection forests, the situation of 'resettled' ethnic communities such as the Doy Luang Lua community in Lampang and other ethnic communities, such as the Lisu, Mien (Yao), Lahu (Musor), and Akha, which have likewise been forced to relocate, is still unresolved.

Confronting the state take-over and intervention, most highland ethnic communities in northern Thailand have become the social space of power struggles over natural resources and ecological, political, and cultural domination. Community culture has been reconstructed to identify various forms of contestation between highland and lowland sectors at large. Re-invention of community-based forest management and a push for its recognition through the communal customary laws are, among other things, new trends in the indigenous communities² struggle for human rights, community rights, and land rights. In northern Thailand, according to Chusak Wittayapak (1999), these grassroots movements have currently widened to an indigenous peoples' movement struggling for citizenship rights and access to natural resources. These civic movements emerged in accordance with the new Thai constitution (1997) which protects community rights over natural resources and allows peoples' participation in resource management.

In a scheme which would affect 60 million people from ethnic communities in six Mekong valley nations, the Asian Development Bank has proposed to reduce the population of people in mountainous areas and bring them to lowland life (Lohmann, 1999). Probably due

to this international imported policy, half a million hill-dwellers have become scapegoats for deforestation in Thailand and have faced various kinds of resettlement threats for over a decade (ibid.). Although various international agencies and foreign environmental organizations have been providing instrumental encouragement, the situation has not improved so far, and is even worsening.

An interesting landmark case showing international support for highlanders' human rights and community rights in Thailand via the Internet illustrated indigenous peoples' resistance to state intervention. The case of Akha community at Ban Huay Mahk, Chiang Rai province, will be elaborated upon to show how the global agricultural system has affected a small, traditional Akha community in a remote area of northern Thailand. It will also show how international human rights supporters could assist Akhas in finding a way out of their dilemma. The non-literate Akha people's resistance against relocation, expressed through thumbprint-voting and international support from the Internet community, has been a challenge to the state's tolerance and political reform thereby creating a process of people's participation in Thailand, in accordance with Article 46 of the Thai constitution (1997).

Persons so assembling as to be a traditional community shall have the rights to conserve or restore their customs, local knowledge, arts or good culture of their community and of the nation and participate in the management, maintenance, preservation and exploitation of natural resources and the environment in a balanced fashion and persistently as provided by law

(Official English translation of the Thai Constitution by the Office of the Council of State [October1997]).

Akha Struggle for Community Rights: An Internet Network

Julia Trybe, an Australian woman, sent me an e-mail asking for help and campaigning for human rights for the Huay Mahk Akha of Chiang Rai who were being forced to relocate. On 27 January 2000, I met Julia and her partner Tony McDonald at Ban Huay Mahk, Mae Fa Luang district, Chiang Rai province. They had heard of this injustice through Matthew McDaniel, an American who created the Akha Foundation (Thailand) Home Page, and posted this news online. After personally verifying the truth of this allegation, the young couple met Matthew and launched an international Internet campaign from Mae Sai to help the Akhas. When the situation led to a confrontation between the Akhas and the state (forestry personnel and the military), the international human rights campaigners invited people to attend a vote validating Akhas' community rights, as it was very important to have Thai and international witnesses for this land-mark event.

The Akha villagers seemed very happy at this chance to exercise their choice, but when it was time to vote, the military authorities did not show up. However, the vote to confirm the Akha decision to maintain their rights to live in the present settlement was conducted and the majority of villagers including representatives of 35 households won the vote. Chinese-Lisu villagers under Taiwanese influence had become the minority with only 14 votes. Activists and journalists from abroad were impressed by the way the Akhas expressed their legal consciousness and belief in democracy by placing their thumbprint in front of the Chairman, with the community members and international visitors as witness. It was an open vote without any evident fear or reluctance.

It was also interesting to observe that during the open forum before the voting a Chinese-Lisu representative tried to convince the Akha villagers in Chinese that the Taiwanese authorities would be helpful in many ways, such as housing, jobs, funding, and schools, if they relocated to the new place. He was a schoolteacher teaching Chinese for years in this Akha community. However, his attempt was in vain, and the Chinese-Lisu were not able to influence the traditional Akhas who wanted to maintain their traditional way of life and subsistence economy. The Akha vote was unanimous. At the end of the voting process, the international Internet friends (one Australian, one British, two Americans, two Italians, and one Thai), who did not know each other before, willingly signed the document as witnesses to support the Akhas' decision. They were all very impressed with the courage of the Akha villagers who practiced communal democracy.

After the vote, Athu Pochear, Director of the Association of Akha Education and Culture, and Niwat Tami, Director of CONTO (a Lisu NGO), who came from Chiang Mai and were appointed by the military as Chair and witness of the meeting led all the international friends to investigate the new settlement site. After seeing the new site, Internet friends were happy at the Akha villagers' decision. They appreciated that the Akhas would have become cultivated slaves of the new global agricultural system if they had not been brave enough to stand firmly for their community rights. Everybody then went to meet the military and give them the results of the vote. Many arguments concerning the sustainability of the Akhas' way of life, their wisdom of forest conservation, including the King's vision of a people's subsistence economy, were raised against the idea of chasing highlands out of the forest which had been their traditional homeland for many generations. After a long discussion, luckily, the military authority declared an end to the mission. What will happen next? No one knows.

We had, to a certain degree, stopped the crisis, and won another case to preserve local community rights in Thailand. Thus concludes the sequence of events in the international Internet community which brought at least seven international human rights alliances to join this Akha landmark event on top of Doy Mae Salong in Chiang Rai and witness the Akha traditional vote for their community rights!

Lesson from the Akha Case

The case of the Akha forced relocation has an urgent message. Under the order of the Thai military, this resettlement was scheduled for 30 January 2000. The village elders were only informed about it at a meeting with the authorities in Hin Taek on 11 January 2000. All 189 residents in this 78-year-old village--one of the oldest surviving in Thailand--wanted to remain in their village. They had signed a petition which was posted online at HYPERLINK http://www.http:// www.akha.o1g/eviction.html. Thai military personnel said the village was being forced to move because they were cutting down trees and However, local NGO sources monitoring polluting the watershed. the area said there was no proof that this village was involved in deforestation or contamination of the water supply. Nevertheless. the military authorities continued to be adamant that relocation would be enforced at the end of the month against the villager's will. An unknown Taiwanese charity had recently donated money Huay Mahk via Thai authorities. The public purpose of this donation was to build new concrete housing and encourage conversation to a Chinese Christain religion. However, upon receiving the funds (and perhaps unknown to the original charity), Thai authorities informed the villagers that no new construction would occur in the original villagers and that all 189 residents must relocate to a new site. There may have been something else behind the smoke screen.

This 'new village' was rapidly constructed further down the mountain at 400 m. It comprised 31 concrete boxes with iron-barred windows and asbestos ceilings. The location was on a very steep hillside excavated in such a way that a landslide was imminent in the nest rainy season. It was reported that this new site resembled a

concentration camp and was a huge misappropriation of funds. The original Huay Mahk village, at 1,000 m, was remarkable in the way that it had independently developed sustainable agricultural ecosystems of self-sufficiency. It featured exemplary rice terracing, lychee, papaya, tea, and even coffee plantation, in additions to bountiful green vegetables, legumes, and ginger. There was no evidence of malnutrition, illegal activities, or drug abuse. Huay Mahk was an ideal case study of indigenous self-reliance and preservation (Julia Trybe, 1999, personal communication).

If the village were forced to move to the new site, it would be a certain move into poverty, disease, and social welfare disaster. The villagers would have to abandon all their land and homes in exchange for a house with no land to farm. Livestock would never survive as well at lower altitudes, nor would there be enough room for them. The protein and iron supply of the village would drastically diminish, causing general malnutrition. The inevitable move into a market economy would strip the Akha of all assets, and their tradition of self-sufficiency would be replaced by dependence.

The effects of forced assimilation in other Akha villages that were relocated has been well documented. Amphetamine trafficking, prostitution, missionary reliance, or daily wage labour were frequent in such 'successful' relocations. The people of Huay Mahk were threatened that non-compliance with the 30 January deadline would lead to a refusal by authorities to grant 'white cards' (Thai citizenship) to all villagers. This was despite the fact that most of them were born in Thailand and some had lived at Huay Mahk since 1920 (Julia Trybe, 1999, personal communication).

It is serious problem that Thailand, as a member of ASEAN, is party to such indigenous civil rights abuses. It is also alarming that this country is not protecting its human resources, which bring in so many tourist dollars, due to the attraction of trekking to visit some of the world's last surviving indigenous groups. The relocation of highlanders for various development projects, security, and assimilation policies, has been occurring in Southeast Asia for decades. Without identity or legal recognition, much of their plight goes unquestioned. However, Huay Mahk Akha village's fight against injustice, documented on video and the Internet, may set a precedent for future civil liberties campaigns of indigenous people.

It is a breakthrough for community rights that the Internet could bring the situation into the open, and expose this potential injustice to the international community. When the local Thai press was reluctant to expose the military, the Internet proved to be an invaluable tool. This village was geographically isolated and there were no official Akha human rights groups in the country for them to turn to. They had no legal recourse because they were neither recognized as citizens of Thailand nor as displaced persons. They were simply and discriminatingly referred to as hill-tribes (chao khao). However, in just three weeks of campaigning for the rights of this village via the Net, we witnessed history being rewritten.

Unfortunately, this injustice is not an isolated case, though it served to highlight the difficulties that environmentalists face in trusting a bureaucracy that is actively seeking to expel indigenous communities from protected areas for 'conservation' purpose. However, few would dispute that bio-diversity, ecology, recreation, watershed, spiritual and other such values that do not compete well in the market system need some special form of protection if they are to survive. Establishment of centralized protected area system is a means towards this goal, but it should not be mistaken as the goal itself. National parks and wildlife sanctuaries are not always successful in achieving these goals, nor should they be thought of as the only way to achieve conservation goals.

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PROTECTION AND PROMOTION OF THE CULTURE OF THE ETHNIC MINORITIES IN CHINA

Wu Jinguang and Wei Guoxiong

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It's great honor for me to have this opportunity to give a presentation at this seminar. The title of our paper is "Protection and Promotion of the Culture of the Ethnic Minorities in China." First of all, I would like to give you some background information on ethnic minorities in China.

China is a united multi-ethnic country with 56 ethnic groups. As the majority of the population in China is the Han people, accounting for 90 % of the total population, the other 55 ethnic groups are used to be called as "ethnic minorities." This term in Chinese implicates no meaning of any discrimination and indicates only the comparative quantitative dimension. The population of all the ethnic minorities together totals 106.43 millions which occupies 8.41 percent of the country's total population. The population of each ethnic group is quite differently from one to another.

Owing to the continuing mutual contacts for several thousands of years, the Chinese ethnic minorities today inhabit in concentrated communities in some areas, at the same time, they are intermingled with each other. Most of the ethnic minorities in China are living in border areas and also in the western part of the country.

It is natural that a multi-ethnic state should deal with its ethnic issues carefully and thoughtfully. In order to ensure equality, unity, mutual assistance and cooperation as well as common prosperity among all the ethnic groups and to achieve social progress and national

prosperity, the Chinese Government has formulated and implemented a series of policies towards ethnic minorities in the light of China's actual conditions,. They are the policies concerning the equality the ethnic groups, the policies concerning the unity among the ethnic groups, the policies concerning regional autonomy of ethnic minorities, the policies for developing the economy of the ethnic minorities, etc. The policies for protecting and promoting the culture of the ethnic groups are important parts of them. approximately 100 languages used by ethnic minorities in China. 53 ethnic groups in China have their own spoken languages and 24 of them have their own written forms, among which 12 languages been created after the founding of the People's Republic of have China.

The Chinese ethnic minorities have diverse and colorful culture and they have made great contributions to the development of science, technology and culture in China, apart from their great achievements in history and religion. Since the founding of the new China, the Chinese government has dedicated herself in protecting and promoting the culture of the ethnic minorities and has done a great deal for this matter. All these could be summarized in the following aspects:

1. To promote the ethnic culture of China in legislative way

In the long historical development, all the ethnic groups in China have formed their own culture with unique characteristics and diverse styles. Generally speaking, traditional and cultural resources of the ethnic groups are very rich, however, the cultures and education styles of some ethnic groups were rather backward at the end of 1940s when the People's Republic of China was founded. Since then the state has organized thousands of specialists, writers and artists to carry out research on social history, literature and art in regions of ethnic minorities in order to formulate reasonable policies

towards the ethnic culture.

Support and assistance to developing the culture of the ethnic groups is incorporated into the national legislation. Article 4 of the Constitution of the people's Republic of China stipulates "The state assists areas inhabited by ethnic minorities in accelerating their economical and cultural development according to the characteristics and needs from various ethnic groups". Article 119 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China stipulates that the regional authorities in the ethnic autonomous areas administer their cultural affairs independently, protect and sort out the cultural heritage of the ethnic groups and work for a vigorous development of their culture.

The law of the regional national autonomy of the People's Republic of China stipulates that the organs of an autonomous government "shall develop their own literature, art, the press, publishing, radio broadcasting, film industry, television and other cultural undertaking according to their own wishes", and "shall collect, sort out, translate and publish books of the ethnic groups and protect the scenic spots and historical sites, the precious cultural relics and their own important historical and cultural legacies in their areas".

2. Establishment of the cultural facilities and art ensembles for the ethnic groups

Since the 1950s, the Central Government has worked out measures to set up cultural and art ensembles for the ethnic groups, to establish and improve persistently cultural facilities in minority areas, to train artists from national minorities, and to help ethnic groups develop their own culture.

Up to 1999, there are 511 professional ensembles of ethnic art performance as well as more than 25 thousands all kinds of artists and staff members in various fields in the areas of regional autonomy of ethnic minorities.

There are approximately 8,000 libraries, museums, cultural centres and other institutions of cultural affairs for the ethnic groups. All these cultural institutions employ more than 16 thousands staff members.

Since 1992, the state has given a great funding for the program of "the Cultural Corridor along Border Areas" which shall further enhance cultural development in border areas where the ethnic minorities live in concentrated communities.

Ever since the year of 2000, Chinese Government has launched a great campaign of developing the west, which becomes one of the programs to promote the ethnic cultures in China.

The government at all levels set aside separate funds for investment cultural infrastructure construction and cultural enterprises in areas of ethnic minorities. Cultural stations have been set up at basic levels. Mobile cultural services, such as cultural buses, have been provided to pastoral areas. Various small art performance teams are existing in ethnic areas that have enriched the cultural life of the farmers and herdsmen.

The Central Government has increased constantly investment in radio broadcasting and television construction in the border areas of ethnic minorities so as to set up broadcasting stations and run radio and TV programs in ethnic languages.

The Central People's Broadcasting Station (China's national broadcasting station) as well as local broadcasting stations use 21 ethnic languages for its programs and run TV programs in multiple ethnic languages.

Institutions for film and TV-film interpretation and publication have been set up in the autonomous areas of ethnic groups. Films and TV-films have been interpreted in ethnic languages in order to enrich the cultural life of the ethnic people.

The state and local authorities set up training classes for ethnic minorities and help establishing art institutions in ethnic autonomous regions to train qualified personnel from ethnic minorities. The government holds, from time to time, folklore festivals of ethnic minorities, competitions of ethnic songs and dances and award activities of ethnic literature as well as film and TV-film works on the subject of ethnic minorities in order to promote their culture.

3. To protect and rescue the cultural relics of the ethnic groups

The state rescues actively cultural legacies of the ethnic groups and protects their precious traditional cultures with specific policies, measures, plans and funds. The state has worked out principles on cultural legacies of the ethnic groups that include "struggling for a full collection, giving priority to sorting out some treasure pieces, strengthening research and effective publicity". Manpower, funds and equipment have been provided to rescue ethnic cultural legacies. More than ten thousands categories of folk literature and art from ethnic groups have been gathered and sorted out. Ten bigger art collections, such as, "Collection of Chinese Folk Songs and Music", Collection of Chinese Folk Instrumental Music", "Collection of Chinese Folk Stories" and other collections of literature, music, dance, etc. from the ethnic groups have been listed by the state as priority items for scientific research and 310 volumes have been sorted out which are being published one by one. Traditional music instruments, traditional folk songs and dances of the ethnic groups have been carried forward and developed on the basis of conserving traditions.

The ethnic groups have very rich and splendid cultural relics and many historical sites are located in the ethnic minorities' areas. After the founding of the New China, the state has selected many of the cultural relics and historical sites as major sites to be protected or restored either as national or local monuments. According to the National Protection Law of Cultural Relics, the authorities in autonomous regions has formulated the specific regulations to protect their cultural relics and the organs concerned have also been set up. All traditional frescoes, sculptures and other forms of folk relics in ethnic regions have been properly protected.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The world is diverse and colorful, so are the ethnic cultures in the world. The state tried its best to protect and promote ethnic culture on the basis of the existing conditions in China. We have accumulated a wealth of both experiences and lessons. In order to improve and perfect our work, we would like to exchange our experiences with countries from all over the world. It is deserved to mention that the ethnic culture in china has been marching towards the international stages. The State Ethnic Affairs Commission of the People's Republic of China has arranged a great number of ensembles to take part in the international folklore festivals in Europe, America and Asia. We do hope that through this seminar the Chinese ethnic culture will be learned and understood by more people outside China.

There is on old saying in China, which goes like this "Seeing is believing". Ladies and Gentlemen, we sincerely hope that all of you can have an opportunity to visit China by yourself. I am sure you will be warmly welcomed by the Chinese people especially the warmhearted people of ethnic minorities in China, you may fully enjoy the unique ways of their traditional greetings. Welcome to China. Thank you all.



APPENDIX

Asia-Europe Seminar on Ethnic Cultures Promotion Project

Venue	Chiang Mai, Thailand		
Date	18-20 September 2001		
Project Description and Objectives	The existence of ethnic cultures in a society has invariably enriched the society through its unique identity, adding to the diversity of the culture of the host society. Due to this important role of an ethnic culture, national and regional governments, sometimes, civil organisations have exerted their efforts to preserve and promote various manifestations of ethnic cultures.		
	Many countries in Asia and Europe are blessed with abundance of ethnic cultures. By co-organising Asia-Europe Seminar on Ethnic Cultures Promotion, ASEF aims to:		
	 identify the current status of ethnic cultures in ASEM member countries to increase effectiveness in their efforts to preserve and promote ethnic cultures through exchanges of experiences build a network among specialists and representatives of institutions on ethnic cultures. provide opportunities for possible exchanges of ethnic cultures from the two regions, which are expected to add depth to the overall cultural exchange dimension of Asia and Europe. 		
	This seminar is organised with 4 workshop sessions based on the following topics: Concurrent Situation on Promotion of Ethnic Cultures Ethnic Cultures in Local Economy Protection and Development of Ethnic Cultures Promotion of International Exchange on Cultures of Ethnic Groups Target Group / Participants		
Target Group/ Participants	 Experts on ethnic cultures and officers from ASEM countries (2 to 3 persons per country) 70 participants are expected including 2 chairmen, 8 speakers, and 4-6 observers. UNESCO and Council of Europe representatives will be invited 		
Partners	National Education Commission, Thailand Vietnam Institute of Culture and Arts Studies (VICAS) Central Arts Council, Finland (European partner)		

PROGRAMME

Monday, 17 September 2001

- Arrival of delegates in Thailand

16:00 hrs. - Registration starts at the venue

19:00 hrs. - Dinner

- Informal Meeting of Chairmen, Speakers and Rapporteurs

Tuesday, 18 September 2001

09.00 - 09.30 hrs. - Welcome Remarks

♦ Ambassador Vitthya Vejjajiva ASEF Board of Governor, Thailand

❖ Mr. Kim Sung-Chul Deputy Executive Director, ASEF

- Group Photograph

09.30 - 10.00 hrs. - Coffee Break

10.00 - 10.15 hrs. - Introductory Remark

❖ Mr. Cai Rongsheng

Director, Cultural Exchange, ASEF

 $10.15 - 12.30 \text{ hrs.} - 1^{st} \text{ Plenary Session}$

Topic: Concurrent Situation on Promotion of

Ethnic Cultures

Chair: Dr. Pisit Charoenwongsa (Thailand)

Speakers: 1. Jesus T. Peralta, Ph.D. (Philippines)

"Documentation, Pieseivation and Promotion of Ethnic Cultures in the Philippines"

- Mr. Chupinit Kesmanee (Thailand)
 "The Promotion of Ethnic Culture in Thailand: A Case Study of Ethnic Highlanders"
- 3. Ms. Åsa Simma (Finland)

 "Concurrent Situation on Promotion of Ethnic Cultures in Finland"

Rapporteur: Ms. Naseem Khan (UK)

12.30 - 14.00 hrs. Lunch

14.00 - 15.00 hrs. 2^{nd} Plenary Session

Topic: Ethnic Cultures in Local Economy
Chair: Ms. Marja-Leena Pétas (Finland)
Speaker: Mr. Stéphane Martin (France)
"Ethnic Cultures and Minorities as
Cultural and Economical Asset"

Rapporteur: Dr. Chua Soo Pong (Singapore)

15.00 - 15.15 hrs. Coffee Break

15.15 - 17.00 hrs. Workshop Sessions (2 discussion groups)

Discussion Group I

Topic: Concurrent Situation on Promotion of Ethnic
Cultures

Chair: Dr. Pisit Charoenwongsa (Thailand)

Rapporteur: Ms. Naseem Khan (UK)

Discussion Group II

Topic: Ethnic Cultures in Local Economy
Chair: Ms. Marja-Leena Pétas (Finland)
Rapporteur: Dr. Chua Soo Pong (Singapore)

18.30 - 19.00 hrs. - Arrival of Guests

Wednesday, 19 September 2001

09.00 - 12.00 hrs. - 3rd Plenary Session

Topic: Protection and Development of Ethnic Cultures

Chair: Mr. Prakash Daswani (UK)

Speakers: 1. Dr. Luong Hong Quang (Vietnam)

"Protection and Development of
Ethnic Cultures Promotion in
Vietnam"

2. Doña Nuria Sanz Gallego (Council of Europe)

"The Current Work of the Council of Europe in the Framework of the Protection and Development of Cultural Pluralism: the Role of Heritage"

3. Associate Prof. Dr. Helmut Lukas (Austria)

"Can "They" save "Us", the Foragers? Indonesian and Thai Hunter-Gatherer Cultures under Threat trom Outside"

Rapporteur: Dr. Chua Soo Pong (Singapore)

12.00 - 12.30 hrs. - Orientation of ethnic cultures visit

12.30 - 14.00 hrs. - Lunch

14.00 - 15.00 hrs. - 4th Plenary Session

Topic: <u>Promotion of International Exchange on Cultures of Ethnic Groups</u>

Chair: Mrs. Savitri Suwansathit (Thailand)

Speaker: Professor Pan Guang (China)

"The Importance of Promoting Ethnic Cultures Exchange in Asia and Europe"

Rapporteur: Ms. Naseem Khan (UK)

15.00 - 15.15 hrs. Coffee Break

15.15 - 17.00 hrs. - Workshop Sessions (2 discussion groups)

Discussion Group I

Topic: Protection and Development of Ethnic Cultures

Chair: Ms. Irma - Liisa Perttunen (Finland)
Rapporteur: Dr. Chua Soo Pong (Singapore)

Discussion Group II

Topic: <u>Promotion of International Exchange on Cultures of Ethnic Groups</u>

Chair: Mrs. Savitri Suwansathit (Thailand) Rapporteur: Ms. Naseem Khan (UK)

19:00 hrs. - Dinner

Thursday, 20 September 2001

08.00 - 15.00 hrs. - Ethnic Cultures Visit to 4 routes

15.00 - 15.15 hrs. - Coffee Break

15.15 - 16.00 hrs. - Reflection of Ethnic Cultures Visit

By representatives of 4 routes

Chair: Dr. Pisit Charoenwongsa (Thailand)

16.00 - 17.30 hrs. - Reports by Workshop Rapporteurs
- Concluding Remarks

18.30 hrs.

- Farewell Dinner hosted by ASEF/ONEC Closing Remarks
 - Mr. Kim Sung-ChulDeputy Executive Director, ASEF
 - ❖ Dr. Rung Kaewdang Secretary-General, ONEC

Friday, 21 September 2001

Departure of delegates

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Topic: Concurrent Situation on Promotion of Ethnic Cultures
Tuesday 18 September 2001, 15.15-17.00 hrs.

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25.	Thailand	Ms. Vanit Malasri
26.	Thailand	Asst. Prof. Werawat Pinkhian

Asia-Europe Seminar on Ethnic Cultures Promotion <u>Discussion Group 2</u>

Topic: Ethnic Cultures in Local Economy Tuesday 18 September 2001, 15.15-17.00 hrs.

1.	Finland	Ms. Marja-Leena Pétas	Chair
2.	Singapore	Dr. Chua Soo Pong	Rapporteur
3.	ASEF	Mr. Cai Rongsheng	
4.	China	Prof Pan Guang	
5.	China	Mr. Wu Jinguang	
6.	France	Mr. Stéphane Martin	
7.	Indonesia	Mr. Soemarsono	
8.	Japan	Ms. Megumi Takimoto	
9.	Japan	Professor Kenji Tanaka	
10.	Korea	Dr. Suk Young Choi	
11.	Korea	Mr. Jinsoo Hwang	
12.	Malaysia	Yahya Bin Awang	
13.	Philippines	Prof Felipe de Leon, Jr.	
14.	Philippines	Prof. Bienvenido Balweg	
15.	Spain	Mrs. Pilar Romero de Tejada	
16.	Thailand	Mrs. Amporn Sornprasit	

17.	Thailand	Asst. Prof. Apinya Buasuang
18.	Thailand	Mrs. Aroonrut Wichiankeao
19.	Thailand	Asst. Prof. Dr. Charit Tingsabadh
20.	Thailand	Ms. Chareerat Seeprasert
21.	Thailand	Mrs. Jintana Madhyamapurush
22.	Thailand	Ms. Kulwadee Charoensri
23.	Thailand	Mrs. Patcharawalai WongBoonsin
24.	Thailand	Mr. Rooge Thammongkol
25.	Thailand	M.R. Rujaya Abhakorn
26.	Thailand	Mr. Samart Srichamnong
27.	Thailand	Mr. Satawat Sathitpiansiri
28.	Thailand	Mr. Sombat Boonkanyeung
29.	Thailand	Ms. Sudhasinee Vajrabul
30.	Thailand	Ms. Woraanong Netsupalak

Asia-Europe Seminar on Ethnic Cultures Promotion <u>Discussion Group 1</u>

Topic: Protection and Development of Ethnic Cultures Wednesday 19 September 2001, 15.15-17.00 hrs.

1.	Finland	Ms. Irma-Liisa Perttunen	Chair
2.	Singapore	Dr. Chua Soo Pong	Rapporteur
3.	China	Mr. Wei Guoxiong	
4.	Finland	Ms. Irma-Liisa Perttunen	
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13.	Thailand	Dr. Anucha Thirakanont	
14.	Thailand	Asst. Prof. Apinya Buasuang	
15.	Thailand	Mrs. Aroonrut Wichiankeao	
16.	Thailand	Prof. Dr. Cholthira Satyawadhna	a

27. Thailand

17.	Thailand	Ms. Chareerat Seeprasert
18.	Thailand	Mrs. Jintana Medhyamapurush
19.	Thailand	Dr. Kwanchewan Buadaeng
2 0.	Thailand	Mr. Samart Srijumnong
21.	Thailand	Mr. Satawat Sathitpiansiri
22.	Thailand	Mr. Sombat Boonkamyeung
23.	Thailand	Assoc. Prof. Dr. Somsak Srisantisuk
24.	Thailand	Dr. Suwilai Premsrirat
25.	Thailand	Ms. Wanit Malasri
26.	Thailand	Ms. Woraanong Netsupalak

Assoc. Prof. Yupha Klangsuwan

Asia-Europe Seminar on Ethnic Cultures Promotion

<u>Discussion_Group_2</u>

Topic: Promotion and Development of Ethnic Cultures Wednesday 19 September 2001, 15.15-17.00 hrs.

1.	Thailand	Mrs. Savitri Suwansathit G	Chair
2.	United Kingdom	Ms. Naseem Khan	Rapporteur
3.	ASEF	Mr. Cai Rongsheng	
4.	China	Prof. Pan Guang	
5.	China	Mr. Wu Jinguang	
6.	Finland	Ms Marja-Leena Pétas	
7.	France	Mrs Kuo Marie-Claire Quiqu	emelle
8.	France	Mr. Stéphane Martin	
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11.	Japan	Ms. Megumi Takimoto	
12.	Korea	Dr. Choi Suk Young	
13.	Korea	Mr. Hwang Jinsoo	
14.	Malaysia	Mr. Kamarul Baharin A. Kasi	m
15.	Malaysia	Mr. Shaari Mat Saod	
16.	Netherlands	Drs. Annelie Hendriks	

33. Thailand

18. Philippines Mr. Manuel B. Ompang	
19. Thailand Mrs. Amporn Sornprasit	
20. Thailand Asst. Prof. Dr. Charit Tingsabad	h
21. Thailand Ms. Darunee Thamapodol	
22. Thailand Ms. Kruamas Woodtikarn	
23. Thailand Ms. Kulwadee Charoensri	
24. Thailand Mrs. Nuanchan Chanmanee	
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32. Thailand Asst. Prof. Werawat Pinkhian	

Assoc .Prof. M.R. Wutilert Devakul

AREA INFORMATION

Khun Klang Village

Khun Klang village is a Hmong community situated at Moo 7, Baan Luang Sub District, Chomg Thong District Chiang Mai Province. There are approximately 126 households with a population of 1,030 persons. This community has lived in this area for over 100 years. The current village of Khun Klang was formally established and recognised by the Thai government in 1961.

In the past this community followed its cultural and ceremonies in a traditional manner, living sustainably and simply within the village. During this period occupation was centered around the growing of rice, corn and opium poppy and raising animals. Over the past 50 years this community has been under increased outside influences directly effecting their culture and way of life. This included the construction of an all season road to the village, the establishment of a permanent government school and new agricultural products, for example cabbages, fruit trees, tomato and winter flower. This new agricultural products were introduced as cash crops, a significant move away from past practices of sustainable agriculture. Today, very few traditional agricultural products are seen, as more and more families follow the new system.

In 1987 the community leaders became increasingly concerned with the problem of changing agricultural systems and the reduction of traditional crops. It was recognised that it was important to maintain and preserve their traditional culture and agricultural crops. This problem affected all groups in the community women, children and youth groups. Resulting from this the community leaders began specific cultural activities and activities to pass on cultural traditions to the younger generations, for example the teaching of Hmong

musical instruments "Khaen" a musical mouth organ played both for entertainment and ceremonies, traditional cultural ceremonies and the construction of a Cultural Centre in the community. This provides the basis for future cultural strengthening activities promoting traditional knowledge transfer. Along with this has grown the idea of developing local educational curricular for the communities children, the establishment of a Hmong Museum and a traditional medicine garden.

Community Leaders: Past to Present

- 1. Mr. Jusa Sae Yang
- 2. Mr. Jiabou Sae Wa
- 3. Mr. Laoleu Sae Yang
- 4. Mr. Yonghua Sae Wa
- 5. Mr. Jia Sae Yang
- 6. Mr. Jongrak Thertpraiphanawan
- 7. Mr. Kai Sae Wa
- 8. Mr. Kert Phanakamnert
- 9. Mr. Thong Sae Lee (present community leader)

From Chiang Mai city Khun Klang village is approximately 100km to the south, and is 1,800 meters above sea level. The community practices both Christianity and traditional ancestor religion. Around the village there is 5,000 rai (Thai unit of measurement), the community is situated on approximately 500 rai. Agricultural land is approximately 1,500 rai. The development projects and organisations involved in this area include the following:

- 1. Royal Project
- 2. National Park and Wildlife Department
- 3. School
- 4. Watershed Management Project
- 5. Road and Transport Department
- 6. Occupation Extension Project

Current Situation

The village is situated in a National Park. Therefore they have no land rights and no food security. This limits the amount of land they are permitted to use for agriculture. As a result of the reduced land the community has been forced to find other income generating occupations. It has been witnessed that over the past few years the problem of drug addiction has enter the village. From the above problems traditional culture has been less observed and a serious generation gap is developing between the old and the new generations.

Mae Sa Mai Village

Mae Sa Mai village is Hmong village situated at Moo 6, Pong Yen Sub-District, Mae Rim District, Chiang Mai Province. Elevation is about 1,000 meter. It is far from Chiang Mai about 40 kilometers. Mae Sa Mai village was originally called Pang Kamu village, which located two kilometers away from the current place of Mae Sa Mai village. Villagers moved from Pang Kamu village long time ago. Mae Sa Mai village was officially established in 1962. At that time, there were 70 households. Population was approximately 300 people. Currently, there are 1750 people with 205 households.

In the past, Mae Sa Mai village was rich in natural resources such as forest and wild animals. As population in the village increased, and lowland people came up to the mountainous area for resources, the number of wild animal was decreased. At that time, people in the village had self- sufficient way of life. They respected the elders and their environment. During past forty years, as a culture of lowland climbed up to mountain, people's lives have also changed. The new way of life affected to every aspect of livelihood in the village. New kinds of problem such as drugs, AIDS and economy have increasingly become serious.

Village headman organized a meeting to solve these problems. Villagers establish village committee, womens group and village youth group which aimed to revive and protect Hmongs cultural heritages and work in natural resource management.

Land use

Forest area in the village 5,000 rai Residential area 150 rai Agricultural area 2,000 rai

Occupation of Villagers Lynchee orchide Handicraft making and selling Wage worker

Formal Institutions and Organizations in the Village
Loyal Project
Upland Project
Watershed Protection Project
Queen Sirikit Botanic Garden
School
Temple
IMPECT Association

Current Situation

Problems of the village are poverty and drug addiction. One of the causes of poverty is the limitation of land for agricultural use. It is very difficult to develop and enlarge the agricultural land. As the society changes, they are losing the Hmong culture. Young generations are eager to go out for education and work. There is a great generation gap in the village.

Nong Tao Village

Nong Tao village is a Karen village situated at Moo 4, Mae Win Sub-District, Mae Wang District, Chiang Mai Province. It is 80 km far from Chiang Mai city. Population is 535 people with 106 households. Villagers work in cultivation of rice, fruit trees as well as wage labor.

There is an official village headman, whose role is under the government system. Official leader has two assistants. They support the village issue in the formal dimensions. Additionally, there is an informal village leader who is elderly in the village. An informal leader is a respected person who knows their culture very well. There are several kinds of local organizations in the village, such as womens group, youth group, savings group, and rice bank. Each group, recently, began to be well organized and have good cooperation.

Nong Tao village clearly classify the forest into four categories: the conserving forest, use forest, sacred forest and community forest. Community groups work to conserve Rung Namwang watershed highland area. They have wild animals in the forests such as wild pigs, wild chickens, and barking deer. The number of wild animals is increasing, because villagers do not catch them for the protection purpose.

There are many local doctors. One group is an herbal medicinal doctor. Other group is a midwife. There is a group of artists who can play a knife dance, Karen's traditional dance. Elder women teach younger generations making handicrafts at home as well as at school. The elders teach children the philosophy of Karen's resource management, religion and cultural tradition. For example, they teach knowledge on medicinal herb, mushroom, and sustainable use of forest resources. It is a part of local curriculum.

Formal Institutions or Organizations in the village

Temple

Health Care Center

School

IMPECT

Village Activities

- 1. Resource management (mixture of the new and traditional system)
- 2. Against Drug Campaign
- 3. Local Curriculum and teaching system both in school and village

Current Situation

Nong Tao village has problems of poverty and drug addition. Because agricultural land is limited, it is difficult for villagers to increase products according to the increasing need of money.

Mae Lankam Village

Mae Lankam village is Karen village situated at Moo 6, Sameongtai Sub District, Sameong District, Chiang Mai Province. The village was Lua village in the past. Karen people moved in the place more than 200 years ago. It was absolutely isolated from outside, however the village is opened to outside moderately.

Currently, there are two kinds of village headman. One is official headman who work with government, while the other is an elderly in the village who knows tradition well.

Mae Lankam village is a member of Mae Khang Highland Watershed Resource Management Network which has 21 villages. This network has utilized local wisdom and knowledge in the development of resource management. At present, they have clear notion of resource management, such as soil, forest, and water utilization. They think that the cooperation among villages in the same watershed is important

for the effective implementation. They have fire break and forest ceremony every year.

Formal Institutions or Organizations in the village Temple School

Current Situation

Their occupation is cultivation of rice, garden herb and vegetables, rotational farming of rice and crop, and rearing animals. In addition, they collect bee honey from the forests. There are women's group, housewife group and youth group. They cooperatively work with the network in a number of aspects such as agriculture, resource management and cultural activities. They understand that they live with environment in their traditional life style.

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Mrs. Srinoi Povatong	Advisor
Dr. Pisit Charoenwongsa	Chairman
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2. Academic committee:

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Ms. Darunee Thamapodol	Member
Mrs. Yuthika Isarangkura	Member
Mr. Panthep Larpkesorn	Member

ACTIVITIES OF THE SEMINAR



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18-21 September, 2001 Chiang Mai, Thailand



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