"NICE VIEW UP THERE": DISCORDANT VISIONS AND UNEQUAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE MOUNTAINS AND THE LOWLANDS

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ABSTRACT

Since the first MMSEA meeting in Chiang Mai in 1995, participants in this informal network have consistently highlighted the richness and diversity of mountain ecosystems, agroecosystems, and cultural systems. They have dedicated their work to the premise that the health and vitality of mountain systems is vital to sustainable development, not only in the mountains but also in the lowlands and plains. This presentation examines some of the forces acting on mountain people and their environments which appear to operate consistently in favour of the lowlands. It notes that the uplands tend to be the object of study as the location of problems (poverty, environmental degradation, low productivity), or as the source of important resources (water, energy, timber), and that pathways to the future require solutions to those problems. Without minimizing the physical challenges posed by mountain environments, this presentation proposes that addressing upland-lowland interactions from the viewpoint of mountain people—whose voices are increasingly audible through regional and international institutions and fora—is the necessary first step to a reordering of priorities and trajectories to the future. Shifting the outlook from the lowlands to the uplands would be facilitated by a greater engagement on the part of researchers and development workers with reconstructing local histories, understanding, respecting and revitalizing coping strategies for addressing insecurity, and designing mechanisms to reverse inequitable power relations and patterns of asset flows between the uplands and lowlands.

INTRODUCTION

A quick and unsystematic visit to four web pages in the World Wide Web (see Appendix) confirms the many functions of mountain ecosystems, even if some of the sites I have selected might not represent functions that immediately come to mind to a group of scholars studying mountain environments, people, and communities. While this session of the MMSEA Conference is directing its attention to the "multifunctionality" of mountain ecosystems, I would like to consider how the multiple functions of mountain ecosystems are not only one of their defining characteristics but are also a function of a consistent historical pattern of unequal relations between the uplands and lowlands.

Returning to the four webpages, it is noticeable that the frame of reference for each one of them is a lowland perspective: military waste accumulating in a remote mountain valley in the course of a confrontation between two powers firmly located in lowland capitals in New Delhi and Islamabad (A); the transformation of mountain climbing into a spectator sport—practiced in an indoor stadium in a lowland city (B); a spiritual retreat in the mountains far from the clamour of the (lowland) cities (C); the Saintpaulia violet from East African mountains that has become a fixture in (mostly lowland) urban living rooms and apartments all over the world (D).

The intent here is not to stop lowland people from appreciating and embracing the many qualities and functions of mountain ecosystems, but to reflect on the forces that have shaped diverse mountain landscapes and cultures and on the discordant histories and visions of the future which are associated with the unequal relations between the lowlands and the uplands.

In this International Year of the Mountain (IYM), it should unnecessary to catalogue the most important of the multiple functions of mountain ecosystems. The preamble to Chapter 13 of Agenda 21 as approved at the 1992 UN Conference on Sustainable Development in Rio de Janeiro is a succinct statement of the importance of mountain ecosystems as well as a warning about the threats they face:

> 13.1. Mountains are an important source of water, energy and biological diversity. Furthermore, they are a source of such key resources as minerals, forest products and agricultural products and of recreation. As a major ecosystem representing the complex and interrelated ecology of our planet, mountain environments are essential to the survival of the global ecosystem. Mountain ecosystems are, however, rapidly changing. They are susceptible to accelerated soil erosion, landslides and rapid loss of habitat and genetic diversity. On the human side, there is widespread poverty among mountain inhabitants and loss of indigenous knowledge.

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> As a result, most global mountain areas are experiencing environmental degradation. Hence, the proper management of mountain resources and socio-economic development of the people deserves immediate action. [United Nations 1999]

Chapter 13 recognizes that poverty is acute among the inhabitants of the world's mountain regions and that "proper management of mountain resources" must occur together with the "socioeconomic development of the people." It is yet disconcerting to see that the functions for which mountain ecosystems are valued, even in this document, are those which primarily benefit lowland people.

Before probing into the concept of "multifunctionality," I would like to examine three functions of mountains from the perspective of upland-lowland relations and perceptions of the "problems" faced by mountain ecosystems and people: mountain ecosystems as a place of recreation and tourism, the diversity of agroecosystems in mountain regions, and mountains as contested terrain or battlegrounds.

To begin with recreational tourism. While sacred mountains and sites of spiritual importance have long attracted pilgrims, the history of recreational tourism in the mountains is much shorter. It is only in the course of the last ten to fifteen years that parks such as Yulong Xueshan here in Lijiang or the Great Himalayas National Park in India have attracted significant numbers of domestic visitors seeking out the unique scenery and atmosphere of these places of natural beauty. All over the world, especially in less developed countries, the role of tourism in development and in the alleviation of poverty has been a hotly debated issue for several decades. At the very least, it would be fair to say that it is not immediately apparent that the "host" communities receive an equitable portion of the benefits of tourism or that these benefits outweigh the social disruption which often accompanies a rapid increase in numbers of visitors.

This meeting is considering the significance of cultural and biological diversity in montane mainland Southeast Asia (MMSEA). A brief review of almost any travel brochure advertising tours in the region shows that the very biological and cultural diversity of the MMSEA (or of almost any mountain area around the world) has become one of the attractions of the region. What is disturbing, however, is that the region's cultural diversity is generally reduced for lowland visitors to a quaint and exotic amalgam of colourful costumes and exoticised and misunderstood customs. This distorted construction of upland cultures is particularly glaring, for example, in the case of the salacious depictions in much of the tourist literature of Mosuo matrilineal society at Lugu Hu in Yunnan with its intense focus on inaccurate and voyeuristic representations of sexual customs. The view of the highlands from the lowlands devalues highland cultures while at the same time exploiting cultural diversity to attract ever larger numbers of clients (who come mostly from the lowlands). Mountain ecosystems are increasingly being used as a venue for recreational tourism, but there is still little evidence that the growth of tourism (including ecotourism with its claims to higher standards of respect for cultural difference and minimal impact on the environment) has offered new opportunities for upland communities to take control of their future, revitalise their cultural heritage, and emerge from a subordinate position vis-à-vis the lowlands.

There is an extensive literature on the characteristics of agricultural systems in mountain areas. International institutions such as CIP and ICIMOD devote much of their research and extension effort to the sustainable improvement of mountain agriculture. There are encouraging efforts around the world to take advantage of mountain ecologies to produce and process specialized or "niche" products for sale in lowland markets. In Europe, some mountain areas have taken advantage of *apellation controlée* protection to add value in the marketing of local cheese and other dairy products. In Himachal Pradesh in India, a particularly successful women's co-operative has built a thriving enterprise from the production of pickles using non-timber forest products such as ferns and wild fruit.

At the same time as some mountain communities have been learning to draw on their ecological and cultural setting to enter and compete in lowland markets, evidence continues of a determination on the part of many states to reshape mountain landscapes in the image of the lowlands. In 1995, during the first MMSEA meeting in Chiang Mai, Terry Rambo introduced the concept of *composite swidden* to describe mixed swidden and settled agricultural systems which are found all over the region. Research and analysis of these systems is shedding light on their dynamics, their resilience and capacity to adapt to change. Nevertheless, the immediate response of national and local government agencies to concerns about the loss of forest cover and environmental degradation is to impose or to enforce further bans and restrictions on upland cultivators—while often continuing actively to support commercial timber harvesting and land clearance for large plantations of commercial crops such as tea, coffee, rubber or tropical fruit. Only rarely are such plantations owned and managed by upland people. The image of "appropriate" or "sustainable" land use looks quite different when viewed through lowland and upland eyes respectively.

The third point for reflection is a paradoxical one. The conventional narrative describing mountain environments is that they are marginal areas, remote and of little consequence to central governments located in the distant lowlands. A recent paper discussing the importance of diversity in mountain areas, however, reports that "In 1993, of 34 major armed conflicts taking place in 28 countries, 22 took place primarily in mountains, and another 8 included

such areas" (Denniston 2000). Marginal and remote parts of the world appear to be the stage for most of the world's most violent and intractable conflicts. The paradox here is that states appear to place a high value on the resources located in the mountains while being willing to sacrifice their people and environments to the battlefield.

THE DYNAMICS SHAPING "MULTIFUNCTIONALITY" OF MOUNTAIN ECOSYSTEMS

The first step in probing the dynamics of multifunctionality in mountain ecosystems is to place the multiple functions of mountain ecosystems and the people who live in them in their broader, regional settings. Despite the conventional narrative of "marginal societies," it has long been recognised that mountains are not closed, autarkic ecological, social and economic systems. On the contrary, a dense web of exchange links them to the lowlands. The popular international representation of the MMSEA region as the "Golden Triangle" with its associated imagery of clandestine trade, exotic costumed "hill people," militaristic fiefdoms run by local warlords, and potential licit and illicit wealth from resources such as timber and mining confirms that geographical remoteness in no way insulates mountain environments and people from the ways of the world.

Mountains represent pathways for migration and trade as much as they represent barriers between geographical regions. Demographic studies of the European Alps show that migration into and out of the mountains has shaped land use patterns and social relations since the upper Alpine valleys were first settled (Viazzo 1989). In the MMSEA region, scholars are only now beginning to unravel the complex history of settlement, and onward migration which is often recorded as a central feature of the oral histories of groups such as the Yao or the Akha/Hani, and to map it onto the history of the extension of lowland polities and state power into the uplands (Coward 2002; Harrell 1995; Laungaramsri 2001; Tapp 1989). The post-Liberation history of an area such as Xishuangbanna/Sipsongbanna in Yunnan shows how migration into and out of mountain areas has been shaped by factors such as strategic national priorities (rubber plantations), political movements centred on lowland urban areas (sending educated youth to mountain rural areas during the Cultural Revolution), and new economic opportunities (mining, cross-border trade). It is likely that continuing research will confirm both the density and the complexity of upland-lowland linkages in the history of settlement and of migration in the region.

Livelihood systems in mountain communities are rarely totally self-sufficient but depend on exchanging and trading products from different elevations and niches within one farming system or between different production systems at different elevations. The annual calendar of activities prepared by farmers in a mountain village in Fugong County, Yunnan Province, shows the importance to villagers' livelihoods of activities and resources from elevations as low as 1,800 metres to elevations as high as 3,000 metres or more (fig. 1). In many parts of the world, a comparable calendar would have to include income derived from selling labour in the lowlands, a phenomenon with a long history which is becoming more rather than less common. In the Changra Valley of India's Himachal Pradesh state, male outmigration is so widespread that the majority of women are now the de facto heads of households in spite of a traditional patriarchal social structure (Berry 2002:1). One participant in a Mountain Forum electronic conference noted that "Mountain people rely on the whole landscape for their livelihoods" and that the multifunctionality of mountain land-use systems derives from the diversity of the system as well as from the way in which benefits from the system are enjoyed by a range of different people in the mountains and further afield (Butt and Price 2000:51).

While there is rich evidence of exchanges of people, ideas, and materials between the uplands and the lowlands, there is also ample evidence that exchange has not taken place on the basis of equal relations and that diverse multifunctional mountain landscapes are as much the outcome of upland-lowland relations as they are of the natural endowments of mountain ecosystems.

With the possible exception of the Pre-Columbian Andean cultures, the political economy of mountain regions tends to be dominated by lowland political entities. Uplands have been and still are a source of raw materials for the lowlands—minerals, timber, labour and energy being among the most valuable. Economic centres of power usually coincide with political centres of power situated in the lowlands.[1] These lowland centres in turn, have long been the locus of production of the dominant cultural norms and conventional knowledge which have framed the extension of state authority to the uplands, most visibly in the last thirty years or so in the form of national projects of modernisation and development. Walter Coward describes the dynamics of this pattern in the Tai areas[2] of MMSEA:

> Historically, valley-based polities have long played an important role in organizing the social and economic relationships among the valley inhabitants and the people living in the surrounding upland and mountainous areas. Tai speakers called such polities muang or used a cognate word. [Coward 2002:3]

The disjuncture between lowland and upland norms and systems of knowledge is often at the heart of the litany of failed development programs in mountain areas. To give just one sad, local example, I will quickly summarise the local history of a village near Yongning, on the shores of Lugu Lake on the borders of northern Yunnan and Sichuan

Lunar Month / Type of Land	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Home-garden and in the home	Plant vegetables House repairs Collect grass for animal bedding	Feed pigs and livestock (done by women and children)					Not enough food: carry subsidized rice up from Fugong (in baskets)	Short of cash: earn money by doing odd jobs (in village and in Fugong)				
Rainfed land (*di*)	Weeding Plant potatoes	Hoeing		Plant maize Men: plough Women: spread fertilizer	Weeding and hoe earth into mounds around potatoes (a)	Clear around maize stalks (discourages rats). Keep weeding and hoeing further uphill.	Dig up potatoes from upper field (only a few days work at a time)		Harvest maize (stored by the fields) (b)	Carry maize home Plant rapeseed		Plant potatoes
Paddy fields (*tian*)		Hoeing Repair irrigation channels		Prepare the rice seedlings (when the rain starts) Men: plough Women: apply fertilizer	Transplant rice seedings Women: do the planting Men: manage water flows with children	Maintenance (*yang tian*) Mostly weeding)				Harvest rice Threshing on bamboo mats in the fields (c)	Plant rape-seed/potatoes (see note [d] for decision rules about winter crops)	
Freehold mountain (*ziliu shan*)		Cut firewood and carry it home (everyone in the family participates)										
Collective mountain (*jiti shan*)		Plant *huanglian* in the forest (e)								Harvest tung oil		
"Other Land"	Children herd cattle in the mountains					Children herd cattle in the mountains						

Figure 1. **Annual calendar of work for Zhuming Lin Village, Fugong County, Yunnan Province**

provinces. This summary is drawn from a brief oral history of "development" in the village as told to me by an elderly man in November 1992:[3]

- When I was about twelve years old, there were a lot of fish in the lake and we wove cloth for our clothing from hemp.
- During the 1940s, this area was mostly forested. The village chiefs prohibited cutting trees. There were so many tigers that we had to blow horns to frighten them away when we went into the forest.
- In the 1950s we began to open up some fields for agriculture along the lake.
- In the 1960s the Government set up a fish processing factory. The army came and used hand grenades to get fish out of the water. Then they tried to introduce fingerlings into the lake to increase the numbers of fish again, but they put in the wrong species and the new fish ate all the eggs of the native fish.
- Later on, the Sichuan government built a small hydropower dam where the river comes out of the lake and no more fingerlings could come into the lake. So now we hardly have any fish.
- In the late 1960s and into the 1970s the provincial Forest Industry Department came and harvested nearly all the trees around the lake. It was officially organised and people were brought in from Sichuan and Yunnan to harvest. Sometimes they used explosives to clear the roads.
- In 1983, during the agricultural reforms, we were allocated land including Freehold land. But now we need permits to cut any wood. Later on, that land was put into the Conservation Area and now we are not allowed to cut anything.

It is important to recognize that the dominance of lowland political entities, norms and cultural values does not imply that upland societies have simply submitted passively to more powerful outside forces. Unless forced to do otherwise, upland and mountain people make choices and have always made choices, for example, in land use to take advantage of the opportunities and constraints they face. A recent study of Lake Titicaca in the Peruvian and Bolivian Andes traces how lakeside communities have adapted to changing political and economic circumstances in the course of the last sixty to seventy years. During the 1970s, markets for cattle increased with growing prosperity in Peru. Improved transport made it possible to bring cattle to the lake from high elevation Altiplano areas for fattening using the *totora* reed which lakeside communities have managed for centuries. But cattle from other areas were not used to eating *totora* and had to be taught how. Furthermore, increased demand for *totora* also led to disputes and accusations of theft within and between communities. In response, communities developed new rules for the timing and scheduling of the harvest of *totora* beds to make it easier to monitor access and utilisation of the resource (Orlove 2002:188–9). The successful local adaptation of a traditional management regime to take advantage of new economic opportunity contrasts sharply with the failure of state-sponsored management regimes imposed on the same people in the same area when a trout fishery was introduced to the lake and, later, when an area of the lake was designated as a conservation area (Orlove 2002:173–208).

It could be argued that the very remoteness and inaccessibility of mountain environments, often judged to be a factor in their 'backwardness', is in fact a condition which provides upland people more space to negotiate their relations with lowland polities than usually enjoyed by other 'subaltern' groups in the lowlands. Within these multiple patterns of exchange and control, upland people have drawn on the diversity of mountain ecologies, generating the multi-functional landscapes discussed in the workshop. Ongoing research in the MMSEA region is demonstrating these complex dynamics at play over the last century,[4] and a growing body of work is tracing the role of similar forces at different times and in different places, as in the rapid introduction and spread of the potato in the European Alps (Viazzo 1989:182–186) for example, or in the importance of timber production by minority people in south-central China from the sixteenth century to the present (Menzies 1988).

RETHINKING THE 'PROBLEM' OF MOUNTAIN DEVELOPMENT

The "problem" of mountain development is often articulated in terms of lowland concerns. In the popular imagination, and despite evidence to the contrary, flooding in the Gangetic plains and Bengal continues to be blamed on deforestation in the Himalayas (Fleury 2000; Ives and Messerli 1989). Over the last ten years, several countries including China and Thailand have banned logging, although there is considerable doubt that the bans have had much impact in reducing flooding.[5] As a contributor to a recent electronic conference on mountain forests put it, even the value of biodiversity in mountain ecosystems is "attributable to their global significance, while individuals' private values derive mainly from the local situation" (Butt and Price 2000:28). At the same time, mountain communities remain among the poorest in the world as the greater part of benefits derived from the exploitation of mountain resources continue to flow down to lowland economic and political centres with little or no reinvestment in local, upland priorities. If the future is to be equitable and sustainable, it will be necessary to shift to a strategy building on the particular multifunctionalities of mountain areas and to give more opportunities to upland people to chart their own future in response to change, rather than to design development from the lowlands.

The first step in designing and implementing a mountain strategy would be to shift from viewing the world 'from the bottom of the mountains' and to turn the telescope the other way around to look at the view from the top. Turning the telescope the other way requires certain shifts in conceptual frameworks and methodologies in order to hear directly from mountain people themselves about their concerns and priorities and about their vision of the future.

Many participants in this meeting have already played prominent roles in efforts to turn the telescope around by developing and testing methodologies which give expression to the voices of mountain people, by carrying out research which is uncovering local histories of the mountains, and by participating in or supporting fora through which the voices of mountain communities are beginning to be heard nationally, regionally, and globally. Before concluding this presentation, I would like to describe a few examples of such efforts to demonstrate ways in which the view from the mountains might differ from the view from the view from the lowlands.

In 1993, a number of individuals and institutions in Yunnan Province initiated a project focused on the health of rural women. Participants—several of whom attended this conference—believed that existing programs under the provincial government were not addressing issues of central concern to women. The project distributed simple cameras to women in a number of villages representing different ethnic groups in different geographical regions of the province and asked them to take pictures of things that were important to them and their families (Yunnan Women's Federation 1995). With the assistance of facilitators who discussed the photographs with the women, the project developed a presentation for public health authorities which showed that the women's health priorities and concerns were significantly different from the priorities which shaped the provincial public health agenda. While the public health system placed great emphasis, for example, on the prevention and treatment of infectious diseases, the women and their photographs consistently highlighted physical injuries and conditions which were usually the result of the hard labour which is the daily routine of rural women.

More recently, the Nature Conservancy has adopted a similar methodology to learn from local communities living in and around conservation areas in southwestern Yunnan about their concerns regarding the environment, conservation, and their livelihoods. We have the privilege at this conference of being able to see an exhibition of some of the photographs from this PhotoVoice project together with the explanatory words of the photographers. One of the important lessons that I have learned from the PhotoVoice project is that people are concerned that poverty prevents many children from attending school—while at the same time, many government officials talk about the difficulties of implementing development programs in mountain and ethnic minority areas because of what they call "the low quality" of people from these communities. Education is a priority for local people, but not apparently in the allocation of development funds in mountain areas. Photographs of lakes and fishes with the accompanying text also make it clear that local people are very aware of "scientific" matters concerning fish breeding, such as the importance of adequate water levels and temperatures, breeding and hatching seasons. An observer is forced to confront the question of why "scientific" water management should ignore the science of fisheries management in order to supply water to a city at the bottom of the valley at the foot of the mountains at the expense of the livelihoods of people living around the reservoir.

A similar project to gather oral testimonies from mountain communities has been carried out in ten countries around the world by the PANOS institute, based in London. To ensure that the words of mountain communities reach the widest possible audience, the Mountain Voices project is published in a printed summary on the internet (PANOS Institute), and in some of the countries involved in the project, printed publications have been produced, often in local languages. In these testimonies, voices from places as different as Lesotho, Nepal and Peru question the conventional assumption that mountain environments are being degraded by unsustainable use. A Sabaot woman from Mt. Elgon in Kenya asks who is really harming the environment: "...if one goes to our forest, the Sabaot are not mining timber, but outsiders are doing it and going away with the timber."[6]

All over the world, mountain communities are asking why compensation for mining or for transfers of water to the lowlands is so small in comparison to the harm and the losses inflicted on their communities:

> Well, right back before Volcan began to work [here], they took land from our community for their mining camps. They told us in an agreement that they'd do something for the village as compensation. They signed a document but the company hasn't fulfilled its promise. They took the land that they wanted, claiming that it had already been acquired by the Ministry of Energy and Mines, that this land belonged to the government and that we had nothing to do with it—that's what they said. Well, we had the titles for it and some time later we got it back.[7]

In an ironic inversion of the theme of this presentation, many of these mountain voices have observed the transformation of their environment from multifunctional landscapes to a single, extractive use—mining, water development, timber harvesting—serving mainly lowland interests:

> Here in Pampa we used to produce sugar cane, there were vegetables, fruits, bananas, oranges, papaya,

> yucca, sweet potatoes. [And now?] Well, Centromin produces refined copper … We're just here, with the copper dust that's ruining our land ... none of this area produces anything now… we can't produce maize any more ...[8]

It may be argued that projects such as PhotoVoices and Mountain Voices offer channels for the expression of the concerns and aspirations of mountain communities but that they are vertically oriented and do not forge horizontal links between mountain communities in different regions and continents. Again, many participants in this meeting which is focused on Southeast Asia are actively engaged in building networks which are beginning to forge these critical horizontal links. The International NGO Consultation on the Mountain Agenda convened in Lima in 1995 was an important first step in bringing the voices of mountain communities to bear in international debates on the implementation of an international agreement—Chapter 13, the mountain chapter of Agenda 21 (United Nations 1999). Despite the constraint of uneven access to electronic communications, the Mountain Forum network coordinated by the Mountain Institute is also emerging as an important platform for individuals and representatives of mountain communities to articulate their vision of a sustainable and prosperous future.[9] Slowly, it seems, the telescope is being turned around, and an outline of the future as viewed from the top of the mountain is beginning to take shape.

CONCLUSION

Before stepping aside to make way for discussion on the topic of this panel, I would like to propose an agenda for research and action which builds on these observations about the multifunctionality of mountain ecosystems and begins to view the world from the top of the mountain. The agenda would have four main elements:

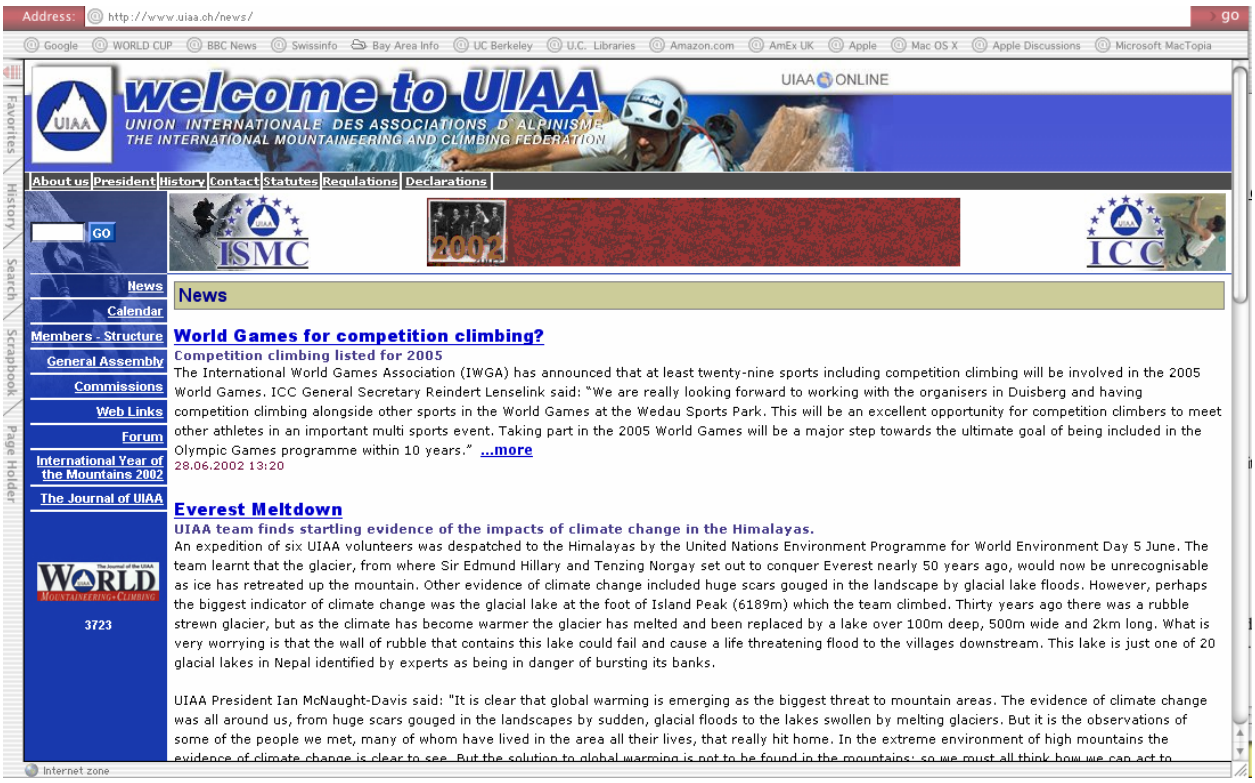
1. Support and strengthen emerging fora in which mountain communities are making their voices heard, such as the 1995 NGO consultation in Lima and the Mountain Forum network.
2. Continue efforts to redirect the economic flows with "reinvestment mechanisms" so that uplands receive some benefits from the diverse products and multiple functions they provide for the lowlands.[10] It will also be necessary to engage in creative efforts to design local financial institutions such as village banks or trust funds through which such income might translate into effective mechanisms for sustainable improvement in the livelihoods of mountain people.
3. Researchers—who still tend to be lowlanders—should continue to make efforts to learn and record local histories, to document local knowledge, and to make their research available to facilitate communicating upland aspirations and concerns to lowland centres of power. The Indian intellectual tradition of 'Subaltern Studies' shows the value of careful analysis of the linkages between marginal people or places and larger economic and political structures.
4. Respect and value the existing diversity of mountain products, people and knowledge without either devaluing it as picturesque (or "alternative" which might suggest that it is of secondary importance) or trying to fit it into lowland constructs (by trying, for example, to force changes in crops and land use systems). It is important to remember that cultural diversity is more than just a colourful mix of costumes, languages and song. Underlying diversity are difficult issues of inequity, access to resources, and access to power.

The principles embodied in an agenda of this kind could contribute to shaping a future in which mountain communities are recognised as those best qualified to determine and to shape the potential of their landscapes. Mountain communities would be informed and respected partners in exchanges along a physical gradient which will always exist, but which could become a mutually beneficial conduit for products, people, knowledge and wisdom rather than a gravitational conduit in the service of lowland interests. Maybe then, we would see the beginnings of the realization of the vision of the International Year of Mountains which is described as "an opportunity to take steps to protect mountain ecosystems, to promote peace and stability in mountain regions and to help mountain people attain their goals and aspirations."[11]

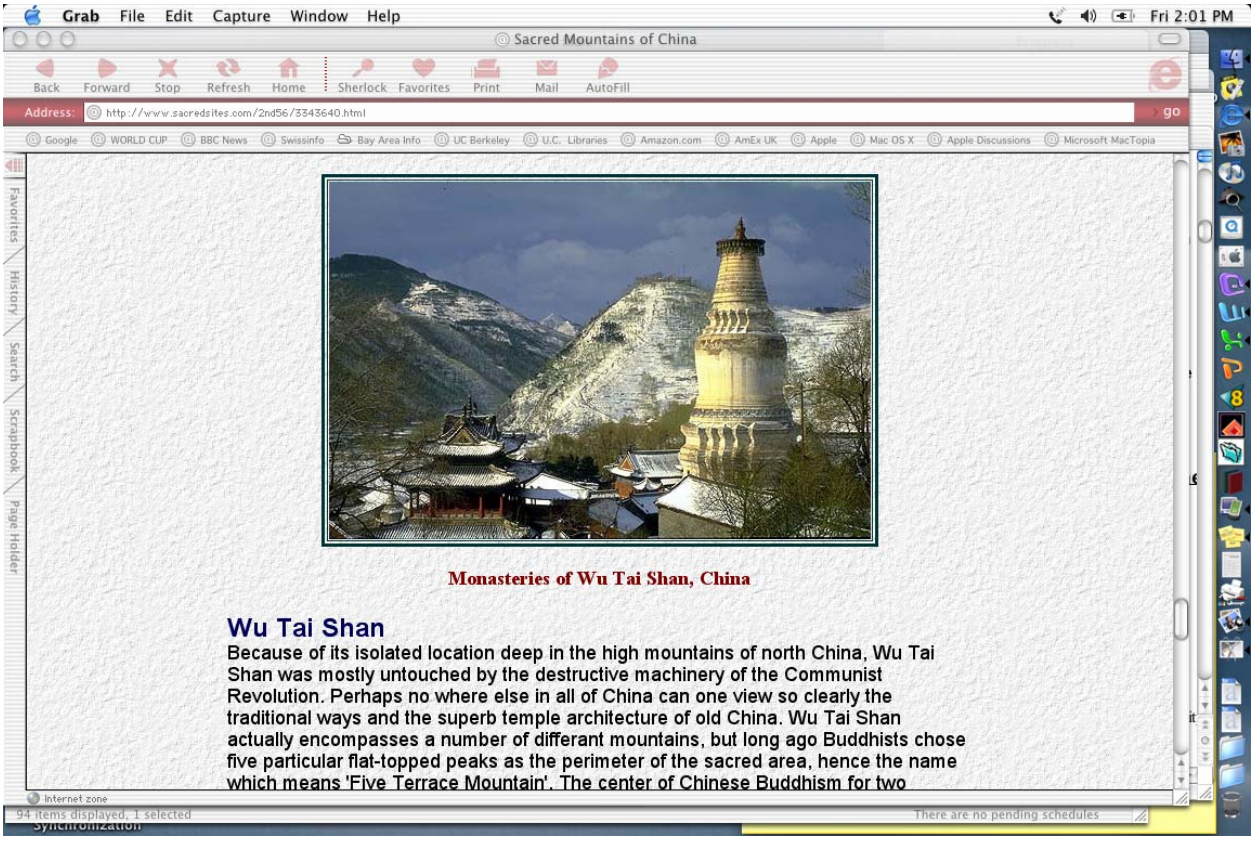
APPENDIX

A. BBC News Web Site. "India to Clean up Himalayan Rubbish," Sat. 11 May, 2002. http://www.newsbbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/south_asia/newsid_1981000/1981920.stm

B. International Mountaineering and Climbing Federation web page http://www.uiaa.ch/news/



C. Monasteries of Wutai Shan, China http://www.sacredsites.com/2nd56/3343640.html



D. Mountains and Biodiversity—Eastern Arc Mountains http://www.easternarc.org/

NOTES

1. This is even the case in nation-states which are conventionally considered to be "mountain nations." The capitals of states such as Nepal or Bhutan are located in relatively low elevation areas of the country.

2. Coward and other authors use the term "Tai" to refer to the extensive group of speakers of Tai languages within the present day boundaries of Laos, Thailand, Vietnam, China and Myanmar (Coward 2002:1 n2).

3. This local history is transcribed from my field notes of 13 December, 1992.

4. See, for example, Li 1999, Laungaramsri 2001, and Sturgeon 2000.

5. A report published in 2001 by the FAO concludes: "…A key conclusion to be drawn from the Asia-Pacific experience is that logging bans are neither inherently good nor bad as natural forest conservation and protection policy instruments. Logging restrictions are simply one set of policy tools available to decision-makers within a spectrum of options and alternatives" (Waggener 2001).

6. http://www.mountainvoices.org/k_th_environment.asp

7. http://www.mountainvoices.org p_th_compensation.asp#quotes

8. http://www.mountainvoices.org/p_th_agriculture.asp

9. For information on the Mountain Forum network, refer to the Mountain Forum web site at http://www.mtnforum.org

10. See the summary of the Mountain Forum electronic conference entitled "Paying for Mountains: Innovative Mechanisms and Promising Examples for Financing Conservation and Sustainable Development (July and August, 1996) (Preston 1997).

11. International Year of Mountains homepage: http://www.mountains2002.org/home.html, accessed 19 December 2002

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